LANGUAGE USE, ATTITUDES, STRATEGIES.
LINGUISTIC IDENTITY AND ETHNICITY
IN THE MOLDAVIAN CSÁNGÓ VILLAGES

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Edited by: Lehel Peti – Vilmos Tánczos

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The Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities

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Abstand language (German /'apʃtant/)

A concept developed by the German sociolinguist Heinz Kloss. A variety of language whisch is regarded as a language in its own right, rather then a dialect, by virtue of being very different in its linguistic distance (German 'Abstand') between thiv variety and other languages is such that, unlike **Ausbau languages,** there can be no dispute as to its language status. Basque, the language spoken in northern Spain and southwestern France, is a good example of an Abstand language. It is clearly a single language, because its dialects are similar. And it is clearly a language rather then a dialect because, since it is not related historically to any other European language, it is completely different in its grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation from the neighbouring languages, French and Spanish – compare the numerals from *one* to *five.*

French	**Spanish**	**Basque**
un	*uno*	*bat*
deux	*dos*	*bi*
trois	*tres*	*biru*
quatre	*cuatro*	*lau*
cinq	*cinco*	*bost*

There is no widely used English equivalent for this term, but 'language by distance' is sometimes employed

Ausbau language (German /'ausbau/)

A concept due to the German sociolinguist Heinz Kloss. A variety which derives its status as a language, rather then a dialect, not so much from its linguistic characteristics, like an **Abstand language**, but from its social, cultural and political characteristics. These characteristics will normally involve autonomy and standardisation. Norwegian and Swedish are regarded as distinct languages, not because they are linguistically very different from one another – there is clear mutul intelligibility – but because they are associated with two separate, independent nation states, and because they have traditions involving drifferent writing systems, grammar books and dictionaries. **Ausbau** is the German word of 'extension' or 'building up'. Note that when new Ausbau languages are being developed through language planning, planners will

often make the most of what Abstand is available. For example, Ivar Aasen, the developer of the form of Standard Norwegian now known as Nynorsk deliberately modelled it on those (western) dialects which were least like Danish, which had hitherto been the standard language of Norway. There is no widely used English equivalent for this term, but 'language by extension' is sometimes employed.

Csángó

There is a very large Hungarian-speaking minority in Romanian Transylvania. It is not widely known, however, that there is also another Hungarian or 'Hungarian' speaking minority in Moldavia in eastern Romania. These are the Csángos, who are a mostly ignored linguistic minority rapidly going through a process of language shift to Romanian and who are distinguished from other Romanians by their poverty, isolation and Catholicism. Romanian governments have sometimes denied their Hungarianness. Now the Csángós are faced with the reverse kind of **Ausbau** problem. Since 1989, Hungarian official bodies have been concerned to 'save the Csángos'. They assume that Csángos are Hungarian-speakers and that young people will benefit from being offered education in Hungary or Transylvania. There is, however, too much **Abstand** for this to work easily. Csángó is also widely regarded in Hungary as 'corrupt Hungarian', which gives the Csángos an additional reason to switch to Romanian.

Source: TRUDGILL, Peter: *A Glossary of Sociolinguistics.* Edinburgh University Press, 2003. 1–2., 11–12., 32–33.

Miklós KONTRA

Prefatory note to the Csángó issues

As the distinguished British linguist Peter Trudgill writes in his Glossary of Sociolinguistics, the Csángós are a "Hungarian or 'Hungarian' speaking minority in Moldavia in eastern Romania [...] who are a mostly ignored linguistic minority rapidly going through a process of language shift to Romanian and who are distinguished from other Romanians by their poverty, isolation and Catholicism. Romanian governments have sometimes denied their Hungarianness."

From an ethnic historical point of view, there is no doubt that the Csángós are Hungarians who migrated from Hungary to Moldavia. The first wave arrived there in the 14th and 15th centuries as the defense system of the Hungarian Kingdom moved eastward. The second wave of Hungarian migration arrived in Moldavia in the 16th to 18th centuries (these people were *Székelys* 'Seklers', members of a distinctive, strong community living in eastern Transylvania). As regards the Csángós' language situation, they are in the very last stage of complete shift to Romanian. We should note at least three things about the Csángós that we know from excellent scholars, some of them authors of chapters in this book. First, the number of Csángós in the villages who can use Hungarian reasonably well decreased from about 62,000 in the mid-1990s to about 43,000 in 2009. Second, there is not a single village left in Moldavia where Csángó children learn Hungarian as their first language; their first-learned language is invariably Romanian, and if they learn any Hungarian, it is only years after their acquisition of Romanian. Third, the Csángó dialects are very diverse, and there can be serious problems of intelligibility when a Csángó speaks to a Hungarian in Transylvania, Romania, and especially when s/he speaks to a Hungarian in Hungary.

Throughout many century, Csángós have suffered very serious violations of their human rights, and especially their linguistic human rights. They attracted some international attention when ten years ago the Council of Europe adopted "Recommendation 1521 (2001), Csango Minority Culture in Romania," in which the Parliamentary Assembly made several specific recommendations

to the Romanian government for the protection of the endangered language and culture of the Csángós.

It has been a matter of scholarly and political debate for quite some time whether Csángó is a dialect of Hungarian or a language different from Hungarian. Some have argued that it is an archaic dialect of Hungarian, while others have claimed that it is a language different from Hungarian. In these debates historical linguistic claims clash with politically motivated arguments based on the intelligibility problems of Csángó speakers when talking to metropolitan Hungarians. As any sociolinguist knows, this is a case of comparing apples and oranges; furthermore, calling something a language or a dialect is always a political decision. However, the linguistic problem "Csángó language or dialect?" also has an important political consequence – as Tytti Iso-hookana-Asunmaa, the Finnish rapporteur of the Council of Europe regarding the Csángó minority explained to leaders of a Csángó organization in 2002: the Council of Europe can provide legal protection for the Csángó language, but not for a dialect of Hungarian. Csángó can certainly be an endangered language and hence deserving of protection, but the Hungarian language or Hungarian dialects are safe and sound and need no protection. This legal argument has serious socio-political consequences and sheds some light on the uselessness of arguing for or against the use of *Csángó* (several such arguments are presented in this book, too). This is a very similar case to the one pointed out by Tove Skutnabb-Kangas in 1999: the use of politically correct euphemisms like *limited English proficient students* or *linguistically diverse students* in the USA deprives minority students of legal protection because international legal instruments protect *minority students* but say nothing about *linguistically diverse students.*

The protection of the Csángós, or their rescue, has loomed large in Hungarian political discourse for over a century. There have also been heated scholarly and lay debates. Oftentimes the rapid assimilation and the final disappearance from the face of the earth of the Csángós is presented as the future destiny of the entire Hungarian nation. Several questions arise and some of them are presented in a scholarly fashion in this book, for instance: *can* Csángó be saved or rescued? One thoughtful answer is provided here by János Heltai, who says that saving Csángó or reversing its shift to Romanian is not a utopian enterprise, but it is an extremely difficult task and highly unlikely to be achieved.

Another hot topic is this: *should* the Csángós be rescued? If so, why? Some strongly advocate the position that Csángós should remain Csángós and energetically resist assimilation. Advocates of this "national" position sometimes do not even pose the question of the right to Csángó self-determination. They

tend to assume that Csángós must be saved, even, perhaps, against their own will. Others value the right to self-determination more highly and openly advocate the Csángós' right to choose to maintain their language and culture or to give them up. The disagreements that surfaced very spectacularly in the mid-1990s continue to be with us, but there is more hope today than a decade ago that the issues will be clarified and discussed in a fruitful way. The paper by Klára Sándor attempts to critically analyze the discourses used by advocates of the "national" position and those used by advocates of a "social constructivist" position.

The "national" discourse is extremely widespread and popular to this day. The ideology driving this has, however, proved to be a failure. Let me just remind readers of the numbers of the Csángós who can speak Hungarian cited above: they decreased from 62,000 to 43,000 in a decade and a half. And all this despite many ideology-driven political campaigns, considerable amounts of money and human resources furnished mainly by Hungary, and despite the Council of Europe's recommendations to the government of Romania. One linguist and also a contributor to this book, Sándor N. Szilágyi, actually claims that the plight of the Csángós and other Hungarians who are national and local minorities where they live, is aggravated by this "national" or "Hungarian-rescuing" discourse. In a paper on Hungarians who live as local minorities in the circum-Hungary countries, Sándor Szilágyi N. goes as far as to claim that these minorities should be helped not in order to maintain or rescue the Hungarian nation, but because they are in need of help. This position then would lead to a change in the current power relations between rescuers and rescued, could diminish the rescuers' arrogance as experienced by the rescued, and also enable the voice of the rescued to be heard.

The rescuers' arrogance, their 'infallible' views on saving the Hungarian nation, and their irresponsible acts have in some cases led to tragedy for those they have targeted for rescue. For instance, when in 1883 Székely-Hungarians were resettled from Bukovina to the Danube region east of Belgrade, they were given lands in a catchment area which five years later was devastated by floods, and the irresponsibly planned rescue attempt ended in many of them re-emigrating to Bukovina. Then in 1941 Székely-Hungarians were resettled from Bukovina again, this time to Vojvodina which had recently been re-annexed to Hungary, only for them to have to flee to Transdanubia in southern Hungary in 1944, where they were given the houses and property of the Germans deported to Germany. Other, more recent but less painful examples of distress caused by the rescuers to those to be rescued could also be cited, down to some of the currently ongoing efforts to teach Hungarian to Csángó children in Moldavia.

One sadly exciting aspect of the complex of Csángó problems is that even well-meaning people can cause them harm because of their lack of planning coupled with their irresponsibility regarding the consequences of their intervention. Szilágyi's point that Csángós should be helped not because they are Hungarians but because they are in trouble could be reinforced by the maxim known to all medical doctors: *primum non nocere* 'Above all, do no harm'. In other words, given an existing problem such as the plight of the Csángós, it may be better not to do something, or even to do nothing, than to risk causing more harm than good.

In conclusion, I think this book makes fascinating reading for two different groups of readers: those non-Hungarians who are new to one of Europe's most enigmatic minorities, the Csángós, and those more seasoned readers, including scholars and others, who will find new approaches and new answers to the complex array of thorny issues which the Csángós present.

Attila BENŐ

The most important areas and results of the research on Hungarian language in Moldavia

1. Several papers have been published on the linguistic research on the Roman-Catholic Hungarians living in the valleys of the Tatros (Trotuş) and Tázló (Tazlău) rivers, as well as near Bakó (Bacău) and Románvásár (Roman). These linguistic research on the Hungarians in Moldavia are presented by Attila Szabó T. up until 1958 (Szabó T. 1959), by Gyula Márton up until 1970 (Márton 1973), Vilmos Tánczos refers to the antecedents and reviews the research done between 1954 and 2004 (Tánczos 2004), while Attila Benő and László Murádin's study published in English takes into account the findings and conclusions of Romanian linguists as well (Benő–Murádin 2002) besides the research of Hungarian linguists and historians of culture.

The newest publication on the linguistic research of the Csángó dialect is János Imre Heltai's PhD thesis (Heltai 2009). In my paper I aim to present the most important Hungarian and Romanian linguistic results of the research of the Csángó dialect taking the above into account, with a special regard to the second half of the 20th century and the latest research results of the past few years.

2. One of the earliest records regarding the language use of the Moldavian Csángós dates back to the 1760's to Péter Zöld, who wrote, among other things: "they understand Hungarian and Romanian in the same way, and can use both languages correctly, still they have a lisping pronunciation of Hungarian" (Szabó 1981: 484). Regarding the Hungarian speech of the Csángós he emphasizes a dialectological characteristic, the use of the *sz* (the pronounce *sz* instead of the standard *s* sound).

The scientific analysis of the Csángó dialect can be traced back to the 1830's, when the Hungarian Scientific Society (Magyar Tudós Társaság) organized

the preparations of the first Hungarian dialectological dictionary. The authors of the first Hungarian dialectological studies having scientific value were Elek Gegő, Gábor Döbrentei, Fülöp Jákó Imets and Ferenc Kováts. Imets Fülöp Jákó called the language of the Moldavian Csángó "a clear Hungarian language with Secler characteristics" and does not consider it a separate dialect: "a cz-ző és sziszegő kiejtéstől eltekintve – mely éppen annyira nem lényeges, mint a selypelő nyelvejtés – dialectusnak sem nevezhető, oly ép és ősmagyaros az..."[1] (Szabó 1981: 488). Ferenc Kováts makes more detailed observations: he differentiates the language use of the inhabitants living near the Tatros (Trotuş) and Tázló (Tazlău) rivers in "Secler settlements" from that of the "Csángó Hungarians" and he considers the Csángó variant to be a specific dialect.

The systematic research of Hungarian dialects as we know it today was started in the 1870's. The result of this scientifically more founded and more recent approach is Gábor Szarvas's study published in 1874. This paper presents the southern Csángó phonetic, lexical and syntactical characteristics with scientific accuracy. Szarvas in his study gives a detailed description of the similarities between the Secler and the Moldavian Csángó dialects. As a conclusion he states that surprisingly „....the language of a nation so secluded from the other Hungarians, and geographically so occluded, indicates such small peculiarities." (Szarvas 1874: 49).

Based on the phenomena observed Szarvas strongly supports the common origin of the Csángós and the Seclers. We can find very similar observations to Gábor Szarvas's findings in Bernát Munkácsi's study (Munkácsi 1880–1881). Munkácsi analyzes the Csángó dialect not only from a dialectological point of view, but he also takes into account the findings of the language relics as well as related languages. This paper can be considered to be the first monograph of the Csángó dialect.

In 1900 and 1901 Mózes Rubinyi organized a dialectological data gathering route in Moldavia. The result of this trip is a fairly rich glossary of the Csángó dialect. Besides the glossary he created a descriptive presentation of the Csángó inflectional and declension systems.

Based on the analysis of the Moldavian toponyms, Károly Auner came to the conclusion in 1908 that a high number of Hungarians settled in the Tatros valley in the 14th century, as the constant toponymy (names of mountains and rivers) is definitely Hungarian (Auner 1908: 9–10).

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1   Apart from the use the *cz* sound as well as the sibilant pronunciation – as this is as unimportant as lisping pronunciation – it cannot be even considered a dialect, it is that complete and ancient Hungarian...

The previous Csángó studies must have played an important role in raising the foreign researchers' attention to the secluded and archaic nature of the Csángó dialect. Yrjö Wichmann, the Finnish linguist, famous for his Cheremis and Zyrian research conducted data gathering trips among the northern Csángós. He performed systematic vocabulary gathering, analyzed morphological phenomena applying a more detailed phonetic transcription than the researchers before him. The result of this work was the Csángó dictionary published in 1936, which in the opinion of Attila Szabó T. "... is one of the most prominent products of the Csángó dialectological research." (Szabó 1981: 497).

Following Wichmann's northern Csángó research Bálint Csűry conducted dialectological data gathering among the southern Csángó. His work on the dialectological, morphological and lexical phenomena was very complex, and thus his results enriched the former knowledge on the Csángó dialects with several new elements (Csűry 1930, 1932a, 1932b).

Even between the two World Wars the Hungarian researchers felt the relationship between the Secler and Moldavian Csángó dialects so strong, that they considered the Csángó dialect not to be a separate one, but described it as being part of the Secler dialect.

Antal Horger's 1934 study entitled *A magyar nyelvjárások* [*The Hungarian dialects*] is written in this attitude. Antal Horger wrote the following, among others: "A moldvai csángók nyelvjárásában van ugyan néhány a székely nyeljárásokban merőben ismeretlen nyelvi sajátság is, de mivel nyelvjárási sajátságaik jó része mégis csak közös a székelyégel, ezért nincsen legendő okunk arra, hogy nyelvjárásukat teljesen elválasszuk a székely nyelvjárástól és külön tárgyaljuk."[2] (Horger 1934: 26).[3]

Regarding the language of the Csángó Hungarians Antal Horger mentions, that there is such a high number of Romanian origin words in it, that it is almost unintelligible for the Hungarians. Horger refers to the assimilation of the Csángós into the Romanian population and the decrease in the number of the Csángós, caused by the discriminative policy of the Romanian government (Horger 1934: 27).

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2   The dialect of the Moldavian Csángós contains some linguistic characteristics which are totally foreign to the Secler dialects, but as the majority of their dialectological characteristics is similar to that of the Seclers, we do not have enough reasons to separate this dialect from that of the Seclers and to discuss them separately.
3   Considering the Secler and Csángó dialects to be part of the same dialect type can be found in Kálmán Béla's dialectological textbook as well (Kálmán 1966: 88–91). As the textbook has been published several times, the joint presentation of the Secler and Csángó dialects is still available.

Gábor Lükő demonstrated in connection with several Moldavian toponyms and river names that they were of a Hungarian origin, which unquestionably indicates the centuries long Moldavian presence of the Hungarians. In his study he mentions the following settlement names: *Gyula* > *Giuleşti, Kövesd* > *Cuejdiu, Lökösfalva* > *Leucuseşti, Lukácsfalva* > *Lucaceşti, Molnárfalva* > *Monarar, Ravaszfalva* > *Rauseni, Veresfalva* > *Vereşti* (Lükő 1936: 33–36).

László Mikecs's book entitled *Csángók* [*The Csángós*] on Moldavian Hungarians was published in 1941 (Mikecs 1941). The book presents an objective approach to the questions of the Csángó ancestry with the aim to clarify the existing incoherent points of view. Denouncing the Romantic theory of the Hun-Hungarian and Cuman-Hungarian kindred Mikecs finds that the first Hungarians arrived to Moldavia as vassals to the Hungarian crown. The most important feature of the book is that it sums up not only the previous Hungarian research, but also the remarks of Romanian chroniclers and historians on the Hungarians in Moldavia. The commented bibliography of the previously published Csángó-related literature is very valuable, as it helps orientation in Csángó research. Understandably this book is considered to be one of the greatest syntheses of the Csángó topic.

With the leadership of Attila Szabó T. a new, more complex dialectological research was started in 1948. Younger colleagues were asked to join it, such as Gyula Márton and Mózes Gálffy. The initial aim of this research was creating the Csángó dialectological atlas. Working on the entire Hungarian dialect in Moldavia, including 91 settlements, and using the most detailed map, this research group managed to clarify the dialectological distribution of the Moldavian Csángós. According to this the Hungarian Csángós in Moldavia form three dialectological and ethnographical groups: northern, southern and Secler-type Csángó. The analysis of the data shows that "(...) a moldvai csángómagyarságnak legalább kétharmada, a székelyes csángó nyelvjárást beszélő része, feltétlenül keleti székely betelepülő"[4] (Szabó 1981: 521). The result of this research was the publication of the *Atlas of the Moldavian Csángó dialect* (Gálffy–Márton–Szabó 1991) in 1991, which we are going to present in the following.

Another research team organized with the leadership of Attila Szabó T. was the one aiming at mapping Hungarian dialects in Romania. In order to be able to edit the Atlas of Hungarian Dialects in Romania they included four Moldavian settlements on the list of studied localities: Szabófalva (Săbăoani), Bogdánfalva (Valea Seacă), Pusztina (Pustiana) and Diószeg (Tuta). Murádin

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4   (...) at least two thirds of the Csángó Hungarians, the ones speaking the Secler-type dialect, are unquestionably eastern Secler settlers.

used the atlas questionnaire containing cca. 3380 questions on the above mentioned four Moldavian Csángó dialectological locations. This corpus also enriched our knowledge on the Csángó dialects.

The monographic analysis of one of the phenomena was made by Gyula Márton (Márton 1972). Gyula Márton examined the Csángó dialect from the point of view of Romanian language contact, but its lexicological, semantic, phonetic and morphological analyses referred to the whole of the Csángó dialectological system. When presenting vocabulary-related issues, he stresses the fact that Romanian loan words mainly denote notions the Hungarian standard variant of which comes from the era of the language reform or is a foreign word.

Due to the secluded nature of the Csángó dialect it did not have any contact with the Hungarian standard, these deficiencies being replaced by Romanian words. László Murádin in one of his studies (Murádin 1958) convincingly illustrates the secluded and archaic nature of the Csángó dialect as opposed to other Hungarian dialects. László Murádin analyzed in Külsőrekecsin (Fundu Răcăciuni) the knowledge of around 100 words dating from the age of the language reform. He found out that the Moldavian Csángó respondents knew none of the one hundred words, and in the majority of cases these were replaced by Romanian loan words or – to a lesser degree – internally coined words for the notions mentioned. The semantic chapter of Gyula Márton's book presents the rules that caused the semantic modification of Romanian-origin loan words. The changes in the semantic field of the Romanian-origin words in the Moldavian Csángó can be explained partly with the effects of the Hungarian semantic systems, as the adaptations of loan words mean an adaptation to the semantic system of the receiving language or dialect. The analysis of phonetic and morphological data makes it possible for us to grasp the intensity of the Romanian language effects. Gyula Márton's research made it clear that the Romanian language contact had an effect on the whole system of the Csángó Hungarian dialect.

Loránd Benkő's study in which he analyses the origins of the Csángó on a linguistic basis was published in 1990 (Benkő 1990). In connection with the Csángó origins the author thinks that the issue of foreign linguistic-ethnical ancestry (Turkish or Romanian) is absurd, as lacking historical or linguistic proof these theories have no scientific basis. Due to the presence of specific dialectological characteristics and that of systematic linguistic phenomena one can answer the questions regarding the similarities or differences between the two dialects. Benkő presents the results of comparative dialectology, which show with great certainty that the Csángó dialect is in a close relationship with the Hungarian variant usually called the Mezőségi dialect, which can be localized

in the central part of Transylvania. Based on the phonetic, morphological and morpho-phonologic phenomena we can state that the base linguistic stratum of the northern and southern Csángó has always been the Central-Mezőségi dialect. With the help of these data Loránd Benkő managed to narrow down the geographical area the northern and southern Csángó settlements of Moldavia had originated from. This area is the central stream of the Maros (Mureş) river and the downstream of the Aranyos (Arieş) river.

As we have already mentioned the *Atlas of the Moldavian Csángó Dialect* (*A moldvai csángó nyelvjárási atlasz* – CsángNyjA) was edited by Mózes Gálffy, Gyula Márton and Attila Szabó T. The publication of the atlas was made possible by the preparation arranged by János Péntek and László Murándin. Its rich empirical corpus supplies with abundant and reliable data not only the description of the phonetic system of the dialect, but also the analysis of several morphological and dialectological phenomena.

As a result of several years of research the continuation and development of the atlas is the *Diachronic Language Atlas of Moldavia*, available on the internet from 2009 (*http://geolingua.elte.hu/projects/m3_hu.html*). The leader of the research was Csanád Bodó, being helped in the development of the research concept by János Imre Heltai and Elvira Eriş. The atlas is the first geolinguistic undertaking, in the form of a follow-up research which makes it possible to compare linguistic data gathered in two different periods of time – 50 years apart – in the context of language geography. This was made possible by the digitalization of the empirical data of the two published volumes and the third latent volume of the *Atlas of the Moldavian Csángó dialect.* During this research they used the corpus of vocabulary entries of the Moldavian atlas, and the researchers, field-workers created a questionnaire of 250 questions focusing on phonetic and morphological-syntactical phenomena. They visited the Moldavian settlements where the proportion of Hungarian speakers was higher than 20% of the local Catholic population. The questionnaire included not only linguistic questions, but also some references to the sociological and sociolinguistic data of the respondents. This is how the research is organically linked to the intensifying sociolinguistic research of the 21st century, presented below.

Klára Sándor suggested creating a *Csángó koiné* in 2000 (Sándor 2000: 6, 2003: 177). As the Moldavians call their language variant Csángó, not pure Hungarian, and thus differentiate it from the Hungarian spoken in the Carpathian basin, this means in the opinion of the author that *Csángó* is a different language from the Hungarian language. This is why in her opinion it is good to support the standardization processes of the local language variants. The local autonomy of the Moldavian Hungarian language is more complex than this, as the Csángó language name is used depending on context: the Hungarians

in Moldavia consider their language Hungarian as opposed to the dominant Romanian language, and only when referring to other Hungarian dialects or in reflected situations do they use the Csángó name (Bodó 2005: 301).

Csanád Bodó and his research team had an important role in the analysis of sociolinguistic issues such as as *ethno-linguistic vitality* (Bodó 2004a), *linguistic socialization* (Bodó 2004b), *language shift* (Heltai 2004, Heltai–Tarsoly 2004), *language planning* (Bodó–Heltai–Tarsoly 2003, Bodó 2006a, Bodó 2006b) regarding the Hungarian language variant in Moldavia.

János Imre Heltai (Heltai 2009) in his PhD thesis presents the process of language shift of Moldavian Hungarians and the possibilities of language planning. This work is a monographic presentation of the issue on a sociolinguistic basis, which – using modern research methods – deals with the relations between *language* and *identity*, the heterogeneous nature of the Hungarian dialects of Moldavia and the factors determining this heterogeneity, together with the regional variants of language use. The author analyzes the possibilities of *language revitalization* with a special regard to the varieties and complexities of the linguistic situation, and it makes recommendations referring to a revitalization program of Moldavian Hungarian. In our opinion these suggestions cannot be overlooked from the point of view of Moldavian language planning, as the offer observations regarding the local prestige of the Hungarian language, as well as the practice and possibilities of language use in the church and in education based on recent empirical data.

The relations between the Csángó language and the church are analyzed from the point of view of *language rights* by Sándor Szilágyi N. (Szilágyi N. 2006) who emphasizes the fact that the Roman Catholic Church in Moldavia cannot be persuaded neither by secular nor by church laws to admit the justified petitions regarding Hungarian mass.

On the *teaching of the Hungarian language in Moldavia* as well as on acquisition-planning Attila Hegyeli published several papers (Hegyeli 2001, 2004, 2007). In these studies he deals with the changes in the children's vernacular, asymmetrical bilingualism, the effects of language policies and the forms and possible effects of language teaching.

In the sociolinguistic description of the Hungarian language variant spoken in Moldavia we must take into account the *demographical and census data* gathered by Vilmos Tánczos, due to whom we have exact data on the number of Hungarian speakers in every Csángó village (Tánczos 1997, 2009) as the official census data are unreliable in this respect. He was the one to comprehensively and diachronically present the assimilation of the Hungarians in Moldavia, the process of their identity shift as well as the determining factors (Tánczos 2006).

Several studies have been recently published on the *language contact phenomena* in the speech of the Hungarian bilinguals in Moldavia. Among others Attila Benő (Benő 2004, 2008: 44–49), Csanád Bodó and Elvira Eriş (Bodó–Eriş 2004), Katalin Fodor (Fodor 1991) Edit Kádár (Kádár 2007) and János Péntek (Péntek 2007) wrote on the forms and degree of the effects of the Romanian language. Not so long ago Hakan Aydemir (Aydemir 2002) published a study on the Cuman-Kipchak elements of the Moldavian Csángó dialect, and this is significant from the point of view of further research possibilities regarding the archaic Moldavian language variant.

We also need to mention the analysis of the Moldavian geographical names within onomastics studies. In this respect the revealing work of Lajos Kiss and Péter Halász is groundbreaking. Lajos Kiss presented the explanation of eighty Moldavian settlement names (Kiss 1987), while Péter Halász published the toponym system of seven Hungarian settlements from Moldavia (Halász 1983a, 1983b, 1986, 1987, 1994a, 1994b, 1997). It is obvious that there are still a lot of issues to discuss. Personal name research is almost inexistent, though László Bura published a study in 1966 on the cognomens of Bogdánfalva (Valea Seacă) (Bura 1966). Personal name research was underplayed due to church politics as well, as the leaders of the local parishes did not allow access to the parish registers. Mihály Hajdú analyzes the earliest Csángó name documents from the perspective of the history of language (Hajdú 1980, 1997). Emese Bálint and Csanád Bodó examine the personal names of Csíkfalu (Ciucani), and they also provide a statistical index of names as well as a semantic categorization (Bálint–Bodó 1999) which is fairly new regarding the Hungarian dialect of Moldavia.

The project lead by János Péntek within the Szabó T. Attila Linguistic Institute, entitled *A moldvai magyar nyelv szótára* (*The Dictionary of the Hungarian language in Moldavia*) could be considered a summary of the 20th century research on Csángó language and culture. This encyclopedia-type dictionary is going to be the dictionary of the traditional Hungarian dialect in Moldavia, a regional, dialectical and dialectological dictionary. Wichmann and every researcher, data gatherer before him considered the joint analysis of the local language variant and traditional culture an important aspect, as well as its dictionary-type processing. This way it becomes a cultural dictionary as well, and in some respects the ethnographical lexicon of the region. Its aim is to contextually represent the Hungarian language and culture: the words as well as the categories and notions of the traditional culture. The gathered corpus containing not only common nouns but settlement names and names of regions, as well as their variety, made unifying, codifying works necessary (Péntek 2004).

We also need to mention Ferenc Pozsony's monograph on the Moldavian Csángós, which was published in Romanian and English as well (Pozsony 2002, 2006), and which presents a series of linguistic issues on the Moldavian group with Hungarian origins. The two monographs introduce the process of *language and culture shift* in its historical as well as within its present-day context, the author also presenting the issues in a separate study (Pozsony 2004).

3. In the case of Romanian linguists it was obvious for a long time that the Csángó dialect is a specific regional variant of the Hungarian language. Though Romanian linguists did not expressly analyze the Csángó dialect, this attitude can be traced in the remarks on the Csángó dialect.

One of the most important Romanian linguists active between the two world wars, Sever Pop, when presenting Wichmann's Csángó dictionary in 1940, mentions that the Csángó Hungarian are similar to the Romanian in their wear and way of speech.[5]

Romulus Todoran writes in his study published in 1956 that the Csángó dialect is one of the regional variants of the Hungarian language, which due to its secluded nature underwent a peculiar development. Todoran considers that as a consequence of the strong Romanian linguistic influence and mixed language this dialect will gradually disappear (Todoran 1956: 98).

One of the most prominent Romanian linguists of the 1960's and 70's is Alexandru Graur, whose book entitled *Introducere în lingvistică* (*Introduction to linguistics*) – first published in 1958 and published several times since then – mentions, that besides the research of Romanian dialects in Romania they also analyze other dialects, such as the Csángó one. The author also states that a Hungarian research team in the Hungarian Bolyai University gathers data on the Csángó dialect. Graur's report also includes that two specialists from the Babeş University from Cluj examine the Romanian language variant of the assimilated Csángó (Graur 1958: 248–249). All these lead us to the conclusion that there did not exist an approach which would consider the speech of the Moldavian Csángós other than of a Hungarian origin.

The academician Emil Petrovici mentions in one of his studies, that the "Moldavian Hungarians" include in their speech an ancient phonetic characteristic, the bilabial pronunciation of the *v* consonant (Petrovici 1952: 8). Petrovici uses the term Moldavian Hungarians in a very natural way, which also signals that accepting the Csángós as being Hungarian did not constitute any problems.

5   Bulletin Linguistique VIII., 1940, 175–179.

In his study published in 1960, Drimba Vladimir, Romanian linguist analyzes the lexical influences of the Romanian language on the Csángó dialect (Drimba 1960). He calls the attention to the fact that there are more Romanian-origin loan elements in Wichmann's Csángó dictionary than what Wichmann and the editor, O. J. Tuulio indicated. Drimba considered the analysis of Romanian language influences on the Csángó Hungarian dialect as being important, and appreciates the results of the previous research.

4. The question of the Romanian origin of the Csángós has also arisen, namely foremost at the Iași episcopate among Csángó renegade clerics who were raised according to a Romanian nationalist mentality, and in periods when nationalism became predominant. For example, Iosif Petru M. Pal's book (Pal 1941) presents this attitude, but we also have to mention a book (Râmneanțu 1943) that declares the Csángó's Romanian origin on a racial basis, according to a blood-type research.

A historically and linguistically unqualified Csángó author's book (Dumitru Mărtinaș) is even more noteworthy (Mărtinaş 1985). After distinguishing the different categories of Csángós the author acknowledges only the Catholic population along the Szeret (Siret) as being Csángó and he admits that in the 14th century the Hungarian state located Hungarian people to the western slopes of the Carpathians for purposes of defending the western border. Nevertheless, a part of this population left by the 17th century as a consequence of the attacks of Tartar and Turkish legions, while the rest of the population went back to Transylvania. Therefore their territories remained uninhabited for half a century. These were the territories that the Csángós – who came from Transylvania, but were Seclerized Romanians, not Hungarians – reinhabited in the 17th century. This is the reason why they spoke and to some extent still speak a mixed version of Hungarian, but the great majority only spoke ancient Romanian and forgot Hungarian because there was no need to speak this language in Moldavia. As a result Csángós cannot be considered the descendants of the one-time Hungarian-Secler settlers. According to Mărtinaş, in some villages, mainly in the county Bacău, the population affected by the intense Secler influence speaks the Csángó-Hungarian dialect (in Lészped/Lespezi, Bogdánfalva/Valea Seacă, Nagypatak/Valea Mare, Forrófalva/Faraoani, Klézse/Cleja, Trunk/Galbeni, Gajdár/Găidar, Lujzikalagor/Luizi Călugăra, Pusztina/Pustiana, Ploszkucény/Ploscuțeni, Kelgyest/Pildeşti, Szabófalva/Săbăoani), but this population must not be considered as being of the "Hungarian race", as many people do when talking about the Moldavian Csángós. This population is Romanian by origin, but they were intensely influenced by the Seclers. The author takes it as proven that a large

Romanian population lived amongst the Seclers, and these Romanians – being exposed to Hungarian linguistic influence – became bilingual, but later when they had the opportunity to settle in Moldavia in the 17th century, a significant part of them (approximately 80 percent) forgot the more or less known and well-spoken Secler-Hungarian dialect.[6]

The presented work has minor scientific value, its statements are confutable by historical facts and arguments based on the history of the Hungarian language and on the history of the settlements in the area. It has only been mentioned because it became referential among educated Romanian people, and it is the basis of the attempts to prevent the application of the Hungarian speaking Catholic population's linguistic and human rights in Moldavia.

5. According to the cited linguistic literature the current state of the Hungarian dialect in Moldavia is a result of the long period of isolation and the Romanian linguistic influence. (Other theories are not scientifically valid.) By now the northern Csángós and the majority of the young and middle-aged southern Csángós have underwent language shift. This process of language shift begins with Hungarian–Romanian bilingualism with native language dominance, develops into balanced bilingualism, then into bilingualism with Romanian dominance and it ends with total language shift due to the functional restrictions and lower use-value of the Hungarian language.[7] According to Vilmos Tánczos (Tánczos 1997) in 1996 approximately 25 percent (approximately 60,000) of the Csángós spoke the Hungarian Csángó dialect, while 75 percent of them had become Romanian monolinguals. According to Vilmos Tánczos's newest demographical research only 33% of the Roman Catholic Csángós of a Hungarian origin speak or understand Hungarian

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6   Loránd Benkő also suggests that there are significant counter-arguments to Mārtinaş's theory: "*Considering the Moldavian Csángós as being Romanians assimilated to Hungarian is a nonsense from the point of view of linguistic history and geography; the Csángós' whole history shows the exact opposite process of centuries-long assimilation to the Romanian culture. As far as the theory of hungarized Romanians moving to Moldavia is concerned, several factors contradict it: the linguistically mistaken assumption of the Csángós originating from Székely Land, the false placing of the chronological facts, the badly chosen etymology of the term Csángó ('incorrectly speaking'), and a logical twist: why would the Hungarian "oppressors" force the already Hungarian speaking Roman Catholic population to move across the Carpathians?*" (Benkő 1990: 209)

7   Talking about the functional limited nature of the Hungarian language we mean that the Csángó dialect and the Hungarian language in general does not have any institutionalized background, it lacks social publicity, it is only spoken as an intimate, familiar language, therefore in many communicative situations the official language functions as the language of communication instead of the native dialect.

(55 575 people). 42 559 speak Hungarian as their mother tongue or second language, this being 26% of the Moldavian Csángós (Tánczos 2011). The process of language change has been significantly influenced by the limitations of linguistic rights which can be explained by the Romanian state's assimilatory minority policy and the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic Church has not provided masses held in Hungarian since 1622, even though the members of the community have expressed their need for this for several times. The local Romanian intellectuals, mainly the representatives of the education system and the church stigmatize the Csángó dialect calling it "korcsitura" (a pejorative expression meaning 'mixture') and emphasizing its contrast to the official Romanian language (Tánczos 1995: 60). This contributes to the Csángós' lack of appreciation towards their native dialect and its preservation. In these circumstances the language shift of the Moldavian Hungarians is easily and rapidly extending.

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Csanád BODÓ

Language socialisation practices in Moldavian bilingual speech communities[1]

1. Introduction

The linguistic situation of the Hungarian-Romanian bilingual speech communities[2] in Moldavia can be generally described by stating that they are undergoing language shift – gradually shifting from the use of the Hungarian language to the use of the Romanian language (Benő–Murádin 2002, Bodó 2004a, 2004b, Pozsony 2002, 2006, Tánczos 2002). The process of language shift is the functional transformation of bilingualism as individual and community response to political, economic and social changes which enhance the usage value of the spreading language as opposed to the receding language in local contexts.

The changes resulting in language shift are usually evaluated by the analyses Of the attitudes towards ethnicities related to the dying and the spreading language (Kulick 1992). The language shift of the Moldavian bilingual communities is also defined by many authors as exchanging Hungarian ethnicity with a Romanian one. In this context, the ethnicity of the members of the

2   The groups called *Csángó* or *Csángó-Hungarian* in the Hungarian scientific and public discourse outside Moldavia are referred to as *Romanian-Hungarian bilingual speech communities from Moldavia* in the article, as the members of the local communities do not use the former as an internal ethnonym, and their attitude towards it as an external ethnonym is not always positive or neutral.

Hungarian-Romanian bilingual speech communities in Moldavia is linked to the issue of language use and language choice based on linguistic ideologies. The use of the Hungarian or Romanian language becomes the index of ethnic (national) identity,[3] and this ideological contrast is what defines the public debate on the linguistic situation in Moldavia. While there is an intensive dispute regarding Hungarian-language education or the introduction of Hungarian-language masses, on the local, national and international level (for an overview, see Pozsony 2006: 229–242), less attention has been paid to the less visible, the so called "everyday" domains of language use. However, research on language shift increasingly intensified the analysis of such a domain in the last two decades; recently the area of language socialisation has been of central importance from the point of view of intergenerational language transmission (Fishman 1991, Fishman ed. 2001), and hence from that of language maintenance or language shift. From this point of view, the main question of the research of language shift and language socialisation is the following: what are the actual interactional practices that result in the growing-up of monolingual speakers in bilingual speech communities (cf. Rindstedt–Aronsson 2002, Gafaranga 2010, 2011)?

In this article I analyse the role of language socialisation within the context of ongoing language shift from the point of view of the linguistic ideologies accompanying the process. Linguistic ideology, as a mediating link between social structures – that is, the phenomena primarily described as "modernization" in Moldavia – and language use, does not determine linguistic behaviour, for instance, in the case of language socialisation[4], but the analysis will show that the ideologies of language choice cannot only be defined in the context of political discourse. Although I do not deny the importance of the debate on the role of the Hungarian language in Moldavia either in the communities' lives or in a larger context, I will rather argue that the use of the Hungarian and Romanian languages can be defined not only as related to the ethnicity of the speakers, but also in relation to other social constructions. Starting from these assumptions, I analyse the role of individual life phases and the importance of the social opposition of adulthood and childhood in language

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3   A further factor in Moldavia, besides ethnic (national) identity is religion (cf. Diaconescu 2008); however, the different identities of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox communities are less often connected to the opposition between the Hungarian and the Romanian languages in the discourse on language variation in Moldavia, than the concept of ethnicity (in order to understand the historical reasons for this, see Barszczewska 2008).

4   As regards linguistic ideologies, it is often emphasised that there is a certain inconsistency between the speakers' actual behaviour and their statements regarding their linguistic practices (Boas 1966, Romaine 1995: 317, Rindstedt–Aronsson 2002: 721).

use. This analysis makes the dissection of the community ideologies linked to language shift through the presentation of the local speaker's language socialisation practices.

In the following, I first present language ideologies in general, and then I offer a diachronic and synchronic description of the bilingual socialisation strategies in Moldavia, based on which I analyse both the changes in and the diversity of language choice. After this, I examine the local characteristics of language socialisation based on the explicit and implicit linguistic ideologies. The data and quotations used originate partly from semi-structured interviews conducted between 2001 and 2005 in 14 locations in Moldavia on language use patterns, aiming to survey language shift from Hungarian to Romanian, and partly from interviews recorded during the follow-up research conducted between 2005 and 2007 for the Atlas of the Moldavian Csángó Dialect (Gálffy–Márton–Szabó T. 1991).

2. Linguistic ideologies

In a very broad sense, linguistic ideology could be defined as the way we think about language (Seargeant 2009); according to the definition of Silverstein, language ideologies are "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein 1979: 193). Besides this programmatic definition of the research area containing the category of opinions rationalizing linguistic experience (Woolard 1998, Kroskrity 2004), we can identify two further elements of the definition of linguistic ideologies: they are collective and universal. Individual opinions, beliefs, thoughts about language, dialects, linguistic phenomena are not ideologies by themselves; these opinions become linguistic ideologies as they are formulated universally, being accepted by the community (Irvine–Gal 2000), otherwise they remain opinions the research of which is undertaken by the analysis of linguistic attitudes. However, "universality" does not necessarily mean that linguistic ideologies absolutely or substantially define the borders of public opinion about language. Ideologies may be hegemonic, but beside "ruling" ideologies, ideologies that are opposed to them, or even anti-hegemonic ideologies may also appear (Blommaert 2005). The former ones stand opposed to the ruling ideologies by challenging their statements, while the latter question the bases of hegemonic ideology. It is important to note, that oppositional and anti-hegemonic ideologies are also collective in nature.

In the following analysis, I focus on the difference between two types of ideologies, the explicit and implicit ones. The differentiation between these

two levels of linguistic ideologies is a categorization emphasizing not only the analysis of the explicit metalinguistic and metapragmatic statements of the speakers, but also the importance of linguistic ideologies void of "discursive consciousness" (Kroskrity 1998: 117) present in the practices and contexts of language use (Tsitsipis 2003). The empirical analysis of the explicit layer of linguistic ideologies has so far shown a lot more important results than the analysis of implicit linguistic ideologies (regarding the reasons for this see Tsitsipis 2003: 542–543). At the same time the analyses done so far have pointed out the fact that these two types of ideologies may bear mutually independent meanings. The importance of the differentiation between the two types is shown in the ideologies of the Hungarian-Romanian bilingual speech communities in Moldavia: the practice of language socialisation in Moldavia cannot be interpreted only by the explicit layer of speaker beliefs, the interpretations have to include the implicit linguistic ideologies of the speakers as well. However, before dealing with the analysis of the ideologies on language socialisation, it is necessary to present the practice of language socialisation according to the diachronic and synchronic distribution of habitual language choice patterns.

3. Bilingual socialisation in Moldavia

As defined by Schiffelin and Ochs, language socialisation covers two large areas: "socialization through the use of language" and "socialization to use language" (Schiffelin–Ochs 1986: 163). We will see below that these two areas are closely linked in the case of linguistic ideologies in Moldavia. Language socialisation is a process not only characterising the early stage of language acquisition, the period of social integration of children, but it is one that accompanies an entire human life, and therefore it is worth differentiating between its different phases (Duranti 2003: 330–331). The sequencing of language socialisation follows the classical division of the socialisation process as conceived by Berger and Luckman, who differentiate between primary and secondary socialisation: "Primary socialisation is the first socialisation an individual undergoes in childhood, through which he becomes a member of society. Secondary socialisation is any subsequent process that inducts an already socialised individual into new sectors of the objective world of his society" (Berger–Luckmann 1966: 150–151). This division is also applicable to language socialisation in the way that the former is the initial phase of language acquisition, in which the family (parental) model is determinative. During secondary socialisation peer groups also play an important part, and this

is the phase when the speakers meet community and institutional language use (school, church, workplace, etc.).

In order to proceed with the analysis, I separate the two periods of secondary socialisation: socialisation during the school years and the socialisation phase of young adults after leaving school. The importance of this differentiation in Moldavia lies in the fact that young adults mostly do not continue their studies after finishing compulsory education, but they remain in the local community, and become members of the adult community. These young people acquire the models of adult language use during this stage.

The transformation of language socialisation in the bilingual speech communities in Moldavia as a change in progress can be evaluated as being both a diachronic and a synchronic phenomenon. From a historical point of view, the language of primary socialisation has changed; it used to be Hungarian in general, and now it is turning to be Romanian – the process started at different points in time in different communities, but in some speech communities it became widespread rather quickly. At the same time it is also worth mentioning that bilingualism had already been widespread in later phases of language socialisation, so functional bilingualism existed on the level of the speech community. This distribution is illustrated by the practice called "traditionally bilingual" indicated in the first row of Table 1.

Table 1. Language socialisation practices in Moldavia

Socialisation practices		The stages of language socialisation		
		Primary	**secondary (during school years)**	**secondary (after school years)**
1.	Traditional bilingual	Hungarian	Hungarian/ Romanian	Hungarian/ Romanian
2.1.	Delayed (early)	Romanian	Hungarian/ Romanian	Hungarian/ Romanian
2.2.	Delayed (late)	Romanian	Romanian	Hungarian/ Romanian
3.	Romanian monolingual	Romanian	Romanian	Romanian

Besides the changes in historically interpretable language socialisation practices, the recent variability of these practices in the community is also worth noticing. I present this variation – similar to the discussion of language shift – according to the differences in the linguistic codes used in the speaker

socialisation stages. Therefore, I differentiate four kinds of socialisation practices in the examined communities as shown in Table 1.

As opposed to the traditional pattern presented in line 1, primary language socialisation is carried out in Romanian in the following three types of practice. Nevertheless, individual bilingualism continues to appear in numerous speech communities when children enter successive phases of their secondary language socialisation. I call this phenomenon delayed second (i.e. Hungarian) language socialisation (Bodó 2004a, 2004b) that appears after the acquisition of the Romanian language, which has already become the language of primary language socialisation. In the first phase of delayed second language socialisation (see line 2.1 of the table), the parents only use Romanian in speaking to their children, so this language becomes the vernacular of the child, but later on, in their peer group, the children also acquire the local Hungarian dialect from their mates socialised according to the first strategy. In the first stage of delayed second language socialisation, the motivation of the earlier Romanian monolingual speakers to become bilingual lies in the fact that the speakers of the peer group socialised in a different setting use the local Hungarian dialect much more frequently than the Romanian language. The typical speech situations of acquiring the Hungarian language are identified in interview fragment (1) by a young informant who used to be a Romanian monolingual.

(1) Somoska/Şomuşca HJ & TE 6 (A: 20-year-old woman, B: fieldworker)[5]

5   The identification code of the interviews is: the Hungarian and Romanian name of the settlements, then the monograms of the researching linguist(s) in brackets and the number of the interview made in that community. (The interviews recorded digitally or on tape can be found in the Geolinguistic Laboratory at the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, see http://geolingua.elte.hu.) Other symbols applied (besides the indication of fragments in Romanian in bold throughout the transcription of the texts) are:

A, B, C   speakers
  [ ]   overlap - beginning and end
  < >   transcriber's comment, nonvocal noise
  -    self-interruption
  /   latching (no pause between speaker turns)
  ööö   hesitation (marked depending on duration and quality) [*er* in English translations]
  #   unintelligible syllable

The texts are given by simplified phonetic transcription.

1   A   *az iskolában románul beszéltem. az iskolába es kicsit, de máj mult [...] játszodtam, igaz, az*
I spoke Romanian at school. Also at school a little <i.e. she spoke Hungarian>, but more [...]

2   *útba, s tanál- halltam én beszédeket a kölköktűl. egyik a- szovot, másikat, s úgy tanultam meg.*
I played, it's true, in the street, and I heard the speeches from the kids, one word after the

3   *hamar bévettem én fejembe.*
other, and this is how I learnt it. I quickly took it in my head.

4   B   *hány éves voltál, mikor megtanultál magyarul? kicsike, egész kicsinyke?*
How old were you when you learnt Hungarian? Little, very little?

5   A   *voltam egy öt esztendős.*
I was around five years old.

The respondent in the interview fragment acquired the local Hungarian dialect when interactions with her peer group became frequent, and their importance grew – as compared to the language model of the parents. The typical location of secondary socialisation in Moldavia is the "street" mentioned in line 2 of the interview fragment, and the typical actors of the process are the children giving a language use model who, besides Romanian use the local Hungarian dialect while they "are playing" (line 1) together. This socialisation practice has also been identified by Vilmos Tánczos, who observed the phenomena in the first part of the 1990s: "the children taught Romanian in the family pick up the local Hungarian dialect only as it were «casually», in the street" (Tánczos, n.d. 17, cf. Tánczos 2002: 130). The description may be regarded valid with the specification that instead of being "casual", the bilingual language use norms of the peer group support active use of the local Hungarian dialect for the speakers who had formerly been brought up as Romanian monolinguals.

This type of the speakers' becoming active bilinguals can still be categorized as "normal" intergenerational language transmission, which is defined by Thomason and Kaufman in the following way: "a language is passed on from parent generation to child generation and/or via peer group from immediately older to immediately younger" (Thomason–Kaufman 1988: 9–10). On the other hand, the next type of delayed secondary language socialisation (see line 2.2 of the table) qualitatively differs from the cases when the children learn the Hungarian dialect from their parents or from older speakers.

The next stage of changes in language use practices is also characterized by Romanian primary language socialisation, which becomes general on the community level. Therefore the unmarked code becomes Romanian in the peer group entering the early phase of secondary language socialisation. At the same time, Hungarian also plays a role in the teenagers' repertoire: the speakers entering the later stage of secondary language socialisation start to use the local Hungarian dialect actively during more frequent linguistic interactions with speakers who are much older then themselves – and who had acquired the Hungarian language within the traditional practice. The second phase of the delayed second language socialisation does not belong to the "normal" cases of language acquisition any more; we can find only a few examples to it in "natural" societal bilingual situations outside the speech communities in Moldavia.[6] The phenomenon does not apply to all speech communities and their members, but according to our analyses this special model of language socialisation is believed to be widespread among the bilingual Moldavian informants.

We do not have data on the correspondence between language shift and the delayed second language socialisation of the Hungarian-Romanian bilin-

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6   The situation of the Bodo language spoken in the eastern part of India, in the Assam province, could possibly be classified in the same category as described by Annamalai (Annamalai 1998). The speakers of this language either do not completely acquire the traditional language of their community in childhood, or they stop using it when they move from the villages into the cities, and they switch to the use of the Assani language. However, many of them change their language use in a later stage of their lives, following their return to their village, when they start a political activity in favour of their native community. Annamalai does not deal with the question to what extent this phenomenon could be regarded as a communal change, he only attracts attention to the fact that the language choice of the speakers may also change cyclically (due to language-political considerations). The language use processes of the Aboriginal minority groups from Northern-Australia researched by Patrick McConvell stand much closer to the case of the Moldavian communities. McConvell writes the following about the Gurindji–Kriol bilingual speech communities: "It is known that many Aboriginal groups either have or had a distinct 'Baby Talk' variety of the language that was used to address children sometimes up to the age of seven or eight. Where it is now customary for older people to address children in Kriol, the new language, as among the Gurindji and Kija, one could speculate that Kriol has taken on the functional role that the Baby Talk form of the language had before. I have seen examples of Gurindji children who during their school years appeared to talk nothing but Kriol, but who begin to talk more Gurindji in their late teens as they are accepted as members of the adult group" (McConvell 1991: 148). McConvell emphasizes that from such observations one cannot conclude the maintenance of the Gurindji language, but the phenomenon could be interpreted as a cyclic process interrupting the linearity of language shift (l. c.).

gual speech communities, as the latter phenomenon is relatively new in Moldavia. This hypothesis can be supported by the fact that the speakers involved in the second stage of delayed language acquisition (2.2) use Romanian almost exclusively, so future generations will be able to get into linguistic contact with fewer and fewer elderly speakers who mostly speak Hungarian in the adult community.

Nowadays, most of the speech communities envisaged by us are characterised by the fact that the three language socialisation patterns are closely related to the age group of the speakers. Although some communities have switched from the traditional pattern to the practice of Romanian monolingual primary socialisation in a relatively short time, the start of this process differs from community to community even by decades. Thus a general description of the language socialisation of speaker generations is possible only within a wide range of age limits. Let us focus on the example of a community in which this change started some 20-30 years ago. In this case, the speaker generations can be characterised in the following way: the majority of the speakers born before or at an early stage of the change acquired the two languages of the community according to the traditional socialisation model. Speakers in their twenties first learnt Romanian, then, Hungarian according to the delayed secondary Hungarian language socialisation model. Teenagers mostly follow the practice of bilingual socialisation in which the acquisition of the Hungarian dialect is postponed to the later phase of secondary socialisation after leaving school. It is worth mentioning here, that in the villages of Moldavia – structured much like farmer communities mainly based on agriculture – the socialisation of the individual after the school years, characterised by the slackening of the intensity of the relationships with peers and the more frequent contact with elderly members of the community, may start much earlier, in one's teens, as compared to developed industrial societies.

4. Linguistic ideologies in Moldavia

So far, the analysis presented the rearrangement of the linguistic repertoire of the community based on the differences of socialisation practices shown in Table 1. We will discuss the motivations of the changes in the socialisation models below. These motivations, on the one hand, form the Romanian monolingual primary socialisation practice, on the other hand, they make the delayed acquisition of the traditional Hungarian dialect of the communities possible.

The analysis revealing the social meaning of delayed second language socialisation could be successful in relation with the analysis of the linguistic ideologies related to the Romanian and the Hungarian language. When asking the interviewees why they only spoke Romanian to their children in the community, our respondents usually answered according to the following three categories (see Table 2): **1.** in a *modernizált* ("modernized")[7] world they need the Romanian language as opposed to the traditional lifestyle, where the knowledge of the Hungarian language used to be important. **2.** The language of the wider environment of the speakers (city offices, institutions, bigger stores, hospitals etc.) is Romanian. **3.** From these the speakers primarily emphasize the role of the school in the local context, and they consider the early acquisition of the majority language, taking into consideration the school progress of the children (see also Pozsony 2006: 182, Tánczos 2002). In the following I will call these arguments the linguistic ideology of *elromanizálódás* ("Romanization"; for the term see below), i.e. identification with the processes of the wider society. *Romanization* rationalises the linguistic experience – the use of the Romanian language becoming more frequent in the community – for the local speakers by the social-economic-cultural modernization initiated by actors independent from and thus, strange for them.

Table 2. Values linked to the Romanian and the Hungarian languages in Moldavia

	Romanian	**Hungarian**
1. lifestyle	modern	traditional
2. environment	wider society	local society
3. local language setting	school	community
4. ways of acquisition	conscious, planned	spontaneous
5. model speakers	caregivers (parents)	adult speakers
6. activity	learning	farming
7. speaker's age	child	adult

Besides the ideologies of *Romanization*, the speakers have formulated two further opinions about language socialisation, in which, as opposed to the previous cases, the local individuals also appear as the agents of the linguistic change from Hungarian to Romanian when addressing a child: **4.** Romanian language use is present in primary socialisation due to conscious parental de-

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7   I quote the elements of the local Hungarian dialect in Italic, identical with the transcription practice of the texts.

cision, which serves the easing of the social mobility of the child, while they think the Hungarian language can also be acquired without a parental model: *a gyerek úgyes megtanul magyarul* ("the child learns Hungarian anyway"), *ha nem akarja es, megtanul* ("he learns willing or not") – the source of both quotations is Bahána/Bahna. According to this opinion, the change of the primary socialisation code does not alter the distribution of the linguistic repertoire in the community. **5.** The model speakers in language acquisition are the caregivers (parents) – irrespectively of the stage of language and socialisation –, but in the case of the Hungarian language other adults also play a role.

The linguistic ideologies identified above are not unique, similar opinions have been presented in numerous communities concerned with language shift. The speakers' attitude to lifestyle differences, for instance, can be interpreted in models of language shift where upwards social mobility is related to the language of the majority, the variety of the language repertoire of the speech community with overt prestige (see for instance Gal 1979). Similarly, the opinion about the spontaneous survival of the dying language is also widely known in communities with ongoing language shift (for further references see Garrett–Baquedano-López 2002: 354, Rindstedt–Aronsson 2002: 739).

Very often these opinions are analytically related to the concept of ethnicity: in this case the ethnic group of the majority is associated with positive values such as modernization, the wider (typically urban) environment providing better and more various possibilities to individuals, the mobility offered by the institutional system of the state, which can be planned in models of consciously attainable careers. On the contrary, the minority ethnic group is associated with traditional and less consciously realised lifestyles within the local community.

The power of the dominant language ideologies may play a role in the fact that the Moldavian speakers do not interpret the relationship between the use of the local Hungarian language and ethnicity on the level of explicit opinions. Although several respondents mention in the interviews – when referring to the dominant discourses of the Romanian-speaking wider society –, that *el-romanizálódott a világ* ("everything has been Romanized"), but they do not establish a direct contact between the use of the Hungarian language and the Hungarian ethnicity, and they do not connect the recession of the language to the change in ethnic relations. This – besides the effects of the dominant ideology – may be related to the fact that it is not Hungarian monolingualism that is opposed to Romanian monolingualism for the adult speakers: the everyday experience of the speakers is that they face bilingualism both on the individual and community level. This practice appears as opposed to the recently emerging Romanian monolingualism and not to Hungarian monolin-

gualism, only present peripherally and at an individual level. Consequently, the local practice of language choice cannot be translated into the opposition between the dominant majority ideology present in explicit opinions and the traditional lifestyle, cultural identity and values; this dichotomy is neutralized by the emerging bilingualism in the process of late second language socialisation of the generations growing up. This bilingualism recently spread on an individual and group level questions the hegemony of the linguistic ideology supporting Romanian monolingualism, in the language use practice.

However, the description of the speakers' opinions explicitly uttered in the interviews is not enough for the analysis of the language use practice. In order to discover this, it is also essential to identify the implicit linguistic ideologies, which may assign a different social meaning from the contents of the explicit opinions related to the language varieties constituting the language repertoire of the community. I contrast two interview fragments in order to identify implicit linguistic ideologies. Both texts are characterized by the fact that the respondents evoke the language use practice which they consider characteristic to the stage of the language socialisation in question. The two quotations present the practice of language socialisation thematically as well, but in order to examine the implicit linguistic ideologies it is more important to analyse the discursive elements not directly referring to language use.

The first quotation was recorded in Gyoszény (Gioseni), where Romanian language socialisation has become widespread in the last 15-20 years. The interview fragment is about the difficulties and strategies of Romanian language acquisition; during the discussion, the informant evokes the typical practice of Romanian language socialisation by codeswitching – marked by the text in bold:

(2) Gyoszény/Gioseni ICs & RSz 1 (A: 78-year-old woman, B: fieldworker, C: 67-year-old woman)

1	A	*s oláh is nehez tanulni, ha valaki nem tudott oláhul kicsikén, nem tud most is, nem birja/* It's difficult to learn Romanian, if somebody hadn't learnt it when they were little, they can't.
2	B	*/no de hogy ne tudjon oláhul?* But how not to know Romanian?
3	A	*ne, most tanúlnak, de r- régen nem.* No, they learn now, but they didn't in the past.
4	B	*nem? akkor hol tanul*[*tak meg?*] Didn't they? Then where did they start to learn?

5 A [*itt hond,*] *hond, elé, mar aki, hallottam, tanísák kicsi korátol, de ak-*
kor nem, há, én, mikor én
At home, at home. I heard some are taught since a young age,
but then not, well, when I was
6 *kicsike vótam,* [*máma tanyítatt a ####*]
little mum taught the...
7 C [*most ee taníssák*] *románul, ki mikor beszilget,* «**hai să-ți dau**
mâncare, hai așa, fi cuminte»,
Nowdays they teach Romanian, when they speak, «**come, let
me feed you, come, behave**»,
8 *hazunott öö tanyíssák.*
at home er they teach it.

The quotation is about the difficulties and strategies of the acquisition of the Romanian language (locally called *oláh*). Speaker A, the older respondent opposes the earlier language practice with the present one in lines 5–6, to which speaker C, the other respondent evokes the typical practice of Romanian language socialisation by codeswitching in line 7. This metaphoric codeswitching presents the relation between the actual language use of the speaker and the functional distribution of the language repertoire of the community: the Romanian fragment is part of the *motherese* called by Ferguson (1964) as "simplified register" (cf. Snow 1972, Snow–Ferguson 1977), which is typical of the modified language use of the caregiver (parent) in the communication with the young child.

The other quotation was recorded in Bukila (Buchila); the 17-year-old respondent speaks about the practice of delayed second language socialisation formulating statements about his future linguistic practice when the interviewer asks him how he is going to speak with his future children.

(3) Bukila/Buchila HJ & TE 10 (A, B: fieldworkers, C: 17-year-old boy)

1 A *ha te románul beszélsz vele, akkor honnan tanú meg magyarú?*
If you speak Romanian to them <i.e. your future children>,
where are they going to learn
Hungarian from?
2 B *megtanul, mikor nagyobbat nő.*
They will learn when they grow older.
3 C *de kitől?*
Who from?
4 B *mind csak töllünk.*
Also from us.

6	C	*tőletek. na de hát magyarú beszész velük vagy románul?*
		From you. But then you will speak to them Hungarian or Romanian?
7	B	*hamarább, mikor kicsike, oláhul, aztán magyarul: «mënj ki ez erdőbe, hozd e fát, mënj ki*
		Earlier, when little child, in Romanian, later in Hungarian: «go out in the forest, bring some wood,
8		*szekervel, vágd le e fát, hozd bë». Szoal mind csak ugy.*
		go out with the cart, cut the tree, bring it in». So, like this.
9	C	*s mért nem beszétek má magyaru, miko kicsik, akkor is?*
		And why don't you speak Hungarian also when they are little?
10	B	*me nem tanul, oszt ez iskulába nem tud.*
		'cause they don't learn, and they dunno at school.

The respondent names the successive strategies of language use applied in socialisation in line 7 of interview fragment (3) – definitely, referring to the practice of his community ("earlier, when little child, in Romanian, later in Hungarian"). Besides this, he also mentions the reason discussed above for the acquisition of the Romanian language: the parents speak in Romanian to the children in the primary language socialisation, because otherwise "they don't learn, and they dunno at school" (line 10). At the same time, he does not explicitly state the contexts of Hungarian language use, he only refers to them in lines 7–8. This reference appears as a quotation, which can be opposed to the similar discursive method of the interview fragment (2), the switch to Romanian in line 7. As opposed to the quoted Romanian motherese register, the Hungarian text of the interview fragment from Bukila evokes the world of physical work (in this case, tree chopping). We could quote similar fragments from numerous interviews, in which the speakers use the typical directives of community work to exemplify the second stage of delayed second language socialisation. Nevertheless, the functional relationship between these activities – chores from around the house or from the household or agricultural jobs – and the local Hungarian dialect does not appear in the explicit linguistic ideologies of the speakers.

The language choice of the communication maintained by adult community members with the teenagers can be interpreted by means of the implicit linguistic ideologies presented in the interview fragment from Bukila quoted as the last example. The adult speakers also use the Hungarian language in the teenagers' "late" second language socialisation, because at this age they are regarded as adults, as people inducible into the world of work by the community, with whom it is adequate to use the linguistic code specific

to typical communal activities, that is, the bilingual practice maintained by the Romanian language and the local Hungarian dialect, which also involves codeswitching between them.

Leaving school has an important role in the process of change regarding one's place occupied in the community: as one of the employees of the education programme of the most important local civil organization, the Association of Csángó-Hungarians from Moldavia (Moldvai Csángómagyarok Szövetsége) says, the children start speaking Hungarian after they *levetkezik az iskolát* ("undress school"). This change is closely related to the role of young adults who finish compulsory education, but do not study in higher education play in their families and in the community: after acquiring the dominant discourse defined by their external environment, the youngsters can partake in the community activities as adults, and no longer as passive recipients – this drawing forth linguistic consequences, as well. The implicit linguistic ideologies of the community identify the Hungarian language as the linguistic code of the adults in the community – but it would be more accurate to say it is one of the codes of the adult speakers, as opposed to the monolingualism of the teenagers and the children. The Hungarian-Romanian bilingualism of the adult community, thus, creates the possibility of the language choice practice to emerge in the transitional space between the opposite poles of traditional and modern, local and global, native and foreign etc. Moldavian bilingualism is opposed to or antihegemonically independent from the dichotomy of the dominant language ideology of the majority and traditional lifestyle, cultural identity and values as reflected in explicit beliefs; therefore, it can create – even in this transitional space – new meanings related to the local practices of the community activities.

5. Summary

The language shift from Hungarian-Romanian bilingualism to Romanian monolingualism is not a linear process in Moldavia. The ideologies related to it cannot be interpreted exclusively as change of ethnicity, they are linked to other social constructions as well. My analysis has shown that the language socialisation ideologies of the Hungarian-Romanian bilingual speech communities in Moldavia are paradoxical: on the one hand, they are linked to *Romanization*, and as such, they advocate Romanian monolingualism, on the other hand, they also endorse the maintenance of local bilingualism. The antagonism is also present in the language use practice: in the Romanian monolingual socialisation of the children on the one hand, and in the delayed second (Hungarian) language socialisation on the other.

This antagonism present in linguistic ideologies and features of the local models of language socialisation cannot be interpreted based on explicit layers of linguistic ideologies on the elements of the language repertoire, their acquisition, values and use. In order to understand this, it is also necessary to dismantle the implicit linguistic ideologies of the speakers, which appear in methods, such as, for instance, the discursive evocation of the linguistic phenomena of the socialisation practice by codeswitching or the lack of it. These implicit ideologies are manifested in comparison with the ideology of *Romanization* interpreting the experience of the use of the local Hungarian dialect and the Romanian language as the antagonism between traditional and modern, local and global, native and foreign. In the practice of language socialisation, the speakers (re)define the experience of bilingualism as opposed to or independent from the ideology of *Romanization.* My analysis, which illustrated this process of definition, presented the opinions on linguistic behaviour linked to particular stages of individual life, but further examinations are required in order to reveal the linguistic aspects of other relevant concepts such as institutional knowledge, its place in the community, traditional farming jobs or gender relations.

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Classifications of Hungarian dialects in Moldavia

1. Introduction[1]

This paper is about the classifications of the Hungarian dialects as spoken in the Moldavian region of Romania. Four different approaches will be discussed: firstly, the traditional classification based on the isoglosses of selected linguistic features. In this framework dialects are demarcated by bundles of arbitrarily selected isoglosses. Secondly, it will be illustrated that dialect areas, broadly comparable to, but far more differentiated than those of the traditional approach, can be outlined with the help of dialectometry as a tool for measuring dialect distances between language varieties. Thirdly, results of dialectometry will be compared with the speakers' beliefs on the geographical extent of their respective dialect area. The aim of this comparison is to validate the dialectometric method with subjective evaluation of linguistic similarity. Finally, the paper attempts to relate the former two approaches to speaker attitudes; these will be discussed concerning the aesthetic value of the Hungarian dialects in Moldavia. We carry out this analysis to see the interplay between objective measurements and subjective beliefs on linguistic similarity, as well as aesthetic factors influencing dialect identity in a highly heterogeneous language area.

The article is organized as follows: after presenting the databases used for the analysis (Section 2), traditional approaches will be discussed in Section 3. Sections 4 and 5 focus on the main three approaches of this study for dialect categorization, i. e. dialectometry (Section 4), as well as subjective evaluation of linguistic similarity and aesthetic categorization of dialects. Section 6 then summarizes the results with regard to the Moldavian speakers' Hungarian dialect identity.

2. The data

Two databases will be used in this study: firstly, the corpus of the Moldavian Csángó Dialect Atlas (hereafter referred to as MCsDA), gathered between 1949 and 1964 in 44 settlements (Gálffy–Márton–Szabó eds. 1991). This atlas, containing 1049 phonetic, morphological, as well as syntactic maps, has been digitized in the 2000s (cf. Bodó–Vargha 2007). Secondly, data come from the re-study of the MCsDA, the Moldavian Diachronic Hungarian Language Atlas (referred to henceforth as MDHLA). The latter project, started in 2005, includes not only the follow-up study of language use as documented in the 1950s and 1960s and recent years, but also a sociolinguistic module on the speakers' attitudes, beliefs on language use, bilingualism, and the varieties of their linguistic repertoire. Beside these, language choice patterns have been investigated in order to achieve a better understanding of the ongoing language shift process from Hungarian to Romanian in Moldavia.

Until now, 408 speakers have been sampled living in 26 settlements for the MDHLA project. The settlements, which we have chosen for sampling, are partially identical to those of the former atlas, but there are two minor differences between the projects. On the one hand, the settlements where language shift had reached its end point before the second project started were not been selected for the follow-up study. Practically, it means that we have found only monolingual speakers of Romanian in these communities. On the second hand, the density of settlement sampling has been altered in the MDHLA project; we have chosen more settlements in the valley of the Szeret (Siret) and Tatros (Trotuș) than in the earlier project. In these areas, the Hungarian-speaking population lives in homogeneously bilingual micro-regions with a dense settlement structure which makes these areas more suited for investigating spatial aspects of language contact and change. Our analysis, however, focuses on only sociolinguistic results of the MDHLA project (see also the articles by Bodó and Heltai, in this volume), because the processing of the phonetic, morphological and syntactic data is still in progress.

3. Traditional approaches

Traditional dialect classification often applies isoglosses as a means of dividing language areas into dialects. The use of isoglosses is dependent on the quality and quantity of data available on the language varieties. No wonder that the first comprehensive categorization has been provided based on the then ongoing work of the MCsDA. In this classification, Szabó T. divided the Moldavian dialects into three broad groups as follows (Szabó T. 1959):

1. Northern Csángó dialects spoken around the town Románvásár (Roman):[2] Szabófalva (Săbăoani), Kelgyest (Pildeşti), Balusest (Băluşeşti), Ploszkucény (Ploscuţeni)
2. Southern Csángó dialects spoken around the municipal town Bákó (Bacău): Bogdánfalva (Valea Seacă), Nagypatak (Valea Mare), Trunk (Galbeni), Szeketura (Pădureni), Gyoszény (Gioseni).
3. Székely Csángó dialects spoken along the Szeret (Siret), Tatros (Trotuş) and Tázló (Tazlău) rivers: all other settlements presented in Map 1 (see the Appendix for the codes of the map).
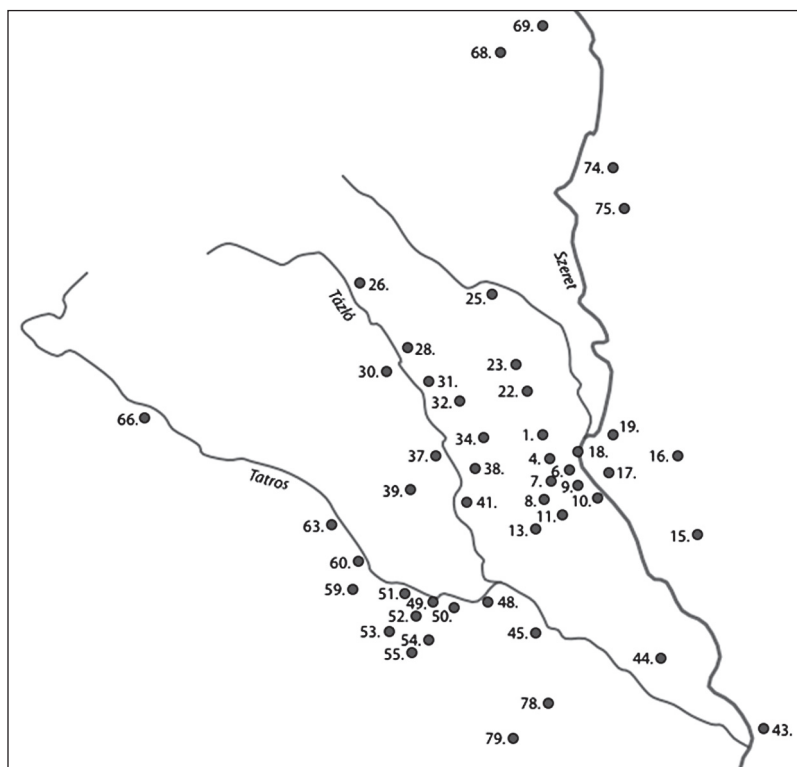
Map 1. Locations sampled in the MCsDA and the MDHLA projects

2   Hungarian forms of place and river names are used throughout this article. An appendix is provided at the end of the article giving Romanian variants of place names. Concerning river names and a few town names, when Hungarian variants are first mentioned, Romanian forms are given in parentheses.

The author notes that there are a few transitional language varieties characterized by linguistic features of both the Southern Csángó and the Székely Csángó dialect group. He enumerates the dialect of Gyoszény, ascribed to the Southern Csángó group, but showing linguistic features typical of the Székely Csángó dialects, as well as that of Kákova (Faraoani), Klézse (Cleja) and Lujzikalagor (Luizi-Călugăra), which carry features of Southern Csángó, although they have been characterized as belonging to the Székely Csángó dialects. While the linguistic indicators are not mentioned for this classification, an attempt can be made to identify the main isoglosses dividing the Southern Csángó and Székely Csángó dialect group. It seems to be the so-called *szelypelés* 'lisping' (Gálffy 1964a: 31–32), a stereotypical feature of the former group that distinguishes it from the adjacent Székely dialects. This phenomenon, also present in the Northern Csángó group, is the difference in the place and/or manner of articulation of some consonants, such as dialectal *c, z, sz* versus common Hungarian (including Székely Csángó) *cs, zs, s*; e. g. the Northern or Southern Csángó *kici* 'small' vs. Székely Csángó *kicsi* 'ibid.', Northern or Southern Csángó *zák* 'bag' vs. Székely Csángó *zsák* 'ibid.', Northern or Southern Csángó *szok* 'many' vs. Székely Csángó *sok* 'ibid.' These representative isoglosses reflect settlement history (for the use of community histories in drawing dialect boundaries cf. Kretzschmar 2006); according to Benkő (1990), the earlier immigrants, who had settled in Moldavia at the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century, have spoken 'lisping' language varieties of their Hungarian-speaking source communities in the Central regions of Transylvania, and present-day Northern and Southern Csángó dialects descend from them. However, these dialects are used by only a minority of the Hungarian-Romanian bilingual population in Moldavia. The vast majority are speakers of non-'lisping' Székely dialects, as a result of immigration from the east-most regions of Transylvania populated by Hungarian-speaking Székelys. These Székely immigrants mostly settled in Moldavia in the 18th and 19th century, and as we will see below, they mixed up with the speakers of the Southern Csángó dialects in the valley of the river Szeret (cf. Baker 1997, Benő–Murádin 2002).

The very first categorization has been refined by including a detailed analysis of additional phonetic and morphological features as well as described in the Atlas (cf. Gálffy 1964a, 1964b, 1965; Márton 1974, Murádin 1965). Based on these phenomena, Gálffy states that there were only two main Hungarian dialects in Moldavia; the Northern Csángó and the Székely group. The previously mentioned Southern Csángó group formed a transition zone between the Northern Csángó and the Székely dialects (Gálffy 1964a: 33, 1965: 267–269).

While the linguistic distinctness was questioned in the case of the Southern Csángó dialect group, being partially similar to the Székely dialects, the latter group has been regarded as a more or less homogeneous entity in this classification. Recently, an attempt has been made to divide the Székely dialects into subgroups. Dezső Juhász suggested in his dialect categorization of the Hungarian language, that there seem to be three different subgroups in the Moldavian Székely dialect area (Juhász 2001: 308). These are the followings:

1. Western Moldavian Székely area between Lészped (Lespezi) and Balanyásza (Bălăneasa)
2. Southern Moldavian Székely area between Pakura (Păcurile) and Szászkút (Sascut)
3. Central Moldavian Székely area neighboring the settlements of the Southern Csángós.

More recently, János Péntek has proposed that a new classification can be achieved in the central region of the Moldavian Hungarian dialect area by using all the data of the MCsDA which show geographic variation (Péntek 2006). His focus is on word geography; the analysis of 52 maps showing variations on the word level resulted in a scale from the dialect characterized by the most 'Csángó' – i. e. not Székely – words to the dialects having less and less Csángó words. The scale contains 12 settlements, with the same words in more than half of the 52 maps (listed in descending order of concord): Szabófalva (Săbăoani), Kelgyest (Pildeşti), Bogdánfalva (Valea Seacă), Trunk (Galbeni), Ploszkucény (Ploscuţeni), Kákova (Faraoani), Klézse (Cleja), Nagypatak (Valea Mare), Gyoszény (Gioseni), Külsőrekecsin (Fundu Răcăciuni), Balusest (Băluşeşti), and Csík (Ciucani). These settlements are immediately followed by Dózsa (Gheorghe Doja), Lujzikalagor (Luizi-Călugăra), Szeketura (Pădureni), and Magyarfalu (Arini). As it can be seen from the list, it contains mainly Northern and Southern Csángó settlements, albeit there are a few villages at the lower end of the scale, which are unequivocally ascribed to the Székely dialect group by former categorizations. These are Külsőrekecsin (Fundu Răcăciuni), Csík (Ciucani), Dózsa (Gheorghe Doja), and Magyarfalu (Arini). As a conclusion Péntek states that there was a dialect area along the river Szeret, differentiated from the Székely dialects. Nevertheless, the former area could be divided, based on the analysis of 30 further maps, into two subgroups, the Northern and the Southern dialect area. This classification was the first attempt to relate linguistic boundaries of Moldavian Hungarian dialects to the complete set of data available to the researcher, although the analysis was limited to lexical variation found in the corpus of the MCsDA.

4. Dialectometry

What we can deduct from the brief presentation of the attempts to classify the Hungarian dialects in Moldavia is that the definition of areas and their boundaries is quite complicated. On the one hand, inhabitants arrived to Moldavia from different regions of Transylvania (and possibly from other nearby regions of Hungary), on the other hand, there is a continual interaction between the initially different dialects. Classical methods aimed at retrieving dialect boundaries are based on the analysis of a few linguistic variables chosen by the researcher, inevitably favouring his preconceptions. Thus classical methods are less objective (see Nerbonne–Heeringa 2010), especially if the number of variables involved is limited. Another problem is – especially in territories where originally different Hungarian dialects are present in the same or neighbouring locations – that there are practically no overlapping isoglosses, which makes it nearly impossible to define dialect boundaries using the traditional methods.

The analysis of aggregate data, called *dialectometry*, makes dialect classification more objective. It aims to abstract a basic pattern from a linguistic atlas seen as a huge empirical database. The term was first used by Jean Séguy who created a map representing dialect distances between the locations of the Linguistic and Ethnographic Atlas of Gascogne (Atlas linguistique et ethnographique de la Gascogne). The linguistic distances were determined by categorical data analysis (1973). Since the first application of such a method, several techniques have been developed (see also Chambers–Trudgill 1998: 137–140, Goebl 2006, Heeringa 2004). Lately the application of the Levenshtein algorithm (a string edit distance measurement) made the automatic comparison of words possible (strings of phonetic symbols) stored in appropriately digitised data sets. When comparing two words we calculate the number of operations needed to transform one string to another. That way we compare map by map the data collected at one location with data collected at other locations. The result of such comparisons is a similarity matrix showing how similar the collected data in one location are to data recorded in all other locations. In other words, linguistic similarity between every pair of locations is expressed by a numerical value or a percentage (for a detailed description of the method see Heeringa 2004, Nerbonne–Heeringa 2010, for its application to Hungarian dialect data see Vargha–Vékás 2009).

The similarity matrix can be mapped using different colours (ranging on a gradation scale e.g. from black to white) as a visualisation in space of the linguistic relations of different dialects. When a location is selected, the stronger the similarities, the warmer (or darker) the colour of other locations presented on the map becomes.

In the present study data from the 1049 maps and 43 locations of the Atlas of the Moldavian Csángó Dialects have been appropriately digitized, then analyzed with the Levenshtein algorithm. In the analysis the original narrow transcriptions were used, diacritical marks were considered separate segments, thus differences in diacritics (signalling slight pronunciation differences) were also taken into account. As data were collected more than fifty years ago, our maps might not reflect the present situation exactly. It would be therefore important in the future to replicate the research with newly collected dialect data and to compare the results. Such a comparison could be fruitful not only for the researchers of Hungarian dialects in Moldavia, but also might have general implications about linguistic variation and change.

Based on the linguistic similarity relations revealed by the dialectometric analysis of the Hungarian dialects in Moldavia, four areas could be outlined. Each location was classified into one of these areas according to the geographic "center of gravity" of the locations with the highest similarity values (in relation to the selected settlement). On map 2 Balusest is selected, and the dark coloured locations represent the linguistically most similar localities (including the geographically distant Ploszkucény [Ploscuțeni]). On maps 3–5, the similarity relations of other locations, deemed representative of their respective dialect area, are shown.
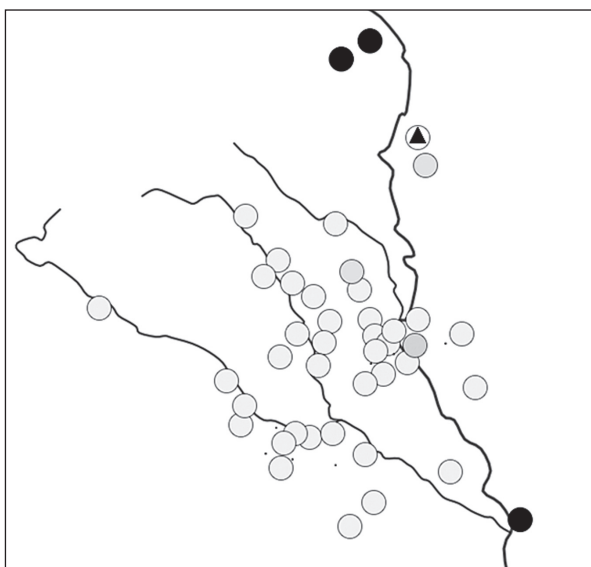
Map 2. The Northern area as shown by linguistic similarity to Balusest (Băluşeşti) (symbolized by the black triangle)

Map 3. The Szeret (Siret) area as shown by linguistic similarity to Trunk (Galbeni) (symbolized by the black triangle)
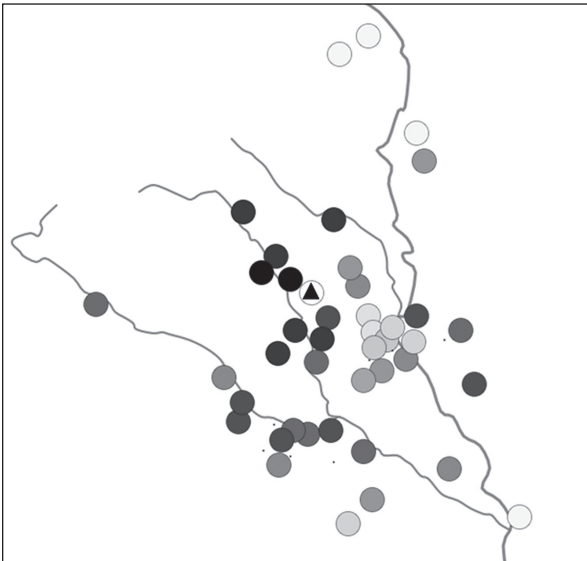
Map 4. The Tázló (Tazlău) area as shown by linguistic similarity to Esztrugár (Strugari) (symbolized by the black triangle)
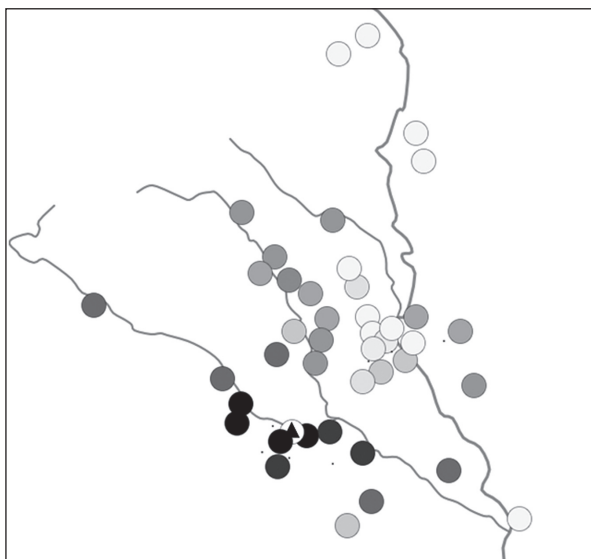
Map 5. The Tatros area as shown by linguistic similarity to the town of Tatros (symbolized by the black triangle)

The four areas are:
1. Northern: Szabófalva (Săbăoani), Kelgyest (Pildeşti), Balusest (Băluşeşti), Ploszkucény (Ploscuţeni).
2. Along the river Szeret (Siret): Bogdánfalva (Valea Seacă), Nagypatak (Valea Mare), Trunk (Galbeni), Klézse (Cleja), Kákova (Faraoani), Külsőrekecsin (Fundu Răcăciuni), Csík (Ciucani), Gyoszény (Gioseni), Dózsa (Gheorghe Doja)
3. Along the brook Tázló (Tazlău) : Pusztina (Pustiana), Frumósza (Frumoasa), Szoloncka (Tărâţa), Szerbek (Floreşti), Esztrugár (Strugari), Gajdár (Coman), Esztufuj (Stufu), Gyidráska (Verşeşti), Balanyásza (Bălăneasa) and a few settlements geographically situated elsewhere, but linguistically related to this area: Szekatura (Pădureni), Lujzikalagor (Luizi Călugăra), Ketris (Chetriş), Lábnik (Vladnic), Lészped (Lespezi), Kalugarén (Călugăreni).
4. Along the river Tatros (Trotuş): Dormánfalva (Dărmăneşti), Pakura (Păcurile), Szalánc (Cireşoaia), Újfalu (Satu Nou), Tatros (Târgu-Trotuş), Gorzafalva (Oituz), Diószeg (Tuta), Onyest (Oneşti), Válészáka (Valea Seacă), Szászkút (Sascut Sat), Prála (Pralea), Vizánta (Vizantea), Csügés (Ciugheş) and one more distant location, nearer to the river Szeret (Siret), Magyarfalu (Arini).

The southern-most location, Vizánta (Vizantea), is mostly related to the locations situated along the river Tatros, even if its similarity relations are relatively feeble compared to the otherwise dialectally more homogeneous group (more detailed data are given in the Appendix). One location, Berzunc-Butukár (Berzunți) (originally two settlements) that is situated between the valley of Tázló (Tazlău) and the valley of Tatros (Trotuș) is linguistically equally similar to both areas.

5. Subjective evaluations of dialects

In the MDHLA project inhabitants of 30 Moldavian settlements were questioned about the places where people speak a similar dialect to theirs in Moldavia. Almost three hundred (299) informants responded to this question. There was a possibility to enumerate several locations in the answer. The answers were compared to the outcome of the dialectometric analysis. In the analysis we also took into consideration the answers given to another related question: "Where is the most beautiful Hungarian dialect in Moldavia spoken?" This question was answered by 243 respondents.

Our hypothesis was that locations enumerated by the respondent would appertain to the same dialect area their settlement belongs to according to dialectometrical analysis (Gooskens and Heeringa [Gooskens–Heeringa 2004] found a broad correspondence between the judgments of dialect speakers and dialectometric distances). We also expected the prestige of the dialects to play a role: the more prestigious a locality, the more frequently it would be named, regardless of the dialect areas.

In the MDHLA project several locations missing from the MCsDA were also sampled. These have been classified, according to the dialectometric assignment of the neighboring dialects to an area, as follows: Somoska and Pokolpatak belong to the area of the valley of Szeret, because they are surrounded by settlements of this micro-region (e. g. Külsőrekecsin/Fundu Răcăciuni, Csík/Ciucan, Klézse/Cleja). Similarly, the village of Újfalu (Satu Nou), assigned to the Tatros (Trotuș) area by dialectometry, is adjacent to the settlements of Szőlőhegy (Pârgărești), Szitás (Nicorești) and Bahána (Bahna) which, therefore, have been regarded as belonging to the same area. Respondents could also name in their answers any settlement where Hungarian is spoken in Moldavia. It means that locations missing from the Atlas could be mentioned as well. These settlements have been classified according to the above scheme. When their neighbouring locations, as in the case of Mária-falva (Lărguța), belong to more than one dialect area (in this particular case

both to area 2 and 3), the answers naming such settlements were not considered in the analysis.

For every location we counted the number of settlements enumerated by the respondents as having a similar dialect, grouping the mentioned places by dialect area. The informants could enumerate as many locations as they wanted to. When calculating the sum of the mentions of one location, a weighted counting was applied: if the location was enumerated first, it was multiplied by one, when it was mentioned second, it was multiplied by 0.9, by 0.8 the ones in the third place and so on. The weighted sum of the mentions of locations by dialect areas is given in Table 1. The first (Northern) area is missing due to the insufficient number of respondents (six informants in Szabófalva/ Săbăoani and three in Kelgyest/Pildeşti). In these two locations only settlements belonging to the same area were mentioned. We also did not take into consideration the answers coming from Vizánta because of its relatively feeble linguistic relations with all other locations from the same dialect area.

Table 1. Sum of the mentions of locations grouped by dialect area in the answers to the question "Where is a similar Hungarian dialect spoken in Moldavia?"

	Mentioned Area 2 localities (valley of Szeret)	Mentioned Area 3 localities (valley of Tázló)	Mentioned Area 4 localities (valley of Tatros)	Sum of mentions
Informants of Area 2 (valley of Szeret)	239.0	16.7	3.1	258.8
Informants of Area 3 (valley of Tázló)	57.9	110.9	9.6	178.4
Informants of Area 4 (valley of Tatros)	1.8	0.3	259.3	261.4
All informants	298.7	127.9	272.0	698.6

In the 4th area (valley of Tatros/Trotuş) respondents named settlements almost exclusively from that particular area. There is a higher but not considerable proportion of the mentions of other areas in the valley of Szeret, while in the case of locations belonging to the 3rd area from the linguistic point of view (valley of Tázló/Tazlău) a greater proportion of the answers name settlements from the 2nd area (valley of Szeret). Data coming from the 2nd and 4th areas confirm our hypothesis that informants would judge those dialects to be similar that are linguistically nearer to theirs according to dialectomerty. But how can

we interpret the answers identifying a different area by the informants of the valley of Tázló/Tazlău?

Based on a more detailed analysis considering every location one by one we can see that among the settlements belonging to the valley of Tázló from the linguistic point of view there are four locations where settlements from the 2nd area are considered to be quite similar: Lujzikalagor (Luizi-Călugăra), Ketris (Chetriș), Lészped (Lespezi) and Gajdár (Coman). Data are given in Table 2.

Table 2. Answers in Lujzikalagor (Luizi-Călugăra), Ketris (Chetriș), Lészped (Lespezi) and Gajdár (Coman) to the question "Where is a similar Hungarian dialect spoken in Moldavia?"

	Mentioned Area 2 localities (valley of Szeret)	Mentioned Area 3 localities (valley of Tázló)	Mentioned Area 4 localities (valley of Tatros)	Sum
Lujzikalagor	22.6	3.9		31.5
Lészped	9.8	20	1.7	31.5
Gajdár	8.1	21	0.8	29.9
Ketris	3.9	2.9		6.8
All	44.4	47.8	2.5	94.7

Lujzikalagor (Luizi-Călugăra) and Ketris (Chetriș) are geographically situated nearer to the valley of Szeret (Siret) than to the valley of Tázló (Tazlău), while Lészped (Lespezi) is located equally far from both dialect areas. Thus findings are compatible with our hypothesis that the answers could be different from the results of dialectometric analysis in case of the settlements that are geographically located closer to a different area. Nevertheless the similarity judgements in Gajdár (Coman) cannot be explained in this way.

Comparing the results to the answers to another related question: "Where is the most beautiful Hungarian dialect in Moldavia spoken?" the distribution of the answers (the naming of the same dialect area the settlement in question belongs to) is more homogeneous. Data are given in Table 3. We did not consider the answers from the northern dialect area, where except for one mention of Trunk in the second place (village situated at the valley of Szeret/Siret) respondents named locations only from the same dialect area. Data collected at Vizánta (Vizantea Mănăstirească) were also omitted from the analysis for reasons explained above. The counting of the answers was made with the same methodology presented above.

Table 3. Answers to the question: "Where is the most beautiful Hungarian dialect in Moldavia spoken?"

	Mentioned Area 1 localities (Northern)	Mentioned Area 2 localities (valley of Szeret)	Mentioned Area 3 localities (valley of Tázló)	Mentioned Area 4 localities (valley of Tatros)	Sum
Informants of Area 2 (valley of Szeret)		97.2	14.5	0.9	112.6
Informants of Area 3 (valley of Tázló)	2	11	96	0.9	109.9
Informants of Area 4 (valley of Tatros)	2	4.7	1	88.3	96
All informants	4	112.9	111.5	90.1	318.5

It seems that in every dialect area informants considered the linguistically similar dialects beautiful. It is also important to state that self-naming is common in almost every settlement: informants usually mention their own dialect first. A more detailed analysis is required in the case of the four locations belonging to the dialect area of the valley of Tázló (Tazlău) where settlements from the 2nd area (valley of Szeret/Siret) are frequently named as having a similar dialect (see Table 2). At Lujzikalagor (Luizi-Călugăra), the only place where another dialect area prevailed in the answers to the first question, self-naming was high (8) and this time only settlements appertaining to the same dialect area were mentioned: Lészped (Lespezi) (2), Pusztina (Pustiana) (1.9), Frumósza (Frumoasa) (0.8). Answers are quite similar in Lészped where the informants mostly judged their own dialect as being the most beautiful in Moldavia (11) and named Pusztina (Pustiana) (2.8) and Lujzikalagor (Luizi-Călugăra) (1) from the same area (while one person mentioned Tatros (Trotuş) at the second place). In the case of Ketris (Chetriş) only 6 informants responded to the question, three of them named Ketris (Chetriş) first and three of them mentioned other locations appertaining to the first and to the second dialect area: Klézse (Cleja), Gyoszény (Gioseni), Szabófalva (Săbăoani). One respondent also mentioned Külsőrekecsin (Fundu Răcăciuni) at the second and Lujzikalagor (Luizi-Călugăra) at the third place. In Gajdár (Coman) Lujzikalagor (Luizi-Călugăra) took the first place (4) and Gajdár (Coman) itself was less popular (2.9), only one other linguistically similar location was named third, Esztufuj (Stufu). Other mentioned locations were taken from other areas: Szabófalva (Săbăoani) (1), Klézse (Cleja) (1), Nagypatak (Valea Mare) (0.9), Kákova (Faraoani) (0.8).

It can be deduced from the results presented above that respondents from locations situated between two dialect areas (Lujzikalagor/Luizi-Călugăra and Lészped/Lespezi) find those dialects more beautiful that came out to be closer to theirs in dialectometry. In Ketris (Chetriş) – a settlement situated geographically nearer to another dialect area than its own– there were only six informants who responded to the question, but they named only one location (Lujzikalagor, third) belonging to the same dialect area. The other locations might have been chosen because of their perceived prestige. Klézse (Cleja) is mentioned in 12 locations (21.7 times in other locations and 9.9 times in Klézse/Cleja itself), it turned out to be the most popular among the settlements named in the answers. Lujzikalagor (Luizi-Călugăra), Külsőrekecsin (Fundu Răcăciuni) and Gyoszény (Gioseni) are also among the most popular localities, they are mentioned in 11, 7 and 6 locations respectively.

In Gajdár (Coman) naming Lujzikalagor (Luizi-Călugăra) first might be explained also by the higher prestige of the latter locality and thus its dialect. Answers to the second question in Gajdár (Coman) follow the same pattern as those presented above for the first question concerning linguistic similarity. The geographic position of this locality, marginal within its dialect area, might play a role in the shaping of the results. Comparing this pattern to the answers in Vizánta (Vizantea Mănăstirească) (a settlement relatively distant from the dialect area it belongs to according to dialectometry), the situation is quite similar. In Vizánta (Vizantea Mănăstirească) only one location was named from the same dialect area, the nearest location, Prála (Pralea) (second), there were two instances of self-naming in the first place, and the other mentioned settlements were taken from other dialect areas: Gyoszény (Gioseni) (1), Klézse (Cleja) (1), Nagypatak (Valea Mare) (0.7), Pusztina (Pustiana) (2), Ketris (Chetriş) (0.8).

Prestige relations might be reflected by the choice of the locations named in the answers to the second question: the more prestigious a dialect, the more often it is considered to be beautiful. The most popular location is Klézse (Cleja), as it was mentioned in 12 settlements, closely followed by Lészped (Lespezi), Lujzikalagor (Luizi-Călugăra) and Pusztina (Pustiana) that were mentioned in 11-11 and in 8 locations respectively. It is also important to note that Szabófalva (Săbăoani) (a town sized locality), which is linguistically distant from all the locations involved in the analysis, was mentioned four times at the first place in three locations: Szőlőhegy (Pârgăreşti), Ketris (Chetriş) and Gajdár (Coman).

6. Conclusions

Dialectometry leads to a new type of classification of Hungarian dialects in Moldavia as opposed to the traditional methods based on isoglosses. Four areas emerged from the analysis: 1. Northern; 2. valley of the river Szeret (Siret); 3. valley of the brook Tázló (Tazlău); 4. valley of the river Tatros (Trotuş). These dialect areas do not correspond entirely to their geographic counterparts, a number of settlements situated geographically nearer to the river Szeret (Siret) being classified, according to dialectometry, in the area named the valley of Tázló (Tazlău).

Answers to the question "Where is a similar Hungarian dialect spoken in Moldavia?" coincide, as a rule, with the dialectometric classification: informants tend to name locations that are in the same dialect area. The geographic position and prestige of the settlements might be also reflected in the answers: in some locations that are situated between two areas (or geographically located far from the central zone of their dialect group) the settlements enumerated by the informants are not necessarily always from the same dialect area. In settlements where the prestige of the local dialect is lower, localities from other dialect areas are named more often.

The aesthetic value of the dialects was measured by the answers to the question: "Where is the most beautiful Hungarian dialect spoken in Moldavia?" Our findings have provided information about the Hungarian dialect identity of Moldavian bilingual speakers. The following generalizations can be drawn from these data: self-naming is common; in general, settlements from the same dialect area are enumerated, even in Lujzikalagor (Luizi-Călugăra) where the informants classified themselves in a different dialect area than which they belong to based on the analysis. One can deduce from the results that in Hungarian-speaking communities language users have a positive attitude towards their own dialect.

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Appendix

Linguistic similarity of Moldavian Hungarian–Romanian bilingual communities (dialectometry)

Hungarian locality name	Romanian locality name	Locality code	Dialect area	Similar localities	Similarity ‰
Bahána	Bahna	54	4		
Balanyásza	Bălăneasa	41	3	38, 39, 34, 31, 52	788, 782, 766, 764, 761
Balusest	Băluşeşti	74	1	68, 69, 43, 17, 23	743, 742, 718, 602, 583
Berzunc-Butukár	Berzunţi	39	3–4	38, 31, 52, 59, 41	796, 788, 787, 783, 782
Bogdánfalva	Valea Seacă	1	2	4, 18, 13, 6, 7	783, 756, 754, 752, 749
Csík	Ciucani	11	2	10, 13, 6, 7, 38	822, 796, 788, 781, 766
Csügés	Chiugeş	66	4	52, 59, 45, 63, 60	813, 811, 809, 808, 799
Diószeg	Tuta	50	4	52, 49, 55, 59, 60	846, 841, 833, 833, 828
Dormánfalva	Dărmăneşti	63	4	66, 59, 45, 60, 52	808, 807, 806, 801, 799
Dózsa	Gheorghe Doja	10	2	11, 13, 6, 7, 38	822, 778, 777, 771, 768
Esztrugár	Strugari	32	3	31, 30, 28, 39, 37	790, 777, 772, 772, 770
Esztufuj	Stufu	38	3	34, 39, 31, 41, 19	806, 796, 792, 788, 774
Frumósza	Frumoasa	26	3	28, 25, 31, 30, 66	813, 796, 796, 794, 773
Gajdár	Coman	34	3	38, 39, 31, 22, 41	806, 771, 770, 769, 766
Gorzafalva	Grozeşti	55	4	50, 49, 52, 59, 60	833, 826, 825, 822, 810
Gyidráska	Verşeşti	37	3	39, 32, 38, 31, 41	781, 770, 767, 763, 752
Gyoszény	Gioseni	17	2	18, 11, 7, 13, 10	736, 731, 726, 726, 725
Kákova (Forrófalva)	Faraoani	6	2	7, 11, 13, 4, 10	795, 788, 786, 781, 777
Kalugarény	Călugăreni	75	3	38, 32, 34, 31, 39	708, 706, 701, 699, 698
Kelgyest	Pildeşti	68	1	69, 74, 43, 17, 23	771, 743, 716, 608, 591
Ketris	Chetriş	19	3	31, 38, 15, 28, 26	775, 774, 769, 767, 767
Klézse	Cleja	7	2	13, 6, 11, 4, 10	804, 795, 781, 774, 771
Külsőrekecsin	Fundu Răcăciuni	13	2	7, 11, 6, 10, 4	804, 796, 786, 778, 774
Lábnik	Vladnic	16	3	28, 25, 31, 15, 19	781, 780, 771, 765, 764
Lészped	Lespezi	25	3	28, 26, 31, 16, 52	803, 796, 792, 780, 778
Lujzikalagor	Luizi-Călugăra	22	3	34, 38, 10, 15, 23	769, 759, 737, 737, 737
Magyarfalu	Arini	15	4	52, 59, 60, 38, 19	783, 779, 775, 770, 766
Nagypatak	Valea Mare	4	2	1, 6, 7, 13, 11	783, 781, 774, 774, 761

Hungarian locality name	Romanian locality name	Locality code	Dialect area	Similar localities	Similarity ‰
Onyest	Oneşti	48	4	52, 59, 50, 45, 49	829, 828, 821, 816, 813
Pakura	Păcurile	60	4	59, 52, 49, 50, 45	839, 836, 831, 828, 823
Ploszkucény	Ploscuţeni	43	1	74, 69, 68, 17, 22	718, 716, 716, 640, 622
Pokolpatak	Valea Mică	9	2		
Prála	Pralea	78	4	49, 45, 52, 50, 60	783, 778, 778, 776, 775
Pusztina	Pustiana	28	3	26, 25, 31, 30, 52	813, 803, 803, 794, 785
Somoska	Şomuşca	8	2		
Szabófalva	Săbăoani	69	1	68, 74, 43, 17, 18	771, 742, 716, 595, 580
Szekatura	Pădureni	23	3	22, 34, 38, 32, 39	737, 724, 716, 704, 704
Szalánc (Templom-falva)	Cireşoaia	59	4	52, 60, 50, 45, 48	851, 839, 833, 828, 828
Szászkút	Sascut-Fântânele	44	4	49, 50, 45, 78, 59	788, 777, 775, 771, 770
Szerbek	Floreşti	31	3	28, 26, 25, 38, 32	803, 796, 792, 792, 790
Szitás	Nicoreşti	53	4		
Szőlőhegy	Pârgăreşti	51	4		
Szoloncka	Tărâţa	30	3	28, 26, 31, 32, 25	794, 794, 785, 777, 768
Tatros	Târgu Trotuş	49	4	50, 60, 52, 59, 55	841, 831, 829, 828, 826
Trunk	Galbeni	18	2	1, 4, 7, 11, 13	756, 744, 744, 738, 736
Újfalu	Satu Nou	52	4	59, 50, 60, 45, 48	851, 846, 836, 831, 829
Válészáka	Valea Seacă	45	4	52, 59, 50, 60, 49	831, 828, 827, 823, 820
Vizánta	Vizantea Mănăstirească	79	4	78, 50, 55, 49, 45	745, 739, 735, 731, 727

János Imre HELTAI

Language shift in Moldavia[*]

1. Hungarian linguistics has dealt with the language and dialects of Moldavian Hungarians a lot and from several points of view. There is the dictionary drawn up in the 20th century (Wichmann 1936), the language atlas (Gálffy–Márton–Szabó 1991), the exploration of the inner variation of the dialects (Szabó T. 1959), and numerous other results regarding the description of the language system. The interest in investigating the changes in the language and its use was aroused later, although Gyula Márton had already studied the questions of the impact of the Romanian language (e.g. Márton 1956, 1965, 1966). The first studies focusing on the phenomena rooted in bilingualism, the process of language shift and/or related identity questions (Fodor 1991, 1995, 2001, Murádin 1993, Borbáth 1994, Tánczos 1995, Péntek 1996, Sándor 1996a, 1996b, 1999, 2000, 2005, Benő 2004, Tánczos 2010) were published in the nineties. The studies of our research group written on these issues were published after 2000 (Bodó 2002, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2006a, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, Bodó–Heltai–Tarsoly 2003, Bodó–Eriş 2004, Heltai–Tarsoly 2004, Heltai 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007a, 2007b).

2. My study presents the characteristics of the process of the Moldavian language shift as related to these investigations as well as the most important features of the bilingualism of the Hungarian speech communities of Moldavia. In my work I am going to use Joshua Fishman's (Fishman 1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, which describes the levels of endangerment of minority languages, also referring to questions related to language planning. In my analysis, I have at my disposal the results of two researches, one started in 2001 and the other in 2005.

In the research started in 2001, the questionnaires were designed according to the theories of ethno-linguistic vitality. The respondents were asked the questions as part of a free conversation, taking into account the speech situation and the circumstances of communication. We collected material on 14 research locations. There is a large quantity of quality material in the form of (denoted) audio recordings as the results of the research.

In 2005 the editing of the digital (diachronic) linguistic atlas was begun. Due to the range of socio-linguistic questions included in the questionnaire of the linguistic atlas, we have at our disposal a set of data easily processable and interpretable from a quantitative point of view.

The entries of this new Moldavian linguistic atlas have been chosen from the two printed and the manuscript volume of the Atlas of the Moldavian Csángó Dialect drafted in the 1950s. The first linguistic atlas of the region was thus created, from which diachronic conclusions can also be drawn, since the data were partly re-collected fifty years later. The questionnaire of the atlas contains 250 entries or questions. 25 of these are of a socio-linguistic nature. These survey the respondents' linguistic biography, their language usage habits and some of their opinions on the language, as well.

Using a different method in drawing up the socio-linguistic questionnaire also means that we acquired other types of information. The strictly determined data collecting parameters of the linguistic atlas and the closed, structured interview make it possible for us to obtain numerical, quantitative data regarding the linguistic habits of certain speech communities.

The criterion for choosing research locations in the atlas-project was that at least twenty per cent of the Catholic inhabitants of the village speak Hungarian (according to the data of Vilmos Tánczos [Tánczos 1999: 17–19]). In the villages where the youngest members of the communities also had a Hungarian language competence that made it possible for them to be interviewed, we asked a total number of 18 people using the quota method as follows: we grouped the speakers into three generations, interviewing 6 people, 3 men and 3 women from all of them. The eldest generation consisted of people aged 55 or older. The members of the middle generation were 54-25 years of age, and the youngest ones were under 24. In the settlements where the younger generations do not use Hungarian regularly, only 12, respectively six people were asked.

Thus, the study summarises the results from the 18 research locations of the two investigations, making use of the material of interviews conducted in 11 villages in the first research (marked black on the map) and 205 interviews collected in 13 speech communities (marked grey on the map) in the second research.
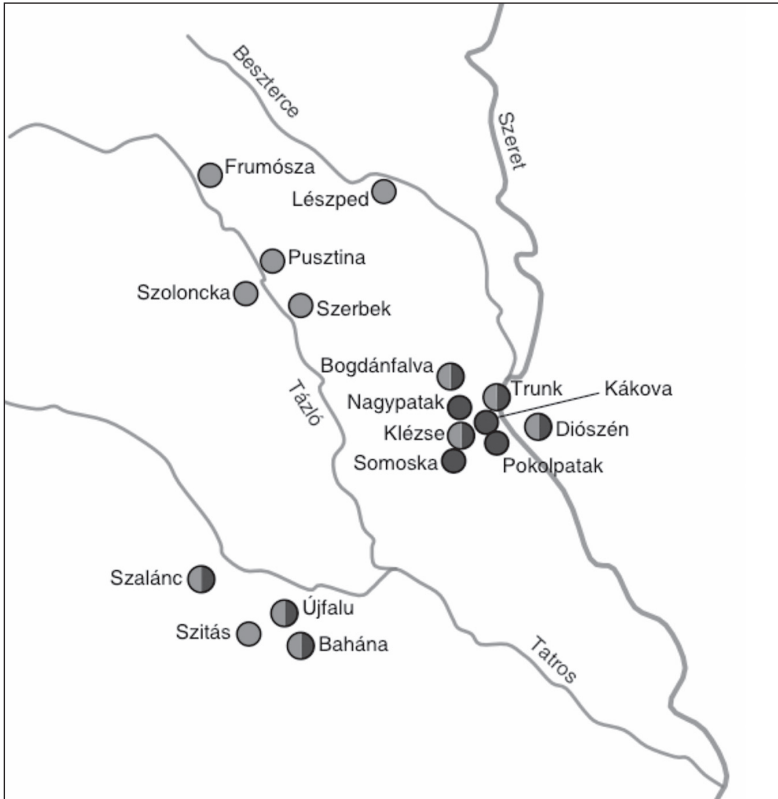
3. The most important results of the two researches – without presenting any details – can be summarised in the following way: language shift is taking place in the investigated Moldavian speech communities; however, the differences between the communities are significant and manifold. Thus, the language shift in Moldavia has characteristics that are general and applicable to all speech communities, and also special, regional features of the different speech communities and regions.

3.1. I would like to organize my statements universally applicable to the Moldavian linguistic situation in three points below. The starting point of the analysis consists of the inspection of the speaker opinions collected with the help of the questionnaires based on the theory of ethno-linguistic vitality.

3.1.1. First, I analysed the way the members of the community define their own dialect, the opinions they form about its status. The results of the analysis can be resumed in the following three points: the opinions on the status of the dialect 1. are not unanimous, 2. undervalue the prestige of the dialect, 3. are supposedly undergoing change.

The appreciation of the status and prestige of their own dialect (called *csángós beszéd - Csángóish talk*) correlated to the ideal picture of *pure Hungarian* (all Hungarian dialects of the Carpathian Basin) is done by using similar markers in all of Moldavia. The most important ones refer to the mixed nature of the dialect (*korcsitura* 'korcs=hybrid', *se nem román, se nem magyar - neither Romanian nor Hungarian* etc.).

The variety of the opinions can be interpreted mainly in relation with the age of the speakers. Although the older speakers definitely sense the difference between their dialect and standard Hungarian, on the one hand, they use the linguonym (denomination of a certain dialect) *Csángó* less frequently; on the other hand, they tend to describe their dialect without using this linguonym. Nevertheless, if they use it, they refer to a synonym of the *Hungarian* linguonym. Members of the younger generation generally separate their native dialect from the *pure Hungarian* version more firmly by using the two linguonyms (*Hungarian, Csángó*), and they associate quite low prestige to the latter.

Based on the older speakers' interviews, it can be established that they still use the *Csángó* attribute primarily as an ethnonym, and they seldom use it to denote the dialect. The younger generation, on the other hand, uses this word in a wider sense. The progress of language shift, the evolving dominance of the Romanian language exists parallel to this in the speech communities, mainly among the younger generation. On the one hand, the slackening of the minority language competence enforces the negative aspects of the young people's opinion regarding the possibility of use or value of the local Hungarian dialect. On the other hand, it adds to the divergence of these opinions: supposedly, the slackening of linguistic competence runs parallel to the increasing obscurity of the knowledge on the minority language. Parallel with the diminishing importance of the Hungarian dialect and the decreasing competence the assumption according to which this dialect is "*a mixture, a hybrid*" may grow stronger.

3.1.2. The next aspect of the features of the Hungarian language usage in Moldavia: what opinions are there in the Moldavian speech community regarding bilingualism and the future of the minority dialect? These opinions are implicational in nature; a kind of opinion about one of the questions makes the ideas about the other foretellable with a high degree of probability.

The following types of speakers can be defined regarding Hungarian-Romanian bilingualism and the estimations about the future of the dialect (the representatives of these speech groups can be found in all of the investigated speech communities, the differences lie in their proportion in the communities):

A) According to the speakers who consider bilingualism important for practical (generally economical) reasons, bilingualism is good, as it results in evident (economical, social) advantages. They think this dialect will not disappear, since economical ties with Hungary (eventually Transylvania or the Szekler region) are important.

B) According to the speakers who regard bilingualism important from the point of view of the Hungarian identity, bilingualism is good, as it links one to Hungarians and separates one from the Orthodox people, who are monolingual. They think this dialect will be maintained not for economical, but for other reasons such as Hungarian religious masses and the teaching of the Hungarian language (that is, the dialect would persist if Hungarian mass and Hungarian education spread).

C) A frequent opinion of the speakers who consider bilingualism a characteristic inherited by fate is that bilingualism is good, as "the more languages you know, the more human value you have", that is, it does not matter what language one speaks. In their case there are two typical opinions regarding the future of the dialect:

    a. according to the group which may be called a pessimistic-realistic one, this dialect will disappear; *when they* (that is: the presently bilingual older speaker groups) *die, there will be no one to speak it*;

    b. according to the so called optimistic-irrealistic group this dialect will persist, since *this language will not, it cannot disappear.*

D) The bilingual speakers who emphasize their Romanian national identity think their Romanian identity is more important than the advantages offered by bilingualism. This speaker group usually does not have an explicit opinion about the future of the dialect.

Actually, the grounds for classification lie in the extent of linguistic awareness. The preservation of the minority dialect is mostly supported by group A) opinions, as the people formulating this idea hold the knowledge of the Hungarian language as their own apperceived interest. The representatives of the opinion group A) are speakers who have economic ties with the Hungarian speech area. The group present in a small number as compared to the overall number of members of the communities, but having a prestige above the average, and thus, having an example setting potential is linked to the Hungarian language in two typical ways. This way they can be classified in two

further groups: the group of people working in Hungarian language areas, respectively the group practicing Hungarian oriented rural tourism. These economical ties are, however, quite accidental. In the first years of the research programme started in 2001, employment in Hungarian territories was one of the most important survival strategies of the communities. Today it is more of a marginal phenomenon. On the other hand, realizing the possibilities lying in rural tourism as an alternative subsistence has just begun. This is why the number of people considering bilingualism important due to practical reasons is quite insignificant.

The size of the group regarding bilingualism important from the point of view of the Hungarian identity is similarly trifling. These speakers having Hungarian identity think of the language as the medium carrying the value of ethnic and/or cultural separation. These families try to have their children educated in a Hungarian speech area significantly more than the average. However, successful studies in Hungary do not necessarily strengthen the local social position of this speaker group, as only a part of the young adults having learnt in Hungarian language return to Moldavia after finishing their studies. Therefore, the extent of transmigration is the largest in this group.

There is another group in the lives of whom the Hungarian language has a relatively more significant role due to their identity. These speakers are without exception members of the eldest generation. Many of them do not or scarcely speak Romanian, and they use the Hungarian language in most communication situations. The linguistic influence of these speakers on the entire community is negligible and decreasing.

The opinion of the speakers from group C) on bilingualism is generally positive, but they do not think they would encounter any negative consequences by giving it up. Their pretention for the preservation of the minority language is less powerful, at the same time their language awareness level is lower than that of the speakers from the first two groups. They often say things like "*it is not good if you do not speak Hungarian, because you will go amongst Hungarians and you will not be able to ask for a loaf of bread*". They also often mention that it is essentially immaterial what language one speaks; or bilingualism is important, because "*the more languages you know, the more human value you have*". (These simplifying-generalising opinions are typical not only to Moldavian speakers).

The common characteristic of the representatives of this group is that they formulate their language usage habits and their opinions on the dialect and bilingualism solely based on everyday practical needs, that is, they try to adapt to the actual socio-linguistic situation at the greatest possible extent. However, given the present circumstances this implies the decreasing level of preserva-

tion of the minority dialect, as there are less and less socio-linguistic areas where its knowledge is needed. The great majority of the Moldavian speakers are part of this group; the linguistic approach of the "everyday people" can be described in this way.

These speakers do not formulate their expectations regarding bilingualism and language change by taking into consideration such phenomena from the past, and they do no make conclusions based on these; they only refer to the language characteristics of the ever-present. This means a particular dualism, as on the one hand they sense and profess the changes in linguistic habits and hence, the character of bilingualism in the communities in the past decades, on the other hand, they think these past patterns can be applied in the future without any modifications. They are also characterised by not having a reasoned emotional relation to either of the dialects. This is obviously connected to their special structure of identity, which implies the possibility to use both languages; the speaker does not sense a direct and immediate change in identity by performing language shift.

The members of the fourth speech group either expect the abandonement of bilingualism, which is not one of their priorities, or simply do not assign any special importance to the question of the dialect's future. According to my estimations, this group is similar in number to group B), i.e. the group emphasizing their Hungarian identity.

As the effects of minority and language politics are negligible in Moldavia, and Hungary's ability to attract cultural and economic capital is weak, there are less and less factors motivating the bilingual Moldavian speakers to make use of the practical values of their bilingualism, which thus would fashion a positive attitude towards it. Thus the overwhelming majority of the speakers (and by them the entire community) does not have enough motivation in order to take steps to maintain a bilingual state and/or to modify their attitudes towards bilingualism. So, the future of the minority dialect is endangered in all investigated speech communities.

At the same time, the opinions of the speakers about the future of the dialect usually do not correlate with the expected changes based on the analysis of present linguistic processes. If the speakers foretell the possibility of the attrition or even disappearance of the dialect, they generally do not form a value judgement regarding this phenomenon. Knowing the minority dialect is not necessarily a decisive marker in formulating an ethnical identity, this being partly the result of the historical-ethnic definition of the communities, and partly that of the linguistic and language policy events of the past decades. This is why the speakers do not make any connections between the possibility of the disappearance of the language and the obnoxiousity of their identity in

either the individual or the community context. In other cases, the members of the speech communities do not foretell the possibility of the disappearance of the minority dialect; as they do not acknowledge the changes, such speakers may also be regarded as emotionally unmotivated to maintain the language.

3.1.3. The members of the four groups use different strategies also in terms of linguistic socialization. These lie on a scale between the point of absolute minority language socialisation and absolute majority language socialisation. Three characteristic socialisation strategies can be identified between these two extremes. According to some opinions they all result in the formation of bilingualism. They can be outlined based on the aspect of minority language socialisation:

A) Absolute minority language socialisation.
B) Primary minority language socialisation.
C) Socialisation takes place in the language of the majority, but children learn the minority dialect, as beside Romanian they are spoken to in this language, as well (by the parents or grandparents); they may also learn the minority dialect by hearing the adults communicating in this language.
D) The language of family communication is Romanian, but children acquire the minority dialect from the elder speakers of the larger community (delayed second language socialisation, cf. Bodó 2004c).
E) Absolute majority language socialisation

Absolute minority language socialisation is not a common phenomenon today. This socialisation strategy has been obscured in the last years and decades in all speech communities. This process does not happen concomitently in all speech communities, primary minority language socialisation started being overshadowed at different points in time in each village. This is one of the main reasons of the great language differences between the speech communities: the age of the generations (still) using the minority dialect in intra-community language situations differs. Thus the strategies of minority language socialisation changed, unequivocally indicating language shift in progress. The crucial phase of the process of language shift is the continuous and untempered repulsion of primary minority language socialisation and the reinforcement of the majority language running parallel to this, even in intra-community communication settings where the Hungarian dialect had generally been used up until the last decades. The delayed second language socialisation strategies having a supposedly provisory nature probably accompany language shift; these processes fashion or eventually slacken it, but never stop or reverse it.

Most of the language usage features mentioned in the statements above are characterized by the dualism that marks and at the same time forms the process of language shift. The low prestige and the secluded nature of the dialect, the language usage features changing drastically and negatively from the point of view of language maintenance, the various and uncertain beliefs regarding bilingualism and the future of the dialect, the altering of socialising strategies are not only certain signs of language shift taking place in the communities, but also reasons and active framers of the process. Their effects cumulate and hence stimulate the process of language shift.

3.2. However, it is not enough to analyse language usage features which are common characteristics of all the speech communities. It is equally important to present the differences in the language usage habits of the communities.

In this respect, I have analysed the answers of the 205 respondents of the atlas-project. I differentiated between three regions taking into account geographical and historical aspects, which supposedly also differ from a language usage viewpoint. Four of the villages (Újfalu, Szitás, Bahána, Szalánc – Satu-Nou, Nicoreşti, Bahna, Cireşoaia) represent the settlements along the Tatros (Trotuş), five of them (Pusztina, Frumósza, Lészped, Szoloncka, Szerbek – Pustiana, Frumoasa, Lespezi, Tărâţa, Floreşti) lying north, north-west from Bacau represent the villages of a Szekler origin. (The latter ones – in spite of the geographical separation of Lészped lying on the banks of the river Beszterce (Bistriţa) – are dealt with as one unit based on their common ethnic-historical-language usage features, and are going to be called the settlement group along the Tázló (Tazlău). Finally, the last four speech communities (Bogdánfalva, Diószén, Klézse, Trunk – Valea Seacă, Gioseni, Cleja, Galbeni) have been chosen from the group of settlements along the river Szeret (Siret).

Two of the regions, the villages along the Tatros (Trotuş) and the Tázló (Tazlău) are more uniform as opposed to the ones along the Szeret (Siret) both from a linguistic and an ethnic point of view. Bogdánfalva (Valea Seacă) and Trunk (Galbeni) along the Szeret (Siret) are villages with settlers arriving in the middle ages having a champaign-land origin, while in the case of Klézse (Cleja) and Diószén (Gioseni), the Szeklers settled on this middle-age stratum later on, thus changing both ethnic relations and the local features of the dialect. As I am doing a socio-linguistic analysis on bilingualism, on the opinions about the language and language usage customs, the similarity of the four villages from these points of view does not only allow organizing them in the same group, but it also orders it.

Three villages of each region represent a speech community where there are speakers with Hungarian language competence even among the members of the youngest generation. In the meantime, I examine one speech community (two in the area along the Tatros/Trotuş) in each region where no interviews were made with the youngest generation.

The age division in the analysed regions is the following:

	24 and younger	25-54	55 and older
along the Szeret (Siret)	17	25	28
along the Tázló (Tazlău)	18	18	25
along the Tatros (Trotuş)	17	26	31

The analysis of the language usage features in the regions above results in the following, very briefly summarised important statements:

1. The young and the middle generations of the settlements along the river Szeret (Siret) use the Hungarian language in significantly less communicative situations than the speakers of a similar age group in the other two regions; the linguistic and language usage phenomena accompanying language shift are present to a larger extent; the confinement of the minority dialect is greater among the young and the middle generation. There are differences also between the other two regions: the minority dialect usage is less characteristic in the villages along the Tatros (Trotuş) than in the ones along the Tázló (Tazlău).

2. The prestige of the Moldavian dialects is relatively low in all three regions; the prestige relations reflect the differences between the linguistic situation and the language usage features in the regions only partly.

3. The opinions about the minority language competence similarly show little differences between the speakers of the various regions. At the same time, considerable differences may be identified between certain villages.

4. In communicative situations in which the secluded nature of the minority dialect is less articulated (interactions of older speakers in situations related to traditional lifestyles; prayers, animal callings), the differences between the regions are also less specific.

Economic and socio-cultural features have, according to expectations, an important role in forming the language usage habits: the educational level and the mobilisation possibilities of the speech communities showed a correlation with the opinions about the language and/or the language usage habits. The differences between the real language usage habits in certain regions are greater than the ones related to opinions. The most striking differences are shown by the language usage questions which referred to the choice of language the respondents used in communication with different partners. There were also differences regarding the questions referring to opinions, but these were usually of a less extent. This also confirms the phenomenon mentioned earlier, i.e. the picture drawn based on features of real language usage in a language shift situation is not necessarily and completely identical to the picture drawn according to the speakers' opinions. This means that the cognitive picture regarding language usage habits within the speakers' minds changes more slowly than the linguistic and language usage shifts, i.e. the speakers believe the actual language practice of the past and the present can be applied in the future as well.

4. Based on these results, Fishman's Scale can be used with a twofold objective. One is to determine the stage of language shift in the whole of Moldavia, respectively the three investigated regions. Moreover, as Fishman's Scale also includes elements aiming at reversing language shift, what we can do is not only to analyse the data presented so far by the help of the Scale; its application can also help in conceptualising the manner and the degree of implementation of certain language planning steps that offer a real chance to slow down, to stop, and eventually to reverse the process of language shift.

Joshua Fishman presented his language planning theory to reverse language shift and the first experiences of its implementation in the 1990s (Fishman 1991, 1993, Fishman ed. 2001). The context of the theory can be outlined in the following way (for further detail cf. Bodó 2004c).

In Fishman's model the aim of language planning is to expose the threatened dialect to more and more linguistic functions. The theory helps in the juxtaposition of language usage functions to dialects in any system of relations. The revitalisation of the threatened language is attempted by influencing the everyday linguistic practice of the community. In terms of Fishman's diglossia, the permanence and the relational stability of the two languages is what assures the stability of social bilingualism (and thus, that of the subordinate language).

The Scale (*graded scale of the communicational dislocation between generations*), which can be viewed as the summary of the theory, and which has been created analogous to the Richter-scale (used to measure the intensity of earth-

quakes), has already been used several times by our research team in order to analyse the results of the Moldavian research (Bodó–Heltai–Tarsoly 2003, Bodó 2004c, Heltai 2006). The scale measures the level of disruption in the language of the speech communities. The level of dislocation increases from stage one to stage eight. In the terminology of the table X indicates the minority dialect undergoing shift, while language Y is the dominant language (dialect) which is taking the place of the dislocated language X in the community.

**Stages of Reversing Language Shift:
Intergenerational Dislocation Scale**

I. Reversing Language Shift to Attain Diglossia

Stage 8: Reconstructing Xish and adult acquisition.

Stage 7: Cultural interaction in Xish primarily involving the community-based older generation.

Stage 6: The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood: the basis for mother tongue transmission

Stage 5: Schools for literacy acquisition, for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education.

II. Reversing Language Shift to Transcend Diglossia, Subsequent to its Attainment

Stage 4a: Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control.

Stage 4b: Public schools for Xish children, offering some instruction via Xish, but substantially under Yish curricular and staffing control.

Stage 3: The local/regional (i.e., non-neighbourhood) worksphere, both among Xmen and among Ymen.

Stage 2: Local/regional mass-media and governmental services.

Stage 1: Education, worksphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and national levels.

(Fishman 1991: 395)

A few determining features of the scale are significant:

The scale is divided into two main sections. The most important aim of the first section (stages 8-5) is to create diglossia in more general terms. The second section (stages 4-1) aims at the usage of the minority dialect in a larger circle after the attainment of diglossia.

The theory assigns order a great role. The language planning steps of the different stages of the scale are not interchangeable, that is, the scale is quasi-implicational in nature: if a community does not follow the indications of stages of the scale step by step, reversing language shift may be unsuccessful.

It is also imperative that a certain community advances up the stages of the scale by itself. Revitalisation can only become successful if the need for stopping and reversing language shift is formulated within the community. Language planning cannot have any other task than to create, support this need in the community and to coordinate action. Otherwise, revitalising is doomed.

Stage 6 may be regarded of a special importance: the success of revitalisation is not possible without the continuity of intergenerational transmission of the native language, i.e. a minority language socialisation strategy that also works in the long term. This means that Fishman's model also aims at influencing the processes of primary language socialisation: the intergenerational transmission of the minority language is not possible without it. However, this influence cannot happen in a direct way and/or without the support of the community.

Below I am going to use the results referred to in the first part of my paper to identify where the Hungarian speech communities of Moldavia can be placed in the system of Fishman's Scale.

Stage 8: Reconstructing Xish and adult acquisition – notes on the Romanian monolingual Catholic villages

This stage describes a linguistic situation where language shift is already complete, so the minority dialect has been absolutely dislocated from usage. None of the speech communities investigated can be placed on stage 8, as we have met respondents speaking the minority language everywhere. However, most of the linguistic situation of the Moldavian Catholic villages can be interpreted in terms of this stage. Vilmos Tánczos shows us the following situation based on the 1992 census data and his estimations (regarding the knowledge of the Hungarian language) mentioned earlier: "only 43% (103,543 of 240,038) of the Moldavian Catholics – whose majority we consider to be of Hungarian origin based on reasonable arguments – live in settlements where they speak

some Hungarian. Moreover, the majority of the Catholic inhabitants of these settlements, around 100,000 in number, has also been completely assimilated into the Romanian population" (Tánczos [1999]: 21).

It would be a mistake to believe that the language shift of the Hungarian communities in Moldavia started in the last 20-30 years. Vilmos Tánczos refers to contemporary data, which prove that the process of language shift started around 1930 in the southern Csángó village Szeketura (Pădureni) and in the northern ones, Jugán (Iugani), Balusest (Bălușești), Bargován (Bărgăoani) and Szabófalva (Săbăoani), moreover about 40 smaller Szekler villages along the Szeret (Siret), the Tatros (Trotuș) and the Tázló (Tazlău) rivers had became Romanian by then.

The language shift in progress in the thirties is certainly not connected to the fast socio-economical changes of the second half of the 20th century. With regard to the strong regional identity of the inhabitants of Moldavia, it is not likely that the changes are connected to the historical changes, the annexation of Transylvania to Romania.

This is also supported by the fact that the descriptions of travelling Hungarian intellectuals mention the bilingualism of Moldavian villages, the typical phenomenon that "men mostly use the Valahian language in speech" (János Jerney from 1844, quoted by Tánczos 2006: 37). What is more, there is an evident language shift in progress certified by the descriptions of northern Csángó villages: "Regarding the northern Csángó villages around Szabófalva (Tamásfalva, Dsidafalva, Domafalva, Lakosfalva – Tămășeni, Adjudeni, Răchiteni, Leucușeni), Gegő relates that these 'are strongly becoming Valahian both as a matter of clothing and as a matter of customs, the chief reason of which being the lack of Hungarian priests, as the Hungarian vicarages from the Romanian circumscription are occupied by Italian missionaries' (Gegő 1838: 24). His statements are also supported a few years later by Jerney: the people of Szabófalva complain to him about the fact that despite the inhabitants do not know any Romanian 'their pastor does not speak Hungarian, and confesses them in Romanian', while on the other banks of the Szeret (Siret) the situation is different; he writes: 'Tamásfalva (Tămășeni), Dsidafalva (Adjudeni), Miklósfalva (Nicolești), Domafalva (Răchiteni) – are all Csángó villages, but their inhabitants speak scarce or no Hungarian (Jerney 1844–45. I–II: I/30)'" (Tánczos 2006: 37).

We do not possess exact data on the earlier processes of language shift, but the big picture suggests that if we think of the whole of Moldavia, language shift has been part of the linguistic phenomena for centuries; 100-150 years earlier certain communities were in linguistic situations identical or similar to those investigated by me now.

Research on Hungarian language planning has not dealt with communities, which have already been completely assimilated linguistically. In their case the aim of language planning is not revitalisation: total linguistic reconstruction implies a totally different theoretical ground and spiritual-financial investment. Anna Borbély mentions in relation to Paulston (Paulston 1994: 93) that "maybe the only successful complete language revitalization happened in the case of Hebrew" (Borbély 2001: 22). As the example shows, the "revitalization" of bilingualism and thus that of a certain dialect of a minority language is not a utopian idea. In the meantime, it is clear that the possibility is only theoretical, and it will probably remain like that in the future, as well.

Stage 7: The maintenance of the socially uniform and ethno-linguistically active adult community speaking Xish.

This stage refers to a linguistic situation in which Hungarian communication is still present within the elderly generation connected more to the traditional lifestyle – primarily in interaction among themselves. The usage value of the minority language in this case is bound to strongly restrained and scarce socio-linguistic settings.

Such a speech community is Ketris (Chetriş), a village near Diószén (Gioseni) in Moldavia; I personally experienced that the only bilingual people here are those over sixty. Some of the investigated villages are part of this category: the two small villages along the river Tázló (Tazlău): Szoloncka (Tărâţa) and Szerbek (Floreşti), and there are also speech communities in the other two regions where no interview was conducted with members of the younger generation (Szalánc/Cireşoaia and Trunk/Galbeni). There can, moreover, there should be a further categorization of the linguistic situation described by Fishman; in Szoloncka (Tărâţa) and Szerbek (Floreşti) or, for instance, Ketris (Chetriş) only the oldest generation of the inhabitants speaks Hungarian, while in Trunk (Galbeni) or Szalánc (Cireşoaia) there are speakers using Hungarian among the middle-aged, too. Still, what is common in these situations – which classifies all these speech communities into stage 7 – is the fact that the intergenerational transmission of the minority dialect has been disrupted (on a community level), that is, no delayed form of the Hungarian socialisation presented in earlier works exists. The difference between these villages only lies in the approximate time when this intergenerational continuity was interrupted.

There are obvious differences between similar villages of the three regions: in Szalánc (Cireşoaia) the role of the two languages in interactions between similar-aged people is relatively balanced. In Trunk, where young respondents were found by the researchers, the use of the minority language is still more common

between speakers of the same age. However, both the differences regarding the children, especially the grandchildren (in Szalánc/Cireșoaia the children use the Romanian language almost entirely) and the similarities (the evident lack of intergenerational continuity) are obvious in case of the two villages.

Although there villages investigated in all three regions that can be classified as belonging to stage 7, none of the regions can be included in this category as a whole.

Stage 6: The attainment of an intergenerational and continuous informal speach level of Xish at home, in the family and in the neighbourhood

The objective of stage 6 is to create intergenerational continuity of language transmission by enhancing the functions and speaker number of the minority language. This is why this stage is of outstanding importance: without the attainment of intergenerational continuity any plans of further stages become potentially useless. Thus, if the transmission of the native language is not guaranteed for the youngest generations, it is an unavoidable task of language planning to elaborate the circumstances in which this transmission continuity can be created; otherwise, any language planning goes beyond reason.

Thus, the basis of stage 6 is the intention of the community to create intergenerational continuity: this intention has to come from inside the community, a fact which is also the prerequisite of success. If the aims of language planning steps are at least partly in accordance with the intentions of the community, then, according to Fishman, stage 6 is achievable without any support from governmental institutions. Therefore, it is not possible and even less desirable to influence intra-community linguistic manifestations directly from the outside by institutional means. The secret of success in this case lies in the goal that the minority dialect would receive absolute role on all stages of the language use in the micro-sociological relationships of bilingual speakers; this way, the majority language would be "confined" onto the macro-sociological level, that is, social interactions outside the community.

There is social interaction among the elder generation in the minority language in all the investigated bilingual speech communities. At the same time, the results show that intergenerational language transmission continuity inside the family is a rare occurrence in every village. In this respect, none of the investigated speech communities conforms to the requirements of stage 6.

However, as we have pointed it out, the relapse, respectively cessation of minority language socialisation inside the family paradoxically does not

necessarily mean the complete disappearance of intergenerational language transmission in the whole of the community. This can be explained by the appearance of delayed second-language socialisation strategies. A common feature of these is that primary language socialisation inside the family is carried out in Romanian, and the child acquires the Hungarian dialect later from the older speakers of the community.

Language usage features of speakers socialised in this way are various; the common one, however, is that their language competence cannot be compared to that of those who received primary minority language socialisation. They use the minority dialect in fewer communication situations with fewer partners and frequently only as passive interlocutors (Bodó 2004c). It is typical of these socialisation strategies that they actually respind in the most proper way to the circumstances induced by the omnipresent (majority) environment, breaking the linearity, but not the process of language shift.

The conclusion of all these is that the linguistic status of the investigated Moldavian speech communities (which have not yet been located on the Scale) corresponds to the transition stage (or more correctly stages) between stages 6 and 7 of Fishman's Scale. The graded nature of the Scale confers a static aspect to the description. The situation may be presented more accurately if we locate the communities on a continuum between stages 6 and 7. Provided that the main criterion of moving towards stage 7 is defined by the decreasing number of minority language interactions, we can say that the communities along the Szeret (Siret) (Bogdánfalva/Valea Seacă, Klézse/Cleja, Diószén/Gioseni) lie the farthest from the requirements of stage 6. These are followed by the villages along the Tatros (Trotuş) (Szitás/Nicoreşti, Újfalu/Satu Nou, Bahána/Bahna). The Szekler villages along the Tázló (Tazlău) (Pusztina/Pustiana, Frumósza/Frumoasa, Lészped/Lespezi) stand the closest to the requirements of stage 6. However, none of the language usage habits of the communities of the regions reaches the requirements described in stage 6.

The main characteristics of this transition stage can be summarised in the following:

1. A considerable part of the cultural interactions within the speech communities is yet being carried out in the minority dialect, but its intergenerational transmission inside the families is not provided (in the course of primary language socialization).
2. Parallel to the disruption of intergenerational continuity the minority language falls back on the linguistic stages of micro-sociological relationships with younger speakers.
3. Parallel to the seclusion of the minority dialect from the practice of primary language socialisation, different strategies of delayed minority

language socialisation appeared. The common result of these new – and probably transitional – kinds of socialisation strategies is that they lead to a limited minority language competence. Therefore, the younger generations use the minority dialect on fewer micro-sociological areas and with a limited competence.

4. The speech community has no experience of this limited language competence due to the relatively new nature of the process. The speakers either still believe in the guarantee of the preservation of the dialect or they are not interested in its future.

The linguistic status of all the Moldavian bilingual speech communities can be described as being on or over stage 6 on the Fishman Scale. Therefore, instead of interpreting any further stages I am going to briefly present the initiatives which are somehow linked to these stages and touch on linguistic matters (more details about this question see Bodó–Heltai–Tarsoly 2003).

Stage 5: Schools for acquisition of literacy, for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education.

Stage 5 prescribes the establishment of schools and educational institutions which are not alternatives to Romanian state schools, but offer a possibility to teach/maintain literacy in the minority language. It is also very important to mention that this is the first point in the Scale where the written aspect of the minority language is being mentioned.

Most part of the initiatives regarding the Hungarian communities of Moldavia in the last two decades, which could (also) be interpreted as Hungarian language planning, may be linked in different ways to the teaching of the minority dialect within more or less institutional context, and to the question of literacy. The most important of these is the educational programme organized by the MCSMSZ (Moldvai Csángómagyarok Szövetsége – Fellowship of Csángó Hungarians from Moldavia), which has been growing since 2001. The number of Moldavian children learning Hungarian within state education in the school year 2010/2011 according to the review on the website of the Fellowship is about 1800 in 23 locations. (*http://www.Csángó.ro/oktatás/gyereklétszám*).

Although the majority of the speech communities can be described by being between stages 7 and 6, the Hungarian language planning activities may be placed on stage 5. This means that the programme does not correspond to the quasi-implicational aspect of the Scale; therefore its efficiency – regarded from the point of view of the recommendations of Fishman's Scale – is to be questioned. At the same time the programme does not necessarily aim at

shaping literacy on the one hand, on the other hand the paradox mentioned above has been recognised in the last few years and there was a focus change as regards the primary target group: work with kindergarten-aged children has also started. This is good news: the closer educational planning gets to the age group of primary language socialisation, the greater its chances are to influence socialisation strategies. And this is essential for success according to Fishman's model: the existence of stage 6, the continuous intergenerational minority language socialisation is of decisive importance. The initiative of kindergartens is, therefore, necessary. In the best case, kindergarten programme means building a network similar (or larger) in scale to the programme aiming at the age-group of elementary and lower-secondary schools. A truly desirable option would be the establishment of a bilingual kindergarten network: by this, the members of the community could go back to bilingual socialisation strategies so that they would not be disadvantaged later in the majority language educational institutions.

There is yet another condition of further success regarding the educational programme (of addressing wider speaker groups). The reasonable aim of the ideological education within the training process could be to raise awareness of the identity factors of Moldavian bilinguals formed by history as opposed to the obvious national identity of Hungarians from the Carpathian Basin. Such an approach characterises Moldavian bilingual speakers as ethnic Hungarians from a historical point of view, but it does not require them to enounce Hungarian national identity in the sense the Hungarians within the Carpathian Basin do. They are helped acknowledging to have and identity, which is specially defined by their historic-social position, and which cannot be described within "traditional" terms. While the forming of the identity is left to those, whose competence it is: to the speakers. Otherwise, Hungarian language planning will place other interests before community interests, and thus, it will go against the needs of the community.

Stage 4: Schools for Xish students, in lieu of compulsory education under (a) Xish or (b) Yish curricular and staffing control.

In the history of Moldavian Hungarians there have never been examples of schools where students could have learnt in the Hungarian language or even some Hungarian, provided by any Hungarian form of state or any other Hungarian control. The situation is different in the case of the school type mentioned in stage 4b: from the end of the 1940s up until the beginning of the 1960s there have been educational institutions under the control of the Romanian State founded for Hungarian students in Moldavia (cf. Pozsony 2005: 51–54).

Stages 1, 2 and 3: The use of language X in the worksphere, the mass media, higher education and public administration.

We cannot talk about endeavours belonging to stage 3, i.e. intentions to create jobs using the Hungarian language in the region, but there are phenomena which could be linked to stage 2. Such an initiative is the monthly magazine entitled *Moldvai Magyarság* (*Hungarians from Moldavia*) printed in Transylvania by the Hargita Press. Even though this is of a symbolic importance, and it is a dash of colour among cultural publications on Hungarian territories, its impact on Moldavia is irrelevant. It is also worth mentioning that the satellite transmitted Hungarian TV channel (Duna Televízió) became accessible on several locations in the nineties. At the same time, the number of the households where aerials have been installed in organised circumstances in order to be able to receive Hungarian TV channels also remains insignificant.

The present article has primarily been written in order to present a synthesis of a few characteristics of the Hungarian language usage in Moldavia. The data presented and analysed are suitable to be followed by conceiving thoughts, moreover action plans regarding language planning. Hereby, I only confine myself to some hypotheses, some principles the consideration of which would be desirable for Hungarian language planning.

I am confident that Hungarian language planning can only be successful if it considers the following duality: when deciding about the manner and the language of linguistic socialisation, the speech communities (and each of their members) will always choose the optimal possibility in the given (linguistic) situation. The exclusion of the Hungarian dialect from the primary minority language socialisation was thus the best response the communities could give to the challenge of the modified circumstances in the given socio-linguistic situation. Therefore, it is very important, although not sufficient, to know and analyse the opinions and linguistic behaviour of the members of the community. My article was intended to contribute to this. At the same time, this new situation has aspects which the members of the community do not and cannot estimate, but which exist and are considerable parts of reality. This is why the main requirement of the success of any kind of language planning in Moldavia is that it needs to unite the interests of the individuals (also estimated by them) with the interests of the community (not estimated and not estimable) in the best possible way. In other words: to create a programme in order to preserve the language, but a programme which would enjoy the support of the members of the community.

Today, this is only partly given: the expected acceptance of the language planning activities aiming at the preservation of the Hungarian dialects and the reinforcement of informal language competence of the Carpathian Basin is not unanimous within the bilingual communities. In the case of most speakers, we can find an attitude which is neutral or non-rejective to the ambitions of Hungarian language planning. Only a small number of speakers support these ambitions. At the same time, we also have to consider a speaker group, which has a repulsive attitude in the present linguistic and socio-cultural situation.

An important feature of a successful Hungarian language planning programme is independence from emotions resulting from and rooting in the Hungarian national identity within the Carpathian Basin, and the kind of low profile that conceptualises certain ideas by facing reality. Since what we have (or what we can influence) in such a program is the ability of reception inside the community, its external material and spiritual support is indispensable. However, these can only arrive from the Hungarian State and the Hungarian scholarships, i.e. from the Hungarian language community.

Raising the needed support is not a real possibility today. At the same time, although most of the programmes aiming at slowing and reversing language shift are not success stories (Bartha 2003: 69), it is also obvious that if all conditions are met, the possibility of (Moldavian Hungarian) language revitalisation is not a utopia. Therefore, we can talk about a special dualism: practically, reaching any results has very little real chance, because even basic conditions are missing; theoretically, on the other hand, the accomplishment of a well-thought, progressive programme, which is supported by the community, may as well end in stabilizing bilingualism.

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Moldvai Csángó Oktatási Program – number of pupils in the 2010/2011 academic year: *http://www.Csángó.ro/index.php?page=alias-9*

Dezső JUHÁSZ

The types and main characteristics of the Hungarian dialects of Moldavia

The ethnonym *Csángó* is used in everyday Hungarian, and sometimes even by linguists, to refer to the Hungarian population in Moldavia as a whole, albeit their majority are descendants of **Székely** (Secler) settlers who migrated there in the course of centuries of their history and who, until recently, had no "Csángó consciousness" at all. The Seclers refused to accept the name *Csángó* as applied to themselves; they mainly used it with reference to "non-Secler" Hungarian ethnics of Moldavia, or as an attribute referring to the specifics of the Moldavian dialects, the points were they differ from Standard Hungarian. In this paper, we use the term *Csángó* for a smaller Hungarian group detached from the Seclers both from a dialectological and an ethnological point of view. Although this group settled around the river Siret (Szeret) as early as the 14th century, their inner Transylvanian origins, from the Transylvanian Plain called **Mezőség** can be clearly demonstrated. Dialectology today also labels the dialectological groups of Moldavia taking the above distinctions into consideration.

1. The most important dialect groups of the Moldavian region

Northern Csángó: spoken in the area north of Románvásár (Roman); settlements: Szabófalva (Săbăoani), Kelgyest (Pildeşti), Jugán (Iugani). A specific dialect enclave of Northern Csángós who settled in the South is found in Ploszkucény (Ploscuţeni), near Egyedhalma (Adjud). The Hungarian population of Balusest (Băluşeşti), Újfalu (Traian), Dzsidafalva (Adjudeni), Tamásfalu (Tămăşeni) has undergone total linguistic assimilation (to the surrounding Romanian population) during the past half or one century, but the speech community of Szabófalva (Săbăoani) is also in the last stages of language shift.

Southern Csángó: spoken in the area of Bákó (Bacău); the most important settlements are Szekatura (Secătura), Lujzikalagor (Luizi-Călugăra), Bogdánfalva (Valea Seacă), Nagypatak (Valea Mare), Trunk (Galbeni), Gyoszény (Gioseni), and in some respects Klézse (Cleja).

Moldavian Székely:[1] spoken in approximately seventy settlements, especially along the rivers Tázló (Tazlău) and Tatros (Trotuş), but also in the area around the river Szeret (Siret), surrounding the Southern Csángó group. Typical villages include Lészped (Lespezi), Pusztina (Pustiana), Külsőrekecsin (Fundu Răcăciuni), Diószeg (Tuta), and Gajcsána-Magyarfalu (Găiceana-Unguri). (For other settlements, see Gálffy–Márton–Szabó T. eds. 1991. 1. 8: 33.)

A detailed examination of the internal divisions of Moldavian Secler dialects is a future goal. It seems that three subgroups can be differentiated: a western one, between Lészped (Lespezi) and Balanyásza (Bălăneasa), a southern one, roughly between Pakura (Păcura) and Szászkút (Sascut), as well as a central one, in the neighborhood of the Southern Csángós. The most important supply of speakers of the Secler-type Moldavian dialects, ever since the Middle Ages, has come from the neighbouring Eastern Secler areas, Csík, Gyergyó, Kászon and Háromszék, being closest to these from a dialectological point of view as well. The Southern Csángó type was created when a Mezőség-type dialect was mixed with a Secler-type dialect either by regional migration, or by the settling of a second wave of immigrants from Székelyföld (Mezőség substratum, Secler superstratum). A few local dialects situated on the edge of the region are dialect enclaves. One of these is the Vizánta (Vizantea Mănăstirească) dialect using rising diphthongs [st. *ó* ~ d. *uó*, st. *ő* ~ d. *üő*, st. *é* ~ d. *ié*];[2] another one is the dialect of Ketris (Chetriş) and Frumósza (Frumoasa) exhibiting weaker diphthongs [st. *ó* ~ d. *ᵘó*, st. *ő* ~ d. *ᵘő*, st. *é* ~ d. *ⁱé*], and wide open *ä* vowels instead of the standard *e* vowel. There are enclaves using falling diphthongs as well [st. *ó* ~ d. *óu*, st. *ő* ~ d. *őü*, st. *é* ~ d. *éí*], such as Dormánfalva (Dărmăneşti) or Lábnik (Vladnic). – On the origins and dialectal parallels of the Csángó dialects, see section 3. below.

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1   Also called Secler-type Csángó in part of the literature.
2   Key to the abbreviations: st. = standard, d. = dialect. The constituents of diphthongs are marked (linked) by underlining for technical reasons. Reduced sounds or parts of sounds are marked in superscript.

2. The main phonetic characteristics of the Hungarian dialects of Moldavia[3]

A) Vowels

1. ***Phonemic systems****.* The Moldavian Secler dialects exhibit two different *e*-type vowel phonemes: mid *ë* and low *e.* Accordingly, they include 8 short and 7 long vowels: *u, o, a, ü, ö, i, ë, e; ú, ó, á, ű, ő, í, é.*[4] Basically the same is true of the Southern Csángó dialects embedded in Secler-type dialects: though in fewer morphemes, with more fluctuation, in a weakened systematic position, but we can still find mid *ë*, e.g. in *szëmem* 'my eye'*, mëgijeszti* 'he frightens him', *mënyem* 'my daughter-in-law'*.* In Northern Csángó, we can also find words with *ë* (e.g. st. *egy* ~ d. *ëddzs* 'one', st. *te* ~ d. *të* 'you-sg.', st. *semmi* ~ d. *szëmmi* 'nothing', etc.), but – just like in the standard language – only sporadically and very inconsistently. Hence, in this case, this vowel cannot be considered an independent part of the phonemic system, its occurrences are considered to be realizations of the phoneme *e.* On the other hand, in Northern Csángó, we have to include two new phonemes in the system of short vowels, the results of Romanian language contact, the unrounded velar vowels *i̱* (← Rom. *î*) and *ë̱* (← Rom. *ă*). Both of these are naturally present in Romanian loanwords: st. *liba* ~ d. *gi̱szka* 'goose', st. *öszvér* ~ d. *kati̱r* 'mule', st. *csősz* ~ d. *zi̱tár* 'ranger'; st. *kultúrház* ~ d. *kë̱min* 'cultural centre', st. *szekér* ~ d. *kë̱ruca* 'cart', st. *puliszka* ~ d. *më̱liga* 'corn porridge', but the vowel *ë̱* has entered several older Hungarian words as well: st. *hamu* ~ d. *hë̱mu* 'ash', st. *kapu* ~ d. *kë̱pu* 'gate', st. *falu* ~ d. *fë̱lu* 'village', st. *város* ~ d. *várë̱sz* 'town', st. *tanító* ~ d. *të̱nyitu* 'teacher', etc. The vowel *ö* is a bound phoneme in Northern Csángó: it

3 Our main sources were two dialect atlases (Gálffy–Márton–Szabó T. eds. 1991; Murádin–Juhász eds. 1995–2010), and Márton's textbook (1972a). In the case of some data, we simplified the phonetic transcription to some extent (for more accurate phonetic data, see Juhász 2001).

4 In terms of IPA symbols: *u* = u, *o* = ɔ, *a* = ɔ, *ü* = y, *ö* = ø, *i* = i, *ë* = e, *e* = ɛ; *ú* = uː, *ó* = oː, *á* = aː, *ű* = yː, *ő* = øː, *í* = iː, *é* = eː. Special Hungarian consonant letters and their phonetic value with IPA symbols: *c* = ts, *cs* = tʃ, *s* = ʃ, *sz* = s, *zs* = ʒ, *dzs* = dʒ, *ty* = c, *gy* = ɟ. The symbol of the palatal lateral [ʎ] in the Hungarian dialectological system is the letter combination *ly*. This sound used to be generally used in earlier periods of Hungarian, nowadays it is used in only a few Northern (Palóc) and Eastern edge dialects – including Northern and Southern Csángó. Standard Hungarian orthography has preserved the letter *ly* as an archaic letter, but its phonetic value is identical to that of *j* in the standard language. In the examples included in the present paper, we only use *ly* in the dialectological transcription where it is pronounced as a palatal lateral.

cannot occur in syllables after the vowel *ü*, it is replaced by *e:* st. *tükör* ~ d. *tüker* 'mirror', st. *ütött* ~ d. *ütett* 'he struck'.

The system of long vowel phonemes is similar to the standard system in most of the region, but for example in the Secler-type dialect of Vizánta the set of long high vowels is basically missing, and each one of them is replaced by the appropriate short vowel (*ú* → *u*, *ű* → *ü*, *í* → *i*): st. *víz* 'water', *út* 'road', *kút* 'well', *tűz* 'fire' ~ d. *viz, ut, kut, tüz.* The occurrence of polyphonemic *ā, ē* (replacing the standard sequences *al, ar, el, er*) is characteristic at several points of the region, e.g. st. *arra* 'in that direction', *balra* 'to the left', *erre* 'in this direction' ~ d. *āra, bāra, ēre.*

2. ***Vowel height***. With respect to vowel height, the following phenomena can be mentioned: in the case of Secler-type and Southern Csángó dialects, the vowel *e* is pronounced a little more open, but in some places (e.g., Frumósza, Ketris, Lábnik, Esztufuj, as well as Bogdánfalva, Trunk, Gyoszény) the most open *ä*[5] is not uncommon, either: st. *fekete* ~ d. *fätäke* 'black', st. *teknő* ~ d. *täkänyű* 'wash tub', etc. Also in these two dialect groups the vowel *á* is a little less open than in the case of Northern Csángó where both *á* and *e* have the same height as their standard equivalents. The vowel *ö* can be more open throughout the whole Moldavian region (*ö* → *œ*): st. *köves* ~ d. *kœves, kœvess* etc. 'stony', while – though to a lesser degree – the rounded vowels can become unrounded: st. *kő* ~ d. *ké* 'stone', st. *köves* ~ d. *këves* 'stony', st. *büdös* ~ d. *bidœs, bidessz* 'smelly'. The long mid vowels (*ó, ő, é*) are often diphthongized, but the degree and nature of diphthongization shows great diversity. In this respect, we can state the following: Except for the diphthongizing settlements referred to in section 1., the ratio of occurrence of monophthongs is higher than that of diphthongs. The occurrence of rising diphthongs is much more frequent than that of falling ones. None of the dialects use the rising ↔ falling contrast to create phonological opposition. Of the phonemes *ó, ő, é*, it is *é* that diphthongizes the most frequently, *ő* diphthongizes to a lesser degree, while *ó* diphthongizes only in the most characteristic Secler-type dialect enclaves. Some examples from Northern and Southern Csángó: st. *ég* ~ d. *iég* (both the verb 'burn' and the noun 'sky'), as well as st. *szép* 'nice', *tél* 'winter', *cső* 'pipe' ~ d. *sziép, tiél, csüö*, and from the Secler-type group: *sziép* 'nice', *széik* 'chair', *luó* 'horse', *hóu* 'snow', etc.

3. The ***frequency*** of the vowels is influenced by the following phenomena: in Northern Csángó one can observe a moderate use of *í* for standard *é*, that is, an *é* ~ *í* correspondence, which is often coupled with vowel shortening: st.

5   In terms of IPA symbols: *ä* = æ.

édes ~ d. *ídessz, idessz* 'sweet', st. *részeges* ~ d. *ríszegessz, riszegessz* 'drunkard', st. *sötét* ~ d. *szetit* 'dark', st. *ebéd* ~ d. *ebid* 'lunch', etc. In these dialects final *ó, ő* become more close and shorten: st. *fúró* ~ d. *furu* 'drill', st. *rigó* ~ d. *rigu* 'thrush', st. *esztendő* ~ st. *esztendü* 'year', st. *eső* ~ d. *esszü* 'rain', but almost all low and mid vowels can become more close: st. *őröl* ~ d. *űrel* 'grind', st. *hold* ~ d. *hud* 'moon', st. *bab* ~ d. *bob* 'bean', st. *mag* → d. *mog* 'seed', etc. On an associative basis the vowel *o* triggers *a → o* in the following syllable: st. *soha* 'never', *jobban* 'in a better way', *rothad* 'to rot', *sokan* 'many (people)', *fogja* 'he holds it' → d. *soho, jobbon, rothod, sokon, fogjo,* etc. This phenomenon can be observed to a lesser degree in the Southern Csángó dialects as well. Using *o* after *á*, on the other hand, is characteristic especially of some villages of the Secler-type group: st. *sánta* 'limping', *lámpa* 'lamp' → d. *sánto, lámpo, lámbo*, which is also known in the Northern Csángó dialects. The use of illabial *ȧ* before *á* is especially characteristic of Southern Csángó: *ȧpám* 'my father', *ȧnyám* 'my mother'. Associative phonemic relations can also be seen in cases when in the Csángó dialects *ö* is often replaced by *e* after the vowels *ü, ö*: st. *büdös* ~ d. *büdessz* 'smelly', st. *hűvös* ~ d. *hüessz* 'cool', st. *között* ~ d. *közett* 'between', st. *ökröt* ~ d. *ökret* 'ox-accusative', etc. (and as we have already mentioned, in Northern Csángó we cannot have the vowel *ö* after *ü* at all). At the same time the stressed *ö* vowels can assimilate (labialize) the *e* vowels in the following syllable: st. *öreg* → d. *örög* 'old', st. *köles* → d. *kölös* 'millet', st. *ökre* → d. *ökrö* 'his ox'. A specific vowel reflex of the Northern and Southern Csángó dialects is the use of the unstressed open *a (o → a)*: *szúnyog* → *szunyag* 'mosquito', *álom* → *álam* 'dream', *asszony* → *asszan* 'woman', *iszom* → *iszam* 'I drink', etc. At the same time one can find the use of stressed open *a* for standard *o* as well, but much more sporadically: st. *bolha* 'flea', *pohár* 'glass', *kotló* 'brooder', *mogyoró* 'hazelnut' → d. *balha, pahár, katló, magyaro,* etc. Using the open *j* for standard *ö* can be observed almost everywhere, it is the strongest in the centre of the region, and the weakest in its southern strip: st. *öt* 'five', *görény* 'polecat', *megdöglött* 'it perished', *körte* 'pear' → d. *æt, gœrén, mëgdœglœtt, kœrte.* This opening sometimes also influences long *ő*: st. *szőlő* 'grape', *őröl* 'grind' → d. *szœllœ, œrœl.*

From the point of view of length, the whole region can be characterized with a total or partial shortening of some long vowels: st. *fű* → d. *fü, fȕ* 'grass', st. *disznó* → d. *disznyu, disznyò* 'pig', st. *pillangó* → d. *pillango* 'butterfly', st. *ganéj* → d. *ganyë* 'dung', st. *orsó* → d. *òrsò* 'spool'. The last example also shows that syllable final *r* – similarly to *l* and *j* – lengthens the vowel before it: st. *csorda* 'herd', *ajtó* 'door', *hajnal* 'dawn', *alma* 'apple' → d. *csòrda, csàrda, àjtó, hàjnàl, àlma,* etc.

B) Consonants

1. With a few exceptions, the Secler-type dialect group can be characterized by the use of *j* rather than *ly*, which means that its **phonemic system** is similar to the standard system. On the other hand, the two Csángó dialect groups have preserved the phoneme *ly* (= [á]): standard and Moldavian Secler *ijen* 'like this', *ojan* 'like that', *köjök* 'kid', *kevéj* 'haughty', *hej* 'place', etc. ~ Northern and Southern Csángó *ilyen, ulyan, kölyök, kœlyœk, kevily, hely, gölye* 'sow'. (Counterexamples using *j* can also be found in the Csángó dialects as well.)

2. The situation is very varied regarding the **realization of consonants**. Due to its archaic nature, we have to emphasize the bilabial *β* variant of *v*, which has been preserved especially in intervocalic position: st. *hevül* 'enthuse', *üveg* 'glass', *havas* 'snow-covered', *lovak* 'horses' ~ d. *heβül, üβeg, hoβasz, loβak,* but can also be found in word-initial (st. *város* ~ d. *βárasz* 'town') and word-final positions (st. *öv* ~ d. *öβ* 'belt').

Several consonants have a palatalized version, but these do not form phonological oppositions with their non-palatalized counterparts. The use of the bilabial tremulant is a specific Hungarian characteristic (i.e., not originating from Romanian): st. *tücsök* 'cricket', *tüsszög* 'sneeze' ~ d. *ψücsök, ψüsszög.*

3. The **frequency of consonants** is influenced by the following major factors: one of the most important features of the two Csángó groups is the use of *sz* instead of the standard *s*: st. *most* ~ d. *maszt* 'now', st. *sok* ~ d. *szok* 'many', st. *só* ~ d. *szo, szu* 'salt', st. *másik* ~ d. *mászik* 'other', st. *lássuk* ~ d. *lásszuk* 'let's see'. (Of course, we have a palatalized version here as well: st. *sajtár* ~ d. *szétár* 'pail', st. *sarló* ~ d. *szallò* 'sickle', etc.) Parallelly, the voiced counterpart of *s* can also have a fronted pronunciation, that is, *zs* can be pronounced *z*: st. *zsák* ~ d. *zákk* 'sack', st. *vározsba* ~ d. *várazba* 'to town', st. *petrezsejem* ~ d. *peterzelyem* 'parsley'. A similar but less frequently occurring correspondence is *cs* ~ *c*: st. *kicsi* ~ d. *kici* 'small', st. *kezecske* ~ d. *kezecke* 'little hand'. These processes bear witness to the reorganization of the original postalveolar series of consonants. At the same time, one can observe that standard *ty* and *gy* are replaced by the corresponding postalveolar affricates (or their palatalized variants), *cs (~ ćs),* and *dzs (~ dźs),* respectively: st. *kutya* ~ d. *kucsa (kućsa)* 'dog', st. *tyúk* ~ d. *csuk (~ ćsuk)* 'hen', st. *gyermek* ~ d. *dzsermek* 'child', st. *mogyoró* ~ d. *madzsaru* 'hazelnut', etc.

Some other tendencies involving consonants and worth mentioning are: gemination (especially word finally): st. *vizes* 'wet', *veres* 'red', *pénteken* 'on

Friday', *házon* 'on (the) house', *zsák* 'sack', *rák* 'crayfish' ~ d. *vizessz, veressz, pén-tekenn, házonn, zákk, rákk* (but also intervocalically: st. *nála* 'at him', *tőle* 'from him', *róla* 'about him' ~ d. *nálla, tőlle, rólla*), etc.; hiatus: st. *kevés* ~ d. *köössz* 'few', st. *hűvös* ~ d. *hüessz* 'cool', st. *havazik* ~ d. *hooz* 'it is snowing'; metathesis: st. *fekete* ~ d. *feteke* 'black', st. *kanál* ~ d. *kalán* 'spoon', st. *madzag* ~ d. *mazdag* 'string', st. *hosszú* ~ d. *hojszu (< hoszju)* 'long'; also, in Csángó, the occurrence of non-etymologiocal *d* in *n*-final words: st. *mezőn* 'in (the) field', *lábon* 'on (the) leg', *szegény* 'poor' ~ d. *mezünd, lábond, szegénd.*

3. Some morphological phenomena

This section discusses selected morphological characteristics mainly of the Northern and Southern Csángó dialects.

The Moldavian Csángó dialects include both morphological archaisms and neologisms.

A) The leveling of some ***stem variants*** is a neologism: st. *hó/havat* → d. *hó/hót* 'snow/acc.'; st. *cső/csövek, csöve* → d. *csű/csűk, csűje* 'pipe/acc., its pipe'; st. *tetű/tetvek, tetves* → d. *tetű/tetűk, tetűs* 'louse/lice, lousy'; st. *ökör/ökröt* → d. *ökör/ökört* 'ox/acc.'; etc. (In some cases, however, non-alternation may also be an archaic feature: st. *levél/levelek* ~ d. *level/levelek* 'leaf/leaves'; st. *veréb/ve-rebek* ~ d. *bereb/berebek* 'sparrow/sparrows' – in Northern Csángó). In the past tense of monosyllabic *t*-final verbs, the use of the innovative shorter version is typical: st. *sütöttem* 'I baked', *ütöttem* 'I struck', *vetettem* 'I threw', *kötöttem* 'I bound' ~ d. *süttem, üttem, vettem, köttem,* etc. Due to the isolated situation of these dialects, however, researchers have been mainly intrigued by their archa-isms. One example is the *u*-final variant of *v*-stem verbs: st. *rí/ríttam, rívunk* ~ d. *riu/riutam, riunk* 'weep/I wept, we weep', etc., st. *hív/hívsz, hívott, hínánk* ~ d. *hiu/hiusz, hiutt, hiunánk* 'call/you call, he called, we would call', etc. The verb *iszik* 'drink' also has such stem variants: st. *ittam, ittál, ittunk* ~ d. *iuttam, iuttál, iuttunk (ivuttunk)* 'I drank, you drank, we drank'. Simple *v*-stem verbs and nouns usually include a high vowel: st. *lő* 'fire (v.)', *sző* 'weave', *kő* 'stone', *ló* 'horse' ~ d. *lű, szű, kű, lú* (in Southern Csángó alternating with *ó/ő*). In *sz/d/v*-stem verbs, the use of the more complete stem variant is more common, for example st. *alszik, alszom, alszol, aludjam* ~ d. *aluszik (alaszik), aluszom (alaszom), aluszol (alaszal); alugyam (aladzsam)* 'he sleeps, I sleep, you sleep; let me sleep'; etc.

B) With respect to the ***inflectional*** system, it is important to mention that the conjugation of -*ik* verbs is present in the Csángó dialect groups mostly in

its original state (*eszem* 'I eat', *iszom* 'I drink'), as opposed to the Secler-type section of the western strip of the region, where even the first person singular has the *ëszëk, iszok* form. Verbs with the suffix -*ik* in the third person singular and a special paradigm of their own are present in higher numbers in the Secler-type variant than in the standard language, for example *küzdik, forrik, termik, megállik, fujik, döllik* (st. *küzd* 'fight', *forr* 'boil', *terem* 'bear', *megáll* 'stop', *fúj* 'blow', *dől* 'lean'), as opposed to the archaic Csángó variants without the suffix -*ik*: *foly, mász, es, gyón, asz* (st. *fojik* 'flow', *mászik* 'crawl', *esik* 'fall', *gyónik* 'confess', *aszik* 'wither').

Note the -*uk/-ük* first person plural form without *j* of the definite conjugation (referring to definite direct objects) in the Northern Csángó dialect, which is one of the most widely known archaisms: *látuk, tuduk, monduk, váruk* (st. *látjuk* 'we see it', *tudjuk* 'we know it', *mondjuk* 'we say it', *várjuk* 'we wait for it'). The conditional first person singular form of the verb also differs from the standard variant: *látnuk, várnuk, őrölnük* (st. *látnánk/látnók* 'we would see it', *várnánk/várnók* 'we would wait for it', *őrölnénk/őrölnők* 'we would grind it'), respectively *látnunk, várnunk, őrölnünk* (st. *látnánk* 'we would see [something]', *várnánk* 'we would wait [for something]', *őrölnénk* 'we would grind [something]'). The third person singular form of *sz/v*-stem verbs is often the zero suffix (*tesz* 'put', *vesz* 'take', *visz* 'carry', etc., just as in the standard language), but we can find variants ending in -*n* as well (*teszen, veszen, viszen,* etc.). In the case of the third person singular form of the definite conjugation of back vowel verbs one can find the suffix -*ik*: st. *tudják* ~ d. *tudik* 'they know it', st. *varrják* ~ d. *varrik* 'they sew it', as well as in the case of antiharmonic verbs (ones that are supposed to have contained the velar *Ï* in Old Hungarian): st. *írják* ~ d. *írik* 'they write it', *bírják* ~ d. *bírik* 'they possess it', etc. The Csángó dialects follow the general pattern of -*t* final verbs in forming the imperative of verbs ending in the suffix -*ít*: st. *merítsen* ~ d. *merissen* 'let him ladle', st. *kerítse* ~ d. *kerisse* 'let him enclose it' (cf. *vet/vesse* 'throw/let him throw it').

The system of past tenses is very complex. The narrative past is widely used: *láta* 'saw', *kére* 'asked'; in the first person plural the -*á/-é* suffix has an -*ó/-ő* variant as well: st. (archaic) *hallánk* ~ d. *hallónk* 'we heard it', st. (archaic) *kérénk* ~ *kérőnk* 'we asked for it'. In the case of third person singular definite past tense forms using the suffix -*t* one can observe a specific internally developed personal suffix (on the variant level) with the suffix -*n* ~ -*nd*: st. *itta* ~ d. *ittand* 'he drank it', st. *ette* ~ d. *ettënd* 'he ate it', st. *elérte* ~ d. *elértén* 'he reached it', st. *csapta* ~ d. *csaptán* 'he slapped it'. Here are a few examples for the compound past tenses not present in the standard language: *eszen vala* 'he has eaten', *ettem vala* 'I ate', *ettem vót* 'I had eaten', *ettem lenne* 'I would have eaten', etc.

C) In the declension system, one can emphasize the frequency of ***diminutives***. Some of the most important diminutive suffixes are: *-cska/-cske* (*facska* 'small tree'), *-csó* (*száncsó* 'small sledge'), *-d* (*könnyüd* 'easy-dim.'), *-ica/-ice* (*bihalica* 'young buffalo'), *-ika/-ike* (*apika* 'daddy'), *-ikó* (*lányikó* 'small girl'), *-ka/-ke* (*ökörke* 'small ox'), *-kó/-kő* (*hosszukó* 'long-dim.'), *-ó/-ő* (*ángyó* 'auntie'), *-óka/-őke* (*botóka* 'small stick'); etc. These examples also show that suffixes that are also present in the standard language may create new dialect lexemes. The token frequency of words with diminutive suffixes is also far higher than in the standard language. – In connection with possessive suffixes we need to mention that the *lovik* (st. *lovuk*) 'their horse', *kertyik* (st. *kertjük*) 'their garden' type, which is very frequent in Székelyföld, is present in the Moldavian dialects as well. The plural possessor is indicated exactly as in the standard language: *lovaik* 'their horses', *kertyeik* 'their gardens'.

Regarding the ***case endings***, the unassimilated *-val/-vel* 'with' suffix can be considered an archaism: st. *mesékkel* 'with fairy tales', *reggel* 'in the morning' ~ d. *mesékvel, regvel,* as well as non-harmonizing *-szor/-szer/-ször* 'times': st. *sokszor* 'many times', *másszor* 'another time' ~ d. *sokszër, másszër.* Some locative case endings have high rather than mid vowels in Northern Csángó: for example, *-ból/-ből* 'from inside of', *-ról/-ről* 'from top of', *-tól/-től* 'from next to': *ujbul, mezzürül, estëtül* (st. *újból* 'again', *mezőről* 'from (the) field', *estétől* 'from evening'). The case ending *-n* 'on' is expanded into *-nd*: st. *mezőn* 'in (the) field', *nyáron* 'in summer' ~ d. *mezünd, nyárand.*

4. Further remarks

A) Dialect ***differentiation*** and ***internal divisions*** are present not only at the phonological and morphological, but also at the ***lexical*** level. The first element of the following lexical contrasts is found in (Northern and Southern) Csángó, the second one in the Secler-type Moldavian dialects:

st. ***furuja*** '(block) flute' ~ d. szültü (cf. *süvöltő* 'whistler') ⇔ *furuja;*

st. ***csinál*** 'do' ~ d. *csán* ⇔ *csinál;*

st. ***durrog*** 'thunder' ~ d. *durrag, durrog* ⇔ *mëndörög, gœrget;*

st. ***fáj*** 'hurt, be painful' ~ d. *sérik, sziérik* ⇔ *fáj;*

st. ***savanyú*** 'sour' ~ d. *szebessz, sëbëss, sebess* (partly in the Secler dialect as
   well) ⇔ *savanyó, savanyu;*

st. ***forró*** 'hot' ~ d. *hiév* ⇔ *fóró;*

st. ***kígyótojás*** 'snake's egg' ~ d. *kidzsucsukmony, kigyotyukmony* ⇔ *kégyotojás;*

st. **feleségem** 'my wife' ~ d. *nípem, népem* ⇔ *feleségëm, asszonyom, asszanyam* (partly in Southern Csángó as well);

st. **nyúl** 'hare' ~ d. *filyesz ~ files* ⇔ *nyúl;*

st. **kutyaköjök** 'puppy' ~ d. *cenk* ⇔ *kutyaköjök, kutyafiju, kutyacska;* etc.

Some contrasts can also be set up between the Northern Csángó and Southern Csángó dialect which is more exposed to the effects of the Secler dialect. The first element of the following word pairs is the northern one, while the second represents the Southern Csángó dialect:

st. **sír** 'cry' ~ d. *riu* ⇔ *bőg, sír ~ szír;*

st. **hegedű** 'fiddle' ~ d. *cinige* ⇔ *hedegü;*

st. **szerda** 'Wednesday' ~ d. *szarada* ⇔ *szërëda;*

st. **este** 'evening' ~ d. *ösztö ~ öszte* ⇔ *eszte ~ este;*

st. **ma** 'today' ~ d. *mu ~ mo* ⇔ *ma;* etc.

B) The whole of the Moldavian region is affected by a strong influence of the Romanian language. Today, we can witness the end of bilingualism and language loss in a lot of settlements, while in other villages the use of the Hungarian dialect has been reduced to the family environment. We can consider the following phenomena to be due to the influence of Romanian: the frequent shortening of long vowels (facilitated by language-internal developments as well), the emergence of new velar vowels (i, $ë$), and the appearance of palatalized variants of the consonants (see above). We have to mention the drastic differences of suprasegmental features (stress, intonation, speech rate, etc.), which are extremely unfamiliar for speakers of other Hungarian dialects or of the standard variant, and can impede comprehension more than any other dialectal feature. Due to the several centuries of cohabitation and bilingualism, the Romanian lexical influence encompasses every aspect of life, especially in Northern Csángó.

Some typical semantic fields can be illustrated by the following examples (see Márton 1972b: 26–44):

– **body parts**: *gitlézs* 'larynx', *musztáca* 'moustache', *timpla* 'temple', *sztomák* 'stomach';

– **human qualities**: *frikosz* 'timid', *gyëbosz* 'hunched' *tyëlbosz* 'bold';

– **wear**: *bernéc* 'belt', *hurmuz* 'bead, pearl necklace', *katrinca* 'homespun skirt', *kozsok* 'short coat' *pántálon* 'slacks, trousers';

– **food**: *kozonák* 'milk-loaf', *málé* 'dish made from cornflour', *maliga* 'dish made from cornflour', *pitán* 'bread made from cornflour', *záhár* 'sugar';

– **family**: *kumnáta* 'sister-in-law', *matusa* 'aunt', *nyirel* 'bridegroom', *nyirásza* 'bride', *mósuj* 'uncle', *nyám* 'relative', *nyëpót* 'nephew', *nyëpóta* 'niece';

- **the house and its surroundings**: *gáz* 'paraffin (oil)', *hodzság* 'lamp-chimney, stove-pipe', *horn*, *hórnya* 'chimney', *kuptor* 'oven', *kuska* 'corncob', *odáje ~ odája ~ odáj* 'room', *ográda* 'yard', *szóba* 'stove';
- **plant cultivation**: *bosztán* 'pumpkin', *goldán* 'summer plum', *puj* 'corn', *hárbuz* 'melon', *patlazsika* 'tomato';
- **stock-raising**: *berbécs* 'ram', *cáp* 'goat', *kurka* 'turkey', *rëcoj* 'drake';
- **professions**: *doktor ~ doftor* 'doctor', *fërár* 'blacksmith', *kozsokár* 'furrier' *lëmnár* 'carpenter', *zidár* 'mason';
- **tools**: *csokán* 'hammer', *dálta* 'chisel', *karuca* 'wagon', *ojiste* 'shaft';
- **culture**: *kálendár* 'calendar', *kondéj* 'pen', *zsurnál* 'newspaper'; etc.

C) Representatives of several disciplines have been interested in the ***origins and settlement history*** of the Hungarians in Moldavia, especially that of the Csángós with the most archaic culture and dialects; these questions are discussed in an extensive scholarly literature (including Lükő 1936, Mikecs 1941, Szabó T. 1951/1972, Domokos 1987, Gunda 1988, Benda 1989, to cite some of the better-known early items). There have been some opinions according to which the Csángós are the descendants of a group of the conquering Hungarians who remained outside the Carpathians. This theory cannot be supported either historically or linguistically. Contrastive dialectology has played an important role in formulating a reassuring scientific standpoint (for a review of Hungarian dialectological research in Moldavia, see Tánczos 2004).

One of the classics of this genre is Loránd Benkő's book entitled "A csángók eredete és települése a nyelvtudomány szemszögéből" [The origins and settlement of the Csángós from a linguistic aspect] (Benkő 1989). Benkő uses onomastic data, as well as data from the history of the language and dialectological ones, to suggest that the Northern and Southern Csángós migrated from the Transylvanian Plain (Mezőség) to Moldavia around the 14th century, and have preserved some Mezőség-type characteristics in their dialect, which is different from the Seclers'. His claims have been recently refined by Dezső Juhász (Juhász 2004) who, based on the data of the "Atlas of the Hungarian Dialects in Romania", localized the original settlement of the Northern Csángós within the Transylvanian Plain, south of the confluence of the rivers Kis-Szamos (Someșul Mic) and Nagy-Szamos (Someșul Mare), in the northern part of the Transylvanian Plain.

The systematic relationships and parallels between the Transylvanian and Moldavian dialects bear unequivocal evidence of relations in population history. Some of these are the above mentioned use of *a* (the *o → a* switch, more frequently in unstressed, less frequently in stressed positions), the

moderate use of *í* (the *é* → *í* switch) in Northern Csángó; the disappearance of mid *ë* (of the *ë – e* opposition); the lack of labial vowel harmony after *ö, ü* in the first syllable (st. *ökröt* → d. *ökret* 'ox-acc.', st. *füstös* → d. *füstes* 'smoky') or its surplus presence after *ö* (st. *körte* → d. *körtö* 'pear', st. *öreg* → d. *örög* 'old'); the use of *o* in stressed position *(nagy → nogy* 'big', *mag → mog* 'seed')*,* and after a stressed *o (soha → soho* 'never', *hovas → hovos* 'snow-capped'); the switch to *cs, dzs* from *ty, gy* in the case of consonants. From the morphological point of view, we can take into consideration the form without *j* of the first person plural of the definite conjugation in Northern Csángó (st. *tudjuk* – d. *tuduk* 'we know it', st. *látjuk* – d. *látuk* 'we see it'), which is less and less used in the Mezőség, but is still present in the known emigration groups (Köröstárkány/ Tărcaia in the valley of the Fekete-Körös/Crişul Negru, Domokos/Dămăcuşeni in Northern Transylvania, and Lozsád/Jeledinţi in Southern Transylvania). The lack of the suffix *-ik* in the case of some *-ik* verbs of the standard is also an archaic feature: st. *fojik* 'flow', *aszik* 'wither', *esik* 'fall' ~ d. *foly, asz, es,* etc.

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Jenő KISS

On the Hungarian language use of the Moldavian Csángós

1. The Moldavian Hungarian-Romanian bilingual Csángós are an archaic group, both linguistically and culturally. The peculiar history of this ethnic group, its language use, its material and spiritual culture, habits, belief system, the multitude of cultural archaisms, its radically changing present situation as well as its life is worth all this scientific interest and attention, being a true goldmine especially from the ethnographical and linguistic points of view.

The present paper offers a short presentation of the Hungarian language use of the Moldavian Csángós from a historical, sociolinguistic and contrastive dialectological point of view. We discuss how Hungarian speaking groups migrated to Romanian speech areas, we present the sociolinguistic circumstances surrounding the dialects of the Hungarian communities in Moldavia, and based on the linguistic data we conclude why the Hungarian dialects of Moldavia are archaic, as well as why there are so great differences between the Moldavian Csángó dialects and the other dialects of the Hungarian language.

Hungarian speaking communities have been living in Moldavia for centuries. Common talk, moreover the majority of the scholarly literature calls them Csángó. Nevertheless only a part of the Hungarian speaking Moldavians can be called Csángó with the local meaning of the word (the old Hungarian verb *csáng*, from which the *csángó* noun was formed meaning 'roaming, fleeing', basically 'people wandering around'), the others are of a Secler/Székely origin. The name *Csángó* referred to groups and their descendants, who at the end of the Middle Ages, based on further research at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century migrated from the eastern region of the Kingdom of Hungary, from the Transylvanian Plain (in Hungarian *Erdélyi Mezőség*), to Moldavia, a region separated from Transylvania by the Carpathian Mountains. Seclers migrated to Moldavia only later. (On the dialectological divisions of the Hungarians in Moldavia – northern, southern and Secler-type Csángós respectively – see Dezső Juhász's paper in the present volume).

2. Some basic questions regarding the Csángós can be answered with the help of linguistics (for the bibliography of linguistic research conducted between 1945 and 2004 regarding the Hungarian language in Moldavia see Tánczos 2004, for the ones before that see Szabó T. 1959). This is true because we do not have any written documents on the early history of the Csángós. Still there are some early dialectological data available, more from the near past and from the present, with the help of which, using the methods of neo-linguistics, we can answer some of the questions regarding the past. However it is an important condition that the data must be subject to meticulous, consistent and objective scientific research.

This analysis was conducted in the broadest approach, using the largest amount of resources and in a particularly complex fashion by Loránd Benkő, an illustrious researcher of Hungarian language geography and history of language. He was looking for answers to five questions regarding the origin of the Moldavian Csángós, the time they settled in Moldavia and the dialect they used to speak and which they speak in the present. His questions are the following: 1. What are the origins of the name *Csángó*, and what does it disclose? 2. What do the historical personal names refer to? 3. What do the historical place names uncover? 4. What do the loan words stand for? 5. What does the language geography analysis of the dialectological data refer to? (For details see Benkő 1989.)

Based on complex linguistic research it becomes obvious – and this is also confirmed by the latest dialectological analysis (Dezső Juhász's research, e.g. Juhász 2004) that the ancestors of the Csángós spoke a mezőségi-type Hungarian dialect. The Transylvanian Plain (in Hungarian *Erdélyi Mezőség*) is the hilly region between the Someşul Mic and Someşul Mare (in Hungarian *Kis Szamos* and *Nagy Szamos*), as well as the Mureş and Arieş (in Hungarian: *Maros* and *Aranyos*) rivers in the centre of Transylvania. This region has been inhabited by Hungarians since the 10–11th centuries; from 1000 A.D. it was part of the Kingdom of Hungary and was annexed to Romania in 1920. In the Middle Ages it used to be a region densely populated by Hungarians. The Romanians started to settle at the end of the Middle Ages, when the number of Hungarians diminished in the wards of the 16–17th centuries. Hungarian scientific attention has been focused on the Moldavian Hungarians since the first part of the 19th century: the Hungarian academy (Magyar Tudós Társaság – Hungarian Scientific Fellowship) took measures in 1836 to be familiarized with their language use (Szabó T. 1959: 4). Modern historical dialectological research in the 20th century confirmed that the Csángós migrated from their original residence, from the Transylvanian Plain (in Hungarian *Erdélyi Mezőség*).

The name *Csángó* belongs to the names of ethnic groups the members of which try to refer to the fact that their ancestors left their original residence through migration (the *Finnish* name is similar to this). The historical personal names also have an unambiguous conclusion. Based on the Hungarian-language data of Baldinus's (1646–1647) census we can conclude, that the great majority of the registered family names are of a Hungarian origin, as well as the fact that the Catholic population of the villages Baldinus visited and conscripted was Hungarian speaking Csángó even in the middle of the 17th century. Regarding the toponyms, the geographical names it can be stated that a considerable number of toponyms existing in Csángó vernacular names belong to a specific Hungarian toponym-type, the one formed by a personal name + *falva* (e.g. *Forrófalva, Bogdánfalva, Szabófalva*). This toponym-type started to spread in the Hungarian language during the 13th century, it still flourished in the 14th century, especially in the whole of Transylvania. The conclusions one can draw from the corpora of chronologically analyzable Hungarian toponyms basically coincide with the chronological information presented by personal names and toponyms of Hungarian origin, which have a Romanian (Slavic) linguistic form included in the early Moldavian documents.

3. The linguistic situation and ethnic sense of identity of the Csángós, the majority of whom is undergoing language shift, is complex and complicated to such an extent, that the classical census methods do not reveal the actual situation. The latest Romanian censuses (1992, 2002) for example consider (with small exceptions) the Moldavian Csángós to be of Romanian ethnicity and having Romanian as their mother tongue, and one can only infer the territorial distribution and the number Moldavian Catholics (Csángós) in the different villages from the data on religious affiliation. Still these data do not offer any information on the ethnical identity of the Moldavian Csángós, nor on the actual stage of linguistic assimilation, that is why according to the 2002 census the Hungarian ethnic Moldavian Catholics have almost completely disappeared. It is obvious, that only specific (scientific) field research can lead to reliable results. This research was conducted by Vilmos Tánczos between 1994–1996 and then between 2008–2010 (Tánczos 2008: 2011), and this is how we are able to orient ourselves regarding the Hungarian language knowledge and demographical data of the Moldavian Csángós based on recurrent field research, which filled the gaps mentioned above. According to the 2002 census 232,045 people were Moldavian Csángó (Catholic), but based on Tánczos's research 180,000 of these are completely assimilated, having Romanian as their mother tongue. In the 83 settlements cca. 62,000 Csángó Catholics knew and used one of the Hungarian dialects. After the regime changes in

Eastern Europe, that is after 1989/1990 the general situation, and thus the linguistic one was also radically changed, and is still changing. We can observe an accelerated abandonment of the original archaic culture and language of the Moldavian Csángós. This can be traced back to complex causes, the main factors according to Tánczos being the following: 1. the modernization processes have accelerated; 2. there is a huge increase in the number of Moldavian Csángós migrating abroad; 3. a transnational consciousness has been created and is still forming, together with a natural switch between languages and language variants based on the particular situations; 4. the mental attitude towards traditions and Hungarian language has changed, language awareness has increased, that is why in the case of some Csángós their minority language has been devaluated, and in the case of others its appreciation has increased. It all depended on the advantages of Hungarian language knowledge in ensuring life-possibilities, as well as on the assimilative nature of their environment, whether it supported or allowed the preservation of minority languages and cultures. It is important to mention the following: these phenomena correspond to general sociolinguistic tendencies, which govern the fate of linguistic minorities. The knowledge of the local Hungarian dialect in the case of the Moldavian Csángós has decreased by 29% in the past one and a half decades, according to Tánczos's data, and this drastic decrease indicates accelerated assimilation. Today's situation can be generally characterized– though with some exceptions – in the following way: 1. the children in most of the villages do not speak the Hungarian dialect (due to the fact that parents do not teach them); 2. the local dialect is understood passively by a small percentage of the 30-44 year olds; 3. the local dialect is generally known in the case of the eldest generation (60 and above).

From the sociolinguistic point of view these data clearly show that the majority of the community is engaged in the process of language shift: the Hungarian monolingual community from centuries ago became Hungarian dominant Hungarian-Romanian bilingual, then due to language shift they became Romanian dominant Hungarian-Romanian bilinguals, and this is how Romanian dominant communities, settlements are born. It is also important to mention as it is a natural phenomenon that in the case of the different Csángó settlements there are great differences in the extent of linguistic assimilation.

The Csángó dialects of Moldavia represent the easternmost group and region of the Hungarian dialects. This dialect group is the only region which was never part of the Kingdom of Hungary or later Hungary. This region is the smallest, and though it is the youngest Hungarian dialect region, it is still 650-700 years old. Moldavian Csángós quickly became bilingual in their mostly Romanian language environment. As they preserved their Roman Catholic

religion, they were differentiated from the Orthodox Romanian population in this respect as well. In the 17th century the Pope declared the area of Moldavia inhabited by a mostly Eastern Orthodox population a missionary region, and tried to increase the number of Romanian Catholics through assimilating the Moldavian Csángós into the Romanian community. That is why the Vatican ordered Polish and Italian priests to the area, who did not speak Hungarian, and who gradually made the Csángós get accustomed to the lack of the Hungarian language in the religious service. Romania enforced this practice with an official decree in the second half of the 19th century. The Moldavian Csángós were not part of the Hungarian ethnic revival, and they were not influenced by the creation of the Hungarian standard, nor by the language reform. Mother-tongue schools functioned only between 1947 and 1955. In such circumstances the Hungarian dialects of the Csángós – secluded from the other Hungarian dialects – preserved a very archaic linguistic situation and ethnic culture.

4. As opposed to other languages the Hungarian language can be characterized by the fact that there are no and there have never been any great linguistic differences or mother-tongue communicational difficulties between the dialects, differences that would make mutual understanding impossible. The Italian humanist living in Matthias Corvinus's court (the King of Hungary between 1458 and 1490), Galeotto Marzio wrote: "the Hungarians, may them be aristocrats or peasants, all use the words in the same way, and there are no differences in their speech... Namely, when speaking about Italy, there are such great differences in our speech, and the urban citizens differ from the villagers, the Calabrians from the citizen of Tuscany in their use of language, that they have great difficulties in understanding each other" (Telegdi 1977: 167). An exception to this is the majority of the Hungarian dialects of Moldavia: Hungarian speakers from any other regions have difficulties understanding the Csángó dialect in mother-tongue communication. This may come as a surprise to the ones accustomed to understanding other Hungarian variants.

The linguistic reasons of the above mentioned communicational barriers in the Hungarian-language communication of the Moldavian Hungarian-Romanian bilinguals with other speakers of Hungarian are worth analyzing. The most important factor is that the Moldavian Csángós have been living in a Romanian linguistic environment for more than half a decade now. It is also worth mentioning, that the majority of the Hungarians have undergone such social, economic and socio-cultural changes (the formation of the modern Hungarian society, of the standard language, the linguistic reform was performed, Hungarian language writing became general, as well as Hungarian language schooling), which have had an important influence on the formation

of the Hungarian language (especially its lexicon and idioms) in such a way, that these changes did not affect the Moldavian Csángós. As a result of this the changes between the secluded Hungarian dialects of Moldavia and the other variants of the Hungarian language have increased.

The most important differences in the linguistic communication are the following:

1. The high number of Romanian loan words in the Moldavian Csángó dialect. It is a stereotype, that the communities speaking different languages that have a long-term and intensive relationship affect each other's language in such a way, that the dominant community, the majority has a more accentuated effect on the smaller one. This happened in Moldavia as well: the language use of the Moldavian Csángós, who reached different stages of bilingualism, became more and more influenced by the Romanian language. There have been some previous tales regarding the Moldavian Csángós and their bilingualism, though the earliest date back only to the 18th century. Dimitrie Cantemir, the scholarly prince of Moldavia wrote the following in his work entitled Descriptio Moldaviae (1716): "Praeeter Moldavos, quorum majores e Maramorisz reversi sunt, plures Graeci, Albanii, Serbi, Bulgari, Poloni, Cosaci, Russi, Ungari ... incolunt (119). "Hungari, uti sacrorum Romanorum, ita et patrii sermonis fuere tenaciores, moldavicam tamen omnes callent" (Márton 1972: 122). Péter Zöld wrote the following about the Csángós in 1783: "they understand Hungarian and Romanian in the same way, and can use both languages correctly, still they have a lisping pronunciation of Hungarian" (Szabó T. 1959: 4). It is also natural, that the isolated Csángó minority regarding new notions uses the words, idioms of the majority language (in the Modern era that of the official language) which mediates these new notions, and this implicitly increases the number of words the linguistic community (in this case the Hungarian language community) does not know. A great majority of Hungarians (compared to whom the Moldavian Csángós are a small ethnic group) does not know these Romanian loan words, only the speakers who lived and live on the Transylvanian and Partium territories annexed to Romania after the I. World War, in 1920. (And this is true the other way around: the speakers of the Moldavian Csángó dialect have difficulties understanding the standard Hungarian language exactly because of the unfamiliar words in the Moldavian Csángó dialect, but present in the Hungarian standard). The author of the monograph on the Romanian loan words of the Hungarian dialects of Moldavia identified 2,730 Romanian loan words in these dialects in 1972. This number has increased in the past few decades, and with the spread of the Romanian language, that of the

Romanian dominant bilingualism, we can state, that today any dominant language word can become a loan word in the language use of the Moldavian Csángós. Some interesting results were produced by the partial analyses as well. It became clear that the distribution of Romanian loan words is different based on the scene, the topic and the genre of language use. According to this the vocabulary of public administration, organizational life, military life, modern technology and culture is almost exclusively Romanian in the language use of the Moldavian Csángós. As opposed to this the basic notions of life are expressed using Hungarian words. There are few Romanian words in the folklore texts, there are more in the everyday language and even more in the official language use. It is characteristic of the bilingual or minority language communities, thus of the Moldavian Csángós as well that several Hungarian-Romanian doublets exist in their language with identical or similar meanings. Based on the analysis of a three volume collection of folklore texts it was determined that the average frequency of Romanian loan words is 2.3%. We do not have information on any other analyses on this topic.

But how do the Moldavian Csángós perceive the relations of their dialect to the Hungarian standard language? They also sense the communicational barrier constituted by the lexical differences, and they consider this to be more important than the identity of the grammatical system (it is not a mistake: the two are indeed identical!). This is why when characterizing their language, they usually say: "neither Hungarian, nor Romanian". According to a research, in spontaneous utterances they call their language mainly "Hungarian", especially when they want to oppose their dialect with the Romanian language. They use the word "Csángó" when speaking about their dialect as opposed to the Hungarian standard (Szilágyi 2002: 86–67, 2006: 111).

2. The high number of archaisms. It is an axiom of language geography, that the peripheral communities, the ones who are far from the Centrum of the mother-tongue, as well as bilingual communities preserve a high number of linguistic archaisms, which have died out in the other dialects and the standard language. It is natural that the Moldavian dialects contain the most archaic features. Here we need to mention not only the number of archaisms, but their age as well. As the Moldavian Csángó dialects in some ways depict the stage of the Hungarian language in the Middle Ages, it is obvious that the majority of archaisms come from an older period than the archaisms found in the other Hungarian dialects. It is also a natural phenomenon that these archaisms are difficult to understand, or cannot be understood by the ones speaking a different dialect. In the words of Vilmos Tánczos: "the language [...] could be the living metaphor of the present perplexed identity of the Hungarian ethnics

in Moldavia. Because this language is both decayed and fantastic. As it trivially switches to Romanian, and thumbs its nose at the most elementary linguistic rules, it generously surfaces the most poetic of words and structures from the depths of the Hungarian past […].Through the most expressive metaphors, by the plasticity of pictures the Moldavian Csángó language floats in the same poetic skies as the Székely one" (Tánczos 1995: 287–288).

3. Neologisms. It is a known linguistic fact that the secluded dialects include not only a high number of archaisms, but also neologisms that cannot be found in any other dialects. The internal neologisms of the Moldavian Csángó dialects are strongly dialectical, as these dialects as a whole are highly regional. That is why in the majority of the cases they can be understood with difficulties or not understood at all not only to the speakers of the Hungarian standard, but also to the speakers of other dialects, even if the Moldavian dialects build from the same etymologic building blocks as the standard language.

4. Suprasegmental differences. When hearing a Moldavian Csángó speak, the speakers of standard Hungarian immediately notice that their Csángó interlocutors use an unfamiliar accent, a fast speech and an intonation, which is different from the standard one. According to the pertinent analysis the greatest communicational difficulty for the Hungarians from Hungary is the uncommonly fast speech. Another characteristic is that word stress can switch from the first syllable, and that due to the strong emotional load of the speaker the narration may seem as a series of exclamations (for details see Fodor 1991: 2007). These facts make understanding harder. This can also be confirmed by the fact that the same text in a written form does not present any, or only a few difficulties in understanding for the Hungarians who do not know the Csángó dialect.

5. An acclaimed researcher of the Moldavian Csángó dialects has concluded the following in connection with the influences of the Romanian language on these: "The influence is very powerful on the lexicon, it is less powerful on the semantic and phonetic system, and it is really weak on the grammatical system" (Márton 1972: 163). Taking into consideration the fact that the great majority of the grammatical structure and rules, as well as the basic lexicon of Moldavian Csángó dialects is identical or greatly similar to those of the other Hungarian variants, these dialects need to be unquestionably considered variants of the Hungarian language (for a full summary see: Kiss 2001).

The research of the Romanian language and dialect use of the Csángós who have undergone language shift is the task of Romanian linguistics, and this research could be most intriguing from a sociolinguistic point of view regarding language change.

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The self-concepts of the Moldavian Hungarians from the 50's of the last century

1. Attila Szabó T. in his paper published in the periodical *Magyar nyelvjárások* [Hungarian dialects] in 1959 (and republished in 1981) considers dialectological research and the creation of language atlases to be the opportunity to clarify the basic questions regarding the Moldavian Hungarians. Even during planning the dialectological research on the Hungarian language in Moldavia he stated that their importance and aim was "to clarify the relationships between the Moldavian Csángó and the other Hungarian dialects" (Szabó T. 1959/1981: 511). Upon finishing the task and reviewing the results, it became obvious for him that further connections can be revealed only with the help of the atlases drawn on the other Hungarian regions.

The fieldwork conducted by the members of the department was started in 1949 and lasted for more than one decade. The first two volumes of the atlas were published in 1991 (CsángNyA.). Their digital processing and completion was done by Csanád Bodó and Fruzsina Vargha (Bodó–Vargha 2007) based on the 3rd volume. In the meantime six volumes of the *A magyar nyelvjárások atlasza* [Atlas of the Hungarian Dialects] (MNyA.) edited by László Deme and Samu Imre were published between 1968 and 1977, while between 1995 and 2011 11 volumes of the *A romániai magyar nyelvjárások atlasza* [Atlas of the Hungarian Dialects in Romania] (RMNyA.) appeared. Prior to this in 1987 the concise dictionary version of the manuscript Szecler dialectological atlases edited by Mózes Gálffy and Gyula Márton were published in Budapest with the title *Székely Nyelvföldrajzi Szótár* [Szecler Geolinguistic Dictionary] (SzNyfSz.).

Loránd Benkő had the opportunity to write his comparative dialectological study entitled *A csángók eredete és települése a nyelvtudomány szemszögéből* – [The origins and settlement of the Csángó from a linguistic point of view] (Benkő 1990) based on previously published materials which were considerably richer

in their quantity and volume. This study is followed in its concept and terminology by Dezső Juhász in one of the chapters of his handbook entitled *Magyar dialektológia* –[Hungarian dialectology] (Juhász 2001), as he had the chance to work with the material published up until then in the RMNyA. This handbook brought forth something new – unlike the previous standpoint of Hungarian dialectological research – as it considered the Moldavian region not to be part of the Szecler region, but – as the opposite extreme – to form an independent dialectological region. Referring to the workings of the dictionary of the Hungarian language in Moldavia, and using the same resources I myself analyzed the inner distribution of the Moldavian dialect, together with its relations to the whole of the Hungarian language as well as to other Hungarian dialectological regions in my study published in the journal *Nyelv- és Irodalomtudományi Közlemények* in 2006 (Péntek 2006).

2. The mainly phonetic but also geolinguistic data prove that the Moldavian Hungarian dialect is Mezőségi and Szecler in its type. Its division – mainly because of its mixed nature and the continuous amalgamation – is geographically problematic: the stripe near the Szeret (Siret) river (East) is the more archaic one, showing distinct "Mezőségi" features (the "Northern" near Románvásár – Roman, and partly the "Southern", near Bákó – Bacău), while the one which can be localized in the larger area neighboring the Szecler dialect, near the Tatros (Trotuş), Tázló (Tazlău) and Aranyos-Beszterce (Bistriţa Aurie) rivers, is "Szecler-type".

Based on type and settlement one can deduce information on origins as well. The Hungarians in Moldavia have all arrived from areas of historical Transylvania: the more archaic ones inhabiting the banks of the Szeret (Siret) river at a very early period, from the comitatus regions of Transylvania, from the Mezőség, most probably due to a distinct purpose and conscious relocation, while the others in later periods, for different reasons; as a result of direct geographical contact by spontaneous migration as well, almost continuously from Székelyföld (Szecler land). These are the origins of the typological, geographical and chronological heterogeneity of the Hungarian language in the region. The inner, Hungarian dialectological differentiations and mingling can be clarified only on the level of the linguistic phenomena, based on which one can conclude what type of phenomena are characteristic to a given settlement (Mezőségi or Szecler-type) (Tánczos 2011: II. 116–117). This is made even more complex by the fact that the region is a speech island, which during the centuries has been preserving the Hungarian language of the settlers as a "bubble", and due to the Romanian language surroundings the dialect has been incorporating contact elements, while at the end of the 19th century within the

Romanian nation-state language change became more intensive both functionally and structurally.

As I signal in the study mentioned above, I myself consider the use of the name *Csángó* problematic in the more recent scholarly literature, as well as the naming of the inner types and sub-units. I wish to present my findings hereafter.

3. The *A moldvai magyar nyelv szótára* [Dictionary of the Hungarian Language in Moldavia] (Péntek 2004) is being edited using the department archives of the dialectological data gathered between 1949 and 1962 with the final end of compiling the CsángNyA. This also is a separate story. Y. Wichmann gathered the dictionary materials during the winter of 1906-1907 in Szabófalva (Säbäoani), this and the typologically different data from Hétfalu (Şapte Sate) was published by Bálint Csűry and A. Kannisto in 1936 in Helsinki (Csűry–Kannisto 1936). Bálint Csűry started editing the dictionary of the Southern Csángó dialect using the material collected in Bogdánfalva (Valea Seacă) between 1928 and 1931. This work stopped due to his early death in 1941. As Attila Szabó T. accompanied Csűry on one of his Moldavian field trips, it seemed that he would be the one to continue Csűry's work. This was not to happen, as Csűry's library and manuscript legacy was destroyed in the autumn of 1944 (Szabó T. 1959/1981: 604). In his study published in 1959, Attila Szabó T. revived the plan of the dictionary, and he thought this to be realizable by using the additional information contained in the data resulting from the field research carried out by the department, as well as the whole of the data gathered, in the form of several dialectological dictionaries based on geographical distribution (Szabó T. 1959/1981: 512). This was never to be achieved as all of his energy was tied up in compiling the *Erdélyi magyar szótörténeti tár* – [The Historical Dictionary of the Transylvanian Lexicon]. Gyula Márton used the same material in editing and publishing the Romanian contact elements of the Hungarian dialect of Moldavia (Márton 1972), while immediately before his death in 1976 he started compiling his own dialectological dictionary. This century-old work, started and discontinued by several people is presently being carried out through the editing of the *Dictionary of the Hungarian Language in Moldavia.*

4. The language shift and assimilation of the Moldavian Hungarians has been going on for centuries. This process was accelerated at the end of the 19th century and during the Second World War. It was not the assignment of dialectological research of the fifties of 20th century to accurately analyze the stage of language shift. It would have not been enabled by external factors, and the minute methodological approach used by researchers today was not yet available. But they were intrigued by this basic problem. Attila Szabó T. visited all of

the villages with Hungarian inhabitants, and he observed the situation of every settlement. And though he did not possess statistical data, he considered it important to place every village on a virtual three-level scale. When enumerating the settlements in his above mentioned study, he marked the ones with 2-20 Hungarian inhabitants with *, "while the Csángó inhabitants of the ones marked with ** are experiencing the last phase of assimilation into the Romanian language" (Szabó T. 1959/1981: 518). The recent period of this process was surveyed by Vilmos Tánczos four decades later as well as very recently (Tánczos 2011). In this survey he took into account Hungarian language competence as well (1. Mother tongue level; 2. Second language dominant bilingualism; 3. Passive language knowledge; 4. Total language loss), while he was interested in especially two factors of the multi-factor process of assimilation: where the different settlements could be located within this process and the generational distribution of the speakers (Tánczos: 2011. I. 97).

5. Besides the questionnaire material found in the department archives, which was used in editing the *Dictionary of the Hungarian Language in Moldavia*, there are a lot of additional information which present an "inside perspective" of the speakers and respondents of the given period regarding their language and linguistic situation. The questionnaires did not include such questions, the fieldworkers did not ask the respondents directly, they did not record any audio materials, and thus one needs to consider these meta-linguistic enunciations from the field of "folk linguistics" to be spontaneous, authentic and genuine.

These data bear witness to the fact that the Hungarians in Moldavia are aware of their identity, of the changes in their identity, the fading of the characteristics of their language, of their mother tongue. This spontaneous language awareness was different from the one that occurred in the last two decades due to modernization and migration (Tánczos 2011: I. 93).

In the following grouping and enumeration of data I follow the virtual process of language shift from one language to another. After every "statement" I include the abbreviation of the name of the given settlement, the key to the abbreviations is at the end of the study. Though it is unquestionably true that there are (and have been) significant differences between the various settlements regarding the degree of language shift and assimilation, I did not take this fact into consideration. Although the above mentioned differences in the degree of language shift exist, the process itself is identical and analogous everywhere (language shift presents some general laws, independent from language and situation). The external and internal factors have had a common role in the – also normal – gradual acceleration of the process (Tánczos: I. 106–107, 112, III. 132).

Being Hungarian among Romanians:

Magyar a magyart jószüvvel fogaggya [Hungarians treat Hungarians with kindness] (P). | *Min csak magyar, né. Örzik magikba, hogy magyarak* [See, all of them are Hungarians. They have preserved being Hungarian within themselves] (P).

Nük /= mi/ *nem ura tuggyuk* /= nem tudhatjuk/, *mitülcsi* /= mióta/ *vagyunk* /itt/. [We cannot know for how long we have been here.] | *Honnat leltik meg magik, hogy itt vannak madzsarak?* [Where did you find out that there are Hungarians over here?] (Szf).

Az olá asz monta, itt olá főd van. [The Vlach said this is Vlach land] (P). | *Itt fele olá, fele magyar.* [Half of the people are Vlachs, half of them are Hungarian] (Bc). | *Ez a ket beszéd van.* [There are these two languages here] (Pl). | *Kel tuggyunk magyarul es, rományul es.* [We have to know to speak Hungarian and Romanian as well] (Szc). | *Vettünk lejányokot Mardzsinénból, sz azok nem tudtak magyarul, csak olául.* [We took wives from Mardzsine, they did not speak Hungarian, only Vlach (Sze). | *Vigyitettek vagyunk itt, el vagyunk vigyilve erőst.* [We are mixed over here, very much mixed] (Et).

1. 1. 1. What do they consider themselves to be?
Ezek a faluk isz min magyarak ultak. [All of these villages used to be Hungarian] (Sz). | *A Szereten túl Ploszkocény magyar falu.* [Ploszkucény over the Szeret river is a Hungarian village] (P). | *Nem tartjuk magunkat csángóknak, magyarok vagyunk.* [We do not consider ourselves to be Csángó, we are Hungarian] (Je).

Barlád, az egy város, s annak van egy folyója, Barlád. Hallottam, beszélik, hogy ott vót a régi határ, a magyaroké [Barlád is a town, it has a river, Barlád. I heard people talk that there used to be the old Hungarian border] (K).

1. 1. 2. What do the Romanians consider them to be?
Ök / a románok/ *nekünk asz mongyák: magyarak.* [They / the Romanians / call us Hungarian] (L).

1. 1. 3. Minority existence: being *small*
Vadnak magyarok Jáson is. Ott is kicsi a magyar. [There are Hungarians in Iaşi as well. Hungarians are small (a few) there as well] (Tu). | *Mik magyarok kicsidebb.* /= kevesebben/ *vagyunk.* [Us, Hungarians are less] (Bst). | *Kicsidebb* /= kevesebb/ *a magyar.* [Hungarians are smaller (less)] (Do). | *Doftánába is lehet lesznek* /magyarok/, *de kicsibben vannak* [Finding Hungarians in Doftana is also possible, but they are very few] (Fr). | *Kicsibben vannak ērefelé.* [There are less and less over here] (Tr).

In the Hungarian dialect of Moldavia it is a very common phenomenon to use the word *kicsi* 'small' with the exclusive meaning of 'few', the word *kicsibben* meaning 'fewer', while *kicsike* means 'small'.

The *magyar/ungur* is an accepted internal and external ethnonym, which has the general meaning of being part of the *magyar* ('Hungarian') ethnic group, while a narrower interpretation refers to the non-Szecler group of the Hungarians in Moldavia.

1. 1. 4. The sense of dispersal and secludedness:

Messze vagyunk, mind el vagyunk szertilve egész Románijába. [We are far away, scattered across the whole of Romania] (Esz). | *El vagyunk szertilve a rományok között.* [We are scattered among Romanians] (Je). | *Egy nyelv, mikor annyi időtől el vagyon szertülve ...* [A language which has been secluded for so long...] (Fr). | *El vannak szóródva az oláhok között.* [They are scattered among the Vlachs] (Li).

In their interpretation *Magyarfőd* (Hungarian land) is Hungary, Transylvania:

A verekëdistől /= háborútól/ *futtak Magyarfődről.* [They escaped from the war from the Hungarian land] (M). | *Magik Magyarfődről vannak.* [You come from the Hungarian land] (Gy). | *Az én tátám magyarfődi vót.* [My father was from the Hungarian land] (Gy). | *A bába ës, a zejim* /= a feleségem/*, magyarfődi.* [The old lady, my wife is from the Hungarian land] (Rj).

1. 1. 5. Catholic = Hungarian? Catholic = not Orthodox? → Hungarian (Roman) Catholic and Romanian (Roman) Catholic:

Tudják, mellik katolikusz, nem román. [You know, the Catholics are not Romanian] (Sz). | *Madzsar kătolikak vadzsunk.* [We are Hungarian Catholics] (Tn). | *Ákurátus kátolikus, s nem tud ëgy szót magyarul.* [They are regular Catholics, and do not understand a word of Hungarian] (O). | *Kátolikak, de nem tudnak magyarul.* [They are Catholics but they don't speak Hungarian] (Bf).'

The importance of the Hungarian language as an identity-feature has been lost with extensive bilingualism and a more and more intensive language shift, while the degree of alienation from the language is being more influenced by religion. This occurred earlier in the case of the speakers of the more archaic, mezőségi-type dialect. But both the *Catholic* identity and the one determined as *Csángó* – though to different extents – mask the basic fact according to which the originally Hungarian and (mostly) Roman Catholic ethnic group has undergone a Hungarian → Romanian language shift and assimilation.

1. 2. The Szecler identity:

Mük székelyek vagyunk, úgy vagyunk feladval, hogy mük székelyek vagyunk. [We are Székely, we are considered to be Székely] (Et). | *Aszonygyák, székelek vagyunk mük.* [They say that we are Székely]. (Rp). | *Nekünk monygyák a csángó falukból valók, hogy székejek, amijér ámesztëkáltak /=* kevertek/ *vagyunk az olával.* [The ones from the Csángó villages say that we are Székely, as we are mixed with the Vlachs] (Pp).

This latter utterance indicates the fact that the "Szecler-type" Moldavians consider the other groups to be *Csángó* except for themselves, while the other groups perceive the "Szecler-type" language use to be more mixed.

1. 3. 1. Others say: you are Csángó:

Det mensz be a rományok közi, akkor monygyák: csángójak vagytok. [When you go and meet Romanians, they say: you are Csángó] (Kl). | *Aszkat /ti. a Szeret menti csángókat/ annak /ti.* csángónak/ *tartjuk, ők münket oláaknak tartanak.* [We consider the Csángós from the banks of the Szeret river to be Csángó, while they say we are Vlachs] (Rp).

1. 3. 2. *Nem vagyunk igaz magyarok, csángossan beszélünk* [We are not real Hungarians, we speak like the Csángós do] (S).

Mink is a csángókhoz tartunk. [We also belong to the Csángós] (Tu). | *Itthon asz szoktuk beszélleni, azt a csángó nyelvet.* [We speak that language at home, the Csángó language] (De). | *Inkáckább beszil ic cángoul* [They rather speak Csángó] (Bf). | *Azt tudzsuk, hogy csángójak vadunk* [We know for sure that we are Csángós] (Kl). | *Csángoss nyelven, nem drept magyar nyelven beszélünk.* [We speak in the Csángó language, not the real Hungarian language] (Ff).

The *Csángó* name has unquestionably a negative connotation due to its etymology and the other meanings indicated in the EtSz. The dictionary considers the origins of the word to mean 'rover, roamer', and writes that the other meanings ('gabbler, bad sounding language' etc.) "need to be understood as a more general meaning of 'different from the correct, from the straightforward'." This whole semantic field mirrors a stigmatizing, pejorative attitude, which unquestionably originates from an external viewpoint. Attila Szabó T. writes the following regarding his experiences in the fifties: "... both the older [...], both the Csángós belonging to the Szecler-type or Szecler Csángó groups unwillingly assume – if they assume – this name, and thus the interviewer feels that the Hungarians from Moldavia consider the word *Csángó* to be pejorative" (Szabó T. 1959/1981: 520). László Kósa writes in his *Csángó* dictionary entry of the NéprLex.: "The 'Csángó' name is usually pejorative" (1977). This was also stated by István Pávai based on his research conducted in the first

half of the 90's (Pávai s.a.). This recognition is also mirrored by the fact that the *Csángó Újság* [Csángó magazine] started after 1990 changed its name into *Moldvai Magyarság* [Hungarians of Moldavia]. It has been published under this name ever since.

Even the most important researchers of the Csángós have not been able to avoid using the name *Csángó* and could not achieve the unification and consistent use in the scholarly literature. This is connected to the many uncertainties and the obscurity that has surrounded the origins and identity of the Hungarians in Moldavia. Incze János Petrás (1841) speaks about *Csángó Hungarians* and *Székely Hungarians* in Moldavia, this means that according to his opinion the archaic group is the *Csángó*; Gábor Lükő (Lükő 1936) used the word *Csángó* when referring to the whole of the ethnic group, and as such he called the two big groups *Moldavian Hungarians* and *Moldavian Szeclers,* Attila Szabó T. uses this when referring to the whole of the group as well as the subgroups (*Northern, Southern, Szecler-type*) (Szabó T. 1959/1981). Benkő Loránd (Benkő 1990) calls the whole of the group *Moldavian Hungarian,* and uses the names *Moldavian Csángó* and *Moldavian Szecler.* He also emphasizes the fact that from a terminological point of view he only finds this narrower, more specific meaning acceptable. Today's terminology makes radically different ideological interpretations possible: for most of the Hungarian researchers it is natural, that the meaning of *Moldavian Csángó* is 'Moldavian Hungarian'. Nevertheless for some, especially for the Romanians this gives way to the interpretation that the *Moldavian Csángós* are 'not Hungarian', and this could be an excuse for the obviously dilettante, nationalist theory that states that the Csángós are of Romanian origin (see for the latest critique of this theory: Tánczos 2011: II. 103). The standard meaning of the word is stated by the ÉKsz., as follows: "the ethnic group living in or originating from Bucovina or Moldavia." The standard use of the word in the Hungarian vernacular is much less obvious and consistent both in its interpretation and the emotional attitudes related to it. It is influenced greatly by the sympathy or antipathy, the existence or lack of information regarding the Moldavian Hungarians and the diaspora Hungarians in general.

It is without doubt that while the Hungarian scholarly literature repeatedly returns to the etymology of the word *Csángó,* not taking into much consideration the fact that it accepts and uses an external, pejorative name for the ethnic group. The inside rejection of this could not be manifested in the professional discourse, as the community did not have a group of intellectuals until recently. This, together with the external repetition referring to them speaking a "hybrid", "unclean" language gradually diminished the Hungarian identity of the Moldavians, and the continuous discourse on their well-being has made the name *Csángó* acceptable for them. This professional and intellectual discourse is

obvious and ambiguous at the same time: they almost completely accepted the use of this pejorative name, and now it is being certified that the *Csángós* are still *Hungarians* and their language is also *Hungarian.* This fact does not really need a certification, as it can be questioned only from a very biased view-point.

Their sense of identity – similar to the majority of linguistic communities – changes according to their knowledge and use of language. Attila Szabó T. wrote the following on this topic: "What regards the ethnic identity of the Csángós, the Hungarian ethnic identity of the Csángós living in the Csángó-Hungarian settlements belonging to the larger group of Szecler-Csángós is stronger, while the inhabitant of Northern and Southern Csángó consider themselves to be *kátolik*, that is Catholic regarding their ethnic belonging" (Szabó T. 1959/1981: 520).

1. 4. The sense of difference and identity regarding language use: *Különböddzik a beszéd, béértik igy ës, ugy ës* [The language is different, and is used in several ways] (O).

Nálunk ëgyébképpen hojzák a beszédët. [In our village the speech is different] (Szp). | *Balanyászában még mászként beszélnek. Hites magyarok, kredincsioszok, ők mászként beszélnek.* [They speak differently in Balanyásza. They are faithful Hungarians, they speak differently] (Rp). | *Monygya vala Károj, hogy más beszéd vagyon āra.* [Károly said, that there is a different kind of speech over there] (O). | *Maga besziél tiszta magyarul, én besziélek csángóul.* [You speak clean, proper Hungarian, I speak Csángó] (Di).

A kákovaiak s-vel, mik Nagypatakon sz-vel beszélünk. [The ones from Kákov pronounce *s*, we in Nagypatak pronounce *sz*] (Np). | *Kám fele beszél szävel* /a falunak/ ti. sz-elve! [Around half of the village uses *sz*] (Di). | *Nem mongygyuk pëcsënye* /ti. a húsnak/, *azok a csángók monygyák ott Bogdánfalába .* [We don't call steak pëcsënye, only the Csángós do that in Bogdánfalva] (L). | *Nyúlnak nem monygyák csak magyarossan* [They name the bunny as the Hungarians do] (Kr). | *Az vadalma magyarassan, az a paduréc* [It is called vadalma in Hungarian, the paduréc] (G). | ***Sépëli*** *magyarasszand jön,* **veri** *így mi nállunk: csángósszand* [The Hungarians say **sépëli**, us Csángós say **veri**] (Pl). –

2. 1. The Romanians mock them for being Hungarian: *Csúfoltak essze a rományok* (P). [The Romanians mock us] (P)

bangyin: *Nekünk ugy monygyák vala, banygyin.* [They used to call us *banygyin*] (Et). | *Mi jövettek vagyunk.* **Bangyenek.** *Ami azt jelenti, hogy mindcsak a magyarokhoz tartoznánk, s nem volna annyi igazunk, mint nekik.* [We are carpetbaggers. **Bangyens**. This means that we belong only to the Hungarians, and did not have as much to say as they do] (Fr). – '(Et). | (Fr).'

bozgor: homeless, stateless. – *A romĭnyok mocskoltak, mer aszonták: eşti bozgor, úgy mondták, mer magyar vagy* [The Romanians mocked us saying: you are *bozgor*, for being Hungarian] (P). | *Ha megharagudnak, még azt es mondják, hogy bozgor. Ezt azért mondják, hogy ők nem értik a magyar beszédet, s akkor azt mondják: bozgerálunk.* [If they get mad at us, they even call us *bozgor*. They call us that because they do not understand the Hungarian language and then they say: we speak *bozgor*] (Fr).

2. 2. Living in fear:

Mük dorso /= nagyon/ nehezenn ilünk. Mit tuttunk mük sálni? Mük fiélünk. Szufirilunk /= szenvedünk/ mi is. [We have a very difficult life. What can we do? We are afraid. We do suffer] (Sz).'

2. 3. A continuous pressure on them to abandon their language:

*Ezt a nyelvet /*ti. a románt*/ a népbe belészurják /= bele erőltetik/* [They force this language, the Romanian, on the people] (Di). | *Szüküdeje akarnak münköt elveszteni.* [They have been planning to eradicate us for a very long time] (Bf).

2. 4. Prohibiting the use of Hungarian:

Nem vót szabad magyarul beszélleni. [We were not allowed to speak Hungarian] (De). | *Most ĕgy kortól nem vót szabad magyarul beszélni.* [There was a period when we were not allowed to speak Hungarian] (Gy). | *Tudnak ők magyarull, de nem vót szabad /beszélni/* [They know Hungarian, but they were not allowed to speak] (G).

3. 1. In bilingualism Hungarian still can be the dominant language:

Csupáng tiszta magyarul beszéllek [I speak only proper Hungarian] (De). | *Mikor a régi háboru vót, nem tuttak románul még de lok /= egyáltalán/* [During the old war they could not speak Romanian at all) (Tu). | *Vannak, hogy nem is tudnak oláhul ĕs* [There are some who don't know Romanian] (Ku). | *Gyirĕn tudnak oláull* [They rarely speak Romanian] (Et). | *Százából vaj tíz van román itt* [Out of one hundred there are around ten Romanians here] (K). | *Nállik jobban bé van memve a magyar nyelv.* [They have more Hungarian than us.] | *Vannak nálunk ojan örög ember, hogy nem tud románul de lok /= egyáltalán/ (Pl)* [There are some old folks who don't know Romanian at all]. | *A szĕrbĕkiek magyarul beszĕlnek* [The people from Szerbek speak Hungarian] (P). | *El tuggya grizsilni /= vigyázni tud/, ne kerekĕggyĕn a román beszédbe!* [He can watch not to mix Romanian words into his Hungarian speech] (P). | *Nük beszéllünk madzsarull. Mazsarul i házba /= családban/ vagyunk.* [We speak Hungarian. We have a Hungarian family] (Sz).

3. 2. In other places Romanian is the better known, more used language:

Románul beszélődik többet [They speak more Romanian] (G). | *Mük ... keztünk húzni a rományok beszéggyire* [We... started to use the language of the Romanians] (Szb). | *Inkábbad rományul menyen* /ti. a beszélgetés/. [The conversation is carried out more in Romanian] (P) | *Ennek elétte jobban beszéltek magyarul* [They used to speak better Hungarian before] (Tu). | *Ott ës többet oláhul hozzák, mind magyarul* /a beszédet/ [They speak more Romanian than Hungarian in that village] (Bc). | *Nem beszélgetnek csupánd oláhul* [They only speak in Romanian] (Szt). | *Nállik többnyire oláhul beszélnek.* [They speak more Romanian] (Szk). | *Ezek es nem tudnak magyarul, csak kevest* [These people don't even know Hungarian, just a little] (Tu). | *Gyíren, vagy ëgy szót* /tud magyarul/ [They know only a few words in Hungarian] (Lg).

Métt ojan nehez fejed van, nem tucc magyarul megtanulni? [Why do you have problems with your head, that you can't learn Hungarian?] (Bf)'

4. 1. Hungarian is losing ground from the functional point of view:

4. 1. 1. *Nem vót magyar iskala* **[We did not have Hungarian schools]** (Kl). | *Nekëm is, ha iskalám lët vóna, tudnám mutitosra ës.* [If I were educated, I would know it very well] (P). | *A mik falunkba csak a tanyító romány* [In our village only the teacher is Romanian] (M). | *Mü rományul tanultunk, a nyelvem jobban hajlott a román beszédre* (Fr). [We learnt Romanian, it was easier for me to speak Romanian] (Fr).'

4. 1. 2. *Magyarul nem tud irászt* **[He doesn't know how to write in Hungarian]** (Bf). | *Én is üsmerek magyar írást* [I know Hungarian writing] (Ku).

4. 1.3. *Amitőte vót a másik háboru,* **nem monták magyarul a misét [**Since the second war, **there haven't been any Hungarian masses]** (O). | *Esent a kántor a misét nem monygya magyarul* [The chorister does not say the mass in Hungarian] (Gu). | *A nép miánt, hogy a nép ugy elizélt, kël tarcsák rományull* /a misét/ [Because of the people, as they got assimilated, they need to have Romanian masses] (O). | *Rományul a szolgálat a templomba* [The service in the church is in Romanian] (Pr).

4. 2. Subtractive bilingualism, semilingualism: *Ugy essze van vigyílvel a beszéd* (Tu) [The language is so much mixed] (Tu)'. → structural language change

A csángó beszéd el van vigyülve a románval [The Csángó language is mixed with the Romanian] (Bu). | *Itt felit beszéjjük románul, felét magyarul* [Here we

use half Romanian, half Hungarian] (Fr). | *A többik felit magyarul, felit rományul /mondják/* [The others say half in Hungarian, half in Romanian] (P). | *Én isz vigyitem essze. Oláhasszom montam* [I myself mix them together. I said it in Romanian] (Bf). | *A nunta oláhossan jő.* [The word nunta is in Romanian.] | *Menek a holthaz, jő oláosszan mergem la mort* [They go to the dead, in Romanian *mergem la mort*] (Ju). | *Iértik oláosonn* [It's in Romanian] (Pr).

El van romolva a beszéggyik, inkábbad mind a mijénk [Their speech is crooked, more crooked than ours] (Ks). | *Vannak a csángók, még rosszabbul beszélnek* [There are Csángós who speak an even more degraded language] (Tu). | *Nekünk a nyelvünk félmagyar* [Our language is half Hungarian] (Gy). | *A rekecsiniek uljan félszékelleszen [beszélnek]* [The ones from Rekecsin speak a half-Szecler language] (Np).

4. 2. 1. Frequent code-switch:
A zsalanciak örökké **siritik el rományul** */a beszédet/* [The inhabitants of Zsalac always **switch it to Romanian**] (P). | *Iën elfordittam magyarra* [I switch to Hungarian] (Bf).

4. 2. 2. Forgetting the language: *Elfelejtyük, hogy monygyuk a mi nyelvinken* [We forget how we talk in our languages] (Je).
Ha magyarul maga **megreménti** */= megemlíti/,* **eszembe juttassa** */a szót/* [If you mention it in Hungarian, you will remind me of the word] (Gy). | *Haltam, de nem tudom magyarul, hogy monták lesz neki /ti. a Göncölnek/* [I heard it, but I don't know how you call that in Hungarian (the Great Bear)] (De). | *El is felejtëttem, hogy vót az a beszéd* [I even forgot about that expression] (M). | *Nem tudom ién azkat, elfelejtettem* [I don't know that, I forgot] (Di). | *Neveztik a vínek, öreg emberek, de elfelejtettem* [The old folks knew its name, but I forgot] (Ju). | *Jugánba is fogták felejteni el /= kezdik elfelejteni!/* [They start to forget even in Jugán] (Kl).

4. 2. 3. They speak Hungarian in their sleep:
Én egy éjjen megebredtem, hogy beszéllek vala az asszonyomval magyarul (Sze). [**I once woke up at night speaking Hungarian to my wife**] (Sze).'

4. 2. 4. The sense of language deficiency:
Nem tom, magyarul hogy híják (Ka) [**I don't know how it's called in Hungarian**]. | *Nem iértük, nem tugyuk mondani madzsaraszan. Magyarasszon nehezen kapam meg /a szót/* [We don't understand, we can't say it in Hungarian. I have difficulties finding the words in Hungarian] (Sz). | *Nincen annak isz*

szёmmi neve [This has no name] (Bf). | *Nincsen nevik.* [They have no name] (Bu). | *Nem tuggyuk a nevit* [We don't know their name] (M). | *Ёgyeb név nincsen* [There is no other name] (L). | *Nem jut eszёmbe, me ijen csudás neve van* [I don't remember, as it has such a strange name] (O). | *Nisen neve* [It has no name] (Tn). | *Még nem isz hultam* /= hallottam/ *nevit* [I have never heard that name] (Sz). | *Asz(t) nem **izélem*** /= tudom/ *magyarul* [I don't know that in Hungarian] (Va). | *Hogy mondzsák madzarul?* [How do you call that in Hungarian?] (Pl). | *Nem iértük, nem tugyuk modani madzsaraszan. Nem ura* /= vagyok képes/*, tud-dzsam annak, hodzs monydzsa* [We don't understand, can't say it in Hungarian. I am not capable of naming that] (Sz).

Forgetting words, forgetting the language weakens and reduces the speaker's language competence, this causing language deficiency, especially lexical deficit (Péntek 2003: 114). In such a communicational situation the bilingual speaker turns to the elements of a different language, uses existing contact elements (Péntek 1996: 113), finds momentary solutions (linguistic interference) or uses code switching. The result of lexical deficit is that the synonyms and correct conceptual designators are substituted by hyperonyms: *csinál 'does'* (Péntek 2007), *madár 'bird', burján 'weed'*, etc. the circumscribing phrases become more and more common, which are usually Romanian in their typology, as well as expletives. This communicational situation motivates local inventions, creativity: *cinige* 'fiddle', *sültü* 'flute', *kapogató* 'beggar'/'the one who knocks on the door', the totally situational names: *malomos* 'miller'/'the one with the mill', etc. Translation, adaptation also marks phraseology as well, the idioms and proverbs. Such a case is the one related by Wichmann, a proverb following the Romanian model: ***Ez erdő nem fiél e fészётől, ha ni(n)csen nyele*** (Sz) [**The forest does not fear the axe if it does not have a handle**]; meaning that the handle of the axe is also made of wood, thus it is a traitor; we do not need to fear an enemy, who has not bought a traitor.

5. 1. The sense of language loss:

Mük elvesztük a nyelvünkёt [**We are losing our language**] **(Et).** | *Majt immánd kezd kivёszni az a magyar beszéd* [Hungarian language is starting to be lost] (Vk). | *Ennek elétte jobban beszéltek magyarul* [They used to speak better Hungarian] (Tu). | *Az éfjuság nem tud magyarul, elkorcsilódik* [The young people do not know Hungarian, they are more and more mixed] (Gy). | *Magyarul nem tudnak énekёlni ez az éfijuság* [The young people don't know how to sing in Hungarian] (Ks). – *Sz moszt hatvan esztendeje, mikor valék én, az egész világ, sz az éfijuszág isz érti vala, mit mondok* [Sixty years ago, when I was young, the young people understood what we said] (Ju).

5. 2. The elderly are the keepers of the 1ˢᵗ language:

Csak az öregek ha tudnak lesz /magyarul/ [**Only the old people know Hungarian**] **(Fr).** | *Kövessz a vínekből* /tud magyarul/*, de ifijakból nem tudnak* /ti. magyarul/ [A few of the old people know Hungarian, but the young do not] (Ju). | *Az éfjuság nem tud magyarul, elkorcsilódik* [The young ones don't know Hungarian, they are becoming more and more mixed] (Gy). | *El vagyunk korcsilódval* [We are getting more and more mixed] (Rj). | *El van korcsulval* [They are very mixed] (P). | *Rományul imádkojzanak* [They pray in Romanian] (L).

5. 3. The sense of unavoidable language loss:

Igën elrományosattak [They got very much assimilated into the Romanians] **(P).** | *Ha nem tudok rományul, akarmëre sirüj, rományul këll beszéjën* [If you don't know Romanian, anywhere you go, you need to speak Romanian] (P). | *A városzonn ësz nem beszélnek vala magyarull* [They do not speak Hungarian in the towns] (Sze).

6. Preserving the language, the possibilities to preserve the language: using the language

Miután most fëlbomlott a vám, csudálkoztak, hogy tartottuk mëg a magyar beszédët (O). – [After the freeing of the border they wondered how we preserved the Hungarian language] (O).ʹ

Na, látad, nem jut eszedbe a magyar szó, ha nem űzöd /= gyakorolod/ (Li) [See, you don't remember the Hungarian word if you do not practice] (Li).

7. Relearning the Hungarian language is possible:

– ***Meg keztünk tanulni inkábbad magyarúl*** [**We started to learn Hungarian instead**] (P). | *Nállunk kénék beszélni magyarul. Minél inkább kénék tanujjanak, tuggyanak ők is magyarul beszélni* [We should speak Hungarian. People should learn more and more to be able to speak Hungarian] (Bo). | *Azelött egy darabig hívták profeszornak, de hogy jártunk ki Erdélyországba, leltük ki, hogy monygyák tanyitó* [Before that they said *profesor*, but as we started to go to Transylvania, we found out that it was called *tanító*] (Bu).

At the beginning of the decade, when these dialectological researches were conducted and these statements were recorded, at a previous, more favourable degree of language shift Hungarian language education was made possible among the Moldavian Hungarians. These previous utterances are the witnesses to this fact. Still they are not decisive in the very basic question valid even today:

Mi lesz itten velünk, ezekvel a magyarokval? **(Lk)** [**What is going to happen to us, Hungarians here?**] **(LK)**

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The key to the abbreviations of settlement-names

Bc: Berzunc/Berzunţi, Bf: Bogdánfalva/Valea Seacă, Bo: Bogáta/Bogata, Bst: Borzest/Borzeşti, Bu: Belcseszku/Nicolae Bălcescu, De: Degettes/Păcurile, Di: Diószén/Gioseni, Do: Doftána/Dofteana, Esz: Esztrugár/Strugari, Et: Esztufuj/Stufu, Ff: Forrófalva/Faraoani, Fr: Frumósza/Frumoasa, G: Gajdár/Coman, Gu: Gutinázs/Gutinaş, Gy: Gyidráska/Verşeşti, Je: Jenekest/Enăcheşti, Ju: Jugán/Iugan, K: Klézse/Cleja, Kl: Kelgyest/Pildeşti, Kr: Külsőrekecsin/Fundu Răcăciuni, Ks: Ketris/Chetriş, Ku: Kukujéc/Cucuieţi, L: Lészped/Lespezi, Lg: Lárga/Lărguţa, Li: Lilijécs/Lilieci, M: Magyarfalu/Arini, Np: Nagypatak/Valea Mare, O: Onyest/Oneşti, P: Pusztina/Pustiana, Pl: Ploszkucény/Ploscuţeni, Pp: Pokolpatak/Valea Mică, Pr: Prála/Pralea, Rj: Ripajepi/Bogdăneşti, Rp: Rosszpatak/Valea Rea, S: Somoska/Şomuşca, Sz: Szabófalva/Săbăoani, Szb: Szerbek/Floreşti, Szc: Szoloncka/Tărâţa, Sze: Szeketura/Pădureni, Szk: Szászkút/Sascut-Fântânele, Szp: Szárazpatak/Valea Seacă, Szt: Szlániktorka/Gura Slănicului, Tn: Tráján/Traian, Tr: Trunk/Galben, Tu: Turluján/Turluianu, Va: Valény/Văleni, Vk: Váleákimpului/Valea Câmpului.

Klára SÁNDOR

Discourses on discourses: can we understand each other?

The year 1990 was a landmark in the Csángó research as well, as even if not immediately, the changes in the former socialist block created the basic conditions so that within a few years we could have access to a greater amount of research material than in the long decades before. Regarding the subjects studied, the number of researchers, the applied approaches, as well as the quantity of the publications, the research of the Csángós started to take shape in the second half of the 1990s.

One of the characteristics of the scholarly literature on the Csángós is that they do not or hardly ever include professional debates. One reason for that is that a significant part of this literature primarily focuses on presenting the newly collected empirical data – regardless of the whether they were collected and interpreted according to the rules of the classical ethnographic or anthropological approach. The descriptions of the respiondents, of course, provide essential raw material for those interested in the various aspects of the community life of the Csángós, however they do not generate scientific debates, which is understandable. This does not mean that the scholarly literature on the Csángós does not feature any debating ideas, but these are mainly of a political-cultural ideological nature, and are closely connected to the two main discourses, which have long dominated the political and public thinking in the Hungarian culture. However this feature often seems to remain hidden, the distance between the individual views is presented as a "professional" antithesis, masking the ideological differences .

This can well be experienced in the Conversation[1] represented by the above mentioned writings which stimulate the undertaking or analyze the results of political actions. The supporters of the discourses participating in the Conversation are not necessarily aware of the fact that they formulate their

1   The interpretation of the Conversation follows below.

views in different frames of interpretation, so it is not uncommon that many of the supporters of the discourses think that they move within the same conceptual frame as the ones expressing the other view, so the other is simply "not right". This phenomenon is very common in the scientific debates as well,[2] in the political, social, cultural space of the public discourse, if not exclusive, it can at least be considered general. Thus it is also understandable, that when the researchers of the Csángós analyze the effects of political actions, their disputes are not "professional" in nature, that is, they do not refer to the credibility of the data employed, to the applied methodology, the character of the arguments, the validity of the conclusions, but visualize different ideologies, mostly though, as I have mentioned, hidden – presented as a "professional" debate – but rarely also explicitly formulated.

Discourses and Conversation in the Csángó scholarly literature[3]

Discourses and Conversation

I use the terms *discourse* and *Conversation* in the same sense as James Paul Gee does (Gee 1999) slightly modified. The discourse (at Gee "with capital D") is the ensemble of language use, actions, interactions, way of thinking, beliefs and values that display some kind of identity.[4] A person can, of course, have more identities, thus he can display multiple discourses, and these discourses can get in conflict with each other. The Conversation indicates debates in the social/community sphere, that many recognize, and when they designate their own positions within them, and even the supposed position of others, it

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2   Somewhat loosening the Kuhnean interpretation, the discourses existing parallel to each other can be called *paradigms* as well, with the restriction that incommensurability between them is not categorical, but scalable, and the paradigms in this interpretation are not only "mainstream" and "inclusions" (Békés 1997), but paralell to each other, and at least regarding the academic life as a whole, may be present as (almost) equal "trends" (see Sándor 1999a, 1999b).
3   The analysis focuses on the scholarly literature published in the last two decades, but where appropriate, I also mention earlier written works as historical-intellectual antecedents.
4   At Gee discourse "with a small d" means oral or written "text", manifestation in the narrow linguistic sense. This distinction is not relevant here, and at the same time the discourse as a usual term represents what Gee calls a Discourse, and that is why I deflect from his way of writing.

also indicates identity (in a classical sense, such are the "divisive" social issues, for ex. abortion, the issue of smoking, the methods of education, etc). Thus Conversation is actually the debate of key discourses in a given community.

It seems that from the point of view of background ideology the scholarly literature on the Csángós can basically be placed between two poles. The texts which build the Conversation can be located on the scale between the two ends. There are authors whose works are less diffuse, and can mostly be placed around one pole or the other, the work of others is located between the two poles depending on the actual subject, genre and occasion, and sometimes even within the same writing this shift can be easily perceived, reflecting both the dynamism of identities and their contextualized nature.

The ideological (attitude) background of the writings on the Csángó communities, as in all discourses, basically determines the motivation according to which the researchers dealing with the question choose the Csángó topic as a broader subject, to which questions they devote more or less attention, which data they work with, which theories and methods they choose when processing their material, how they present their results, including in what proportion they choose the canonized elements of style of the scientific prose (and what they regard to be the relevant practice of the scientific prose), respectively the linguistic formation more typical for journalism; do they formulate proposals for action, and if so, of what kind (for who, to what imperative degree etc); how do they formulate the critique of the interpretations that are different from their own.

Embedding the Csángó-Conversation in the Nation-Conversation

The Csángó-Conversation of course does not exist in itself: the discourses involved in it through the relevant views and components of identity-marking are embedded in those great discourse-currents (and in their Conversations) which permeate the Hungarian culture, and they provide the interpretative framework of the Csángó-Conversation. Because the nation-issue is the strongest feature of the literature on the Csángós, at least the Hungarian authors cannot avoid somehow taking a stand in the Nation-Conversation. Those who don't do it are brought to book for it, whereas with the non-Hungarian authors this expectation does not appear.

A detailed presentation of the Nation-Conversation of the Hungarian culture is not possible here, but we cannot disregard its basic features. Briefly: the designation of the discourses constituting the Nation-Conversation is already problematic, because any denomination shows the point of view and interpre-

tation of one or the other discourse. During the history of the Conversation, the ones identifying with one or the other discourse gave multiple denominations to their opposition in point of view, the content of these denominations do not fully overlap, but there are quite considerable, sometimes lesser superimpositions between them. Today's Nation-Conversation is rooted fundamentally in the age of the forming of the Herderian concept of nation, analogically dominating the public discourse today, while more direct antecedents are to be sought in the first decades of the 20th century. One of the discourses described itself with the terms "Westernism, Europeanism, civilization, progress, acceptance of modernity, openness towards other cultures," while considering the other as "closing in, provincialism, backwardness, uncivilised". The other discourse defined itself first as being "Hungarian", to this the attributes "courage, being chosen, tradition, the cultural leader of the area" were added. In the 1920s, 1930s, these discourses were already explicitly linked to political ideologies, the first was connected to social democratic and liberal principles, while the other to conservative national organizations. In the communist era, from the end of the 1940s to the late 1980s no discourse could obtain a place in public spheres, but they were still covertly present. Just before the 1990 elections, the conflict between the two discourses strongly re-intensified. According to the most general interpretation, the fracture was provided clearly by a "national" versus "anational" separation for the conservative side, that called itself "national", while for the liberal sympathizers the difference between the two discourses was interpreted especially along the "enlightened" vs. "backward" opposition.

The Hungarian political discourse over the past twenty years has polarized the public opinion almost to oblivion.[5] The discourse of the ones defining themselves by a "national"[6] way of thinking lay a special emphasis on the Christian identity, on the grandious or tragical historical events of the Hungarian history and sometimes on the cult of traditions defined as "folk", and increasingly on "independence" (explicitly on an anti-Europe and anti-U.S. attitude). According to the interpretation of the ones identifying themselves with

5   The political implications are valid for the situation in Hungary, but the characterisitics of the discourses are larger in effect, in the Hungarian language culture and scientific life they can be considered generally valid.

6   It would be more accurate to call it "national/nationalist" discourse, to show both perspectives, for simplicity I denote the discourse only by its own name (this does not mean that I would consider the implication concealed as generally extendable, according to which the ones who don't follow the value system of this discourse, wouldn't be "patriots"). In the Hungarian language the word "patriotic" has a positive, the word "nationalistic" a negative connotation.

this discourse, they represent the interests of the nation, the other side is unpatriotic, even treasonous, cosmopolitan, unbeliever (irreligious). In this discourse the different opinions are judged on a moral level; they are not simply a "different opinion", but "betrayal" because the only right way to experience the "national feeling" is identified with their own ideas and practices.

The ones identifying themselves with the other discourse use no denomination for themselves, they define their political identity "as leftist" as well as "liberal". Despite the differences between them regarding their discourses, they build a common discourse regarding the concept of nation, the basic values (with different accents) of which are freedom, solidarity, modernization, belonging to the European culture, urbanization, future centeredness, tolerance and rationalism. In this discourse differing opinions are not the sign of moral weakness, but rather simply "distinct opinions" without any evaluation, dissent or faulty reasoning, unpreparedness, or interpreted as a possible consequence of a low intellectual level.

The fundamentally different approach of different opinions is the result of the opposition between the approaches of the two discourses. The "national" discourse openly accepting transcendentalism, if it wants to take itself seriously, can't do anything else but regard its own interpretation framework as being solely valid: if it did not do so, it would essentially undermine its own credibility. However, as a necessary consequence, it also questions the moral legitimacy of all non-identical discourses, regards all actions resulting from the different discourses as sin, considers only it's own (Herderian) concept of nation and culture exclusive, and questions the simultaneity of identities. All this result in the fact that it can conceive debates only in its own discourse, with its own concepts, within its own conceptual framework. If the other discourse provides the framework for a debated text, it does not even try to interpret it according to its rules, and either morally condemns it, or simply ignores its existence. Accordingly, the self-defining elements of the "other" discourse, relativism and tolerance in the "national" discourse is interpreted as "lack of value" and "anarchy".

According to the "other" discourse (for the time being I will call it that) "culture" is in fact the totality of cultures, identity is not static, but dynamic, instead of the categorical (essentialist)[7] Herderian concept of nation, the interpretation of the "nation" in the (non scientific) common talk of the discourse it comes increasingly closer to the Andersonian one; it is actually an ensemble of imagined community traditions, interpretations, cultures, patterns of behaviour, ideologies and identities (see Anderson 1983). Considering the expe-

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7   On essentialism referring to linguistic meaning see Janiczki 1999.

rience of the transcendental as a private matter, not a moral command, the "other" discourse is not only aware that there are other discourses besides it, but does not deny their raison d'être. The ones opting for the constructed identity in this discourse, according to their own assumption, choose from the discourses based on rational considerations. (This is how they experience it, even though they are obviously affected by their emotions.) Therefore they primarily have a dispute with the other discourse, but do not seek to exclude it from the Conversation (and thus nullify it).

The essential words in the construction of identity in the two discourses have of course, different meanings, even if they seem identical. This is trivial when it comes to labelling identity: conservative is positive in the "national" discourse, while it has a rather negative meaning in the "other". In contrast *liberal* in the "national" discourse is negative, while in the liberal one it has a positive connotation.[8] Other key words (*nation, progress, history, past, future, Europe, tolerance, emotion, intellect* etc.) also have different meanings, because they are filled with sense within different discourses.

Embedding the Csángó-Conversation in the scientific discourses

The Csángó-Coversation is embedded in the Nation-Conversation on the level of public discourse on the one hand, on the other on the level of scientific discourses. The two are closely intertwined in the case of the Csángós, and this is in itself a source of conflicts. In the public discourse the "national / national-ist" discourse is dominant, however the relationship is more balanced within the scientific discourses. In the social sciences (sociology, social psychology, psychology) the "other" discourse is general, which in this case can be called a "constructivist"[9] approach. This is understandable, since the ideology of con-structivism was born mostly from the results in these areas.

These disciplines are free from the official political ideological influence, which the majority of the human sciences has not recovered from, and be-cause of which the approach of the historical, literary, linguistic and ethno-graphic sciences is highly fragmented, not only in a scientific but also in a

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8   On the variability of the words defining the identity of the political parties see Sándor 2004.
9   The scope of the construction is differently judged by some trends, for example the social constructivism and the naturalist-evolutional approaches, but in the aspect rel-evant for us they can be interpreted within a common framework.

political, ideological sense as well.[10] The followerds of these disciplines have their own areas of science labelled as "national science" because the subject of their research is the Hungarian culture, language, history, and thus deliberately lift it from under international control and system of rules of the particular science. From the point of view of the scientific orientation of the works identified as parts of "national science", these are often built upon the positivist tradition, their authors are strongly against theories in the sense that they reject the cognitive frames offered by the modern schools, and suppose that a Hungarian author dealing with a "Hungarian national subject" must handle its research material differently, permanently keeping the assumed uniform "national interest" in mind. This negative attitude towards theory was for a long time a form of the behaviour required by the political ideology of the communist dictatorship regarding "Western science", so it actually expressed the "socialist" – "capitalist" opposition.[11] After 1990 this opposition endured, but "national science" was re-interpreted, and now suits the discourse that dominates the common talk: the "socialist" was switched to "national" and the "capitalist" became "non-Hungarian (alien)".

This division is of course present in the scholarly literature on the Csángós as well, particularly visible in the relationship between the "traditional" ethnographic, respectively the "modern / foreign" anthropological interpretation, because the two approaches also define themselves as two distinct disciplines (see Ilyés 2008). However, the division cannot at all be described as being clear, because amongst the authors of the articles that place themselves in the "ethnographic" category there are some who use the elements of the "constructivist" conceptual framework (as well) in their ethnographic-anthropologic activity, in other articles proposing more Csángó related actions however are dominantly thinking within the framework of the "national" discourse of the common talk.

It is obvious that the author of the present study cannot place herself outside the above-described discourses – just like no one else in her opinion. From the scientific discourses, I identify myself with the "constructivist" (within that the evolutionary linguistic) approach, while from "the nation-

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10 But the "escape" is due to the fact that dictatorship tried to overshadow them as much as possible.
11 For more details see the articles in the volume edited by Harlig and Pléh (Harlig–Pléh 1995).

discourses" with the liberal one.[12] In my scientific work I share the general directive among the fellow-linguists that it is our duty to use the knowledge acquired during our research for the benefit of the studied community. I agree also that we must be aware of the fact that there can be no ideology-free science, so we should try to achieve the highest possible degree of objectivity in our scientific work.

The interpretation of the Csángó related discourses from the perspective of the "national" discourse (interpreted from a "constructivist" perspective)

Regarding the differences in ideology and approach identifiable in Csángó related scientific publications, little explicit comments can be found in the literature – the majority either does not consider it to belong to its research topic, or regards the texts representing different discourses as professional differences in opinion. So far perhaps Vilmos Tánczos (Tánczos 2001) wrote in the most explicate way on the discourses of Csángó literature.

Tánczos, according to his topic labelled by the title of his article, did not plan to write about the two existing discourses of science, but mainly intended to disclaim the science-critique coming from the "Csángó rescuers", volunteers and activists calling for action. According to Tánczos this criticism often finds the anthropological and ethnographic descriptions useless, which constitute the bulk of writings on the Csángós, they would rather increase the number of "rescue-actions" instead.[13] The author's primary intention is also achieved, nevertheless a whole subchapter is devoted to the antithesis of the two scientific discourses.

He calls one of them "community-centred": this according to Tánczos's description considers identity as being of community nature, which can be formed by intellectuals, while intellectuals have the moral responsibility to shape the identity of the community. Tánczos considers this kind of thinking

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12 From the various possible interpretations of the term *liberal*, I identify mostly with the social-liberal one, which in its answers and approach stands probably closest to the Democratic Party in the U.S., so before all a human rights liberalism and not an economic neo-liberalism. It might be relevant for the interpretation of the "national" interpretation below, that between 2003–2007 I was a member in the board of the Hungarian Liberal Party (SZDSZ), between 2006–2010 a representative of the Hungarian Liberal Party, and of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats of Europe (ALDE) of the European Council, so my political identity is evident not only from my writings.

13 On the nature of the "rescue actions" see below.

to be of metaphysical nature, and "believes that the individual should assume the fate of the family, the village, the religious community, the ethnic group."

He calls the other one the "individualistic" approach, this in his opinion has no "higher metaphysical substance", its starting point is that "every individual has the sovereign right to choose the identity which he wishes to identify with" and "identity, so to speak, 'moves freely' according to the actual social interests". He notes here that "it was astounding that Hungarian intellectuals when referring to this system of ideas, raised their voices against the Hungarian language schooling of the Csángó children, considering unnecessary for example the urge for Hungarian language masses in Csángó churches, saying we would violate the personality rights of the Csángós".

Tánczos sees the relationship between the two approaches not only being contrary, but mutually distrusting: "one party fears that the liberal ideology destroys what has been managed to be built up, the other half always suspects that the community model is ready to 'assasinate' the individual". The antithesis continues with a series of oppositions, some of them follow the previously defined rupture line:

- The Csángós are obviously Hungarians ↔ if they do not consider themselves as being Hungarian, us, outsiders have no right calling them that;
- the language used by the Csángós is a dialect of the Hungarian ↔ if the Csángós consider their language as "in between", with dual affiliation, we also have to speak of the Csángó language;
- the ethnic consciousness of the Csángós is determined by their need of commitment to their Hungaran identity ↔ identity is situational, and is determined by social emergence;
- The rights of the Csángós are being violated, they are being suppressed ↔ there are violations in Moldavia, but natural assimilation is more accentuated;
- The Csángó intellectuals serving the cause Romanianization are enemies of their own ethnic group ↔ these intellectuals behave according to their new identities;
- Results of the census have been forged ↔ with a few exceptions no one was forced to appoint a Romanian identity;
- We need to do something for Csángós ↔ there is no ideology, which gives us the right to intervene in the fate of the Csángós.

Tánczos considers none of these (in his words) "paradigms" fully acceptable, because he believes that the situation underlying the oppositions is far more "complicated as the illustrated one" in the case of any dichotomy, "so

both ideologies polarize and schematize, and acknowledges only certain arguments as arguments," furthermore "the ideological discourse presented as scientific discourse comes into being".

Others would set up these oppositions probably differently, Tánczos constructed the dichotomy and the basic features of the opposition in a perspective based on his own interpretation, – there it is no problem with that, no one could do it otherwise. It is also natural that these oppositions schematise and polarize, because they do not exist by themselves, but created by the author, so if they polarize and schematize, it is in fact done by the author – but again quite rightly, as it is his aim to demonstrate that the two approaches are opposed. But he set a trap for himself by not clarifying his own position – neither to the reader nor to himself. On the contrary: he displays his position as being outside the discourses (and speaking from the analysts' position: rising above them, "objective"), while being critical in both directions, and when explicitly stating that "politicians are ideologically committed, scientists are not" – identifies himself in the same writing as "scientist", as opposed to the activists. He sets an example exactly for what he objects against, if that appears in the literature on the Csángó research: how identity changes according to the context-specific "personal interests": as opposed to the activists he accentuates his identity as researcher, while as opposed to other researchers presenting his outsiderness on the one hand, while on the other, even if overtly, he displays identification with one of discourses.

Some comments of the author implicitly carry his discourse-identity, at least from the perspective of the other discourse the features of belonging to a "national" discourse can well be distinguished. On the one hand this is shown by the interpretations he considers to be the viewpont and action of those working with a perspective he calls "individual": these, in the interpretation framework of the "constructivist" discourse prove to be simple misunderstandings, and this discloses that the author either does not feel at home in this framework or, if he does, the "constructivist" perspective of the discourse is for him, overwritten by another framework of interpretation.

The attitude between the discourses is also perceptible in cases where although the author distances himself from the discourse by organizing his statement by the rhetorical parallel, but the use of words shows being closer to one discourse, and being more distant to the other. "One party fears that the liberal ideology destroys what has been managed to be built up, the other party always suspects that the community model is ready to 'assasinate' the individual" - he writes. This attitude is obvious to the "other side": the author does not place himself in that discourse, but in the discourse of the "one side". After all, the expressions "fears" and "destroys" are probably acceptable terms

for those who belong to "one side". But the representatives of the "individual-istic" approach, now even labelled politically as well ("liberal") however, will find it difficult to identify with "they suspect", furthermore "always", and the irony can clearly be sensed in the fact that they are supposed to be afraid of "crimes" against the individual. (With the fears of "one side" there are no ironic overtones.) The two labels also disclose a lot: while in the 'national' discourse community is a special identity-defining element, so they probably would not protest against it, the constructivist discourse does not call itself "individualis-tic", and liberalism appears to be that only from the outside, from the perspec-tive of a patriarchal and community ideal demanding exclusivity.

To regard constructivism as "individualistic" is actually a basic misunder-standing: the main principle of this perspective is exactly that our thoughts, our values, our views, sometimes even our emotions are community struc-tures. The difference between the "national" and "constructivist" approach is not caused by the acceptance or denial of the community being, but in the senses of "community" and the "communal". In the "national" interpretation the starting point, the reference frame of the community is the "nation" as-sumed to have uniform goals, interests, culture and language. In the "con-structivist" discourse though, communities are the groups which the individ-ual becomes part of through his network of personal contacts. So it is true that in the "constructivist" discourse the starting point of community participation is the individual, but it is not true that this approach would not consider the community to be a determining factor. Accordingly, this approach considers it natural that the community makes decisions regarding its own name or names, its identity and about the denomination of its language or languages, in fact it also considers it natural that even within communities apparently united when viewed from the outside different responses will be born, as com-munities are articulated, and thus the members can give different answers to these questions, according to the position occupied in the community, the generational differences, attitudes, life stories, life goals, and in different mo-ments of their lives, talking to different partners as well.

The readers not aware of the differences of the discourses can be mislead by the following sentence: "it was astounding that Hungarian intellectuals when referring to this system of ideas, raised their voices against the Hungar-ian language schooling of the Csángó children, considering unnecessary for example the urge for Hungarian language masses in Csángó churches, say-ing we would violate the personality rights of the Csángós". The presentation of the proposed action within the framework of the "constructivist" discourse as well as its justification is missing, namely, that in the spirit of a different interpretation of the community and the different orientation from the point

of view of the philosophy of language, in the framework of the "constructivist" discourse the following proposal arose, that the Csángó children in the first years of their studies should be taught the community's own language variant and not the idealized one, the one closely related to the "national" discourse, the standard Hungarian variant, considered by the normative language approach as the only "correct" and "national" variant, i.e. assumed as "the" Hungarian language, standing far or very far from the Csángó communities' own variant of the language from the linguistic point of view as well[14] regardless of whether we consider these Csángó language variants of Hungarian origin as dialects of Hungarian, or a Hungarian origin Ausbau-language, very close to the Hungarian.[15]

The sentence switches, in a logically difficult manner to interpret, from religious service to education – a mistake, however, well explained by the close association of "church and school", an often repeated slogan of the "Csángó rescue" actions. But this, wanted or not, calls in the "national" discourse and makes it the interpretation framework of the text. Moreover, as the poem conjured by the slogan[16] sets out that the token of the survival in minority existence lies in the use of the mother-tongue in church and education, and also many know that, it was written in 1925, not long after the Treaty of Trianon, in the "national" discourse is not only simply anational, but clearly anti-national denying the Hungarian language from the "church and the school". All these associations will probably not become obvious for all who read the text, but for those who are familiar with the "national" discourse it probably will.

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14 In detail, see Sándor 1996, the argumentation behind the proposal in English: Sándor 2000. The "language variant of the community" denotes idioms which in a part of the Csángó communities are being used next to the Romanian. These idioms of Hungarian origin show great variety from the perspective of being mutually understood with the variants spoken within the Carpathian Basin, and some Csángó settlements show great variety in the percentage the community uses its own idiom, in which language regions, in the kinds of generational stratification they present. According to Tánczos's previous estimations (Tánczos 1997), based on the fieldwork performed in the mid nineties, out of the 240 thousand Moldavian Catholics 60 thousand still possessed the Csángó idioms on some level, with very different levels of competence. According to the newest data (Tánczos 2011), gathered in the second part of the first decades of the 21st century, today only 48-49 thousand is the number of those who speak these idioms as first or second language, and based on his experience there is no such Csángó community where the first language of the children under 10-12 years wouldn't be Romanian.

15 On the Ausbau-, and Abstand-languages, as well as on the possible Ausbau-language status of the Csángó variants, see Trudgill 2001 1.: 11-12.

16 The author quotes the poem *Church and School* by Reményik Sándor, written in 1925.

The other components of the opposition primarily connect with the "constructivist" identity-approach, this has been discussed above. It is a misunderstanding that because of the "double bond" within the "constructivist" discourse anyone would have proposed, that we should accept the way the Csángós denominate their own idiom. This cannot be interpreted linguistically, as "mixed language" is not a part of the linguistic, but that of the lay discourse: the Csángós themselves define their language as "hybrid" (korcsitúra), linguists, however, do not speak of mixed language, but (without any value denomination) they talk about a strong contact effect. The "double attachment" is a label related with the bilingualism of the Hungarians living outside Hungary, the framework for its interpretation being on the one hand the lay-linguistic ideology, that considers monolingualism natural, on the other hand the "national" discourse. Both see bilingualism as a stage in the process of losing the mother tongue, and eventually see the danger in it, that bilingual groups are also "two-hearted", and eventually "become lost" for the nation.

The "constructivist" element of the last opposition also originates in a misunderstanding, at least as far as I know, there has been no researcher who representing the view, that there is no ideology that would give you the right to interfere with the fate of the Csángós. And once again, the differences in interpretation will result in what we consider as being the interests of the Csángó: if we want to "rescue" them by all means or if we let them decide about their identity, their lifestyle, their language, and by respecting the different decisions, help them in achieving their own different goals.

It seems that Vilmos Tánczos sees the latter as what he calls the "betrayal of the scientists": in his view "some people justify extreme nationalism which wants to assimilate the Csángós, others through the misuse of the rhetoric of liberalist ideas, make the essential Csángó issues bagatelle". This sentence is also clearly a part of the "national" discourse, in a framework where the concept of "community" is interpreted differently, the first question would be, which one of the Csángó-assimilating nationalism is implied, the Romanian, or the Hungarian, or both perhaps? From the perspective of the "national" discourse Hungarian nationalism is not seen as nationalism, but as a responsible and required national behaviour, so the attribute can be omitted from the sentence. In addition, the scientists considered to be liberal-minded (it is not clear who belong here, since the opposition showing the "other" views probably derive from writings of more authors) are deprived even from their self-identity: they do not simply "bagatellise" the Csángó "fate matters", they do not even do this out of conviction, but as traitors, as political slaves, not vindicating their own approaches, but only "misusing" the liberal "rhetoric". The "national" discourse's perception on debate is reflected here: the "other"

approach as conviction is unintelligible, but serves the "strangers" (here, the Romanian nationalism) and / or is humanly insensitive ("bagatellises" the Csángó "questions of fate"). This means that the "other" discourse's moral legitimacy is questioned, but if it already exists, the "national" approach in a patriarchal way knows even better what the "real" perspective of liberalism is like, when it is not just a "misuse of rhetoric."

I have analyzed the study of Vilmos Tánczos in such detail, because even though he is the only person to explicitly state how people thinking within the perception frame of the "national" discourse (at least one of them) interpret their own discourse, but mainly the "other" discourse, the similar interpretation of the opposition latently lurks in many studies, criticism, passing judgement on the ones working with the other approach, but the moral stigma is disguised as professional criticism. On the other hand, because Vilmos Tánczos is one of the most respectable figures in today's Csángó research – and he rightfully is. His collection of archaic Csángó sacred texts, stretching over decades, his text publications and analyses are indispensable and represent the highest academic quality. There is no doubt that thanks to his gathering work, Tánczos possesses a huge field experience, and certainly he knows the the language-demographic conditions of certain settlements best – that is the reason I am basing my work, and others as well, on his related observations. This does not mean that from the data presented by him and others only one conclusion can be drawn, and it also does not mean that the moral judgments which classify the different conclusions can be considered generally valid.

Tánczos, using anthropological methods himself, does not deny the scientific value of these, on the contrary, in the article analyzed, he stands up just for these, even in the case when considering the perspective of the discourse, distinct from his, as morally unacceptable. Moral judgement is present in a much more accentuated manner in the writing of Pál Hatos (Hatos 2009). In his article he shows some ideas of how some 19th century authors of the Csángó research wanted – unsuccessfully – to integrate the Csángós as part of the Hungarian nation. He characterizes Hungarian historicism "with the hopes of the rationalist enlightenment, tracing the former national greatness, contemplating over its ruins", and "buried in the 'culture of defeat'". From this statement, from the parts difficult to interpret, he derives the appearance of anthropology as a discipline and that of the related "constructivist" approach in the Csángó research at the beginning of the 21st century, primarily quoting the works of the young researchers of the anthropological workshop in Cluj as an example: "It is no wonder that if after the failure of almost two centuries of continuous community planforging, the Hungarian Csángó research also starts to be overtaken by ignoring the nation-centred historical discourse and

considering it a deviance. For the cultural anthropology, reflecting/describing the agnostic experience-seeking of the Postmodern Erlebnisgesellschaft, there are no and cannot be any significant matters for the continuity or reconstruction of identity, and just like the genre of the beginnings, its reports process the seductive experience of alienation, of distance and of the periphery, in which the 'opened gate of the East' gives opportunity for 'border-crossing adventure' which meeting the Csángós tends to deconstruct the illusion of identity and the drama in the narrative of Csángó destiny."

In Hatos' opinion the opposition of scientific paradigms utterly disappears, and does not even occur that his own interpretive framework would not be generally valid. Therefore, he experiences the very existence of the "constructivist" discourse as an attack at the image of the "national" discourse, as from the perspective of the approach that considers itself as generally valid, the existence of any other approach is an "attack", because actually no researcher called the "national" discourse a deviance. Only as a result of disillusion, deception he considers it conceivable that someone "ignores" the "historical nation-centred discourse", that is he regards anthropology as some kind of substitute, for which young researchers (in the 21st century) reach only in their disillusionment felt over the failed actions of their 19th century predecessors. Anthropology rooted in postmodernism and structuralism, the differences between the different variants of social constructivism can be washed together only from the "national" – in this case the very far – point of view and can be interpreted as an attack at the "national interest" only from this perspective in describing the Csángó communities following the contemporary mainstream academic school. What from the perspective of the "national" discourse can be considered "the drama in the narrative of Csángó destiny", in the "constructivist" discourse is interpreted as the changes of the Csángó community structure, which mostly result in the overshadowing or denial of the "traditional" values, but also ensure better jobs, better life and healthier living space, more choices – not only for the individual, but for a differently organised community as well.

The Csángó related "national" discourse from the perspective of the "constructivist" discourse

On the Csángó related discourse from the "constructivist" perspective Sándor Ilyés (Ilyés 2008) has written in detail, and formulated very similar observations to the ones mentioned above. He examined the constituting elements of the Csángó-image, which was built in the Transylvanian Hungarian language

press around the turn of the century, and below I'm going to examine the image which unfolds from the scholarly literature (or the popularizing literature) on the Csángós identifying themselves with the "national" discourse. The two pictures are almost identical meaning that in both cases the writings have the same "national" discourse framework, and this is more important then them considering themselves as part of the "scientific" or "journalist" modes of speech.

By a fortunate coincidence we both presented our analysis at the same conference,[17] one after the other. And both received the same criticisms from Laura Iancu informing the readers of the Hungarians in Moldavia magazine about the Conference (Iancu 2005): first the choice of themes received a sort of (mild) morally tinged reprehension, that ethnographers and anthropologists would receive from "Csángó rescue" activists: Every time I am in Moldavia, I am shocked by the appearances of the unrevealed fading and dying, modestly muzzy 'raw material' . However, in the intellectual regions of the Hungarians the tract on the Csángós is in the phase of interpretating the interpretation. Of course, the noble and healthy science has more than two wings, not everybody can be a collector and analyst, or both simultaneously. It is understandable and appropriate for the parts to soar individually." The ironic phrasing reveals that, according to the author, the "artefact saving", the collecting work is more valuable than the speech on the speech, but the real problem with the two performances in Iancu Laura's opinion was that their allegations were unfounded, or at least it is doubtful how they can be extended: one performer in her opinion used "illustrative quotations", the other "scraps of quotes", the latter (Sándor Ilyés) even consciously and somewhat maliciously selected his the material: "The young author very likely limited his interest only to published materials, phrases and thoughts, which are specifically triggering negative feelings – of course his performing behaviour also emphasized this."

Behind this gesture of disbelief the difference in methodology may also lie hidden: the failure to recognize the methodological feature that according to the "constructivist" practice the types arise from the analysed material, and we are not forcing our data into prefabricated categories, therefore, to create a type can only be done based on a sufficient number of examples. It is more likely, however, that in the background, the action considered an attack against the "national" discourse has been rejected, this reveals the way Iancu opposes the two discourses with each other: "In practice, we are talking about a conservative, thus emotionally heated, or liberal, that is, a rational, cold type of communication, which is driven in both cases by the ideological motivation." With the dichotomy the author puts herself in the position of the "objective outsider", but

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17   Endangered Cultures – Endangered Heritage, Budapest April 14–15, 2005.

the text reveals that (understandably) she herself did not interpret the performances free of ideologies. The first member of the emotionally heated – rational, cold contrast allows the identification for the author, already the generally valid meaning of the hot–cold dichotomy makes us think of that. The linguistic formulation of the attitude displayed towards "artefact saving", "fading, dying, modestly muzzy apparitions" from the "rational, cold" perspective certainly seems at least "emotionally overheated", but rather perhaps sentimental.

In the "national" discourse concerning the Csángós is not strange that the authors reveal strong emotional relations to the subject of their research, and this can not only be applied to journalism, but is also characteristic of the scientific prose as well. This can also be understood from the perspective labelled as "rational, cool", the difference between the participants of the two discourses lies not in the fact that one "loves" the Csángós, the other does not, but in the fact, whether they consider a dominantly emotion-driven behaviour suitable for the planning of actions for the good of the community researched by them, respectively what degree and type of emotional expression they find admissible in the scientific-orientated presentation of their data, views.

The conceptual metaphors constructing the Csángó image

In the Csángó range of the "national" discourse there are some very characteristic conceptual metaphors, which reveal on the one hand the ways of thinking about the Csángós, on the other hand it constructs it as well.

One conceptual metaphor is the skanzen, the living museum: this lies in the formulations according to which the Csángós today speak the Hungarian language in its state from previous centuries, typical of the 15th century (in fact there are some who go even further, and believe to hear the language of the first Hungarian text relics from the end of the 12th century in the speech of the Csángós). They present the Csángós' spiritual and material culture, their religiosity to be similarly archaic, regarding the present lifestyle of the Csángós the golden age, when the "clean source" had not yet been polluted by civilization.[18] The metaphor suggests that the Csángós do not even live in the 20-21st century, but in the Middle Ages, and if we go among them, it's as if we would travel back in time. Some examples:

18 The Hungarian public opinion, especially intellectuals – based on the examples of school education and the Hungarian cultural traditions, such as Kodály and Bartók – usually highly appreciate the folk culture, so are susceptible for such topics, and therefore are more defenceless against an idealized way of presentation.

- [some of their words] "give insight into the soul of people from ancient times. Message from distant centuries." (Beke 1993: 88)
- [in the poems of the Csángó poet Demeter Lakatos] "The voice of the Halotti Beszéd (Funeral Oration) spoke, rang from the depths of folk consciousness, of the folk language, in the middle of the twentieth century" (Beke 1997: 89)
- "Not only ethnography, linguistics, musicology gains by collecting and presenting what the Hungarian language, the folk-songs and the life of the people 200-300 or 500 years ago was like, but the whole Hungarian culture is enriched by new knowledge" (Halász 1994: 1).

The skanzen-metaphor did not, of course, come into existence without any foundation, it extremely simplifies and exalts reality when dialects – with elements that the Hungarians in Hungary no longer use – are identified with the various stages of the "old Hungarian language"; when only the "intact" Csángó environment is filmed, that is only the parts which the majority of Hungarians associate with Hungary from the last century (or earlier), the modern houses, the people who do not wear the specific costumes are not included.

Another conceptual metaphor presents the Csángós as the orphan little brothers according to which the Csángós have been living for centuries left to themselves, like "orphans"; their home country left them on their own, therefore the Hungarians should feel remorse, and it's time to help and protect them as a sort of big brother who has the duty to protect and guide his little brother. The metaphor suggests that the Csángós themselves are unable to take their destinies into their hands. Examples:

- "The Moldavian Csángós are one of the minorities in the most difficult situation in Europe and in the world, having no appropriate identity and necessary self-defense organization, are exposed to the hostile nationalist forces, and they have neither teachers nor priests, nor other intellectuals to protect them. The Hungarians from all over the world should pull together to protect and help them" (Halász 1993: 173).
- "Their own home country, which - it hurts to describe, but it's true - for centuries did not really care about the fate of the Hungarians living over the Carpathians" (Beke 1997: 89).
- [A large part of the Csángós] "because of their lifestyle is not accustomed to abstract thinking" (Szőcs 1993: 163).
- "... if they form a phrase for something, it sounds like simpletons, but it is only being honest. As the child's prattle" (Beke 1993: 86).

– "… the Moldavian Csángó Hungarians, most orphan members of our national community" (Beke 1997: 82).

To some extent, both previous conceptual metaphors are related to the metaphor of the hero, the guardian. This presents the Csángós as almost holy people who hold on to their ancient culture and language despite of all desolation and oppression, persistently affectionate, deeply religious, who preserved the main values of the Hungarian culture unspoiled, and the assistance in preserving these values yet again is the responsibility of the Hungarians:

– [The Csángós were kept Hungarians by the Catholic religion.] "But this would not have been possible if the Moldavian Hungarians did not have the determined desire of wanting to stay Hungarian" (Benda 1993: 44).
– "A strata of the nation, which by its self, by its own unique character and way of thinking, deep faith, language, taste should deserve a separate, special place foreseen on the ethnographic map of Europe - that pays attention to special values, colour - is deliberately destroyed by the assimilative intent, the nationalism of the majority. Knowing this: one should look upon them with even more care, concern, and understanding will to help" (Gazda 1994: 269).

The metaphors define not only the Csángó related image-forming, but the Csángó related actions, the forms of relationship-building and of assistance as well. Because of the skanzen-metaphor the current situation of the Csángós loses the touch with reality and becomes a kind of a fairy-tale. Since this idyllic fairy-tale world is in danger, the most urgent task is its preservation and the saving of artefacts: "In organizing the higher education of the Csángó young people in Hungary it is an important aspect to support the study of subjects primarily related to the cultivation and teaching of tradition" (Szőcs 1993: 164). In this conservation the Csíksomlyó Pigrimage received a key-role: since 1990, a special Mass is being celebrated for the Csángós, according to Gábor Barna (Barna 1993: 58) with the aim is to strengthen in them, besides the sense of Catholic consciousness, the Hungarian self-consciousness as well.

The orphan little brother's metaphor continues in the idea of "tutelage", that implies that the actions initiated in Hungary and Transylvania in the 1990s took place without consulting the Csángós – based on the assumption that as "children" they would not be able to take responsible decisions regarding their own fate without the "elder brother" (Transylvania) and the "mother country". The "assistance" accordingly is usually more a patronage, for which

the Csángós should also be grateful. Zoltán Pálffy M. (Pálffy 1997: 74) considers that within the schooling of Csángó children in Transylvania "the accent is not on trade or specialisation that can be studied in a Hungarian-language school (i.e. on the content aspect), but rather on ensuring a formal framework, namely in a rather 'be glad you can be here' way". When on a symposyum organized in 1994, under the name Csángó issues of fate, a representative of the Csángó students studying in Hungary spoke of the cultural, social and financial difficulties they (would) have to deal with during their studies in Hungary, a prominent Csángó researcher put him in his place by saying that they should be rather grateful for the sacrifices the mother country makes for them.[19]

The hero metaphor results in reward and celebration: they preserved the old values in pure state, thus they deserve to be "honorary Hungarians", using the term of Tánczos (Tánczos 1996: 187). This is above all manifested in the prominent political attention: "in 1991 the Csángó Festival was attended Árpád Göncz, the president, and József Antall, the prime minister, in March 1998 the main patron of the Csángó Festival was Viktor Orbán party president (a few weeks later prime minister), in 1990 Luca Hodorog from Klézse, who was a well known respondent, was buried in Jászberény by the Catholic bishop of the archdiocese of Eger, at his coffin Bertalan Andrásfalvy [at that time minister of culture and education] gave a eulogy" (Pozsony 1994: 10–11). Not only honorary Hungarian initiation, but the other aspects of Csángó myth-building are also exemplified in the following quote: "thousand Csángós in their specific costume, under a cross processed along the bank of the Danube river in Pest, as far as the St. Stephen's Cathedral, where Pál Péter Domokos greeted them, then our board member Teodóz Jáki and deacon Antal Horváth born in Kalugerpatak, celebrated a Mass for them. Never ever, not even during the Millennium were there so many Csángó Hungarians in Budapest, let alone attending a Mass held for them! Finally, the greatest event: a meeting with the Pope in Heroes' Square, where the representatives of the Hungarians Csángós handed over their gifts and their request to the Holy Father" (Halasz 1993: 170-171).

These conceptual metaphors play an important role in the appearance of a kind of a myth surrounding the Csángós, because the Csángó myth summarises the meanings suggested by these metaphors: about the Csángós' deep religiousness, "their medieval Hungarian language", their museum culture. In the creation and dissemination of the myth a prominent role is given to the media. The popularizing press and electronic media, however, cannot be

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19 Personal statement of Antal Csicsó, the former president of the Association of the Moldavian Csángó Hungarians.

blamed exclusively for painting such a vivid pink reality, since the metaphors structuring the thinking about the Csángós while the elements of myth based on them had a strong presence in the literature dealing with the Csángós in the 1990s. Around the turn of the millennium the proportion of studies written according to the demands of the "national" discourse decreased, however, essentially this had no effect on the common talk and political thinking identifying itself with the "national" discourse. The Hungarian common talk on the Csángós is still dominated by the myth, since for a long time in Hungary the majority of people knew nothing about the Csángós, travelling to Moldavia, gaining personal experience even nowadays is not without any difficulties, so the public still is exposed to the media's taste and interpretation.

The myth by its nature prevents the large audience (often even the ones researching within the context of the "national" discourse) from taking into account the facts that do not fit into the myth: from the perspective of the myth, the acculturation process appears of course, as something that threatens the ancient culture, as a disruptive, destructive factor, which must be eliminated rather than be taken into account, or let alone be accepted. The myth does not merely obscure facts, but because its politicization and its embedded nature in the 'national' discourse makes it unquestionable, while mentioning the facts that do not fit in the myth becomes taboo.[20] Moreover, if the defenders of the myth are placed in a political context, the ones challenging the taboo can become "politically suspect" looking from the perspective of the "national" discourse.[21]

In order for it to become taboo there was need for the contribution of the constitution of a new conceptual metaphor. First, in the period of the shock following the decision of Trianon, in 1920, the idea was born that the Hungarians of the detached territories by the decision of Trianon will have the same fate as the Csángós, namely dispersion, loss of language and culture, assimila-

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20 This could be systematically experienced by the researchers disassembling the myth, for example in the fierce, but not scientific debates following their presentation at conferences.

21   In 1996 with the help of the head of department of the Ministry of Culture (helped in the organisation and coordination) I interviewed the Csángó students studying at the International Preparatory Institute in Budapest, under the jurisdiction of the ministry – the Csángó youth enrolled in the higher educational institutions in Hungary, learned for a year Hungarian, at this institution. Quite inexplicably, I could do this only with two members of the World Federation Of Hungarians, defining themselves as a non-governmental organization, were sitting in the next room, as "observers" as they said, listening to our conversations. (The World Federation Of Hungarians did not have any official license to do this, nor could they have, and the Ministry was not aware of it.)

tion.[22] The idea has created its own metaphor, the (signal)buoy, and was also integrated into the Csángó related myth. According to the metaphor the fate of the Csángós indicates similar to a "buoy" the currents which dominate the Hungarian minority politics:

- "A sad example of a nation's slow vernacular-national demise. For us it is a memento of distress for the future" (Veress 1989: 8).
- "The memento of Szabófalva (Săbăoani) is not a good omen. Especially when one considers that the nightmares of distress now included Transylvania as well" (Veress 1989: 13).
- "With the Csángós [...] one can [...] - painfully - look forward too, towards a possible future of the Transylvanian and of all Hungarians living in minority" (Gazda 1994: 269).
- "By the fate of the Csángós the historic responsibility of the mother nation can be measured. They are the most secure buoys of the Hungarian minority policy, which percieve the currents both underwater and on the surface" (Beke 1994: 91).

The buoy metaphor supplies the final explanation as to why the "rescue" of the Csángós became so important to many people in 1990. The Csángós are regarded as "trans-border Hungarians" of the Hungarians in Transylvania (the minority of a minority) whose fate is a preview of the future of the ethnic Hungarians (including ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania), so in conformity with the belief, if we can "rescue" the Csángós, then we will succeed in preserving the Hungarians beyond the border Hungarians as well.[23]

The action resulting from the Csángó image constructed by the metaphors is: the "Csángó-rescue"

The metaphors presented are not from the end of the 20th century, but much earlier, actually since the Csángós becoming a "subject" they are present in the image formed about the Csángós and have always activated the same form of action: that the Csángós "must be rescued". The conceptual framework of the "Csángó rescue" is provided by the "national" discourse, the starting point of the "Csángó rescue" missions is that Csángós belong to the

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22 The writing of Györffy from 1920 is quoted by Mikecs 1989, 314.
23 Many (ex. Tánczos 1996: 175, Benedek H. 1997: 196, Pálffy M. 1997: 71) drew attention to the fact, that the Transylvanian Hungarians see their own fate in the fate of the Csángós, that is giving up on the Csángós, would mean giving up on themselves. This also characterises the publications with Csángó topic at the turn of the century (see Ilyés 2008).

Hungarian nation, but due to unfortunate historical circumstances have forgotten or do not dare to assume their Hungarian nature (see e.g. Pávai 1995). Therefore, what is the most important task is to make the Csángós aware of the following: that in fact, they are part of the Hungarian nation-body and help them to get better acquainted with the Hungarian national culture and symbols, in order to develop their sense of belonging to the Hungarian nation. In this context, the intrinsic value of belonging to the Hungarian nation appears as a premise.

Even in the 19th century attempts were made for the introduction of the Hungarian language in the church and in the schools – it aimed at remaining on the native land and at survival - but all such efforts ended in failure (see Seres 2002). Even more spectacular was the failure of "Csángó-rescue" measures aiming the resettlement of the Csángós. In 1883, several thousand people were resettled from Bukovina to Hungary,[24] greeted by huge public enthusiasm. However, less attention was given to planning than to celebration, as the new lands were on floodplains, and in 1888 a major flood destroyed the five years of work of the new settlers from Bukovina. Many moved back to Bukovina, who remained became completely impoverished. Despite the setbacks the settling of small groups from Bukovina to Transylvania, in fact their scattering, continued even for decades, amid scandals (Mikecs 1989: 306-307).

In 1941 again the inhabitants of the villages of Bukovina were "rescued": about fifteen thousand people, practically the whole Szekler community of Bukovina was resettled to Bácska, in the southern part of Hungary, from where in 1944 they had to flee. Finally they ended up in southwestern Hungary, scattered in over 30 villages, in the houses of the Hungarian Germans, deployed after the war. They had to leave everything behind in Bácska, and many feared that the displaced Swabians would come back, while because of their strange speech and customs their Hungarian environment despised and mocked them (Forrai 1987: 27–29) – but finally "they were saved", that is, assimilated into the local Hungarian population.

In the 1990s, the "rescue" primarily took form in the schooling of the Csángó young people in educational institutions in Hungary and Transylvania. Within the interpretation framework of the "national" discourse the knowledge of the Hungarian "national language" did not appear as a problem, as in this discourse it is considered evident that it is good for Csángó children to learn

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24 The Seklers living in the villages in the northern part of Bukovina, based on historical, ethnological and linguistic considerations are considered Szeklers by the scholarly literature, for decades, however, earlier, based on the fact that they live outside the Carpathian Basin they were considered Csángós.

the Hungarian language. Thus many received with incomprehension the fact that the in some cases young people who left for school to Hungary not only did not know the standard Hungarian language, but knew only Romanian, or that the children taken to Transylvania, only thanks to the sense of vocation, humanity and the skills of the teachers dealing with them (and a lot of extra work) could fall into line with their colleagues from Transylvania, after having acquired the Hungarian language used at school.[25]

In recent years, the centre of the "rescue actions" focusing on education became the Hungarian language classes, that were supported by the Hungarian government and foundations, held either in schools, or in buildings built for this purpose, by volunteers – Transylvanians, Hungarians alike. Their enthusiasm and commitment deserves respect, but does not replace proper preparation and an elaborated educational program. The children who feel comfortable in the community at the Hungarian classes, learn a language besides their Romanian mother tongue, and to the personal idiom spoken at home, probably profit from these classes – in the future it can increase their mobility and it facilitates employment in Hungary. However the teaching of the Hungarian language in Moldavia is completely unsuitable in bringing us closer to the desired aim of "rescue", the conservation of the traditional Csángó form of life, language and traditions. (This is not a problem in an absolute sense, but from the perspective of the "national" discourse, i.e. only according to the "Csángó rescue" ideology).

Another form of the "rescue" can be the familiarization with the traditional culture of the Csángós: organizing festivals, photo albums, musical publications, educational films, the organisation of the Moldavian folk tourism, organization of scientific data collection, etc. The forms and effects of the "Csángó rescue" were analyzed in detail by Lehel Peti (Peti 2005). During his fieldwork, he found that the "rescue" significantly interferes with the lives of the Csángó communities: polarizes the identity assumption of the ones belonging to the same community (between the Romanian and Hungarian), and thereby generates hidden or open conflicts. In many cases, it accelerates acculturation, the different attitudes towards the people carrying out the Hungarian language education in villages divides the communities, and disturbs the internal dynamics that also contributes to survival. The Csángós who were the subjects of any kind of rescue action, often find the myth-based discrimination inconvenient, burdensome even when it seems to favor them (cf. Palffy M. 1997: 69). It is even worse, if the environment of Transylvania and Hungary which is "disappointed" in the Csángós turns openly against them, and cre-

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25 For details see Sándor 2000.

ates a psychological situation, which turns "the ones to be rescued" against themselves, or against their own Csángó community. There is no doubt that the "Csángó rescue" actions have their supporters among the Csángós as well, especially those who assume very consciously the Hungarian identity constructed "within the framework of the national" discourse. We must respect their intentions and interests, but also it must be remembered that they do not represent the uniform will of their community.

The "Csángó rescue" can cause confusion by deceiving the public, and even "Csángó rescuers" themselves. The rescue operations make us believe that both the Hungarians of Transylvania and Hungary, by making sacrifices for the Csángós, does a lot for them. Thinking in the framework outlined by the myth the politicians, many researchers and the public rarely hears and listens to the opposing argument that are formulated by the teachers who know the Csángó children best, the anthropologists studying schooling and living conditions of the Csángós, for example that besides the presentation of the people's lifestyle, their archaic language, not much is happening for the improvement of their social, economic, political and cultural situation (Borbáth 1996: 71); that the Csángó interests would better be served with sound economic assistance as with the spiritual nourishment or ad hoc rescue actions distributing clothes and perfume (Benedek H. 1997: 209); that the majority of the Csángós receive incredulously and indifferently their turning into honorary Hungarians (Tánczos 1996: 187), and that in a certain sense nothing more happens than that "the Romanian dependence becomes a dependence from the Hungarians" (Pálffy M. 1997: 71).

The nature of the myth result in the fact that it continues to have effects even when it has apparently been destroyed. The ones who get to know the Csángós closer, sooner or later must face the fact that the Csángós simply do not fit into the image created about them, but they rarely blame their own Csángó-image. Being further under the influence of the myth it is not possible to moderately look for the causes of the failures, and the disappointment, of course, primarily affects the Csángós: clearly they are blamed for not behaving according to the myth, and thereby endanger their own rescue – let us add: for the myth. The myth offers a ready explanation: in less severe cases, this could be that the subjects to be rescued were not suitable for rescue. The frustration, however, is generally greater, and usually leads to generalizations: the Csángós, on the whole, are being considered inappropriate (and often unworthy) for any kind of help.

Many of the Transylvanian teachers, for example, developed condemning opinions about the Csángó students: they are not persistent enough, they do not know proper Hungarian, they have no real national self-awareness (Pálffy

M. 1997: 68-69). It was a common complaint among the Transylvanian (see Pálffy M. 1997: 69) and Hungarian teachers, that "we do everything for their language and they speak among themselves in Romanian"; a member of a Hungarian Aid Society drew the conclusion, from a singular case, that "the Csángós lie",[26] the music researcher Sándor Veress (Veress 1989: 8) called the people of Szabófalva (Săbăoani) "hybrid folk", "amphibious, lying nowhere at anchor, tangling in a spiritual homelessness", who opposed to his expectations were speaking Romanian among themselves; etc

As conclusion

Every researcher has the right to choose a research topic, a framework of interpretation, according to its views and turn of mind. Following the "constructivist" approach we cannot say anything else, than that the existence of a discourse can be neither questioned nor justified. This does not mean that we should accept the conviction expressed from the perspective of the "national" discourse, that the "constructivist" discourse is morally inferior, less committed than the "national" or that we should accept that the "national" discourse is general and of absolute validity. And it does not mean that we cannot dispute with it.

The data, reports, experience shows: the "national" ideology and the resulting action for the Csángós failed many times, not just from the perspective of the "constructivist" discourse, but above all in reaching of its self-defined goals. This does not imply at the same time, that among the members of the Csángó communities aren't people who by their own discretion identify with this set of values, this attitude. To this – from the "constructivist" interpretation of discourse – they have the right, just as they, and others also have the right to choose from different identities. Which no one has the right to is not the "intervention" in the life of the Csángós, but the intervention against their own will. And because the Csángó communities are not homogeneous this volitions will be different too. Maybe it does not matter if the various "interventions" don't bring smashing successes. But with responsibility only such actions can be started, through which we do not harm – not some imaginary, idealized "nation", but the actually existing Csángó communities.

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26 The "lie" had however socio-culturally and politically understandable reasons: the "rescued" young Csángó woman got pregnant as a maiden, and contrary to her promise did not return to Hungary.

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How do the Csángós "get ahead"? The linguistic strategies of avowal versus identity concealment in a Moldavian community

Introduction

The transition period after 1989 brought about social-economic changes which relativised the success of earlier careers and welfare tools, and created situations for the handling of which neither institutions, nor individuals knew effective techniques, thus continuously challenging (some) people.[1] Making ethnicity obvious in everyday practices and reviving nationalism in politics could be considered an answer to this row of challenges (Tismăneanu 1999: 13–35).

As a consequence, it is clear why researches dealing with nationalism, ethnicity and inter-ethnic relations gained a large role in the rebirth of Eastern-European sociology and anthropology. The reorganisation of identity, the manifestation of ethnicity and the – either symbolic or real – competition appearing in inter-ethnic relations pointed to the existence of groups whose identity is far from being unambiguous, whose (self-)categorization is twofold and/or mixed, and who (may) appear on the different levels of everyday interactions as members of several ethnic groups/nationalities (Csepeli et alii. 2001, Péter 2000, 2003, Simon–Péter 2004, Trencsényi et alii. 2001).

My present paper is an empirical case study aiming at the ethnic identity and communicational strategies of such a group of an "uncertain identity" – a Moldavian Catholic rural community, commonly called *Csángós.* My approach

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1   The present article is the revised version of the author's thesis for the master's degree, which has been published earlier in Hungarian in the sociological magazine *Erdélyi Társadalom* [Transylvanian Society] (2005 1., 9–28).

breaks away from all romantic-idealistic and politically weighted discourse (cf. Tánczos 2001: 56),[2] and all primordialist-essentialist paradigms which characterize most of the so called "Csángó literature" (e.g. Diószegi–Pozsony 1996, Gazda 1994, Pávai 1999, Pozsony 1993, 2002, Stan–Weber 1998, Şerban–Stănilă 2002, Tánczos 1999). I regard ethnic identity not as a compact, meaningful category, but as a construction. I focus on how the group limits are built up both from the outside and from the inside, as well as on the dynamics of this process. My central question is how the identity of a Moldavian Catholic community is built up in the inter-subjective practice of everyday life (with special regard to its linguistic respects); furthermore, what the working strategies of avowing and concealing identity are, that is, what the linguistic strategies are by which they are trying to favour the position of their own group in the competition for material and symbolic resources.

The location of my research is a settlement form Bákó (Bacău) county, called Frumósza (Frumoasa), with both Catholic and Orthodox inhabitants, and their proportion is fairly balanced. My method is primarily anthropological – I decisively rely on deep interviews,[3] spontaneous

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2   We can say that the "Csángó question" is the result of a basically nationalist political-human right debate, according to which the representatives of the Romanian and Hungarian nations compete for the legitimate definition of the nationality of the Catholic population living in Moldavia. In this outfield – often not taking into account the heterogeneity of the group and defining them as Csángós (HU: csángó, RO: ceangăi) – both parties created a myth which integrated the Catholics from Moldavia into their own nation, and which is an argument to legitimize their own political interests, using the local institutional setting and the academic discourse as a performative mode of speech. According to the Romanian version of this myth (cf. Märtinaş 1985) one part of the Csángós are Szeklers (who arrived to Moldavia in the middle ages, lost their language and integrated into the local society) turned into Romanians by natural course and the other part consists of Romanians arriving there from the Szekler territory, who were turned into Szeklers and forced into the Catholic faith. However, the Hungarian discourse states that one part of the Csángós are Hungarians relegated in the middle ages – from reasons of frontier security – and the other part are Szeklers emigrated in the 18-19th centuries for economic-political reasons, who fight as the farthest representatives of the Hungarian culture (and as fate symbols of the entire Hungarian nation) against the assimilation endeavours of Romanian nationalism (e.g. Hajdú-Moharos 1995, Jáki, P. 2002).

3   I have chosen the subjects of my interviews in such a way that the categories existing in the village would all appear, i.e. representatives of different genders, age groups, denominations, ethnic groups, village parts etc. At the beginning I chose my subjects by the snowball method, and I continuously enlarged their circle as far as contact was possible. Defining from the nature of the method applied, I naturally did not aim at representativeness, but at a relevant exposure of the question. Beside the cca. 20 deep interviews made by myself, I will also use the interviews made by Stelu Şerban and Viorel Stănilă (Şerban–Stănilă 2002). The quotations from these latter ones are marked (*).

talks[4] and observations – completed with "sound" statistical data on the village. The subjects of the research are the Catholics of Frumósza, i.e. the group within the village community having an *uncertain ethnicity* (Lucassen 1991). I did not choose them as the subjects of the research, because their categorisation would mean the venture into the "Csángó question", but because while there is no unambiguous answer to the identity of the Orthodox – according to the known categories of the community the Orthodox people are unequivocally Romanian (or Gypsies, if they live in a certain part of the village) – the identity of the Catholics is continuously being (re)defined and overwritten in the most different situations and in the course of the different interactions.

My analysis is built in the following way: first, I am going to define the theoretical background of the research, I am going to shortly summarize the most important self-categorizing and classification practices within and outside the village, which play a role in the continuous construction of their identity, then I am going to describe the linguistic strategies of avowing vs. concealing – the over- and under-communication of – the identity constructed this way.

The classification theories of the ethnicity research

Ethnicity-theories are usually outlined as the opposite poles of primordialist-modernist, classical-constructivist, essentialist-instrumentalist or objectivist-subjectivist, and are usually categorised in two large paradigms; however, endeavours to synthesize have also appeared recently.

The former point of view is of a Herderian-Romantic origin, and it is closely linked to nation-forming endeavours.[5] Its main focus is that – although the adjectives enlisted do not entirely overlap – certain ethnic groups have criteria that can be objectively delimited (such as skin colour, language, religion, conscience of a common origin and history and the symbolic representations of these, common culture etc.), which naturally belong to the given groups and define the identity of the individuals from their birth, and these classically defined identities are static, they are based on total categorisation and exclude each other (Armstrong 1982, Devereux 1996).

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4   The interviews and discussions – informal interviews – cannot be delimited in every case, since the discussion partner did not always interpret the situation as an interview.
5   As I have already mentioned in the introduction, most of the scholarly literature on the Csángós can be linked to this paradigm, although the majority is absolutely not reflected on theoretically.

The theoretical basis of my research trends to be characterised by the latter element of the pairs, by the constructivist approach in short. Since the beginnings, the constructivists have been drawing public attention to the importance of the practice of inter-subjective delimitation of ethnic groups, as described in the introduction of the book entitled *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969), edited by Fredrik Barth: it emphasised the fact that (ethnic) identity cannot be defined by objective criteria, it does not mean a static and lasting group membership, but a dynamic form of organisation created as a result of interaction, by which the individuals create a boundary between two (or more) groups. The continuity of the group depends on the maintenance of these boundaries (of a symbolic nature), and not on the objective differences existing between them (Barth 1969: 14–15), as these latter ones are only actualised as far as they are important to the actors of a given situation.

Based on the Barthian traditions, the representatives of this paradigm (e.g. Bell 1975, Cornell-Hartman 1996, Eriksen 1993, Gans 1996, Horowitz 1975, Jenkins 1997, Schaefer 1998) state that ethnicity and ethnical solidarity is a modern creation, not a result of a (cultural) relation rooted in the obscure past. Furthermore, the essence of ethnicity is not given by isolated cultural contents, but the process by which connected groups create the boundaries together by the practice of everyday interaction, building the identity of the groups by classifying one another and creating interplay for these classifications.[6] The ethnic dichotomies are not mechanic implementations of objective criteria, but symbols and markers of the culture chosen by the group members (Gans 1996), which are considered suitable to be the markers of the intergroup differences in a given situation (see also Eriksen 1993: 47, Horowitz 1975: 120). So, according to this view, ethnic identity is not a static creation, but a dynamic process, and the (self)categorisation is always made instrumentally, depending on social circumstances and (the) interests (of the group) (Bell 1975: 171). The individual can be simultaneously part of several groups, ethnic identities do not necessarily exclude one another, and the boundaries are not given once-and-for-all, but they are osmotic and traversable (Barth 1969: 19, Horowitz 1975: 118, Jenkins 1997: 70).

The constructivist point of view not only makes it possible to relativise the traditional identity categories, but it also lets one perceive the economical, social and political imbedding of the identity-construction processes. Labelling – proceeding from interactions of groups, which suppose they are different – only

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6   According to some researchers (Schaefer 1998) the classifying majority has a more important role, while the subordinate groups accept the classifications/rassifications of these.

becomes especially important if the groups compete in the same *niché* for the same resources (Barth 1969: 19).

According to my experiences, in Frumósza the situation is similar, that is, according to the mutual knowledge resource of the inhabitants built in an inter-subjective way this mental imprint is considered as a given one in the Catholic-Orthodox relationship.

The structure of the "Csángó" identity of the Catholics of Frumósza[7]

As it has already been mentioned in the introduction, while the members of the Orthodox community in Frumósza are obviously defined as Romanians, the identity of the Catholics cannot be defined by a certain answer, although their general name is "*csángó/ceangăi*". *Csángóism* as ethnicity appears differently as self-definition and as the hetero-definition of the different correlation groups (cf. Jenkins 1997: 53), the borders of the groups are not obvious, they become clear through the practice of interaction and classification. These classifications and interactions – both inside and outside the village – can be realised in a number of situations by the participation of different groups. However, let us delimit the notes of this chapter as the few (common) characteristics of the self-definition of the Catholics and the hetero-definitions of the Orthodox villagers and those of the Hungarians from "Hungarian land"[8].

The basis of hetero-definitional practices is a twofold delimitation. On the one hand, there are tangible ethnic limits between the "*Csángós*" and the Orthodox Romanians (since the Catholics have a different religion and they use a language, which is not spoken by Romanians). On the other hand, they are also delimited from the Hungarians (their linguistic competence differs from that of the "real Hungarians", they do not always understand each other).

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7   See the question in more detail at Simon–Péter 2004. This present chapter will only present a few notes.

8   On the cognitive map of the people from Frumósza Transylvania and Hungary are not separated, even though they know that Hárgita (Harghita), Mierkurja (Miercurea Ciuc), Gyorgyiény (Gheorgheni) and Kluzs (Cluj) are part of Romania. For them, the borderline between "Hungarian Land" and Romania is still lying between Palánka (Palanca) and Gyimesbükk (Ghimeș-Făget). The so called "borderline of a thousand years" used by Hungarian (political) discourse has still been retained on the cognitive map of the people from Frumósza (cf. Jeggle 1994: 3).

Consequently, they do not belong to either steady, commonly known category. Viewed from the outside, it is their bilingualism, or even their mixed bilingualism that basically indicates *Csángóism*: although the Csángós speak two languages, one of these proves to be *Hungarian* (non-Romanian) only in the local communication context, and it differs from standard Hungarian to such an extent that it does not guarantee successful communication with Hungarians living west from the Carpathians, moreover, it being a Hungarian dialect is also questionable.

All this has an impact on the self-definition of the Catholics of Frumósza: the discursive hetero-definition of these two communities is apprehensible. Although their religious identity represents the strongest component of their group solidarity, this is not linked to the linguistic references of ethnic delimitation, which oscillates between the poles of a twofold delimitation and a twofold identification, and its main essence is constituted by the recognition of this *interculturality* (belonging to both places, but in the same time belonging to none) and the continuous acknowledgement of the fact that their bilingualism is accompanied by a twofold linguistic disadvantage[9] – although they speak both Romanian and Hungarian, they speak neither language as well as (they say) *real* Romanians and Hungarians do.

This perception and acknowledgement is also propagated by the labels (in some cases stigmas) which are used by the Orthodox people and the Hungarians to name the Catholics. The former group compensate their loss of position caused by the majority of the Catholics by mocking them as mixtures ("*amestecătură*"), hybrids ("*corcitură*") or countriless ("*om fără patrie*"). Stigmatization by the latter group is manifested mainly in the conflict situations between patrons and clients[10] (cf. Hegyeli 1999b: 167), when Hungarians call the Csángós "*stinky Romanians*". By accepting these stigmas, *Csángóism* stands for the Catholics as an identity they are forced into (*imposed ethnicity*, Lucassen 1991: 90).

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9   In this respect one can observe a taxonomy in their circles defined by them according to the "level" of Hungarian linguistic competence (and thus the level of the *Hungarian* identity) of the people from the different regions. According to this taxonomy, the Hungarian language is best spoken in "Budapesta", so this is where the *most real Hungarians* live, while as one proceeds east, the "authenticity" of Hungarian identity gradually decreases – they are followed by the Transylvanians ("*out in Harghita at the Hungarians*"), then by the people from Pusztina (Pustiana), the ones from Frumósza from within the Moldavian region, and last come the villages where there are Catholics, but they only speak Romanian.

10 The Catholics from Frumósza primarily get into contact with "people from Hungarian Land" by being guest workers (or students).

At the same time, when talking about hetero-definitions, we should not omit the fact that on a general level the Romanians and Hungarians both integrate the Catholics in their own groups – this is what represents the focus of the "Csángó question" – this kind of integration has always aimed at an "imaginary community" of the nation (Anderson 2000), and as such, it does not eliminate the cultural differences appearing in everyday interactions (neither the symbolic nominators of these), and thus it does not eliminate the borders between these. This is why Catholics can be perceived simultaneously as *group members* and stigmatized *strangers* by the ones classifying them.

The antagonism between the two kinds of hetero-definitional strategies is only apparent, practically they have different functions – both the Orthodox and the Hungarians use either strategy depending on whether they wish to emphasize the horizontal or, on the contrary, the hierarchic aspect of their relationship with the Catholics: solidarity or the distance/differentiation given by the asymmetric relation.

As a summary of the identification and classification practices, we can say that the Catholics of Frumósza, the *Csángós,* whether from the outside or from the inside, can be ascribed into several groups (*multiple ascription*), but these can be synchronised despite their antagonism. The meanings building up the "*contents*" of "*Csángóism*" are organised around the different labels so that they do not necessarily link to each other, and they make it possible for the group to be shaped in different ways according to the different points of view and to the different stereotypes, that is, the borders can be moved continuously.

Language – more specifically, the imagined or real knowledge and usage of the Romanian and Hungarian standard and of the local dialect – has an extreme role in ascriptive practices, although it never appears in itself, but as inseparably interwoven with the other ethnic indicators. In hetero-definitions and self-definitions the bilingualism/mixed bilingualism of the Catholics of Frumósza, the double linguistic disadvantage stemming from this and (the possibility of) mutual stigmatization by both the native speakers of the Hungarian and the Romanian standard are equally important factors. All these result in frustration and inferiority complex in most cases in the Catholics of Frumósza. In order to alleviate this, it is essential to continuously move the borders of their identity. The communication of their bilingualism/mixed bilingualism always depends on interest, and its aim is to ensure the *Csángó* person to "get ahead", this way the avowal or concealment of the differences in language competence or language usage depends on where they would place their own group in a given situation: closer to either the Romanian or the Hungarian community.

The linguistic ways of "getting ahead" – the strategies of avowing vs. concealing identity in language usage and language socialisation

As the above summary shows, the "*Csángó*" identity of the Catholics of Frumósza is characterized by a manifold categorisation – group membership is built along the concepts of *interculturality* and *mixture* (in the uncertain and controversial boundary zone of "*Romanian*ship" and "*Hungarian*ship") in such a way that the possibility of overwriting identity by the continuous movement along the line between the *Romanian* and *Hungarian* poles would be retained. In this present chapter I am going to follow the dynamics of these movements and that of the avowal and concealment (over- vs. under-communication) of identity along two factors: language usage and language socialisation. In choosing these factors, I was not only lead by the dominant Euro-American tendency of linking ethnic and linguistic identity (Fishman 1999: 154, Urcioli 1995: 525–527), but also by the fact that in the construction mechanisms of identity both self-definitions and hetero-definitions include bilingualism – the knowledge of both the Romanian language and the Csángó-Hungarian dialect – and mixed bilingualism – the mixture of Romanian and Hungarian elements within the Csángó dialect – of the "Csángós", as identity-elements of an extreme importance.

According to the attest of socio-linguistic researches (see their summaries in Pap–Szépe 1975, Pléh–Síklaki–Terestényi 1997, Urcioli 1995) even individuals without a problematic identity choose between certain linguistic registers, styles and forms of expression depending on the communicational conditions. In the cases of multilingualism, ethno-linguistic identity stands in an especially close link with the situations of language usage (Fishman 1999:152–154). I am going to approach this kind of situativity of the identity of the Catholics of Frumósza by the conceptual help of the *convergent and divergent linguistic accommodation*[11] described by Trugdill (Trugdil 1995, quoted by Horváth 2003: 13), and I am going to analyse the way and the measure in which the instrumental and integrative aspects of the language usage and language socialisation appear in the cases of the two (three?) languages actively and/or passively spoken by the *Csángós* of Frumósza.

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11 In the case of convergent linguistic accommodation, the language usage of the bilingual individual is followed by the acceptance of the members of the other group (and as such, it is integrative language usage), while the feature of divergent accommodation is instrumentalism, which is an endeavour to integration.

The differences of language usage in the public and the private sphere

From the two languages spoken actively and/or passively by the Catholics of Frumósza, one can notice the hegemony of the Romanian language in the public sphere – they speak Romanian at school, in church, in the pub, with the police officer, with the doctor or simply with strangers, i.e. in every situation that falls outside the sphere of friends, acquaintances and the family, and also in cases when communication is carried out in public. This hegemony is accepted and considered natural by those who otherwise do not have an active Romanian language competence.[12]

However, the presence of the Romanian and the local Hungarian dialect does not follow a pattern in the sphere of private language usage (in case of communication within the family or other informal groups), and in this respect we can see examples that differ by families, moreover, by individuals. These examples are defined by the real or imaginary Hungarian language competence (fed back via the interactions) of the individuals[13], and this competence may differ among the family members. The level of language competence does not only depend on the gender and the age group of the speaker (as opposed to the statements of Diószegi–Pozsony 1996, Hegyeli 1999a, Pozsony 1993, 2002), but also on the different language usage models of the communication partners' (original) families (mixed marriages, different language socialisation background etc.).[14]

12 For the elderly women who scarcely speak Romanian, it is also natural to confess in the church in Romanian, despite the fact that the Catholic priest admits to stigmatise their language usage viewed as "of a decreased value". I suppose, this is not only influenced by the greater prestige of the Romanian language, but also by the fact that when they were younger, the masses were also held in a language unfamiliar to them, in Latin, so they have become accustomed to the fact that the language of religion differs from their first language (cf. Sándor 1996). A further factor may be the fact that they consider sacral communication (e.g. prayers) as functional, regardless of language – "*God was neither Romanian, nor Hungarian.*" Prayer, as a performative act of speech, does not require any active language competence.

13 I do not use language competence as a kind of abstract criterion, but as a communicational skill which manifests itself in concrete speech situations (cf. Horváth 2003: 12).

14 "*Há fiecare, hogy van minden családba, în fiecare familie, hogy akarnak. Mások tanulnak csak magyarul, mások legtöbbet romànyul.*" – half-Hungarian, half-Romanian incoherent speech, meaning: some people learn Hungarian, other people only learn Romanian, as they wish.
"*Magam magyarul mondom. A vejem oláh, nem oláh, de oláhul tud csak. Magyarul nem tud. Kátolikus, há, de nem tud, nem beszél. Nálik a házba, ők beszélgettek... az apák tudnak, de mikor kölykek voltak, beszélgettek az apák magyarul, s a kölykek voltak oláhul, nem tudtak magyarul, s most es tartják a románt, s a kölykeket nem tanították. S akkor mikor mi beszélgetünk, csak nez.*"- I speak Hungarian, but my son-in-law only speaks Romanian, despite being a Catholic. He was not taught Hungarian at home, so when we talk, he just stares.

The social communication relation system the actors are part of and the feedback they receive for their language usage in these relation systems also have an important role in fashioning these models. That is, they judge (and develop an emotional approach towards) the usage value of the languages spoken by them and also the usefulness of their own language knowledge (moreover, their language) depending on these factors.

It has already been mentioned in this essay that the language performance of the Catholics of Frumósza is characterised by bilingualism and a double linguistic disadvantage. In other words, the majority of the Catholics of Frumósza knows two languages – Romanian and the local Hungarian (henceforth: Csángó) dialect –, even though most of them only use one language actively. The exception being the children younger than 3-4 at most, who do not speak *Csángó* in all cases (even if they might have heard their family members speak this language, so they might understand at least a few words),[15] and the oldest generation, whose Romanian language competence is passive.

From these two language dialects it is the Romanian which stands closer to the standard. It is even held more literary than the dialect spoken by the local Orthodox people.[16] At the same time, the native Romanian teachers of the schools say that even until they finish lower secondary school, the "*Csángós*" do not learn to speak Romanian well enough not to commit agreement mistakes all the time, since they do not study Romanian as their first language. Indeed, the Csángó children start learning Romanian – and all the subjects of the curriculum, due to education in the Romanian language – with a disadvantage compared to their peers speaking Romanian *as their first language.* Even if they learn Romanian as their first language, this is not the case with their relatives who socialise them on language level, so the children leave home with a language competence which is ab ovo "faulty" (not native), even though this is the language they know the best. Linguistic disadvantage is increased if the child's family use the Csángó dialect in the private sphere (see also Borbáth 1995: 93, 1996: 72).

15 Language socialisation of Csángó children has two well-known strategies. According to one, children are first taught the mother tongue of the parents, i.e. the local Csángó dialect, and they start to acquire Romanian later. According to the other strategy, the parents consistently speak Romanian to their children, but they speak the Csángó dialect when they interact with each other, so the children learn *Csángó* by listening to their interaction, but their first language will be Romanian (cf. Gazda 1994: 276, Pozsony 1993: 113, Tánczos 1999: 22).

16 Of what exactly the Romanian dialect spoken by the Catholics is like, I can give no account, as I myself am not a linguist, and Romanian linguistics has not dealt with this question yet, moreover, they have not analysed the dialect of the monolingual Romanian Catholics either (Szilágyi N. 2002: 87).

The situation is totally different in the case of the *Csángó* language competence of the Catholics of Frumósza. Although in Moldavian inter-subjective terms, this language (dialect) is defined as obviously *Hungarian* (i.e. non-Romanian), in the Hungarian ideological discourse the term "*linguistic Csángóism*" has almost obviously "become the (...) synonym of cumulatively discriminated linguistic situation" (Fodor 2001a: 14). This language is a mixed language in itself ("*our language has gone hybrid*"), its users "*speak Csángóish what they und'stand, and they say Romanish into the talks*".[17] These do not cause any identification or communicational difficulties in the practice of language usage, as the members of the community mutually understand the language, and they view it as obviously *Hungarian* (non-Romanian) despite its mixedness.

However, in a foreign environment – and here I primarily refer to the situations of communication with Hungarians – the difference of their language usage habits compared to those using standard Hungarian accentuates and becomes much more visible (cf. Urcioli 1995: 528, 535, Bell 1975: 169, Horowitz 1975: 120). During the interactions it became obvious that what they consider to be practicable language knowledge proves to be insufficient language competence as compared to standard Hungarian in the communication with Hungarians (cf. Fodor 2001a, Borbáth 1996, Tánczos 1996a). This difference is best perceivable with the lexical elements.[18] Although these linguistic elements can be used without any problems in communication in Romanian within their community, frequent code-switching in interactions with Hungarians might cause comprehension difficulties, and it might bring about the stigmatization of the "Csángó" language usage by the Hungarian speech partner.[19]

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17 The mixture of the (archaic) Hungarian dialect with the Romanian language is not a new phenomenon; almost all of the names of the concepts created after the neology are borrowed from Romanian – the borrowed words fit perfectly in the vocabulary, the rules of word composition and word formation apply to them etc. Borrowings are not only lexical, they also appear in other fields of grammar (e.g. there are a number of metaphrases) (cf. Fodor 2001b). A further feature of the mixed nature of the Csángó dialect spoken within the Catholic community is often the intrasentential code-switching.

18 The Hungarian lexis of the archaic Csángó dialect lacks words and phrases which are used to define objects and phenomena of the modern world. Further comprehension problems are caused by the semantic differences of Csángó and Hungarian homonyms – one of the most frequently quoted examples of this is the misunderstandings rooting in the Hungarian word *szoba* ('room') and the Csángó word *szóba* ('stove') – not to mention the cultural/cultural-historical differences between the *Csángós* and the "*pure Hungarians*".

19 "*They mock the Csángós for not speaking properly, for using Csángóish. (...) They do not mock them for why they use the language this way. They have the feeling that the Hungarians get the language one way, and the Romanians get it the other way*".

This is the reason why migration to Transylvania or Hungary for educational purposes proved useless in many cases: instead of diminishing the linguistic disadvantages coming from bilingualism and mixed bilingualism, learning the local Hungarian dialect led to stigmatization, to the pejorative usage of the word "*Csángó*", which can best be perceived in mocking the language competence. For the language usage of the Catholics of Frumósza turns into a cultural difference outside Moldavia. Neither Romanians, nor Hungarians are willing to acknowledge the fact that there is another comprehension system behind this difference (Jeggle 1994: 15), so the Catholics are expected to use standard Hungarian in the public sphere, and if they do not, or they do not speak well enough, they may be laughed at. At the same time, the people of Frumósza also react to mentioning the incompleteness of their language competence outside the local community in a much more sensitive way.[20]

The people of Frumósza are trying to eliminate misunderstandings stemming from verbal interactions with Hungarians as well as the negative discrimination resulting from this by applying two strategies: they either try to accommodate to the language usage model that they regard as "*pure Hungarian*" or they – choose the easier way and – try to reduce face-to-face confrontations with *real* Hungarians to a necessary minimum[21] (cf. Hegyeli 1996b: 187, furthermore Bell 1975: 169, Horowitz 1975: 120); whereas, if the interaction is inevitable, in most cases they under-communicate their ethno-linguistic identity, and speak Romanian.[22]

Similarly, interactions with Romanians also lead to the under-communication of their identity when they are stigmatized because of their Hungarian language usage or their imperfect Romanian language competence. The most frequent place of public discrimination – as an especially strong and effective stigmatization practice – is school, where they are not only mocked by their peers not speaking the *Csángó* dialect (which is their first language), but their teachers also ridicule them.[23] According to the reports, this happened in the same way before 1989, as well. During the years of national communism, the headmaster (being of Orthodox denomination) frequently emphasised the lan-

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20 This is testified by the frequent mentioning of their fear from being laughed at by the people *"from over yonder"* because of their language usage.
21 These cases mostly mean asymmetric relations between Hungarian employers/teachers and Csángó guest workers/students.
22 It appears in a number of their narratives that they were among *Hungarians*, and they felt ashamed of speaking in Hungarian, and it only turned out afterwards that they are in fact not Romanians.
23 "I couldn't help laughing when they said... when they committed so many mistakes in speech. Despite the fact that I am from the neighbouring village and I had got used to their mistakes to some extent, but when they commit agreement errors..." (*)

guage competence imperfections of a part of the Csángó children – stigmatising them of course – and he officially prohibited the Catholic and (Romani) children to speak to each other in any other language than Romanian on the grounds of the school (cf. Kontra 1999 quoted by Horváth 2003: 20). He explained the prohibition with the intention to eliminate the linguistic disadvantage – the children will not be able to integrate into society adequately without the accurate knowledge of the Romanian language –, but he also had another unspoken reason, i.e. to eliminate his own communicational difficulties arising from the lack of knowledge of the local Csángó dialect.

The people of Frumósza are trying to compensate these uneven situations by eliminating the Csángó language from the communicational repertory and by getting rid of the Romanian linguistic disadvantage – that is by linguistic code-switching. The more often and in the more different situations they experience negative discrimination of their (mixed/double) linguistic identity, the more they apply their willingness to switch code and to become monolingual, as an identification strategy.[24]

Furthermore, everyday private practices have situations which require or make use of one or the other language possible. In this respect one can notice, that the Csángó language is more used in situations where the success of communication is not endangered by contextual factors, while in situations where they do not see the guarantee that the Csángó dialect takes an obvious message to the addressee, they switch to Romanian.[25] Beyond this, another reason for code-switching is the fact that the Csángó dialect has not got a written version, fact which makes communication more difficult or even impossible.

The simultaneous influence of all these factors (may) shape a permanent ethno-linguistic *inferiority complex* in some of the Catholics of Frumósza, and more and more people choose the strategy of language switch in order to compensate it. Their inferiority complex is caused by the repeated assertion

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24 This is definitely the explanation for the differences between generations and genders. My experiences show that the option to use the Csángó language is more frequent among the less mobile older generations and the women who take part in migration to a less extent, while men and the youth (especially the children who have already been socialised as Romanian) speak Romanian in almost all the cases.
"*Catholics all Hungarian. There are these eldest people, they don't even know Romanian. At all. I had an old grannie, she did not know Romanian, and also my mother, my mother speaks very bad Romanian. She likes Hungarian, you know. But the youngsters gave it up. They gave it up, 'cause they rather... they gave up everything.*"

25 A typical example is the different choice of language for face-to-face communication and talking on the phone: despite the fact that the actor uses the Csángó dialect in the private sphere for face-to-face communication, he/she chooses the Romanian language – as a more obvious communicational code – for telephone conversations.

(stigmatization) of and permanent confrontation with the belief that the language (dialect) spoken by them is mixed to such an extent that it is no longer a real language, only a "*hybrid*" ("*korcsitura*") (Szilágyi 2002: 84). As individual identity is concerned, this may cause the situational[26] or permanent[27] exclusion (wiping out) of the Csángó/Hungarian language from the communicational repertory, while on an intergenerational level, it may draw forth the socialisation of children to have a Romanian mother tongue.[28] They choose to do this, because for them Romanian means a language which has an adequate prestige (official language) and is suitable for communication with Hungarians, too, as Transylvanians also speak it (cf. Fishman–Nahirny 1996; and in cases of other groups without power see Eriksen 1993: 29–30, Cohen 1997: 106–110). Furthermore, language shift may in some cases blend with the switch of denominational identity – the simplest way of this is the mixed marriage celebrated in an Orthodox church[29] – or the concealment of the symbols indicating religious beliefs.

The switch of the double linguistic code to Romanian monolingualism is backed up by the superior prestige of the Romanian language as official language, and – at the same time – also the approach which presupposes this language to be the object of expressing loyalty of citizenship ("*They should also accept the Romanian language... if we live in Romania*"). At the same time the code-switch may also be facilitated by the factor that the approach to language use is seldom emotional,[30] it is rather pragmatic-instrumental: primarily, for the people of Frumósza it is important that the language they speak be suitable both for profane and sacral, formal and informal communication ends. The Romanian language is not only an obvious code for these purposes, but also a symbolic capital to be invested into the process of getting ahead in life (cf. Urcioli 1995: 527) for the people of Frumósza. According to their perception,

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26 There were people who first declared that "*I do understand everything, but I cannot answer*", but in another (informal) situation it turned out that he does not only understand, but also speaks *Csángóish*.

27 "*I have spoken it, but I can't anymore. This is not only because my wife is Orthodox, but also because people here don't speak Hungarian anymore.*"

28 "*We still speak it, but the children can't really. I have three children, one of them is in the second form, that one doesn't speak it at all, because I didn't teach him. He understands it, but doesn't want to speak it.*"

29 A typical example of the competition between the Catholic and Orthodox churches is that the local representatives of Orthodoxism do not accept Catholic baptism, so the Catholic person who marries in an Orthodox church has to be re-baptised.

30 If there is any emotional reaction, it usually shows in looking down on the local dialect (they decline it because of its "hybridity"), while a positive approach is only shown by the less mobile (elderly, women).

its exclusive or dominant use makes it possible to wipe out the stigmas applied on their identity and to integrate into the majority.[31]

Naturally, convergent linguistic accommodation accompanying the surrender of bilingualism does not mean by far the assimilation of the Catholics to the Romanians as ethnicity, at least not within the village. Due to the frequency of everyday interactions, the Orthodox have positive knowledge about who the "*Csángós*" are in Frumósza, and – as their classification schemes show (see Simon–Péter 2004) – they believe that the non-knowledge of the Csángó/Hungarian dialect does not guarantee their not being regarded as only part of the official Romanian nation (cf. Spolsky 1999: 189, Urcioli 1995: 531). Therefore, the modification of linguistic identity does not necessarily mean crossing ethnic boundaries; these will stand in spite of shifting between them (Barth 1969: 21).

At the same time it is worth mentioning, that education to Romanian monolingualism is not the exclusive strategy of socialisation in the private sphere. In the families where the parents have not shifted to monolingualism, the children are first taught the local dialect, and they are spoken to in Romanian only later. This kind of parental behaviour, however, does not guarantee that the children would not apply code-switch later – to the effect of the mechanisms enlisted above.[32] But this language-preservation strategy, as opposed to endeavours to integrate into Romanians, seems to be successful mostly in the case when the aim is not to preserve the double identity of Csángóism, but it is also bond to other instrumental aspects. The assimilation attempts to Hungarians seem to be instrumental alternatives. However, as these are closely linked to institutional Hungarian education in Moldavia which is about to blossom, I consider it more appropriate to treat this strategy – along with school education in Hungarian – in the next chapter.

Institutional language socialisation – Hungarian education at school and the "Hungarian-Csángó" identity

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31 For the appreciation of the Romanian language as the tool for getting ahead in the world, expressing loyalty as citizens and the dominant language of the public sphere see Horváth 2003: 18–21.

32 "*I think the best way is for the little ones to first learn Hungarian, when they are small and to keep that, and even if they speak Romanian, they won't learn Hungarian later. My children understood everything, the older ones too. We spoke Hungarian: where's the knife... they understood everything. But later they wouldn't speak, they had the impression that, o, they are laughing at me because I don't speak Hungarian well.*"
"*At home, we spoke Romanian and Hungarian, too, with the girls; I spoke Hungarian, they spoke Romanian. I spoke to them in Hungarian... But they don't bring it out, they speak Romanian, too.*"

Since the political turn there have been several (politically supported) attempts to create institutional education in Hungarian[33] for the *Csángó* children in Moldavia (and outside it). At the beginning the attempts were quite disorganised (see Hegyeli 2001a, 2001c), aiming at emotionally heated nationalistic "Csángó rescue", according to a minimal system of professional viewpoints. In this period, more chances are given to "Csángó education" taking place in Székely Land (Szeklerland), instead of the few naive local initiations. Most of the teachers from Székely Land receiving the children were not prepared for this special task,[34] and in the even scarcer education in Hungary the children did not only have to learn the language, but they also had to make up for basic Hungarology knowledge, too – what is more, despite the declared aim (forming an intellectual stratum), very few people returned (Fodor 2001a).

Some changes were brought about by the millennium. The educational centre of the Csángó children moved from Csíkszereda (Miercurea Ciuc) to Gyimesfelsőlok (Lunca de Sus); the amateur attempts ceased, instead illegal, i.e. extra-school Hungarian education started "at houses" in Klézse and Pusztina; they ceased to recruit children to go to schools in Hungary, instead, summer Hungarian educational camping programmes started; and there was a reinforcement of interest towards Hungarian superior education. Until 2003, integration into the Romanian educational system seemed impossible.[35]

Most of these attempts did not succeed. Partly, because most of them were founded only ideologically (Hungarian nationalism) and not from an educational-methodological point of view, and they were not local/"Csángó" initiatives, but mostly politically burdened (cf. Pálffy 1999, Sándor 1996). For in Moldavia, the real political essence of the "Csángó question" lies in local Hungarian education (and the Hungarian religious liturgies). In the course of such initiatives, the initiating Hungarian party appears with the slogans of *protection of minority rights* and the *ethnic revival* of the Csángós (cf. Spolsky 1999: 181), which are perceived by the Romanian party as attempts to tear out the Csángós from the body of the Romanian nation, an irredentist nation-dividing propaganda, which at the same time questions the authority of the

33 This aimed at the introduction of the Hungarian language as a school subject, not the creation of the whole education in the Hungarian language.

34 It was not only the disadvantageous language competence of the children which caused the problem, but also the fact that the choices were not made according to the skills of the children, thus, few of them could meet the new requirements (cf. Borbáth 1995, 1996).

35 Although the introduction of Hungarian education at school had been solicited several times in Klézse (Cleja), Pusztina (Pustiana), Lészped (Lespezi), the school-inspectorate of Bákó county declined them, saying that these had not been real parental supplications, but the political endeavours of the "Hungarian party" (Hegyeli 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2001d).

state.[36] The opposition of the Romanian party is supposedly also increased by the fact that by aiming at the introduction of Hungarian education they did not wish to codify and standardize the local spoken language, but to *vernacularize* standard Hungarian (make it the first language) (cf. Spolsky 1999: 185).

Further complications were caused by the fact that seeing the failures, the Hungarian party adopted less fair modalities to vindicate its interests, and has tried to organise the Hungarian education of the "Csángó" children (also) as informal private education. My objective is not to present the entire palette of these arguments and political debates, but to concentrate only on the further effects of these, taking place in Frumósza.

In Frumósza, the local Romanian "politicizing" cultural elite[37] was fighting and trying to hinder the creation of Hungarian school education from the very beginning. Their opposing party were the representatives of the Csángó Magyar Szövetség (Csángó Hungarian Association) of Pusztina and its sympathizers from Frumósza. During the more or less symbolic arguments of these two parties, the local elite was in a stronger position for a long time, but in 2003 the representation (and the lobby) of the Csángó Hungarian Association proved to be stronger: they managed to organise that the parents sympathizing with the introduction of Hungarian education would supplicate the introduction of their mother tongue as a school subject in the presence of a notary public (cf. Hegyeli 2001d: 9). As opposed to the attempts of the previous years, this time the movement proved to be successful, and the school-inspectorate of Bákó county accepted the petitions of the parents, thus in the school of Frumósza there is a "class" – a mixed one, consisting of children of different ages – who learn Hungarian three lessons a week.[38] In parallel with this,

36 The replication of the arguments in the media was most forcefully presented on the columns of the papers *Deşteptarea [Awakening]* from Bacău, and the *Moldvai Magyarság [Hungarians from Moldavia]* from Sfântu Gheorhe.

37 The most important representatives are: the ex-headmaster, who had made it compulsory to use the Romanian language in the years of national-communism, and his teacher-relatives – his brother is an elementary school teacher and his sister-in-law is the present headmaster –, and the (village developer) Catholic priest, who has recently deceased.

38 The education of the Hungarian language started in a similar way in Bákó county in Pusztina, Klézse, Lészped and Magyarfalu (Arini). It is notable, that the number and the composition of the members of the "Hungarian class" in Frumósza is rather fluctuant. The class has been founded as the result of 26 petitions of the parents, from the children of which eventually 23 were "signed up" for the 2003/2004 school year. These 23 children make up the "tough core" of those learning Hungarian, they are the ones who attend classes more or less regularly and are given a mark for their activity. Besides them, there are further 20-25 children who are connected to the group as a kind of satellite, and occasionally attend the classes (especially the activities organised in the house of the teacher), and there are also pupils who showed up a few times out of mere curiosity – some Orthodox children are also part of this latter group –, but they finally gave up attending.

the former informal model of language education also goes on – during the week, the children can gather in the house of the teacher to speak standard Hungarian and to learn how to read and write in Hungarian. In the weekend, those interested can "learn back" the local *mini-tradition* (Csángó folklore) guided by Ilona Nyisztor, folk singer.[39] At the same time (of course) the appearance of the Hungarian "school" of Frumósza does not exclude the former modality of learning in Hungarian, the migration of the children to schools from Székely Land.

Spolsky emphasises the importance of motivation of language acquisition in case of (second) language learning linked to the movements of the *ethnic revival* (Spolsky 1999: 182). According to his opinion, these reasons are much more important than the language they learn "back". This proves to be especially important in the case of the Hungarian education of Frumósza (i.e. sending their children to Hungarian schools), because the motivations of the elite urging/hindering language acquisition and those of the people opting for it highly differ. Although the propaganda of the elite supposes the Hungarian language to be the mother tongue on the one side, and to be a foreign language on the other side, and therefore they emphasize the natural emotional aspects of its use, the relation of the Catholics of Frumósza to the Hungarian language (and to its acquisition) is mostly instrumental: as they had formerly socialized their children to Romanian as their first language, a part of them recognized later that besides integrating into the majority, the acquisition of the Hungarian language may also be an alternative tool for getting ahead.[40]

The recognition of the knowledge of Hungarian as the tool for "getting ahead" has only spread in quite a small circle – mostly the guest workers in Hungary and the families who are regarded as poor in Frumósza apply this

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39 The expression of Hungarian identity in this manner does not by far presuppose the "traditional" "Csángó" culture to operate, but it uses/discovers elements of "tradition" (Hobsbawm 1987), that are able to represent the symbolic identity of the community also as snatch symbols, without influencing other territories of everyday life (Gans 1996: 441). Typical symbols of this representational folklorism are the following: only one old lady wears the "katrinca" (apron, part of a typical Csángó folk costume), the members of the dance group have been sown a national costume, and the children have "learnt back" the folk songs and dances essential to the performances much earlier than they could acquire a usable language knowledge.

40 *"When the Hungarian schools started to take the children from us, learning became an interest of the children again. This little child of mine had not spoken Hungarian until last year. We are Hungarians, but he did not speak it... But last year I let him go, I told him, he should also learn, because it is good to learn. These other ones also only spoke Romanian when they were little, but later they learnt to write and learn. They liked it. Because they managed better out yonder at the Hungarians than here at this school, 'cause the teachers helped them, and they managed very well."*

strategy. Although both groups see the acquisition of the "*pure Hungarian*" language as a tool for getting ahead, their motivations (may) largely differ.

As guest work abroad became popular, the active competence of the Hungarian language is supposed to help those in employment who work in Hungary[41] – the essence of their motivation is given by the experience that they find work more easily, and they are "*taken in better*" in Hungary, if their language competence does not betray them, that they in fact are *not real Hungarians.* Therefore, (similarly to the strategy of socializing as monolingual Romanians) their positive approach to Hungarian education should be interpreted as an endeavour to under-communicate the "*Csángó*" identity – which is an intercultural one, differing both from that of *real Hungarians* and *Romanians.*

The researchers who advise for the broadening of the authenticity field of the "Csángó" dialect instead of standard Hungarian in the course of language planning and socialisation are of a similar opinion: they argue that in order to strengthen the Csángó (i.e. bilingual/mixed bilingual) ethno-linguistic identity, there would rather be a need to shape firm bilingualism and the enhancing of the prestige of their own dialect, while standardizing them in Hungarian "would be equal to eradication of mother tongue out of negligence" (Sándor 1996: 51). They reinforce their point of view by the argument that teaching standard Hungarian at school caused a *diglossic* situation[42], in which the standard would be useless, as the Csángós (could) exclusively use Romanian in the formal sphere and as the language of elevated functions (Kontra 2003: 319–320). Therefore, if Hungarian language learning at school only results in a language knowledge only possible to use at home, that would cause a more negative attitude against their own dialect, so it would also suppose Romanian as the language for "getting ahead" (Sándor 1996).

In the case of the people of Frumósza it seems that this supposition turns out to be right in certain cases even if they find functions for standard Hungarian outside the family. I experienced this paradox situation in a family where the two eldest children are guest workers in Hungary, and one of the sons goes to

41 Despite the fact that many of them are convinced that for a successful career as a guest worker one does not need more schooling than elementary and lower-secondary schools (cf. Hegyeli 1996b).

42 "Diglossia is a language situation in which the prestigious standard or 'elevated' variant has no speakers on a mother tongue level, it is learnt at school by all. This variant is a relative of the 'common' variant spoken as the mother tongue, but it substantially differs from that. The elevated variant is used in written form and in situations requiring formal (high status) style, e.g. university lectures. In other cases the members of the community use the common variant."(Kontra 2003: 319–320)

a Hungarian vocational highschool to Csíkszereda. Though the children learnt Romanian as their first language, the complete language shift occurred when the two eldest became guest workers. For when they faced the uselessness of their dialect outside the village, and they learnt the "*real Hungarian language*", they felt ashamed of "*Csángó speeches*", and as they could not speak Hungarian with the rest of the family, the language of communication in the family became Romanian. So much so that the children used Romanian to correct their mother, who spoke to me in *Csángóish*, that is "*incorrectly*": "*you don't say 'heába', mother, you say 'hiába', don't speak if you can't say it correctly.*"

However, Hungarian language learning (especially its variant from Transylvania) means a kind of strategy for poor families: for these families the only possibility of obtaining a high school education means "*kicking out*" their children to Csíkszereda. For most of them do not have the material background to send their children to learn in Bákó or Iași[43]. So – if the parents think it is important that the children would not only have "*optclasa*" (elementary and lower secondary in Csángóish) – their only possibility is to enrol them in a school in Székely Land, where they can study due to the material support of the Domokos Pál Péter Foundation (which undertakes to cover their living expenses).[44] As it is a rational decision taken in order to survive, Transylvanian schooling does not necessarily have a relationship with expressing the identity of the family as "*siding with Hungarian*", and sometimes not even with the use of the local Csángó dialect as mother tongue.[45]

Even so, it seems that the local sympathizers and advocates of Hungarian education in Frumósza are those who more or less made the migration strategy to schools from Csíkszereda popular. Because by this practice (because of the material help) the emphasis of their identity as "*Hungarians*" (may) have become more valuable for them: they realised/experienced, that it is (also) worth being "*Hungarian*" from a material point of view[46], and in cer-

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43 The common target locations for the rich in order to graduate high school.

44 While staying there, I heard of several cases when the children had to stop going to school to Bacău or Iași, because their parents could not continue paying for their accommodation and catering expenses. With the poorest it also happened that the children could not even finish the apprentice school from Frumósza, because they had to find employment in order to ease the financial situation of the family.

45 *"In our house, we little speak Csángóish... but I kicked him out. They say, the more languages you know, the more human value you have. And I told him to go and learn."*

46 *"These older ones were schooled, helped, I didn't pay for the boarding school, I didn't pay for the food. And they carried my Irinka... so they would take us, too. ...And Mrs. Ilona told us, they would also take us yonder, to an excursion and on 18th of June they take her to Hungary. They made a Hungarian certificate to my son, my daughter and to myself, too. They also made a passport to this. Only Hungarians helped us."*

tain cases this experience may have caused an emotional identification with Hungarianism.[47]

Those for whom Hungarian language knowledge proved to be a successful strategy for getting ahead – one of their older children succeeded in graduating high school in some city in Székely Land, so their rational decision taken earlier has got positive reinforcement – have undertaken to be the active partakers of the institutionalisation of Hungarian language teaching in Frumósza. In this respect they often had to go against the local politicizers "*of Romanian heating*" (the Catholic priest, teachers, the Police etc.). However, since they had formerly experienced that the frightening of the opposing party is groundless,[48] they were willing to undertake the hostility with the Catholic priest (including humiliation and being preached at in front of the entire Catholic community), police interrogation or the unpleasant questions of the reporters from the daily paper Deșteptarea from Bákó (Bacău).[49]

However, as we have already mentioned, the undertaking of *Hungarian* identity in such a "militant" manner only applies to a rather small circle, which is best proven by the rather small number of the children regularly attending Hungarian lessons. For the majority the Csángó dialect is not conceptualized as a dialect of the Hungarian language and/or they do not want to take it into the public sphere of communication (Fishman–Nahirny 1996: 273). These latter ones do not want to build themselves a symbolic capital from the accentuation of delimitations on a linguistic level, but deem it more successful to choose convergent linguistic accommodation to the Romanians and the strategy of conscious extinction of the "*Csángó*" (as the "hybrid Hungarian") stigma (cf. Fishman–Nahirny 1996). For the (dominant) Romanian language usage involves them in the local relation system in a way that despite of the eth-

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47 "*We like Hungarian, because we understand it. … The Hungarians have taken us to many places. Everything was free.*"

48 For the "*Romanian party*" had tried to frighten them by saying that if they let their children go to Székely Land, the "*Hungarians*" from there would steal them. "*Then they said, if you sign for your children to learn Hungarian, they will take back the land of Hungary. … Then I went to the notary and I said, if they want to take away my daughter, they can do it, 'cause I have four more at home, and in case, I can have one more. Then the notary asked me, why so you want to sell your children? I says, I don't sell them, but if they come and help, help my children, I will send them to Hungarian school. … Maybe one day she will have to go…*"

49 "*The priest was angry, started to preach, I dunno, he leapt at my Irinka. 'Cause when we signed those papers in Bákó, they came from there, from Bákó to the priest here. … And then there was this preaching in the church, and a few of us women were taken to the police, but when the school started on 15th* September, *and Ibolya came, there was nothing they could do. They also came from the Deșteptarea, but there was nothing they could do.*"

nic differences, the problem of "extraneity" seldom arises, while in the case of Hungarian there is a divergence: in the interactions with "real Hungarians" the knowledge of the local dialect proves to be an insufficient language competence – Hungarians misunderstand them, and mock them because of their "Csángó speeches". Therefore, the relationship with standard Hungarian remains more or less instrumental even though they speak the Csángó dialect on a mother tongue level, or they undertake learning Hungarian within institutional frames.

Conclusion

In my article I have analysed the identity-communicational strategies of a Moldavian Catholic community, as a group with uncertain ethnic identity, with special regard to the role of language usage and language socialisation in avowing and/or concealing identity.

Conclusively, we can state the following: the essence of the "*Csángóism*" of the Catholics of Frumósza is characterized by an *intercultural, mixed "neither Romanian, nor Hungarian"* identity, created by the interactions of the group and those of "others" through the continuous overwriting of the boundaries. Identity shifts according to everyday situations, and this is made visible by the actors by under/over-communicating the main indicators of the group limits – that of language usage (Romanian-Hungarian bilingualism and mixed bilingualism) and that of religion (membership in the Catholic denomination).

Based on the former indicator, it can be affirmed that in spite of the language usage models that differ with families, moreover with family members, there are practised and successful strategies for both the avowal and the concealment (over- and under-communication) of the ethno-linguistic identity of the Catholics of Frumósza, so the tendencies to integrate and to differentiate both apply in the inter-subjective practice of everyday life, making it thus impossible to define the "*Csángós*" as either Hungarian sub-ethnics or a group assimilating into the Romanian nation.

The success of these strategies is especially important from the point of view of the permanent identification constraint which came along with the instability caused by the dissolution of the traditional local and the socialist society (poverty, unemployment) and the contact phenomena accrued towards other groups (migration). For if the Catholics of Frumósza wish to "get ahead", they often have to decide whether they want to assimilate into a group having a firm identity or to undertake, "set up" and stabilize the *Csángó* identity.

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Sándor SZILÁGYI N.

Linguistic rights and language use in church – the question of Hungarian masses in Moldavia

In the past half century (and especially since the *Helsinki Final Act* dated in 1975 and the *Study on the Rights of Persons Belonging to Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities* elaborated in 1975 by Francesco Capotorti, the rapporteur of the UN) the international legal framework became appropriate to protect the linguistic rights of individuals based on modern principles. The documents belonging to this framework concomitantly take into consideration both the most important linguistic needs of individuals and the basic principle of non-discrimination corroborated with those aspects which are indispensable for the preservation of small or endangered languages. (The most important documents of this nature are: the *International Convenant on Civil and Political Rights*, the *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*, the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.* Among these there are several non-executory recommendations having no compulsory but only an orientative character).

If we regard these international documents as a whole taking into consideration the will and principles of their authors as well, it becomes obvious that according to the contemporary view on human and linguistic rights, one of *the most important linguistic human rights* would be that of having the chance to attend public religious service in one's own mother tongue and to live one's religious life in the very same language. Moreover, if a community proclaims its wish in this sense, refusing this or replacing it with something else should be considered a violation of linguistic human rights.

In the previous sentence I felt myself obliged to use the conditional mood instead of the indicative. My motive was pure reality: the Roman Catholic Episcopate of Jászvásár (Iași) even after 1989 continuously refused the Csángós' demands regarding the Hungarian mass in their villages all divine

services being held in a compulsory fashion in the Romanian language. Formally speaking this fact cannot be considered a violation of rights since, as a procedure –unfriendly as a procedure it be – it is not against any law. The reason for this thwarting is the fact that all the above mentioned documents are addressed to the States and not to the Churches, and as we all know, a commonly accepted principle (otherwise a very correct one!) is that the State and the Church are two independent entities and none of them may intervene in the issues of the other. So in none of the documents can we find any regulation regarding the language use in Church, because this is an issue considered by the legislative to be brought under regulation exclusively by the Church. The *Oslo Recommendations Regarding the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities,* which is the basic tool for the work of the *OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities,* refers (we may say exceptionally) to religious language use. In art. 4. it says: '*In professing and practicing his or her own religion individually or in community with others, every person shall be entitled to use the language(s) of his or her choice'.* The explanation we can find later in the same document makes it clear that the *Recommendation's* aim is not oblige the Church to do something in this respect, but to forbid the State to use its own instruments in making any restrictions. '*The right to use a minority language in public worship is as inherent as the right to establish religious institutions and the right to public worship itself. Hence, **public authorities may not impose any undue restrictions** on public worship nor on the use of any language in public worship, be it the mother tongue of the national minority in question or the liturgical language used by that community'* (highlighted by the author).

Despite of this fact, I consider that this Recommendation is very important for the topic outlined in the title. Even if this document is inadequate to influence Church leaders in making their decisions, it clears up a very important detail, which is that '*every person shall be entitled to use in professing and practicing religion the language(s) of his or her choice'.* This right is assigned by the text not to the Church but to the individuals both from the point of view of language use and that of the choice of language. If we accept this principle (and we are highly recommended to do so, for this is the correct standpoint in this regard even if the recommendation is not compulsory either for the state or for the church), the Church authorities may decide (independently from the State) whether the Church as an institution must or does not have to respect human rights.

The Church as institution may decide to refuse accepting secular human rights which are inconsistent with Christ's teachings (for example abortion) and may even question the equity of such rights. The human right discussed in this study obviously cannot be considered contradictory to Christ's teachings,

as if it were so the Second Vatican Council couldn't have accepted the different national languages as liturgical languages besides Latin. When a Church authority does not want to respect such an important linguistic human right of a believer, it makes its decision based not on theological but on political (or church political) principles.

As I have mentioned above the State cannot encroach in the internal affairs of the Church. The chief source of ecclesiastical legislation that provided the Roman Catholic Church with a fundamental law was the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* (Codex of Canon Law). This does not forbid the Church to provide Csángó Hungarians with public worship in Hungarian language, but it does not either dispose clearly that if the believers demand so, they must obtain it. Regarding the aspects of language use the Codex of Canon Law mainly follows the legal paradigm formed in the past half decade. In the text of the Codex the term 'mother tongue' is not used, instead of this the term 'the language of the country' is mentioned (lingua patria – Can. 249 – which might mean mother tongue as well) and the term 'the language of the region' ('lingua regionis' – Can. 257.). Even if the demand of the Csángó Hungarians would reach the Vatican, and the authorities would oblige the Episcopate of Jászvásár (Iaşi) to provide public worships in the language of the region, the latter could easily answer that the problem had been solved long ago, since the language of that region is Romanian.

The Codex of Canon Law also contains the followings: 'Can. 518: As a general rule a parish is to be territorial, that is, one which includes all the Christian faithful of a certain territory. When it is expedient, however, personal parishes are to be established determined by reason of the rite, language, or nationality of the Christian faithful of some territory, or even for some other reason'. So we consider that the territorial parish could be the only solution for the problem of providing Hungarian worship in Pusztina (Pustiana) or Klézse (Cleja), because such a territorial parish could be established according to Canon Law based on the native language of the believers wherever it is well-reasoned.

The only question remaining unanswered is whether such a thing is well-reasoned in Pusztina (Pustiana) and Klézse (Cleja). According to the opinion of Petre Gherghel, the bishop of Jászvásár (Iaşi) it is not, his main argument being that the villagers can understand the Romanian worship as well.

Let's not pry into the fact that not so long ago old Csángó women complained that they couldn't understand the service. Let us better focus on how badly utilitarian this approach to language is. It focuses only on the communicative function of the language considering that it is indifferent in which language one prays if he or she understands the sermon itself. This is not true, because one of the languages make us experience the intimacy of prayer while

the other one does not. An interviewed subject of professor Vilmos Tánczos – who learned the Rosary first from his parents in Hungarian then switched to Romanian and later switched back again to Hungarian – told: 'I feel that I like it better to pray in Hungarian ... it seems to me that even God listens more mindfully to it, if I say it in Hungarian and not in Romanian'. A similar contribution is made by the respondent of Balázs Boross as well: 'I lived in Brassó (Brașov), I went to Hungarian school and I attended Hungarian mass... we don't understand it well, but we would learn. It's true that I can pray better in Romanian than in Hungarian, but when I pray in Hungarian I feel that the prayer comes from my heart, while during praying in Romanian my mind is somewhere else...'. Such confessions make it clear that these simple, uneducated people understand very well what the bishop of Jászvásár (Iași) is not able to conceive, namely that the symbolic and ritual role of the language is far more important than its communicative function. Based on this we can reach a better understanding of why mother tongue usage in church is an issue of human rights, for if it is not permitted, the prayer in its essence could even become impossible.

Moldavian Csángós were not pretentious, they did not request major things from the authorities, they did not ask for autonomy or even for Hungarian schools; they only desired one thing from the depth of their heart: Hungarian language worship. And this sole request was not fulfilled by their own Church when it was appropriate, as I think that 'today it wouldn't be the same, it would be too late'. The result of the many petitions and request was a promise made in 2003 by Archbishop Jean-Claude Perriset Apostolic Nuncio in Bucharest. He promised that there would be Hungarian language worship in Moldavian villages. And still, nothing since then... The reason is that the Episcopate of Jászvásár (Iași) interpreted the promise in the following way: Csángós should be provided worship in their mother tongue not in Hungarian, their mother tongue being the Csángó dialect, thus all the liturgy must be first translated and this takes a very long time considering the fact that all the translations should be supervised by the Apostolic See (Can. 838 §1. The direction of the sacred liturgy depends solely on the authority of the Church which resides in the Apostolic See and, according to the norm of law, the diocesan bishop). Thus when all this is completed, there will be no need for it anymore.

Let's take a look once again to the Oslo Recommendation according to which '*In professing and practicing his or her own religion individually or in community with others, every person shall be entitled to use the language(s) of his or her choice'.* The Csángós requested something else instead of Romanian language mass, that something being Hungarian language mass as they felt that in their relationship to God this was their only mother tongue. The Church

authorities of Jászvásár (Iași) did not want to satisfy this well-reasoned need. As far as the liturgy is concerned, it existed in Hungarian language... Instead of this the Episcopate wants to offer them worship in a language in which they never asked and which was not even chosen by them: the Csángó language.

From the point of view of human rights we can witness another violation of linguistic human rights, since someone else wants to decide instead of them what their mother tongue is. As we know scholars do not possess the appropriate tools to decide whether two different varieties of a certain language belong to the same language or they are separate languages. The general principle (that is in the same time the correct one from the perspective of linguistic rights) is that the opinion of the native speakers must be accepted in this regard. This rule cannot be applied so easily in the case of the Csángós. The general principle's deficiency lies in the simple fact that the rule can be applied only in the case of free people, while in the case of a community which was suppressed and threatened, it fails immediately. Asking the Csángós won't give us an answer regarding which language they consider being their mother tongue. Neither can we find out whether they consider Csángó a separate language or just a variety of the Hungarian language. What we obtain is a discrepant answer, out of which each party will choose based on its own ideology, the segments which it wishes to generalize. A far better result will be obtained if the scholar tries to observe spontaneous speech. Examining the Anthology signed by professor Vilmos Tánczos (*Csapdosó Angyal* / in translation *Floundering Angel*) one can reach the conclusion that no one in the Csángó community said that he or she prays in Csángó, all of them pray exclusively in Romanian (Vlach) or Hungarian. In my opinion this means that Csángó language – at least as a liturgical language – does not exist. The language which these people identify themselves with in their relationship with God is the Hungarian and not Csángó language. So the Episcopate of Jászvásár (Iași) can call any argument except for that of the principle according to which the liturgical language must be the mother tongue.

Those who would like to separate the Csángó dialect from the Hungarian language argue referring to the very many differences between the standard variety of Hungarian and the Csángó dialect. One can even hear arguments according to which if Hungarian mass were provided for the Csángós that would mean the violation of their linguistic rights (what a brave idea to remember in such a situation that Csángós have linguistic rights also!) as their special status wouldn't be taken in consideration. In the same time we may argue that if they are offered something different from what they had always demanded, it would mean the violation of their right to choose the liturgical language and such a violation would also be a trespass to their linguistic rights. There

are indeed huge differences between the two language varieties, but this may not be a reason to pass by the Csángó's own option. A similar situation would be if the Transylvanian Saxons would be prohibited from using the standard German language (the Hochdeutsch) for educational and liturgical purposes and would be obliged to use the Saxon dialect, as outsiders know better which their mother tongue is.

Thus the following question arises: if this Church authority cannot be forced either with secular or with clerical laws to respect linguistic human rights, is there any solution for this problem? Be it as anachronistic as it might be, yet in my opinion there could be one solution. The solution would be the conversion of the Episcopate of Jászvásár (Iași) with its whole clergy to the true Catholic faith, because this would be the only method to make them understand that their attitude is just as contradictory with Christ's teachings as the burning of Roman Catholic primers by the Roman Catholic priests in Moldavian villages used to be. And let's not forget the order of the very same clergy who commended Csángós to confess their sin of participating in the pilgrimage of Csíksomlyó (Șumuleu-Ciuc) were they attended Hungarian public worship. If these people were true Christians, the linguistic rights of Csángós wouldn't be violated any more, as they would immediately understand that providing Hungarian worship for this people means in fact applying Christ's order for brotherly love to the local conditions.

I agree that my solution will probably not come to fruition. If someone considers it very naïve and feels like smiling, I gladly permit him or her to do so but not before proposing a more viable solution.

Vilmos TÁNCZOS

Csángó language ideologies

Introduction: language ideologies

The term language ideology in its widest meaning refers to a complete ideology regarding the living language. Hence it incorporates all the notions, theories and beliefs which could explain language use (e.g. what is language good for? what do language differences signal? how should we approach language change? how should we form children's language socialization practices? etc.) and with the help of which the language ideal to be followed by the community is set.[1] Language ideologies regulate language use in such a way, that this practice is founded on a higher scientific or religious-philosophical-moral level.

Language ideology-related theorems can be formulated not only by politicians and linguists, i.e. intellectuals. There are folk ideologies of language as well, which dictate language use within the community, as every community needs to be able to interpret language situations, this being the reason that regarding every basic language question there is a public opinion, which manifests itself in ideological forms. Folk ideology considers knowledge on language as being true just as non-folk ideologies do. We need to take folk ideologies of language seriously because while the high level political and linguistic language ideologies have a merely indirect connection with the living language, as they need to form a certain attitude, folk ideologies of language are truly practical. The former are only external and sometimes conflicting opinions, the latter are truths accepted by the community, which are unquestionably related to the true linguistic processes. Folk linguistic categories always build upon everyday experience, and the basic condition of their existence is to endure practice. Folk ideologies on language are parts of the authentic folk culture, and taking them into consideration is important because it is mainly about the users of the language on their own language practice.

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1   Petteri Laihonen (Laihonen 2009: 323) summarizes the theories of Michael Silverstein (Silverstein 1979), Judith Irvine (Irvine 1989), Susan Gal (Gal 2002) and Jeff Verschueren (Verschueren 2004), who use the term in this broad sense.

The theory of folk ideologies of language can be expressed in explicit statements as well (for example: "the more languages you speak, the more people you are"; "you eat Romanian bread, you have to speak Romanian!"; "First we teach them Romanian at home, they will learn Hungarian on the streets anyway" etc.), but in order to have this type of proverbs uttered, there is need for a momentary awakening of language awareness, this meaning special linguistic situations.

The theses of folk ideologies of language are generally implicitly present in the linguistic utterances, this meaning that their operation is not conscious, but can be made conscious and explicit at any time. We can understand this in the following way: the verbally non-formulated implicit ideologies are in fact socio-psychological phenomena. There are researchers who consider language ideology and language attitude as being synonymous (for their summary see: Bartha 2007: 85–87).

Their implicit nature is a basic characteristic of folk ideologies of language. That is why our research is basically typical discourse analysis: the researcher needs to pay attention to the way the norms referring to language use are formulated in the different discourses, and to the way the community regulates its language use. This is the analysis of the meta-pragmatic elements of language.[2]

Folk ideology of language is an historical phenomenon just as any other ideology or the whole of folk culture. That is why one needs to interpret the relationships between folk opinions on language and the ideologies coming from the so called "high culture" from a historical perspective. It is important to understand the way the discourse formed by intellectuals was incorporated in the folk interpretations of language. The interpretations of the church, of politics, of the media, those of the scientific theories of language are embedded in the folk interpretations, as these external ideological systems often aim at altering the folk ideologies of language with the tools they possess. In general nor folk, nor non-folk language ideologies can be understood without taking into consideration the historical perspective as well as without knowing the wider, non-linguistic ideological connections.

This study aims at presenting the most important language ideology theses regarding the language and language use of the Moldavian Csángós (in the following: *Csángós*[3]), with a special regard to the folk receptions of the language ideologies coming from the intellectuals.

2 Linguists distinguish explicit and implicit language ideologies (presented by Bodó 2009: 341–344), but this rigid opposition is not appropriate as this refers to a unique system of consciousness. In my opinion it is more correct to speak about explicit and implicit expression of language ideology theses.

3 In the following paper I use the word *Csángó* as a synonym of *Moldavian Csángós*. I call *Moldavian Csángós* the Catholic community living in the region of Romania called Mol-

1. The "enlightened" language ideology: the Barbarian idiom

The missionaries of the Roman *De Propaganda Fidei* organization compared the language of the Moldavian Csángós during the 17th and 18th centuries with cultivated languages, especially Italian and Latin, as well as with the language of the state, the Romanian language, and in this context considered it to be a barbarian language. This stigmatizing language attitude was not yet part of the manifestation of linguistic nationalism, but the expression of a much older "enlightened" language ideology, rooted in the Middle Age Latin-type erudition, through which they expressed the attitudes of the clerical intellectuals towards the vernaculars throughout Europe. In Moldavia, where the relationship between foreign missionaries and the local religious communities was always tensioned, and not only because they did not know the language, but also due to other reasons as well (Jerney 1851: I. 34, Benda 1989: I. 42–48, Tóth 1988: 141–144), the devaluation of the local language by the clerics not speaking Hungarian was totally understandable.

This devaluating intellectual attitude of old roots was incorporated in the first trimester of the 19th century into the ideological system of the awakening modern Romanian nationalism, and has been operating since. We know from Incze János Petrás that in the second part of the 1830's C. J. Magni, the papal prefect of the Moldavian mission mocked the Hungarian language every chance he got, calling it "language with an articulation just as the lowing of the oxen, the braying of the donkeys", obliged his missionaries to use the Romanian language, organized Romanian language schools. That is why – and due to other abuses – he had conflicts with the Hungarian Minorite priests serving in Moldavia, who "rose and started defending themselves manfully", moreover they turned to Rome complaining about their leader's behaviour. "The apostolic visitor" fearing that due to Hungarian diplomatic pressures he would lose his office, wrote a coaxing letter to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1837, in which he asked for Hungarian grammars written in Romanian, affirming that his followers do not know Hungarian anymore, and this is the way they can relearn their language (Petrás 1979: 1312–1313).

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davia, which are in the process of almost complete language shift, the villages separately being on different stages of language shift. This community – except for a smaller assimilated community – is of Hungarian origin. In this interpretation the number of Csángós based on the 2002 survey was 232,045, the ones still speaking Hungarian based on my survey conducted during 2008-2010 is 48,752 (21%) (Tánczos 2011).

The fact that the archaic language spoken in the Moldavian villages is considered by the Romanian public opinion to be a low value language, the expression of a hide-bound nature, to be ludicrous and not serious, and is stigmatized on a regular basis, is connected to this old attitude. The language stigma is expressed by the following Romanian expressions: *corcitură* ('mixed, hybrid'), *talmeş-balmeş* ('hugger-mugger, confusion'), *limbă păsărească* ('bird language'), *idiomă aiurea* ('helter-skelter idiom'), *grai aparte* ('a special dialect' – with an ironic tone) etc. According to this theory the word *Csángó* itself (in Romanian: *ceangău*) means 'hybrid', 'low degree', 'backward', and the neutral or 'politically correct', modern term would be *Moldavian Catholic* (in Romanian: *catolic din Moldova*), which could be used as the ethnonym of the Csángós.

The efforts aiming at the preservation of the traditional language of the Csángós, efforts from Hungary or Transylvania, which need to be interpreted in a totally different ideological context – see below – are considered by the Romanian to be nationalist based on this ideology in the following way: holding on to the local traditions is in fact the violent exclusion of the Csángós from the modernization processes which they themselves desire to take part in.

Romanian language nationalism, which has enforced language shift, considers modernization in the language of the state as being the most important value, and vehemently rejects the Romantic idealization of the Csángó traditional culture on behalf of the Hungarians, as well as the aesthetization of cultural primitivism. Sever Mesca, the vice-president of the extremist nationalist Greater Romania Party (PRM) in one of his parliamentary speeches in 2000 said the following: *"I suggest to you to listen to the outraged cries of these Romanians, more exactly these Csángós, who are being lured just as 2-300 years ago the savages of Africa with the pearls of the present"* (Tampu 2009: 93). Felix Măriuţ, the Csángó priest serving in Budapest declared on January 30th, 2010 an offence the picture the Hungarian media, the websites and books distributed regarding Csángóland, as it revealed the backward nature of the region.[4]

The rejection of the traditional "Barbaric language" and the support of language socialization in the modern Romanian language is one of the most important factors of the language shift of the Moldavian Csángós. In this ideological context the "Hungarian class" program of the Organization of the Csángó Hungarians in Moldavia (in the following MCSMSZ) is thought to be anachronistic, Barbaric, illiterate, and that is why the whole program is symbolically depreciated. One of the teachers of the educational program reported on one of these linguistic events in a village called Újfalu (Nicolae Bălcescu), where Hungarian language education was being organized, saying: *"When I*

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4   (Source: *http://www.ercis.ro/actualitate/viata.asp?id=20100174* – 2011-03-13)

asked them what their opinion was on the then-organized Hungarian teaching, they asked me: what language is Hungarian? But the older ones use it regularly with their children, they greet each other in Hungarian on the streets, you can often hear 'Dícsértesszék az Isztennek!' (Praised be God). One day when the children were going home from the Hungarian class, the neighbours told them that they went to the 'peasant class' again. For a number of people Hungarian is equal to peasantry, to stupidity. I did not take these into consideration, and we started a new school year, and the children are coming to the classes."[5] The expression 'paraszt' here refers to an 'ordinary, common, coarse' person, obviously a pejorative meaning, this being the original adjectival meaning of the word, which has been preserved in the Csángó dialect.

2. The ideologies of the romantic language approach

2. 1. The unity of the national language

The interest of the Hungarian intellectual elite regarding the Moldavian Csángós was raised in the 30's and 40's of the 19th century, and this interest was especially directed towards the question of the language.

The national romanticism of the first part of the 19th century perceived the national language as the Goethean Urphaenomenon, such a cultural product which expresses the true, original nature of the Hungarian national spirit. Any deviation from the only pure Hungarian language was considered the result of decay, which could be explained by several reasons (e.g. difficult historical circumstances, the lack of intellectuals, the influence of foreign languages etc.), but the preservation of the purity of the language is an ethical imperative as well. Incze János Petrás, a Moldavian Roman Catholic priest and folk collector of Csángó origin in his letter written in 1838 to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences entered into a debate with Ferenc Schedel (Toldy), the secretary of the Academy, who said that part of the Moldavian Hungarians "have forgotten their national language", while another part "speaks a decayed language". Petrás refused the idea of the language being decayed, although he admits that the Moldavian Hungarians do not speak "according to grammar", but he also mentions that there are some villages where their speech is so clear, that "it would be suited for the Hungarian mother country as well", moreover their language can be more easily understood than some of the Hungarian dialects (Petrás 1979: 1313–1314). Thus the intellectuals of the Hungarian Reform Era

5   (See: *http://www.csango.ro/index.php?page=fe_oktatasrol* – 2011-03-13).

consider the language of the Moldavian Csángós as being Hungarian, the subject of the debate is the level of "decay" of the language. In 1941 Gábor Döbrentei asks several questions referring to this from Incze János Petrás.

2. 2. The idealization of language and its directions

The language ideology of the Romantic period has a few theses that have repeatedly emerged in the Hungarian popular thinking about the language of the Csángós.

a) Search for ancestry, mythification

Looking for the ancient language of the nation is typically a romantic idea. As they perceive the national language as an ancient phenomenon, and the nation as the keeper of the ancient Hungarian culture, it is natural that during the period of Romanticism the mysterious Hungarian inhabitants of Moldavia were "suspected" of speaking the ancient variant of the Hungarian language. These theories of ancestry (for example the theory of descent from the Hungarians of the Settlement, the so called Cuman theory) were disproved, but the language ideology theory based on which the language of the Csángós should be considered to be the expression of the nations' authenticity can be found in today's Hungarian cultural life, literature and political thinking as well. The importance of unquestionably archaic and unique language elements grows, and it gets mythified. One entrepreneur from Budapest has recently tried to convince a Csángó labourer working for him, that his language was the most beautiful and most original Hungarian language, who on his behalf laughed at the "pátron" ('the boss') for this, and referred to the decayed nature and the Romanian contact elements of the Csángó language (Csík/Ciucani, 2009, personal interview). Gábor Lükő in 1932, in an almost totally Romanicized, secluded little Csángó village, Jázu Porkului (Iazu Vechi), swarmed far out of Jugán (Iugani), where only the host family spoke Hungarian, explained to the amazement of the hosts that he went there to learn Hungarian, because their language was not yet Germanized as in Budapest (Interview with Gábor Lükő. Budapest, June 16th, 2000).

b) Linguistic aesthetization

According to the nature of myths the enthusiasm in connection with Csángó language archaisms is often connected to linguistic aesthetization. Anything that is popular is ancient, anything ancient is beautiful – this is

the romantic rule of the aesthetics of cultural primitivism. The poetic images and metaphors of the Moldavian and Gyimes Csángós have put a spell on the greatest Hungarian poets and writers as well, and today the enthusiasm over the beauty and pertinent imagistic nature of Csángó inner origin words is fairly wide-spread. A few examples of the inner origin Csángó idioms expressing the original approach and the metaphorical imagistic nature are the following: *fődingás* 'földrengés' (*earth oscillation* 'earthquake'), *naputánjáró* = 'napraforgó' (*following the sun* 'sunflower'), *esőtartó* = 'esőernyő' (*rain holder* 'umbrella'), *buwóka* = 'kullancs' (*the slipper into* 'tick'), *megmásodegyesedik* = 'teherbe esik' (*gets doubled* 'gets pregnant'), *serény vonat* = 'sebes vonat' (*busy train* 'rapid train'), *csudaváró* = 'cirkuszi bűvész' (*waiting for a miracle* 'circus magician'), etc.

c) Search for exoticism

The receptiveness for linguistic exoticism can be interpreted in the same romantic context. The great market interest for folk collections, records and movies containing linguistic archaisms is also rooted in the exotic, "interesting" nature of cultural products. Very many consider that the Moldavian Csángó language and folklore has a *mythical base*: a) it can be connected to the Asian origin of the Hungarians; b) it expresses a world view prior to Christianity; c) the language is connected to original and high intellectual qualities, that is why it can be considered of a higher value.

The "discovery" of the Moldavian Csángós happened in the 30's and 40's of the 19th century, when in Hungary the interest in the legendary East was especially high. We can say that this discovery was integrated into a Hungarian Orientalism. János Jerney, ancient historian, who arrived to Moldavia in 1844 as the devotee of the so called "Cuman theory" "in order to trace back the ancient settlements of the Hungarians" met an astonishing linguistic reality, the language persecution lead by the Italian missionaries, and in his book published in 1851 he renounces his romantic illusions: *"Let us turn away from these agitating images, the turning of which into happy ones has been attempted in any imaginable way for the influential Hungarians"* (Jerney 1851: I. 34).

The search for the exotic can be found in the books of today's writers from Hungary, Western-Europe and America. Very many of them mention in connection with the Csángós the ancient nature of the group, their Asian origin, Etelköz, Attila's Huns and so on. The Csángó issue of the *National Geographic* magazine was entitled *In the shadow of Attila,* and declared the ethnical group to be the descendants of Asian nomads (Viviano–Tomaszevski 2005: 67–83).

2. 3. Language endangerment:
Csángó language death as the symbol of Hungarian fate

The tragic view regarding the whole of the national language has been present in the Hungarian popular thinking since the beginning of the 19th century, while its interpretation referring to the language of the Moldavian Csángós has appeared in the second half of the century. "Its supporters think of the Hungarian language as a system persecuted by external forces, and being lonely and unique in its nature. The Hungarian language is identified with the community of speakers of the Hungarian language, and directly with the Hungarian nation, and thus with its history interpreted as being tragic" – writes Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy summarizing the essence of this theory (Tolcsvai Nagy 2009: 79). This factor is of a special importance in the case of the ideological conceptions of the Moldavian Csángó language, as the fact of language endangerment, as well as the intellectual reflections to this are parallel with the discovery of the Moldavian Csángós and have been constantly present in the interpretations of language.

The "orphan" and "secluded" nature of the language and of the ethnic group ("the most motherless and forgotten ethnic group in the world") and the linguistic endangerment rooted in this is present in the so-called *Csángó anthem* written in the second half of the century (*"Bird fallen down from the tree / abandoned, forgotten", "Don't let the Csángó Hungarian be lost"* etc.). It is somehow contradictory that the Csángó language became the metaphor of the Herderian prophecy on the death of the Hungarian language exactly upon its discovery and romantic idealization. The phenomenon was consistently formulated by Pál Hatos: "Since the emergence of this narrative, which mobilizes the periphery and the distance (i.e. the narrative of orphanage, seclusion and forgotten nature – V. T.) it is dependent on the intensive and symbolic coexistence of prognosis and prophecy. Its beginnings were determined by the modern paradox: in order for the emerging Hungarian nationalist movement to recognize the relative, the kin in the Csángós, they all had to be considered broken away" (Hatos 2009: 76).

Today the Romanian institutions (schools, church, public institutions, the media etc.) urging modernization and linguistic assimilation do not understand, or rather do not want to understand the romantic ideologies of linguistic endangerment nor those of linguistic idealization. They reject the romantic mythification of the local Hungarian language on the one hand because they consider it the unmotivated idealization of the linguistic cultural primitivism, on the other hand because they suspect Hungarian nationalism behind it, which opposes linguistic homogenization in terms of modernization.

The "Hungarian language" program of the MCSMSZ – very correctly – has a flexible approach towards the opposition of the standard Hungarian language and the local language, indicating that it confers value and importance to the Csángó dialect, which is often called "barbaric" and "ludicrous" by the official institutions. The language ideology of the didactical program follows the tolerant view of "we can do it this way or the other way", while at the same time its final goal is the teaching of the standard Hungarian language and the acknowledgment of the values of the local culture.

This behaviour which renders linguistic values to be relative is rooted in an aestheticizing language ideology on the one hand ("Csángó language is beautiful"), while on the other hand it has been influenced by the modern language theories as well, which consider the functionality and operability of any language valuable ("the language used fulfills its purpose!").

Regarding the opposition of the local language and the Hungarian standard language on the level of language ideology a new approach is being formulated, which is specifically pragmatist. The parents who demand Hungarian language classes for their children as well as Hungarian language masses for their village clearly express that they undertake these battles they need to carry out with the local authorities only for the benefits they get from learning the "*true* Hungarian language", and under no circumstance for the lesser valued local dialect. In their interpretation "real Hungarian" is the synonym of 'real', 'standard', 'literary', 'clean', which, in their conception is spoken in the capital of Hungary, "Budapeszta", and they expect from the "Hungarian class" program to teach this language to their children. In order to achieve mother tongue worship they sent petitions to the episcopate of Iaşi – which was repeated several times and each time without any success – and all of these petitions mentioned "Hungarian mass", and not any kind of "*Csángó* mass".

3. The ideological system of the positivist-structuralist language theory

3. 1. The question of linguistic identification: dialect or language?

In the 19th century the words *ancient* and *folk* were considered synonymous, the expression of the national character, and the positivist scientific paradigm consolidated by the end of the century proclaimed the unified approach to folk language and literary language, trying to connect the two

(Gábor Szarvas, Zsigmond Simonyi). In the 20th century the continuation of this language ideology theory, which originates from positivist antecedents, but is Saussurian in its theoretical structuralist basis is the one according to which the Hungarian language is one uniform, self-principled system, which expands throughout the homogeneous language community. In this perception advocated by the most renowned Hungarian linguists (Zoltán Gombocz, Dezső Pais, Géza Bárczi etc.) the standard language was created by the unification of the dialects and it denotes a self-principled, absolute linguistic system, which is independent from the living language use, that is the speakers themselves, in which the Hungarian language has fulfilled itself, a tool which is permanently available for the speakers. This language ideology equally values today's standard language and the dialects and sees them in their unity, considering them the imprints of the united Hungarian culture (more on the topic see Tolcsvai Nagy 2009: 77–80).

This interpretation of language is nothing else but language ideology applied in the world of linguistics. Its ideological roots can be found in the fact that in this approach all categories denoting regional variants – for example national language, dialectological region and sub-region, dialect group, local dialect etc. – are abstract and merely theoretical notions, and the separation of these categories does not have a solid, exact and "scientific" basis as from the continuum of dialectological characteristics we cannot point out some general aspects according to which such a categorization can be done in the same way. Although this basis is theoretically vague, this language interpretation was widely and successfully applied in practice in the linguistic research of the 20th century.

The most important researches referring to the language of the Csángós are organized in the spirit of this positivist-structuralist language ideology. In this approach the language of the Csángó became a dialect of the Hungarian language seen as an abstract absolute, within which the researchers of the Cluj-Napoca geolinguistic school (Attila Szabó T., Mózes Gálffy, Gyula Márton, László Murádin and others) due to the immense field work conducted between 1949 and 1962 identified Northern Csángó, Southern Csángó and Szecler-Type Csángó dialect groups (more on the topic: Szabó T. 1981: 482–527, Márton 1954: 376–382, Márton 1972: 13–25, Tánczos 2004: 211–264). There are linguists today who consider a further detailing of this inner distribution necessary (Juhász 2003: 308).

From a theoretical point of view there is a similar approach, which is also more ideological in its roots than scientific, according to which the language used by the Csángós is not a dialect of Hungarian, but an independent language. It is important to pay close attention to this approach especially because

it seems that the international linguistic rights movements in protection of the Csángó language can be fulfilled within this interpretation. The reason for this is that a dialect of the Hungarian language cannot rely on such a great deal of attention as a language interpreting itself as independent and endangered. This approach was urged by the European diplomat Tytti Isohookana-Asunmaa for example, who through hard work achieved that the Parliament of the European Committee accept in 2001 the recommendation no. 1521, which makes it compulsory for Romania to protect Moldavian Csángó culture, customs and language (Isohookana-Asunmaa 2001). The renowned Finnish diplomat explained to the leaders of the Csángó organization, who demanded Hungarian language mass and Hungarian language education in 2002 (that is after the acceptance of the recommendation!) that the European Committee can undertake the protection of rights only referring to *Csángó* language and culture, the same not being possible for *Hungarian* language or a dialect of the Hungarian language, and it is not worth it to preserve the language of the Csángó ("there is no need to protect the great Hungarian nation").

The fact that the descriptive-structuralist linguistic categorizations, which are considered to be the only scientific approach, cannot be considered as self-evident, is also signalled by the fact that pragmatic folk language ideology does not consider facts as being self evident even if linguistics does: the Csángós themselves do not consider their language an independent language, nor the dialect of the Hungarian language. This happens because the speakers themselves approach these questions not from the point of view of ideological premises, or conceptual categories, but exclusively from the practical side, and that is why they have a different opinion on linguistic identification, both on the inner linguistic distribution and linguistic interactions.

When Gyula Márton compiled the collection entitled *The Romanian loan words of the Csángó dialect* based on the descriptive-structuralist language approach (Márton 1972), he presumed that the several thousand (more exactly 2690) lexemes entered this basically Hungarian dialect as loan words, and he assumed that there was a describable, systematic, "clean Hungarian" language, which includes some Romanian loan words present in some conceptual fields.

Nevertheless new research on language contact shows that a language does not simply loan words from another language, the effect is much more complex and – if one can use this expression – much deeper. The analysis of the language of the Csángós also shows, that code-switching is present not only on the level of words, but also on the level of phrasal relations and big textual units as well – while the reasons for this phenomenon are part of the most complex psycholinguistic issues there are. In case Gyula Márton thought

of the effect the Romanian language had on the Csángó language, he could have included the whole vocabulary of the Romanian language in his work entitled *The Romanian loan words of the Csángó dialect.* (This issue needs to be dealt with the authors and editors of the *Csángó Dictionary*, the work-team lead by János Péntek).

On the lexical and pragmatic level the language of the Csángós is a powerful medley. Code-switching is very frequent and natural, and it is typical for every linguistic level. Due to this the speakers themselves have problems determining which language they are speaking, and they frequently put it in the following way: "neither Romanian, nor Hungarian", "Romanian and Hungarian", "the way us, Csángós speak" can be heard everywhere.

The Hungarian intellectuals cannot really deal with this pragmatic folk approach, as they have learned from the beginning of the 19th century that one needs to see language with the help of preconceived notional categories, in an ideological way. We are surprised and we consider it indignant when the Csángós themselves do not declare their language as being Hungarian, but a Hungarian-Romanian, and sometimes even Romanian-Hungarian mixed language, a "korcsitúra" ('hybrid'), in which the Hungarian and Romanian languages are equally present. (Here I will not relate the funny stories in which they consider Hungarian words to be Romanian in their language, and vice versa. The important thing is that they recognize the fact of the two languages mixing). The Csángós do not understand and are unwilling to accept when "the Hungarians" call their language Hungarian in an ideological context, though in their non-ideological relations – as Sándor Szilágyi N. has shown – they usually call their language *Hungarian* (Szilágyi N. 2002: 85–86, 2006: 111).

3. 2. A practical goal: preserving the language

In case we perceive national languages and their regional variants as eternal and absolute, on this theoretical basis only the goals of preserving the language can be considered as aims of language ideology and at the same time ethical imperatives. Language preservation means the long-term conservation of the absolute *a priori* language variant (meaning the Csángó language), ensuring its cleanness and its identity with itself. In the discourse referring to Moldavian Csángó the terms "language saving" or "saving the Csángó" have spread, and the demand to preserve the language has been expressed in several public forums.

Regarding this ideological postulate one may ask whether in this interpretation of "saving the Csángós" is there a possibility for the Csángó language to

become a "Skanzen-language" (an object of exhibition)? There are important linguists today who prompt the speakers of endangered languages to preserve and continue their traditional communicational behaviours (e.g. David Crystal in his famous book on language death – Crystal 2000), and who are being accused by others that in the meantime they do not pay enough attention to modernization and the changing ecological environment (see the summary of the topic in Kontra 2010: 21). The recommendation no 1521 adopted in 2001 by the European Committee urges language preservation, which makes the protection of the Moldavian Csángó culture, traditions and language compulsory for Romania.

But can the speakers be forced to use such a "Skanzen" language? Both implications of this question are interesting: is it possible or is it right to exercise this type of linguistic influence?

Regarding practical realization, several linguists consider that linguistic behaviour is profit-oriented, which means that the speakers behave in the most natural and logical way when based on globalization and market value they desert their mother tongue, this meaning that they wish to save themselves and not their language (see more in Kontra 2010: 21–22). This pragmatism can be found among the Moldavian Csángós as well. First we saw that when the church intellectuals chose the Romanian way around 1884, the speakers of the Csángó language followed them on this path. Regarding language change the most important periods for the Csángó villages (where language change had not occurred beforehand) were the years around 1962, the completion of collectivization, as well as the "socialist industrialization" of the 1970s and 1980s, and this psycholinguistic attitude was not changed after the regime change of 1989, as its adaptation to the social-economic ecological modifications was continued. It seems that the processes of language change are determined by the options of the speakers and not the institutional context of the language.

The "Csángó saving" language ideology does not want to resist globalization and create linguistic inclusions, on the contrary, it sets the economical growth of Csángó land as its goal, as well as keeping up with the processes of modernization. This goal has been part of the MCSMSZ program, but modernization as a "Csángó saving" ideology is formulated mostly in Budapest. According to this helping the Csángós economically, solving the health issues, the main goal of creating new educational forms is "staying Hungarian in one's homeland". These goals and the roads leading to them could even be real, as there are linguists among those stipulating the modernization theories of stopping language shift, who believe that the language shift of an ethnical group can be stopped in case the whole ecological context, together with its

economical, social and cultural references is radically changed, as a result of the intervention producing a situation in which the speakers – whose linguistic behaviour is a well-known profit-oriented behaviour (see the opinions of Pierre Bourdieu and Salikoko Mufwene quoted by Kontra 2000: 21) – consider their language to be "worth" choosing.

But can this ideology really be applied in Moldavia?

We know that language shift starts and becomes irreversible due to the changes in the ecological context – collectivization, industrialization, commute, the linguistic environment created by the mass media and other cultural institutions, etc. The psycholinguistic consequences manifested in language transmission (e.g. why do one starts to speak to a baby and to a child exclusively in Romanian in the family?) are mere outcomes. As a result the real condition for reversing language shift is the change in this ecological environment. But how should we alter this social-economical and cultural ecological environment?

1. One of the possibilities is the so called "Skanzenisation", and we have seen that this is not a real option.

2. The other – logical? – possibility could be to change the factors of the ecological environment which caused language shift in the past decades. Nevertheless this is anachronistic, as how could someone neutralize or even counteract the formation of agriculture or socialist industrialization, if we only mention the most important ecological factors? Pierre Bourdieu is right when he writes the following: "one cannot save the *value* of a competence unless one saves the market, in other words, the whole set of political and social conditions of production of the producers/consumers" (Bourdieu 1991: 57). However this saving of the traditional way of life of the Csángós is impossible, which means that the "market" that sustained the language is gone.

3. Thus it is obvious that instead of turning back the wheels of time one can/needs to reason the modern transformation of the ecological environment, as well as the acceptance of the challenges of globalization. Unfortunately Hungarian applied linguistics has failed to theoretize this field of action. In the present we cannot answer the following questions: how does the change of the social-economical and cultural ecological environment affect the traditional language and culture of the Csángós? How do we achieve our basic goal, saving the language, if we interfere with modernization processes? (But how could the Hungarian linguists answer this question, when they have not understood and described the factors causing the previous stage occurring in front of their eyes?)

We can conclude that the multifactor process of the language shift of the Csángós cannot be effectively influenced by partially altering one or two factors. This has been convincingly demonstrated by several studies presented in the book entitled *Language and language use among the Moldavian Csángós* (*Nyelv és nyelvhasználat a moldvai csángók körében*), published in 2004 in Budapest (Kiss ed. 2003), in articles written by Csanád Bodó and several other young researches working in sociolinguistics.

This linguistic ideology to change the ecological environment has proven to be utopian. This ideology characteristic of the Hungarian side – especially regarding the Csángós – is not founded theoretically, and any experiments to apply it have been nipped in the bud.

The question of modernizing the Csángó land seems to be solved without any language planning. Nevertheless the modernizing processes embedded in an authentic, natural way into the whole of the ecological system of the region, eliminated the traditional Csángó language and culture in a short period of time. The voluntary abandonment of the traditional culture is also part of this process (see Tánczos 1995: 51–68, 1996: 174–189, 2007: 379–388)

3. 3. Another practical goal: the recording of the language

If the language cannot be saved anymore, in case language preservation is not possible anymore, the only thing that can be done according to the approach considering the language a cultural asset independent from the speakers is the recording of the endangered language. Today a number of important linguists consider that recording these languages by keeping a due professional distance is the obligation of linguists (see a comprehensive presentation in Kontra 2010: 20–23).

The recording of languages has been set as a goal by descriptive linguistics at first. Following the Romantic search for the origins (Elek Gegő, János Jerney), and after the positivist scientific approach becoming general in Hungary in the 1880s, the description of the language of the Moldavian Csángós was performed with different goals and different methods by the researchers. Besides the work done by the linguists in the last decades of the 19th century (Gábor Szarvas, Bernát Munkácsi, Mózes Rubinyi), the turn of the century (Gustav Weigand, Yrjö Wichmann) and the period between the two world wars (Bálint Csűry) we can also include here the approach of the Kolozsvár (Cluj) geolinguistic school (Attila Szabó T., Gyula Márton, Mózes Gálffy, Márta Vámszer, László Murádin and others) after 1949, as in the case of the latter the data gathering through phonetic transcription, based on carefully designed questionnaires, as well as the demand to publish the findings regularly in linguistic

atlases was basically of a descriptive nature, though with the help of these they managed to answer questions that needed historical and comparative linguistic research (for example regarding the origins as well as the inner linguistic and ethnographic distribution).

Positivism respected linguistic data, but its possibilities were limited by technology. At the beginning of the 50's the linguists in Kolozsvár (Cluj) working in geolinguistic research wistfully watched the folklorists, who used tape recorders, while the former lacked these and were forced to analyze the supra-segmental elements of the Csángó language or do textological research (Márton 1954: 379–380). Another manifestation of these technical limitations is that the materials published in the two volumes of the *Csángó Atlasz* gathered between 1949–1962 can be used only with difficulty especially because of the poor printing job. Thus the electronic processing of the dialectological data gathered in the 1950s is very opportune, and the inherent possibilities are of a great importance (the first CD signalling the beginning of the era of digital processing was published by Bodó–Vargha 2007. On the possibilities of digital processing see Bodó 2007b, Bodó–Vargha 2008).

4. The new perspectives and questions of linguistic liberalism

As opposed to the traditional linguistic paradigm that stipulates that language is a given absolute, in connection with the research of the language of the Csángós new language approaches have intensified, which do not start from a priori concepts, but focus on the living language, that is the practical functioning of the language, as well as the relationship between language and man. As this linguistic approach goes against the organically formed linguistic traditions in both theoretical and practical research methodology as well as ideology, and wishes to form its own methodology by exclusively focusing on living language phenomena, this approach is going to be called linguistic liberalism, even if this is not a unified language perception, nor a complete theoretical-methodological system.

The representatives of the liberal language approach agree in a few basic principles:

1. Language is not simply a means of communication, it is a substance. Every language is organically part of a culture, of the community that created and sustains the culture, and this means that language can only survive within this community.

2. There are no a priori, logical linguistic categorizations. Language variability is a natural response to environmental challenge, and this means that there is no absolute language (for example a unified national language or a dialect that is constant over a longer period of time), based on which one could measure and evaluate language change.

3. Language changes can be traced back to functional reasons, meaning that these changes are not controlled by the intellectuals. Intellectuals do not have the right to interfere with language processes.

4. The symbolical values attributed to the language are only assigned meanings, which have no connections to the real functions of the language. At the same time these virtually existent values, which are created without any basis and unrightfully from an ethical point of view, can become the sources for linguistic nationalism. The connection between language and nation does not exist.

5. The issues regarding the history of language are irrelevant, as the language fulfills its role in every period, and according to this the elements that lose their functions are entirely lost, thus there is no need to analyze them.

These theses of linguistic liberalism have made their appearance in the linguistic, educational and church politics regarding the language of the Moldavian Csángó in the past twenty years. Thus it is timely to summarize the liberal answers given to the most important questions, by emphasizing the way these notions relate to other language ideologues as well as the Csángó language practice.

4. 1. The issue of linguistic classification: is there a Csángó language?

Linguistic liberalism respects the "neither Romanian, nor Hungarian" option formulated by the speakers, and does not call the language of the Csángó Hungarian, or a dialect of the Hungarian language. This approach is based on the pragmatic liberal language ideologies not only on a theoretical level (the rejection and deconstruction of the absolutes, of the *a priori* language), but they emphatically refer to the folk ideology according to which not even a part of the speakers calls their own language Hungarian, but Csángó.

Making reference to the self-definition of the nation is flawed in several respects: 1. Amongst the Moldavian Csángó the aim of the *Csángó* language name, which expresses a distancing from the Hungarian language, is the practical delimitation within the unity of the Hungarian language, not an ideological attack against linguistic unity; 2. The Csángós call themselves *Csángó*

only in ideological situations (for example to a census questioner or foreign researchers), while in their everyday, non-ideological language use they declare themselves to speak "Hungarian", and their language is *Hungarian* (*in Hungarian, with Hungarian words, in a Hungarian speech, in a Hungarian way,* etc.) (Sándor Szilágyi N. has come to this conclusion after the statistical analysis of non-ideological utterances included in ethnographical interviews: Szilágyi N. 2002: 85–86. Csanád Bodó has shown based on a multi-settlement research that the speakers who do not consider themselves Romanian use the language name in a variable way: Bodó 2005: 293–307). 3. The *Csángó* ethnonym originally referred only to the non Szecler-type settlements around Bákó (Bacău) (the so called "Southern Csángó"), while the Szecler origin Catholics (the so called "Szecler-type Csángós") living around the Szeret (Siret), Tázló (Tazlău) and Tatros (Trotuș) rivers, as well as the Hungarian population living around Románvásár (Roman) since the Middle Ages clearly distanced themselves from being named *Csángó* by others (on the differences in attitudes of the Szecler-origin groups see: Pávai 1999: 79, Tánczos 2000: 141, Bodó 2005: 294). Today it seems that the whole of the Moldavian Catholics is willing to accept the *Csángó* name, but this process is the result of an external influence, which represents the unifying attitude of the Szeclers, of the Hungarian media, etc. which is not aware of the real inner distribution of the ethnic group. The term *Csángó* historically has never been the unique internal name of the ethnical group, and even today it only serves as a distinguishing name among the Hungarians in ideological utterances regarding the language as well as ethnicity. The use of the word as a unitary internal language name is not valid in terms of the forced validation of an external language ideology approach.

At this point the liberal language ideology merges in a very particular way with the Romanian nationalist language ideology referring to the Csángó. The latter, which refuses to hear about the Csángós speaking Hungarian, does not approach the question theoretically, and does not even emphasize the non-Hungarian nature of the internal language name (Csángó), but the mixed nature of the language, as well as the lack of language definition as the main characteristic of the language spoken by the Moldavian Catholics. Behind the stigmatizing language names such as "hybrid", "bird language", "a special idiom", "helter-skelter" and others one can find the ideology that this hilarious dialect may also contain Hungarian elements as well (they consider this the linguistic influence of the activity of the Hungarian nationalist priests, or of the Csángó language), but basically it is out of the question to consider it Hungarian, the "hybrid" idiom could also be Romanian. Thus if the canonic dispositions of the Catholic Church ordered mother tongue religious service, and if a small percent of the believers insists on having it, then it is the responsibility and

right of the local episcopate to work out the text of the mass in that language, deciding which exactly is the religious mother tongue of the believers. (On the language-related "logic" of the Catholic Church as well as on the unlawful attitude towards the believers who demanded Hungarian mass see Szilágyi N. 2006: 107–112). The episcopate of Jászvásár (Iaşi), when – similar to the Hungarian linguistic liberalism – accepts the language of the Csángós as an independent language, and thus it detaches it from the Hungarian standard language, refers to the fact that the celebration of the Hungarian mass would violate the rights of the Csángós themselves, and this cultural and ideological impact would be the one to endanger their true mother tongue (Szilágyi N. 2006: 111).

This attitude, according to which the Csángós do not speak Hungarian but *Csángó* raises a number of other questions. In our case the problem is not primarily theoretical or ideological – the question is naturally very valid: if the existence of a unified language that exists above the speakers does not have any theoretical background, then what theoretical background does the Csángó language have, which exists above the speakers? The problem is much more practical in its nature. Given the fact that there are huge differences between the Hungarian language variants in Moldavia (sometimes even bordering the level of not being mutually comprehensible), this queries the existence of a Csángó language community in practice as well (that is the unified Csángó dialect region): what language should we teach the children in the "Hungarian language" class? What language do we use in editing textbooks? What language do we use during mass? And the questions could go on (language communities were defined by Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy as a community of people using the same language as their mother tongue: see Tolcsvai Nagy 2009: 76).

In this ideological-political context presuming an independent Csángó language represents the modern European rights paradigm, while assuming that a Moldavian Hungarian dialect exists is in fact the "collectivist" (i.e. nationalist) paradigm. Nevertheless the representatives of the liberal legal paradigm of the "européer" protecting the Csángó language, as well as the one deconstructing national languages need to face the practical problem they cannot solve within the liberal system of ideas, that is – as we have previously seen – the Csángós are the ones, who do not want to institutionally use and learn their language, because they consider their language to be of a lesser value, based on which attitude they accept and consider the stigmatization propagated by the official institutions to be valid.

The pitfall of this liberal language ideology is well known by the linguists: Jan Bloomert reproached on a sociolinguistic symposium (2002)

the linguists protecting endangered languages, the representatives of the so called "language rights paradigm" (e.g. Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Robert Phillipson) for when they favour indigenous languages in education and public life, they hinder the affected groups in their social mobility (cited by Kontra 2010: 23).

The Csángós, who wish to learn Hungarian by making serious amounts of sacrifice do that because they wish to prevail in the social and cultural medium in Hungary or in the Hungarian community in Transylvania (on this psycholinguistic attitude see Tánczos 2008: 8–10). We can also say that when the Csángós wish to learn "proper Romanian" (almost every one of them), as well as "proper Hungarian" (a fairly significant part of the Csángó minority), they are going to be the ones not supporting language preservation education in the local dialect, the so called "Csángó language" (if there is such a thing). It is very hard to question their right to make this decision on liberal grounds, which in the end can mean the abandonment of their own linguistic culture.

This contradiction becomes obvious when we confront it with the language ideologies, which by protecting the individual's right to language shift and personal identity, do not consider it lawful to institutionally support private ethnicity, and thus they approve of the situation in which education serves language shift in a society, which means that in schools they perform educational linguicide. For example the Canadian linguist John Edwards wrote in 1948: "[Language preservation centred education] is a direct administrative interference in the preservation of identity, and it mirrors the approach according to which diversity is not only approvable, but its encouragement should be raised to the level of official politics." These unambiguous views of J. Edwards are presented by Miklós Kontra, who points out at the same time that this language ideology does not consider the issues of power and violence (Kontra 2010: 24–25). The factor of violence and intimidation has a very important role in the language change of the Moldavian Csángós, this fact being witnessed by the continuous reports since the 1830s. In such circumstances the language change taking place in Moldavia cannot be considered a choice, some sort of a natural phenomenon. The linguist, in order to consider his or her merely theoretical language policy model operable, dispensing with the external circumstance of violence and intimidation, with the fact that sometimes we face forced language change (as well!), is not only ignorant (he or she may have the right to be that), but also unethical. It seems that the liberal language ideologies referring to the "Csángó language" determined by the violence of the authorities can be operated only with a certain degree of cynicism.

The creation of this paradox situation is imperative, as the postulation of the so called "Csángó language" is not a liberal idea, nor is the theoretical and practical "editing" of the national language or its dialects. One cannot oppose a "collectivist" ideology (national language, dialects, etc.) with a "collectivist" approach ("Csángó language"), which does not stand its ground even in a practical respect (great linguistic varieties in Moldavia, the rejecting attitude of the speakers towards the so called "Csángó language").

4. 2. Rejecting "saving the Csángós"

The ethical questions in approaching the object of the research are the eternal dilemma of every social science. In the case of the Moldavian Csángós, who are in a very peculiar situation, the incontestable fact of linguistic and cultural endangerment – and first and foremost the lack of intellectuals – has made this issue particularly acute. Members of a significant group of the Hungarian intellectuals in the Carpathian basin have expressed from the second trimester of the 19th century that they wish to actively influence the language assimilation processes in Moldavia, and that it would be desirable for these processes to stop or to be reversed. In fact external influence was hardly possible, and the result of this was that the church and secular intellectuals serving Romanian nationalism through reinforcing the natural language assimilation processes have driven the whole ethnic group in the last stage of language shift.

The practical possibilities for intervention are very restricted even today, thus the liberal linguistic ideologies seem merely theoretical in their problematisation. Still one needs to take them into account because the analysis of the linguistic situation of the Moldavian Csángós presents some new linguistic conclusions on the one hand, on the other because these questions need to be answered on a practical level as well.

Regarding the ethical references of the "linguistic Skanzen" – which we have already discussed above – the firm standpoint of the liberal language ideology is that from a legal point of view the speaker is always more important than the language, as a consequence the linguists need to let the speaker lose their language following their own well conceived communicative practice. In other words: the Csángós need to be saved, not the language of the Csángós. From this linguistic perspective the legal and ethical accusation is very sharply formulated: do the Hungarian intellectuals professing collectivist ideas act in a paternal way in terms of an exploded 19th century notion, when they wish to save the language and the traditional culture against the will of the speakers (see the summary of the theoretical question referred to the Csángós as well: Kontra 2010: 22–23). On the other side this "ivory tower"

conduct is sharply rejected and considered unethical (on this opposition see Tánczos 2001: 53–62).

Knowing that a practical intervention is impossible the question is whether liberal language ideology over-dimensions the real "threats" lying in the ideology of "saving the Csángós" and the legal-ethical references of the question or not. Applied linguistics, wishing to "save the Csángós" – as we have previously seen – has little chance to become a real "threat" in Moldavia and commit an ethical misdemeanour against the linguistic community. It is laudable to believe in such a thing, and it is the sign of taking ethical issues seriously, but it still is naïve optimism on behalf of the linguists. It seems as if the followers of linguistic liberalism have a problem not with the issue in question but with the fellow linguists and politicians who see the issue in a different way. Regarding the Moldavian Csángós Miklós Kontra over-dimensions the practical possibilities of the linguists, as well as the "dangers" they could cause, when he refers to Salikoko Mufwene, and reasons in the following way: "in my opinion Mufwene has a point in asking what economical alternatives the linguists who take a stand regarding the preservation or recording of the endangered languages offer to the speakers of these languages. The preservation of endangered languages without social-economical ecological changes can lead to the material destruction of the speakers. How can you preserve a language without extinguishing the speakers' aspirations? What natural circumstances are needed for the preservation of bi- or multilingualism? Should the linguists believe that the answer to the difficult questions of language endangerment is to reject/avoid globalization?" (Kontra 2010: 21).

We need to mention here that the critique of linguistic liberalism covers not only the legal-ethical implications of the linguistic interferences, but also to their practical efficiency. The ones who oppose these interferences do that because the so called "Csángó savers" see the true nature of linguistic processes in a wrong way, their activity will not lead to the desired end.

4. 3. The value-fending attitude

Liberal language ideology and language policy tries to consider linguistic assimilation to be "natural", a logical consequence of the mechanisms of the system of language ecology. As the whole of this system "organically" includes power relations, it does not willingly admit the existence of violence on behalf of the authorities, and it inclines to speak about "free choice" even though this couldn't be more far from reality. The followers of liberal modernization apply the idea of "laissez faire" doctrinically, and they consider language death to be

"natural", necessary, desirable from the point of view of modernization, etc. As a result of this approach they reject both the symbolical values assigned to the language (being beautiful, archaic, exotic, etc.), both the emotional attitudes towards the phenomenon of language assimilations, as every assignment of value and every identification with such a value is collectivist, and thus not liberal in its theoretical background.

Based on the above ideological premises language liberalism distances itself even from the acknowledgement of language endangerment, not to mention the language nationalism originating from the latter. This language ideology considers language assimilation natural and painless and it believes that the way to solve the problem is the emotion-free acceptance of the language inequality situations.

The analysis of linguistic assimilation and language change is not a topic for the liberal linguistic research, this ideology sometimes even denies the existence of language assimilation processes in Moldavia. The result of this ideology is the distinction of "Romanian Csángós" and "Hungarian Csángós", as with the help of this categorization one can avoid dealing with the sensitive matter of Romanization of the language (for example Stan–Weber 1998 as well as its critical review: Tánczos 1998: 181–195). The expression of the denial of linguistic assimilation is the fact that we take the Romanian census into consideration, which does not portray the specific Csángó language and identity as the only lawful and official attitude towards the Csángó question. Such discussion of the Csángó question can be considered almost general in the West-European scientific and diplomatic context, as well as the Romanian nationalist side.

Today, when the acceleration of language shift is evident for everyone, it seems untimely to suggest "balanced bilingualism" in a serious scientific discourse. This utopian notion is one of the most frequent theoretical manifestations of liberal conflict management, the virtual creation of equality.

As it is a very popular principle, we need to take it into consideration even in the world of Csángó language ideologies: there are "Hungarian Csángós", there are "Romanian Csángós" – and they should live in peace one next to the other; there are Hungarian nationalists, there are Romanian nationalists – let's fight them together; we have our past grievances, they have their past grievances – let's forget about them together; let the Csángós learn Romanian and their own language as well – let them become complete. The usual problem with these beautiful ideas is that equality exists only on the level of ideas, this means that it is virtual, and in reality there are frequent situations of inequality, which can be hidden exactly with the use of these beautiful utopian theories (is it possible that this is the reason why these theories have proven to be so useful for politicians?).

Referring to the language of the Csángós Joshua Fishman's theory of bilingual diglossia (or even triglossia)[6] was proposed in such a way, that if its practical model could be designed and codified for the language use of the Csángós, and the different language variants could be strengthened, this could stop the powerful language assimilation processes, and this could save the Hungarian language variants used in the diaspora, which have been strongly stigmatized. Out of the linguists researching the Csángós Klára Sándor represented this view-point (Sándor 1996, 2000). These utopian theories had some negative consequences: they diverted attention from the real assimilation processes among the Moldavian Csángós, as well as from the necessity of language planning. Regarding the practical operability of diglossia and the creation of a linguistically balanced situation János Péntek has formulated very strong doubts in connection with the Hungarian dialects of Transylvania (Péntek 2001: 161–165), thus the operation of such a model in Moldavia has clearly no chance at all. The utopian nature of linguistic ideals became especially obvious when around the turn of the century real sociolinguistic research was begun, and thus a more realistic theory became decisive regarding the linguistic processes of the Csángós (Bodó–Heltai–Tarsoly 2003: 67–72, Bodó 2004: 37–66, 2005: 293–307, 2006: 89–106, 2007a: 160–174, 2007c: 123–142, Bodó–Eriş 2004: 67–96, Heltai 2004: 125–135, Heltai–Tarsoly 2004: 118–124, Benő 2004: 23–36, etc.)

Declaring qualities to be equal which in fact are not equal in reality is one of the most dangerous ideological biases of all, and could have a destructive effect on the practical level. It is appropriate for the greatest inequalities to be reproduced under its cover. At the same time it is appropriate to diabolize and to exclude the ones thinking differently, and to declare the real forms of defending language rights to be nationalist, extremist. The ones who do not wish for peace, for equality, are extremists. The so called "Csángó savers" are the ones committing linguistic aggressions, who disregard and exploit the individual with collectivism in view, who treat the Csángó people safekeeping archaisms as "savages"; their practical activity is not efficient, it is based on

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6   In its classical meaning, according to Charles A. Ferguson, diglossia refers to the ability of the speakers and their speaking practice, in which they are able to switch from the standard language (E variant) to their vernacular dialect (K variant) (see: Ferguson 1975: 291–317). In the opinion of Joshua Fishman a particular case of diglossia is when besides the vernacular dialect there is a different language, a foreign national language, which becomes variant E (see: Fishman 1967: 2. 29–38). In the case of the Moldavian Csángós one can imagine this situation, moreover in their situation this could mean triglossia, when one knows and uses a mixed vernacular dialect (K version), together with the standard variant of the Hungarian and Romanian languages (variant E1 and E2).

utopian ideology, their so called scientific views are outdated, dilettante, etc. This ideology is also suitable to make heroes and martyrs from ourselves, as in this paradigm the Europeans, who advert peaceful coexistence and equality, the ones representing the progressive ideology become the heroes, while the ones pointing out the unbalanced situation are retrogrades, nationalists, hidebound, the crabbers of progress, the ones who should be in the wastebasket of history, still they are dangerous, thus the fight carried out with them is legitimate.

Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy writes in connection with the ones denying the natural connection between nation and language, the ones who diabolize the people advertising this connection, that they apply anachronistic definitions in their methods for the phenomena of the 19th century and later, and at the same time they demand a "politically correct" discourse, and thus they are extremely biased: "the ones speaking against ideology stand on a very firm ideological ground, they attack other ideologies from an ideological frame. They do not take into consideration the historical nature of social, cultural notions, the historical determination of reinterpretations, the anthropology of the interpreting person" (Tolcsvai Nagy 2009: 81).

Linguistic liberalism is not a unitary system of ideas, and *ab ovo* it does not wish to become one, that is why it applies a variety of linguistic methods in a truly liberal diversity. The liberal approach has opened new perspectives for the linguistic research, the results of which are very illuminating referring to Csángó language planning as well. At the same time linguistic liberalism has extreme, doctrinal ideological tendencies and manifestations as well, which need to be acknowledged.

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Linguistic identity is one of the most important factors of personal and community identity. This means that thinking about language is in fact thinking about identity. When we speak about language ideologies, we also speak about the organization of community identity.

As we have seen, the different language ideologies referring to the language of the Csángó are historical in their nature, as the formation of their identity is also historical. This is why the semantics of language ideology notions can be understood by analyzing the discourses characteristic of a given historical period.

It is to be welcomed that Hungarian linguistics today is willing to critically reflect on the past and present discourses regarding the Csángós.

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List of settlements

The following register lists the Hungarian (Csángó) names of the Hungarian Csángó settlements mentioned in the volume, as well as their official Romanian equivalents.

In the case of the settlements which are not independent villages we also included the name of the village (township) which the given settlement belongs to in order to facilitate identification. In case a given settlement has more than one Hungarian (Csángó) names, the second or third form includes a reference to the main variant, where the Romanian name can also be found.

Adjud → *Egyedhalma*
Ágas – Agăş
Agăş → *Ágas*
Aknavásár – Târgu Ocna
Albény – Albeni (part of Bogdánfalva)
Albeni → *Albény*
Ardeván – Ardeoani
Ardeoani → *Ardeván*
Arini → *Magyarfalu*

Bacău → *Bákó*
Bagolypatak – Pârâu Boghii (within Szőlőhegy township)
Bahána – Bahna
Bahna → *Bahána*
Baia → *Moldvabánya*
Bákó – Bacău
Balanyásza – Bălăneasa
Balusest – Băluşeşti
Barát – Baraţi
Barátos → *Barát*
Baraţi → *Barát*
Bălăneasa → *Balanyásza*
Băluşeşti → *Balusest*
Bârgăuani → *Borgován*
Bârzuleşti → *Berzujok*
Belcseszku → *Újfalu (Nicolae Bălcescu)*

Berendfalva – Berindeşti (part of Gestény)
Bergyila – Berdilă (part of Gura Văii village in Racova township)
Berindeşti → *Berendfalva*
Berzencze – Berzunţi
Berzujok – Bârzuleşti
Berzunc → *Berzencze*
Berzunţi → *Berzencze*
Bijghir → *Újfalu*
Bogata → *Bogáta*
Bogáta – Bogata
Bogdánfalva – Valea Seacă
Bogdăneşti → *Ripa Jepi*
Borgován – Bârgăuani
Borzfalva – Borzeşti (satellite village of Onyest)
Borzest → *Borzfalva*
Borzeşti → *Borzfalva*
Botosány – Botoşani
Botoşani → *Botosány*
Brătuleşti → *Magyardormán*
Brusturoasa → *Bruszturósza*
Bruszturósza – Brusturoasa
Buchila → *Bukila*
Buda – Buda (part of Klézse)
Buda → *Buda*

Buhus – Buhuşi
Buhuşi → *Buhus*
Bukila – Buchila (part of
    Bogdánfalva)
Burjányos – Buruieniş
Buruieniş → *Burjányos*

Capăta → *Kápota*
Cădăreşti → *Magyarcsügés*
Călugăreni → *Kalugarén*
Cerdac → *Cserdák*
Chetriş → *Ketris*
Cireşoaia → *Szalánc*
Ciucani → *Csík*
Ciugheş → *Románcsügés*
Cleja → *Klézse*
Coman → *Gajdár*
Comăneşti → *Kománfalva*
Coşnea → *Kostelek*
Cotnari → *Kutnár*
Cuchiniş → *Kökényes*
Cucuieţi → *Kukujéc*

Cserdák – Cerdac
Csík – Ciucani
Csügés → *Románcsügés* →
    Magyarcsügés

Degettes – Păcuri (satellite village of
    Aknavásár)
Diószeg – Tuta
Diószén – Gioseni
Doftána – Dofteana
Dofteana → *Doftána*
Dărmăneşti → *Dormánfalva*
Dormánfalva – Dărmăneşti
Dózsa → *Újfalu (Gheorghe Doja)*
Dumbravén – Dumbrăveni (part of
    Külsőrekecsin)
Dumbrăveni → *Dumbravén*

Egyedhalma – Adjud
Esztrugár – Strugari
Esztufuj → *Nádas*

Faraoani → *Forrófalva*
Fântânele → *Szászkút*
Ferdinánd → *Újfalu (Nicolae Bălcescu)*
Ferestrău Oituz → *Fűrészfalva*
Floreşti → *Szerbek*
Focşani → *Foksány*
Foksány – Focşani
Forrófalva – Faraoani
Frumoasa → *Frumósza*
Frumósza – Frumoasa
Fundu Răcăciuni → *Külsőrekecsin*
Furnicari → *Furnikár*
Furnikár – Furnicari
Fűrészfalva – Ferestrău Oituz

Gajdár – Coman
Galbeni → *Trunk*
Gazărie (satellite village of Mojnest)
Gârleni → *Gerlény*
Gârlenii de Sus → *Rácsila*
Gâşteni → *Gestény*
Gerlény – Gârleni
Gestény – Gâşteni
Gheorghe Doja → *Újfalu*
Gioseni → *Diószén*
Gorzafalva – Oituz/Grozeşti
Grozeşti → *Gorzafalva*
Gura Slănic → *Szalánctorka*
Gutinaş → *Gutinázs*
Gutinázs – Gutinaş

Gyidráska – Verşeşti
Gyoszény → *Diószén*

Horgeşti → *Horgyest*
Horgyest – Horgeşti

Huși → *Husztváros*
Husztváros – Huși

Iugani → *Jugán*

Jugán – Iugani
Juráskó Pojánája – Poiana

Kalugarén – Călugăreni
Kákova → *Forrófalva* (part of
   Forrófalva)
Kápota – Capăta
Karácsonykő – Piatra Neamț
Kelgyest – Pildești
Ketris – Chetriș
Kicsiszalonc → *Szoloncka*
Klézse – Cleja
Kománfalva – Comănești
Kostelek – Coșnea
Kökényes – Cuchiniș
Kövesalja – Petricica
Kukujéc – Cucuieți
Kutnár – Cotnari
Külsőrekecsin – Fundu Răcăciuni

Lábnik – Vladnic
Lárga → *Máriafalva*
Larguca → *Máriafalva*
Lespezi → *Lészped*
Lészped – Lespezi
Lilieci → *Lilijecs*
Lilijecs – Lilieci
Luizi Călugăra → *Lujzikalagor*
Lujzikalagor – Luizi Călugăra

Magyarcsügés – Cădărești
Magyardormán – Brătulești (part of
   Dormánfalva)
Magyarfalu – Arini
Mardzsinén – Mărgineni

Máriafalva – Lărguța
Mărgineni → *Mardzsinén*
Moinești → *Mojnest*
Mojnest – Moinești
Moldvabánya – Baia

Nádas – Stufu
Nagypatak – Valea Mare
Nagyrekecsin → *Rekecsin*
Neszujest – Nesuiești (part of
   Strugari/Esztrugár township)
Nesuiești → *Neszujest*
Nicolae Bălcescu → *Újfalu*
Nicorești → *Szitás*

Oituz → *Gorzafalva*
Ónfalva – Onești (satellite village of
   Onyest)
Onyest – Onești
Onești → *Ónfalva* → *Onyest*

Pakura → *Degettes*
Palanca → *Palánka*
Palánka – Palanca
Păcuri → *Degettes*
Păcurile → *Degettes*
Pădureni → *Szeketura*
Pârgărești → *Szőlőhegy*
Pârâu Boghii → *Bagolypatak*
Petricica → *Kövesalja*
Piatra Neamț → *Karácsonykő*
Pildești → *Kelgyest*
Ploscuțeni → *Ploszkucény*
Ploszkucény – Ploscuțeni
Poiana → *Juráskó Pojánája*
Pokolpatak – Valea Mică
Prála – Pralea
Pralea → *Prála*
Prálea → *Prála*
Prăjești → *Prezest*

Prezest – Prăjeşti
Pustiana → *Pusztina*
Pusztina – Pustiana

Rácsila – Gârlenii de Sus (part of
    Lészped)
Răcăciuni → *Rekecsin*
Răducăneni → *Radukanén*
Rekecsin – Răcăciuni
Ripa Jepi – Bogdăneşti
Radukanén – Răducăneni
Roman → *Románvásár*
Románcsügés – Ciugheş
Románvásár – Roman
Rosszárok → *Rosszpatak*
Rosszpatak – Valea Rea (part of Livezi)

Sascut-**Sat** → Szászkút
Sascut-Târg → *Szászkút ("Cartier")*
Satu Nou → *Újfalu*
Săbăoani → *Szabófalva*
Sărata → *Szeráta*
Seaca → *Szálka*
Slănic Moldova → *Szlanikfürdő*
Somoska – Şomuşca
Strugari → *Esztrugár*
Stufu → *Nádas*
Suceava → *Szucsáva*

Şomuşca → *Somoska*
Ştefan Vodă (part of Dofteana
    township)

Szabófalva – Săbăoani
Szalánc – Cireşoaia (previous name:
    Templomfalva)
Szalánctorka – Gura Slănic
Szálka – Seaca
Szárazpatak– Valea Seacă (part of
    Ştefan cel Mare)

Szászkút – Sascut-Sat/Fântânele
Szászkút ("Cartier") – Sascut-Târg
Szeketura – Pădureni
Szekatura → *Szeketura*
Szeráta – Sărata
Szerbek – Floreşti
Szil → *Szerbek*
Szitás – Nicoreşti
Szlanikfürdő – Slănic Moldova
Szoloncka – Tărăţa
Szőlőhegy – Pârgăreşti
Szucsáva – Suceava

Talpa – Talpa
Talpa → *Talpa*
Tamás – Tămaşi
Tatros – Târgu Trotuş
Tămaşi → *Tamás*
Tărăţa → *Szoloncka*
Târgu Ocna → *Aknavásár*
Târgu Trotuş → *Tatros*
Templomfalva → *Szalánc*
Terebes – Trebiş
Traian → *Újfalu* (Neamţ county)
Traian → *Traján* (Bákó county)
Traján → *Újfalu* (Neamţ county)
Traján – Traian (Bákó county)
Trebiş → *Terebes*
Trunk – Galbeni
Turluianu → *Turluján*
Turluján – Turluianu
Tuta → *Diószeg*

Újfalu – Bijghir
Újfalu – Gheorghe Doja
Újfalu – Nicolae Bălcescu
Újfalu – Satu Nou (Pârgăreşti/
    Szőlőhegy township)
Újfalu – Traian (Neamţ county)

Valea Mare → *Nagypatak*
Valea Seacă → *Bogdánfalva*
Valény – Văleni
Valea Câmpului (part of Dofteana township)
Valea Mică → *Pokolpatak*
Valea Rea → *Rosszpatak*
Valea Seacă → *Szárazpatak*
Váliszáka → *Szárazpatak*

Válészáka → *Szárazpatak*
Văleni → *Valény*
Vermest – Vermeşti
Vermeşti → *Vermest*
Verşeşti → *Gyidráska*
Vizánta – Vizantea Mänästirească
Vizantea Mänästirească → *Vizánta*
Vladnic → *Lábnik*

Estimated Hungarian language command among the Moldavian Csángós, 2008–2010

Source: Vilmos, TÁNCZOS: Hungarian Language Command among the Moldavian Csángós 2008–2010. In: Agnieszka BARSZCZEWSKA – Lehel PETI (eds.): *Integrating Minorities: Traditional Communities and Modernization.* The Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities–Kriterion, Cluj-Napoca, 2011. 265–378.

In the present volume we publish only the estimated numbers referring to the Hungarian language command of the Moldavian Csángós according to their settlements. Information about the methods of this estimate can be found in the source mentioned above.

The total number of the population and of the Catholic population of the settlements were taken from the numbers of the official census in 1992 (in the case of the 1996 estimate) and in 2002 (in the case of the 2009 estimate).

In the table, in parentheses in the case of each settlement the generation within which the estimation of the language command was made is also indicated: ch1 = small children (under 5 years of age), ch2 = children (5–9 years), bigger children (10–14 years), y = young people (15–29 years), m1 = lower middle generation (30–44 years), m2 = upper middle generation (45–59 years), o = old generation (over 60 years).

Table 1: Language competence among the northern Csángós in 1996 and 2009:

Settlement	Year	Total population	Number of Catholics	Level of Hungarian language command of the Catholic population within generations					
				Number and percentage of Hungarian speakers (A+B)	Number and percentage of those who understand Hungarian (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian at native-speaker level	B. Speaks Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Szabófalva (Săbăoani)	1996	9 879	9 806	3 000 (31%)	?	3 000			6 806
	2009	9 248	9 180	2 154 (23%)	2 964 (32%)	548 (m2) 706 (o)	548 (m2) 352 (o)	810 (m1)	723 (ch1) 762 (ch2) 848 (ch3) 2 656 (y) 988 (m1) 121 (m2) 118 (o)
Kelgyest (Pildeşti)	1996	3 779	3 760	3 100 (82%)	?	3 100			660
	2009	3 842	3 822	1 043 (27%)	1 444 (38%)	254 (m2) 326 (o)	100 (m1) 200 (m2) 163 (o)	348 (m1) 53 (m2)	302 (ch1) 317 (ch2) 353 (ch3) 1 106 (y) 300 (m1)
Újfalu (Traian)	1996	1 045	972	300 (31%)	?	300			672
	2009	1 053	979	126 (13%)	191 (19%)	80 (o)	46 (o)	65 (m2)	77 (ch1) 81 (ch2) 90 (ch3) 283 (y) 192 (m1) 65 (m2)

Settlement	Year	Total population	Number of Catholics	Level of Hungarian language command of the Catholic population within generations					
				Number and percentage of Hungarian speakers (A+B)	Number and percentage of those who understand Hungarian (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian at native-speaker level	B. Speaks Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Jugán (lugani)	1996	2 061	2 034	50 (2,5%)	?	50			1 984
	2009	2 024	1 997	1 (0%)	21 (1%)	1 (o)	0	5 (m2) 15 (o)	157 (ch1) 166 (ch2) 184 (ch3) 578 (y) 391 (m1) 260 (m2) 240 (o)
Balusest (Băluşeşti)	1996	2 262	1 268	600 (47%)	?	600			668
	2009	2 415	1 353	116 (9%)	263 (19%)	58 (o)	58 (o)	90 (m2) 57 (o)	107 (ch1) 112 (ch2) 125 (ch3) 391 (y) 265 (m1) 90 (m2)
Borgován (Bârgăuani)	1996	1 357	1 055	30 (3%)	?	30			1 025
	2009	1 257	977	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0	0	0	77 (ch1) 81 (ch2) 90 (ch3) 283 (y) 191 (m1) 130 (m2) 125 (o)

Settlement	Year	Total population	Number of Catholics	Number and percentage of Hungarian speakers (A+B)	Number and percentage of those who understand Hungarian (A+B+C)	Level of Hungarian language command of the Catholic population within generations			
						A. Speaks Hungarian at native-speaker level	B. Speaks Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Ploszkucény (Ploscuțeni)	1996	2 557	2 199	1 100 (50%)	?	1 100		1 099	
	2009	2 669	2 295	300 (13%)	644 (28%)	100 (o)	100 (m2) 100 (o)	50 (y) 100 (m1) 100 (m2) 94 (o)	180 (ch1) 191 (ch2) 212 (ch3) 614 (y) 350 (m1) 104 (m2)
Total:	**1996**	**22 940**	**21 094 (100%)**	**8 180 (39%)**	**?**	**8 180 (39%)**		**12 914 (61%)**	
	2009	**22 508**	**20 603 (100%)**	**3 740 (18%)**	**5 527 (27%)**	**2 073 (10%)**	**1 667 (8%)**	**1 787 (9%)**	**15 076 (73%)**

Table 2: Language competence among the Southern Csángós in 1996 and 2009:

Settlement	Year	Total population	Number of Catholics	Level of Hungarian language command of the Catholic population within generations					
				Number and percentage of Hungarian speakers (A+B)	Number and percentage of those who understand Hungarian (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian at native-speaker level	B. Speaks Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Szeketura (Pădureni)	1996	355	345	20 (6%)	?	20			325
	2009	428	270	2 (1%)	5 (2%)	0	2 (o)	3 (m2)	21 (ch1) 23 (ch2) 26 (ch3) 64 (y) 51 (m1) 36 (m2) 44 (o)
Bogdánfalva (Valea Seacă)	1996	3 125	2 837	2 400 (85%)	?	2 400			437
	2009	2 728	2 458	1 004 (41%)	1 715 (70%)	178 (m2) 417 (o)	232 (m1) 177 (m2)	80 (ch3) 400 (y) 231 (m1)	193 (ch1) 213 (ch2) 157 (ch3) 180 (y)
Újfalu (Nicolae Bălcescu)	1996	3 698	3 385	2 200 (65%)	?	2 200			1 185
	2009	4 093	3 653	1 491 (41%)	2 187 (60%)	264 (m2) 619 (o)	344 (m1) 264 (m2)	90 (ch3) 262 (y) 344 (m1)	287 (ch1) 316 (ch2) 263 (ch3) 600 (y)

Settlement	Year	Total population	Number of Catholics	Number and percentage of Hungarian speakers (A+B)	Number and percentage of those who understand Hungarian (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian at native-speaker level	B. Speaks Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Trunk (Galbeni)	1996	1 309	1 299	900 (69%)	?	900			399
	2009	1 291	1 287	798 (62%)	1 070 (83%)	186 (m2) 218 (o)	152 (y) 242 (m1)	38 (ch2) 82 (ch3) 152 (y)	101 (ch1) 74 (ch2) 42 (ch3)
Diószén (Gioseni)	1996	3 243	2 288	2 000 (87%)	?	2000			288
	2009	3 305	2 516	1 264 (50%)	1 614 (64%)	237 (m1) 364 (m2) 426 (o)	237 (m1)	50 (ch3) 300 (y)	197 (ch1) 218 (ch2) 193 (ch3) 294 (y)
Nagypatak (Valea Mare)	1996	2 825	2 825	2 000 (70%)	?	2 000			825
	2009	2 170	2 170	1 117 (51%)	1 534 (71%)	368 (o)	443 (m1) 306 (m2)	65 (ch3) 352 (y)	170 (ch1) 160 (ch2) 130 (ch3) 176 (y)
Total:	**1996**	**14 555**	**12 979 (100%)**	**9 520 (73%)**	**?**	**9 520 (73%)**			**3 459 (27%)**
	2009	**14 015**	**12 354 (100%)**	**5 676 (46%)**	**8 125 (66%)**	**3 277 (27%)**	**2 399 (19%)**	**2 449 (20%)**	**4 229 (34%)**

Level of Hungarian language command of the Catholic population within generations

Table 3: Language competence among the Szekler Csángós living by the Szeret (Siret) River in 1996 and 2009:

Settlement	Year	Total population	Number of Catholics	Number and percentage of Hungarian speakers (A+B)	Number and percentage of those who understand Hungarian (A+B+C)	Level of Hungarian language command of the Catholic population within generations			
						A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Kalugarén (Călugăreni)	1996	833	791	250 (32%)	?	250		541	
	2009	918	862	246 (28%)	446 (51%)	50 (o)	70 (m1) 64 (m2) 62 (o)	50 (y) 100 (m1) 50 (m2)	64 (ch1) 72 (ch2) 80 (ch3) 200 (y)
Lészped (Lespezi)	1996	2 108	1 917	1 917 (100%)	1 917 (100%)	1 917		0	0
	2009	2 564	2 206	1 949 (88%)	2 118 (96%)	163 (y) 230 (m1) 300 (m2) 352 (o)	82 (ch2) 211 (ch3) 380 (y) 231 (m1)	87 (ch1) 82 (ch2)	88 (ch1)
Rácsila (Gârlenii de Sus)	1996	1 581	1 398	1 398 (100%)	1 398 (100%)	1 398		0	0
	2009	1 682	1 460	1 290 (88%)	1 402 (96%)	110 (y) 153 (m1) 198 (m2) 233 (o)	54 (ch2) 140 (ch3) 250 (y) 152 (m1)	58 (ch1) 54 (ch2)	58 (ch1)

Settlement	Year	Total population	Number of Catholics	Number and percentage of Hungarian speakers (A+B)	Number and percentage of those who understand Hungarian (A+B+C)	Level of Hungarian language command of the Catholic population within generations			
						A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Liliiecs (Lilieci)	1996	1 627	608	200 (33%)	?	200		408	
	2009	2 118	678	140 (21%)	200 (29%)	70 (o)	32 (m2) 38 (o)	60 (m2)	52 (ch1) 52 (ch2) 66 (ch3) 166 (y) 142 (m1)
Gerlény (Gârleni)	1996	1 605	252	200 (79%)	?	200		52	
	2009	1 879	351	205 (58%)	234 (66%)	23 (m1) 48 (m2) 56 (o)	28 (y) 50 (m1)	29 (y)	28 (ch1) 26 (ch2) 34 (ch3) 29 (y)
Bergyila (Berdilă)	1996	697	57	40 (70%)	?	40		17	
	2009	784	71	26 (36%)	31 (44%)	11 (o) 5 (m2)	5 (m2) 5 (m1)	5 (m1)	6 (ch1) 5 (ch2) 7 (ch3) 17 (y) 5 (m1)

Settlement	Year	Total population	Number of Catholics	Number and percentage of Hungarian speakers (A+B)	Number and percentage of those who understand Hungarian (A+B+C)	Level of Hungarian language command of the Catholic population within generations			
						A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Terebes (Trebeş)	1996	778	666	10 (1%)	?		10		656
Terebes (Trebeş)	2009	746	582	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0	0	0	48 (ch1) 55 (ch2) 43 (ch3) 126 (y) 96 (m1) 98 (m2) 116 (o)
Lujzikalagor (Luizi-Călugăra)	1996	5 227	5 198	4 700 (90%)	?		4 700		498
Lujzikalagor (Luizi-Călugăra)	2009	4 590	4 527	2 502 (55%)	3 247 (71%)	250 (m1) 772 (m2) 900 (o)	331 (y) 249 (m1)	165 (ch3) 331 (y) 249 (m1)	365 (ch1) 420 (ch2) 165 (ch3) 330 (y)
Forrófalva (Faraoani)	1996	3 472	3 472	2 600 (75%)	?		2 600		872
Forrófalva (Faraoani)	2009	2 973	2 973	1 531 (51%)	2 103 (71%)	505 (o)	606 (m1) 420 (m2)	90 (ch3) 482 (y)	232 (ch1) 220 (ch1) 178 (ch3) 240 (y)

Settlement	Year	Total population	Number of Catholics	Number and percentage of Hungarian speakers (A+B)	Number and percentage of those who understand Hungarian (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Klézse (Cleja)	1996	4 331	4 235	3 800 (90%)	?	3 800		435	
Klézse (Cleja)	2009	4 477	4 366	3 141 (72%)	3 841 (88%)	214 (m1) 424 (m2) 559 (o)	201 (ch3) 947 (y) 641 (m1) 155 (m2)	182 (ch2) 202 (ch3) 316 (y)	344 (ch1) 181 (ch2)
Somoska (Şomuşca)	1996	1 666	1 659	1 659 (100%)	1 659 (100%)	1 659		0	
Somoska (Şomuşca)	2009	1 617	1 615	1 279 (79%)	1 448 (90%)	158 (m1) 214 (m2) 207 (o)	75 (ch3) 467 (y) 158 (m1)	27 (ch1) 67 (ch2) 75 (ch3)	100 (ch1) 67 (ch2)
Pokolpatak (Valea Mică)	1996	705	676	600 (88%)	?	600		76	
Pokolpatak (Valea Mică)	2009	770	735	616 (83%)	657 (89%)	144 (m1) 97 (m2) 94 (o)	68 (ch3) 213 (y)	41 (ch2)	58 (ch1) 20 (ch2)
Újfalu/Dózsa (Gheorghe Doja)	1996	1 057	674	550 (81%)	?	550		124	
Újfalu/Dózsa (Gheorghe Doja)	2009	1 024	620	308 (50%)	466 (75%)	92 (m2) 88 (o)	128 (m1)	158 (y)	48 (ch1) 52 (ch2) 54 (ch3)

Level of Hungarian language command of the Catholic population within generations

Settlement	Year	Total population	Number of Catholics	Number and percentage of Hungarian speakers (A+B)	Number and percentage of those who understand Hungarian (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Csík (Ciucani)	1996	493	492	400 (81%)	?	400			92
	2009	580	580	487 (84%)	517 (89%)	60 (m1) 86 (m2) 83 (o)	51 (ch3) 147 (y) 60 (m1)	30 (ch2)	45 (ch1) 18 (ch2)
Külsőrekecsin (Fundu Răcăciuni)	1996	1 913	1 903	1 903 (100%)	1 903 (100%)	1 903		0	0
	2009	2 004	1 998	1 589 (79%)	1 815 (90%)	413 (m1) 297 (m2) 285 (o)	87 (ch3) 507 (y)	56 (ch1) 83 (ch2) 87 (ch3)	100 (ch1) 83 (ch2)
Kápota (Capăta)	1996	304	94	40 (42%)	?	40			54
	2009	400	139	25 (18%)	25 (18%)	5 (m2) 10 (o)	5 (m1) 5 (o)	0	11 (ch1) 12 (ch2) 12 (ch3) 35 (y) 24 (m1) 15 (m2) 5 (o)
Berendfalva (Berindești)	1996	1 137	371	200 (54%)	?	200			171
	2009	1 233	417	243 (58%)	345 (83%)	62 (m2) 60 (o)	35 (y) 86 (m1)	15 (ch2) 16 (ch3) 71 (y)	32 (ch1) 20 (ch2) 20 (ch3)

Level of Hungarian language command of the Catholic population within generations

Settlement	Year	Total population	Number of Catholics	Number and percentage of Hungarian speakers (A+B)	Number and percentage of those who understand Hungarian (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Rekecsin (Răcăciuni)	1996	2 781	387	100 (26%)	?	100		287	
	2009	3 028	469	94 (20%)	184 (39%)	5 (y) 10 (m1) 10 (m2) 10 (o)	29 (y) 20 (m1) 10 (m2)	10 (ch3) 40 (y) 20 (m1) 10 (m2) 10 (o)	37 (ch1) 38 (ch2) 31 (ch3) 45 (y) 47 (m1) 40 (m2) 47 (o)
Magyarfalu (Arini)	1996	1 337	1 325	1 325 (100%)	1 325 (100%)	1 325		0	0
	2009	1 344	1 332	1 240 (93%)	1 270 (95%)	150 (y) 213 (m1) 222 (m2) 303 (o)	81 (ch2) 104 (ch3) 167 (y)	30 (ch1)	62 (ch1)
Lábnik (Vladnic)	1996	941	904	904 (100%)	904 (100%)	904		0	0
	2009	899	865	770 (89%)	835 (96%)	103 (y) 138 (m1) 144 (m2) 197 (o)	33 (ch2) 52 (ch3) 103 (y)	30 (ch1) 20 (ch2) 15 (ch3)	30 (ch1)

ESTIMATED HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE COMMAND AMONG THE MOLDAVIAN CSÁNGÓS

| Settlement | Year | Total population | Number of Catholics | Number and percentage of Hungarian speakers (A+B) | Number and percentage of those who understand Hungarian (A+B+C) | Level of Hungarian language command of the Catholic population within generations | | | |
						A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Szászkút (Sascut-Sat/ Fântânele)	1996	2 178	615	400 (65%)	?	400		215	
	2009	2 147	526	208 (40%)	395 (75%)	50 (m2) 75 (o)	55 (m1) 28 (m2)	133 (y) 54 (m1)	41 (ch1) 44 (ch2) 46 (ch3)
Szászkút („Cartier") (Sascut-Târg)	1996	2 280	?	?	?	?		?	
	2009	2 417	76	29 (38%)	56 (74%)	6 (m2) 11 (o)	8 (m1) 4 (m2)	19 (y) 8 (m1)	6 (ch1) 7 (ch2) 7 (ch3)
Tamás (Tămaşi)	1996	1 190	194	10 (5%)	?	10		184	
	2009	1 400	256	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0	0	0	20 (ch1) 21 (ch2) 24 (ch3) 74 (y) 50 (m1) 34 (m2) 33 (o)

Settlement	Year	Total population	Number of Catholics	Number and percentage of Hungarian speakers (A+B)	Number and percentage of those who understand Hungarian (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Ketriş (Chetriş)	1996	750	505	100 (20%)	?	100			405
	2009	539	283	48 (17%)	101 (36%)	12 (o)	12 (m2) 24 (o)	27 (m1) 26 (m2)	22 (ch1) 24 (ch2) 26 (ch3) 82 (y) 28 (m1)
Furnikár (Furnicari)	1996	518	104	10 (10%)	?	10			94
	2009	1 156	321	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0	0	0	25 (ch1) 27 (ch2) 30 (ch3) 93 (y) 63 (m1) 42 (m2) 41 (o)
Total:	**1996**	**41 509**	**28 497 (100%)**	**23 307 (82%)**	**?**	**23 307 (82%)**			**5 190 (18%)**
	2009	**43 289**	**28 308 (100%)**	**17 966 (63%)**	**21 736 (77%)**	**9 740 (34%)**	**8 226 (29%)**	**3 770 (14%)**	**6 572 (23%)**

4. Table: The command of the Hungarian language of the Szekler Csángós living by the River Tázló (Tazlău) in 1996 and in 2009:

Settlement	Year	Total Population	Numberr of Catholics	Number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	Number of those understandig Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Hungariaas mothertongue	B. Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
						The level of the command of the Hungarian language within the Catholic population by generations			
Frumósza (Frumoasa)	1996	3 550	2 116	1 900 +200¹ (90%)	?	1 900		216	216
Frumósza (Frumoasa)	2009	3 651	2 209	1 676 + 100 (76%)	1 953 (88%)	100 (m1) 227 (m2) 420 (o)	94 (ch3) 400 (y) 335 (m1) 100 (m2)	97 (ch2) 94 (ch3) 86 (y)	159 (ch1) 97 (ch2)
Pusztiana (Pustiana)	1996	2 070	2 055	2 055 (100%)	2 055 (100%)	2 055		0	0
Pusztiana (Pustiana)	2009	1 961	1 942	1 757 (90%)	1 876 (96%)	200 (y) 350 (m1) 322 (m2) 470 (o)	79 (ch2) 146 (ch3) 190 (y)	40 (ch1) 79 (ch2)	86 (ch1)
Ripa Jepi (Bogdăneşti)	1996	71	45	30 (66%)	?	30		15	15
Ripa Jepi (Bogdăneşti)	2009	74	38	15 (39%)	15 (39%)	5 (o)	4 (o) 6 (m2)	0	3 (ch1) 3 (ch3) 4 (gy4) 7 (y) 6 (m1)

1 Orthodox Romanians and Gypsies who speak also Hungarian

Settlement	Year	Total Population	Numberr of Catholics	Number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	Number of those understandig Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	The level of the command of the Hungarian language within the Catholic population by generations			
						A. Hungariaas mothertongue	B. Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Szoloncka (Tărâța)	1996	979	380	80 (20%)	?	80			300
	2009	997	382	30 (8%)	50 (13%)	15 (o)	10 (m2) 5 (o)	10 (m2) 5 (m1) 5 (o)	25 (ch1) 27 (ch2) 28 (ch3) 77 (y) 65 (m1) 44 (m2) 66 (o)
Kukujéc (Cucuieți)	1996	1 363	110	30 (27%)	?	30			80
	2009	1 401	97	6 (6%)	11 (11%)	0	6 (o)	5 (o)	7 (ch1) 8 (ch2) 8 (ch3) 20 (y) 18 (m1) 7 (o)
Szerbek (Florești)	1996	613	540	300 (55%)	?	300			240
	2009	675	566	312 (55%)	372 (66%)	136 (o)	82 (m1) 94 (m2)	10 (ch3) 30 (y) 20 (m1)	37 (ch1) 40 (ch2) 32 (ch3) 85 (y)

Settlement	Year	Total Population	Numberr of Catholics	The level of the command of the Hungarian language within the Catholic population by generations						
				Number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	Number of those understandig Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Hungariaas mothertongue	B. Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Esztrugár (Strugari)	1996	1 211	216	40 (18%)	?	40			176
	2009	776	129	10 (8%)	15 (12%)	0	10 (o)	5 (o)	10 (ch1) 9 (ch2) 10 (ch3) 21 (y) 21 (m1) 21 (m2) 22 (o)
Lárga/ Máriafalva (Lärguţa)	1996	299	296	250 (85%)	?	250			46
	2009	264	262	190 (73%)	226 (86%)	43 (m2) 63 (o)	37 (y) 47 (m1)	6 (ch2) 15 (ch3) 16 (y)	17 (ch1) 13 (ch2) 5 (ch3)
Gajdár (Coman)	1996	931	927	850 (91%)	?	850			77
	2009	1 028	1 025	844 (82%)	924 (90%)	84 (m1) 70 (m2) 344 (o)	64 (ch3) 165 (y) 84 (m1) 33 (m2)	60 (ch2) 20 (ch3)	83 (ch1) 18 (ch2)

Settlement	Year	Total Population	Numberr of Catholics	The level of the command of the Hungarian language within the Catholic population by generations					
				Number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	Number of those understandig Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Hungariaas mothertongue	B. Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Nádas/ Esztufuj (Stufu)	1996	394	364	250 (70%)	?	250			114
	2009	392	379	196 (52%)	279 (74%)	127 (o)	31 (m1) 38 (m2)	11 (ch3) 41 (y) 31 (m1)	31 (ch1) 29 (ch2) 20 (ch3) 20 (y)
Rosszpatak (Valea Rea/ Livezi)	1996	905	215	100 (46%)	?	100			115
	2009	892	206	89 (43%)	136 (66%)	0	20 (m2) 69 (o)	13 (y) 34 (m1)	17 (ch1) 16 (ch2) 17 (ch3) 20 (y)
Balanyásza (Bălăneasa)	1996	912	128	20 (14%)	?	20			108
	2009	1 071	119	20 (17%)	43 (36%)	0	20 (o)	8 (m2) 15 (o)	10 (ch1) 9 (ch2) 10 (ch3) 19 (y) 20 (m1) 8 (m2)

ESTIMATED HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE COMMAND AMONG THE MOLDAVIAN CSÁNGÓS

| Settlement | Year | Total Population | Numberr of Catholics | The level of the command of the Hungarian language within the Catholic population by generations | | | | | |
				Number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	Number of those understandig Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Jenekest (Enăchești)	1996	810	97	20 (20%)	?	20			77
	2009	843	104	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0	0	0	7 (ch1) 8 (ch2) 9 (ch3) 20 (y) 18 (m1) 17 (m2) 25 (o)
Turluján (Turluianu)	1996	1 145	160	10 (6%)	?	10			150
	2009	1 343	167	1 (0,6%)	1 (0,6%)	0	1 (o)	0	11 (ch1) 12 (ch2) 13 (ch3) 34 (y) 30 (m1) 27 (m2) 39 (o)
Gyidráska (Verşeşti)	1996	1 029	215	20 (10%)	?	20			195
	2009	880	187	3 (2%)	23 (12%)	0	3 (o)	20 (o)	12 (ch1) 13 (ch2) 14 (ch3) 37 (y) 34 (m1) 31 (m2) 23 (o)

| Settlement | Year | Total Population | Numberr of Catholics | The level of the command of the Hungarian language within the Catholic population by generations | | | | | |
				Number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	Number of those understandig Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Hungariaas mothertongue	B. Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Berzence/ Berzunc (Berzunţi)	1996	2 711	774	100 (13%)	?	100			674
	2009	2 709	807	105 (13%)	286 (35%)	20 (o)	35 (m2) 50 (o)	46 (m1) 55 (m2) 80 (o)	53 (ch1) 57 (ch2) 60 (ch3) 162 (y) 100 (m1) 44 (m2) 45 (o)
Berzujok (Bârzuleşti)	1996	212	122	20 (16%)	?	20			102
	2009	252	165	5 (3%)	10 (6%)	0	5 (o)	5 (o)	11 (ch1) 12 (ch2) 12 (ch3) 33 (y) 30 (m1) 27 (m2) 30 (o)

ESTIMATED HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE COMMAND AMONG THE MOLDAVIAN CSÁNGÓS

Settlement	Year	Total Population	Numberr of Catholics	Number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	Number of those understandig Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Hungariaas mothertongue	B. Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Kövesalja (Petricica)	1996	480	126	20 (16%)	?	20			106
Kövesalja (Petricica)	2009	589	171	2 (1%)	2 (1%)	0	2 (o)	0	11 (ch1) 12 (ch2) 13 (ch3) 34 (y) 32 (m1) 28 (m2) 39 (o)
Ardeván (Ardeoani)	1996	1 578	48	5 (10%)	?	5			43
Ardeván (Ardeoani)	2009	1 614	42	5 (12%)	10 (24%)	0	5 (o)	5 (o)	32
Total:	**1996**	**21 263**	**8 944 (100%)**	**6 100 (68%)**	**?**	**6 100 (68%)**			**2 844 (32%)**
Total:	**2009**	**21 412**	**8 997 (100%)**	**5 266 (58%)**	**6 232 (68%)**	**2 996 (33%)**	**2 270 (25%)**	**966 (11%)**	**2 765 (31%)**

The level of the command of the Hungarian language within the Catholic population by generations

5. Table: The command of the Hungarian language of the Szekler Csángós along the River Tatros (Trotuș) in 1996 and 2008:

Settlement	Year	Total Population	Number of Catholics	The level of command of the Hungarian language by generations within the Catholic population						
				The number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	The number of those understanding Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as a second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Palánka (Palanca)	1996	849	122	20 (16%)	?	20			102
	2008	896	134	10 (8%)	10 8%	5 (o)	5 (m2)	0	9 (ch1) 7 (ch2) 10 (ch3) 30 (y) 24 (m1) 20 (m2) 24 (o)
Románcsügés (Ciugheș)	1996	2 040	1 345	1 200	?	?	?	?	?
	2008	1 981	1 292	512 (40%)	625 (48%)	138 (o)	236 (m2) 138 (o)	113 (m1)	91 (ch1) 70 (ch2) 99 (ch3) 287 (y) 120 (m1)
Bruszturósza (Brusturoasa) (whole commune)	1996	3 608	746	100 (14%)	?	100			646
	2008	3 532	782	0	28 (4%)	0	0	28 (o)	754

Settlement	Year	Total Population	Number of Catholics	The level of command of the Hungarian language by generations within the Catholic population					
				The number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	The number of those understanding Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as a second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Bruszturósz (Brusturoasa)	2008	1 313	272	0	5 (2%)	0	0	5 (o)	19 (ch1) 15 (ch2) 21 (ch3) 60 (y) 48 (m1) 50 (m2) 54 (m2)
Kökényes (Cuchiniş)	2008	357	291	0	20 (7%)	0	0	20 (o)	20 (ch1) 16 (ch2) 22 (ch3) 65 (y) 51 (m1) 54 (m2) 43 (o)
Burjányos (Buruieniş)	2008	358	136	0	3 (2%)	0	0	3 (o)	10 (ch1) 7 (ch2) 10 (ch3) 31 (y) 24 (m1) 25 (m2) 26 (o)

| | | | | The level of command of the Hungarian language by generations within the Catholic population | | | | | |
Settlement	Year	Total Population	Number of Catholics	The number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	The number of those understanding Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as a second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Ágas (Cotumba)	2008	1 562	33	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	0	1 (o)	0	2 (ch1) 2 (ch2) 3 (ch3) 7 (y) 6 (m1) 6 (m2) 6 (o)
Kománfalva (Comăneşti) (whole city)	1996	25 020	1 577	200 (12%)	?	200			1 377
Kománfalva (Comăneşti) (whole city)	2008	23 679	1 369	25 (2%)	35 (3%)	15	10	10	1 334
Kománfalva Comăneşti (center)	2008	22 417	980	25 (3%)	25 3%	10 (o) 5 (m2)	5 (m1) 5 (m2)	0	69 (ch1) 53 (ch2) 75 (ch3) 218 (y) 168 (m1) 171 (m2) 201 (o)
Vermest (Vermeşti)	2008	1 262	389	0	10 (3%)	0	0	10 (o)	27 (ch1) 21 (ch2) 30 (ch3) 86 (y) 69 (m1) 72 (m2) 74 (o)

Settlement	Year	Total Population	Number of Catholics	The number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	The number of those understanding Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as a second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Mojnest (Moineşti) (whole city)	1996	25 560	1 365	50 (4%)	?	50			1 315
	2008	24 210	1 230	45 (4%)	60 (5%)	30	15	15	1 170
Mojnest (Moineşti) (center)	2008	23 051	1 132	40 (3,5%)	50 (4%)	10 (o) 10 (m1) 10 (m2)	5 (m1) 5 (m2)	5 (m1) 5 (m2)	79 (ch1) 61 (ch2) 87 (ch3) 252 (y) 180 (m1) 189 (m2) 234 (o)
Gazărie	2008	1 159	98	5 5 (%)	10 (10%)	0	5 (o)	5 (o)	7 (ch1) 6 (ch2) 7 (ch3) 22 (y) 17 (m1) 18 (m2) 11 (o)
Dormánfalva (Dărmăneşti)	1996	13 883	1 623	550 (34%)	?	550			1 073
	2008	14 194	1 631	100 (6%)	300 (18%)	20 (o)	80 (o)	100 (m2) 100 (o)	114 (ch1) 89 (ch2) 125 (ch3) 362 (y) 288 (m1) 201 (m2) 152 (o)

The level of command of the Hungarian language by generations within the Catholic population

Settlement	Year	Total Population	Number of Catholics	The level of command of the Hungarian language by generations within the Catholic population						
				The number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	The number of those understanding Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as a second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian	
Doftána (Dofteana)	1996	2 920	190	0	0%	0	0	0	190	
	2008	3 013	150	0	0%	0	0	0	10 (ch1) 9 (ch2) 11 (ch3) 33 (y) 27 (m1) 28 (m2) 32 (o)	
Szálka (Seaca)	1996	455	374	200 (53%)	?	200	0		174	
	2008	505	395	0	40 (10%)	0	0	40 (o)	28 (ch1) 21 (ch2) 30 (ch3) 88 (y) 70 (m1) 73 (m2) 45 (o)	
Valea Câmpului és Ştefan Vodă	1996	1 096	224	20 (9%)	?	20	0		204	
	2008	1 192	221	0	15 (7%)	0	0	15 (o)	15 (ch1) 12 (ch2) 17 (ch3) 49 (y) 39 (m1) 41 (m2) 33 (o)	

ESTIMATED HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE COMMAND AMONG THE MOLDAVIAN CSÁNGÓS

Settlement	Year	Total Population	Number of Catholics	The number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	The number of those understanding Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	The level of command of the Hungarian language by generations within the Catholic population			
						A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as a second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Bogáta (Bogata)	1996	816	326	30 (9%)	?	30			296
	2008	874	344	0	20 (6%)	0	0	20 (o)	24 (ch1) 19 (ch2) 26 (ch3) 76 (y) 61 (m1) 64 (m2) 54 (o)
Aknavásár (Târgu Ocna)	1996	13 829	1 110	?	?	?	?	?	?
	2008	11 236	888	20 (2%)	30 (3%)	5 (m2) 5 (o)	5 (m1) 5 (m2)	5 (m1) 5 (y)3	62 (ch1) 50 (ch2) 67 (ch3) 192 (y) 147 (m1) 154 (m2) 186 (o)
Szalánctorka (Gura Slănic)	1996	?	110	20 (18%)	?	20			90
	2008	?	80	5 (6%)	10 (12%)	0	5 (o)	5 (o)	6 (ch1) 4 (ch2) 6 (ch3) 18 (y) 14 (m1) 15 (m2) 7 (o)

Settlement	Year	Total Population	Number of Catholics	The number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	The number of those understanding Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as a second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Degettes (Păcuri)	1996	860	235	170 (70%)	?	170			65
Degettes (Păcuri)	2008	967	219	35 (16%)	70 (32%)	15 (o)	10 (m2) 10 (o)	15 (m1) 10 (m2) 10 (o)	15 (ch1) 12 (ch2) 17 (ch3) 49 (y) 24 (m1) 20 (m2) 12 (o)
Szalánc (Cireşoaia)	1996	1 811	1 783	1 110 (62%)	?	1 110			673
Szalánc (Cireşoaia)	2008	1 906	1 831	820 (45%)	1 200 (65%)	160 (m2) 300 (o)	200 (m1) 160 (m2)	30 (ch3) 150 (y) 200 (m1)	137 (ch1) 109 (ch2) 119 (ch3) 266 (y)
Cserdák (Cerdac)	1996	1 571	559	250 (42%)	?	250			309
Cserdák (Cerdac)	2008	1 324	419	140 (33%)	180 (42%)	40 (o)	70 (m2) 30 (o)	40 (m1)	29 (ch1) 23 (ch2) 32 (ch3) 93 (y) 34 (m1) 20 (m2) 8 (o)

The level of command of the Hungarian language by generations within the Catholic population

Settlement	Year	Total Population	Number of Catholics	The number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	The number of those understanding Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as a second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Szlanikfürdő (Slănic Moldova)	1996	1 929	494	30 (6%)	?	30			464
	2008	1 766	694	15 (2%)	30 (4%)	0	10 (o) 5 (m2)	10 (m2) 5 (m1)	49 (ch1) 38 (ch2) 53 (ch3) 154 (y) 118 (m1) 113 (m2) 139 (o)
Tatros (Târgu Trotuș)	1996	1 946	1 241	600 (48%)	?	600			641
	2008	2 065	1 267	600 (47%)	875 (69%)	100 (m2) 230 (o)	170 (m1) 100 (m2)	25 (ch3) 150 (y) 100 (m1)	78 (ch1) 90 (ch2) 81 (ch3) 143 (y)
Diószeg (Tuta)	1996	1 949	1 935	1 700 (88%)	?	1 700			235
	2008	2 108	2 095	1 825 (87%)	1 905 (91%)	275 (m2) 390 (o)	70 (ch2) 120 (ch3) 460 (y) 460 (m1) 50 (m2)	30 (ch2) 50 (ch3)	130 (ch1) 60 (ch2)

Settlement	Year	Total Population	Number of Catholics	The number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	The number of those understanding Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as a second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Szőlőhegy (Pârgărești)	1996	1 202	1 039	800 (77%)	?	800			239
	2008	1 047	1 005	820 (81%)	900 (89%)	130 (m1) 140 (m2) 160 (o)	50 (ch3) 240 (y) 100 (m1)	30 (ch2) 50 (ch3)	65 (ch1) 40 (ch2)
Újfalu (Satu Nou)	1996	1 699	1 687	1 687 (100%)	1 687% 100%	1 687		0	0
	2008	1 740	1 732	1 614 (93%)	1 614 (93%)	200 (y) 390 (m1) 246 (m2) 268 (o)	126 (ch2) 164 (ch3) 220 (y)	0	118 (ch1)
Szitás (Nicorești)	1996	902	901	901 (100%)	901 (100%)	901		0	0
	2008	946	946	882 (93%)	882 (93%)	100 (y) 212 (m1) 134 (m2) 147 (o)	70 (ch2) 90 (ch3) 129 (y)	0	64 (ch1)
Bahána (Bahna)	1996	594	528	410 (77%)	?	410			118
	2008	630	558	406 (73%)	460 (82%)	40 (m2) 86 (o)	20 (ch3) 135 (y) 125 (m1)	20 (ch2) 34 (ch3)	48 (ch1) 50 (ch2)

The level of command of the Hungarian language by generations within the Catholic population

Settlement	Year	Total Population	Number of Catholics	The level of command of the Hungarian language by generations within the Catholic population					
				The number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	The number of those understanding Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as a second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Gorzafalva (Oituz)	1996	6 938	4 018	2 400 (60%)	?	2 400			1 618
	2008	7 197	4 269	1 560 (36%)	2 820 (66%)	300 (m2) 660 (o)	300 (m1) 300 (m2)	100 (ch3) 500 (y) 660 (m1)	295 (ch1) 316 (ch2) 308 (ch3) 530 (y)
Fűrészfalva (Ferestrău-Oituz)	1996	1 036	427	300 (70%)	?	300			127
	2008	1 088	423	100 (24%)	230 (54%)	0	30 (m2) 70 (o)	100 (m1) 30 (m2)	27 (ch1) 29 (ch2) 38 (ch3) 99 (y)
Onyest/Ónfalva (Onești)	1996	57 333	5 884	1 500 (25%)	?	1 500			4 384
			1 500	1 220 (81%)	1 300 (86%)	170 (m1) 210 (m2) 230 (o)	30 (ch2) 50 (ch3) 360 (y) 170 (m1)	30 (ch2) 50 (ch3)	100 (ch1) 50 (ch2) 50 (ch3)
	2008	51 416	3 803	510 (13%)	760 (20%)	30 (y) 60 (m1) 70 (m2) 100 (o)	10 (ch2) 10 (ch3) 20 (y) 50 (m1) 60 (m2) 100 (o)	10 (ch2) 10 (ch3) 20 (y) 50 (m1) 60 (m2) 100 (o)	152 (ch1) 172 (ch2) 317 (ch3) 717 (y) 876 (m1) 606 (m2) 203 (o)

The level of command of the Hungarian language by generations within the Catholic population

Settlement	Year	Total Population	Number of Catholics	The number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	The number of those understanding Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as a second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Borzest (Borzeşti)	1996	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	2008	?[2]	61	2 (3%)	2 (3%)	2 (o)	0	0	3 (ch1) 4 (ch2) 5 (ch3) 11 (y) 13 (m1) 12 (m2) 11 (o)
Szárazpatak (Valea Seacă)	1996	798	394	100 (25%)	?	100			294
	2008	941	404	80 (20%)	170 (37%)	60 (o)	20 (m2)	50 (m1) 40 (m2)	28 (ch1) 30 (ch2) 38 (ch3) 98 (y) 40 (m1)
Gutinázs (Gutinaş)	1996	592	123	20 (16%)	?	20			103
	2008	506	103	4 (4%)	8 (8%)	0	4 (o)	4 (o)	105

2   Included in the total population of Onyest/Oneşti.

Settlement	Year	Total Population	Number of Catholics	The number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	The number of those understanding Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian as mothertongue	B. Speaks Hungarian as a second language	C. Passive knowledge of the Hungarian language	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Prála (Pralea)	1996	803	660	100 (15%)	?	100			560
Prála (Pralea)	2008	894	756	100 (13%)	180 (23%)	50 (o)	50 (o)	60 (m2) 20 (o)	52 (ch1) 56 (ch2) 72 (ch3) 183 (y) 170 (m1) 43 (m2)
Vizánta (Vizantea Mănăstirească)	1996	1 658	1 018	700 (69%)	?	700			318
Vizánta (Vizantea Mănăstirească)	2008	1 816	1 115	170 (15%)	390 (35%)	100 (o)	70 (o)	120 (m1) 100 (m2)	77 (ch1) 82 (ch2) 107 (ch3) 270 (y) 131 (m1) 58 (m2)
Total:	1996	173 697	32 129 (100%)	15 158 (47%)	?	15 158 (47%)			16 971 (53%)
Total:	2008	162 638[3]	31 666 (100%)	11 621 (37%)	15 150 (48%)	6 023 (19%)	5 598 (18%)	3 529 (11%)	16 516 (52%)

The level of command of the Hungarian language by generations within the Catholic population

Table 6: The command of the Hungarian language of the Szekler Csángós, along the River Tatros (Trotuș), according to the types of settlement, in 2008:

Type of Settlement	Number of Catholics	The level of the command of the Hungarian language within the Catholic population, by generations					
		Number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	Number of those understanding Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian on a native speaker level	B. Speaks Hungarian as a second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Town	9 128 (100%)	710 (8%)	1 195 (13%)	335 (4%)	375 (4%)	485 (5%)	7 933 (87%)
Periferical village	4 597 (100%)	2 227 (49%)	2 782 (61%)	1 127 (25%)	1 100 (24%)	555 (12%)	1 815 (39%)
Village	17 941 (100%)	8 684 (48%)	11 173 (62%)	4 561 (25%)	4 123 (23%)	2 489 (14%)	6 768 (38%)
Total	**31 666 (100%)**	**11 621 (37%)**	**15 150 (48%)**	**6 023 (19%)**	**5 598 (18%)**	**3 529 (11%)**	**16 516 (52%)**

3 I have taken into acount the total population of the commune Bruszturósza/Brusturoasa (3,532 persons), but did not count the population of Ágas/Agăș, 1,562 persons, that did not feature in the survey from 1996.

Table 7: The Moldavian Csángós' estimated command of the Hungarian language in the major towns:

Settlement[4]	Year	Total Population	Number of Catholics	The number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	The number of the ones understanding Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian on a native speaker level	B. Speaks Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
						The level of command of the Hungarian language among the Catholic popltion, by generations			
Bákó (Bacău)	2010	175 500	19 094	3 020 (16%)	4 720 (25%)	150 (m1) 600 (m2) 500 (o)	20 (ch3) 150 (y) 400 (m1) 700 (m2) 500 (o)	50 (ch3) 300 (y) 350 (m1) 700 (m2) 300 (o)	781 (ch1) 876 (ch2) 1 474 (ch3) 4 442 (y) 3 724 (m1) 1 933 (m2) 1 144 (o)
Románvásár (Roman)	2010	69 268	10 087	308 (3%)	547 (5%)	40 (m1) 60 (m2) 50 (o)	20 (y) 30 (m1) 70 (m2) 38 (o)	20 (y) 50 m1 80 m2 89 (o)	413 (ch1) 463 (ch2) 816 (ch3) 2 544 (y) 2 322 (m1) 1 868 (m2) 1 114 (o)
Karácsonykő (Piatra Neamţ)	2010	104 914	3 152	97 (3%)	165 (5%)	10 (m1) 10 (m2) 27 (o)	5 (y) 5 (m1) 15 (m2) 25 (o)	10 (y) 15 (m1) 30 (m2) 13 (o)	129 (ch1) 145 (ch2) 255 (ch3) 793 (y) 733 (m1) 594 (m2) 338 (o)

4   Without the small towns along the Tatros/Trotuş – Kománfalva/Comăneşti, Mojnest/Moineşti, Dormánfalva/Dărmăneşti, Aknavásár/Tárgu Ocna, Szlanikfürdő/Slănic Moldova and Onyest/Oneşti. Their data is perented in 5. table. Since this towns have a traditional Csángó part (mostly a periferical villages), their data is not presented here but among the villages along the Tatros/Trotuş.

Settlement[4]	Year	Total Population	Number of Catholics	The level of command of the Hungarian language among the Catholic poplation, by generations						
				The number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	The number of the ones understanding Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian on a native speaker level	B. Speaks Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Jászvásár (Iaşi)	2010	320 888	9 655	1 058 (11%)	1 558 (16%)	120 (m1) 120 (m2) 244 (o)	100 (y) 150 (m1) 150 (m2) 174 (o)	100 (y) 150 (m1) 150 (m2) 100 (o)	395 (ch1) 443 (ch2) 780 (ch3) 2 274 (y) 1 918 (m1) 1 569 (m2) 718 (o)
Total:	**2010**	**670 570**	**41 988 (100%)**	**4 483 (11%)**	**6 990 (17%)**	**1 931 (5%)**	**2 552 (6%)**	**2 507 (6%)**	**34 998 (83%)**

Table 8: The estimated language command of the Moldvian Csángós in the towns of Moldavia (summary):

	The number of Catholics	The level of command of the Hungarian language among the Catholic poplation, by generations					
		Number of Hungarian speakers (A+B)	Number of those understandig Hungarian (A+B+C)	A. Native speaker level	B. As a second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
In the small towns along the Tatros (Trotuş)[5]	9 128	710	1 195	335	375	485	7 933
Cities[6]	41 988	4 483	6 990	1 931	2 552	2 507	34 998
Towns without estimated Hungarian knowledge[7]	12 209	0	0	0	0	0	12 209
Total	**63 325 (100%)**	**5 193 (8%)**	**8 185 (13%)**	**2 266 (3%)**	**2 927 (5%)**	**2 992 (5%)**	**55 140 (87%)**

5   The towns of Kománfalva/Comănești, Mojnest/Moinești, Dormánfalva/Dărmănești, Aknavásár/Târgu Ocna, Szlanikfürdő/ Slănic Moldova and Onyest/Onești. Detailed data on them in 5. table.

6   In the towns of Bákó/Bacău, Románvásár/Roman, Karácsonykő/Piatra Neamţ and Jászvásár/Iași. For details, see 7. table.

7   22 towns in the 7 counties, the headcount of Catholics in brackets: in Neamţ county Békás/Bicaz (143) and Németvásár/Târgu Neamţ (58), in Bacău county Buhus/Buhuși (264), in Vaslui county Vaszló/Vaslui (388), Barlád/Bârlad (205), Husztváros/ Huși (5 826) and Negrești (19), in Iași county Páskán/Pașcani (1 214), Herló/Hârlău (50) and Szépváros/Târgu Frumos (237), in Botoșani county Botosány/Botoșani (710), Dorohoi (52), Darabani (1) and Szövény/Săveni (6), in Galaţi county Galac/Galaţi (1 733), Tekucs/Tecuci (91) and Târgu Bujor (1), in Vrancea county Foksány/Focșani (679), Egyedhalma/Adjud (408), Mărășești (29), Odobest/Odobești (49) and Panciu (46).

Table 9: The Moldavian Csángós estimated command of the language in the Moldavian villages (summary):

| | Number of Catholics | The level of command of the Hungarian language among the Catholic poplation, by generations | | | | | |
		Number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	Number of those understanding Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Speaks Hungarian on a native speaker level	B. Speaks Hungarian as a second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Does not understand Hungarian
Northern Csángós	20 603	3 740	5 527	2 073	1 667	1 787	15 076
Southern Csángós	12 354	5 676	8 125	3 277	2 399	2 449	4 229
Szekler Csángós along the Szeret	28 308	17 966	21 736	9 740	8 226	3 770	6 572
Szekler Csángós along the Tázló	8 997	5 266	6 232	2 996	2 270	966	2 765
Szekler Csángós along the Tatros	22 538	10 911	13 955	5 688	5 223	3 044	8 583
Villages undergone language loss	75 920	0	0	0	0	0	75 920
Total:	**168 720 (100%)**	**43 559 (26%)**	**55 575 (33%)**	**23 774 (14%)**	**19 785 (12%)**	**12 016 (7%)**	**113 145 (67%)**

The number of Moldavian Csángó dialect groups and their percentage within the whole of the Csángó population (2008-2010)

□ Do not speak Hungarian (183,293)

■ Speakers of Northern Csángó dialect (3,740)

▦ Speakers of Southern Csángó dialect (5,676)

▨ Speakers of three Sekler Csángó dialects (34,143)

▨ Speakers in the Cities (5,193)
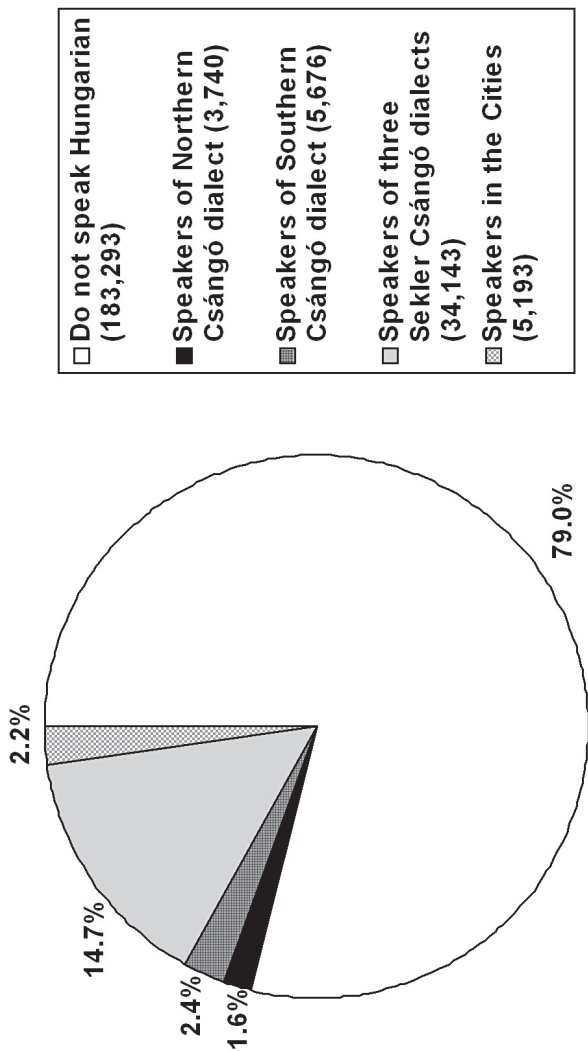
79.0%

2.2%

14.7%

2.4%

1.6%

Table 10: Estimated Hungarian language command of the Moldavian Csangós in 2008–2011 (Summary)

	Number of Catholics	The level of command of the Hungarian language among the Catholic poplation, by generations					
		Number of Hungarian speakers and percentage (A+B)	Number of those understanding Hungarian and percentage (A+B+C)	A. Hungarian on native speaker level	B. Hungarian as second language	C. Passive knowledge of Hungarian	D. Do not understand Hungarian
Villages	168 720	43 559	55 575	23 774	19 785	12 016	113 145
Towns	63 325	5 193	8 185	2 266	2 927	2 992	55 140
Total	**232 045 (100%)**	**48 752 (21%)**	**63 760 (27%)**	**26 040 (11%)**	**22 712 (10%)**	**15 008 (6%)**	**168 285 (73%)**

Abstracts

Attila BENŐ
The most important areas and results of the research on Hungarian language in Moldavia

The paper presents the most important results of the research on the Hungarian language in Moldavia from the historical and linguistic point of view, with a special regard to the second part of the 20th century as well as the newest approaches to the topic. The presentation includes both the findings of Hungarian and Romanian linguists, thus it contains conflicting views on the language use and culture of the Hungarians from Moldavia.

Csanád BODÓ
Language socialisation practices in Moldavian bilingual speech communities

The article explores the relationship between language shift and linguistic ideologies as manifested in the language socialisation practices of Hungarian-Romanian bilingual speech communities in Moldavia. In the local close-knit bilingual communities a unique pattern of language acquisition has emerged, the so-called *delayed second language socialisation*, where the former monolingual Romanian-speaking young people acquire the minority language, Hungarian during earlier or later phases of secondary socialisation. The author argues that we cannot understand this linguistic practice when only explicit linguistic ideologies are concerned supporting the acquisition and use of the majority language. The implicit ideologies of the parental generations value bilingualism as a means of negotiation between the traditional and the modern, the local and the global, the native and the foreign – a relevant function for novices entering the local adult community.

Csanád BODÓ – Fruzsina Sára VARGHA – Domokos VÉKÁS
Classifications of Hungarian dialects in Moldavia

This paper is about the classifications of the Hungarian dialects as spoken in the Moldavian region of Romania. Four different approaches are discussed: firstly, the traditional classification based on the isoglosses of selected linguistic features. In this framework dialects are demarcated by bundles

of arbitrarily selected isoglosses. Secondly, it is illustrated that dialect areas can be traced on the basis of dialectometry as a tool for measuring dialect distances between language varieties. Dialectometry leads to another way of classification of Hungarian dialects in Moldavia than the traditional methods. Four areas emerge from our analysis: 1. Northern; 2. valley of the river Szeret (Siret); 3. valley of the brook Tázló (Tazlău); 4. valley of the river Tatros (Trotuş). Thirdly, results of dialectometry are compared with the speakers' beliefs on the geographical extent of their respective dialect area. Answers to the question "Where is a similar Hungarian dialect in spoken Moldavia?" coincide, as a rule, with the dialectometric classification: speakers tend to name locations that are in their own dialect area. Finally, the paper attempts to relate the former two approaches to the speakers' attitudes and dialect identity; these are discussed concerning the aesthetic value of the Hungarian dialects in Moldavia. It can be deduced from the results that in the bilingual communities speakers have a positive attitude towards their own dialect of Hungarian.

János Imre HELTAI
Language shift in Moldavia

In my paper I am going to delineate some features of the Moldavian language shift. I aim to summarise the results of a total of 18 locations included in two investigations: the first research exploits the material of conversations conducted in 11 villages; the second one contains the material of 205 interviews made in 13 communities. I am also going to use Joshua Fishman's (Fishman 1991) Graded Intergenerational Dislocation/Disruption Scale, which presents the level of endangerment of minority languages, I will also discuss language planning issues.

The most important findings could be summarised as follows: there is a language shift in the investigated speaker communities of Moldavia; however, the differences between the communities are large and manifold. Thus language shift in Moldavia has characteristics that are general and applicable to all speech communities, and also special, regional features of the different speech communities and regions.

The general features (i.e. the low prestige of the dialect, the language usage features changing drastically and in a negative way in what concerns the preservation of the language, the uncertain and divergent nature of the opinions regarding bilingualism and the future of the dialect, the modification of socialising strategies) are not only firm indicators of the language shift, but also reasons and active shapers of the processes. Disparities between the dif-

ferent regions are greater in the real language usage habits than they are supposed to be.

Based on the results I am using Fishman's Scale with a twofold aim. One is to determine the stage of language shift in which the entire Moldavia, respectively the speech communities of the three investigated regions are. On the other hand, the use of the Scale may also help in conceptualising the manner and the degree of implementation of certain language planning steps that offer a possible chance to decrease, to stop, and eventually to reverse the process of the language shift.

Dezső JUHÁSZ
The types and main characteristics of the Hungarian dialects of Moldavia

Hungarian dialectology considers the Hungarian dialect region of Moldavia an independent dialect region, but divides it into three dialect groups from the typological, taxonomical point of view. The study discusses the following questions in its four chapters: 1. The division of the main dialect groups of the Moldavian region (Northern Csángó, Southern Csángó, Moldavian Székely). – 2. The main phonetic characteristics of the Hungarian dialects of Moldavia (their phonetic system, their burdening and realizations, typical differences from the Hungarian standard) – 3. A number of morphological characteristics with a special regard to Northern and Southern Csángó. – 4. Further remarks which include the following: a) the lexical contrasts of the dialect groups, b) the lexical influence of the Romanian language on the Moldavian dialects, c) settlement history and their dialectological references. In the latter we pin down that Northern Csángós are the medieval descendants of the inhabitants of the Transylvanian Plain (Mezőség), and they pass on the early characteristics of this dialect. The group of the Southern Csángós double-layered from the historical point of view: the substratum is the Mezőségi stratum, basically identical to that of the Northern Csángós, while the superstratum is the Székely layer, settled at a later point in time. The Moldavian Székely population migrated from different parts of Székely Land to Moldavia. These dialectological parallels can be well identified with the following language atlases: *A romániai magyar nyelvjárások atlasza* I–XI. (1995–2010) [The Atlas of the Hungarian Dialects in Romania] and *A moldvai csángó nyelvjárás atlasza* I–II. (1991) [The Atlas of the Moldavian Csángó dialect I-II].

Jenő KISS
On the Hungarian language use
of the Moldavian Csángós

The author analyzes the Hungarian language use of the Moldavian Csángós from a historical, sociolinguistic and dialectological point of view (the archaic dialect of the Moldavian Csángós is without any doubt the specific variant of the Hungarian language). The ancestors of the group migrated from the Hungarian communities of the Mezőség at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century. The main characteristics of their Hungarian dialect as opposed to the other Hungarian dialects are: 1. they include a high number of Romanian loan words, 2. they preserve several linguistic archaisms, 3. they can be characterized by specific dialectological neologisms, 4. from the point of view of the other dialects and that of standard Hungarian the accent, the intonation and the fast speech is fairly uncommon. The Hungarian-Romanian bilingual communities of Moldavia are in the process of language shift.

János PÉNTEK
The self-concepts of the Moldavian Hungarians
from the 50's of the last century

The language change and assimilation of the inhabitants of the Moldavian language island of Hungarian mother tongue and ethnicity as well as Roman Catholic religion has been going on for centuries and has accelerated in the past one and a half centuries within the Romanian nation state: their majority speaks Romanian as their mother tongue and have a Romanian identity. Between 1949 and 1962, when the linguists of the Bolyai University were working on the geolinguistic research regarding the *Atlas of the Moldavian Csángó Dialect* recorded a lot of spontaneous, authentic data, which genuinely attest that the informants were aware of their original Hungarian identity, of their isolated and scattered nature, of the inner diversity of their dialect, their bilingualism and the current state of language change. These data presenting an "inside view" surfaced during the editing of the *Dictionary of the Hungarian Language in Moldavia*, and the author aims at presenting the stage of language processes during that period, in which first language monolingualism was much more frequent than today, but second language dominance is also very significant, as well as forgetting the language and total language change.

Klára SÁNDOR
Discourses on discourses: can we understand each other?

The study interprets the ideological background of political and cultural nature of discourses referring to the Moldavian Csángós. In the interpretation of the author the scholarly literature on the Csángós can be basically placed between two poles regarding the background ideologies: one of them is the "national discourse", the other one is the "constructivist" discourse. In her article she presents the main characteristics of these two dominant discourses, interprets their occurrences in the scientific discourses referring to the Csángó culture. According to the author the segment of the "national" discourse which refers to the Csángós there are several characteristic conceptual metaphors (skanzen, orphan little brother, hero/guardian), which play an important role in constructing a certain kind of myth around the Csángós. As an adept of the "constructivist approach" she tackles the "national discourse" in the interpretation of which the "constructivist discourse" is presented as being inferior, less committed.

Boglárka SIMON
How do the Csángós "get ahead"? The linguistic strategies of avowal versus identity concealment in a Moldavian community

By elaborating the findings of an empirical field research, the paper is looking for an answer to the question as to what linguistic strategies are used by the Catholic inhabitants of a Moldavian village Frumósza (Frumoasa) in order to avow and to conceal their "Csángó" ethnic identity in the public and in the private sphere. According to the author's conclusions, the ethnic identity of the above mentioned community is constructed in a situational way in the system of the Catholic–non-Catholic interactions: they continuously re-define their identity according to everyday situations, and they show it by under- vs. over-communicating one of the main indicators of group borders: language usage (which may be Romanian-Hungarian bilingualism or mixed bilingualism). Successful strategies exist both in avowing and concealing one's ethnolinguistic identity, so integration and detachment tendencies equally exist.

Sándor SZILÁGYI N.
Linguistic rights and language use in church – the question of Hungarian masses in Moldavia

The paper focuses on the questions of Hungarian language masses in Moldavia based on the principles of international legal regulations and recom-

mendations. The author states that the most important documents on the linguistic rights of minorities (*International Convenant on Civil and Political Rights*, the *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*, the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*) regard the right to attend religious service in one's own mother tongue a basic human right. The author presents how the Roman Catholic Episcopate of Jászvásár (Iaşi) commits a series of aggrievements both from the point of view of international human rights and that of linguistic right recommendations when it refuses the requests of the Catholic believers regarding the introduction of Hungarian language mass.

Vilmos TÁNCZOS
Csángó language ideologies

The first, historical part of the paper gives an overview of the the language ideologies which have formed in both the Hungarian and Romanian public opinion since the end of the 18th century regarding the language, language use and the possibilities of language preservation of the Moldavian Csángós. The second part of the study presents the ideological attitudes which have been formulated in Hungarian linguistics, that is not the ones created within a political but a scientific context regarding the same phenomenon. On presenting these ideological attitudes we also describe the folk perception of the scientific language ideologies in both parts of the paper.

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