

Sociolinguistics Soziolinguistik

An International Handbook of the Science
of Language and Society
Ein internationales Handbuch zur Wissenschaft
von Sprache und Gesellschaft

2nd completely revised and extended edition
2., vollständig neu bearbeitete und erweiterte
Auflage

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Volume 3 / 3. Teilband

Offprint / Sonderdruck

Walter de Gruyter · Berlin · New York

2006

176. Hungarian In- and Outside Hungary

Ungarisch – in und außerhalb Ungarns

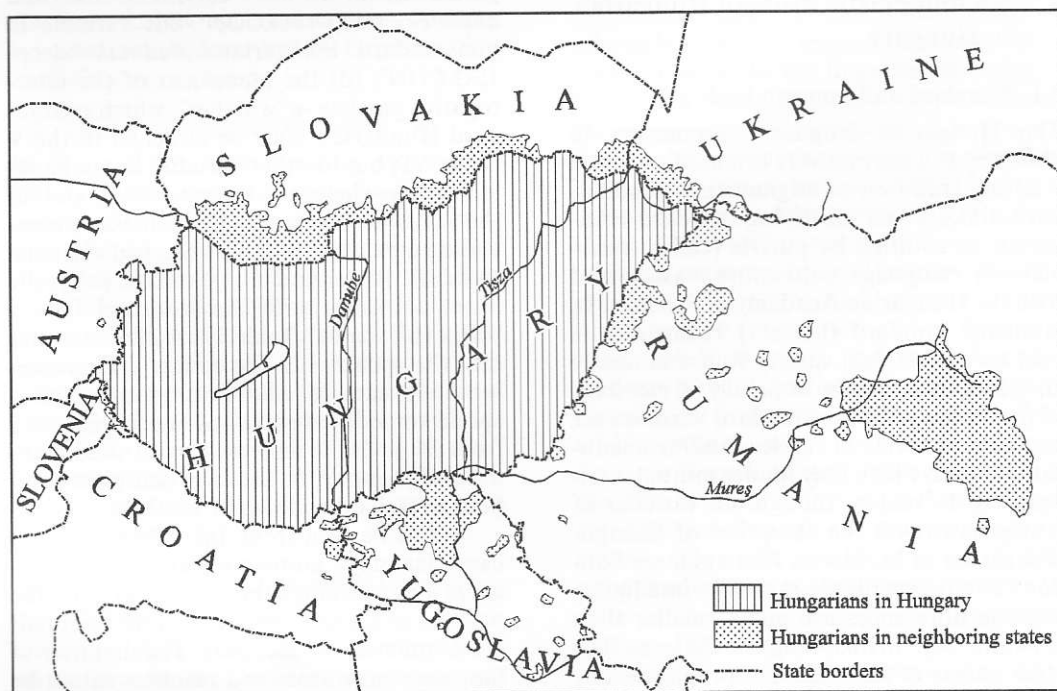
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1. Hungarians

At the turn of the 21st century at least one in four, possibly one in three native speakers of Hungarian live outside the Hungarian Republic. Genetically a Uralic language, Hungarian is unrelated to German, Rumanian, and the Slavic languages that it has been in contact with since the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin in 895. For a millennium prior to World War I, historical Hungary extended over the entire central Danubian Basin, with a largely multilingual and multiethnic population. Following the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Peace Treaty of Trianon in 1920, Hungary lost about two-thirds of her territory and population to Czechoslovakia, Ru-

mania, Yugoslavia and Austria, and millions of ethnic Hungarians became citizens of another country overnight. For the different things that the terms Hungary, Hungarians, and the Hungarian language have meant at different times, see Sherwood (1998). Ludanyi (2001, 1996) is a good general survey of Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries. According to the census of 1990, Hungarian is the mother tongue of all but 1.5% of Hungary's total population of 10375000. L1 speakers of Hungarian also include the indigenous Hungarian national minorities in Slovakia (c. 600000), Ukraine (c. 180000), Rumania (c. 2000000), Yugoslavia/Serbia (c. 300000), Croatia, Slovenia, and Burgenland, Austria (less than 10000 each), see Map 1. Hungarian is spoken by an estimated one million speakers in the diasporas in west Europe, the Americas, and other continents; e.g., according to the 1980 U.S. census, 178995 people used Hungarian in their home.

L2 speakers of Hungarian in Hungary account for 1.5% of the country's population.



Map 176.1: Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin

(Map copyright by László Sebők, Teleki László Alapítvány, Budapest)

Tab. 176.1: Speakers of standard Hungarian as shown by oral sentence completion tasks and judgment tasks of five variables by a countrywide representative survey, N = 832

	<i>t</i> -final verbs 1	<i>t</i> -final verbs 2	nVk	-e	bVn
Oral sentence completion	93.4%	80.7%	85.2%	no data	no data
Judgment	70%	43.4%	52%	62.3%	39.1%

According to the 1990 census, Gypsy was claimed as their mother tongue by 48072 people, German by 37511, Croatian by 17577, Slovak by 12745, Rumanian by 8730, Serbian by 2963, and Slovenian by 2627 people. A comparison with the 1970 census figures shows a 27.3% increase for speakers of Gypsy and a 5.2% increase for German, but a steady decrease for the other languages from Croatian (-19.6%) to Serbian (-63.1%). Detailed accounts of Hungary's minority languages are given in Kontra (1997a), Heskys (1997), Gal (1995), Nyomárkay/Schubert (1997), Schubert/Szabó (1997); Gyivicsán/Schubert (1997), Borbély (1997, 2001), Réger (1995), Szalai (1999), Muzsnai (1999) and Fenyvesi (1998). Hungarian-American English contact is described in, for instance, Bartha (1995/96), Fenyvesi (1995a) and Kontra (1990), and Hungarian-Australian English contact in Kovács (2001).

2. Sociolinguistic issues of Hungarian in Hungary

2.1. Standard and nonstandard

The Hungarian language community in Hungary is a normatively oriented one with a strong tradition of stigmatizing nonstandard dialects and glorifying standard Hungarian as codified by purists (called *nyelv-művelők* 'language cultivators') associated with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In Hungary standard (literary) Hungarian is held up as the ideal variety to use in nearly all speech situations by hopefully all members of the nation, and nonstandard varieties are regarded as forms of careless and/or uneducated speech which may hinder mutual intelligibility. In reality, though, all varieties of Hungarian (with the exception of Csángó-Hungarian in Moldavia, Rumania, see Sándor (2000)), are highly mutually intelligible and the differences are much smaller than between, say, British English dialects. The ideal norms of language use propagated by language cultivators and school teachers are at variance with the real use of Hungarian by large numbers of speakers, as shown by

findings in the Hungarian National Sociolinguistic Survey (HNSS), the first empirical study based on a random stratified sample of literate adult Hungarians in Hungary (N=832), which was conducted at the eleventh hour of socialism, in 1988 (Kontra 1995; 2003, ed.). Table 176.1 shows the social distribution of oral sentence completion data and grammaticality judgment data on five selected variables. The variables are: (a) *t*-final verbs 1, in which standard Hungarian maintains a difference between indicative forms of verbs ending in a vowel+*t* such as *arat-ja* 'harvest-3SG.IND.DEF' and the imperative *aras-sa* 'harvest-3SG.IMP.DEF' but nonstandard Hungarian uses the latter for both functions; (b) *t*-final verbs 2, in which the same happens to verbs ending in an obstruent+*t* such as *halaszt-ja* 'postpone-3SG.IND.DEF' and *halasz-sza* 'postpone-3SG.IMP.DEF'; (c) the conditional suffix (nVk), which is invariable in standard Hungarian as in *en-nék* 'eat-1SG.CON' and *alud-nék* 'sleep-1SG.CON' but variable in nonstandard Hungarian: *alud-nák* 'sleep-1SG.CON'; (d) the placement of the interrogative particle *-e* 'whether', which in standard Hungarian must be attached to the V in the VP, but in other varieties it can be attached elsewhere, see Kassai (1995); and (e) the variable (bVn), that is the inessive case-ending meaning 'in', which has two variants: standard [bVn] and nonstandard [bV], the latter coincides with the standard illative suffix (bV) 'into'. Table 176.1 demonstrates that the speakers in the countrywide representative sample whose judgments correspond to codified standard Hungarian vary from 39 to 70%, and those who used standard Hungarian in the oral sentence completion tasks vary from 81 to 93%.

As can be seen from Tab. 176.1, in some cases language cultivators and school teachers aim to change the speechways and the notions of correct speech of more than half the population of Hungary. The majority of language cultivators and teachers subscribe to an elimination of nonstandard dialects philosophy rather than viewing standard and nonstandard Hungarian in an additive

relationship. Tab. 176.1 also shows that different phonological realizations of the same functional shift are stigmatized to different degrees: the nonstandard use of standard imperative forms for indicative forms is much more stigmatized in case of vowel+*t* stems than obstruent+*t* stems. Nonstandard speakers form an implicational scale: those who use the imperative declaratives with vowel+*t* stems also use them with obstruent+*t* stems, but the converse does not necessarily hold (Váradi/Kontra 1995).

2.2. Stigmatization and hypercorrection

Pléh (1995) studied stigmatization and hypercorrection in the HNSS and found that both processes are rampant in Hungarian. For instance, the stigmatized [bV] variant of the inessive case-ending variable (bVn) 'in' was accepted in 57% of the cases, and the hypercorrect variant [bVn] of the illative case-ending variable (bV) 'into' was accepted in 50%. Pléh suggests that the high incidence of hypercorrection in Hungarian may result from the strong stigmatization processes, and "In language communities where most of the speakers are subject to public channels of stigmatization and where low-status speakers also have access to high-status forms (Pléh, 1995)" a situation different from Labov-hypercorrection or group hypercorrection described by Labov in New York City can develop.

2.3. The locus of standard Hungarian

In contrast to long-standing views held mainly by intellectuals that the Budapest variety of Hungarian is incorrect, corrupt or ugly, there is some attitudinal evidence to Budapest as being the locus of standard Hungarian. In the HNSS study most speakers believed the most beautiful Hungarian is spoken in Budapest: 11.6% of those giving a valid answer (N=682) to "Where is the most beautiful Hungarian spoken?" named the capital. In a matched guise study Sándor/Langman/Pléh (1998) found strong associations between standard Hungarian speech and Budapest.

2.4. The effect of the typewriter on vowel shortening

Until the 1980s Hungarian typewriters lacked the keys for the long high vowels *i*, *ú* and *ű*. Many linguists claimed that this deficiency of the keyboards had been accelerating the spread of short high vowels at the ex-

pense of the corresponding long vowels in Hungarian speech. Using data from the Budapest Sociolinguistic Interview project, Pintzuk et al (1995) carried out a VARBRUL analysis to test the effect of typewriters on Hungarian reading style and found that four factors significantly affected vowel shortening: round vowels were shortened more frequently than the unround *i*, university students disfavored shortening more than speakers of other SES, fast reading yielded more frequent short vowels than normal reading tempo, and vowels were more frequently read short when typed short than when they were typed long. Pintzuk et al. (1995) claim that variation in speech is a more complex phenomenon than was proposed by Labov's audio-monitoring theory, and that orthography may interact in subtle ways with contextual styles, speech tempo, SES, and phonological environment. Nevertheless there remain many unanswered questions about Hungarian vowel shortening, and until they are answered, "the Hungarian typewriter is much less the cause of high vowel shortening than it is a scapegoat."

2.5. Educational malpractice: Gypsies and the Deaf

According to Baugh (1999), educational malpractice refers to the miseducation of schoolchildren by trained teachers. In a similar fashion to the linguistic diversity of the United States, Hungary has (a) students for whom standard Hungarian is native, abbreviated SHN, (b) those for whom standard Hungarian is not native, SHNN, and (c) those for whom Hungarian is not native, HNN. The most conspicuous cases of educational malpractice in Hungary concern two groups of HNN students: the Gypsies whose mother tongue is Gypsy or Boyash (a dialect of Rumanian), and the Hungarian students who are medically deaf. While most Gypsies in Hungary are native speakers of Hungarian, more than 48000 claimed Gypsy or Boyash as their mother tongues in the 2001 census. Almost all of their children are educated through the medium of Hungarian only, and the state's denial of their right to education in their mother tongue results in their dramatic overrepresentation among the unemployed. Discrimination based on the language of instruction gives rise to lifelong unemployment for many of them. This is a case of the rightholders' misidentification on the basis of mother tongue

(Kontra et al. 1999). In the case of medically deaf Hungarian students, who will never learn to hear, current oralist teaching practice deprives them of their right to develop a linguistic competence by age three, and it deprives the Deaf or hearing children born to Deaf parents of their right to a mother tongue, that is Hungarian Sign Language. This is a case of the rightholders' misidentification due to a lack of sound medical diagnosis. What is deemed to be good for the majority of the minority (for the hard-of-hearing who may learn to hear) is presented as good for all of the minority by obfuscating the heterogeneity of the rightholders (Kontra et al. 1999).

3. Sociolinguistic issues of Hungarian in the neighboring countries

According to official censuses, 2773944 people declared Hungarian as their mother tongue in Hungary's seven neighboring countries in the early 1990s. More than half of the minority Hungarians live in settlements with a local Hungarian majority: 70 to 77% of the Hungarians in Slovakia, Subcarpathia (Ukraine), and Slovenia, and approximately 56% each in Vojvodina (Yugoslavia) and in Rumania form a local majority in the villages and towns where they live. In 1990–91 there were 1410 localities with a Hungarian majority population in the neighboring countries. Linguistic assimilation is shown, for instance, by the number of native Hungarian speakers in Croatian-majority territories being 12% lower than those of Hungarian ethnic affiliation (Kocsis/Kocsis-Hodosi 1998, 25). A representative survey of minority Hungarians showed in 1999 that the overwhelming majority of those in Slovakia, Rumania, and Subcarpathia (Ukraine) believe their Hungarian minority has prospects of long-term maintenance. One in four minority Hungarians would like to emigrate to Hungary or an EU country. Visa-free travel has become a thorny issue since Hungary became a member of the European Union in 2004. In 2001 the Hungarian parliament passed a controversial law which grants special status to the Hungarians of neighboring countries. According to a statement made by Hungary's Prime Minister, the government aims to grant minority Hungarians a status 'more than a tourist's, but less than a citizen's'. Throughout the 20th century, state borders

changed often and as a result many people have held five different citizenships without ever leaving their hometown. The language rights situation of Hungarian minorities has varied from country to country and from time to time since 1920. Ever since the end of World War I, most of Hungary's neighboring states have exercised linguistic policies towards their Hungarian minorities. In what is probably a unique case, some leading Slovak linguists played an active role in designing and implementing linguisticism (Skutnabb-Kangas/Phillipson 1996) in Slovakia in the 1990s (see Simon/Kontra 2000). Recently the worst violations of linguistic human rights have been experienced by the Csángó-Hungarians in Moldavia, Rumania (Sándor 1999), but serious language conflicts have also been occurring in Slovakia, Transylvania (Rumania), Yugoslavia, and Subcarpathia (see, e.g. Kontra 1995/96; 1996; Jordan 1998, 216; Orosz/Csernicskó 1999, 63–83). The indigenous Hungarians in Burgenland, Austria are in the final phase of peaceful language shift (Gal 1979).

3.1. Contact varieties of Hungarian

With one exception (Gal 1979), the contact varieties of Hungarian in the neighboring countries began to be seriously studied only after the fall of communism in 1989 (Kontra 1997b). In 1996 a seven-country empirical survey was conducted with a quota sample stratified for age, education and settlement type in Slovakia (N=108), Ukraine (N=144), Rumania (N=216), Yugoslavia (N=144), Slovenia (N=67) and Austria (N=60), with a control group in Hungary (N=107), see Kontra (1998; 2001), Csernicskó (1998), Göncz (1999), Csernicskó/Fenyvesi (2000), Lanstyák (2000) and Fenyvesi, ed. (2005). In a written questionnaire study of high schoolers in Slovakia and Hungary, Lanstyák/Szabómihály (1996) found that a greater percentage of bilingual students with Hungarian as the medium of instruction used the codified standard Hungarian form *alsz-om* 'sleep-1SG.IND' vs. *alsz-ok* 'same, less formal' than monolingual Hungarian students in Hungary. (These two verb-forms are an example of universal Hungarian variables, which vary across the entire Hungarian-speaking area and have no parallel constructions in the contact languages.) The authors offer a psychosocial explanation for such phenomena: the Hungarians in Slovakia demonstrate a strong sense of belonging

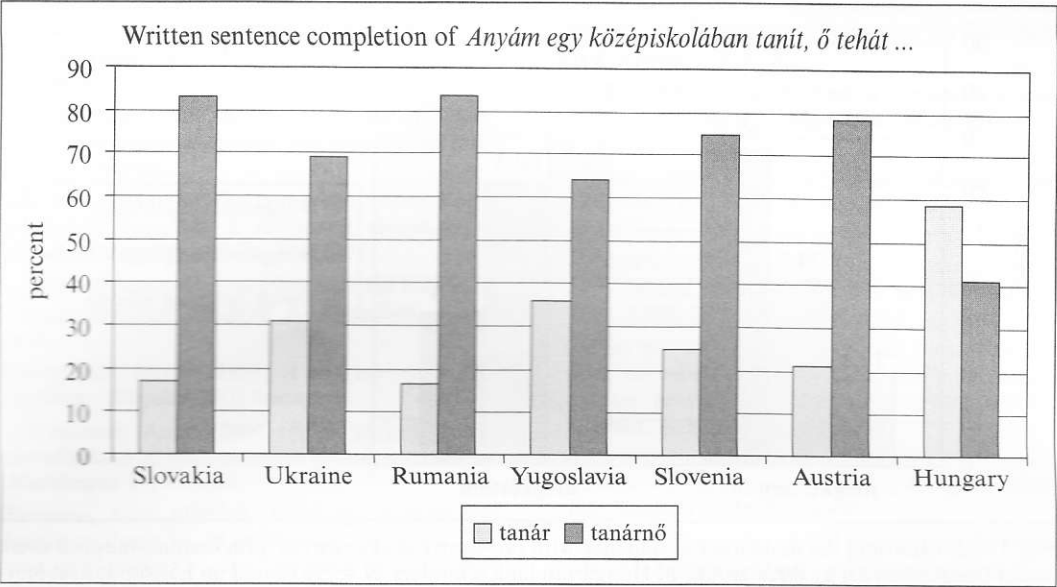


Fig. 176.1: The use of overt gender marking of profession nouns by Hungarians in seven countries. Written sentence completion. N=807. Chi-square (df = 6) = 73.118, p < .001

to the Hungarian (cultural) nation but their ‘Hungarianness’ is often called into question by both the Slovaks and the Hungarians in Hungary. In their attempt to compensate for linguistic differences, Hungarians in Slovakia may overfulfill the norm or outperform Hungarians in Hungary.

The seven-country study has revealed statistically significant differences in the use of universal contact variables, that is variables which vary both in Hungary and in the neighboring countries, and one of whose variants has an analogous variant in the contact languages. In metropolitan Hungarian, compound profession nouns with the component *-nő* ‘woman’ are only used when it is important to stress the referent’s gender. Such nouns were used by significantly more Hungarians in the neighboring countries than in Hungary. Fig. 176.1 shows the respondents in seven countries on the written sentence completion task *Anyám egy középiskolában tanít, ő tehát ...* (*tanár* ‘teacher’ or *tanárnő* ‘teacher+woman’) ‘My mother teaches in a high school so she is a ...’.

Many differences have been described between Hungarian in Hungary and the contact

varieties (see Csernicskó 1998; Göncz 1999; Lanstyák 2000). For instance, as part of the seven-country survey, Csernicskó/Fenyvesi (2000) found that in 13 of the 16 variables studied, the rate of standard answers on judgment and sentence completion tasks was higher in Hungary than in Subcarpathia (Ukraine). They have also found some social differences: when sex was significant, women were more standard than men, and speakers’ education and settlement type also showed important correlations with linguistic behavior. For instance, local-minority Hungarians (those constituting less than 30% of the population of a locality) always favored the contact-induced forms more than local-majority Hungarians (70+ % of the population of a locality). For example, as a result of the contact of Hungarian (a pro-drop language) with Slovak, Ukrainian and Russian, Rumanian, and Serbian (languages with overt objects), it can be expected that a construction with overt object will be more frequently used in contact varieties than in metropolitan (monolingual) Hungarian. When informants had to choose the more natural sentence of (i) and (ii):

(i) <i>Tegnap</i>	<i>lát-t-alak</i>	a	<i>tévé-ben</i>	
yesterday	see-PAST-1SG.2OBJ	the	TV-in	
(ii) <i>Tegnap</i>	<i>lát-t-alak</i>	<i>téged</i>	a	<i>tévé-ben</i>
yesterday	see-PAST-1SG.2OBJ	you.ACC	the	TV-in
'I saw you on TV yesterday.'				

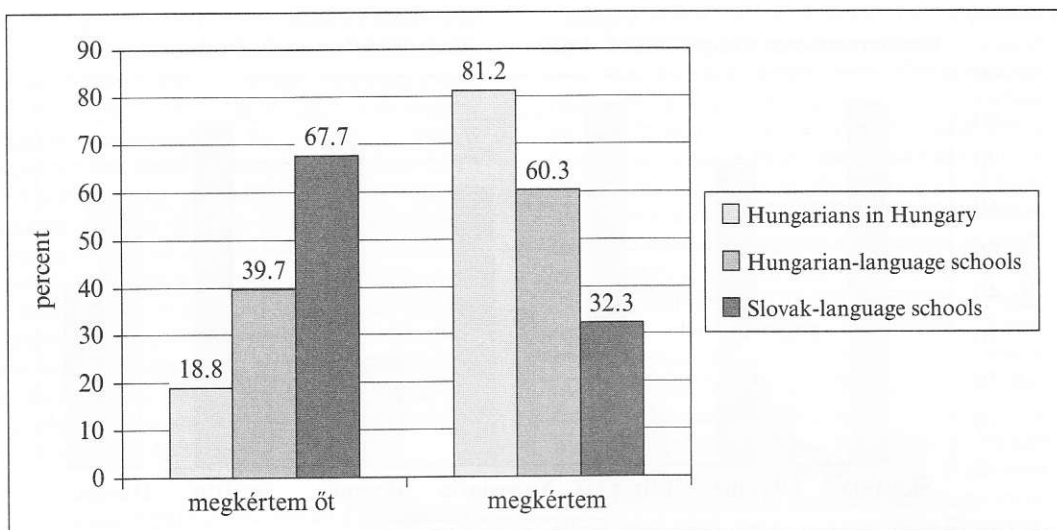


Fig. 176.2: Choosing the more natural sentence with pro-drop (*megkértem*) or with contact-induced overt object (*megkértem őt*) by three groups of Hungarian high schoolers, N = 798 (based on Lanstyák/Szabómi-hály 1997, 90–91)

37.7% of the local-minority subjects chose (ii) with the overt object as opposed to 27.7% of the local-majority subjects in Slovakia, Ukraine, Rumania and Yugoslavia, N = 536, a significant difference at the .05 level. This is empirical proof of ‘many more source-language speakers than borrowing-language speakers’ as a factor which increases the intensity of contact and hence borrowing hypothesized by Thomason/Kaufman (1988, 72), see Kontra (2001, 175–176).

3.2. Diglossia, pluricentricity, and education

Lanstyák/Szabómi-hály (1996) have claimed that there is an ongoing spontaneous standardization of Hungarian in Slovakia. Lanstyák (1994) has made an empirically and theoretically well-grounded proposal to view Hungarian in Slovakia and in Hungary as being in diglossia (see Fenyvesi 1995b), and Lanstyák (1995) has demonstrated that Hungarian is a pluricentric language, with its dominant center in Hungary, and at least four other important centers in Slovakia, Ukraine, Rumania and Serbia. For the Hungarian national minorities the most important educational issue concerns the language of instruction. Lanstyák/Szabómi-hály (1996, 128) claim that “schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction counteract divergences typical of bilingual speech communities”. The important role of the language of instruction has been amply demonstrated

by Lanstyák/Szabómi-hály (1997). Figure 176.2, based on data in Lanstyák/Szabómi-hály (1997, 90–91), demonstrates significant differences between high schoolers in Hungary, high schoolers in Slovakia who go to Hungarian-language schools, and those who go to Slovak-language schools (N = 798). Informants had to choose the more natural of the two sentences *Találkoztam Hedviggel, s (i) megkértem őt* or (ii) *megkértem őt, hogy vegyen nekem egy kiflit* ‘I met Hedwig and asked her to buy me a croissant’. Nearly twice as many informants who go to Slovak-language schools chose the contact-induced form with the overt object *őt* ‘her’ as informants who go to Hungarian-language schools.

The right of minority Hungarians to learn the state language and preferably from bilingual teachers has been undermined by the reality of (a) attempts in Slovakia to employ monolingual Slovak teachers to teach Hungarian school children, (b) a total lack of Ukrainian-Hungarian school books and dictionaries and a dearth of teachers qualified to teach Ukrainian to Hungarians, and (c) the materials and methods used to teach them Rumanian as if it were their mother tongue (see Szilágyi 1999).

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177. Rumänien und Moldau/Romania and Moldavia

1. Einleitung
2. Geschichtlicher Hintergrund
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1. Einleitung

Für die Behandlung Rumäniens (*Republica România*) und der Moldau (*Republica Moldova*) in einem Artikel sprechen gewichtige Gründe. Zum einen haben beide Staaten trotz der unterschiedlichen offiziellen Bezeichnun-

gen ‚Rumänisch‘ (*limba română*) bzw. ‚Moldauisch‘ (*limba moldovenească*) eine identische Staatssprache, nämlich Dakorumänisch. Sie gehört zusammen mit Arumunisch, Meglenorumänisch und Istrorumänisch zum ost-romanischen Sprachzweig. Ferner bestehen zwischen den beiden heute selbständigen Staaten enge geschichtliche Verflechtungen, die sich über mehrere Jh. herausgebildet haben. Soziolinguistische Untersuchungen müssen zum besseren Verständnis der gegenwärtigen, sehr komplizierten Beziehungen innerhalb und zwischen beiden Staaten die historischen Wurzeln der Probleme berücksichtigen.