Changes in Bilingual Language Choice Influenced by Real and Apparent Time: Panel Study in the Process of Language Shift in a Romanian Minority Community Living in Hungary

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Motto: "One language is my mother tongue, the other is the one I use."
(Romanian young lady, born in 1982, in Kétegyháza [Chitighaz], Hungary.)

1. Introduction

"A language shift may be defined as the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another" (Weinreich, 1953: 68). The course and speed of the process of language shift in a bilingual community is greatly influenced by several factors (e.g. social, historical, demographic, linguistic, etc.). Studying the factors influencing the language shift in an indigenous Romanian minority community living in Hungary, we find an extremely complex picture when we examine the factors predicting likely patterns of language maintenance or language shift in a specific community for a specific time period (Borbély, 2002). Since it is impossible to enumerate the exact list of these types of factors, it is an unrealistic goal to fully describe the interplay of the factors applicable for the entire Romanian community. This is even more so since the community is not homogeneous. For instance, every settlement of the Romanian community has different within-group characteristics (e.g. number and proportion of Romanians). At the same time, the examination of these types of factors within one single settlement can be more precise than across the community at large. Such factors as social, economic, political changes of the 20th century affect language maintenance and shift in the entire community probably in the same way. However, a factor like the proportion of Romanians compared to Hungarians in a settlement influences each settlement in a different way. In spite of these obstacles, studying these factors in a given community, we can come closer to estimating the likelihood of continuation, decline or revitalization of the language in any community. The process of language shift in the history of the community has a 'starting point' and an 'endpoint'. Most community studies of the path between these two 'points' have been based on linguistic data collected at one time in a specific (indigenous or emigrant) minority community. These studies always focused on synchronic variation in language choice (e.g. Rubin, 1968; Fishman, Cooper and Ma, 1971; Gal, 1979; Kontra, 1990; Bartha, 1993; Li Wei, 1994; Sándor, 1996; Sándor, 2000). Besides other features (style variation, changes in language attitudes, ability of the minority language, identity, loyalty, etc.), changes in the language choice patterns can clearly illustrate the stages/levels in the process of language shift. As Susan Gal pointed out in her book describing the process of language shift in an indigenous Hungarian community of Felsőőr (Oberwart, Austria), "[T]he present differences in language choice between speakers of different ages are a reflection of change over time – of language shift in progress" (Gal, 1979: 153). Li Wei in his book summarizing the language choice and language shift studied in the Tyneside Chinese community states that "[A] number of extra-linguistic factors have been examined and it has been found that age is the most significant factor associated with this change in language choice and language ability"(...). Following this concluding remark, Li Wei did not forget to emphasize that "[H]owever, age alone tells us little about the social mechanisms underlying the language shift process; indeed, it may misleadingly imply that variations in language choice and language ability reflect life-cycle changes rather than changes over time." (Li Wei, 1994: 114-115).

When want to present the process of language shift in a community, the age differences of the speakers represent visibly the course of the language shift in progress. Most of the speakers are characterized by the habit of using more and more Hungarian as they get older. In our view, age "represents simultaneously a place in history and a life stage. Age stratification of linguistic variables, then, can reflect change in the speech of the community as it moves through time (*historical change*), and change in the speech of the individual as he or she moves through life (*age grading*)" (Eckert, 1997: 151).

In this study[1] of the process of Romanian–Hungarian language shift in the indigenous community of Romanians living in Hungary, we will describe differences and changes in language choice by a ten-year (real) time effect associated with speakers of different ages (apparent time) to show whether current age differences represent a *linear continuation* of the ongoing Romanian–Hungarian process of language shift or not. The changes of the Romanian language choice realized in the community studied will be described and explained in the context of the social and political changes of the community and Hungarian society.

2. The community

Hungary has been marked by cultural diversity for centuries. There are very few Hungarian families in the country whose ancestry does not include people from different national or ethnic communities. One of the subjects (born in 1960), speaking about her family, illustrates this situation well: "my mother-in-law is Romanian, my father-in-law is German, and my husband is Hungarian." From the very beginning of its history, Hungary has been a multiethnic state. Several communities have been living in the territory of Hungary since the foundation of the state one thousand years ago. The modern ethnic and linguistic composition of the country was basically established following the decimation of the population during the Ottoman occupation, via spontaneous migration or organized resettlement of people in the 17–18th centuries. Towards the end of the 19th century, non-Hungarian nationalities living within the borders of the country constituted more than 50 percent of the total population. In 1920, when the Dual Monarchy collapsed after World War I, a linguistically rather homogeneous state came into being as a result of the Peace Treaty of Trianon (4 June 1920). Some 33 percent of Hungarians (3.3 million people) living in the Carpathian Basin found themselves outside the borders of the country (in Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, the USSR and Austria [see Gal's study about Hungarians living in Felsőőr, 1979]), while Hungary's national minority population declined from 45 percent in 1910 to 7.9 percent in 1930. Today, the minorities make up some 10 percent of the population. Estimates from researchers and minority organizations indicate that the true number of the national or ethnic minorities in Hungary is larger: individual groups are reckone to comprise from a few thousand persons up to nearly half a million. The difference between the estimated and declared figures can be explained on the one hand by historical, social and psychological reasons related to minority questions in Central-Eastern Europe. On the other hand, the figures reflect the minorities' emotional and cultural duality dilemma: many consider themselves to be equally Hungarian and minority, but the option to reflect this opinion was not available in the 1990 census. However, in the 2001 census Hungarian citizens had the opportunity to identify themselves as belonging to or having more than one (1) nationalities, (2) cultural values of nationalities, (3) mother tongues, (4) languages usually used in family and with friends.

After about two years of preparation and debates, the draft of the "Act on the Rights of the National and Ethnic Minorities" was submitted to the Hungarian Parliament in the Fall of 1992. (The Hungarian terminological distinction between "national minority" and "ethnic minority" depends primarily on whether a minority has a "mother-country" or not. Roma do not, thus they are called an ethnic minority.) The Act (1993. évi LXXVII. törvény) was passed in July 1993 and came into force three months later. The Act applies to minorities who have been living in Hungary for at least a century. If at least 1,000 persons declare themselves to belong to a minority not listed in the Act, they may initiate legal procedures in order to become a recognized minority. This Act defines the Bulgarian, Roma, Greek, Croatian, Polish, German, Armenian, Romanian, Ruthenian, Serb, Slovak, Slovene and Ukrainian groups as national or ethnic minorities native to Hungary.

The Act seems to be a little late in Hungary. In most minority groups language shift from the minority language to Hungarian is advanced, or has been completed. As a matter of fact, older people mostly preserved their own minority language, whereas kids are mainly Hungarian monolinguals. In 1989–90 ninety-two percent of the 43,300 pupils studying in a minority school were not taught any school subject in their mother tongue except the minority language and literature (in four to six classes a week).

Romanians in Hungary,[2] as one of the national minorities enumerated in the Act, live mainly in nearly twenty settlements near the Hungarian–Romanian border in the three southeastern counties of Hungary: Békés, Hajdú-Bihar, and Csongrád. Romanians in Hungary constitute a numerical majority relative to the inhabitants of other ethnic groups in only two settlements Méhkerék (Micherechi)[3] (estimated 90%) and Kétegyháza (Chitighaz) (estimated 65%). The cultural center of Romanians in Hungary is in the town of Gyula (Giula).

The ancestors of Romanians in Hungary moving from one part of the country to another came from the area (in present-day Romania) bounded by the Crişul-Repede, Crişul-Negru, and Mureş rivers in several waves. Most of them settled between 1700 and 1750, after the Ottoman invaders were expelled from Hungary. The settlers came to the new homeland in the hope of a better life. The settlements were established with ethnic minorities living separately. This helped the new communities become accustomed to the new conditions (Márkus, 1936: 82) and as a result they preserved their old habits, life style, religion, and ethnic identity for centuries.

Prior to World War II most Romanians in Hungary were involved in agriculture. Following the communist takeover, collectivization eliminated small village farms, causing the breakup of closely-knit village communities all over the country. Until 1989 (the year of the collapse of communism in Hungary), most Romanians in Hungary worked on collective farms or as skilled labourers. Some of them were clerks or professionals. Today's social, political surroundings can be characterized as an insecure and transitory state after the collapse of communism, and before European Union membership (May 1 2004).

From the time of their settlement, Romanians in Hungary worshipped in a separate Romanian Orthodox Church. In these churches religious services have been held in Romanian. Today, in three villages there is also a Baptist Romanian community, with Hungarian dominant bilingual religious services in Kétegyháza (Chitighaz) and Magyarcsanád (Cenadul Unguresc), and Romanian in Méhkerék (Micherechi). In Hajdú-Bihar county most Romanians practice Greek Catholicism. Until the beginning of the 20th century, Greek Catholic religious services were held in Romanian, but today they are exclusively in Hungarian.

Currently there are twelve kindergartens where Romanian courses are offered 2–4 hours a week. The Romanians in Hungary have six minority elementary schools with some courses in Romanian. In particular, Romanian language and literature are taught in Romanian, while the other subjects are taught predominantly in Hungarian. There are also six Hungarian elementary schools where Romanian language and literature are taught. The Romanians in Hungary also have a secondary school in Gyula (Giula), the only secondary school where Romanian is taught in Hungary. At the highest level of education, there are three colleges and one university where Romanian is taught as a major.

The Association of Romanians in Hungary (till 1995, the year of the establishment of the first minority self-governments) was the highest organ of representation of Hungarian Romanian interests. It was founded in 1948 along with the first postwar Hungarian Romanian weekly paper in Hungary. Tankönyvkiadó [The Schoolbook Publisher] supports publications of Hungarian minorities, including Romanians in Hungary. Since 1976, approximately 40 books have been published in Romanian. The Hungarian Radio has been broadcasting minority programs since 1980. Currently it offers a 30-minute Romanian program every day. Hungarian Television has been offering ethnic broadcasts since 1982. Today it has a weekly 25-minute program in Romanian.

Since the 1980s, local cultural associations have been established in eleven settlements. Their task is to reinforce Romanian ethnic identity and cultivate Romanian language and culture. In 1991, a research group was also formed, with the aim of carrying out systematic research on the Romanian community in Hungary. After two years (in 1993) the Research Institute of Romanians living in Hungary was established.

During the local elections in the autumn of 1990, one Mayor was elected from among the Romanians in Hungary. In the local self-government bodies in villages, 25 members of the Romanians minority were elected. There are no Romanians among the Members of the Hungarian Parliament. The Office of National and Ethnic Minorities, created by the Hungarian Government in 1990, also has a Romanian representative. In March 1995 in Gyula (Giula) the Romanian minority self-government for the whole country, the highest organ of representation of Romanians interests was formed for the first time (and also after the 1999 and the 2003 elections).

The 2001 census in Hungary counted 7995 Romanians who declared themselves to be of Romanian nationality, and 8482 who declared Romanian to be their mother tongue. The Association of Romanians in Hungary estimates about 20,000 to 25,000 Romanians living in Hungary.

The majority of Romanians in Hungary are Romanian–Hungarian bilingual. They speak their mother tongue, a local variant of Romanian (which has preserved age-old features of the Crisean region subdialect) and Hungarian (also a local variant). Very few Romanians in Hungary, mainly intellectuals, speak a variety of Romanian close to Standard Romanian, in addition to their local Romanian dialect. Standard Hungarian Romanian can be differentiated from Standard Romanian on the basis of certain grammatical forms (in particular, grammatical agreement and conjugation), a smaller vocabulary, a slower rate of speech, and in some cases stress and intonation. Standard Hungarian Romanian is a learned variety developed by systematic replacement of dialectal elements of an archaic local variety (the mother tongue) with the corresponding elements of Standard Romanian. That is why Standard Romanian cannot be the standard language for Romanians in Hungary. For them, the high-prestige language is Hungarian. The Hungarian Romanian dialect is used in in-group conversations within the family, between friends or neighbor, at meetings with Romanian relatives. Except for conversations before and after Orthodox religious services, however, the dominant language (spoken by more than 50 percent of the interlocutors) is Hungarian. At other local places (e.g. shops, doctor's waiting-rooms, the mayor's office, local workplace), and outside the local settlements, only Hungarian is used. Standard Hungarian Romanian is used in the institutions of the Romanians in Hungary (school classes, mass media, and Orthodox Church services).

A small part of the community, mainly the younger generation, can be considered Hungarian monolingual. After World War II, the process of language shift got new impulses due to the radical postwar social changes. These changes have caused the isolation of the Romanians in Hungary to dissolve. Since the 50s, Romanians in Hungary have established stronger contacts with the Hungarian majority (through Hungarian workplaces, mixed marriages, etc.), and have modified their attitudes and feelings towards their own Romanian minority culture and language.

3. Methods, subjects, goals

For the presentation of the language shift of the community of Romanians in Hungary I have adopted methods described in (inter)national publications (e.g. Fishman, 1965; Gal, 1979; Labov, 1988; Kontra, 1990; Eckert, 1997). The primary aim of this investigation was to assess the language use of Romanians in Hungary, the degree and nature of Romanian–Hungarian language switching, and linguistic change and interference in Romanian in Hungary. For the description of the sociolinguistic situation characteristic of the community in question I chose a single settlement, Kétegyháza (Chitighaz)[4], a village situated in Hungary near the Hungarian–Romanian border, were the collection of the data was performed using several methods. The following devices were used: participant observation, a sociolinguistic interview and within it a guided conversation, questionnaires on language use and language attitudes, a self-report test on language proficiency, and a word-test. The interview was administered orally, in the local variety of Romanian, by the author, herself a Romanian living in Hungary, known to the interviewees. It is important to note that the subjects participating in the study did not represent the whole Romanian population living in Kétegyháza (Chitighaz) but only a subpopulation of it, those who were willing to be involved in an investigation carried out in Romanian (despite potential difficulties in speaking the language). The subjects were selected with considerations of age (18–39, 40–58, 59–69, 70–85), gender (half of the subjects were male in each group), and education level (4–7, 8–11, 12–14 grades completed). The data were collected both times, in

1990 (Time 1), and in 2000 (Time 2) in identical settings and circumstances (same subjects, questionnaires, participant observation, field worker, etc.). This kind of re-study of the same community is called panel study by Eckert. "A panel study is the only kind that can unequivocally show change in the individual lifetime, as it sees the same people at different life stages." (Eckert, 1997: 153) The total number of the subjects of both times was 202, among them 114 adults, and 88 children. The latter were pupils of the local minority elementary school in 1990 (50 pupils, 10–14 years) and in 2000 (38 pupils, 10–14 years).

An important methodological problem raised by panel studies is that after ten years many subjects who participated in Time 1 data collection are not available at Time 2 data collection. For example, in our 2000 investigation in the age group of 28–49 year-old subjects 16 out of 20, in the age group of 50–68 year-old subjects 19 out of 20, in the age group of 69–79 year-old subjects 6 out of 20 were able to take part in the repeated investigation, and in the age group of 70–85 year-old subjects only 1 out of 20. To compensate for these losses, we substituted each subject not available at Time 2 investigation with a new subject having the same age, sex and education level. This imputation of data could be done, however, for younger people (having an age less than 39 in 1990), for whom the loss of subjects was not substantial. Thus statistical evaluations were restricted to 40 people, summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Subjects' subgroups				
	Level of education (grades completed)			
Age groups in 1990	8–11		12–15	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
18–39 years	10	10	10	10
40–58 years	10	10	10	10

In the present paper we will only analyze the responses to some direct questions (see Appendix) from the language usage interview (see Fishman, 1965; Gal, 1979; Kontra, 1990). The responses refer to the use of one or more languages in some situations: church (praying, and congregation fellows); home (mate, and children); public health (patients at doctor's waiting room); mayor's (mayor's office, and officer); market (market sellers); shopping (shop-sellers); work (workplace, and colleagues). These situations were the most important ones for the language use for the members of the community studied, and these have the same attributes for the informants of the subgroups. We skipped, for example, language use in school, because not all informants had the opportunity to attend the Romanian minority school (between wars, as it was established after World War II, in 1949)[5]. Also, language use with friends was eliminated, because this notion was not understandable for the old people; they said they have basically relatives, neighbor, but not friends.

Responses to the open questions of the interview could be grouped into tree types: (i) I use Romanian, (ii) I use Hungarian, or (iii) I use both languages (Romanian and Hungarian). The aim of the present study is to describe the influence of real time (ten years) and the apparent time (age of the subjects) to the Romanian–Hungarian language shift reflected in the change of Romanian language choice pattern of Romanians in Hungary.

4. Results

Bilingual speakers, just like monolinguals, choose among diverse varieties of a language. When they speak to other bilinguals, they have access to two languages. While monolinguals can only switch from one variety to another within one language (e.g., colloquial to formal), bilinguals may choose among varieties within one language, switch between different languages, or do both (Grosjean, 1982: 128). Within settlements of Romanians in Hungary, several local Romanian varieties have traditionally been spoken. These show variability along a dimension having, on one pole, the Standard Romanian of Hungary and, on the opposite pole, an archaic local Romanian variety. This dimension can be interpreted as the dimension of formality but it is also related to the age and the education level of the

speakers. Focusing on the extent of divergence from Standard Romanian in Hungary, three main variety types can be differentiated.

When studying the language choice in a bilingual community we will examine who speaks what language to whom and when (see Fishman, 1965). We should differentiate the case when a bilingual speaks to a monolingual from the case where he/she speaks to another bilingual. In the former case, the bilingual will quite naturally choose the language of his/her partner, and the interaction will be like that of two monolinguals. The language choice of two bilinguals is more complex. Before studying the choice of Romanian within the community studied, we will briefly outline the main situations where they use Hungarian. Outside the community (e.g., in another village or town) Hungarian is widely used. The members of the community will initiate to speak Hungarian when they get on the train or bus traveling to other places. A mother (born in 1952) said in 1990 that she always warned her 15-year-old daughter at home before leaving not to choose Romanian in the train or in the town. In 2000 the use of Hungarian outside the community is a firm rule for both of them. Those people (only a small part of the community) who do not follow this rule have a very strong Romanian identity and/or never got negative remarks[6] from Hungarians using their Romanian mother-tongue. These are mainly old, or educated young, people. Inside the community the presence of Hungarian monolinguals causes Hungarian to be chosen for most members of the community. This is a sign of politeness as in other bilingual communities (e.g. Gal, 1979). Other factors influencing Hungarian language choice are: the content and the function of the interaction. Some topics are better handled in Hungarian, because bilinguals have learned to deal with these topics in one language only. The other language may even lack appropriate terms for these topics. In this group we find topics related to work, technical or other sciences, health, politics, and sports, whereas family, religion, and agriculture are topics related to Romanian. In some cases language choice has a special interactional function. Choosing Romanian may be a way of excluding a monolingual from the interaction, or may serve to show solidarity to one's own Romanian group.

Based on Time 1 data we found that the language choice of bilingual Romanians in the community studied was influenced mainly by the following factors: participants of the interaction, language proficiency, language preference, age, sex, SES, occupation, language attitudes, intimacy, speech situation (formality of situation), nationality of spouse, domains, location (inside the village or outside the community), presence of Hungarian monolinguals, content of interactions (topics, lack of specialized terms), function of interaction: to show solidarity, to exclude a monolingual from interaction (see Borbély, 2001).

In the community of Romanians in Hungary, the members can choose Romanian in daily interactions depending mainly on their and their partner(s) decision and habits fitting to each speech situation. Looking at the data from Time 1 and Time 2 we can conclude that speakers' strategies in connection with the choice of Romanian can be divided into two types (denoted by A and B), based on the subjects' descriptions. Besides them, there are also speakers who are members of the same community but never use Romanian (because they never learned it, or they had simply got out of practice).

Type A: The choice of Romanian is the speaker's decision, and (s)he always uses Romanian with Romanian people even in those situations where the Romanian partners chose Hungarian. These subjects have a very strong Romanian identity, for them it is unusual and unacceptable to use Hungarian with a Romanian. Often when they are using Romanian, their partner's reaction is "I don't understand!" Most of them do not hesitate to make remarks to the other (e.g. younger) for using Hungarian: "your grandmother, and also your mother is Romanian, why do you use Hungarian!?" (female, born in 1949).

Type B: The choice of Romanian depends on the partner's decision. This kind of speakers accommodate to their partner's language choice. If the partner uses Romanian, type B speakers will also use Romanian. These speakers never choose Romanian on their own, but if their partners do so, they will also use Romanian. Many of them can tell us their partners by name with whom they always use Romanian. These partners are older and/or people with strong Romanian identity or are old fashioned, and of course they belong to the Type A speakers.

The choice of Romanian in a specific situation depends on the proportion of type A speakers and type B speakers. Romanian domains in this bilingual community are the ones in which mostly type A speakers are present. Relating these two speaker-types to the Romanian–Hungarian language shift, we

see that the number of type A speakers is decreasing, and the progress of language shift is increasing in the community. The purpose of the present study is not to find the factors which work for decreasing the number of type A speakers in the community (which can also be an important research topic), but simply to show the changes in the pattern of Romanian language use in this process of language shift.

4.1 Real time changes – age groups – choice of Romanian

The use of Romanian at Time 1 is related to the situations within the village studied, such as: *religion, family, employment, public service, shopping,* and *public health*.

The religion (situations: praying and church/ congregation fellows) is the only linguistic domain where the use of Romanian is predominant. In all other domains studied, the use of Hungarian is more common. The greatest Hungarian dominance occurs in the linguistic domain of shopping (situations: shop/ shop-sellers, market/ market sellers). The statistical results show that among young Romanians in Kétegyháza (Chitighaz) the use of Hungarian is significantly more frequent than among older people, this difference being more striking among females. In speech acts at church and at home, the use of Romanian is most characteristic of old women. Among middle-aged women the less frequent use of Hungarian in the workplace reflects the differences in language use between within-village and out-of-village (town) workplaces. Patterns of language choice have been changing in Kétegyháza (Chitighaz) so that Romanian is used less and less and Hungarian more and more dominantly. This reflects an advanced level of language shift within the community (see Borbély, 2001).

After ten years within the village studied, the use of Romanian is still strongly related to domains. In 2000 religion (praying and church/ congregation fellows) is the only domain where the use of Romanian is dominant over Hungarian (see Figures 1 and 2) or the use of both languages. The reason for this can be as follows. In Hungary the government exerted a pressure on the church and religious people until 1990. In the period of 2000 in this country (as in other post-communist Eastern countries) there is a religious revival, and this social and political change in the decade studied has resulted in the maintenance of Romanian in the church domain. The other reason is that in this domain mainly type A speakers are present, and in this kind of situation their presence can also influence the choice of Romanian (as it is familiar from accommodation theory).

In all other domains the use of Hungarian is more common. The greatest Hungarian dominance occurs in the linguistic situations of shopping, home (children), and mayor's office (see Figures 1 and 2).

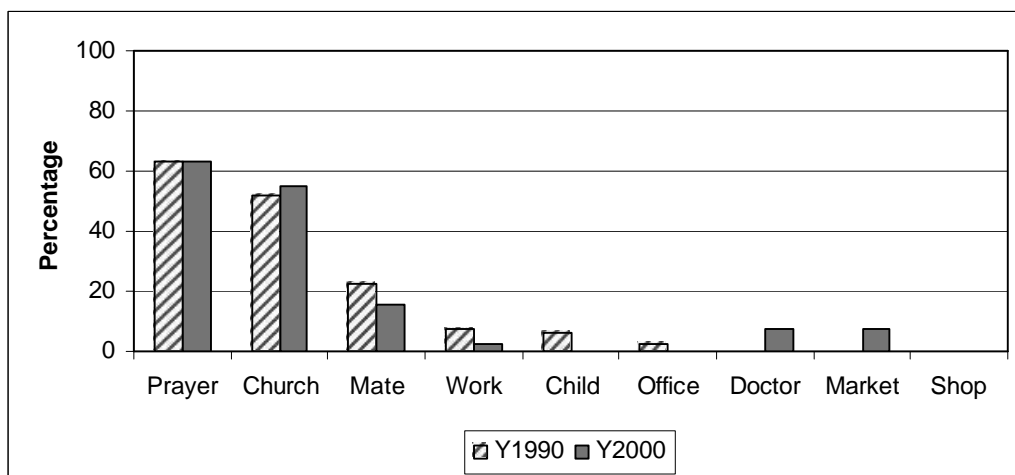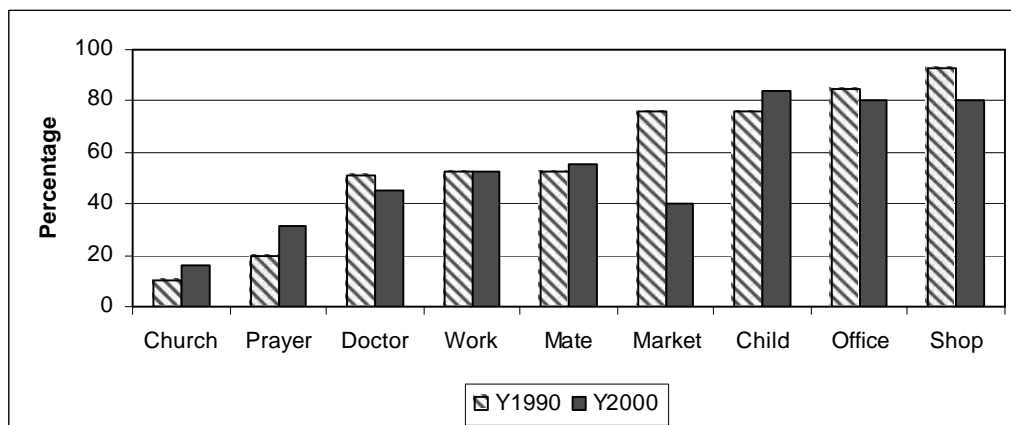**Figure 1**
The choice of Romanian (n = 40)

Figure 2
The choice of Hungarian (n = 40)

4.2 Real time (10 years) – domains – choice of Romanian

Analyzing Romanian responses from the language use questionnaire (conducted orally in Romanian) with respect to the domains: after ten years (Time 1, Time 2) the domains can be grouped into the following three types based on the choice of Romanian: (i) reversing language shift domain (situation) type, (ii) no change domain (situation) type, (iii) language shift domain (situation) type.

In the *reversing language shift domain type* there are domains in which the choice of Romanian increases from Time 1 to Time 2. These are *religion* (church/ congregation fellows), *public health* (doctor's waiting room), and *market* (market / market sellers). In 1990, 51.7% of the questioned speakers reported that they chose Romanian before and after religious services with their congregation fellows, whereas in 2000 this number was 55.3%. More striking is the difference in the public health domain where in 1990 no speakers reported to choose only Romanian to speak with patients, whereas in 2000 this figure increases to 7.5%. Exactly the same increase can be experienced in the market domain: in 1990 none of the speakers reported to use only Romanian at the market, compared to 7.5% in 2000. Studying why just these domains can be enumerated in the reversing language shift domain type (religion, public health, market), we find that they are due to either social/political changes in the country or to local social community changes. Church is the domain in which the increase of Romanian language use is caused by social/political changes, such as the revival of religious life all over the country. Today in Hungary religious life is not so persecuted as it was in the past. In spite of this change, only a small part of the community studied take part regularly in the religious services at present. This brings us to an important view about the future of the community. Asking people whether, they are worried about that Romanians in Hungary will disappear in the village and in the country because of losing their Romanian identity and language, it is very important that most of them told us they were not worried at all. Some of them added they were worried rather about the future of the Romanian Orthodox Church, because if they die nobody will attend the services regularly, and their church will be empty (e.g. female, born in 1930). The increase of choice of Romanian in such domains as public health and market is influenced by local social changes. In the case of public health, a new young Romanian doctor is in the village, who is a member of the community and speaks local Romanian well. Presumably this new circumstance helps the use of Romanian in the public health domain. In the market, probably the regular presence of Romanian sellers from Romania influenced the use of Romanian.

Domains included in the *no change domain type* can be characterized by no change from Time 1 to Time 2 in the choice of Romanian. *Praying* is the situation of no change domain. In 1990, 63.3% of the subjects told us that they prayed in Romanian, and the same percentage of subjects declared that after ten years. Praying is the situation in which Romanian has the highest dominance among all situations.

Communications in *mayor's office* and in *shop* situations can also be included in this type. At Time 1 and Time 2, no one responded to choose only Romanian in the mayor's office speaking with an officer, or in a shop speaking with a shop-seller.

In the *language shift domain type* we find domains in which the choice of Romanian decreased from Time 1 to Time 2. Two important domains belong to this type: *home*, and *work*. At home, the amount of Romanian speech with mate and children decreases in those ten years. In 1990, 11.8% of the subjects told us that they used only Romanian with their mate, and in 2000 only 10.5%. The change for the parent–children situation at home is more striking (7.1% decreases to 0.0%). These results show that in 2000 in this community among the 28 to 68-years-old subjects investigated nobody spoke only Romanian to their children at home. In the work domain we examined only the choice of Romanian at workplace with colleagues. In 1990, 10% of the subjects reported to use only Romanian at work, but after ten years nobody said he/she chose only Romanian. Domains enumerated in the language shift domain types (home, work) have the main influence on the life of the community members, inasmuch as they spend the most time of their life at home and at the workplace.

4.3 Real and apparent time changes – domains – choice of Romanian

The two age groups studied differ in the change of their choice of Romanian with respect to the domains in question between Time 1 and Time 2 (see Figures 3 and 4). During the ten years, subjects belonging to the *middle-aged group* (40–58 at Time 1) do not change their custom of choosing Romanian in four situations (church, home, work, shopping). They have not been influenced by general social and political changes in this issue as much as younger people (see for example the influence of religious revival with respect to the religion domain), but they have been influenced by local community social changes (new Romanian doctor, Romanian sellers from Romania).

Figure 3
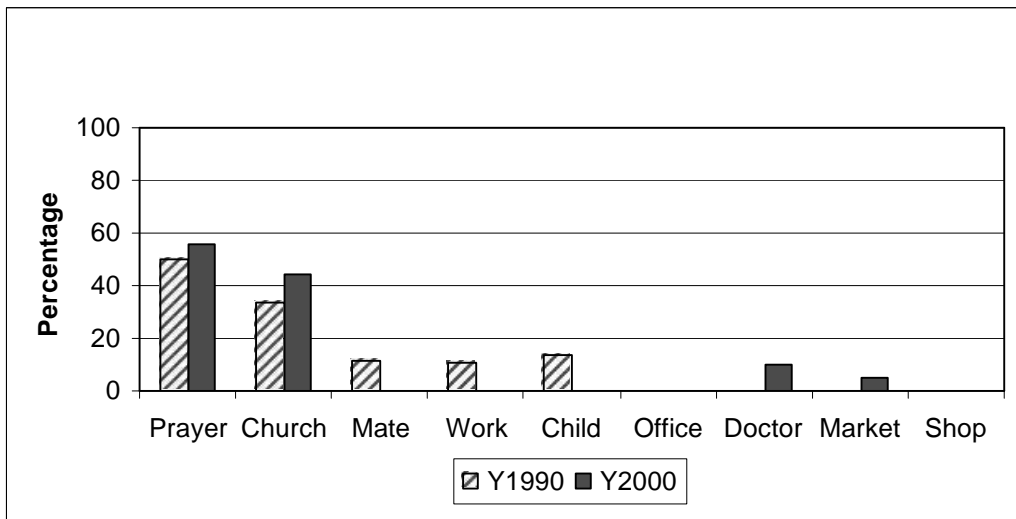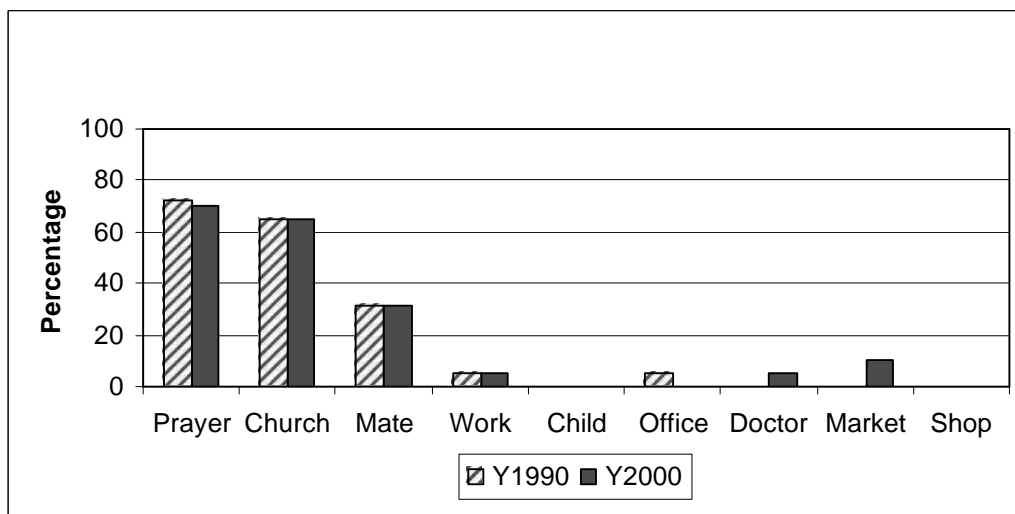**The choice of Romanian (18–39-year-old subjects, n = 20)**

Figure 4
The choice of Romanian (40–58-year-old subjects, n = 20)

In the following we will present the differences between the two age groups regarding how situations of domains types changed in real time from 1990 to 2000.

Younger group (18–39 years, Time 1 to Time 2)
1. <u>Reversing Language Shift domain type</u> – the choice of Romanian increases
         Church (church/ congregation fellows)
         Praying
         Public health (doctor's waiting room/ patients)
         Market (market/ market sellers)
2. <u>No change domain type</u> – the choice of Romanian does not change
         –
3. <u>Language Shift domain type</u> – the choice of Romanian decreases
         Family (home/ mate, home/ children)
         Employment (workplace/ colleagues)
         Shopping (shop/ shop-sellers)
         Mayor's (mayor's office/ officer)

Middle-aged group (40–58 years, Time 1 to Time 2)
1. <u>Reversing Language Shift domain type</u> – the choice of Romanian increases
         Public health (doctor's waiting room)
         Market (market/ market sellers)
2. <u>No change domain type</u> – the choice of Romanian does not change
         Church (church/ congregation fellows)
         Home (home/ mate)
         Employment (workplace/ colleagues)
3. <u>Language Shift domain type</u> – the choice of Romanian decreases
         Praying
         Public service (mayor's office/ officer)
         Home (home/ children)
         Shopping (shop/ shop-sellers)

5. Conclusions

In the minority community investigated, the minority language choice behavior changed in ten years in different ways in different domains and situations. The real and apparent time differences are caused either by general social/political changes relevant to the whole country, or by local social community changes relevant only for the community studied. As a result, the domains/situations can be classified into the following three main types regarding Romanian language choice: (i) *reversing language shift domain/situation type,* (ii) *no change domain/situation type,* and (iii) *language shift domain/situation type.* We use the term domain and situation alternatively because among situations belonging to a certain domain there can be variation regarding the choice of community language. For example, in the religion domain two situations can be characterized with two types: pray with no change type, and the church / congregation fellows situation with reversing language shift type. The more situations we study the more significant information we obtain about the mechanism of the language shift process. It must also be clarified that the process of language shift is not a linear change; the change in one situation differs from the change experienced in another. However, no situation can be isolated from the entire social, cultural, and political environment, and their changes.

Focusing on the process of language shift in the Romanian community of Kétegyháza (Chitighaz), the *language shift domain/situation type* involves home, work, mayor's office and shop as the most important domains/situations in the life of a minority life. The ten-year changes reflect a steady and irreversible process of language shift within the community. This result gives cause to concern because we can see that in this community the community language is primarily associated with the church and not with the family.

The real and apparent time analyses revealed that middle-aged informants were less influenced by general social/political changes than younger ones. Both groups were equally influenced by local social community changes.

Based on the results of this study one can formulate a new hypothesis. In a community characterized by language shift, social-historical changes have crucial influence on the loss of the speakers' native (minority) language: the more substantial social changes are the faster bilingual speakers will lose their minority language.

Appendix
Studied responses to questions from the Language Usage Interview

The following questions were asked in the context of an interview among other questions of language use and language attitudes, sociolinguistic modules, and a word test. Questions were asked in indigenous Romanian. Only two of the informants rejected to response in Romanian, they answered in Hungarian. Informants were allowed to give detailed responses if they wished. To lose the formality level of the interviews as much as possible no special attention was given to keeping the form of the questions identical for everyone.

Religion – Church
   What language do you use with your fellow congregation members after and before church services?
   In which language do you pray?
Family – Home
   What language do you use with your spouse at home?
   What language do you use with your children at home?
Employment – Workplace
   What language do you use at work with your colleagues?
Public health – Doctor's waiting room
   What language do you use with other patients in the doctor's waiting room?
Public service – Mayor's office

What language do you use in the mayor's office with an officer?

Shopping – Shop/ Market

What language do you use in the shop with the shop-sellers?

What language do you use at the market with the sellers?

Notes

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2. Throughout this paper the term "Romanians in Hungary" refers only to the Romanian minority that has been living in Hungary for several centuries. This study does not involve either Romanians having come from Romania to Hungary in the last few decades or the Boyash community (Romanian speaking Gypsies) (cf. Réger, 1988; Orsós, 2002).

3. Throughout the paper we will use the Hungarian names of the settlements followed by corresponding Romanian names in parentheses.

4. Kétegyháza (Chitighaz) is a village in the South-East of Hungary, located in Békés county. Settlements of Romanian communities in Hungary can be divided into three main types, based on the proportion of Romanian to Hungarian inhabitants: type A: settlements in which the proportion of Romanians is small: language shift is advanced, the process is almost completed; type B: settlements in which the proportion of Romanians and Hungarians is about the same: language shift is at a semi-advanced stage; type C: settlements in which there is an overwhelming majority of Romanians: language shift is weak, it is at an initial stage. Kétegyháza (Chitighaz) is a settlement where language shift is at a semi-advanced stage (type B) (see Borbély, 2002: 98).

5. The first Romanian elementary school maintained by the Orthodox Church in Kétegyháza (Chitighaz) was established in 1793, with one elementary school teacher (Ardelean, 1893). Following World War I, the Romanian schools in Hungary have been functioning with long interruptions. Beginning with the late 1930s school activity was reduced to the religious education of children (Berényi, 1993: 18).

6. In Hungary the attitude toward Romanians and the Romanian language is mainly neutral or negative. The Hungarians living in the same community as Romanians accept their coexistence with the Romanian minority and at most some of them understand their language but do not speak it. The negative feelings of the majority population stem from historical and political changes. These feelings became stronger following the radical border changes (1920) and during the 1940s and 1950s, and manifested themselves in the Hungarianization of family names and the deterioration of public sentiment ("since you eat Hungarian bread you should speak Hungarian") and in similar remarks (see Borbély, 1998). Till today for some social groups in Hungary the negative remarks concerning Romanians symbolize the expression of the Hungarian nationalistic togetherness (e.g. in April 2, 2003 in Puskás Stadium, Budapest at a football match between the Hungarian team and the Swedish eleven, a group of the Hungarian fans were roaring: "everybody, who's not jumping with us is a Romanian jerk, ley-oley-oley!").

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