

Petteri Laihonen

Language Ideologies
in The Romanian Banat

Analysis of Interviews and
Academic Writings
among the Hungarians and Germans



JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN HUMANITIES 119

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ABSTRACT

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Diss.

This is an introduction to a compilation of six articles on language ideologies in the Romanian Banat. My dissertation was initiated by fieldwork in the area, resulting to a database of interviews among the Hungarian and German inhabitants. This data is compared to intellectual writings. With regards to researcher position, I identify myself as a traveler in the area and as a foreign scholar. The analytical framework of this study draws from the study of Language Ideologies and Conversation Analysis. Here, language ideologies are broadly defined as metalinguistic discourse or talk about language. In the analysis of interviews, conversation analysis is used, in order to analyze the emergent character of language ideologies in interviews. The analysis indicates, that also language ideologies have a foundation in interaction and in the normative frameworks that speakers invoke in and through their talk. In the articles certain interactional structures are analyzed as possible sites for certain language ideology related phenomena. Among others, a peculiar form of a repair sequence is used to collaboratively evaluate a language form as inferior. Further results of this study show, that among the local Hungarian and German inhabitants multilingualism is considered ideal. In contrast, the intellectual writings, presenting an elite and national view, tend to emphasize conflict. Further, the local Hungarian variety is seen negatively both by its speakers and by Hungarian intellectuals, whereas the local German variety is considered as a valued part of the regional identity. In future projects the historical connections of current discourses and language ideologies of other groups in the area could be explored. It would be profitable also to supplement my work with longer-term fieldwork in the area.

Keywords: The Banat, Hungarian language, German language, Multilingualism, Language Ideologies, Conversation Analysis, Interviews

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During my visits to Hungary I have been hosted several times by Miklós Kontra from the Research Institute for Linguistics at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. I am very grateful for his advice and help. I wish to express my gratitude for other members at the Department of Sociolinguistics, too. I thank also László Szarka, chair for the Research Institute of Ethnic and National Minorities at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, for being my host and help.

At the moment of writing these words I am employed by the Department of Finno-Ugric Studies at the University of Debrecen. I thank the Department for generously supporting my PhD project. Sándor Maticsák, László Keresztes, Tamás Kis, Eszter Legoza and Edit Hlavacska have helped me out in numberless issues.

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I devote this dissertation to the memory of my parents.

P.L.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

| | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|----|
| 1 | INTRODUCTION | 9 |
| 1.1 | Background..... | 10 |
| 1.2 | Articles included..... | 12 |
| 1.3 | Research questions | 13 |
| 1.4 | Disciplinary contexts..... | 14 |
| 2 | FIELDWORK AND DATA | 19 |
| 3 | METHODOLOGY..... | 24 |
| 3.1 | Language ideology | 25 |
| 3.2 | Conversation analysis | 27 |
| 4 | RESULTS | 32 |
| 4.1 | Article 1 | 32 |
| 4.2 | Article 2 | 34 |
| 4.3 | Article 3 | 35 |
| 4.4 | Article 4 | 35 |
| 4.5 | Article 5 | 37 |
| 4.6 | Article 6 | 38 |
| 4.7 | General summary of results | 39 |
| 5 | FINAL REMARKS..... | 42 |
| | YHTEENVETO..... | 44 |
| | BIBLIOGRAPHY..... | 47 |

APPENDIX

Original papers 1-6

1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of my doctoral thesis is to illuminate the linguistic situation of the Romanian Banat through the examination of language ideologies. My basic approach is to contrast the views from below, the local inhabitants, with the views of the writing, educated elite. My focus is on the contemporary Banat. The views of the ordinary people are presented through interviews, whereas the views of the elite in the light of contemporary academic publications. My goal is not so much to give an “objective” inventory of the linguistic situation in the Banat, but to analyse the interpretations that have been made about it.

My research was initiated by a joint Finnish-Hungarian fieldwork project, carried out between 1997 and 2000, concentrating on the Hungarian and German minorities in the northern Romanian Banat. The main aim of the project was to carry out interviews on culture, language, religion, history, power and ethnic relationships among these groups. Furthermore, as data on the elite views about language, I use contemporary academic publications from Romania, Hungary and Germany.

During the fieldwork, I noted how ubiquitous metalinguistic discourse, especially about multilingualism, is in the case of the Banat. Soon, it became clear that in the interviews local inhabitants give a markedly different view of multilingualism than that available in the previous literature. In the interviews multilingualism is described as a natural, fundamentally positive phenomenon. Furthermore, it is often referred to as a symbol for tolerance, depicted as the most significant determining element of the region. However, most of the previous research on the Banat is concentrated on the isolation of a given language and ethnic group. Furthermore, in these academic writings, other language groups are described in negative terms. That is, in the writings an image of the Banat as an arena for languages in competition is constructed. In this study, the local views presented in the interviews are compared with writings in order to better understand both views and their contexts.

In this study, I examine and compare above mentioned views, beliefs and ideas about languages in the framework of language ideologies. Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 55) define language ideologies as “cultural conceptions of

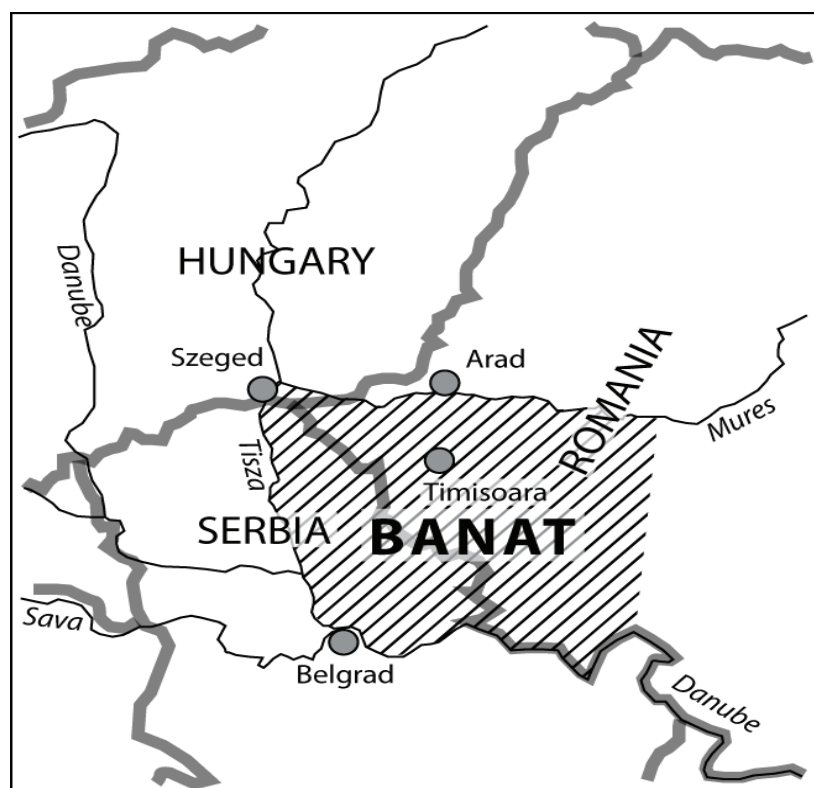
language – its nature, structure and use” as well as “conceptions of communicative behavior as an enactment of a collective order”.

Before the fieldwork, we had very little information of the Banat. Due to the lack of previous knowledge and short duration of the fieldwork trips (2 weeks), the role of the Finnish researchers on the field could be described as *travellers* (Lönqvist 2000). It was an instant observation on the field that the researcher position must have an influence on both our observations and the gathered data. This turned my attention towards how the interviewing technique itself, its routines and its social setting, have influenced our data and the language ideologies recognised in it. In order to explicate the above, I turned to Conversation Analysis (CA). The interactional analysis of interviews CA enables led to the observation that language ideologies are not static, rather they emerge from, or at least are shaped and reconstructed by the interactional situation. To deepen the understanding of the emergent dimension of language ideologies, I set the goal to explore the interactional routines and structures in which language ideologies are embedded in the interview data.

Even though the Banat has for long been among Europe’s most multilingual regions, it has not yet been studied with modern sociolinguistic methods (but see Toma 1998). Previous studies on the Banat (reviewed in detail in Laihonen 2005: chapter 3), mainly working with a quantitative research design, provide a wealth of useful background information (demographic data, frequency of different ethnic contacts, competence of different languages etc.). However, previous research has some general problems. Most importantly, research questions are too often directed to studying only one language or one ethnic group. A typical research problem seems to be whether the investigated people (e.g. Germans or Hungarians) are maintaining their assumed separate identity and/or mother tongue (see e.g. Toma 1998: 59; Kupó 2002: 99). Thus, there is a clear need for more qualitative research in order to describe and explain some of the highly complex features of multilingualism and multiculturalism in the Banat (for similar ventures in related fields, see Weber-Kellerman 1978, Cristea, Latea and Chelcea 1997, Gehl 2002). My dissertation aims at filling this gap through an open minded, empiricist, qualitative investigation of language ideologies among the Hungarian and German inhabitants of the Banat.

1.1 Background

The Banat is a historical region established by the Habsburgs in the 18th century and resolved by the allied forces in the peace treaty of Paris (1920). Today parts of the Banat belong to Romania, Serbia and Hungary.



Map 1: the Banat¹

The Banat has been a multilingual and multicultural mosaic, especially in the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century. In the 16th century, the region was conquered by the Ottomans. The Habsburgs defeated the Ottomans in several battles towards the beginning of the 18th century. The Banat, largely depopulated, thus became a border region to the Habsburg monarchy in 1718. Due to organised and spontaneous migration, the Banat gave home to a considerable number of Romanian, German, Hungarian, Serbian, Croatian, Slovak, Jewish, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Roma, Czech and some other smaller groups in the 18th and 19th centuries. In the end of the 19th century the Banat did not have a single national, ethnic, linguistic or religious majority. Rather, most often Romanians, Germans, Serbs and Hungarians formed the majority in different sub-regions, villages or towns. In the 20th century, after the division of the Banat (1920), Romanians form the majority in the Romanian Banat. In 1930, Romanians formed 57% of the population. Further, the size of minority groups has decreased gradually, in the 2002 census (Rezultate preliminare) they presented only 16% of the inhabitants of the Romanian Banat. According to the latest census, the Romanian Banat is inhabited by more than a million

¹ I thank Jari Järvinen for allowing me to use his maps (slightly adjusted) for this summary.

Romanians, more than hundred thousand Hungarians, forty-thousand Roma, twenty-five thousand Germans, twenty thousand Serbs and several other small groups (Ukrainians, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Croats, Czech and Jews). Most of the minorities live sporadically in multiethnic communities. In sum, the Banat has an extremely multilingual past, but perhaps a relatively monolingual future (see Wolf 2004 for details.)

1.2 Articles included

This study is a doctoral dissertation in the form of a selection of articles and an independent summary. The articles included in this study are the following:

- 1) Laihonen, Petteri 2001. Multilingualism in the Romanian Banat: Elite and Everyday Language Ideologies. In: Hannonen, Pasi, Bo Lönnqvist & Gábor Barna (eds.) *Ethnic Minorities and Power*. Helsinki: Fonda Publishing, 11–45.
- 2) Laihonen, Petteri 2004. A romániai bánási (bánáti) tolerancia és többnyelvűség a nyelvi ideológiák tükrében. [Tolerance and Multilingualism in the Romanian Banat on the basis of Language Ideologies]: In: Kovács, Nóra, Anna Osvát & László Szarka (eds.) *Tér és terep. Tanulmányok az etnicitás és az identitás kérdésköréből III. Az MTA etnikai-nemzeti kisebbségkutató intézetének évkönyve*. [Space and Field. Studies on ethnicity and identity III. The yearbook of Research Institute of the Ethnic and National Minorities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 81–97.
- 3) Laihonen, Petteri 2006. Egy finnországi nyelvész reflexiói a Bánáságról. [Reflections of a Finnish Linguist on the Romanian Banat]. *Korunk* 1: 46–54.
- 4) Laihonen, Petteri 2007. Die Banater Schwaben und Ideologien über die Mehrsprachigkeit. [The Swabians of the Banat and the Ideologies about Multilingualism]. *Ungarn-Jahrbuch (Zeitschrift für interdisziplinäre Hungarologie, Ungarisches Institut, München)* [Journal for interdisciplinary Hungarian Studies, Hungarian Institute, Munich] 28: 91-110.
- 5) Laihonen, Petteri 2008. Language Ideologies in Interviews: A Conversation Analysis Approach. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12/5, 668-693.
- 6) Laihonen, Petteri 2009. A magyar nyelvi standardhoz kapcsolódó nyelvi ideológiák a romániai Bánáságban. [On the language ideologies in the Romanian Banat about the Hungarian language standard]. In: Lanstyák, István, József Menyhárt & Gizella Szabómihály (eds.) *Tanulmányok a kétnyelvűségről 5*. [Studies on bilingualism 5]. (accepted for publication), 23 pages.

These articles are written in three different languages, and published in six different countries: Finland, Germany, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia and New Zealand. They were adjusted to meet the expectations of different audiences, reviewers and editors. This co-authorship improved the articles a great deal, however, it brought along some repeating, too. The articles 2, 4 and 6 were published in yearbooks with a peer-review practice. The article 1 was published in a conference volume approved by the symposium head (Bo Lönnqvist). Article 3 was published by a Hungarian journal in Transylvania. Finally, article 5 was recently published by a top international journal. In addition to these articles, a previous summary for a licentiate thesis (a Finnish degree between the MA and the Ph.D.) is available on the internet (Laihonen 2005). The

previous summary, even though not included in the present Ph.D. dissertation, contains detailed discussions of some issues that will not be reconsidered here.

The articles illuminate the linguistic situation of the Romanian Banat through the examination of language ideologies. The articles are all based on the data and fieldwork that took part in the Romanian Banat. An analysis of written materials, with the aim to compare written sources with oral data, is included in most of the articles, too. The articles share the theoretical goal of combining the fields of Language Ideologies and Conversation Analysis.

In a nutshell, article 1 gives an inventory of language ideologies in the interviews, which is compared with national Hungarian, German and Romanian intellectual writings. In other articles, this inventory serves as a springboard for comparison and refined analysis. Article 2 deepens the analyses on discourses around multi- and monolingualism in the interviews and written materials. Further, it has a new perspective on written discourses by analysing academic descriptions by local scholars. Article 3 is an essay on my researcher position and the consequences it has had for the project. Article 4 examines the language ideologies of German writings and interviews. The purpose of this article is to give a comparative perspective on the language ideologies produced by Hungarian informants and sources. Article 5 explicates the methodological innovation of my dissertation by discussing the benefits of combining the research trends of Language Ideologies and Conversation Analysis in the analysis of interviews. Finally, article 6 analyses the Hungarian 'metropolitan' linguistic and local folk evaluations of appropriateness and correctness of Hungarian language use in the Banat. Here the descriptions of language ideologies about different languages, multilingualism and monolingualism is complemented with the analysis of language ideologies about language varieties and standards. The articles will be summarized in more detail in chapter 4.

1.3 Research questions

A general aim of my work is to examine the linguistic situation in the Banat on the basis of interview data and written sources. Beyond a comparison of the two materials, I combine the fields of Language Ideologies with Conversation Analysis in the analysis of interviews. The main research questions for this study are the following:

- 1) *What ideas, representations, descriptions or evaluations of languages, multilingualism or monolingualism are presented in the interviews?*
- 2) *How does the interview, its routines and its social setting, influence the data? What are the typical interactional routines and structures in which language ideologies are embedded in my interviews?*
- 3) *How is multilingualism presented in the writings about the Banat? How is the Banat presented in intellectual discourses?*

These research questions emerged, on the one hand, on the basis of the fieldwork and examining the data. On the other hand, they have been formed by the theory of Language Ideologies combined with insights from Conversation Analysis (CA hereafter). In other words, in my project the fieldwork preceded the choice of method. First, I aimed at producing ethnographic information of the language situation in the Banat. Following the data, I found that such an account and the relevant theoretical questions are best defined and explored with the approaches of Language Ideologies and Conversation Analysis. For analytic purposes, I define language ideologies broadly as metalinguistic discourse about language. CA is used as a tool to analyze the interactional site (the interviews) where such talk occurs in my data.

The first question aims at an inventory of folk theories or ideologies that people construct in discourse about language in the Banat. This goal is similar with Gal's (1993) basic approach to describe the range of folk theories in a given field on the basis of ethnographic evidence and interviews.

The second question was inspired by insights from CA. According to Moerman (1989: 9), CA offers a method to analyse how the organization of talk influences what people say. The fieldwork experience convinced me that the interview necessarily has an influence on the data it is aimed to collect. Thus, already in exploring the range of folk views, their intersubjective nature (e.g. the role of the interviewer) and interactional context has to be taken into consideration. Further, CA is interested in the study of orderliness in conversations, that is, recurrent interactional structures. With the aim of applying CA to the field of language ideologies, the second question aims to explicate the connections of language ideologies and interactional structures.

Finally, the practice of setting the investigated language ideologies into a larger context through examining how metalanguage is circulated in different discourses is generally shared in the field of language ideologies (see e.g. Gal 1993, Heller 2007, Briggs 2007). In my study, the third research question aims at giving a larger context for the interview data by comparing it with elite writings. Following the analytical practices of Language Ideologies (e.g. Kroskrity 2000, Woolard 1998), a further goal is to explore the social and historical connections of both folk and intellectual views.

1.4 Disciplinary contexts

This study is written with the purpose to attain a Ph.D. in Hungarian Studies. Hungarian Studies is a field exploring everything that can be considered Hungarian. To narrow the field, in the case of linguistics, Hungarian Studies means doing research on the Hungarian language. This dissertation fits into that definition with one important further note. That is, modern Hungarian Studies explores Hungarian culture and language in the context of other cultures and languages with the goal to better understand both cultures (Lahdelma n.d.). Thus, in this study multilingualism in the Banat is investigated

with a focus on the Hungarian Language, but all available data on other languages is discussed and special attention is paid to the multilingual and interethnic characteristics of the data. Further, in order to develop a comparative view, one separate article (4) is devoted to analysing German written sources and interviews with German speakers.

Next, I will briefly discuss the context formed by similar studies on Hungarian related bi- or multilingualism. Hungarian sociolinguistics, meaning here work done in Hungarian institutions in Hungary and surrounding countries, has been largely active in studying Hungarian paired bilingualism around Hungary (for a recent summary, see Gal 2008). In general, many writings in this field provide descriptions of different areas and discussions of contemporary Hungarian contact varieties. The methods of Hungarian Sociolinguistics have often been quantitative, based on Labovian sociolinguistics. Following Kontra (2005: 34), the method has been to describe language rights and combine this with an analysis of language competence of the Hungarian minorities in the neighbouring countries to Hungary. A general thesis is that the language rights situation in the neighbouring countries explain language change and variation amongst the Hungarian minorities (for Romania, see Benó & Szilágyi N. 2005).

A general goal in the minority related research has been to serve the Hungarian communities. That is, to improve their language rights situation and to improve the self-esteem of the minority speakers. In Hungary, a goal has been to fight the normative tradition in Hungarian linguistic thinking and especially the 'pseudoscientific' views of language guardians (see Kontra 2003). This has led to a preference of methods which promise practical, applicable results. For instance, according to Harlig (1995: fn.10) Conversation Analysis was for long not 'imported' to Hungary, since its applicability was doubted. That is, due to its goals, certain internationally important methods and theories have been neglected by Hungarian sociolinguistics. Thus, there are uncovered areas of research, which are more likely to be explored by scholars outside the Hungarian institutions. This study is an attempt to give Hungarian sociolinguistics a fresh perspective by studying a previously neglected region and applying so far rarely used methods of Language Ideologies and Conversation Analysis.

When I began my work, views about language were mostly studied in the Hungarian context through the theoretical lenses of attitudes. As a recent development, discourse analytic methods have been applied to language myths (Langman & Lanstyák 2000). There a psycholinguistic approach to folk myths has been taken. Furthermore, in an analysis of myths of 'language guardians', the goal has been to show the anomalies of those myths on the basis of insights from sociolinguistics (e.g. Lanstyák 2003-2004). Finally, since I began my work in 2001, Hungarian researchers in and around Hungary have turned their attention to language ideologies, too. Amongst others, the 2008 conference of Hungarian Sociolinguistics (*XV. Élőnyelvi konferencia*, 4-6 September 2008, Sturovo/Parkány, Slovakia) was devoted to Language Ideologies. In this

conference a lot of work in progress was presented, and in the near future new studies should be available. However, many of the forthcoming studies follow a quantitative framework. Further, the interpretations of language ideologies in the presented studies are still seeking their direction. A theoretical reorientation from traditional sociolinguistic approaches towards language ideologies has not yet taken place. My study provides an example of making sense of qualitative Hungarian data with the Language Ideologies approach without the need to integrate it with earlier approaches in the field of Hungarian sociolinguistics.

István Lanstyák (2009) has recently proposed tasks and goals of studying language ideologies in the Hungarian context. In his view, investigations to language ideologies should enable a generally better understanding of the linguistic discourses produced by the Hungarian communities. This understanding could be used to explain past, present and future linguistic behaviour among the Hungarians. Language ideologies should also provide the needed theoretical and practical impetus for language policy planning. With this interpretation, Lanstyák aims to integrate the theory of Language Ideologies with the practical linguistic concerns and problems of the Hungarian communities. With some reservations, to be explained next, my research serves Lanstyák's goals.

Following Gal (2002: 204), the study of language ideologies should focus on the analysis and critique of all language ideologies. An important further goal is to analyse our own language ideologies and make them explicit (*ibid.*). Keeping this in mind, there are some methodological problems in Lanstyák's above mentioned proposal. First, in the study of multilingual communities, the Hungarian perspective is likely to neglect some topics, e.g. as unfavourable or presumably uninteresting for the [imagined] Hungarian language community, and prefer others. Secondly, it is unlikely that a study carried out to serve the Hungarian community will be able to relativize the presumptions and starting points (i.e. language ideologies) such research has. Thirdly, most studies on language ideologies are critical and deconstructive towards the ideologies they investigate (Gal 2002: 204), and thus give little constructive guidance for language policy planning (but see Blommaert 1996). Fourthly, and most importantly, language planning or language rights are most often based on a language ideology, which typically has naturalized, unquestioned elements. In sum, the approach of language ideologies can hardly be used to build language policies. Rather, it typically points to ironies of language policies (see e.g. Gal 2006b). Further, language ideologies research should not serve a one perspective over or against others. That is, all presumptions, or what is taken for granted by the Hungarian communities or intellectuals, can be relativized as well. My position is less committed to the Hungarian perspective, thus it is easier to follow the maxim of having no Archimedean place (Silverstein 1998: 124) in my research.

The position of Hungarian minority researchers is understandable. During this project, I had the chance to participate several meetings (such as the above mentioned 2008 conference of Hungarian Sociolinguistics), where it became

clear to me that burning minority language political issues, especially in education, take a lions share of the time and attention of Hungarian linguists in the circum-Hungary region. The Hungarian communities are in transparent need of representation, guidance and expertise in such issues. To mention just one issue, still today it is a clear disadvantage in education to have Hungarian as a mother tongue in Romania, Slovakia and other countries with a considerable Hungarian minority (see Laihonon 2007). In my case, due to education in Hungarian Studies a pro-Hungarian bias is also probable. However, all measures have been taken to reflect on it and my research has no political goals. In my case, the responsibility towards the informants can be seen more as giving a plausible description of their discourses or views on language related questions. Thus, this kind of study can still be seen to serve the local community by giving it a chance to tell its story.

My aim to follow the data and the empiricist perspective of Conversation Analysis should ensure that the described language ideologies are not just constructions created by the researcher. In the case of Hungarian researchers, personal involvement is often included, and it is seldom questioned whether for instance language rights can actually explain that many features of linguistic change and variation. In my case subjective perspectives cannot be closed out, but they are reflected on with available means. Among others, the role of the interviewer in producing the data is analysed in detail. Finally, the described language ideologies are established 'in the open' through analysing transcripts or written passages. The reader is thus easily capable to agree or disagree with the analysis and conclusions.

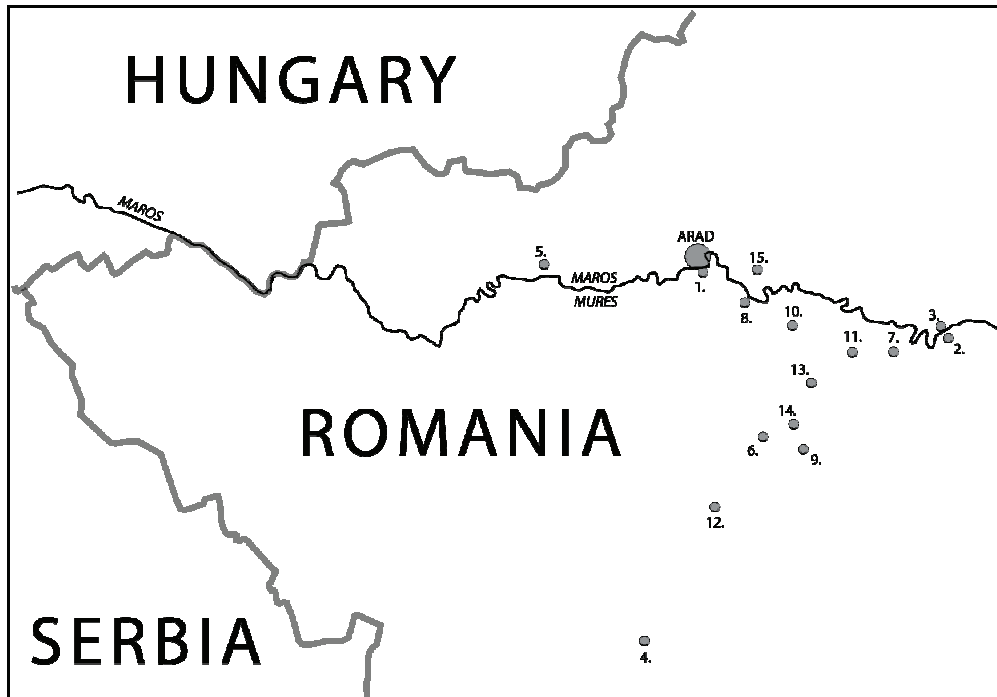
To sum up, my study has a shared focus with some of the directions of Hungarian sociolinguistics that have emerged since I began my work. However, two persisting differences remain: the preference for quantitative methods and the basic approach of combining linguistic data with language rights are not shared in my work. Instead, my study has qualitative, descriptive and theoretical goals. The difference of viewpoints is explained also through the differences of the insider and outsider view (see article 3 and Laihonon 2005: chapter 2). I share the outsider view in the field with some other researchers in a similar position (such as Verdery 1985, Gal 1993, Langman 1998, 2003, Mclure & Mclure 1998). That is, the fieldwork was carried out by a foreign observer, who is however competent in (some of) the languages spoken in the area and familiar with the investigated culture(s). The methods of such work, mostly discourse analysis of interview data, and goals originate from international, western type scholarship and the results are published for the international audience. A basic gain of the outsider's view is the need and motivation to empirically investigate phenomena which are taken for granted by those living in the investigated area. In this context, my dissertation aims at an open minded, empiricist, investigation of language ideologies among the Hungarian and German inhabitants of the Banat. In line with current Hungarian Studies, my goal is to focus on the multicultural and multilingual characteristics of the region instead of isolating the Hungarian community for investigation.

Next, I will continue by a discussion of fieldwork and data (chapter 2), which is followed by methodological considerations (chapter 3). Then, I will summarize the results (chapter 4). Finally, I will evaluate this dissertation and point to opportunities for future research.

2 FIELDWORK AND DATA

This study was initiated by an opportunity to participate in a Finnish-Hungarian fieldwork project (1998-2000) in the Northern Romanian Banat. The project was titled 'The Lost Future - die expatrierte Kultur' (Barna and Lönnqvist 2000). The goal of the fieldwork for the Finnish party, lead by the ethnologist Bo Lönnqvist, was to collect life histories, accounts of everyday life, intercultural contacts and language use among the Germans and Hungarians.² The project collected nearly two hundred interviews, mainly during brief visits to the informants' homes. The interviews were unstructured, open-ended and conversation-like. They were carried out in Hungarian or German, audio-recorded and transcribed. My own interviews were carried mainly in the Northern Banat towns and villages as presented in the following map:

² Other participants in the Finnish group were: Anssi Halmesvirta, Pasi Hannonen, Kirsi Järvelä and the author. The fieldwork was funded by the Hungarian Studies project of the University of Jyväskylä (Finland). The Finnish participants had individual research interests (see Hannonen, Barna and Lönnqvist 2001). The Hungarian research group, engaged in religious ethnology, was headed by Gábor Barna. His assistant Bertalan Pusztai and students from the University of Szeged gathered information on donating votive pictures for a pilgrimage church in Radna. for more information on the project, see Laihonen 2005: chapter 2. For a description of the fieldwork of the Finnish group, see also Hannonen 2001. For a brief description of the fieldwork of the Hungarian research group, see Barna 2001:107-108.



Map 2: locations of interviews

1 Aradul-Nou (H: Újarad, G: Neu-Arad), 2 Lipova (H,G: Lippa), 3 Radna (H,G: Mariaradna), 4 Timișoara (H: Temesvár, G: Temeschburg), 5 Pécica (H: Pécska, G: Petschka), 6 Fibiș (H: Temesfüves, G: Fibisch), 7 Neudorf (H: Temesújfalu), 8 Fintinele (H: Angyalkút, G: Engelsbrunn), 9 Remetea Mică (H: Németremete, G: Königshof), 10 Frumușeni (H: Szépfalu, G: Schöndorf), 11 Zăbrani (H: Temeshidegkút, G: Guttonbrunn), 12 Pișchia (H: Hidasliget, G: Bruckenau), 13 Alioș (H: Temesillésd, G: Aliosch), 14 Mașloc (H: Máslak, G: Blumenthal), 15 Vladimirescu (H: Óthalom, G: Glogowatz).

Even though not stated explicitly at that time, the ethnographic approach, as described by Blommaert (2006a), characterized the fieldwork and reporting in many aspects. For instance, during the fieldwork, our goal was to make sense of what at first seemed strange or peculiar for us, then, we aimed to find how informants explain or understand such issues. Further, my goal was to follow the data in the further development of the project and in reporting. That is, the research questions and methods of analysis have been selected for the needs of the data. Finally, in my reports, I pay special attention to the researcher position and the role of fieldwork (see Laihonen 2005: chapter 2 for a detailed account).

The Finnish fieldworkers can be described as *travellers* (Lönnqvist 2000, cf. Gal 2006a) on the field. That is, for us everything we met on the field was new and interesting. Furthermore, we did not have a pre-determined agenda on the field. Rather, our goal was to reach an understanding of the region and to make sense of what we saw and heard.

In numbers, the Finnish-Hungarian fieldwork cooperation resulted in about 200 tape-recorded interviews. I carried out 12 interviews myself, the Finnish group recorded 90 interviews and the Hungarian group 100. The

interviews were semi-structured.³ Despite the fact that the different researchers had different agendas, the general interview structure was shared. That is, all the interviewers had both closed and open-ended questions which could be posed in a free order. The questions were loosely planned before the fieldwork trips; however, the research objectives were not fully set in advance. That is, the questions and themes were developed freely during the interviews and fieldwork. For my own interviews I began with general questions (informants' age etc.) followed by questions about languages. Those issues that appeared important to the informants were explored further. However, when the conversation lapsed I put forward some of the typically used questions about language use (see e.g. the appendices in Gal 1979 and Csernicskó 1997).⁴ Finally, it is important to note, that the interviews cannot be considered as spontaneous, everyday conversations between peers. It is also important for my goals, that all the interviews, irrespective of their focus, contain talk about language.

The fieldwork was not restricted to carrying out interviews. It included staying in the region for three periods of eight to ten days. Occasional conversations with local inhabitants were not tape-recorded, but we kept a diary of them, too. At times such conversations gave a better understanding of some passages in the recorded interviews. Further, the fieldwork included trips to different places (e.g. churches, monasteries, castles, cemeteries and market places), walks in the cities and villages, trips to surrounding regions (e.g. Southern Romanian Banat) and visits to local institutions (e.g. schools, museums, civil organizations and media). We also made hundreds of photos and gathered all kinds of written documents (newspapers, leaflets). However, the method of participant observation was not possible due to the lack of time. Throughout our trips we were clearly treated as visitors, not as locals. The ethnographic observations have a supplementary role in this study, even though they have been undoubtedly important in constructing a picture of the Banat.

In my study little is said about the connections between personal information (age, gender, occupation, social position, religion etc.) of the interviewees and language ideologies. Such investigations, at least in a systematic and detailed form, are out of the scope of this study in the first place due to my theoretical position of not understanding language ideologies as static beliefs or attitudes. Rather, I have focused on the emergent character of language ideologies.

Another constrain is ethical. In some cases even a slightest cross-reference would reveal the informant's identity, at least for those familiar in the region.⁵

³ In some cases these interviews could equally be named unstructured interviews. No clear boundary exists between semi-structured and unstructured interviews as does between structured and semi-structured ones (see Hutchby & Wooffit 1998:173).

⁴ For examples and further explication, see article 5. See also Pusztai (2002) for a transcription and analysis of an interview conducted by the Hungarian research group.

⁵ This became obvious to me when I recognized some of our informants in other studies.

This and other ethical issues were considered and reflected upon before, during and after (see especially article 3) the fieldwork. One further issue can be mentioned here: doing fieldwork in Romania can be problematic also due to official control. In our case, after passing the border, the police stopped our car several times and asked what our purpose of stay in the region was. Even though we knew that we did not need an official permission for doing interviews and ethnographic research⁶, we preferred to tell the police that we were tourists visiting the churches in the Banat. Perhaps this was a good strategy, since some researchers have had trouble with the local police in Romania (see Sándor 1996: fn.5). In the past, official permissions to do research have guided the direction of research to some extent. It is claimed that during the Ceausescu's dictatorship researchers from Hungary were not allowed to study the Hungarian minority in Romania (e.g. Kontra 2005). However, some Western researchers (see e.g. Weber-Kellermann 1978, Verdery 1985, Mclure & Mclure 1988) had a chance to do research among the German and Hungarian minorities.

The fieldwork and the gathered interview data have their restrictions. The data cannot be considered as representative for all of the inhabitants of the Banat. Most importantly, we carried out interviews mostly among Hungarian and German speakers. The members of the majority, Romanians, are few among the interviewed. Also no Roma informants were reached. However, the selection of the informants seems rather representative of the Hungarian and German communities. Germans are represented mainly by pensioners. Hungarians are mainly from the poorly educated ranks. These are both statistical prototypes for these ethnic groups in Romania (see Varga 2000). Other studies on Hungarian speakers have leaned more on the local intellectuals, who make 5% of the total community. That is, instead of oral elite discourses my articles are an attempt to analyse the interview discourses of the typical Hungarian inhabitants.

The data provides a wide perspective of the range, variation and structure of talk about language among the Hungarian and German inhabitants. Even though I have not analysed all interviews in detail, I have gone through them in order to be able to say what is typical in the data, what is exceptional and so on. For closer analysis I have chosen those interviews and excerpts of them which I have considered typical or particularly illuminating for some phenomena. In the articles I analyse in some detail 66 excerpts (some were analysed twice or more) from 26 interviews. Little less than half of the interviews analysed in the articles were carried out by myself. This is explained by practical issues: I had access on them at once and it was my task to produce the transcripts, during which I already made numerous observations. I did not find it a problem to analyse my own language use, since my goal is to examine the emergent structures of the interview and the role of the interviewer and interviewee in them. Here I agree with Blommaert (2006a: 44), that analysing the interview is a

⁶ Practical solutions on the trip were decided and advised by the project head Bo Lönnqvist.

two way learning process: you learn some things about the interviewee as informant and other things about yourself as researcher. The articles show how I ploughed through the interviews: article 1 contains an inventory of my own interviews, article 4 is based on the interviews by other members of the Finnish group (mainly Bo Lönnqvist) and articles 5 and 6 contain interviews from the Finnish and Hungarian group in general.

Finally, following Blommaert (2006a: 18-19), if somebody else carried out similar interviews, s/he might get somewhat different results. That is, the semi-structured interviews might have gone other way. For instance, the analysis in article 5 shows how it makes a difference whether the interviewer is a Hungarian researcher from Hungary or a foreign researcher speaking Hungarian. The resulting statements, descriptions, evaluations or accounts are analysed here as intersubjective and interactional products. Thus, I do not claim that my data is replicable or representative of the segment of local population I have got familiar with. Rather, my data is good for displaying the variability and complexity of possible discourses on language in the Romanian Banat. Similar, but not identical, discourses should be available in interviews under similar circumstances.

In the articles I have compared views on the field with academic texts. The analysed written materials were chosen to examine the current intellectual writings on the Romanian Banat. I aimed to select such texts that are in use in current intellectual discourses. Thus, I left out fiction or older works (e.g. 19th century writings). Some of the writings were published in Germany or Hungary, they were easy to access. Those published in the Banat were difficult to get, since they very scarcely available even in Romania. Works published elsewhere seemed often superfluous and contained a lot of second hand information. Most of the writings contained a transparent political agenda, only few very clearly professional. Right from the beginning I felt that they had transparent ideological dimensions, which just awaited to be analysed. Further, the written texts appeared to give a markedly different interpretation of the linguistic situation than the fieldwork and interviews. Thus, I decided to mirror the 'folk' discourses with intellectual discourses in order to better understand both. For the study of language ideologies intellectual writings as data is just as typical as oral discourses (see Irvine & Gal 2000). The analysed writings belonged mainly to those presenting a chosen national view (e.g. German, Hungarian or Romanian). Analysing these written materials has enabled a comparison of the local folk discourses with the national elite discourses.

3 METHODOLOGY

The first fieldwork trip preceded the choice of method. During the first trip my attention turned to how the local informants spoke about languages, multilingualism and monolingualism. However, I would have been unable, even with the help of existing scarce previous research, to put up a questionnaire for investigating e.g. language attitudes on these issues. Thus, I aimed to rather follow the data and to see what theoretical and methodological issues it will suggest (cf. Blommaert 2006a: 14). Looking back now I do not think that it was a drawback, because it led me to focus on the discursive and interactive characteristics of metalinguistic talk in the region.

The fact that the interviews are not conversations between peers is important in their analysis (see especially article 5). That is, language use in the interviews is different from local everyday conversations. Thus, I found the data less suitable for an investigation of, for instance, local practices of code-switching or other language use and variation issues (but see Kovács 2001), among which the study of language contact in the Banat could be of great interest for areal linguistics.

The interview as an interactive event itself drew my attention already during the first fieldwork trip. In the beginning it was a practical problem: how to carry out an interview? Later it became a theoretical problem: how does the interviewer influence the accounts of the interviewee? And, what kind of interactional structures characterize the interview? On the practical side, my articles examine several examples of, among others, how something gets asked and answered in my data. In other words, I try to explicate the basis of my interpretations on the concrete turns of talk in the data.

The chosen analytical framework of my articles draws from two distinct fields, the study of Language Ideologies and Conversation Analysis. I engage in an analysis of language ideologies in metalinguistic discourses as they evolve in interviews. That is, in interviews speakers orient to, produce, (re)construct and engage in disputes about norms and beliefs about language in interactions with each other. Ideologies thus must have some foundations in interaction and in the normative frameworks that speakers invoke in and through their talk.

The interviews are analysed as interactions. Thus, the micro-context of different turns of talk containing metalanguage is considered of paramount interest. This analytical approach can be considered as interactional, empiricist, inductive, data-driven, bottom-to-up view. My work is methodologically related to such discourse analysis, which takes the data as the primary point of departure. From this point of view, my study is related to discourse analysis oriented studies on language ideologies (e.g. Brigs 1986, Gal 1993, Jaffe 1999, Heller 2007) and to applied conversation analysis which seeks to analyze how certain feature or phenomena, beyond the structure of interaction as such, is dealt with in interaction (see e.g. Antaki & Widdicombe 1998, ten Have 2004)

3.1 Language ideologies

I define my work as a study of language ideologies. According to Kroskrity (2000: 7, cf Woolard 1998: 3-4) language ideologies is best described “as a cluster concept consisting of a number of converging dimensions”. To begin with, Silverstein (1979: 193) first defined language ideologies as “... sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use”. This definition has given impetus for both the analysis of connections of ideology with grammatical structure as well as the uses of metalanguage. Later, Irvine (1989: 255) put the emphasis on the social, political and cultural side in her definition: “[linguistic ideology is] the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests”. The following definition, is provided by Gal (2002: 197, emphasis as original):

LINGUISTIC IDEOLOGIES are the culturally specific notions which participants and observers bring to language, the ideas they have about what language is good for, what linguistic differences mean about the speakers who use them, why there are linguistic differences at all. Both ordinary people and social scientists - linguists, sociologists, anthropologists - hold language ideologies.

This definition serves the purposes of my goals to provide an inventory of interpretations of the linguistic situation in the Banat. Further, it supports my idea to compare data produced both by ordinary people and social scientists. Finally, in an extensive review of literature, Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 55) define the field broadly as “research on cultural conceptions of language - its nature, structure and use— and on conceptions of communicative behavior as an enactment of collective order.” Here a metapragmatic dimension is added to the previous definitions, which suits well my goals to analyze the emergent nature of language ideologies in interviews. Further, it supports my analysis of interactional structures as a way to intersubjectively produce and maintain collective norms.

For analytic purposes of identifying language ideologies in the flow of data, I have further defined language ideologies as explicit metalinguistic

discourse or talk about language. An analytical goal is to study what the participants to an interview do through talking about language. That is, what are the interactional roles, functions or activities of metalanguage?

Verschueren (2004: 54) points out how general metalanguage is. There is practically no language use without it. He points mainly to lexical and grammatical elements. However, my investigation focuses on the transparent, explicit talk about language (see also Gal 1993). Language ideologies typically consist of metalanguage usage that is taken for granted. For instance terms related to language, following late Wittgenstein (1953), receive their meaning from their use. However, such terms are seldom defined explicitly, rather they have culturally “default” indexical meanings (Silverstein 1998, see article 6 for a discussion). In my work, I argue that close interactional analysis is capable to uncover what they index in the particular conversation. Decoding language ideologies means often explicating these default meanings. The speakers (or writers) most often have an essentialist stance to such language related abstract terms as ‘good language’ or ‘pure Hungarian’ in my materials. In my articles, such terms are analyzed through explicating the definitions the participants give them. That is, for instance, when do the informants use the term, what do they connect with it, what is not described as such, and what is the role of the interviewer and the interactional structure in this process.

According to Gal (2006b), the analysis of language ideologies typically means analyzing discourses. In the language ideologies approach, discourse analysis is targeted to examining the metapragmatic assumptions connecting language with speakers and the social world. This means going beyond the surface of what elsewhere has been called as e.g. attitudes or beliefs on language. Here an apparatus for an analysis of the semiosis of signs has been proposed by Irvine and Gal (2000, see article 6). From a new perspective, I have analyzed the discursive and interactional construction of talk about language with a focus on the presumptions they point to. That is, my aim is to explicate the emergent character of language ideologies with the help of interactional analysis of metalanguage.

The stream of language ideologies research I follow does not consider language ideologies as “false consciousness” (but see Volosinov 1990[1929]) or as mistaken, pseudoscientific ideas (but see Blommaert 1996, Lanstyák 2003-2004). In other words, the point is to make ideologies – which are often naturalized and taken for granted – transparent, not to discredit or correct them. In this manner the study of linguistic ideologies differs also from the study of language myths because the term “myth” includes often a (de)valuing meaning (see Lanstyák 2009).

There has been considerable development in the field of language ideologies in the recent decade and during my project it has grown to a popular field. According to Blommaert (2006b), several basic concepts of describing language in society have been reconsidered due to theoretical impact from the field (see e.g. Inou 2006 on the concept of *standardization*, of which Garvin 1993 offers a traditional account). The main methodological contribution of the field

of language ideologies is the comparison and linkage of so far largely unconnected perspectives. In other words, what has previously been known about language structure or multilingualism is now connected to an explanatory and interpretative framework of ideology. As Gal's (2008) recent review shows, the approach of language ideologies provides powerful and fresh explanations on bilingualism in the circum-Hungary region. However, so far not much qualitative research is available in Hungarian sociolinguistics. In international research, the study of language ideologies has not yet focused on the emergent characteristics of metalanguage (but see Sidnell 2008). To fill the latter gap, I explore the benefits of combining the field of Language Ideologies with Conversation Analysis.

3.2 Conversation analysis

Conversation Analysis (CA hereafter) focuses on the study of the characteristics of interaction through the empirical analysis of interaction in its own terms. In practice this means the qualitative analysis of sequential patterns of turn-formation, turn-taking, sequential patterns, timing and so on. Basic analytic questions include such as 'what is the participant doing in this turn and how'. A possible goal of the analysis is to find out how turn-formation, turn-taking or sequential patterns form the social roles, relationships and identities of the speakers. (see Laihonen 2000: chapter 2.)

According to Moermann (1989: 9, see also Sidnell 2008: 48) „those who use talk in order to discover what people think must try to find out how the organization of talk influences what people say“. For this end, I have combined the study of Language Ideologies with CA. That is, I make use of CA as a way of analyzing interviews in order to uncover language ideologies. Furthermore, my goal is to analyze the interactional structures of metalinguistic talk in general. That is, I wish to explore how the speakers orient to, construct, contest or resist ideas and cultural concepts of language in interaction.

Here I wish to demonstrate the importance of including a consideration of the interactional structure in the analysis of language ideologies in interviews with an example. In CA terms the analyzed phenomenon is called *formulations*. Typically after an interviewee account, the interviewer displays that s/he has understood what the interviewee has said. Acknowledgment tokens, such as 'yes', 'I see', (H: *igen, értem, öhöm*), are neutral devices inviting the interviewee to continue her account. However, at a certain point of interaction, interviewers routinely display understanding by longer turns of talk, such as formulations. Formulations summarize, clarify, elaborate and select elements of the interviewee's talk:

Excerpt 17
PH99 4A HW

- 1 IR: öö ha én kérdezhettek miért ment ném- miért
 2 ment német iskolába tanul[ni]
 3 IE: [igen]
 4 IR: =vagy-
 5 IE: =mert az én apukám félig- szóval ő
 6 félig német az apja után német
 7 de az anyukám szintén az apja után német
 8 úgyhogy mink felnöttünk két- szóval három
 9 nyelvvel a románál- német magyar román (.)
 10 és akkor mivel itt XX-on ↑laktunk
 11 a német iskola öt percre van ↑innen és
 12 akkor persze hogy ide adtak
 13 ->IR: leg- a legpraktikusabb
 14 IE: a legpraktikusabb igen
 15 IR2:és az osztály- az osztálytársaid azok...
- 1 IR: uh may I ask you why did you go to the Germ- why
 2 did you go to the German school to [learn]
 3 IE: [yes]
 4 IR: =or-
 5 IE: =because my father is half- I mean he
 6 is half German he is German after his father
 7 but my mother is likewise German after her father
 8 so we grew up with two- I mean three
 9 languages with Romanian- German Hungarian Romanian(.)
 10 and since we lived here in ↑XX
 11 the German school is five minutes from ↑here
 12 and of course they sent me here
 13 ->IR: the most practical thing
 14 IE: the most practical thing yes
 15 IR2:and your class- classmates they...

Here a narrative account by the interviewee is summarized and reformulated by the interviewer as 'the most practical thing'. On the face of it, the interviewer presents a most agreeable summary of the informant's previous account. According to Mazeland and ten Have (1996), such summaries can be seen as part of the researcher's practice of interpreting and glossing the answers for further use. As they point out, the category used by the researcher in the interview is often restated in the analysis as typifying the position of the informant. For instance, in a traditional analysis, this segment of data could be offered as evidence that "practical reasons are given as the most important reasons for the choice of school". However, this kind of analysis fails to take account of the interviewer's practice of leaving out some aspects of the interviewee's answer. Here for instance, issues of identity, such as the relevance of knowing several languages or of having German roots on both sides of the family (lines 5-9) could have been elaborated further. That is, as noted by Heritage (1985:102), formulations are selective, stressing some aspects and discarding others. From the point of view of interaction, the formulation serves here as a display of the interviewer's understanding, which at the same time indicates that the answer has been exhaustive enough.

⁷ For transcript symbols, see article 5, fn. 3.

According to Heritage (1985), formulations can be co-operative or uncooperative in their character. The importance of considering the interactional structure while describing language ideologies comes even clearer if we compare excerpt 1 with excerpt 2 where the interviewer produces an uncooperative formulation:

Excerpt 2

GB99 HW (The discussion has been on who knows Hungarian in the family)

- 1 IR: a hugai gyerekei azok tud- (.)
 2 tudnak magyarul?
 3 IE: hát tudnak magyarul mer beszél a húgom
 4 velük (.) persze mer én is most máran
 5 beszéllek vele nagyon keveset tudott
 6 ez a kislány már huszonegy éves (.)
 7 de keveset tudott most már egész jól
 8 beszél már mer egy éve itt van nálam
 9 most a második éve (.) mindég magyarul
 10 beszélünk s sokat tanul. (.) leírta a
 11 Miatyánkat magyarul ↑hogy diktáljam
 12 le az Üdvözlégyet, (.) vizsga előtt azt
 13 mondta mindég magyarul, (.) úgyhogy
 14 ->IR: Ezt ő- ő kérte hogy magyarul [beszéljenek]
 15 IE: [ő kérte kérte]
 16 ->IR: vagy maga eről- eről[tette egy kicsit?]
 17 IE: [↑nem ő kérte ő]
 18 kérte (.) nem én nem erőltetek senkit (.)
 19 nem szokásom erőltetni. se heh
 20 kényszeríteni hogy ezt most így kell
 21 nem nem, (---) ha akard jó ha nem
 22 úgy is jó, (.) azt mondják nem szabad
 23 senkit kényszeríteni meg erőltetni. (.)
 24 mindenki kell érezze hogy ↑na akarom
 25 vagy nem akarom nem (.) kényszerből (.)
 26 s úgyhogy ő mondta (.) mer látta hogy
 27 mindég imádkozok @na *hai învață-mă
 28 și pe mine la tatăl nostru*@ akkor kezdte
 29 magyarul olyan szépen mondja magyarul,
 30 (.) már beszél éppen mindent nem ért de
 31 azért elég jól beszél magyarul.(0.8)
 32 megtanult (.) még ez is amelyik itt
 33 van ez is románul kezdte nem is perfektül
 34 beszél magyarul de még éppen nem nagyon
 35 tud magyarul de mondja románul mért amúgy
 36 is nekem végül is nem csak ez (--) számít
- 1 IR: do the children of your younger sister
 2 know Hungarian?
 3 IE: well they know Hungarian because my sister speaks it
 4 with them (.) of course because I speak it nowadays
 5 too with her this girl knew very little (.) she is
 6 already twenty-four(.) but she knew little
 7 now she speaks quite well because she has been
 8 living with me for a year now it's her second
 9 year (.) we always speak Hungarian and she learns
 10 a lot (.) she wrote down the Lord's Prayer in
 11 Hungarian and asked me ↑to dictate the Hail Mary,
 12 (.) she said it always before an exam always
 13 in Hungarian, (.) so you see
 14 ->IR: and she- she asked you to [speak Hungarian]

15 IE: [she asked she asked]
 16 ->IR: or you forced- for[ced her a bit?]
 17 IE: [↑no she asked she] asked (.)
 18 no I don't force anybody (.)
 19 it's not my habit to force or heh push
 20 somebody to do this or that no no, (---) if you
 21 like it good if not it's good that way too,
 22 (.) they say you shouldn't push or
 23 force anybody (.) everybody should feel
 24 themselves that ↑okay I want to do it
 25 or I don't want to not (.) because of an
 26 obligation (.) and so she said because she
 27 saw that I always pray *@ *please teach*
 28 *the Lord's prayer to me also@** then she begun
 29 in Hungarian and she says it so beautifully
 30 in Hungarian,(.) she can already she doesn't know
 31 everything yet though but still she speaks
 32 Hungarian quite well. (0.8) she learnt it(.)
 33 also this girl here started with Romanian
 34 but she doesn't know Hungarian perfectly
 35 she doesn't know it that well yet but then she speaks
 36 Romanian because not only that (--) counts for me.

Here the interviewer first (line 14) delivers a formulation which picks up and recycles a relevant point from the interviewee's account ('and she asked you to speak Hungarian'). This formulation builds on the account by the interviewee (see lines 3-13). For instance, the statement (line 11) '[she] asked me to dictate the Hail Mary [in Hungarian]' indicates that it was the niece's wish to use Hungarian. This co-operative formulation is accepted at once by the informant's partial repeat confirming the prior interpretation ('she asked, she asked', line 15). So far, the interlocutors can be seen to display agreement. However, then the interviewer delivers a far reaching, provocative conclusion: 'or did you force her a bit?' (line 16). The uncooperative character of this formulation lies in portraying the informant as in conflict with a third party (cf. Heritage 1985: 110).

The interviewer's question 'or did you force her a bit?' is designed in a way that is bound to be denied by the informant. That is, the expression *erőltet* ('force') contains a challenging proposal that the informant has made her niece speak Hungarian against her will. As an answer, the informant instantly (overlapping with the question) clarifies her position on the issue. First, she rejects the proposal by stating that she has not forced the girl to speak Hungarian. Then, the informant claims that she never forces anybody, and refers to a general rule against forcing anybody. The critical expression 'force' is extensively recycled and negated in the informant's answer. Finally, the informant provides a narrative of the actual event, how the girl in her own words (cited in Romanian) asked the informant to teach her a prayer in Hungarian.

By deploying a provocative formulation the interviewer thus elicits a clear stance from the informant on the issue of speaking Hungarian in the family. While constructing the view that it is good if all members of the family learn and use Hungarian, the informant is confronted with the negatively worded

conclusion that she is obliging her nieces to use Hungarian with her. The informant then gets involved in what might be called *defensive detailing* (Drew 1998: 297-302). That is, she provides numerous negations of the implications of the researcher's speculative conclusion with respect to her previous talk. In this way, the informant portrays herself as a tolerant, good person and thus orientates to the presumed moral implications of the researcher's challenging question.

To reiterate, the two excerpts show important methodological insights: claiming on the basis of excerpt 1 that in the life of the informant practical reasons decided the language of education, would be an oversimplified statement. Rather, the interviewer's formulation plays an important role in constructing this interpretation. The interviewer could have selected another dimension from the informant's account, or provided an uncooperative formulation. Then most likely the interviewee would have produced a different, perhaps a more detailed, defensive account. What we can say about excerpt 1 is that the informant agreed with the interviewer's summary of her account. Excerpt 2 points to an alternative interactional structure: what happens if the interviewer uses an un-cooperative formulation. Here, interactional structures clearly influence the selection of a description and the way an idea about language is expressed. A general methodological point is that interviewee statements should be interpreted on the basis of the conversational action they are embedded in.

Even though the examination of language ideologies typically includes analyzing discourses, CA has rarely been combined with this approach (but see Sidnell 2008). There are some differences between the two fields, which I have discussed in article 5. Finally, I wish to briefly point to the common ground the two research strands share: CA and language ideologies have provided reappraisals of language use phenomena and general, since they are both oriented to challenging established views. CA achieves this through an empiricist worldview, Language Ideologies through examining what others take for granted. Finally, both have an inductive tradition, a bottom-to-up view of research.

4 RESULTS

Next, I will summarize the results of my research. First, I will summarize the articles separately with a focus on their results. Finally, I will sum up the articles in the form they give answers to the research questions.

4.1 Article 1

Laihonen, P. 2001. Multilingualism in the Romanian Banat: Elite and Everyday Language Ideologies. Hannonen, P., Lönnqvist B. & Barna, G. (eds.) *Ethnic Minorities and Power*. Fonda Publishing: Helsinki, 11-45.

In the first article, I present an inventory of the basic descriptions of multilingualism and the three historically dominant languages in the northern Romanian Banat: Hungarian, Romanian and German. I use two kinds of data. First, with the help of Hungarian, German and Romanian intellectual writings, I present an overview of some elite conceptions of the linguistic history of the Banat. Secondly, I examine extracts from the interview data that contain talk about language(s) as evidence for everyday language ideologies.

In the different (Hungarian - German - Romanian) academic writings on the history of the Banat monolingualism is considered the norm and multilingualism is seen as a potential source of conflict. This view is clear in the practice of isolating a single ethnic group and its language for description. Such a description typically includes a positive and nostalgic element for the period of the "golden age", or age of hegemony. For instance, such a period for Hungarians was the time the region belonged to the Hungarian Kingdom (ca. 1778-1918). Other periods of time are depicted in a negative light. Furthermore, describing the history of the Banat often includes the monitoring and documentation of violations by the "other" groups. Violations by one's "own" group are less documented, by contrast, the policies of the own "golden age" are viewed as tolerant.

Language plays a fundamental role in descriptions of history. The spread, cultural success and share of power by an ethnic group all seem to culminate in the question of language. Finally, the brief review of historical representations of the Banat supports the idea that nationalism is an extremely tempting resource for the elite, which is represented here by a selection of academic scholars. That is, also for the modern intellectual, the nation is the most obvious source of mission, power and identity.

In the second part of this article I review everyday folk representations of living in a multilingual society. The local ideas about languages as present in 12 interviews with the Hungarian inhabitants can be summarized as follows:

On the Hungarian language

- Hungarian is evaluated with positive, identificatory and emotional statements.
- Examples of attempts to hinder the use of Hungarian in everyday situations are known, but claimed to be rare. Being told not to speak Hungarian is evaluated very negatively.
- The informants evaluate their own variant of Hungarian as "bad" Hungarian.
- No instrumental value is ascribed to Hungarian. Nevertheless, sense of identity motivates some people to promoting the survival and spread of Hungarian in their family.

On the Romanian language

- Learning Romanian is presented as a natural obligation.
- Using Romanian in official situations is described as compulsory.
- Romanian is given as the general language of communication.
- Monolingual Romanians are evaluated negatively; however in the case of family members learning Hungarian is seldom emphasised.

On the German language

- German is described as a high prestige language in the Banat.
- The use of German in everyday life is vanishing.

On multilingualism and monolingualism

- Linguistic diversity and multilingual linguistic repertoire are presented as natural and positive.
- Monolingualism is often described as a deliberate unwillingness to learn the language of other people.

In comparison with the elite views, reviewed in Part I of this article, the local informants describe multilingualism positively and they also represent learning more than one language as a natural phenomenon. The elite represents the Banat as an "arena for languages in competition". However, in the responses of local Hungarian inhabitants the Banat is in the first place a region of linguistic tolerance. Furthermore, as the interviews show, the northern Banat is not presented as an area of linguistic enclaves or totally separate communities; rather its multilingualism is described as social as well as individual.

In sum, this article gives an inventory of language ideologies in the interviews, which is compared with mainstream national Hungarian, German and Romanian intellectual writings. In the interviews local inhabitants give a markedly different view of multilingualism in the Banat than that available in the intellectual writings. In other articles, this inventory serves as a springboard for comparison and refined analysis.

4.2 Article 2

Laihonen, P. 2004. A romániai bánsági (bánáti) tolerancia és többnyelvűség a nyelvi ideológiák tükrében. [Tolerance and Multilingualism in the Romanian Banat on the basis of Language Ideologies]. In Kovács, N., Osvát, A. & Szarka, L. Tér és terep. Tanulmányok az etnicitás és az identitás kérdésköréből III. Az MTA etnikai-nemzeti kisebbségkutató intézetének évkönyve. [Space and Field. Studies on ethnicity and identity III. The yearbook of Research Institute of the Ethnic and National Minorities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 81–97.

In this article I discuss the conceptions of multilingualism and tolerance from the viewpoint of interviews with the local Hungarians compared with writings by the local intellectuals. First, however previous Hungarian studies on the Banat are briefly reviewed and an array of background information on the situation of Hungarians in the Banat is presented.

The Hungarian accounts in the general reference books have focused on (sometimes stereotypic) descriptions of “anti-Hungarian” acts by the German colonialist officers and the Romanian elite. However, in recent years there have been attempts to pay attention to multiculturalism and multilingualism in various academic fields (e.g. ethnology, geography). In the international context, however, the situation of the Germans in the Banat is the most studied one. Demographic data and language politics concerning among others education, church and media are discussed briefly and compared to the overall situation in Romania.

The folk ideas about multilingualism are positive. Multilingual persons are characterized as tolerant. Monolingualism is depicted as a negative feature. However in the concrete case of a monolingual person, this characterization does not hold. The deliberate, malevolent monolingualism is described as a basic characterization of the Romanian newcomers (the ‘colonists’) to the Banat region. A positive regional identity, characterizing the old inhabitants (the ‘locals’), is depicted as the ‘willingness’ to be multilingual.

The local intellectuals have discussed the concept of multilingualism in their writings. These texts, in contrast to the writings by the national elites, acknowledge the local worldview and aim to explain it in more general terms. In line with the folk view, they connect multilingualism and tolerance with regional identity. As an explanation they stress the conflict of interests between the region and centers of power (Bucharest in the first place). That is, the opposition to the centre provides a tolerant local identity.

The writings also deal with the paradox that the local political sphere does not support multilingual practices. In local politics monolingualism and the views of the majority are promoted, with similar language ideologies as in the writings of the national elites. The image of the region as ‘tolerant’ is nevertheless seen as a powerful hindrance to open ethnic conflict. In practice, they claim, ethnic problems are swept under the carpet. Finally, according to

sociolinguistic theory, language activism has a positive affect on language maintenance. In a similar manner, the local Hungarian elite interpreters 'tolerance' as a precursor for language shift since it hinders activism.

In sum, Article 2 deepens the analyses on discourses around multi- and monolingualism in the interviews and written materials. In the interviews, multilingualism is depicted as positive, the informants put their three languages (Hungarian, Romanian, German) side by side expressing that knowing all three is the ideal. However, in certain concrete situations monolingualism is accepted. This article has a new perspective on written discourses by analysing academic descriptions by local scholars. Local scholars have a mediating position between national and folk views.

4.3 Article 3

Laihonen, P. 2006. Egy finnországi nyelvész reflexiói a Bánságról [Reflections of a Finnish Linguist on the Romanian Banat]. *Korunk* 1: 46-54.

This writing reviews the background, fieldwork, data, method, aims, researcher position and ethical questions of my project. This brief essay does not contain analysis of interviews. I included this article in the thesis, since it offers Hungarian readers a self-reflection of my PhD project, not available elsewhere. A similar account is available in English in my previous summary (Laihonen 2005).

4.4 Article 4

Laihonen, P. 2007. Die Banater Schwaben und Ideologien über die Mehrsprachigkeit. [The Swabians of the Banat and the Ideologies about Multilingualism]. *Ungarn-Jahrbuch (Zeitschrift für interdisziplinäre Hungarologie, Ungarisches Institut, München)* 28, 2007: 91-110.

Article 4 consists of two parts. In the first part I examine the construction of history and interethnic relations in the German sources on the Banat. These are briefly compared to Hungarian accounts. In the second part the local German conceptions of languages and multilingualism are examined through the analysis of interviews among the Germans.

Practically all German sources, irrespective of their focus, give an important role for the description of history, since in the past the Banat had a considerable German population. In a nutshell, the history of the Banat is constructed as follows in the German writings:

The colonization and resettlement of the Banat counts as the glamorous starting point. Later 'magyarization' threatened the German institutions, e.g. church and education. The unity of the Banat was destroyed in the Peace treaty of 1920. However, the interwar period was a 'golden age' for Germans in the Romanian Banat. Life after the Second World War is depicted as a plain tragedy. The 'German villages' have become devastated and empty. The last hope for the future of German culture lays in the co-operation with the majority.

The interethnic relations are in general neglected in the German writings. The descriptions of the other groups are characterized by political conflict. The Germans in the Banat are described as an isolated cultural enclave. This idea is also supported by linguistic theory of the linguistic enclaves (in German: *Sprachinsel*, meaning linguistic communities isolated both from their "motherland" as well as from the surrounding linguistic communities) and its application to the study of the German language in the Banat (for an extended discussion, see Weber-Kellerman 1978). In turn, the Hungarian descriptions of the Germans give a stereotypic, negative image. In both German and Hungarian descriptions of the other group the national level discourse dominates over the regional one.

The folk ideas about language in the interviews can be roughly divided into two categories according to the dichotomy town/village. The town settlement is here represented by Lippa (R: Lipova). In Lippa the relations to the local Hungarians are depicted as good. Many of the German informants claim competence in Hungarian and Romanian, too. Multilingualism is viewed positively and as a guarantee for friendly neighborly relations. The German culture from the past is depicted as a source of pride for the informants. The evaluations of the Hungarian culture are neutral. Romanian culture is at times negatively assessed, among others due to the claimed monolingualism of the Romanians. The Jews are presented as a group that is particularly talented in learning languages.

In the villages the folk theories about language are somewhat different and more diverse. In some of the villages a German culture was predominant in the past. In these villages the past is described as a positive, culturally vivid time. In contrast, the present is described as: "today there is nothing, only old people". The Germans in the villages are bilingual. Besides German they master the language of the state, today Romanian, earlier Hungarian. The inhabitants of the "German villages" have less contacts with other ethnic minorities than Germans living in Lippa. However, the interethnic relationships are described as good also in the villages. The role of the mother tongue is not emphasized in either case, rather religion and good neighbourly relationships are depicted as important.

In sum, the academic texts aim at the construction of a distinct ethnic group. This is achieved through emphasizing everything German and interpreting everything from a 'German point of view'. The interethnic relationships are generally neglected in the writings. The German informants give a different interpretation of the same facts. They stress the good everyday interethnic relationships. A kind of nostalgia towards the times when German was dominant exists in some of the villages. However, this nostalgia is not directed against the other ethnic groups. Multilingualism is characterized positively and

it has been especially characteristic for the inhabitants of Lipova. The writings represent the Banat as an "arena for languages in competition", whereas in the interviews a pragmatic ideology is dominant which does not emphasize the role of the German language.

In brief, article 4 examines the language ideologies of German writings and interviews. The purpose of this article is to give a comparative perspective on the language ideologies produced by Hungarian informants and sources.

4.5 Article 5

Laihonen, P. 2008. Language Ideologies in Interviews: A Conversation Analysis Approach. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12/5, 2008, 668-693.

This article has a methodological aim to show the benefits of combining tools from the fields of Language Ideologies and Conversation Analysis in an analysis of metalinguistic discourse in research interviews. CA has been criticized for neglecting the details of social, cultural and historical context. I argue that such issues are taken into account, but that they are discussed in CA type report only when they are observably relevant for the interlocutors in the investigated interaction.

The goal of this article is to show what conversation analysis can offer the study of language ideologies. Single-case analyses of phenomena typically of interest in the field of Language Ideologies demonstrate how the interviewer and the interviewee together construct statements, accounts and evaluations about language. That is, statements about language are recipient designed, and they are sensitive to the expectations, invitations or implications of earlier talk. Furthermore, they are accepted, denied or reformulated in the forthcoming talk. In this way, the analysis of language ideologies, such as 'language standards', is connected to the analysis of interactional structures, such as repair. In general, the analyses show how talk about language is produced and designed for the turn-by-turn structures of interaction. The analyses also highlight the intersubjective character of talk about language.

From the point of view of the investigated community, the different roles of the interviewer and interviewee become clearest in the case of language standards. In that case, the Hungarian in Hungary is collaboratively constructed as superior to that of the Banat. That is, the use of non-standard forms in these sequences is implicitly and explicitly connected to an underdog minority identity and contrasted with a superior, universal norm. The analysis of an argument shows how people may have different language ideologies which are constructed as detailed counter arguments. This analysis points to the variability of language ideologies in the region and shows how contesting language ideologies can exist as an everyday activity in the Banat.

In sum, article 5 explicates the methodological innovation of my dissertation by demonstrating the benefits of combining the research trends of Language Ideologies and Conversation Analysis in the analysis of interviews. This article explicates the interactionally emergent and intersubjective dimension of language ideologies. That is, in research interviews, speakers orient to, (re)produce and engage in arguments about norms and concepts about language in interaction with each other. Therefore, also language ideologies have a foundation in interaction and in the normative frameworks that speakers invoke in and through their talk.

4.6 Article 6

Laihonen, P. 2009. A magyar nyelvi standardhoz kapcsolódó nyelvi ideológiák a romániai Bánságban [On the language ideologies in the Romanian Banat about the Hungarian language standard]. In: Lanstyák, I., Menyhárt, J. & Szabómihály, G. (eds.) *Tanulmányok a kétnyelvűségről* 5 [Studies on bilingualism, vol. 5]. (accepted for publication) 23 pages.

This study examines the concept of standard language in the Banat. According to current sociolinguistic view the term *standard language* has typically an ideological definition. A brief review of Hungarian linguistic writings and other intellectual discourses shows, that also in Hungarian linguistics the Hungarian standard language is defined in ideological, not linguistic, terms. Furthermore, it is established that the Hungarian culture is a typical standard language culture. That is, most speakers and even linguists consider and use the term *Hungarian language* as a synonym for the *Hungarian standard language*. Breaching this heritage, a group of sociolinguistics in and around Hungary have aimed to broaden the concept of Hungarian language and simultaneously make the codified standard tolerant for variation.

In the empirical part, I analyze the discourses about language standards in interviews conducted among Hungarian speakers in the Romanian Banat. Through the analysis of the content and interactional characteristics of transcripts, it is established that Hungarians in the Banat depict the peculiarities of their vernacular as Romanian elements and evaluate the outcome in negative terms for instance as ‘not pure’ language. Metropolitan Hungarian is considered as of higher social value than the local variety. Language standard is connected also to the question of nationality.

The interviews include statements about Romanian and German language, too. The local variety of German may be considered ‘nicer’ than the standard version. That is, the local German dialects can be a part of the local identity, even among the Hungarians, for whom the local Hungarian elements do not fill this role. The Hungarian culture is a standard language culture also in the Banat, whereas the German culture is not. An analysis of some meta-

pragmatic features shows also that the standard language ideology might have an influence on the interactions between minority and majority Hungarians.

In sum, article 6 analyses the Hungarian 'metropolitan' linguistic and local folk evaluations of appropriateness and correctness of Hungarian language use in the Banat. Here the descriptions of language ideologies about different languages, multilingualism and monolingualism is complemented with the analysis language ideologies about language varieties and standards.

4.7 General summary of results

Next, I will provide the results of the thesis in a general brief summary. I group the results as answers to the research questions.

Research question 1)

What ideas, representations, descriptions or evaluations of languages, multilingualism or monolingualism are presented in the interviews?

The inventory of current discourses on different languages and language varieties shows reflections from the past as well as practical present considerations. There are also elements of tolerance, conflict, negative and positive (self)-image.

People identifying themselves as Hungarians describe their relationship to *the Hungarian language* in positive emotional terms. However, they give little instrumental value to Hungarian. The data sheds light on the normative orientations of the informant's, too. Similar to Hungary, the Hungarian culture in the Banat is a typical standard language culture. That is, most Hungarian speakers use the term *Hungarian language* as a synonym for the *Hungarian standard language*. Further, the informants evaluate their own variety of Hungarian in negative terms as 'mixed' or 'not pure'. The local variety of the Hungarian language is in general considered as a low prestige variety, especially in comparison to Hungarian spoken in Hungary.

The German language is described as a high prestige language. This is connected to two positive evaluations: German as an 'international language' and the local varieties of the German language as a positive component of a regional identity. At the same time, however, the informants do not see a future for the German language in the everyday life. That is, the German language is used as a symbol of the bygone, better past.

The Romanian language is described as 'the official language', which should be learned by all and used in certain situations. Romanian elements in the local Hungarian variety are described as the reason for the informants' own variety of Hungarian being a 'mixed' or 'not pure' language.

Multilingualism is described as positive, natural and desired. *Monolingual* people are in general described as malevolent persons not willing to use or learn the language of co-inhabitants. However, specific monolingual relatives or

friends are not considered malevolent. In those cases, monolingualism is described as more or less natural practice.

Research question 2)

How does the interview, its routines and its social setting, influence the data? What are the typical interactional routines and structures in which language ideologies are embedded in my interviews?

The discourses containing language ideologies are constructed together by the researcher and the informant in interaction. A given turn of talk, containing a statement or evaluation related to language, adjusts to the given situation in the interview, to its recipient and previous turns of talk. The following turns of talk agree, contest or reinterpret the previous turns of talk. Thus, it is most important to take into account the interactional environment and the researcher's turns in the analysis of interviews.

In research interviews, speakers orient to, (re)produce and engage in arguments about norms and concepts about language in interaction with each other. Therefore, also language ideologies have a foundation in interaction and in the normative frameworks that speakers invoke in and through their talk. In the articles certain interactional structures are analyzed as possible sites for certain language ideology related phenomena. To begin with, the basic *question – answer – evaluation* format used in research interviews influences the conceptions of language presented in it. For instance, an answer might be constructed to resist some of the assumptions indicated by the question. Further, arguments provide an environment for contesting or contrasting language ideologies. Arguments point also to the variability of language ideologies in the local folk discourses. A yet another analyzed phenomenon is that a peculiar form of a repair sequence is used to collaboratively evaluate a language form as inferior. That is, the interviewer, speaking metropolitan Hungarian, takes the role of a language expert through correcting (i.e. repairing) the deviant expressions by the informant, who uses the local, contact variety of Hungarian.

Research question 3)

How is multilingualism presented in the writings about the Banat? How is the Banat presented in intellectual discourses?

According to Gal (2008), national discourses do not give a complete picture of local language ideologies. This is true for the case of the Banat, too. That is, the language ideologies constructed in the writings at times diverge from the language ideologies depicted in interviews and at times converge with them. I will first summarize the differences and then discuss the similarities.

Hungarian, Romanian and German writings depict the Banat as an arena for languages in competition. Most of the analyzed writings construct a national (e.g. Hungarian/Romanian/German) discourse by isolating an ethnic group. Typically, the history of the group is described, mapping its ups (e.g. 'golden

age') and downs. In these discourses, the groups are often connected to a larger, national context, the local perspective is often put aside.

Some local researchers aim at interpreting language ideologies as a part of the regional identity. In those writings they take into account both the local language ideologies (present in the interviews) and the national intellectual discourses. The writings of the local researchers reside in a space between the two discourses and they point to paradoxes in both. Among others, they show how a multilingual language ideology does not lead to multilingual practices in some situations.

A common language ideology for the interviews and intellectual discourses can be found in the ideas about language standards. In accordance with the traditional Hungarian linguistic standard language culture, especially strong among the highly influential prescriptive or 'traditional' wing of Hungarian linguistics, the local speakers of Hungarian evaluate their own variety of Hungarian in negative, self-deprecating terms (i.e. as 'not pure' or 'mixed'). This can be connected to the standard language ideology of Hungarian, since in the case of German, also Hungarian speakers mention the local dialects as positive examples of regional identity.

5 FINAL REMARKS

This is the first study of the Banat using a modern sociolinguistic framework. From the perspective of language ideologies, my work has drawn attention to this neglected, but important region. I have compared interview data with academic writings and discussed some marked differences these two have. Furthermore, I have developed methodology for investigating language ideologies in interviews. Finally, my work points to the emergent character of Language Ideologies in interactions.

My study begun as fieldwork in 1998. In retrospect, the first reports (articles 1 and 2) are descriptive attempts to provide an ethnography of the Banat, and to give a basic inventory of language ideologies in the interviews and in written descriptions of the Banat. The two last articles, published about ten years after the first acquaintance with the area, have a more theoretical focus as a result of experience gained from the analysis of data and of critical reading of related scholarship. In brief, the theoretical part of my work gains its full expression only in the two last articles and in this summary.

In the analysis I have followed the data. This led me to cover some previously unnoticed themes which contribute to our general understanding of multilingual regions and language ideologies. Amongst others, ideas and conceptions about multilingualism and monolingualism do not receive much attention in Hungarian sociolinguistics. For instance, studies on attitudes have not been interested in investigating attitudes towards multilingualism or monolingualism. In a recent review (Gal 2008), only my work is mentioned as investigating ideas about multilingualism in its own right. Another new result for this field, potentially relevant for other contexts too, is that there is clear difference between 'folk' and elite language ideologies.

My work has drawn attention to the emergent character of language ideologies. My work implicates, that the instant interactional dimension should be taken seriously in the analysis of language ideologies in spoken data. In the field of linguistic anthropology, an objection to a such research design has been summarized by Heller (2007: 634): "What happens in a given interaction cannot be understood without references to the histories of that interaction". That is,

the field of language ideologies puts the investigated language ideologies into a larger context through examining how metalanguage is circulated in different discourses. It does so by discussing the history of the examined discourses as well as their references to future texts and talk (Heller 2007, Briggs 2007). This point of view was present in my examination of academic writings. However, in the case of interviews, I have largely retained from such analyses, since CA rigorously resists relating conversational materials to some pre-determining external socio-cultural or historical cause. Nevertheless, in a future study, references to past and future discourses, which are frequent in the analyzed excerpts (e.g. multilingualism is largely a historical phenomenon in the Banat), could be connected to other texts and discourses. There it could be possible to examine the similarities and differences of present and past discourses as well as the implicated future use of such discourses.

Briggs (1986, 2007 see also Cicourel 1988) is concerned about whether interview techniques can enable accurate representations of the mental schemata and models of the informants, or authentic retrievals of native communicative events from the past. Here I follow CA type epistemology. That is, for the CA approach interviews are not a resource for mapping external reality, but rather they are to be analysed as part of the reality under study (ten Have 2004: 84). In other words, my study should not be read as giving a 'truthful', 'complete' or 'authentic' picture of multilingualism or linguistic thinking in the Banat. Rather, the results of this study should be seen in the light that they describe possible discourses, which come from a situation that needs to be rigorously analysed as well. I have analysed paradoxes and variation in the materials. One result of my study has been to point out how two oppositional language ideologies can be present in an interaction (see article 5). Thus it is obvious, that accounts etc. containing ideas and concepts about language adjust to the recipient and situation. However, Briggs (1986, 2007) rightly points out that certain phenomena cannot be learned through interviews. As a future project, doing participant observation in the Banat could point to such issues, and ascertain more detailed ethnographic knowledge of everyday language use of the local inhabitants.

Finally, this study does not provide a complete picture of the language situation in the Romanian Banat. Such an account seems hopelessly complicated due to the number of included languages (or varieties of languages) (Romanian, Hungarian, German, Serbian, Bulgarian, Slovak etc.) and the scarcity of available research in some of them. Beyond just providing an inventory of the ethnic groups and their history (Wolf 2004), such a study would however clearly benefit from the approach of Language Ideologies. That is, are there general, shared discourses, ideas or concepts about language among the different groups in the Banat? What are the individual peculiarities and niches of different groups in relation to connecting language with the social world?

YHTEENVETO

Väitöstyöni koostuu kuudesta artikkelista ja johdannosta, joka taustoittaa ja arvioi artikkeleita. Tutkimukseni käsittelee Romanian Baanaatin kielitilannetta kieli-ideologioiden näkökulmasta. Baanaatin alueella on pitkä monikielisyiden historia, viimeaikainen kehitys on tosin vienyt kohti yksikielisyyttä. Suuria historiallisia ja nykyisiä ryhmiä Romanian Baanaatissa ovat romaniaiset (nykyään n. 80 % väestöstä), unkarilaiset (n. 10 %) ja saksalaiset (n. 3 %). Baanaatin erikoispiirre on vähemmistöjen paljous ja kulttuurien sekä kielten mosaiikkimaisuus: Baanaatissa mikään vähemmistö ei ole asuinalueellaan enemmistönä, vaan muiden vähemmistöjen ja enemmistön lomassa. Vaikka Baanaatti lienee historiallisesti yksi Euroopan monikulttuurisimmista ja monikielisimmistä alueista, se on asiantuntijapiireissäkin varsin tuntematon.

Tarkoitukseni ei ole esittää ”objektivistia” inventaariota Baanaatin nykyisestä kielitilanteesta vaan analysoida sen representaatioita ja tulkintoja. Tutkimukseni on aineistolähtöinen. Tutkimus alkoi kenttätyömatkoilla alueelle 1998-2000. Aineistona toimii kenttätyöprojektin yhteydessä kerätyt haastattelut ja viimeaikainen aluetta koskeva tieteellinen kirjoittelu. Aineisto rajoittuu pohjoiseen Romanian Baanaattiin ja siellä eläviin saksalaisiin ja unkarilaisiin. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää miten Baanaatin kielet ja monikielisyys esitetään toisaalta kirjoittavan eliitin teksteissä ja toisaalta paikallisten tavallisten ihmisten haastatteluissa.

Tutkimukseni täydentää unkarilaisen sosiolingvistiikan kenttää ulkopuolisen tutkijan näkökulmalla. Aiempi tutkimus keskittyy usein vain yhteen kansalliseen ryhmään, joka on myös näkynyt sen perusolettamuksissa. Vaikka oma tutkimukseni kuuluu Hungarologian alaan ja keskittyy näin ollen alueen unkarin kielisiin, se porautuu erityisesti alueen monikielisiin piirteisiin. Lisäksi yksi erillinen artikkeli käsittelee alueen saksankielisten kieli-ideologioita.

Tutkimuksen metodeina toimivat kieli-ideologioiden tutkimus yhdistettynä keskusteluanalyysiin. Kieli-ideologiat määritellään tässä tutkimuksessa käsityksiksi kielestä, sen luonteesta, rakenteesta ja käytöstä sekä käsityksiksi kommunikatiivisesta käytöksestä kollektiivisten normien ilmentymänä. Lisäksi kieli-ideologiat ovat kieltä koskevia käsityksiä tai uskomuksia, joita niin tavallisilla ihmisillä kuin asiantuntijoillakin on.

Jo kenttätöiden aikana huomasin miten suuri vaikutus haastattelijan henkilöllä ja haastattelujen rakenteella on haastatteluissa ilmeneviin käsityksiin. Siksi aloin tutkia myös sitä millaisissa vuorovaikutustilanteissa kieli-ideologiat ilmevät ja miten haastattelijat osallistuvat niiden konstruointiin. Tätä tarkoitusta varten tukeudun keskusteluanalyysiin, joka on kehitetty erityisesti vuorovaikutustilanteiden empiiristä tutkimista varten. Yleisellä tasolla tavoitteenani on tarkastella kieli-ideologioiden emergenttejä piirteitä, eli miten kieli-ideologiat ilmenevät vuorovaikutuksessa ja miten niitä kehitetään haastatteluissa.

Esittelen seuraavaksi tutkimuskysymykset ja tutkimuksen vastaukset niihin.

1) *Minkälaisia kuvauksia ja tulkintoja kielestä ja eri kielistä, monikielisydestä sekä yksikielisydestä haastatteluissa esiintyy?* Haastattelujen perusteella voidaan sanoa, että unkarinkieliset haastattelevat viittaavat *unkarin kieleen* positiivisia tunteita kuvaavin sanoin. He eivät kuitenkaan näe unkarin kielen osaamisesta olevan käytännön välineellistä hyötyä. Lisäksi unkarin kielen paikallista kielimuotoa arvioidaan arvottomaksi ”sekakieleksi” tai ”epäpuhtaaksi” unkariksi, erityisesti verrattuna Unkarissa käytettyyn unkariin.

Sekä Baanaatin unkarilaiset että saksalaiset pitävät *saksan kieltä* prestiisi-kielenä. Tämä ominaisuus liitetään saksaan toisaalta sen kansainvälisen välinearvon vuoksi, toisaalta koska paikallisia saksan kielen variantteja pidetään vahvan paikallistunteen osana. Samalla kuitenkin usein mainitaan, että saksan kieli tulee katoamaan Baanaatista lähiaikoina.

Romanian kieli esiintyy haastatteluissa opittavana ja virallisena, erilaisissa tilanteissa pakollisena kielenä. Yleisen käsityksen mukaan paikallinen unkarin kielen varieteetti on ”sekakieli”, koska siihen on sekoittunut romanian kielen piirteitä.

Monikielisyys esiintyy haastatteluissa positiivisena ja tavoiteltavana asiana. Baanaatissa asuvia yksikielisiä kuvataan usein pahantahtoisina henkilöinä, jotka eivät halua puhua tai oppia muiden kieltä. Jos kuitenkin puhutaan nimeytyistä henkilöistä, esim. romaniankielisistä sukulaisista, niin pidetään luonnollisena, että koko perhe vaihtaa kielensä romaniaksi yksikielisen läsnäollessa.

2) *Miten haastattelu, sen rutiinit ja osallistujien roolit vaikuttavat aineistoon? Mihin tyyppillisiin käytäntöihin ja vuorovaikutuksellisiin rakenteisiin kieli-ideologiat liittyvät aineistossa?* Haastatteluissa haastattelija ja haastateltava rakentavat vuorovaikutuksessa kielestä kertovaa diskurssia. Haastatteluissa tietyt vuorovaikutusrakenteet liittyvät tyyppillisesti tietynlaisiin kieli-ideologioihin. Haastattelu-puheen perusrakenne: *kysymys – vastaus – vastauksen arviointi* vaikuttaa jo sinänsä haastatteluissa ilmeneviin kieli-ideologioihin. Esimerkiksi vastaus voi toimia kysymykseen liittyvien ennako-oletusten kiistämisenä. Kieli-ideologioiden kiistäminen ja kieli-ideologioiden variaatio liittyvät usein (esim. kahden haastateltavan välisiin) kiistelysekvensseihin. Aineistolle erityislaatuisin on korjaus-sekvenssi, jossa haastattelija ja haastateltava yhdessä korjaavat haastateltavan puheessa esiintyvän ilmauksen. Ilmaus nimetään rutiininomaisesti ”seka-kieliseksi”. Sekvenssin loppuun haastateltava tyyppillisesti pyytää anteeksi. Tämän sekvenssin kautta haastateltava ja haastattelija rakentavat ja vahvistavat kommunikatiivista normia, jonka mukaan haastatteluissa ei tulisi käyttää standardikielestä poikkeavia ilmauksia.

3) *Miten monikielisyys esiintyy Baanaatista kertovissa teksteissä?* Baanaatista kertovat tekstit antavat toisinaan samanlaisen kuvan Baanaatista puhutuista kielistä kuin haastattelut, toisinaan niiden kuva kielistä eroaa suuresti.

Haastatteluissa monikielisyyttä pidetään ihanteena. Kirjotetuissa diskursseissa Baanaatin kielten esitetään kamppailevan ja kilpailevan keskenään. Tekstit kertovat Baanaatista yleensä kansallisesta näkökulmasta. Siihen liittyen ne kertovat yhden valitun kielen „voitoista ja tappioista”. Tietyissä Baanaatissa asuvien tutkijoiden teksteissä esiintyy kuitenkin myös näkemys, jonka mukaan monikielisyys on keskeinen osa alueellista identiteettiä.

Baanaatin asukkaiden mielipiteet unkarin kielestä ovat yhdensuuntaisia perinteisen Unkarin kielitieteen ja kielenhuoltajien kanssa: unkarinkieliset pitävät idealisoitua standardikielimuotoa ihanteena ja normina. Omaa kieli-
muotoonsa he suhtautuvat kriittisesti pitäen sitä ”epäpuhtaana sekakielenä”. Baanaatin unkarin- ja saksankielisille on tyypillistä, että saksan kielen paikallisvarieteetit mainitaan usein paikallisidentiteetin osana. Tämä kuva toistuu myös saksan kielisissä teksteissä, jotka eivät ole yhtä standardikeskeisiä kuin unkarinkieliset kirjoitukset.

Lopuksi. Tutkielmani on kiinnittänyt huomiota Baanaatin monikieliseen alueeseen, johon ei ole aiemmin kiinnitetty tarpeeksi huomiota sociolingvistikassa. Tutkimukseni ei ulottunut haastattelupuheen historiallisiin viittauksiin. Jatkossa voisi tutkia myös sitä miten nykyiset diskurssit liittyvät aikaisempiin diskursseihin. Tutkimukseni aineisto perustui lyhyisiin kenttätyömatkoihin. Pidempiaikainen osallistuva seuranta alueella voisi antaa uutta tietoa alueen jokapäiväisestä kielenkäytöstä. Työni ulottui vain alueen unkarin- ja saksankielisiin. Jatkossa voisi tutkia myös muita vähemmistöryhmiä ja enemmistön kieli-ideologioita kokonaiskäsitelmän muodostamiseksi.

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