

Some reasons behind the change of languages and dialects in a South Transdanubian area of Hungary, with special regard to Völgység

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ABSTRACT

Various national minorities have lived in the South Transdanubian region of Hungary over the centuries. Within this area, the Völgység is a small part of Hungary, belonging partly to Tolna and partly to Baranya counties, a loessy hilly area bordered by rivers. The paper deals with the language and dialect of the ethnic groups still living here after 1945. After WW II, the Germans and Serbs who remained here were joined by Szeklers from Bukovina, Hungarians from Upper Hungary and from other Hungarian areas. Today, most of the Germans and Serbs have merged with the majority Hungarians, and the (minority) language learnt by young Hungarians is mostly the standard version of the given language. The dialect of the resettled Szeklers from Bukovina, Hungarians from Upper Hungary and other Hungarian-speaking groups can be characterised as converging with the Hungarian vernacular. All these communities are characterised by mixed marriages, which also influence language usage and, in the case of Germans and Serbs, may lead to language shift. The dialect of the above-mentioned Hungarian-speaking groups (as with other Hungarian dialects) is withdrawn from the public language area. The Hungarian dialects (and the German and Serbian dialects in Hungary) have a lower prestige than the vernacular, their use is limited to a more restricted environment, and

they are nowadays the language of family use and the language of the more restricted community. The paper reviews the historical background and current status of these languages and language varieties and presents data on their speakers.

KEY WORDS : The South Transdanubian part of Hungary, Völgység, languages of the national minorities, Hungarian dialects, dialects of the national minorities, language change, language shift, resettlements

1. Introduction

In the southern part of Transdanubia, several national minorities lived during the centuries. Within this area the Völgység – one of the small regions of Hungary – is located. It is situated partly in Tolna and partly in Baranya Counties. The main aim of this paper is to examine the change of the dialects and languages of those ethnic groups that can be found there also after the Second World War. Besides, this review provides a clearer description of the social and thus linguistic changes after 1945. After the Second World War next to Germans and Serbians – who did not emigrate from the country –, Szeklers, Hungarians of Upper Hungary,¹ and Hungarian people of other areas arrived.²

The majority of the Germans arrived in the Carpathian-basin after the Turkish occupation of Hungary. In the 18th century, bigger blocks of settlements developed in several areas of the country, and one of these was the block of South-Eastern Transdanubia. This is formed by the settlements of Tolna, Baranya and Somogy Counties. Since after the settlements of the 18th century German dialects in Hungary have entered a new linguistic environment (a foreign language environment), their language became a language island (Wild 2015). However, in consequence of the population exchange, after the Second World War half of the German minority was relocated (Szarka 2003, 43.), and the absolute German majority villages became Hungarian majority ones, or mixed ethnic minority ones (Wild 2015). The relocation of Germans had many aftereffects, for example linguistic and cultural consequences (Szarka 2003, 45.).

Serbians moved into Hungary in greater numbers at the end of the 14th century and at the beginning of the 15th century, and later in the 17th century, they came here after the Turkish conquest of Balkan. Their religion and writings were different from the Hungarian

1 Upper Hungary is the translation of Felvidék, an area that was part of the Kingdom of Hungary until 1920. Most of the area called Upper Hungary or Upland now belongs to Slovakia.

2 After the Second World War several Hungarian people migrated from their earlier residence for various reasons (Pál 2021).

majority's ones (Gyetvai 2015, 43.). In the 15th and 17th centuries they settled down first of all in the southern counties of the country and next to the Danube (Novacsek-Vojnics – Lásztity 2000, 5–10.). After the First World War the number of the Serbian inhabitants of Hungary decreased, because about 30 000 Serbian people resettled to Yugoslavia (Vujicsics 1998, 4.). The number of those people who remained in Hungary started to decrease too, in the background the continuous and accelerated regression and the assimilation can be found (Bottlik 2005, 222.). Nowadays, in Hungary a significant number of the Serbian population can be found in some settlements around Budapest, in South Baranya County, and in South-Eastern Hungary (Bottlik 2005).

Szeklers of Bukovina and Hungarians of Upper Hungary were settled in place of the Germans. In 1945 Szeklers got the houses of the resettled Germans in Tolna, Baranya and Bács-Kiskun counties. According to data, circa 20 000 people got a new residence in Hungary then (Sebestyén 1989, 126–132., 156.). The language of these people derives from the Székely (Szekler) dialect, although because of their separation also some independent changes happened in their dialect (Pál 2020). In 1947 and 1948, some people of Upper Hungary arrived in the Völgyiség (495 families) (Solymár–Szóts 2000, 43.). These Hungarians were settled in Hungary within the framework of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian population exchange convention, and in the Völgyiség circa 18 000 Hungarians arrived from Mátyusföld and Csallóköz (Szóts 2007, 45., 58–59.), these areas were part of Czechoslovakia then. Their integration was hindered by their sporadic settlement, because only few people came from the same village, but they went to many places in Hungary (Szóts 2000, 58–59.). After the settlement of these Hungarian people in Hungary, the Hungarian standard or its regional variety affected their dialect, moreover the Hungarian standard considerably affected those people who moved to the towns after the settlement (Pál 2021). In consequence of the historical events of that time and the end of the traditional peasant life, some of the Szeklers of Bukovina and other Hungarian people went to the centres of the socialist industrialization (Solymár–Szóts 2000, 9.). In the settlements of Völgyiség, people mentioned above lived together with several ethnic groups, and after a time also mixed marriages occurred. Nowadays these inhabitants can even belong to more ethnic or minority groups (Szóts 2007, 105., Bindorffer 2007, 9.). After the Second World War, beyond the mentioned people, several Hungarian people were resettled, for example in Bonyhád there were settlers from Transylvania, Bácska and from other parts of Hungary (Pál 2021, 529.).

At the present time, many ethnically Germans and Serbians are assimilated into the majority ethnic of Hungarians, therefore the number of them is decreasing. Although, the loss of speakers does not mean the extinction of the given language (because regardless of this the German and Serbian language exist), but it means the end of the given community language variety (Szarka 2003, 47.). In terms of endangered languages, the language of minorities is in different stages in Hungary (Szarka 2003, 50.). In Hungary, the maintenance of the existence of the minority languages became the task of the minority education system, however, it cannot stop the language shift. The local language variant is not taught, instead

the standard variety of the minority language is learned by the youth of nationalities in the school, or they learn Hungarian already in their family. The resettled Szeklers, Hungarians of Upper Hungary and the other Hungarian-speaking population have left behind the most characteristic local linguistic features from their language, and their language is largely assimilated to the standard variety of Hungarian (Pál 2020, Száz 2017, Pesti–Máté 2018). Several sociolinguistic factors are determinative in the survival of minorities' language, for example urbanization, social mobility, the minorities' own educational and other institutions, but the majorities' attitude towards their language too (Knipf 2017, Szarka 2003, Bartha 1999), besides in Hungary some historical or economic events influenced the inhabitants' life, for example, because of the socialist industrialization after 1945 young workers moved to the industrial cities, the traditional peasant farming was over, schooling was widespread, and the possibility of higher education contributed to the emigration as well. The traditional communities of these people broke apart, and it influenced the language of the previously closed communities, because people could learn and use a new language variety (or a new language). Mixed marriages are characteristic of every group, and it influences their language choice and use too, besides they can cause also language shift in the case of Germans and Serbians. The Hungarian dialects of the above-mentioned Hungarian-speaking groups are pushed into the background, and it approaches the standard variety of the Hungarian language. The prestige of Hungarian dialects (and also the dialects of Germans and Serbians in Hungary) is lower than the prestige of the standard language, their use is limited to the narrower environment, these days dialects are the language of the family and the own local community (Kiss 2019, Wild 2015, Szarka 2003). This study examines the historical background of these languages and dialects, their current situation, besides it presents data referring to the ethnic groups. This paper is based on the research results related here and the relevant literature.

The structure of the paper: After the introduction, the paper gives an overview on the change of local language variants in Hungary in the last 70 years. The next part comprehensively deals with the change of dialects, community language variants, and minority languages in the Völgyeség, although this examination can be analogous with the other parts of Hungary, because of the historical and social changes of the country. The historical presentation of the ethnic groups living in this territory and the description of Völgyeség can contribute to the presentation of the language of the above-mentioned ethnic groups. The chapter of the examination of the individual ethnic groups and the ethno-linguistic history of the villages gives also historical, social and linguistic data about the earliest Hungarians, about the other Hungarian people who arrived later there, moreover about German and Serbian people.

2. Change of Hungarian dialects and change of some minority languages (and at the same time change of their dialects) in Hungary

In Hungary, firstly we can speak about the position of Hungarian dialects, and secondly the position of the local minorities' language, and thirdly, considering the theme of this study, we can examine also the dialect of the given languages. In connection with the South Transdanubian area and the *Völgyiség*, we can mention (among the larger number of groups) the Serbian people's language, moreover the Germans' local languages or dialects (who were settled down in Hungary in the 18th century), and some Hungarians' communities regarded as indigenous groups, but the dialect of Szeklers (who were settled down in this region in 1945), and the dialect of Hungarians of Upper Hungary (they arrived from *Mátyusföld* and *Csallóköz*). In the second half of the 20th century, in the new political system, also the social and economic changes accelerated, and it influenced these languages. For example, after the resettlements of Germans of Hungary (started in 1946) Szeklers of Bukovina and Upper Hungarians got their houses. (These Szeklers fled into Hungary in 1944, Hungarians of Upper Hungary were transferred to this country in 1947–48, but also other Hungarians arrived in this small region, for example from Romania [Pál 2021]). In Hungary, during the centuries the members of peasantry were the primary speakers of dialects, however, their traditional lifestyle notably changed for the 1960s: the mobilization and the education grew, industrialization accelerated, agriculture lost its significance, and the stigmatization of dialects spread (Kiss 2019, 39–40.). The higher prestige of the standard variety of the language is observable in connection with the national minorities of Hungary too, for example in the schools, the standard variety is taught, instead of the local dialect, and the standard has a high prestige among the members of the minorities (Erb–Knipf 2001, 315.). However, there are also other factors that refer to both Hungarian speakers and national minorities, for example migration from small villages, assimilation, mixed marriages, and the speakers do not pass the dialect (whether it is a minority language or a Hungarian dialect) and the traditional culture to the next generation (Wild 2015, Bindorffer 2007, Bottlik 2005).

In her work published in 2007, Györgyi Bindorffer examined the Croatian, German, Serbian, Slovakian and Slovenian minorities of Hungary, and she wrote among others about the assimilation of Serbians and Germans in Hungary. During this research, a significant linguistic assimilation was found, and the general level of practice related to the minority language was only the characteristic of the members of the older generations. Reflex language of young people is Hungarian – according to Bindorffer a reflex language is in which one thinks, dreams, counts, prays, suffers or swears (Bindorffer 1998, 4.). Their motive for this language choice can be that the possibilities of their minority language use is restricted in the majority Hungarian-speaking environment (Bindorffer 2007, 9.). In the minority groups mentioned above, the language assimilation of young people is practically finished, and the

language shift already evolved. Even if young people learn their ancestors' language, they learn it even then at school or within the framework of a separately organized language education. As regards religious assimilation, Bindorffer considers Serbians an exception because of their Orthodox religion, but the German minority group has been influenced by the Hungarians' Catholicism. In consequence of the structural assimilation, the minorities are already classified into the institutions of the host community, since their special minority professions are disappeared, and the individuals socially, economically, politically and cultural benefit from the assimilation. Also mixed marriages promote assimilation, moreover the children's affiliation of nationalities is a matter of choice rather than a consequence of birth (Bindorffer 2007, 9.).

According to the relevant scientific results the following macro sociolinguistic factors are determinative in the survival of minorities (Bartha 1999, Szarka 2003): size of the language community, its territorial location, the prestige of the minority's language, the status of the language among languages of the given country, its vitality, provision of mother tongue education of the minority, degree of institutionalization of the given minority language (knowledge of the standard variety, its use in the media), subjective relation of the members with the mother tongue, rate of exogamy in the certain generations, socio-psychological disposition of the speakers, embeddedness both in the majority and in the minority culture (see also Knipf 2017, 244–245.). Similarly to the dialects of the other minorities of Hungary the German and Serbian minorities' dialects were continuously affected by some effects and contacts (during their coexistence with the majority population and the other ethnic groups), therefore these language varieties are called contact varieties (Knipf 2017, 253–254.). Bilingualism may be a characteristic of minority speaking communities (in this case it means the use of the majority language and the ethnic minority language), besides also the ethnic minority language and its standard variety may occur. While in the case of historical minorities until the middle of the 20th century a community language variety or the dialect (acquired as the mother tongue) dominated in the everyday language use, but in the circle of later generations the passive language skills of the minority language appeared, or the Hungarian language became their native language (Knipf 2017, 254–255., Szarka 2003, 44–47.). In the second part of the 20th century, because of their social rise, the minorities' aim was the primary and high-level acquisition of Hungarian already in the family (Erb–Knipf 2001, 315., Knipf 2017, 256.). The sporadic situation of a minority makes language maintenance harder (and also the maintenance of the given community), for example the Serbian minority is small and they live scattered in several region of the country (Szarka 2003, 47.).

In comparison with the data of census of 2001 and 2011 of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office the following diagram can show the number of Germans and Serbians of Hungary (these data are national data and do not apply to just the area of Völgyseg):

Name of the minority group	Number of the members of the minority group	Mother tongue	The language used in family circle and among friends	Number – who belongs to the minority group	Number of the members of the minority group	Mother tongue	The language used in family circle and among friends	Number –who belongs to the minority group
2001					2011			
German	62105	33774	52912	120344	131951	38248	95661	185696
Serbian	3816	3388	4186	7350	7210	3708	3708	10038

Table 1. *The number of Germans and Serbians of Hungary according to the census of 2001 and 2011 of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office. (Source of the data: Knipf 2017, 244.)*

3. The Völgység, and a historical overview of the ethnic groups of the area

Völgység is a small region of Hungary, and it can be found in South Transdanubia, on the southern part of Tolna County, and the northern part of Baranya County. This region is a hilly area with loess, and it is surrounded by rivers. Border of the area is disputable, because in some settlements the tradition has remained that these places belongs to Völgység, but during the history the administrative boundaries changed, besides also the viewpoints of geographical demarcations changed, therefore Völgység can define as Bonyhád and its environment too (Solymár 2000, 5–6.). The authors of Dialect Dictionary of Völgység refer to the oral tradition of the area, and according to it the following settlements belong to the Völgység of Baranya County: Magyaregregy, Kárász, Vékény, Szászvár, Császtá (now it is part of Szászvár), Máza, and in Tolna County – because of their language and culture – Györe and Izmény (Pesti–Máté 2018).

This name as a folk geographical name can be found in the documents since the end of the 1600s, and the district of Völgység organized in 1727, existed up to 1981, up to the termination of districts (Solymár 2000, 5–6.). According to the geographical definition this area is bordered by streams, these are: in the south and east the Völgységi creek [Völgységi-patak], in the north the Alsóhidas creek [Alsóhidas-patak], in the west the Baranya channel [Baranyacsatorna], besides the Kapos valley [Kapos völgye] (Solymár 2000, 5–6.). The historical Völgység includes the whole catchment area of Völgységi ditch [Völgységi-árok], and the settlements that identify themselves with a part of this small region (Solymár 1982, 3–4.).

According to the research (Szóts 2000, 72.) it was an inhabited area already in prehistoric times, moreover also the traces of the Hungarian conquest can be found in this area (from

about the 9th century onwards), it is documented by the earliest place names in donation charters and village registers. During the Turkish occupation, some of the settlements were depopulated there. The Serbian groups called Rácok escaped from the Balkans, appeared in this area already before the Ottoman era, and at the end of the 16th century they founded a monastic center in Grábóc, that served as a spiritual center for the South Transdanubian Serbians (Szóts 2000, 72.). After the Turkish occupation, the former Hungarian inhabitants returned to this area, and then Bonyhád, Györe, Hant, Máza, Váralja, Kisvejke, Zomba and Dórypatlan were Hungarian settlements, but later Germans also settled next to these inhabitants (Solymár–Szóts 2000, 34.). In the first decades after the Turkish occupation, some Hungarian families arrived from Central Transdanubia and Upper Hungary, but their number was not enough to resettle the deserted villages, moreover Calvinist people who arrived there, wandered away mainly because of the religious persecution. However, in Váralja and Hidas, a larger number of Calvinists remained (Solymár 1982, 8.). In order to resettle this area, the local landowners invited some Germans into the villages. In this area, the settlement of Germans lasted for several decades, from the beginning of the 18th century (1712) (Solymár–Szóts 2000, 34.). Germans arrived in different periods, and in general they came from different German areas, and they spoke different German dialects. According to Katalin Wild the dialects of Rhine Franc and Hessen were the dominant ones in this area, and the Swabian dialect was spoken only in 3 settlements in Tolna County (Kisdorog, Zomba, Tevel) (Wild 2015). According to Solymár and Szóts, only the first settlers were Swabians, and their descendants live in Tevel, Kovácsi, Kisdorog, Zomba, and partly in Apar and Hant (Solymár–Szóts 2000, 34.).

In the settlements with mixed population, the various minorities lived in separated groups, thus Hungarian-Bonyhád [Magyar-Bonyhád], German-Bonyhád [Német-Bonyhád] and Jewish-region [Zsidó-rész] was created, or elsewhere Hungarian-Apar [Magyar-Apar] and Serbian-Apar [Rác-Apar] (Solymár–Szóts 2000, 34–35.). This separation existed for the longest time in Hidas, here Hungarian-Hidas [Magyar-Hidas], German-Hidas [Német-Hidas] and Serbian-Hidas [Rác-Hidas] existed (Solymár–Szóts 2000, 34–35.). The religious separation is partly related to the ethnic groups but it partly referred to the deliberate settlement by religion. The Hungarian villages of Völgyiség are Catholic ones, except the reformed Váralja and Magyar-Hidas. The only Calvinist German village is Mórágý. Besides Bátaapáti, Felsónána, Izmény, Kalaznó, Kéty, Kismányok, Kistormás, Majos, Murga, Mucsfa, Varsád, Hidas are Lutheran settlements (Solymár–Szóts 2000, 34–35.). Jews settled down in Bonyhád, and they separately lived, but in the villages of Völgyiség only one or two families lived among them. From the middle of the 18th, during two centuries Bonyhád decisively was a settlement of German and Jewish character. Its population continuously increased, and on 5 June, 1782 Bonyhád got a market-town privilege and the right to hold a market from Emperor Joseph II. In 1786, in the time of the first demographic survey of Hungary there were already 3000 inhabitants of Bonyhád. In the last decades of the 18th century, the Catholic, the Jewish, the Lutheran and the reformed denominations had a church in this settlement (Solymár–Szóts

2000, 34.). Later, in 1820 there were already 4709 inhabitants in Bonyhád, in accordance with religions: 1631 Jews, 1586 Catholics, 1132 Lutherans, 360 reformed people lived there (Solymár–Szóts 2000, 37.). In 1829, also a Gipsy group of 16 people was mentioned (Solymár–Szóts 2000, 37.). According to the data, in the 18th century they were employed with forge-work and they made wooden devices. Later, at the end of the 19th century, new groups of them arrived into the Völgység (Pesti–Máté 2018, 47.). At the end of the 18th century, there were also Jewish inhabitants in the two thirds of the 30 villages of the Völgység district, and in 1829 Bonyhád (in the centre of that environs) had 1327 Jewish inhabitants. However, after the Second World War, and later, because of the emigrations to Israel of 1950s, there were only 4 people of Jewish descents in Bonyhád in 2000 (Szóts 2000, 67–68.). At the end of the 19th century, mineworkers arrived in Szászvár, Császtza and Máza, the members of the first generation were Germans, Czech, Moravian, Slovak and Croatian (Pesti–Máté 2018, 46–47.).

After the Second World War, in this area the life of inhabitants was significantly influenced by population exchange, and the resettlements lasted between spring 1945 and 1948. Resettlement of Germans happened in three steps and referred to 13 299 people. In May and June 1946, and in March and April 1947, half of the Germans of Völgység was resettled. At that time, into their place Szeklers of Bukovina, people from Transylvania, Bácska and Hungary arrived, the number of the settled families was 3298 (Solymár–Szóts 2000, 43.). In 1947 and 1948, people of Upper Hungary (from Mátyusföld) arrived, 495 families (Solymár–Szóts 2000, 43.). Resettlement of Germans and the dispossession of properties (up to 1950) were a disadvantage to this ethnic group, including Lutherans and Baptists, because only the Catholics were replaced by Szeklers and highlanders. At that time as a result of the migration movement a lot of people moved to Bonyhád (Solymár–Szóts 2000, 43.). According to the census of Hungary in 2011, also Gypsies, Croatians, Serbians, Germans and Romanians lived in the settlements of South Transdanubia, and within it, in some settlements of Völgység (KSH, 15.).

4. Some historical and social data in connection with the speakers of these languages and dialects. An overview of the ethno-linguistic history of the villages

4.1 The earliest Hungarians. An overview of the history of the settlement of the villages, mentioning each village individually

The authors of the Dialect Dictionary of Völgység examine the ethnic minorities of the given settlements too (Pesti–Máté 2018). Györe existed already in the 13th century, and in 1726, after the Turkish occupation of Hungary mainly Hungarian serf people from the neighbourhood moved to it. At the end of the 18th century, German families arrived, and before 1945, 20–25% of the inhabitants were German. After the Second World War into their houses Szeklers of Bukovina were settled (Pesti–Máté 2018, 30.). Kárász was inhabited already in the Middle Ages, it was mentioned first in the 14th century. Up to the end of the 18th century the inhabitants were Hungarians, afterwards Germans arrived, but in 1930 the majority of the inhabitants were Hungarian native speakers (31.). Magyaregregy had Hungarian inhabitants before the Turkish occupation (in its name the word *Magyar* also refers to it), and Hungarian people lived there in the 18th century too. At the beginning of the 19th century, Germans arrived, and later there lived some inhabitants who spoke Slavonic (32–33.). Although Máza existed already in the 12th century, but during the Turkish occupation the settlements was destroyed. In the 16th century it had some Catholic and reformed inhabitants. The Germans settled down in the Alsófalu (Unterdorf) part of the village, and in 1865, half of the inhabitants was German (34.). The name of Szászvár can refer to the original ethnic group, but (in spite of the name) in this settlement Hungarian people lived already before the 16th century, and also after the Turkish occupation, until the end of the 18th century. The German families arrived at the end of the 19th century in Szászvár. In 2001, 2.1 percent of the inhabitants were German, and 1.2 percent were Gipsy (36.). Császta became one part of Szászvár in 1947. Its inhabitants were Hungarians in the 18th century, and at the end of that century Germans arrived. In 1930, there were only 43 Germans in the settlement (and 454 Hungarians) (36.). Vékény existed already after the Hungarian conquest (from about the 9th century onwards), and its inhabitants were Hungarians till the end of the 19th century, but in 1930 only 3 Germans lived in the village (38.).

Imre Solymár collected the data with reference to the inhabitants' native language of Völgység. He used the data of the census of Hungary in 1930, and in it he examined the settlements of the historical Völgység. According to these data, the Hungarian native speak-

ers were in majority in Bonyhád, Dőrypatlan, Györe, Máza, Váralja, Zomba, Császta, Kárász, Magyaregregy, Szászvár, Vékény, Kölesd, Hőgyész, Harc and Medina (Solymár 1982, 17–18.). The following figure shows these data:

Distribution of the population according to mother tongue in the settlements of the historical Völgység in the census of 1930			
	Native Hungarian	Native German	Other
Bonyhád	3842	2993	26
Császta	454	43	0
Dőrypatlan	1287	246	0
Györe	509	298	0
Harc	932	10	0
Hőgyész	2239	1407	14
Kárász	494	11	1
Kölesd	1957	17	13
Magyaregregy	1230	28	6
Máza	620	378	8
Medina	1516	3	138
Szászvár	1524	163	10
Váralja	859	687	17
Vékény	286	3	0

Table 2. Distribution of the population according to mother tongue in the settlements of the historical Völgység in the census of 1930. (Source of the data: Solymár Imre 1982. *Három etnikum falucsúfólói a Völgységben. Magyar Csoportnyelvi Dolgozatok 13.* Budapest. 17–18.)

The ethnic groups arrived in the Völgység after the Second World War

4.2. Szeklers of Bukovina

Ancestors of Szeklers of Bukovina fled to Moldavia after the massacre at Madéfalva in 1764. From this place they moved to Bukovina, and between 1776 and 1786 they founded five villages (Istensegíts, Fogadjisten, Józseffalva, Hadikfalva, Andrásfalva). In 1941, they were resettled at Bácska, but in 1944 they had to escape, and in 1945 they got the houses of the relocated Germans in Tolna, Baranya and Bács-Kiskun counties. According to data, circa 20 000 people got a new residence in Hungary then (Sebestyén 1989, 126–132., 156.). The language of these people derives from the Szekler dialect, although because of their separation also some independent changes happened in their dialect (Pál 2020). Besides, from the 18th century these people were isolated from the mother country and other Hungarian areas, therefore the changes of Hungarian language affected them less. After their settlement in Hungary, the Hungarian standard or its regional variety affected their dialect too. Besides, the Hungarian standard considerably affected those people who moved into the towns after the settlement (Pál 2021). In consequence of the historical events of that time and the eradication of the traditional peasant life, some of the Szeklers of Bukovina went to the centres of the socialist industrialization: Bonyhád, Szekszárd, Pécs, Pécsvárad, Mohács (and some of them near Budapest, for example to Érd) (Solymár–Szóts 2000, 9.). In the settlements of Völgység Szeklers of Bukovina lived together with several ethnic groups, and after a time also mixed marriages occurred. In these days, because of the mixed marriages the inhabitants can belong to more ethnic or minority groups (Szóts 2007, 105., Bindorffer 2007, 9.). For example, in Bonyhád there were settlers from Transylvania, Bácska and from other parts of Hungary (Pál 2021, 529.). In the 1960s the mixed marriages appeared also in those German communities which had been closed type until then. In Kisdorog, where Germans lived in large proportion, the first Szekler-German marriage was in 1958. In some cases, also religious differences are added up to these mixed marriages, for example in Mucsfa and Kalaznó, the Lutheran Germans got married persons of different religion (Szóts 2007, 105.). The dialect was affected by migration as well (Pál 2021).

4.3. Hungarians of Upper Hungary

In 1947 and 1948, some people of Upper Hungary (495 families) arrived in Völgység (Solymár–Szóts 2000, 43.). These Hungarians were settled in Hungary within the framework of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian population exchange convention, and altogether 89 660 people came here (Popély 2002, 470.). In the Völgység circa 18 000 Hungarians arrived from Mátyusföld and Csallóköz (Szóts 2007, 45., 58–59.), these areas were part of Czechoslovakia then. As they were assigned and obliged to leave their forefathers' land, they experienced it as a deportation and expulsion (Szóts 2000, 58–59.). Their integration was hindered by their sporadic settlement, only few people came from the same village, but they went to many places in Hungary (Szóts 2000, 58–59.). Their religious affiliation was ignored during their settling, therefore their religious communities fell apart and only their family ties remained. They had a rich civil culture since in their previous country they lived in a developed peasant society. However, their dialect was mocked here, beyond that they left their folk customs and Slovak food (Száz 2017). The dialect of Mátyusföld and Csallóköz are part of the western Palóc dialects and its particular characteristics differ from the dialects of South Transdanubia. The settlers' peasant culture is not explored yet, and also additional ethnographic and linguistic researches are needed, although these days for example village monographs are written, and also researchers are interested in these people (László 2005, Szóts 2007, 45., 59.). They became the most mobile settler group, and they remained (or took root) least of all in South Transdanubia. The given settlements of Tolna, Baranya and Bács-Kiskun Counties where these people were settled, and the significant settling characteristics of villages inhabited by people of Upper Hungary can be found in László 2005 and see also Pál 2021. Because of their scattering, among Hungarians of Upper Hungary the mixed marriages were more common, because they were forced to marry a person from another ethnic group more often (Szóts 2007, 105.). The factors mentioned above could contribute the change of this dialect. Besides, after their settlement in Hungary – similarly to the other Hungarian dialects –, the Hungarian standard or its regional variety affected their dialect too. The resettlement of this ethnic group is memorable even in the 21st century. One of the literary works of fiction of Upper Hungary deals with this topic, besides also the dialect of Mátyusföld and the minority language. In this book, according to the experience of the speaker (after the resettlement) the Hungarian language variety of Mátyusföld had a lower prestige than the standard. Moreover, the speakers of the mother country mocked the settlers because of their dialect (Száz 2017, 326.).

4.4. The ethnic Germans in Völgység

According to the census of Hungary in 1941 Germans formed the most populous group among the national minorities in Hungary, but after the Second World War, 600 000 Germans were threatened with deportation (Czibulka et al. 2004, 24., 239.). The number of the actually displaced people is estimated at 177 000–186 000 persons (2004, 244.). In accordance with the census of 1941, there were 302 198 ethnic German inhabitants and 475 491 German-speaking ones in Hungary (2004, 244.). However, at the time of the census of 1949 less than 3000 persons declared themselves German, and the number of the German-speaking ones was less than 22 500 (2004, 244.). The census was made on the basis of self-report, therefore these data were certainly influenced by the historical events of that time (consequently they declared themselves Hungarian under political pressure) (Czibulka et al. 2004).

Although the first groups of Germans appeared in the Carpathian-basin before the Hungarian conquest (before the 9th century), but the majority of them arrived after the Turkish occupation of Hungary. In the 18th century, first of all farmers arrived in Hungary, but there were also craftsmen among them. In the 18th century, coherent settlement-blocks developed in several areas of the country, and one of them was the block of South-Eastern Transdanubia. This block is formed by the settlements of Tolna, Baranya and Somogy Counties. The settlement-blocks are not separated, because near the German villages also other nationalities' settlements can be found, for example Hungarian villages. Besides, as mentioned earlier, some Germans lived also in villages of mixed nationality. In consequence of the population exchange, after the Second World War the absolute German majority villages became Hungarian majority ones, or mixed ethnic minority ones. In the settlements of South-Eastern Transdanubia several German dialects were used, for example dialects of Rhine Franc and Hessen, and their alloy, besides on the western part of this area Bavarian-Austrian dialects occurred too. Swabian is used only few villages, in three villages in Tolna County: Kisdorog, Zomba, Tevel. Swabians are in the minority in Hungary, the Swabians accounts for barely 2 percent of the Germans of this place. (Only the first settlers arrived from the Swabian area, but later the word Swabian became the general name of the Germans settled into Hungary in the 18th century.) Since after the settlements of the 18th century, the German dialects of Hungary have entered to another language environment, their language became a language island. Speakers of a language island loan some words or other elements from the majority's language. Germans loaned words from Hungarian but from the other minorities of Hungary too (Wild 2015).

The figure below shows Zoltán Szóts' data with reference to the ethnic Germans and their mother tongue of 2004. (According to his research German as a used language shows decrease in the circle of ethnic Germans.)

German is the mother tongue of the ethnic Germans according to the data of 2004		
	persons	percentage in the settlement
Tevel	67	4,1
<i>Kisdorog</i>	55	6,2
Bonyhádvarasd	12	2,4
<i>Lengyel</i>	37	4,9
Kisvejke	8	1,8
<i>Závod</i>	27	7,7
Mucsfa	14	3,3
<i>Györe</i>	7	0,9
Bátaapáti	9	2,1
<i>Ófalu</i>	286	77,9

Table 3. Germans and their mother tongue according to Zoltán Szóts' own research of 2004. (Source of the data: Szóts Zoltán 2007. *A völgyeségi nemzetiségi-etnikai csoportok együttélése a második világháborútól napjainkig*. Völgyeségi Múzeum, Wosinsky Mór Megyei Múzeum, Bonyhád, Szekszárd. 130.)

4.5. The ethnic Serbians (Rácok) in Völgyeség

Serbian arrived in Hungary in greater numbers at the end of the 14th and at the beginning of the 15th century, they fled here after the Turkish conquests of Balkan. Their religion and writings were different from the Hungarian majority's ones (Gyetvai 2015, 43.). In the 15th century, they settled down primarily in the southern counties of the country. In this area, mostly Hungarian inhabitants lived, but their number significantly decreased by the 16th century (Gyetvai 2015, 46–47.). In the 17th century, newer Serbian and Albanian groups fled from the Turkish army and came into Hungary, in 1690 circa 120-140 000 Serbian people arrived here (Gyetvai 2015, 56., Novacsek-Vojnics – Lásztity 2000, 10.). In Hungary, some members of the Serbian community earned a significant income, and thereby the modern Serbian culture could flourish here (Gyetvai 2015, 61.). In Hungary, there were Serbian schools already in the 16th century, the language of education and textbooks was the Church Slavonic (Novacsek-Vojnics – Lásztity 2000, 17.). In Grábóc of Tolna County, before the arrival of Serbian monks, there were Serbian families already, who had migrated there. The orthodox monks arrived from the Dragović monastery of Dalmatia, and they built their first wooden church in 1587, besides also their cells were made of wood. They deforested a part of the surrounding forest, and they planted grapes and fruits there. In 1619, again monks arrived from Dragović, and in 1663 more than 60 monks lived in Grábóc. In 1667, the Ottoman army

plundered the monastery and attacked the monks (Szóts 2000, 72.). In 2011, there were 175 inhabitants in the village, and its 1.8 percent were Serbians (https://www.ksh.hu/apps/hntr.telepules?p_lang=HU&p_id=26727). After the First World War, the number of the Serbian inhabitants – who remained in Hungary – started to decrease, in the background the continuous and accelerated regression, the assimilation and the migration can be found. After the establishment of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbians, later called Yugoslavia, the Serbian ethnic region could grow stronger within the new state, but over its border (in Hungary and Romania) the Serbian inhabitants became a minority group, and in these countries their dropout is visible. In Hungary, this process occurred first of all because of the repatriations and opts (Bottlik 2005, 222.).

Nowadays in Hungary, a significant number of the Serbian people can be found in some settlements around Budapest, in South Baranya County, and in South-Eastern Hungary. Simultaneously with the assimilation, also the national consciousness decreases, and thereby the number of the Serbians of Hungary. The data of the census of Hungary in 2011, 7210 persons declared themselves as Serbian nationality, 3708 ones had Serbian national language, 5713 persons used this language in the family and among friends, and 10 038 persons belonged to this national minority (<https://www.ksh.hu>). This table below shows the number and proportion of Serbians in the settlements of South Transdanubia in 2011.

Település	Szerb nemzetiségűek	
	száma, fő	népességben belüli aránya, %
Baranya megye		
Lippó	40	8,21
Magyarbóly	40	4,1
Harkány	36	0,9
Somberek	12	0,84
Siklós	57	0,6
Villány	13	0,52
Mohács	87	0,49
Lánycsók	10	0,4
Pécsvárad	10	0,25
Pécs	306	0,2
Tolna megye		
Medina	36	4,35

Table 4. (The source of this figure: A Dél-Dunántúl nemzetiségi sokszínűsége. 2014. április 14. <https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/regiok/pecsnemzetiseg.pdf> [2023.01.02.]

The young people migrate from the economically underdeveloped areas, thereby the number and ratio of the Serbian nationality decrease, and the local ethnic population consists of mainly old people, for example in Eastern-Baranya County. The decreasing of the ratio of the Serbians in the settlements is favourable to the use of Hungarian, and it promotes that the Serbian national language is neglected. Besides, scattering of the Serbian settlements is favourable to the assimilation, and in the Völgység there are some small villages inhabited by these people in Baranya and Tolna counties. The biggest number of settlements inhabited by Serbians can be found in these counties, but here the proportion of Serbians is smaller than in the bigger settlements (Bottlik 2005).

5. Change of language and dialect of these ethnic groups after the Second World War

After the Second World War, the resettlements and the new social and historical events changed the ethnic composition and dialects of the settlements in Völgység. It can be said about all ethnic groups that their language has changed significantly in recent times, their dialects deemphasized. The German and Serbian population of Hungary, mentioned in this paper, are in minority position in Hungary, their language is a minority language here, and the use of these languages is limited (Szarka 2003, 44–45.). In general, the use of these languages is limited to the family or the own local community. Besides, the language of national minorities mentioned above were used in Hungary for centuries, therefore these languages became a particular community language version, a language not spoken elsewhere (Szarka 2003, 47.). These speakers generally speak a dialect of the given language, and it has many loanwords borrowed from Hungarian and other minority languages. Dialects of national minorities often have lower prestige than the standard variety of the language (Erb–Knipf 2001). In Hungary, minority languages can disappear because of the assimilation of the speakers, and the language they speak become Hungarian. Parents in the minority groups often think that their children can succeed if they learn the majority language already in the family (Erb–Knipf 2001, 314–315.). Besides, also mixed marriages can contribute to the assimilation. Although there are some nationality schools in Hungary, but their language is the standard variety of the given language. For example, according to Erzsébet Knipf the dialects of the ethnic German population of Hungary are not used in writing, they are different from the standard variety of German and from the other German dialects too (Knipf 2017, 253.). The national minorities live sporadically in Hungary, although the existence in one coherent block of a minority can be more favorable for maintaining their minority language.

The Hungarian dialects fade into the background in Hungary. According to the researches, there are various reasons for it (Kiss 2017). One of the most important reason is the high prestige of the standard variety of Hungarian. In school, dialects occur only as an educational material, but during the lessons the use of the standard is supported. Some of the

Hungarian groups mentioned above were forced to migrate, and they left their former settlements and their traditional life, and in the new environment they had to abandon their dialect as well. In Hungary, the traditional peasant life disappeared, the life of villages changed, and some people moved to towns and cities. This caused the omission of the traditional dialect too. Since, in those settlements where the number of inhabitants has decreased significantly, even their dialect can disappear (Kiss 2017, 210.). ■

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KIVONAT

Magyarország dél-dunántúli részén különféle nemzeti kisebbségek éltek az évszázadok során. E területen belül a Völgység Magyarország egyik kistája, részben Tolna, részben Baranya vármegyéhez tartozik, folyók által határolt löszös dombvidék. A dolgozat az 1945 után is itt található népcsoportok nyelvével és nyelvjárásával foglalkozik. A második világháború után az itt maradt németek és szerbek mellé bukovinai székelyek, felvidéki magyarok és más magyar területek lakosai érkeztek. Mára a németek és a szerbek nagy része beolvadt a többségi magyarok csoportjába, és a nemzetiségi fiatalok által megtanult (kisebbségi) nyelv legtöbbször az adott nyelv standard változata. A betelepített bukovinai székelyek, felvidéki magyarok és más magyar nyelvű csoportok nyelvjárását a magyar köznyelvhez közeledéssel jellemezhetjük. Mindegyik közösségre jellemzőek a vegyes házasságok, ezek a nyelvhasználatot is befolyásolják, és ez a németek és a szerbek esetében a nyelvcserét okozhatja. A magyar nyelvű csoportok nyelvjárása (a többi magyar nyelvjáráshoz hasonlóan) visszaszorul a nyilvános nyelvhasználati színterekről. A magyar nyelvjárások (és a magyarországi német és szerb nyelvjárások) presztízse alacsonyabb, mint a köznyelvé, használatuk a szűkebb környezetre korlátozódik, napjainkban a családi nyelvhasználat és a szűkebb közösség nyelve. A dolgozat áttekinti ezeknek a nyelveknek és nyelvváltozatoknak a történeti hátterét, jelenlegi helyzetét, és bemutatja a beszélőkre vonatkozó számadatokat is.

KULCSSZAVAK: Magyarország dél-dunántúli része, Völgység, a nemzeti kisebbségek nyelve, magyar nyelvjárások, a kisebbségi csoportok nyelvjárásai, nyelvi változás, nyelvcseré, áttelepítések