Language: A Right and a Resource

Approaching Linguistic Human Rights

Edited by
MIKLÓS KONTRA
ROBERT PHILLIPSON
TOVE SKUTNABB-KANGAS
TIBOR VÁRADY

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Contempt for Linguistic Human Rights in the Service of the Catholic Church: The Case of the Csángós[1]

KLÁRA SÁNDOR

In 1991, the Catholic priest of a Moldavian village in Rumania publicly humiliated twenty people in his congregation, saying that they had sold their souls for a mess of pottage when they traveled to Budapest for the visit of the Pope (Csoma and Bogdánfalvy 1993, 165). These people, together with hundreds of pilgrims from other Moldavian villages, gave the Pope a petition written in Polish, that is, John Paul II's mother tongue. The text was simple: *Help us, our Holy Father, send us Hungarian priests!* (Magyar 1994, 81).

This story might sound a little strange at first. Why would it be a betrayal for a Catholic to go to a mass celebrated by the Pope? And why would the inhabitants of Moldavian villages ask for Hungarian priests? However, to students of the culture, history and present life of the little-known ethnic group, the *Csángós*, both phenomena are well known. Historical sources show that since the sixteenth century Catholic priests in Moldavia have not served religion exclusively, and that the Csángós have repeatedly asked Rome for priests who could speak their mother tongue. This paper attempts to shed some light on this situation, and to call attention to an ethnic group which is almost totally unknown and which is excluded from access to the human rights system. Analogous cases to those listed in the introduction to *Linguistic Human Rights* (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, eds. 1994, 18–22) could also be quoted from the life of the Csángós. It is obvious that the Rumanian state has some responsibility in the continuous denial of the Csángós' linguistic rights. But here I will deal with the role of another state that seems to have more of a responsibility in the assimilation of the Csángós: the Vatican.

Who are the Csángós?

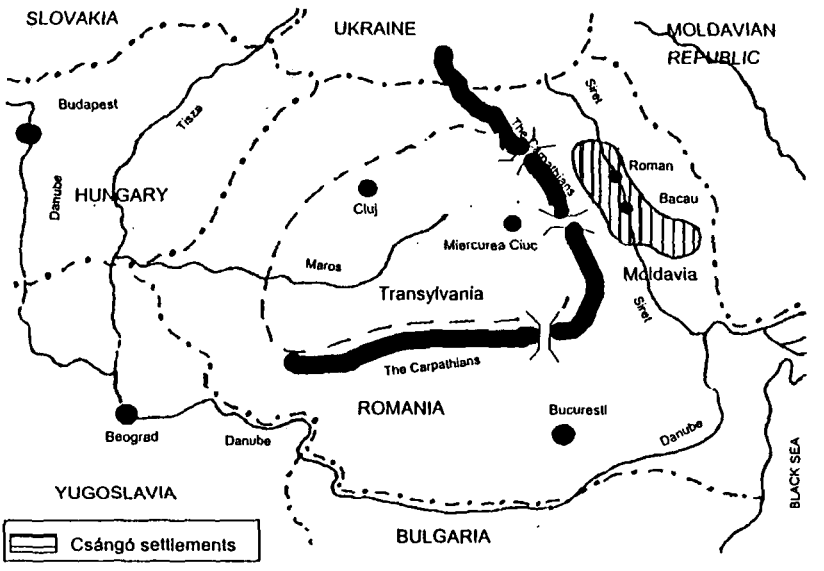
The Csángós live in Rumanian Moldavia in the foothills of the Eastern-Carpathians, in about ninety villages scattered in the valleys of

small rivers. Today there are two large towns in this area: Roman (Hungarian: *Románvásár*) and Bacău (Hungarian *Bákó*).

According to widely accepted estimates[2] the number of Csángós is about 240,000. By now, most of them have undergone language shift and speak only Rumanian, but about 62,000 Csángós are bilingual and have maintained their Hungarian-origin vernacular (Tánczos 1997, 379).

The Csángó dialects have always been roofless dialects, unaffected by standard Hungarian which was developed in the nineteenth century. For speakers of Hungarian, the intelligibility of Csángó dialects varies from village to village; most are largely, or totally, incomprehensible to them. Csángós do not understand, or understand only with great difficulty, Hungarian varieties, which were influenced to a remarkable extent by the Hungarian language reform movement of the nineteenth century. Besides these facts, there are several other reasons for considering the Csángó dialects as dialects of an Ausbau-language[3] which is very close to, but different from, Hungarian. The Csángós themselves call their mother tongue *Csángó*, and are keenly aware of its difference from *pure Hungarian*.[4]

The forebears of the Csángós migrated to Moldavia from Hungary in two large waves. The first wave arrived there in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as the defense system of the Hungarian Kingdom moved eastward. Most of these settlers populated the regions surrounding the town of Roman. As the population grew constantly, new villages were settled in a southerly direction, along the river Siret (Hungarian: *Szeret*), near the town of Bacău. The second wave of Hungarian migration arrived in Moldavia in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. These people were *Székelys*, members of a strong community living in eastern Transylvania. The Székelys enjoyed the privileges of collective nobility; they had their own autonomous military and jurisdictional areas, and were exempt from paying taxes either to the royal court or to the voivode (the ruler) of Transylvania. The notion of collective nobility, however, did not mean equal rights and equal prosperity within the community, and, in addition, from the eighteenth century on the Habsburg rulers tried to integrate the Székelys into their empire by depriving them of their privileges. This migration was motivated by both economic and political factors. The Székely groups settled in areas to the west and south of Bacău. The newcomers often settled in the villages of the first settlers, so the two migration waves mixed with each other. The ethnonym *Csángó* has two equally plausible etymologies, both of which are Hungarian. Most probably, first the Hungarians in Transylvania used the name to refer to one group of Moldavian Hungarians, and later the name came to denote all Hungarian speakers in Moldavia.



Map 15.1. Csángó-Hungarian settlements in Moldavia, Rumania

The Csángó villages have always had only very few connections with Hungary. From the end of the fifteenth century, the only real contact the Csángós had with Hungary was through the church: as an affiliate of the Franciscan province in Transylvania, a monastery was founded in Bacău. The isolation of the Csángós was completed in the early seventeenth century when Rome took over all Catholic activities in Moldavia. The Csángó settlements are also rather isolated from each other. The Csángó lifestyle and the geographical location of the villages preclude everyday contact between the Csángó communities.

The strong sense of isolation both from Hungary and from each other conserved a medieval-like culture. Most of the Csángós are peasants who own and cultivate their own land using rather undeveloped methods, lacking almost any mechanization. Until very recently their economy was almost exclusively a subsistence economy. To this day they have no handicraft industry, and a secular Csángó intelligentsia could never emerge. All of these factors have resulted in the conservation of an archaic rural culture. Folk art and folklore are not ancient relics but an integral part of the everyday life of the Csángós.

The Csángós, as a group, do not have real political representation. Although an association of Csángó-Hungarians was founded

in 1989, it provides no real political representation, partly because it has few members (most of whom were born in Moldavia but now live in Transylvania), and partly because of its close connections with the Democratic Federation of the Hungarians in Rumania, whose activities do not always serve the real interests of the Csángós. However, the main problem for the Csángó-Hungarian Association is that the Rumanian state does not recognize the Csángós as a minority. They are therefore denied all the rights enjoyed by other minorities in Rumania, for example, the right to have mother tongue classes (three or four lessons a week). The Rumanian state denies the minority status of the Csángós, arguing that they are "Hungarianized Rumanians" who must re-assimilate to their original language and culture. This idea is not the invention of the Rumanian state. It has been used by the Vatican for centuries as an argument for converting the Orthodox Rumanians to Catholicism. The similarity, or virtual identity, between the Rumanian state's argument and that put forward by the Vatican seems puzzling, but a close examination of the role of religion among the Csángós and the history of the Moldavian Catholics gives us a key to solving the puzzle.

The Role of Religion in Csángó Life

In addition to their economic and cultural conditions, the religious life of the Csángós also shows features characteristic of the Middle Ages. Religion, indeed, is not simply a component of Csángó culture but a way of life which determines morality and has a very strong and natural influence on all aspects of existence. For example, the most important holidays for the Csángó communities are the annual feasts on the days of the patron saints of local churches, and pilgrimages to other churches. To this day, communities freeze out those who do not follow the strict religious prescriptions (Kotics 1997). Disrespect for religious morals is severely punished by priests who publicly humiliate people, and sometimes excommunicate them (Kallós 1993, 101). This then means that the role religion plays in the life of the Csángós is even more powerful than that of the state. Csángós generally accept the priest's views without criticism, and, of course, they accept everything the priest says. It is normally the priests who have almost exclusive social control in the Csángó communities (Kotics 1997, 49–50).

In addition to the generally accepted pre-eminence of religion, another fact reinforces the prestige of the Catholic Church among the Csángós, namely, the fact that they did not participate in the formation of the Hungarian nation which took place in the first half of the nineteenth century, that is, about a century after the last Csángó migration to Moldavia. Moreover, they did not take part in the formation of *any* nation. As a consequence, their ethnic identity is not connected to any national identity, but is of a form which harmonizes, again, with their medieval-like world view. The main components of this identity are Christianity (in their case Roman Catholicism) and loyalty to the territory in which they live.[5] Religion is the only major feature that distinguishes the Csángós from their Orthodox Rumanian neighbors who live in a very similar way; and in those areas where the Csángós have shifted their language to Rumanian, Csángós and Rumanians speak the same language. Thus the main opposition which defines Csángó ethnic identity is religion: when a Csángó is asked about his or her nationality, the most likely answer is "I'm Catholic".[6]

The Role of the Catholic Church in the Assimilation of the Csángós

Today only about 25 percent of Csángós can speak a Csángó dialect; 75 percent have become Rumanian monolinguals. The processes of minority language shift in modern Europe are normally governed by economic and cultural factors, with or without various assimilating techniques used by the state.[7] However, in the case of the Csángós, the major driving forces behind language shift are other than economic. This is shown by, among other things, the fact that the first domain in which Csángós have undergone language shift is religion, in contradistinction to the usual pattern whereby the language of religion is the last to change (Sándor 1996b). The explanation lies in history.

The following reconstruction of Csángó religious life is based on more than two hundred documents such as letters, descriptions, and church inventories.[8]

Until the end of the sixteenth century there were two Hungarian episcopates in Moldavia. Their function was gradually taken over by a new episcopate in Bacău, while a Franciscan monastery was founded there as an affiliate of the Franciscan province in

Transylvania. At the time, the Catholic priests in Moldavia were Hungarians. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Moldavia was the scene of wars among Ottoman, Transylvanian and Wallachian troops. Due to the permanent wars, poverty, and plague, many of the Moldavian Catholic communities stayed without a priest. As a consequence of the spread of the Reformation in Hungary and Transylvania, there was a need for Catholic priests within the Carpathian Basin. The Transylvanian Franciscans were therefore no longer able to send sufficient numbers of monks to Moldavia. In 1622, a missionary organization named *De Propaganda Fide* took over the spiritual care of the Moldavian Catholics. It sent mostly Italian, sometimes Bosnian and Croatian priests to Moldavia, although from time to time the people asked for Hungarian priests. In the seventeenth century, Jesuits arrived in Moldavia. Many of the documents complain of the scandalous life of both the Italian monks and the Jesuits: they stole ecclesiastical objects, they lived together with women, and they had no contact with their flock since they did not speak their language. Meanwhile, the episcopate of Bacău went from Hungarian to Polish jurisdiction. However, the Polish bishops of Bacău did not reside in Moldavia, leaving the local priests without supervision. Thus, in this unhappy period, four different organizations of the Catholic Church were present in the area: the priests under Polish control, the Jesuits, the Italian missionaries (who belonged to one branch of the Franciscan order, the *Fratres Minorum Conventualium*), and the Bosnian missionaries and Hungarian monks (who belonged to the other branch of the Franciscan order, the *Fratres Strictioris Observantiae*). To make matters worse, the four parties often fought each other and paid little attention to serving their people. Under such circumstances the institution of folk religion developed to such an extent that it became the main domain of religious life. Deacons, who were members of the communities, fulfilled almost all the functions of the priests in the mother tongue of the community, including baptisms and funerals. However, the language of the liturgy continued to be Latin, and the people could not communicate with their foreign priests.

The eighteenth century did not bring any remarkable changes. Although the Jesuits disappeared from Moldavia, people had no church services in their mother tongue except for a few villages where Hungarian Franciscans served. In the last decades of the century, Austria took control over the northern part of the area. Meanwhile, the Vatican issued an order that church services should be celebrated in the mother tongue of the flock, but the reports of the

Austrian consuls sent disinformation to Rome, claiming that the Moldavian Catholics did not need Hungarian priests. When Csángó complaints reached the Vatican through unofficial channels, the Pope's answer stated that their priests spoke the language of the *country*. This was often true, in fact, since the Italian priests could easily learn the genetically closely related Rumanian tongue.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century the situation changed from bad to worse. During this time the Rumanian nation state was born, national feelings became stronger, and the Csángós became the target of the state's overt assimilation policy. The Rumanian Orthodox Church found it humiliating that on the territory of the Rumanian state Rome pursued missionary activity as if it were not a Christian area, and therefore Rome called back the monks. In 1884, the episcopate of Bacău was dissolved and an archbishopric was founded in Bucharest and a bishopric in Iaşi, the capital of Moldavia. Owing to the foundation of Catholic seminaries in these two cities, the need for priests decreased. However, both the young Rumanian Catholic Church and the young Rumanian Catholic priests proved to be much more demanding than their predecessors over questions of language. Towards the end of the nineteenth century schooling became widespread in Moldavia. The language of instruction was exclusively Rumanian, but as religion was taught at church and not at school, bilingual catechisms could be used. In 1895, a law prohibited this practice; religion taught in Rumanian became a compulsory subject at school and the bilingual catechisms were replaced by monolingual Rumanian ones. Although in the church the use of Csángó was forbidden by the priests, the local religious leaders (the deacons) used it until the 1930s. At that time the prohibition of the Csángó tongue was made official by a bishop's order affecting not only the liturgies but also the services of the deacons. In order to change the language of the folk religious practices, a school for deacon training was founded as early as 1923; the old Hungarian prayers and songs were translated and printed in Rumanian; prayer-books written in Hungarian were collected and burnt (Tánczos 1995, 57 and 1996, 220–221), and deacons who did not work in Rumanian were dismissed. In the 1930s young couples who did not know the catechism in Rumanian were not allowed to have a wedding ceremony in the church; a priest could excommunicate people who spoke Csángó during collective labor in their homes;[9] later on, the *Securitate*, the Rumanian state security organization, could accuse old deacons of spying if they found printed Hungarian or handwritten Csángó prayers in their houses (Tánczos 1995, 57 and 1996, 220–221).

Table 15.1 lists those Catholic organizations which have been present in Moldavia from the sixteenth century on, and the languages they have used to address their Hungarian-speaking folk. Table 15.2 summarizes the status of Hungarian in the religious life of the Csángós.

Table 15.1

Catholic organizations in Moldavia

Name	Inspector	Period	Languages used (besides Latin)
Bacău episcopate	Hungary	To end of 16th century,	Hungarian
	Poland	17th–18th centuries	Italian, Polish, Rumanian
	Austria	18th–19th centuries	Italian, Rumanian
Fratres Strictioris Observantiae	Hungary	Up to1622	Hungarian
Fratres Minorum Conventualium	The Vatican (De Propaganda Fide)	1622–1884	Italian, Rumanian
Order of Jesuits	Order of Jesuits	17th century	Italian, Polish, Rumanian
Iaşi episcopate and seminar	Rumania	1884 onwards	Rumanian
Bucharest archbishopric and seminar	Rumania	1884 onwards	Rumanian

Table 15.2

The use of Hungarian in Catholic religious life in Moldavia

Up to 1622	supported
17–18th centuries	tolerated
1895	prohibited in churches
1938	prohibited in folk religion (for the deacons)

The enthusiasm of the Catholic priests in Moldavia for murdering the Csángós' vernacular is as strong today as it has ever been. In 1990, at a young priest's first mass, two older priests put down their priestly symbols and left the church when, after reading from the Gospel in Rumanian, the young priest started to read the text

out in Hungarian (Tánczos 1995, 64). The young priest was born in the same village and studied in Transylvania rather than in Iaşi. His mother tongue is a variety of Csángó which is linguistically closer to modern Hungarian than other Csángó dialects, an idiom spoken by 97 percent of the inhabitants of the village.

In 1991, in another village, the priest ordered a group of young people to kneel by the walls of the church during the Sunday morning mass because they had gone on a trip to a Transylvanian village which wanted to build a sister-village partnership (Tánczos 1996, 114).

Recently, considerable numbers of Csángós have been trying to find jobs in Hungary, and, since 1990, a Csángó class has been organized every year in Transylvania for thirteen-year-old children. Many of them stay on to attend secondary schools as well. The Moldavian priests often warn their congregations that they should call back their children from the Transylvanian schools and their relatives from Hungary. If they fail to do so, the Catholic Church may excommunicate them (Csoma and Bogdánfalvy 1993, 165; Tánczos 1996, 115).

Although the inventory of similar cases is shamefully rich, one more recent case should suffice. In 1995, an ethnographer who was collecting archaic prayers in Moldavia was arrested and detained by the police for a day because a local priest found him "suspicious" (Tánczos 1996, 159–173).

The above-mentioned cases might suggest that these conflicts have nothing to do with the Roman Catholic Church. Rather, they may have arisen simply as products of history or as a result of the private actions of some nationalist priests. However, a closer scrutiny of the facts reveals more hidden relationships.

The Vatican's responsibility in developing the present situation lies in the fact that although it has always had information about the shameful circumstances of its flock in Moldavia, namely that people could not even go to confession because their priests did not speak their mother tongue, it nevertheless always found its own interests in world politics to be much more important. Firstly, when in the first half of the seventeenth century the Vatican's main goal was re-union with the Orthodox Church, it sent Italian missionaries rather than ordinary Hungarian priests to Moldavia. It was for this reason that it supported the activity of the Jesuits in the area. The Jesuits had good connections to the Moldavian Voivode's court, and if they had succeeded in catholicizing the Moldavian nobility, a great step would have been taken towards Romanizing the whole of Moldavia. The Vatican's preference first

for Poland, then for Austria, determined its decision not to grant the requests of the Moldavian Catholic communities for Hungarian priests. From the nineteenth century onwards, Hungarian clergymen, including members of the episcopacy, have been asking the Pope to examine the needs of the Moldavian Catholics so that the liturgy be made available in Csángó in those villages where the people want it. For some reason the Vatican seems unable to grant this demand, probably because the Vatican accepts first of all the reports of the local bishops and the legate sent to Rumania, all of which inform Rome about satisfied congregations.[10]

Unquestionably, the local organizations of the Catholic Church in Moldavia have their own responsibility in the murdering of the mother tongue of the Csángós. However, it is hard to believe that their actions are independent of Rome's control. For instance, the local clergy arranged for the replacement of Hungarian patrons of churches by non-Hungarian saints (Lükő 1936, 17; Tánczos 1996, 138–139); had altar-pieces showing Hungarian saints repainted or replaced, for example, the picture of the first Hungarian king, Saint Stephen, was replaced by a picture of Saint Stephen the Protomartyr (Magyar 1994, 79); and mistranslated Hungarian hymns into Rumanian by leaving out the "troubling" parts of the original hymns (Lükő 1936, 17).

The implementation of such changes is outside the competence of the local Catholic clergy. Such acts obviously trigger changes in the identity of the flock. However, the most effective way of changing the identity of the people is through the education of priests. In the extremely poor Csángó communities men who hope to have a better life can achieve their goal most easily by becoming priests. In addition to the economic gains, priests also command the highest prestige in their communities. Unsurprisingly, Csángó children go to the Catholic seminaries of Bucharest and Iaşi with great pleasure (Magyar 1994, 75), even if, as a consequence, they can hardly communicate with their own community, including their family, for several years. During their education they learn how to be proper citizens of their state, and how to become absolutely loyal to those who made it possible for them to achieve a much better life. The literature on the Csángós calls this the "janissary"-method of education, because the system operates on the analogy of the well-known military training system of the Ottoman Empire (Mikecs 1941, 434; Magyar 1994, 75).[11] Because priests have absolute social control in the Csángó communities, the state has little to do to assimilate the Csángós. As deeply religious people, the Csángós accept whatever their priest says, even if—as oftentimes is the case—he calls their mother tongue the tongue of the devil.

Before the latest census in Rumania in 1992, a bishop's encyclical letter ordered the priests to instruct their flock as to what nationality they should declare (Csoma and Bogdánfalvy 1993, 165). Csángós were instructed not to choose *Csángó*, which was one of the options, but *Rumanian* because they were *Roman* Catholics (Csoma and Bogdánfalvy 1993, 165; Tánczos 1996, 115 and 1997, 389). Such an instruction can be remarkably successful because in colloquial Rumanian the words *român* "Rumanian" and *romano* "Roman" sound deceptively similar. However, this verbal trick, used in 1992, goes back to the union politics of the Vatican. One argument in support of re-union with the Orthodox Church (meaning, in fact, its catholicization) was that all Rumanians were Catholics who had taken their faith with them from the Roman Empire, but only those Rumanians could keep the ancient faith who were Hungarianized by the Catholic Hungarian kings in Moldavia, namely: the Csángós. As they return to their ancient language (that is, as they shift to Rumanian) so should the Orthodox Rumanians return to the Catholic Church (Lükő 1936, 16; Mikecs 1941, 434).

The argument that the Csángós are Hungarianized Rumanians was revitalized in a book published in 1985 (Mărtinaş 1985).[12] This idea has become extremely popular with Rumanian politicians, since, if the Csángós are ethnic Rumanians who have been linguistically assimilated to Hungarians, they belong to the majority nation and hence minority rights should not be accorded to them. Table 15.3 shows the similarities in the arguments used by the Vatican and in the Rumanian assimilation policies (parentheses indicate that an argument is an implicit one).

Table 15.3

The argumentation of the Vatican and of the Rumanian State

Statement	The Vatican	Rumania
(1) Csángós do not need Hungarian priests	(+)	+
(2) Csángós are Hungarianized Romanians	+	+
(3) Csángós saved the ancient faith	+	
(4) the Rumanians must also return to their ancient faith (i.e. Roman Catholicism)	+	
(5) the Csángós must return to their ancient language (i.e. Rumanian)	(+)	+
(6) Csángós are *Roman Catholics (romano-catolic)*, that is, *Rumanian Catholics (român catolic)*	+	+

The modern Rumanian nation state's assimilationist policy towards the Csángós coincides with the Vatican's goals which have been followed for centuries in Moldavia. It is important to remember that priests command the highest prestige and absolute authority in the extremely religious Csángó communities. When they promote involuntary language shift, they run little risk of violating any international norms because their language-shift promotion takes place orally, and there are no written church laws or orders which demonstrably violate linguistic human rights.

This strategy of the priests is extremely powerful since the unconditional prestige of the priests lends absolute prestige to the Rumanian language, in such a way that Rumanian is perceived as the best language in all domains of language use. In such a situation people do not have to be forced to shift languages, they undergo language shift voluntarily. Their attitudes to their priests pave the way for their language shift. Such a policy targets the core element of a group's identity, in the case of the Csángós their religion, and through it, almost as a side effect, can achieve language shift. Arguably, there is no intention that the Csángós become Orthodox; what is being changed is merely the "character" of their Roman Catholicism or the vehicle of their religious life from Hungarian to Rumanian.

The number of Csángós who still speak Csángó either as their mother tongue or as their second language is about 60,000. Unless the current rapid process of language shift can be stopped by efficient revitalization, the Csángós are destined to disappear in the Rumanian melting pot. Today, many Csángós insist on practicing their religion in their mother tongue but they are denied this linguistic human right. Their history and current fate exemplify the linguistic assimilation of a minority group without any overt violation of their *language* rights.

Notes

1 I want to thank Miklós Kontra and Peter Trudgill for their help in formulating the English version of this text.

2 The data-gathering methods used in the last Rumanian census (1992) make the results rather undependable. Although the options for nationality included "Hungarian" and "Csángó" as well, in many cases the census-takers marked the Csángós' nationality as Rumanian without so much as asking them the question. In other cases they used loaded

questions like "You are Rumanian, aren't you?" (Csoma and Bogdánfalvy 1993). Since all the Csángós are Catholic, and they are the only Catholic inhabitants in Moldavia, estimates are based on the number of Catholic people in Moldavia.

3 An Ausbau-language is "a variety which derives its status as a language, rather than a dialect, not so much from its linguistic characteristics [...] but from its social, cultural and political characteristics" (Trudgill 1992, 11). Examples of Ausbau-languages include Swedish and Norwegian, or Volga Tatar and Bashkir, which are mutually understandable for each other's speakers but are nevertheless regarded as distinct languages.

4 In traditional Hungarian linguistics Csángó is regarded as a dialect of Hungarian. The main argument put forward by Hungarian dialectologists and historical linguists is that "it has always been considered as a dialect of Hungarian." From a historical point of view, Csángó is unquestionably of Hungarian origin. However, from a sociolinguistic point view, it seems to be a roofless Ausbau-language (Sándor 1996a).

5 Because the Csángó villages have never formed a cohesive geographical unit during their history, Csángós lack not only a common endoethnonym, but a "we-consciousness" and a sense of common origin as well. Their identity is very fragile between the strong Rumanian and Hungarian national identities.

6 The roots of this identification reach back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when, except for some small German communities, all the Catholics in Moldavia were Hungarians. At that time the Rumanian words for "Hungarian" and "Catholic" became synonyms, as did the respective Hungarian words as well. Catholic priests were called "Hungarian priests" both by the Csángós and their Rumanian neighbors, even if the priests were Italian, German or Polish. This is the reason why Catholics are sometimes called *ungur* "Hungarian" in Rumanian, even in villages where no one speaks Hungarian anymore. Later the Csángós accepted Hungarian *csángó* and Rumanian *ceangău* as their names, and these words displaced the Hungarian designation *magyar* "Moldavian Hungarian" and the Rumanian word *ungur* "Moldavian Hungarian". In the meantime, most of the Csángós underwent language shift to Rumanian, and *csángó* and *ceangău* today mean "Moldavian Catholic," irrespective of the mother tongue of the people.

7 See, for example, the language shift of the Hungarians in Burgenland, Austria (Gal 1979).

8 The documents are published in Benda (1989), and Domokos (1987). In the next three paragraphs I refer to my sources only when they are different from Benda or Domokos.

9 For instance, corn-husking, spinning, and weaving are still done cooperatively, usually in the house of a member of the community.

10 This policy of the Vatican is still valid today as I learned from an interview which I conducted with Endre Gyulay, the bishop of Southeast Hungary, in September 1997.

11 The janissary (from Turkish *yeni çeri*, "new army") troops used to be the elite of the Ottoman army. Christian children were gathered, often taken by force in the occupied territories, and were converted to Islam and given the finest military education. They were totally isolated from civil society, but enjoyed privileges. Many of them achieved high positions in the Ottoman state, and as they had neither family nor any other civil background, they became absolutely loyal to the sultan.

12 The content of Mărtinaş' book is briefly summarized in English by Baker (1997, 664).

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