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Domains of Hungarian language use in Belgrade*

This paper attempts at opening a dialogue on multilingualism in the city of Belgrade today. Belgrade, like other Southeast European cities, has developed much differently over the past decades than other European capitals, e.g. during the 1990s, the city and its population experienced the break-up of Yugoslavia, the authoritarian and nationalistic regime, sanctions, NATO bombing, both large-scale out-migration and in-migration. All these changes were not stimulating for the city's multilingualism. Belgrade, however, has more than 10 percent of population whose native language is not Serbian. This paper aims to explore the use of Hungarian in the city. The analysis is based upon questionnaires that were disseminated among Hungarian speaking population in Belgrade. The results we are going to present are only preliminary, since the collected corpus is limited in terms of small numbers of respondents and insufficiently diverse sample, e.g. the majority of respondents were students of Hungarian. However, we would like to offer an overview of the Hungarian speaking population in Belgrade today and indicate possible trends and major domains of Hungarian language use. Added to that, we will take a critical stance on monolingualising tendencies of the state and its institutions as well as on the policy of the compartmentalisation of languages.

Key words: multilingualism; critical sociolinguistics; survey; Belgrade; Hungarian minority; domains of language use.

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1. Introduction: Multilingualism in big cities

Multilingualism in big cities has somewhat recently emerged as a research subject, thus further academic enquiry is necessary in order to better understand dynamics of urban multilingual settings (cf. Block 2006; Extra, Yagmur 2004; Fuentes Calle 2010; García, Fishman (eds.) 1997; Gupta 2000; Nelde 1994). With regard to urban multilingualism, Gupta (2000) distinguishes between ‘genuine cosmopolises’ – such as Singapore and other cities mainly in the Middle East and Asia – from other great trading, global, cities – such as London, Hong Kong, or New York. The term cosmopolis refers, as argued by Gupta, “to a city which has in it a multiplicity of ethnolinguistic groupings, such that there is no single dominant ethnolinguistic group, and in which the pattern of everyone’s linguistic interaction is determined by the multiplicity” (Gupta 2000: 109). In ‘genuine cosmopolises’ language contact and cross-group language learning seem to be common patterns of interaction. Furthermore, the link between ethnic and linguistic identification tends to be weaker and no single code dominates every domain.

Contrary to this, the majority in a big city is not expected to change its patterns of interaction as a response to the city’s multilingual life. Monolingual ideologies therefore still prevail in such urban settings, while monolingual worldview underlies assimilation as well as multicultural society model. The stronghold of monolingual ideologies however has been traditionally located in Europe whose “Language – Nation – State” equations and “Standard Language” traditions are considered as the monolingual paradigm. In European societies, languages are traditionally believed to be ‘possessed’ by ethnolinguistic groups, whereby the power of an ethnolinguistic group is reinforced through the processes of language standardisation and institutionalisation. Bilingual education is typically seen as an effort, while a city’s multilingualism is regarded more or less as a latent problem. However, integration of the European Union brought forth the issues of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity. Multilingualism was officially placed on the European agenda and authoritatively regarded as an “asset for Europe and general commitment”.¹ This policy resulted in defining standards for the protection of regional and minority languages, exemplified by The European Charter for Minority and Regional Languages.² Multilingualism thus

¹ Cf. Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment; <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P6-TA-200162+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN>.

² Cf. European Charter for Minority and Regional Languages; <http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/Treaties/Html/148.htm>.



came to play an important role in shaping a new image of European cities and it has practically become fashionable to boast of multilingualism across Europe (cf. Salverda 2002).³

This paper aims to explore domains of Hungarian language use in the city of Belgrade, the capital of Serbia. We attempt to shed some light on the city's multilingualism and to deliver criticism of monolingualising tendencies of the state and its institutions that still produce and reproduce the dominant ideology of homogeneity. We would like to emphasise that the survey results we are going to present are only preliminary, since the data collection requires extensive research and more respondents of different social status in order to make more certain conclusions about the language use. Nevertheless, we would like to indicate what seems to us to be major tendencies and domains related to Hungarian in Belgrade today.

2. Social frame: Belgrade, multilingualism, and Hungarian

Belgrade, like other Southeast European cities, has developed much differently over the past decades than other European capitals. During the 1990s, the city and its population experienced the bloody break-up of Yugoslavia, the authoritarian and nationalistic regime of Slobodan Milošević, the wars in neighbouring Croatia and Bosnia and associated wartime and nationalistic psychosis, as well as through the economic sanctions imposed on Serbia by the United Nations in 1992. This contributed to abysmal economic conditions and one of the worst cases of hyperinflation in history. Towards the end of the 1990s, Serbia engaged war in Kosovo which eventually resulted in the NATO bombing campaign against Serbia and ended with the fall of Milošević. Political and social turmoil in Former Yugoslavia caused massive forced and voluntary migrations of large numbers of people. Consequently, Belgrade lost much of its native population who mainly migrated to other European countries, as well as to the USA, Australia, and Canada. Waves of refugees and migrants from the war zones of Former Yugoslavia – predominantly ethnic Serbs and Roma – flooded into Serbia and particularly into Belgrade. All these profound political, social and demographic changes were not conducive for the city's multilingualism.

³ Cf. *Utrecht: Multilingual hotspot and laboratory in Europe*; http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/pdf/doc3822_en.pdf.



Nevertheless, languages spoken in the city can be roughly divided into two groups. On the one hand, there are languages of the Serbian ‘indigenous’ ethno-linguistic groups, such as Hungarian, Albanian, Roma, Romanian, Greek, etc.,⁴ and recently formed one, like Chinese.⁵ On the other hand, there are so called ‘world languages’, such as English, German, French, Russian, Spanish, Italian, etc. Beyond any doubt, the most popular and widely spoken language after Serbian is English. English serves as the *lingua franca* between native Belgraders and foreigners, and can be frequently heard on the streets of Belgrade.

2.1. Hungarian speakers in Belgrade today

According to the Population Census in 2002 there are 1,576,124 inhabitants registered in the city of Belgrade.⁶ According to the Census, Belgrade appears to be an exceptionally monolingual city as 96.6 percent of the all respondents claimed Serbian to be their native language. However, census-taking practices should be considered in terms of what Foucault (1994) conceives of as a ‘technology of power’ that not only records, but also contributes to creating identities by providing categories for enumeration. Census-taking practices and its data are even more doubtful in societies traumatised by war and ethnic conflict. Thus one may infer that the number of the Belgrade minorities and Serbian non-native speakers is far greater than estimated.

According to the censuses of 1921–1991, the number of Belgrade residents who claimed Hungarian nationality or native language has not varied considera-

⁴ We could also add Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin, which are officially recognized as separate languages, but they are actually national standardised variants of the same language, based on South Slavic Shtokavian dialect, officially named Serbo-Croatian in the former Yugoslavia (cf. Kordić 2010). Two languages which almost ceased to be spoken natively in Belgrade after the Second World War also belong to the so-called ‘indigenous’ group – Judeo-Spanish language of Sephardic Jews (cf. Vučina Simović, Filipović 2009) and German of the German native population.

⁵ Belgrade is home to around 10,000–20,000 Chinese people; they began immigrating in the 1990s. Block 70 in New Belgrade is known colloquially as the Chinese quarter.

⁶ According to the 2002 census, 290,207 respondents claimed Hungarian ethnicity, which makes 3.91 of the country’s total population. The great majority of ethnic Hungarians – 293,299 – live in the northern Serbian province – Vojvodina, in which they make 14.28 percent of the province population (*Population Census 1*: 14).



bly: it was never below 1,500, but never exceeded 6,000 residents.⁷ Data from the latest (2002) census show that 2,080 individuals claimed Hungarian ethnicity representing 0.15 percent of the city's population. However, the number of individuals claiming Hungarian to be their native language is 1,604 (23 percent less) (cf. *Population Census* 3: 16). The disproportion between figures for ethnicity and native-language speakers indicates that a language shift is taking place among the Hungarian speaking population in Belgrade. The figures also point towards increased claims based on national (ethnic) loyalty than on native language among the respondents with Hungarian affiliations.

2.2. Institutionalised language use of Hungarian

Although the province of Vojvodina, its capital Novi Sad, and other Vojvodina towns are commonly considered to be the genuine cultural centres of the Serbian Hungarians, Belgrade also has a long tradition of a Hungarian presence. Once can for example mention the cultural centre Bolyai Society, which was active between the two world wars, then the Hungarian Cultural Society of Belgrade, which was founded in 1940 and played an important role until 1956, when it was closed due to consequences of political events in Hungary.

In Belgrade, up to now there have been no Hungarian or bilingual (Serbian-Hungarian) kindergartens, primary, or secondary schools. Children of Hungarian diplomats attend English International Schools in Belgrade. An interested person could learn Hungarian in private language schools providing there is enough interest to start a group. Though this happens occasionally there are no Hungarian courses on a regular basis. Hungarian though can be studied at university level, at the Department of Hungarian Language and Literature at the Philological Faculty, Belgrade University.⁸ In 2002 'The Club of Hungarians in Belgrade –

⁷ Data collected by the censuses show the following figures related to the Hungarians in Belgrade: in 1921 – 1,478 (native speakers – NS); in 1931 – 5,792 (NS); in 1948 – 3,427 (nationality – N); in 1953 – 3,817 (N); in 1961 – 5,043 (N); in 1971 – 4,511 (N); in 1981 – 3,297 (N); in 1991 – 2,402 (N). The mentioned data are to be found in the different census books (cf. *Population Censuses 1921–1991*). All relevant census data, however, can be obtained in the Archive of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia ([http://webrzs.stat.gov.rs/Web Site](http://webrzs.stat.gov.rs/WebSite)).

⁸ The Department was founded by Sava Babić in 1994. This was fairly late compared to the university tradition of Hungarian Studies in Vojvodina. The Department has the possibility of organising cultural events, both for university students and interested citizens. Programs are



The Hungarian Society for the Cultivation of Culture' was founded by the Federal Ministry of Justice. At the annual Belgrade International Book Fair, Hungarian books are exhibited on the stand of National Minorities and the Hungarian Publishers Association, where presentations and lectures are held in Hungarian.

An additional place of institutionalised Hungarian language use is the Jesuit church of St. Peter in downtown Belgrade, which brings together believers every Thursday when mass is held in Hungarian. Belgrade and this church have a long history of Jesuit tradition and Hungarian language use for religious, educational, and preaching purposes.⁹ The church now has a library with a fund of 750 religious books in Hungarian – the legacy of father Lórant Kilbertus and father Imre Polgár. The fund is being renewed by donations of Enikő Varga. In addition, the library receives current journals and magazines in Hungarian, such as *Vetés és aratás* and *Hitélet*, on a regular basis.

Satellite television also maintains and promotes Hungarian language use in Belgrade. The majority of Hungarian speakers assigned to the DIGI Sat TV can access a wide range of different programme packages, one of them being HU Plus, which includes a basic package with 12 additional Hungarian TV channels. This satellite broadcasting keeps them in constant contact with the modern standard and spoken Hungarian language. Alongside satellite television, there is also regular television programming in minority languages, Hungarian included. Minority programming in Hungarian is regularly broadcast on the second channel of Radio Television Vojvodina (TV Vojvodina II), but this signal is often not easy to receive in Belgrade.

held in two languages, Serbian and Hungarian, in order to insure that non-Hungarian citizens can also participate. Since 2003 gatherings at the Department decreased, so cultural events are held at other venues throughout the city.

⁹ Jesuits came to Belgrade in the early 17th century, built the first grammar school in 1613, and from the very beginning used Hungarian. Jesuits had to leave Belgrade in 1632 and the grammar school ceased to operate. When it was re-established in 1724, it enrolled 77 students, non-Catholics too, since it was a well renowned school and enjoyed a good reputation. The first Jesuit church was built in 1732. The Jesuits were active preachers in the Hungarian language in the first half of the 18th century, alongside German and Croatian. By the 19th century there were no Jesuits residing in Belgrade. The order came back to Belgrade in 1929, and in the following years the parish was formed (cf. Cetinić 1981). In addition to religious education, during the 1990s there were classes in Hungarian held in the church by the theologian, Enikő Varga.



3. Survey on Hungarian language use

Hungarian language use in Serbia has been a subject of many studies, but almost all of them related to Vojvodina, the Northern Serbian province, where Hungarians represent a numerous and significant minority (the topic of recent studies, cf. Andrić 2006, 2006a, 2009; Djordjević 2004; Göncz, Vörös 2005; Lánčz 2004; Mikeš 2001; Molnár Csikós 2006, 2006a; Papp 2006, etc.). Nevertheless, the use of Hungarian in Belgrade has been overlooked by academic concerns, probably due to the small number of Hungarian speakers in the city.

The research of the Hungarian language use is a pilot project entitled “Multilingualism vs. Monolingualism in Belgrade Today” that is designed and carried out by the Institute of Balkan Studies SASA and the Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade. The survey is based upon questionnaires that were disseminated among Hungarian speaking population in Belgrade, e.g. students of Hungarian, Hungarian natives, and citizens who due to various reasons happen to know and use at least some Hungarian. We used a quantitative approach to database analysis. This approach in sociolinguistics in its basic form, implies the correlation of the language parameters with the social ones, in order to identify the social context in which they appear (Filipović 2009: 24).

The questionnaire was modelled on questionnaires used in the sociolinguistic research on Hungarian speaking communities (cf. Gal 1979; Wasserscheidt 2010). It is divided into three sections:

- A. Domains of language use – questions on the language use across various domains.
- B. Communication – questions on the language use in different communicative settings.
- C. Attitudes – questions on the attitudes on language use.

Respondents were offered to choose between two questionnaires, one in Serbian, the other in Hungarian. They could also choose whether they would like to fill it out on-line or on paper. The answers from the printed questionnaires were imported into an electronic data base. There were 68 questions, and respondents were asked to fill in by checking boxes, while free comments for each question were welcomed. When answering questions on language use, more than one language could be indicated. Some questions were open ended –respondents



were asked to write an answer or a comment by themselves. Question samples are the following:

In church I speak:

- Serbian
- Hungarian
- Both languages
- Other.....

With my children I speak:

- Serbian
- Hungarian
- Both languages
- Other.....

I use Hungarian:

- in family always often rarely never

The survey was voluntary and anonymous, and the respondents were asked to give only personal data necessary for statistical purposes, such as age, gender, education, place of childhood and pre-university schooling, and place of residence. In addition to the survey questionnaires, we also used the method of participant observation in order to complement our data.

3.1. Respondents: general data

The survey was carried out at the Department of Hungarian Language and Literature, in the St. Peter's Catholic Church, and among friends and family members. To date, the questionnaires were filled in by 32 respondents; 25 in Serbian and seven in Hungarian. The respondents' personal data show that they comprise a very heterogeneous group, however, for the moment the corpus is not balanced by age or gender. Of the respondents, 26 were women comparing to only six men, which comes as no surprise since the majority of students at the Philological Faculty as well as churchgoers are women. The respondents' age ranges from 20 to 75, so the sample is stratified by four age groups. However, our sample mainly offers data on language use among students of Hungarian in Belgrade (age 19 to 22), cf. Figure 1.

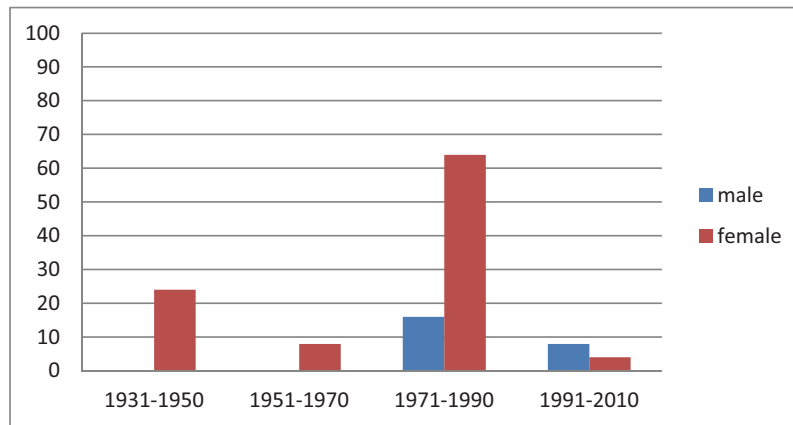


Figure 1. Respondents by age and gender.

As far as educational level is concerned, there are 47 percent with a high school diploma (i.e. 15 respondents), which is the same number as with a university diploma, and 4 percent have a junior college degree.¹⁰ Given the fact that only 13,8 percent of Belgrade inhabitants hold a university diploma.¹¹ This sample represents a group with above-average education, cf. figure 2.

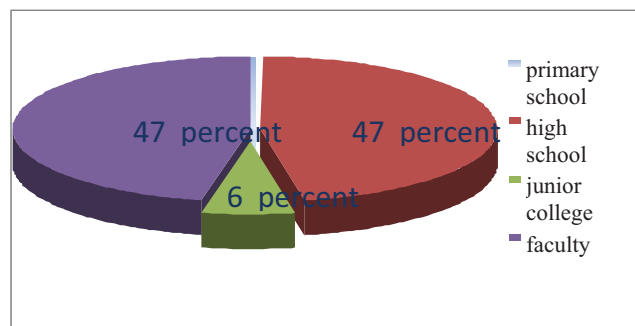


Figure 2. Respondents by education level.

The questions on respondents' places of residence during their childhood and pre-university schooling show that the majority grew up either in Vojvodina or in Belgrade, finished school and university in Belgrade, and works and lives in

¹⁰ Junior college (Serbian 'viša škola') is a type lower university education that lasts for two years.

¹¹ This proportion refers to the whole territory of the city, including the suburbs, while in the central city zone the ratio is higher – 17.8 percent (cf. *Population Census 4*).



Belgrade permanently, cf. figure 3.

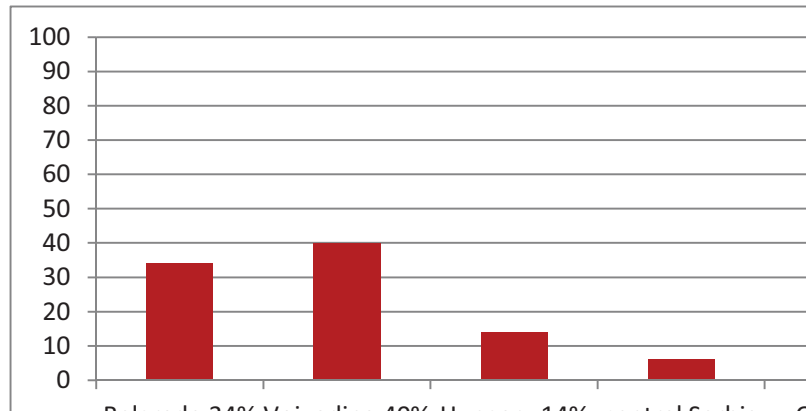


Figure 3. Respondents by place of residence during their childhood and pre-university schooling.

The questionnaires do not allow us to draw any conclusion about the ethnic composition of families. Participant observation however suggests that Hungarian speaking respondents who come from Vojvodina are more likely to originate in endogamous Hungarian marriages, while respondents who grew up in Belgrade are more likely to be from exogamous marriages with one Hungarian parent. Also, according to our participant observation Hungarian is hardly ever used with children within an exogamous Hungarian marriage in Belgrade; typically, only the children who maintain regular contacts with their Hungarian grandparents – usually from Vojvodina or Hungary – seem to achieve a native-like language fluency.

3.2. Domains of language behaviour: An obsolete concept?

In this paper, we will focus upon the first part of the questionnaire – i.e. questions on the language use across various domains (see A. The domains of language use). As argued by Fishman (1972: 19), the domain of language behaviour designates “the major clusters of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings.” However, the domain theory has been criticised and revised in sociolinguistics, especially as it overlooked the fact that most bilingual and multilingual communities do not allocate their language varieties in a stable fashion. Apparently, the stable differential allocation of varieties is termed diglossia. It is therefore argued that in modern times, bilingual communities and



their speakers are more likely to switch and mix languages and varieties across the domains (cf. Huffines 1980). Many bilingual speakers thus report being unaware of the switch when it happens and cannot identify any reason for it. Accordingly the lack of ‘domainism’ is evident even within conversation with the same person. Hence, the concept of domain has been expanded to include the idea of metaphorical code-switching, which is not motivated by the physical location or communicative setting only, but also by the topics interlocutors discuss or by the interlocutors’ expressiveness (Gumperz 1986).

Considering the above-mentioned criticism, we decided to use the concept of domains in our research, but we modified it with frequency indicators.¹² Therefore, our questions refer also to frequency of language use, e.g. “I use Hungarian in church always often rarely never”, etc. We wanted in this way to outline the major clusters of social situations in which Hungarian is used, albeit that we are aware that in most bilingual settings Hungarian and Serbian are used interchangeably. Also, by using the concept of domain we wanted to point at the particular settings and sites in the city of Belgrade, which multilingual potentials are either overlooked or marginalised.

3.2.1. *Domains of Hungarian language use*

According to the preliminary survey results, the majority learnt Hungarian either during childhood (as Hungarian native speakers) or at university (as Serbian native speakers). The majority that filled in the questionnaire in Serbian do not use Hungarian, neither in communication with family members and friends, nor in church, while those who filled in the form in Hungarian do use Hungarian in all mentioned domains. Nevertheless, there were not many examples of Hungarian use in the official and public domains, e.g. in government offices, markets, with a doctor, etc. But, it is important to emphasize that the majority feels free and relaxed – 81.25 percent – to use Hungarian in public. The respondents’ comments show that if they avoid speaking Hungarian in public it is due to the fact that either they do not have anyone to talk to who comprehends Hungarian, or they do not yet speak it proficiently. There was only one respondent who claimed to avoid speaking Hungarian on the street in order to avoid possible unpleasant re-

¹² The concept of domain has been also successfully applied in a study in diachronic sociolinguistics that dealt with language shift among the Belgrade Sephardic Jews (cf. Vučina Simović, Filipović 2009: 47–112).



actions of passers-by. All in all, we can conclude that in Belgrade there are no signs of overt linguisticism. This finding corresponds to the survey on Vojvodina Hungarians, according to which they had fewer experiences of being told not to speak their native language in public than minority Hungarians in other regions, e.g. in Slovakia, Romania, Ukraine and Austria (cf. Göncz, Vörös 2005: 207).

Various research on multilingual communities has proven that the family domain is a very crucial one: multilingualism often begins in the family; sometimes it withdraws to the family domain after it has been displaced from other domains in which it was previously encountered (cf. Fishman 1972; Vučina-Simović, Filipović 2009). As our results show, 40 percent of the respondents use Hungarian always and often within the family circle, while almost half of the respondents use it rarely or never. The data supports our participant observation findings, according to which Hungarian is hardly ever used with children within inter-ethnic families. Hungarian is not used on a regular basis even within endogamous Hungarian families in Belgrade. It seems, as mentioned above, that communication with Hungarian grandparents plays a significant role in language maintenance. When communicating with relatives and friends, Hungarian is used by half of the respondents, while 40 percent use it rarely or never. In church, more than 20 percent use it always and often, while more than half use it rarely or never. Also, half of the respondents use Hungarian frequently while watching television, listening to the radio, reading, and using the internet. Hungarian is used by a great majority at Hungarian university classes, cf. figure 4.

As expected, the great majority use predominantly Hungarian at places where Hungarian language use is institutionalised – that is, the Department for Hungarian Studies, the Church of St. Peter, and the Embassy and General Consulate of the Republic of Hungary in Belgrade. The respondents share the opinion that, although there are occasionally cultural programs in the Hungarian language, they are not sufficient. More detailed insight of the language use in these domains, show the following picture: Hungarian speakers mostly use Hungarian while using the internet, reading books, or watching TV, cf. Figure 5.

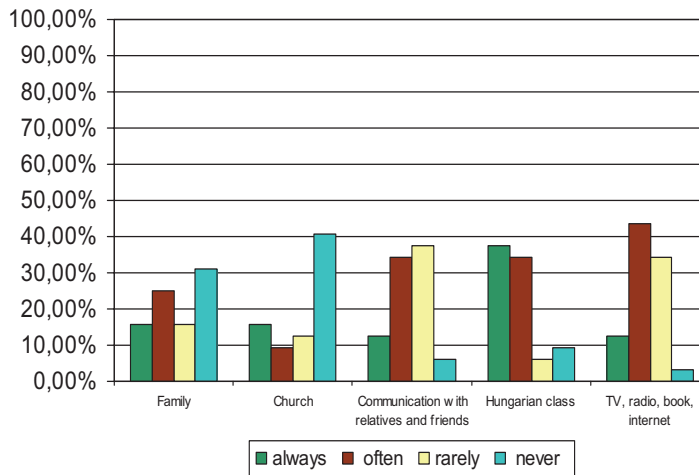


Figure 4. The domains of Hungarian language use (graphic).

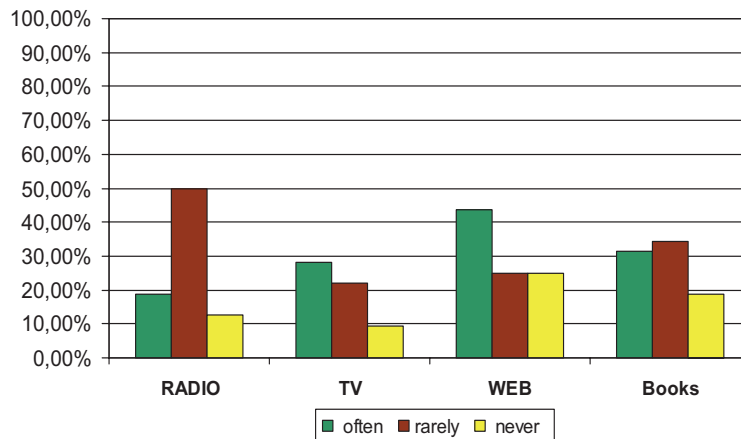


Figure 5. The domains of Hungarian language use (graphic)

3.2.2. Domains of official Hungarian language use

According to the current Serbian Constitution of 2006, the Serbian language and Cyrillic alphabet are in official use in the Republic of Serbia. In those areas where significant numbers of ethnic minorities live, the minority languages and



their alphabets are in official use concurrently with the Serbian language.¹³ However, a survey among minority groups carried out in 2002 suggests that Hungarians are poorly informed about their minority rights, which was a surprise in view of their long-standing status and relatively high average education level.¹⁴

In our survey, we also wanted to enquire whether the respondents were aware of their language rights. The survey demonstrated that only 25 percent of the respondents who filled the questionnaire in Serbian language were familiar with these language rights, but 75 percent of those who filled it in Hungarian were aware of their rights. Furthermore, only 50 percent of those who claimed to be of Hungarian nationality and native speakers of Hungarian use these language rights in the issuing of documents, in court, city hall and similar administrative settings.

4. Conclusion

In this paper we sought to outline the main domains of the Hungarian language use in Belgrade today. We aimed at pointing towards the domains Hungarian is mostly associated with and to the domains it is in the least associated with. Like Fishman (1986) we assume that domains reveal the links that exist between micro- and macrosociolinguistics, i.e. by surveying the language use in the local domains, like particular family settings, churches, street, etc. (microsociolinguistics), we come to generalise about the major institutions, such as family and church as social institutions, public space, etc. (macrosociolinguistics). The survey sample is, as shown above, limited in many ways: only 32 respondents, most of them being female students. Therefore, it puts in doubt any representative conclusions to be drawn from such a small amount of data. However, as this is a pilot project, yet to be developed and with more Hungarian respondents to

¹³ Cf. Article 15, paragraph 2 and Article 8, paragraph 2 of the *Constitution of the Republic of Serbia*. In the Republic of Serbia the right to use minority language is regulated in detail under the Act on the Official Use of Language and Alphabet (*Official Gazette* no. 48/94).

¹⁴ According to that survey few Hungarian respondents knew that inhabitants of municipalities constituting over 15 percent of population are entitled to use their mother tongue in communication with public services (19 percent), to obtain public documents (24 percent) and IDs (25 percent) and to use their language in judicial and administrative proceedings (33 percent) (cf. Briza et al. 2002: 105–114).



be questioned, we thought that it would be useful to indicate major trends and patterns in Hungarian language use as it appeared to us after the initial data collection. Moreover, being fully aware of methodological limitations of our work, we have supplemented our methodology by participant observation.

In conclusion, we can say that Hungarians in Belgrade do not create any solid speech community; they are rather individuated persons who gather within small family circles, at church, or at university. Although in sociolinguistic scholarship it is usually claimed that the family domain plays a crucial role in language maintenance, our survey results show that almost half of the respondents use Hungarian in a family setting hardly ever or never. Yet, these results cannot be utilised to make any pertinent claims on how language use and family correlate. For that we would need to explore, in detail, correlations between language use, on the one hand, and ethnic composition of families, age, educational level, gender, profession of respondents, on the other hand. Still, participant observation findings suggest that the nuclear family is not usually the primary domain for language maintenance; it seems rather that communication within the extended family, i.e. with Hungarian grandparents, helps retain the language.

The survey results and the participant observation also show that Hungarian is actively used in the domains in which its use is institutionalised. These include the Department of Hungarian Language and Literature, the Hungarian Embassy, and the Catholic Church of St. Peter. What catches our attention is that Hungarian is almost never or very rarely used in public services and in public places. Thus, Hungarian can serve as an example of ‘compartmentalised language’, since it is confined only to institutions whose programmatic objectives are to promote use of Hungarian or to deal with Hungarian minority. Although the great majority have claimed that they do not feel embarrassed in speaking Hungarian in public, it is apparent that there are no “Hungarian centred” informal places in Belgrade, like cafes, book shops, libraries, that people would frequent in order to hear, speak, read Hungarian or to listen to Hungarian music, etc. However, it is noteworthy that Hungarian language media are gaining more and more prominence among Hungarian speakers, especially internet and television. In fact, they have come to be the most important domains of Hungarian language use, especially among younger speakers who tend to use these domains more frequently than other groups.

Finally, language behaviour is often more than just a matter of individual preference or facility but also a matter of role-relations which index major social



processes and ideologies. We can thus observe that linguistic and ethnic diversity in Belgrade is still not sufficiently facilitated by institutions. This leads us to conclusion that although Belgrade has great potential for a developing multilingualism, Hungarian, alongside other minority languages, still remains on the margins of the city life.

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DOMENE KORIŠTENJA MAĐARSKOG JEZIKA U BEOGRADU

U ovom se radu otvara dijalog o višejezičnosti u Beogradu. Poput drugih gradova u jugoistočnoj Europi, Beograd se u nekoliko zadnjih desetljeća razvijao drugačije od drugih europskih glavnih gradova, npr. u devedesetim godinama dvadesetog stoljeća došlo je do raspada Jugoslavije, autoritarnog i nacionalističkog režima, sankcija, NATO bombardiranja, i intenzivnih migracija. Sve te promjene nisu bile povoljne za višejezičnost. U Beogradu, međutim, živi više od 10% stanovnika čiji jezik nije srpski. U ovom se radu tematizira korištenje mađarskog jezika u Beogradu. Rad se temelji na upitnicima provedenim među populacijom koja govori mađarski u Beogradu. Predstavljeni su preliminarni rezultati, budući da je prikupljeni korpus ograničen malim brojem anketiranih i nedovoljno raznovrsnim uzorkom. Većina anketiranih bili su studenti mađarskog. Međutim, želimo dati pregled populacije koja danas govori mađarski u Beogradu i ukazati na moguće trendove i glavne domene upotrebe mađarskog jezika.



Uz to se nudi i kritički osvrt na tendencije prema jednojezičnosti u državnim institucijama, te o politici odjeljivanja jezika.

Ključne riječi: višejezičnost; kritička sociolingvistika; upitnik; Beograd; mađarska manjina; domene jezične upotrebe.