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**NO LANGUAGE, NO ETHNICITY?
ETHNIC IDENTITY, LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL REPRESENTATION AMONG HUNGARIAN GERMANS**

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Introduction

In the literature dealing with ethnic minority groups, language is very often held to be one of the most important indicators of belonging to a special ethnic group. It is the main characteristic of representing ethnic identity and ethnic affiliations towards the group in which the person is a member and it is a symbolic border marker differentiating between the "we" group and the "others" (van den Berghe, 1976; Chun, 1982; De Vos and Romanucci-Ross 1982; 1995; Horowitz, 1975). In his theory on ethnicity, Fishman (1965) argues that language is not a conscious factor unless it has a border marking function between groups. In everyday interactions language is a means of communication and is not an ideologically-based, loved or valued thing. In the historical region of East and Central Europe, however, Fishman's view turned into its opposite. Language is not only the main dimension of maintaining and strengthening the cohesion of different ethnic minority groups, but at the same time it is the core point of belonging to a nation and manifesting national feelings, too. Members of a nation form the majority; the ethnic minority groups of all kinds, however, are foreigners being wedged into the body of the nation and are considered by the majority not to belong to it.

As a consequence of the historical development of nations on a cultural basis in East and Central Europe, where "the national idea referred to elements of ethnocentric heritage, such as descent, cultural values, and norms" (Csepeli and Örkény 1996:253), ideas about the language are also not free from ideological connotations. Both for ethnic groups and nations language means the basis of their existence, their identity and self-designation. That way the problem of language is cross-cut by severe conflicts, moreover by hostility between majority and minority of the region. As a consequence of its position, distinction is always the privilege of the majority. Distinction between labeling and self-designation, stereotypes of the denominator which serve to differentiate the other disadvantageously, all reflect opposite interests when

defining the minority by the majority. Language is not just a simple means of communication in every day interactions, speech situations, events or acts. It has also lost also its non-conscious features. Beyond its main functions such as conscious delimitation and maintenance of border – consequently separation and segregation –, language has become a personified value which has to be loved, solicited and protected.

In this paper I would like to argue that in our changing world language is not always the most important indicator of belonging to a special ethnic group. As a consequence of modernization and assimilation the language of the Hungarian majority had and has strong impact on the use of the original mother tongue of the German minority that has been living in Hungary for nearly 300 years. Living in Hungary has resulted in bilingualism as well as loosing the original ethnic mother tongue (Kloss 1978; Hutterer 1961). The ancient mother tongue loses its border marking function as well. One may have the image that by changing the mother tongue, minorities are also on their way to lose their ethnic culture. In the example is a small Swabian village in Hungary, Dunabogdány where I have researched the current concepts of ethnic identity, assimilation and national identity. I would say that in spite of the striking facts of ethnic assimilation and loosing their mother tongue, this minority does not want to disappear as ethnic community and with cultural representations of its traditions, strives for its ethnic survival. Beside their assimilated everyday common way of life as members of the majority – this I would specify as the sphere of homogenization – this minority has the strong desire to remain German at the same time and to manifest this feeling through their sacred ceremonies and traditions – and this is the field of the experienced ethnic identity.

In order to be able to clarify the historic and synchronic dimensions of continuity and discontinuity of the development and the current state of the language use of the villagers as well as the consequences of the language shift onto their ethnic identity I have concentrated on the following questions:

- what is the mother tongue in the village?
- what is the interrelation between mother tongue and origin?
- when do inhabitants in the village use Swabian or Hungarian?
- proficiency in Swabian, acquaintance of language
- active and passive bilingualism
- different speech situations, speech events

- differentiation in function
- better known and preferred language
- when do inhabitants use Swabian or German?

As a social anthropologist and adherent to the methodological pluralism, I have gathered these data during my fieldwork. Besides participating observation which is an excellent method of researching cultural representations (cf. Bourdieu 1991), the basic approach was to concentrate on the collection of detailed life and family histories and specific interviews focusing on the features of the issues mentioned above.

Participating in the life of a community helps to observe, how and when people speak this or that language, and helps in getting to know as many people as possible. The 290 interviews for the purpose of analyses in this paper help to control what has been observed. If it was possible within the family, interviews were conducted with representatives of all generations to follow up the development and changes of attitude (Bindorffer 1997a).

Researchers dealing with bilingualism generally divide the respondents in three generational categories (Gal 1979; Mannherz 1977). According to the conclusions of these researchers the different level of education and the trends of mobility of the younger generations have strong impact on the development of language use and determine the types of language shift (Gal 1987). So for analyzes three generational categories were made.

The first generation consists of the eldest people of the village approximately 60-80 years of age. The most important collective experience of this generation is the resettlement to Germany after the Second World War these persons (n=89) are retired today. Because of their low education, most of them worked in agriculture. Members of this generation were the last whose ethnic socialization was continuous. The repression after the Second World War resulted in an interruption in the continuity of handing down their language.

The second generation consists of people between 40-60, and the third of approximately 20-40 years of age. Members of the second generation (n=148) have higher education (78 persons have a certificate of secondary school diploma and 21 person have their MA). In spite of their higher education, however, members of the second generation continued on with agricultural work and in their spare time they

worked in the family garden. The most important and decisive experience of this generation is the dissolution of the ethnic community traditions and norms and the increased possibility for mobility.

The ethnic borders became totally spiritual for the members of the third generation (n=53) and as a consequence of their education, Hungarian language is definitely their mother tongue.

Germans in Hungary - etnonim and mother tongue in historical perspective

The first immigrants from German speaking territories arrived during the reign of Stephen I around 1000 A.D. to Hungary. Immigration of settlers from all part of Germany and Austria lasted up to the end of the nineteenth century. As a consequence of this long immigration period and different places of origin, the German minority is not a homogenous ethnic unit with a common language, history and culture. There are also differences in their self-designation. Today they are officially called Hungarian Germans, but those peasants who settled on the depopulated territories of Hungary after the Turkish occupation in the eighteenth century were consistently labeled Swabians by the Hungarian natives. This name was given to them by the Hungarian natives after the first settlers in the eighteenth century who actually came from Swabian provinces, but continued on towards Russia. In this way their etnonim was given to them by outsiders. The further waves of immigrants, however, did not consider this to be a pejorative designation (as was the case with the Slovaks or the Serbs whose labels are held to be highly pejorative) and accordingly accepted and internalized it for their own use. Today they call themselves Swabians and insist on the use of this label. Moreover, they held their mother tongue "svauve" (Swabian). This term is, however, not applicable to German peasants who survived the Turkish occupation. Neither is this name used for German craftsmen or the bourgeoisie migrating in the nineteenth century; as a result, they became totally assimilated into the Hungarian society.

As far as language is concerned, Swabian and German are distinct terms. Swabian includes those local dialects which have developed from the original native dialects of the eighteenth century settlers in Hungary and is still the mother tongue of the Swabians. The unification of the different dialects stopped, however, at a regional level. Thus there is not any common Swabian language spoken country-wide in Hun-

gary. German, on the other hand, is the literary and standard language, which has developed in modern Germany after the eighteenth century settlers left their native land. After having left Germany, the German immigrants lost all contacts with the native land. Therefore German has never been spoken as the mother tongue among the Swabians and these dialects could not be renewed from the standard variation. Swabian dialects spoken in Hungary today are not understood in Germany as it was experienced by those people who as a consequence of collective punishment were resettled to Germany after the Second World War. In spite of the striking difference between literary German and Swabian dialects spoken in Hungary, and though literary German which they have learnt at school is not their mother tongue, in literature and in the Hungarian administration German is very often noted as mother tongue as a generic term for all dialects. Using the term "German" both for designation of origin and language is a kind of effort by the Hungarian administration, and by the Swabians themselves, to unify their culturally different communities living in Hungary (Bindower 1997b).

Bilingualism and diglossia

At a conference on inter-ethnic relation in 1988 the German participants defined themselves as a language community with their own socio-cultural traditions. They declared their common desire to maintain cultural traditions and mother tongue while continuing to speak the Hungarian language of the majority. This means that they wish to maintain their ethnic identity but without excluding the possibility of belonging to the Hungarian speaking majority.

Kloss (1978) and Hutterer (1961) argues, however, that this language group is in the process of continuous reduction and comparing the elder generations with the younger ones knowledge and use of Swabian as mother tongue has shown a decreasing tendency. My results in Dunabogdány support these propositions, and it can be clearly stated that this speech community is bilingual. In their communicative repertoire both Swabian and Hungarian are at present. Mother tongue, however, in regards to competence, is different throughout the generations. As to the literary German, it is outside of the scope of diglossia. For the first generation and their parents, their only contacts with literary German were the Bible and prayer-books which were written in German (since literary Swabian has to this day, not been developed). The second and

the third generations learnt German at school like everybody else. In this way, there was no chance for literary German to evolve into a substitute language. In everyday life it is not uncommon in Swabian conversation to hear Hungarian words and if necessary they even continue on speaking in Hungarian but not in German.

Swabian inhabitants of the village clearly stated that one of the symbols of their ethnic community was speaking Swabian. Apart from this fact the role and the significance of the Swabian mother tongue as border marker and as one of the factors of their ethnic identity varied from generation to generation; the overall tendency was one of decreasing importance across all generations.

The classical case of diglossia by Ferguson refers to two or more variations of the same language. According to this, diglossia should have been developed between literary German and Swabian dialects. Because of the special development of the Swabian dialects without any contacts to literary German, and as a consequence of learning German at school and not at home as mother tongue, we cannot speak about triglossia. As to the function, diglossia has developed between Swabian dialects and the Hungarian language. Division of functions, evaluation, and preference of Hungarian, and Swabian languages will be analyzed in the circumstances of this special kind of diglossia which is called in the literature as diglossian in bilingualism. Diglossia in bilingualism has special influence onto the development and sense of ethnicity as well as the national identity of this minority.

Mother tongue, origin and identity

Mother tongue is the first language which is learnt at home in the family. It is a reflex language, in which one thinks, dreams, counts, prays, suffers or swears. In our case this language is Swabian. The second language associates to the mother tongue, and can be learnt on the level of mother tongue. According to my data, this is only characteristic in the case of the first generation. In the second and the third generations, practically both languages were learnt at the same time. The question is, which language is considered to be mother tongue and why. This consideration correlates on the one hand with the origin and the group membership and on the other with the better spoken language; consequently it has both affective and practical-cognitive dimensions.

According to the group norm everybody whose parents are Swabians, is him- or

herself also Swabian. There are, however, intermarriages in the second and the third generations, but the community, who is not willing to accept the foreign mates, accepts the offsprings as Swabian apart the non-Swabian mother or father. Origin in this context is practically the question of the tradition of continuity, cohesion and a kind of affinity. Origin from the point of view of the person is the question of admitting the ascendants and the traditions.

Ethnic group membership is ascribed; one can only be born into the group. From this point of view ethnic membership cannot be chosen or given. But identifying with the group, the loyalty towards the group depends, however, on the subjective decision of the person and it is the most important dimension of ethnic identity. As Barth (1996) says, "group membership is the identity itself".

The first generation and their ascendants

Swabian inhabitants of this village clearly stated that one of the symbols of their ethnic community was speaking Swabian. Apart from this fact the role and the significance of the Swabian mother tongue as a boundary marker and as one of the factors of their ethnic identity varied from generation to generation. The structure of relations between generations can be well characterized by the separate maintenance and usage of Swabian and Hungarian (Bindorffer 1997a).

As a consequence of having lived in Hungary for almost 300 years and having come into first-hand contact with natives, even the grandparents of the eldest generation knew some Hungarian. As the members of the first generation remember, their grandparents did not speak very much Hungarian, but if it was necessary they were able to communicate with Hungarians by randomly saying key words and putting these words one after the other disregarding grammar rules. Their parents were bilingual, although they did speak Swabian better and more fluently than Hungarian. As to German, first of all men had to learn it while working as stone cutters in the stone mine near the village or as dealers, transporting goods abroad. Men were also much more willing and also forced to learn Hungarian.

Everybody in the first generation considered Swabian as mother tongue which connected them to the past, to their youth, to the family, to relatives and old friends in the village. Their proficiency in Swabian was perfect and use of the language was active. They thought, counted, and quarreled in Swabian. At home they spoke only Swabian with their mate, children, and relatives. Members of the eldest generation

were, however, compelled to use both languages in their communication. Depending on the situation they used Swabian alternatively with Hungarian, but there was a clear-cut distinction in the function and prestige of the two languages as to space and situation. Swabian was the language of intimacy, familiarity, and privacy. Hungarian was the public language. The single field intimacy where Swabian language was unable to fulfill its function was the sphere of religion and praying. If they wanted to pray, they could do it only in German or Hungarian. Hungarian was preferred because of the lack of knowledge in German language. This refers to the fact that Hungarian language had begun to expand in the sphere of their private lives and this process indicates the direction of acculturation.

In spite of bilingualism and admitting that they speak Hungarian well— which they learnt at school —, no one said that his or her mother tongue would be Hungarian or he or she would prefer it. It was generally felt that the Swabian dialect is the last thing to keep the united. A special kind of diglossia has developed between Swabian and Hungarian. In this special kind of diglossia the changing languages during conversation followed in the presence of foreigners, as a sort of defense mechanism which was used after the Second World War and survived the years of repression and resettlement back to Germany. All of this considered, code switching was also used at those times when they could not express themselves in their mother tongue. None of the Swabian dialects were renewed through contact with literary German, so they lack words and phrases for different phenomena of the world. Thus they were compelled very often to switch codes. But the situation was also that, if they wanted to communicate with their grandchildren.

Besides the Swabian origin the Swabian mother tongue played an important role in the formation of the ethnic identity of the first generation. Bilingualism, however, as a consequence of acculturation (the first stage of Gordon's assimilation process (Gordon 1964)) – made it is possible for this generation to join the memories, sentiments and attitudes of the Hungarian majority and opened a way towards assimilation. In spite of the signs of acculturation, however, they considered themselves Swabians of origin and members of the Swabian ethnic group. Unity of language and origin were he main factors of their ethnic identity.

The second generation

Members of the second generation learnt both languages at home in the family and knew both equally well. As children they spoke Swabian with their parents or grandparents but on the playground or at school Hungarian was preferred. Their feelings towards the Swabian language depended on whether or not the individual with recognized Swabian origin and heritage considered him- or herself as a member of this ethnic group or not. As to mother tongue, this generation was not homogeneous; two main groups with two subgroups, of each can be discerned. Concerning the fields of use, division of affective and practical functions of the Swabian and the Hungarian languages, have also manifested in territorial dimensions.

1/a Forty-nine percent of the respondents in the second age group said: "I am of Swabian origin. I am not Hungarian and my mother tongue is also Swabian." As can be seen mother tongue, origin, and ethnic group membership formed a consistent unit and proved to be a solid basis of ethnic identity. The mother tongue played an important role in their identity construction and served as border marker of the group. Members of this subgroup are united by the strong desire to speak Swabian as much as possible. In spite of the fact that they preferred Swabian, they were compelled to use Hungarian in their private life, as well, since their children preferred Hungarian. In answer to the question: "In what language do you think?" they did admit to frequently thinking in Hungarian. Use of the Hungarian language in the family life divided up the territory of intimacy. Hungarian was no longer the language for practical use outside of the home even in this group with strong ethnic affiliations. It also entered into the dimension of emotions and forced the speakers to switch codes frequently. After the collapse of communism, members of this group preferred the German speaking services. For these people Swabian had greater prestige; but as a consequence of the specialized functions attributed to the two languages and because of the wider territory within which Hungarian was spoken, they used Hungarian more.

1/b Members of this subgroup amounting to nineteen percent said that in spite of their Swabian origin and mother tongue they considered themselves Hungarian. First of all, people with secondary school or university diplomas, and those working outside of the village declared: "I am Hungarian, but I am of Swabian origin". Swabian as mother tongue was held, however, quite natural as a tradition. They spoke in this dialect with their parents but added that they speak Hungarian better and more often. The function of the Hungarian language was as practical, as emotional. This

subgroup can be characterized with strong assimilation tendencies. As can be seen here, if mother tongue is not accompanied with the ethnic group membership, it loses its role in defining and representing identity. Consequently it can be said that language alone does not determine identity. Language is a factor of identity and border marker only with ethnic group membership. The sense of origin is a necessary but insufficient stipulation.

2/a There was, however, a third group of people in the second generation amounting twenty-five percent, and only under 50 years of age, who insisted on their Swabian origin they considered themselves as members of the ethnic group, but did not claim Swabian as their mother tongue. They said: "I am Swabian of origin, but my mother tongue is Hungarian" and explained it with the fact that they learnt more Hungarian than Swabian and spoke it better. Whether they considered Swabian as their mother tongue or not, was immaterial, because they considered themselves part of the Swabian community by origin. Hungarian as mother tongue did not mean, however, that they did not speak Swabian. The function of Swabian was communicating with their parents or elder villagers and that of Hungarian was the communication with their children. That way the preferred language did not show any shift in either direction.

In this subgroup, origin and mother tongue have separated from each other. It is apparent, however, that there is a correlation between the subjective feeling of belonging to an ethnic group and having a Swabian ethnic identity, but this did not depend on language. Hungarian as mother tongue and instinctive language of thought did not weaken the ethnic affiliations. This means that origin and ethnic group membership were important factors in the ethnic identity without the decisive role of the Swabian mother tongue.

2/b Those seven percent who said: "Though I am of Swabian origin, I am Hungarian" were not ready to use a language other than Hungarian. In spite of the fact that they learnt Swabian at home from their parents, they still considered Hungarian to be their mother tongue. Hungarian had greater prestige than Swabian. This fact indicates a strong desire to be assimilated and shows towards a stronger national identity than an ethnic one. This tendency is inspired by the high number of intermarriages in this subgroup. In spite of the fact that members of this group spoke Swabian with their parents, they consciously strived to weaken their ethnic affiliations. The emo-

tional function of the Swabian language was replaced by the Hungarian one. German was held to be a useful language which has to be learnt.

To summarize the dimensions of language use and ethnic identity in the second generation it can be said that the subjective feeling of belonging to an ethnic group and having Swabian ethnic identity correlated, but did not depend on language. In admitting Hungarian to be their mother tongue and language of thinking, however, the ethnic affiliations were not weakened..

Attitudes in language use did not show any correlation with the ethnic group membership or with the mother tongue. Every member of this generation knew Swabian and used it actively or passively; the only difference that could be made was in the frequency of use. Depending on the feeling of ethnic identity, the functions have been rearranged and the hierarchy of the prestige differences has changed. Swabian preserves and tries to transmit the feeling of intimacy, privacy and traditions, but its role are more and more limited to the communication with elders. In the second generation speaking Swabian – beyond the function of communication – has a symbolic value and also the function of manifesting group affiliations.

It is, however, usual that the role of the Swabian language has decreased in their lives and this tendency continues to go on. It is not only the matter of its subordinated position towards Hungarian, but also the question of whether or not a language is able to fulfill its function as mother tongue. If a dialect claims to fulfill this function, it has to be supported by the standard literary language in the course of social development. Since this dialect has not experienced a revival through contact with literary German, it lacks word and phrases for the newest phenomena of the world.

As for the language, members of the second generation live in a special kind of double identity, where the ties are not equally strong. The role of the Swabian showed a decreasing tendency in those groups, as well, whereas it was loved and valued. It was generally thought that German learnt at school could not substitute Swabian as mother tongue. This status is also ascribed to the Hungarian language.

Referring to Gordon's first stage of assimilation, however, the changing of language signifies at the same time the direction of acculturation and one towards a Hungarian national identity.

The third generation

The language shift in the third generation has already taken place. The first language they learnt at home was Hungarian, but they also clearly understood Swabian and could speak it. However, in practice they did prefer not to use it. Members of this age group learnt Swabian first of all from their grandparents, but more Hungarian was spoken at home than Swabian. Loosing the functions of the ancient mother tongue made the use of the Swabian needless. If their grandparents or parents spoke Swabian to them, they answered Hungarian. This is an example for the passive bilingualism (Romaine 1989). It is the sign of the move towards monolingualism and monoculturalism in the language and culture of the majority group. Members of this age group, however, did not deny their Swabian origin or belonging to the Swabian community in the village, but at the same time they considered themselves Hungarian and claimed Hungarian to be their mother tongue. A number of respondents said that they could not think in Swabian at all. The Swabian language had no prestige. They thought it is of no use to know Swabian at all, because it is a dead language with a very limited vocabulary. There was no difference as to the functions; intimacy and practice have manifested in the Hungarian language. Hymes statement: "to participate in a speech community is not quite the same as to be a member of it" (1974: 50) appears to be true in this generation.

A language shift does not mean loosing the language, but as can be seen, the Swabian mother tongue was not present in their idea of ethnic identity. That way this language could not determine the sense of origin of ethnic group membership. Everyone declared that they were better at speaking Hungarian. The question of preference of language had no relevance. They held Hungarian more important in the social life. As for German they learnt it more or less at school without much success. Learning German only gained important after the post socialist period when more joint ventures with Germany became a reality.

Since the traditional Swabian mother tongue as indicator of the ethnic identity was missing, ethnic identity in the third generation was instead manifested through a few traditional customs. They preferred, for example, the traditional Swabian wedding with brass-band music and the dances of their grandparents.

Cultural Identity: Traditions as Manifesting Ethnicity

Comparing the first generation with the following ones, use of Swabian as mother tongue showed a decreasing tendency. At the same time the core point of ethnic identity – except the first and approximately one third of the second generation – did not depend upon knowledge or use of Swabian as mother tongue. Ethnic affiliations were determined by self-definition as being of Swabian origin, by declaration of belonging to the Swabian community, or by mere cultural representations. It cannot be said that in Dunabogdány, the mother tongue would be an explicit boundary marker of ethnic identity. Language as common stock of ethnic knowledge and ethnic identity seemed to have lost their strong correlation. Boundary construction by language became rather theoretical and a trait of the past.

Among different languages spoken in one society or in a bilingual group only that language will most likely survive that is able to better fulfill the actual and up-to-date requirements of social life. It means that the condition for survival of the mother tongue of a group is its capability to satisfy the needs in all fields of social roles and social activities as well as in family life.

Nowadays, the restricted spheres of functions of the Swabian language are continually reducing. Lacking codified and standard written form and pronunciation norms, it is unable to satisfy the increased needs of communication. The needs of the speech community of the first generation could have still been satisfied but its capabilities in the life of newer generations have proven to be unsatisfactory.

In addition to this Mihok (1990) points out that the cause of assimilation of language is a consequence of changes in the socio-economic surroundings and of modernization. To be able to take part in the economic, political and cultural life of Hungary, to be able to survive as citizens, the linguistic assimilation is a necessary and compelling force. In addition to mobilization, urbanization and consequently more frequent interactions with others, moving between different speech communities, education, media, the diminishing role of family in socialization and the different occupational situations of younger generations have all contributed to the assimilation of language.

Losing the traditional mother tongue points in the direction of ethnic assimilation. Assimilation of language is, however, *only an* initial step. This is by no means *the* final stage of assimilation process. In this intermediate stage, ethnic feelings as well as assimilation tendencies are simultaneously present. In spite of the striking

signs of assimilation Swabians as ethnic group want to survive.

As we stated above, members of the first generation were the last whose ethnic enculturation was not interrupted. As a consequence of the repression after the Second World War, the continuity of handing down the mother tongue, customs, norms, and community rites was interrupted. In spite of the fact that they taught their children to speak Swabian, as transmitters of their total culture, they were not successful. The collective traditions, rites, and the folklore were eroded by the modernization or by politics. The traditional Swabian house is today a monument with special handicrafts and lost customs, the folk-costumes, old traditional utensils, which are now on exhibition objects in the village-museum.

As a consequence of modernization and the aspiration to assimilate, manifestation of ethnic affiliations has become more and more limited to the sphere of cultural traditions. The Swabian weddings and funerals with brass-band music, the festivals honoring the patron saints of their churches, the Swabian balls, the "sramli" music played on the accordion, the brass-bands at any religious ceremony including Christmas and at national days, the old folk dances, and some New Year's rites are the only surviving customs of their cultural heritage. Since language lost its role as the collective element of ethnic identity and as the clear-cut boundary marker, Swabian inhabitants of Dunabogdány struggle for their ethnic survival as cultural groups through maintaining and manifesting some of their cultural traditions. Since language is not a surviving factor, instead of by language, ethnic identity is represented by traditional cultural habits, customs and rites, which are first of all connected to the religion. Traditions and their conscious incorporation into the present, into the everyday-life of the villagers is the substance of the ethnic identity and is a means to guarantee group cohesion. At the same time, they are not only boundary markers of the Swabian community but with their maintenance they represent very important survival symbols of ethnic identity for each generation. Maintaining traditions is practically the single means of the survival strategy for the group.

For about half of the second generation and for members of the third one cultural tradition are the single possibility in connection to the group of origin and the feeling loyalty towards it. The Swabian traditions are strongly connected to their music and dance. There were always some accordions and trumpets in the village; Dunabogdány always had its bands. Famous Hungarian gypsy music has never been

played or loved there. Today there are four brass-bands in the village. They play at church festivals, church ales, midnight mass at Christmas, burials and weddings. At national days the Hungarian hymn is played in transcription for blow instruments. The most important religious traditions are the annual festivals commemorating and honoring the saints of the local Catholic Church and chapel. These festivals are accompanied by the famous "Swabian balls", where everybody living in Dunabogdány participates. At the "sramli" music they dance traditional dances such as waltz, polka or hupfedli.

These cultural traditions which have survived help the remembrance and symbolical representation of the past. In those cases, when Swabian villagers had ceased to count themselves part of the ethnic community any more, and considered themselves Hungarian, they could not absolve themselves in the feeling of common origin and of their deep-rooted traditional values. Even these assimilated people held Swabian weddings. One of them commented that he could only truly be amused at Swabian dances with Swabian music. This phenomenon seems to be a justification for the conception of ethnic identity as given by birth (Horowitz 1975) and characterized with primordial attachments (Geertz 1963).

In spite of the fact that group festivals with their own music and dances helped strengthen the cohesion of the group, they could not maintain and support the concept of continuity. One of the causes was that most of the traditional norms had been lost and those which were remembered, are not practiced any more. Nowadays, only those traditions are alive and represented which had been successfully been interwoven into the life of the younger generations. However, these younger generations are continually getting involved in intermarriages with Hungarian.

Conclusion

As seen, the generational differences play an important role in the habits of language use. Leaving the original monolingual state, the first generation can be characterized by bilingualism dominated by the mother tongue. As mastering Swabian, it was their first language. The second generation is characterized partly by balanced bilingualism, partly by bilingualism dominated by the second language. Originally they learned Swabian and Hungarian simultaneously at home. Coming up to schools Hungarian became privileged. The third generation can be characterized by

bilingualisms dominated by the second language. Actually this is a new monolingualism. They learnt Hungarian as their first language. The Hungarian language was strengthened at the expense of Swabian by education, by employment outside of the village, by social expectations, and self-assertion aspirations playing played important roles in the life of the members of the second and the third generation. In these generations, socialization of language shifted into the direction of Hungarian spoken language, even in those families where both parents were Swabian and declared Swabian as mother tongue. Competence of the Hungarian language was strengthened by intermarriages as well. As said, the younger generations speak Swabian only "upwards" in the communication with the elders; in their own generation they speak mostly Hungarian and do not use Swabian "downwards" in the communication with their children. Beyond the problem of inapplicability narrowing the use of Swabian can be explained by the reducing number of the situations where Swabian can be spoken as well as by the changed system of norms and social expectations. Learning and speaking Hungarian was motivated by the possibility of taking part in the economic, cultural, social or political life of the Hungarian majority. On a personal level, this linguistic tendency reveals the direction of ethnic assimilation.

The rapid change of the mother tongue was also sped by historical and political events. After the Second World War when the Swabian population should have been resettled to Germany as collective punishment for collaborating with the Nazis, it was practically forbidden to speak this language.

We can notice that the overall tendency is one of decreasing importance afforded to language as we move from the oldest to the youngest generation. This tendency can be observed not only in the importance of language, but also in the construction of their ethnic identity. Language has no decisive influence on the community feelings, identification, sense of ethnic identity or on the maintaining and representing traditions. Since the mother tongue and the origin have separated already in the second generation, it cannot be stated that language would be the most important factor of ethnic identity and identity representation. Krappman (1980) contends that the identity the subject wants to preserve needs mainly language representation. Because of the advanced assimilation of language, however, representation of the Swabian ethnic identity through language became impossible. Loosing importance of the language does not mean, however, loosing their ethnic identity at the same time.

Instead of language, representing ethnic identity happens in the sphere of cultural dimensions.

As a consequence of education, job, and media, in the everyday practice language shift seems to be a rapid process and is free of emotions. In the field of culture, tradition, and folklore, there are other operating mechanisms. The cultural traditions which have survived help to maintain a sense of the continuity of the ethnic group and they symbolically representation the shared past. Having lost the original mother tongue the basis of maintaining ethnicity and strengthening ethnic group affiliations and cohesion have shifted onto the sense of origin, and self ascription as member of the ethnic group and collective cultural traditions. The force of the culture in the survival of the group can, however, be effective and successful only if the traditions can find place in the life of the recipient generations, where functions and the need to meet requirements exist. Cultural elements without any function will be forgotten. The more the ethnic and cultural elements can be passed on from generation to generation, the better chance they have to be integrated and the more is the chance for the group to survive. Transmittance of traditional music and dance could be successful because there was nothing to prevent their organic integration.

Beyond the functional integration of the traditional ethnic values of culture into the life of younger generations, further conditions of maintaining ethnic identity and ethnic knowledge are the congruence of the different factors of the different identities of the subject and the free and unlimited possibility to represent his or her origin, and ethnic group membership guaranteed by the majority.

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