CHAPTER 9

Hungarian in the United States*

Anna Fenyvesi

1.   Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the Hungarian minority in the United States, the Hungarian-Americans, and their language.

Since no study on the sociolinguistic situation of the entire Hungarian-American population of the United States exists, the description of the sociolinguistic aspects of this community is based on census records and the available comprehensive studies of the sociolinguistic and linguistic aspects of four Hungarian-American communities. These latter are the following: Kontra (1990), the first such study, on Hungarian as spoken in South Bend, Indiana (for a review of it in English, see Kerek 1992); Bartha (1993), on Hungarian in the Delray neighborhood of Detroit, Michigan; Fenyvesi (1995a), on Hungarian in McKeesport, Pennsylvania, a small town just outside Pittsburgh; and Polgár (2001), on the sociolinguistic aspects of Hungarian-Americans in the Birmingham neighborhood of Toledo, Ohio.

2.   Sociolinguistic aspects

2.1   The origin of the contact situation

Groups of Hungarian immigrants started arriving in the United States in the mid-19th century.

Before this time, only sporadically did Hungarian individuals resettle in or visit this country. Allegedly, one Hungarian sailed with Leif Ericsson in the 10th century and another with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, one of Elizabethan England's colonists in the New World, in the 16th. Hungarian volunteers fought in the American Revolution and were followed by Hungarian travelers, naturalists and explorers in the 19th century. About 4 thousand Hungarians immigrated to the United States after the failed revolution of 1848–49, and about 800 of them fought as part of the Union Army in the American Civil War (Richmond 1995: 126; Benkart 1980: 464). They even established a colony of their own, calling it *Új Buda*, 'New Buda', in southern Iowa (Vassady 1979).

Table 9.1. The total number of Hungarian-Americans, 1870–2000, according to censuses*

Years	Born in Hungary	Born in the US of Hungarian or mixed parentage	Total
1870	3,737		3,737
1880	11,526		11,526
1890	62,435		62,435
1900	145,714	81,897	227,611
1910	459,609	215,295	710,904
1920	397,283	538,518	935,801
1930	274,450	316,318	590,768
1940	290,228	371,840	662,068
1950	268,022	437,080	705,102
1960	245,252	456,385	701,637
1970	183,236	420,432	603,668
1980	144,368	582,855	727,223
1990	123,657	873,888	997,545
2000	92,017	848,242	904,662

* Sources: 1870–1960, U.S. Bureau of Census (1960), 1960 Census (quoted in Fishman 1966:4); 1970: U.S. Bureau of Census (1970), quoted in Széplaki 1975:130; 1980–2000: U.S. Bureau of Census, internet data (http://www.census.gov/).

(On this and other Hungarian town and county names in the United States, see Farkas 1971.)

Large scale immigration from Hungary to the United States started in the 1880s, spurred by the failure of agricultural crops and general economic hardship in Hungary, and coinciding with mass immigration from other Eastern and Southern European countries. As Table 9.1 shows, their numbers grew steadily until World War I, resumed after the war, and were significantly cut back in 1924 with the introduction of the Quota System that limited the numbers of Eastern and Southern European immigrants to the United States in general.

This first wave of immigrants was almost exclusively of peasant and working class origin, who came to the United States with the intention of working there for a period of time for much better wages than they could in Hungary, saving as much money as they could, and returning to Hungary to buy their own land and enjoy a better life than before. Known as the sojourners, many, although by far not all of them, did return to Hungary, some even crossing over to the United States more than once. Sojourners complicate the interpretation of census figures since the U.S. authorities did not keep records on them (or on those who came back to the United States after a short visit to the old country) until 1908, although it is estimated that approximately 37% of those who entered the United States until then also returned to Hungary permanently (Benkart 1980:464). For a detailed historical analysis of the causes of this first big wave of emigration, see Boros-Kazai (1981).

How many of the first wave of Hungarian immigrants were actually Hungarian speakers is not very easy to establish either. The interpretation of U.S. census

data is complicated by several factors. Pre-1920 data on immigrants born in Hungary include non-Hungarian-speaking minorities in the Greater Hungary before the Treaty of Trianon: the last pre-Trianon census, in 1910, recorded the population of Hungary as comprising only 54% Hungarians, and the rest as minorities (16.1% Romanians, 10.7% Slovaks, 10.4% Germans, 3.6% Serbs and Croats, 2.5% Ruthenians, and 2.2% of other nationalities, Dávid 1988: 343). According to various estimates, between 380 and 458 thousand immigrants from Hungary in the peak years of 1899–1913 were Hungarian-speaking (estimates by Benkart 1980: 465; Puskás 1982, respectively; Puskás's figure quoted in Tezla 1993: 18). Post-1920 census numbers on immigrants from Hungary, in turn, present a different problem: they do not contain all Hungarian-speaking immigrants, since now some of them came from countries with large Hungarian minorities such as Romania. United States censuses had questions on country of birth all throughout the era when Hungarian immigrants have been present in the United States. They did not, however, contain questions about ethnic ancestry and language spoken at home until 1980.

Of the pre-1920 Hungarian-speaking immigrants, about two-thirds were men, most under 30. They went to work in the coal mines and steel mills of the then heavily industrial region south of the Great Lakes, in Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, northern Illinois and Indiana, as well as to New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut and other northeastern states. Because they originally sought only temporary employment, they typically lived in boardinghouses and were quick to move if better work opportunities presented themselves elsewhere in the region. (For an insightful study of early 20th century boardinghouse life, see Vázsonyi 1978.)

World War I and the 1920 Treaty of Trianon, however, changed the plans of many of the immigrants who had intended to go back to Hungary. Under the treaty, Hungary lost over two-thirds of its territory to Romania, Austria, the newly created Czechoslovakia, and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and, with the territories, also lost was one-third of its Hungarian-speaking population (as well as 90% of its ethnolinguistic minorities). Many of the sojourner type of immigrants in the United States now had their homes and native villages where they had been planning to buy land in foreign countries where they did not want to reside.

In the first two decades of the 20th century, Hungarians settled primarily in the northeast of the United States. The highest concentration of Hungarians, according to the 1920 Census (quoted in Bako 1962: 12–13), was in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York (between 80 and 100 thousand per state), followed by Illinois (with somewhere between 40 and 50 thousand), Michigan (between 25 and 30 thousand), and Wisconsin and Indiana (10–15 thousand in each). By this time, Hungarians were found in every state of the U.S. Many Hungarian colonies and settlements were formed in and around New York City, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, as well as in other places like South Bend and Gary, Indiana; Bridgeport, Connecticut; Youngstown and Akron, Ohio; Newark, Trenton, Passaic, and New Brunswick, New Jersey; and St. Louis, Missouri. (For an ethnographic account of two typical immigrant life stories, see Dégh 1972.) Even after they decided to stay, the formerly mostly

peasant Hungarians remained in the industrial regions of the great lakes and the northeast rather than purchase land and take up farming. One notable exception is the strawberry-farming Hungarian community of Árpádhon (later renamed Hammond), Louisiana (see Mocsary 1990 for a historical account, Romero 1989 for a short ethnographic description, Dégh 1980 for a gripping folkloric analysis, and Böröcz 1987 for a linguistic analysis of Árpádhon Hungarian-Americans' last names).

After the introduction of the Quota System in 1924, sojourner type immigration ceased to exist, and all East European immigration was severely cut. In the years leading up to World War II, about 15 thousand Hungarians immigrated to the U.S. in all (Benkart 1980:465). They were socially very different from the earlier immigrants: most were middle-class professionals, who, like the professionals of later waves of immigrants, typically did not settle in the communities of working-class Hungarians but went wherever they found their own livelihood.

Between 1948 and 1952, about 16 thousand Hungarians came to the United States under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and as refugees of Hungary's communist regime (Fishman 1966:13). They usually came in family units and were educated professionals as well as upper class Hungarians. Traditionally, this wave of immigrants is referred to by other Hungarian-Americans as the "D.P.'s". For a detailed, albeit old-fashioned, account of notable Hungarians of this as well as earlier waves of immigrants, see Wass de Czege (1975), whereas for a discussion of designations referring to the various waves of immigrants used by Hungarian-Americans, see Kontra and Nehler (1981a).

After the failed 1956 anti-communist revolution, about 200 thousand people left Hungary – most of them males between the ages of 18 and 25, three-quarters of them urban. About 42 thousand of these "56-ers" (or "freedom-fighters", as they are also called in Hungarian-American communities) immigrated to the United States (Fishman 1966:14), 3,000 students among them (Széplaki 1975:33). Many of those of working class background and some professionals settled in the traditional Hungarian-American settlements and neighborhoods, while the majority of the professionals and students settled dispersed all around the United States.

Beginning with the late 1950s, immigration from Hungary to the United States (or, for that matter, elsewhere) was minimal because of Hungary's limitations on travel abroad – roughly 5 thousand new immigrants from Hungary came to the U.S. in the 1960s (Széplaki 1975:128). The 1970s and 1980s brought an easing of travel restrictions and larger numbers of immigrants to the United States: 17.5 thousand immigrants came in the 1980s (*1990 Census*). The collapse of communism in 1989 in Hungary brought an end to the acceptance of political reasons for immigration by US authorities. (The number of Hungarian immigrants in the 1990s is not available yet as Census 2000 figures have not all been released.)

2.2 Demographics and geography[1]

In 2000, of the 281 million population of the United States, slightly under a million and a half (specifically, 1,398,724 people) professed to be of Hungarian ancestry: 904,662 of them specified it as what in the census terminology is defined as "first ancestry", i.e. as the "single ancestry" "Hungarian" or the first part of a "double ancestry" like "Hungarian and Italian" or "Hungarian-Italian", and 494,062 people gave "Hungarian" as their "second ancestry", i.e. as the second part of a double ancestry like "Croatian and Hungarian" or "Croatian-Hungarian". (For definitions of census terms, see Bureau of the Census 1983:6.) These and corresponding figures from 1990 can be seen in Table 9.2.

Table 9.2.   People of Hungarian ancestry in the U.S. in 1990 and 2000

Year	Total number of people of Hungarian ancestry	Hungarians of first ancestry (% of total*)	Hungarians of second ancestry (% of total*)
1990	1,582,302	997,545 (63%)	584,757 (37%)
2000	1,398,724	904,662 (65%)	494,062 (35%)

* Percentages are my calculations.

Because sums of figures on various total ancestries in the census contain some people twice (namely, those who reported double ancestries are counted both under their first and second ancestries), most of the detailed figures (e.g. on income, education, etc.) for a given ancestry group are given in the census according to first ancestry. However, some, like figures of the geographical distribution of Hungarians in the United States (see below) are given according to total ancestry.

In 2000, Hungarian-Americans were the 21st largest ancestry group in the United States, out of the total of 106 ancestry designations used in Census 2000, and the 16th largest of the 51 ancestry groups of European origin. They constituted the third largest ethnic population of Eastern European origin after people of Polish and Russian descent (see Table 9.3).

As far as the people who gave "Hungarian" as their language spoken at home, the 2000 census gave their number as almost 118 thousand (specifically, 117,973). (The corresponding figure for 1990 is 147,902.) This is 13.04% of all people of first Hungarian ancestry, i.e. only 13% of people of Hungarian ancestry in the United States actually used Hungarian at home in 2000. (Data on what percentage of foreign-born vs. US-born Hungarians used Hungarian at home in 2000 are not available yet.) The corresponding, 1990 figures for foreign-born vs. US-born Hungarian-Americans are given in Table 9.4: as we can see, 70% of the immigrants and only roughly 7% of US-born (i.e. second- or third-generation) Hungarian-Americans used Hungarian at home in 1990.

At this point, again, census figures have to be interpreted with caution in establishing the true number of Hungarian-speakers. The census figures above show that 70% of all foreign-born immigrants speak Hungarian "at home" and almost 30% of

Table 9.3. Total numbers of people of various Eastern European ancestries in the United States in 2000

Ancestry*	Number of people
Polish	6,290,993
Russian	2,149,673
Hungarian	904,662
Czech	808,825
Ukrainian	622,491
Slovak	514,943
Lithuanian	427,603
Yugoslavian	288,513
Romanian	272,513
Czechoslovakian	268,677
Croatian	258,509
Slovene	124,595
Albanian	109,910
Serbian	98,648
Slavic	74,980
Latvian	74,012
Bulgarian	54,682
Estonian	16,863
Carpatho-Rusyn	7,895
Eastern European	287,040

* Ancestry designations are given as they appear in the census.

Table 9.4. Foreign born vs. US-born Hungarians by first ancestry vs. speaking Hungarian at home, in 1990

	Foreign born	US born	Total
Hungarians who speak Hungarian at home	87,024	60,878	147,902
(% of all Hungarians by first ancestry*)	(70.37%)	(6.97%)	(14.82%)
Total of Hungarians by first ancestry	123,657	873,888	997,545

* Percentages are my calculations.

all the immigrants from Hungary do not. For some of them (especially those who immigrated as very small children with their parents) this might conceivably mean that they actually do not speak Hungarian at all. However, it is probably highly unlikely that all 30% of the immigrants from Hungary do not speak any Hungarian. Thus, it has to be assumed that the number must include Hungarians who use Hungarian but not at home (e.g. those married to non-Hungarian speakers and thus not speaking Hungarian at home but using it, for instance, with friends) and who, thus, simply do not appear in the census as Hungarian-speakers.

If we compare the population speaking Hungarian at home with other populations speaking Eastern European languages at home, Hungarian is the fourth largest Eastern

Table 9.5. Eastern European languages spoken in the U.S. in 1990 by order among largest 50 languages

Order among 50	Language	Number of speakers	Population by ancestry	% of speakers in ancestry population
7	Polish	723,483	6,542,844	11.06%
15	Russian	241,798	2,114,506	11.44%
16	Yiddish	213,064	*	
22	Hungarian	147,902	997,545	14.83%
27	Ukrainian	96,568	514,085	18.78%
28	Czech	92,485	772,087	11.98%
32	Slovak	80,388	1,210,652	6.64%
34	Serbo-Croatian	70,964	*	
36	Rumanian	65,265	235,774	27.68%
37	Lithuanian	55,781	526,089	10.60%
41	Croatian	45,206	409,458	11.04%

* Data not provided in the 1990 Census.

European language spoken in the United States according to the 1990 Census (Census 2000 figures are not yet available) after Polish, Russian, and Yiddish (see Table 9.5).

Hungarian-Americans, with their 14.83% of home-speakers of Hungarian ranked about average compared to their total population as compared with the other Eastern European language speakers in 1990.

As far as their geographical distribution in the United States is concerned, Hungarian-Americans are found in all 50 states, in various concentrations and numbers. Table 9.6 gives their numbers, by state, as found in Census 2000, together with figures on changes in the Hungarian-American population since 1980 and 1990. (Note that the census takes Hungarian-Americans of both first and second ancestries into account in this case.) Map 9.1 traces them on the map of the United States.

As we can see, most Hungarian-Americans are still found in the states where the immigrants of the early 20th century first settled in great numbers: the top thirteen states contain all nine of the original states with the most Hungarian population, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois, Michigan, Connecticut, Indiana, and Wisconsin. Among these latter are also the six states (Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Michigan, and Illinois) that lost most Hungarian-Americans during the 1980s and 1990s – most likely the sign of the aging and dying of the oldest Hungarian-Americans in these states.
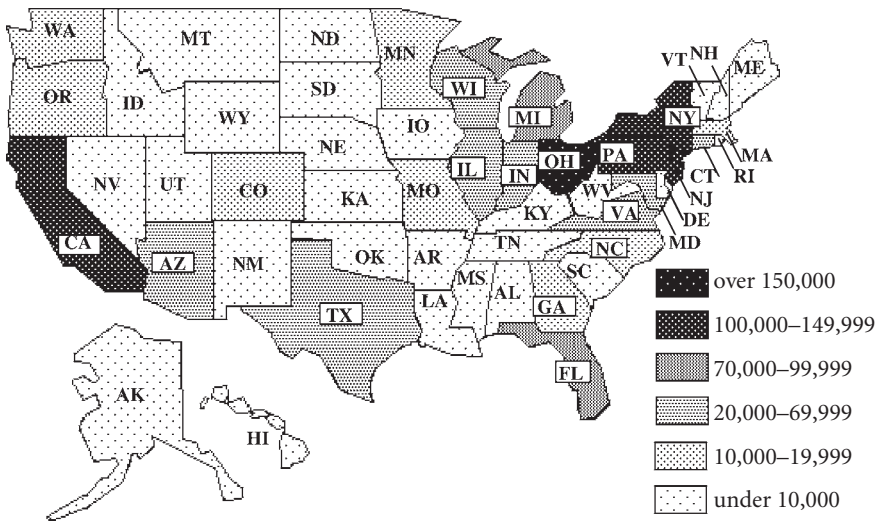
Table 9.6. The Hungarian-American population of the United States, by state, 2000

State	2000	Difference since 1990	Difference since 1980	State	2000	Difference since 1990	Difference since 1980
				(*continued*)			
OH	193,951	−24,194	−49,281	SC	7,953	+1,842	+3,882
NY	137,029	−49,869	−107,643	KY	6,499	+2,439	+872
CA	133,988	−25,133	−30,915	LA	4,625	−1,097	−2,005
PA	132,184	−20,679	−71,101	NM	4,331	−6	+836
NJ	115,615	−26,012	−52,885	AK	3,977	−140	+2,443
MI	98,036	−11,142	−28,783	KS	3,903	−155	−1,219
FL	96,885	−2,937	+7,298	DE	3,886	+418	+484
IL	55,971	−12,468	−28,671	NH	3,784	−309	+394
CT	40,836	−8,672	−12,615	OK	3,626	−171	−965
IN	35,715	−5,113	−8,597	IO	3,366	−344	−1,517
TX	30,234	−1,650	+2,270	UT	3,306	+362	+667
VA	25,783	+605	+3,479	MT	3,250	+500	+121
WI	23,945	−1,440	−9,179	VT	3,058	−44	+484
AZ	23,571	+1,138	+4,372	ME	2,906	−328	+519
MD	22,941	−3,785	−4,960	ND	2,802	−203	−1,489
WA	18,590	+1,793	+2,705	NE	2,740	−578	−1,712
MA	18,427	−1,562	−1,695	ID	2,672	+217	+798
CO	18,411	+1,550	+2,619	AR	2,309	+9	−135
NC	16,100	+3,351	+7,028	AL	2,238	+38	−2,242
GA	15,293	+1,874	+5,416	RI	2,127	−774	−439
MO	13,694	−1,149	−5,123	HI	2,104	−527	−190
MN	12,279	−70	−3,384	DC	2,048	−470	−452
OR	11,265	+489	+357	MS	1,843	+381	+49
NV	10,285	+3,185	+4,359	WY	1,561	+187	+145
WV	7,477	−1,771	−4,080	SD	982	−379	−836
TN	8,323	+974	+2,340	Total	1,398,724	−181,819	−378,178

2.3 Economic standing and social integration

The early 20th century immigrants from Hungary, i.e. the "old-timers", as they were called, were mostly of agricultural and working class background. Várdy (1989b: 222–223) calculates that, for instance, in the peak years of 1905–1907 of immigration, 17% were smallholders, 51.6% landless peasants, 9.5% day laborers, 5.2% household servants of peasant background, and 11.3% unskilled industrial workers, thus totaling 94.6% of all immigrants. These immigrants, as has been mentioned before, started working in mines, steel mills and factories in the United States, that is, became part of the working class.

Later waves of immigrants, such as those immigrating in the second half of the 1920s and in the 1930s, the DP's, and the 56-ers, were of a different economic background than the old-timers. They were predominantly professionals such as lawyers, engineers, teachers, physicians, and business people. The wave of DP's also contained Hungarian aristocrats and other members of the upper class.

Map 9.1. Hungarian-Americans by state in 2000

By the end of the 20th century, the Hungarian-American population of the United States came to closely resemble the national average as far as occupation, income, and level of education is concerned (see Tables 9.7, 9.8 and 9.9). As reflected in Table 9.7, there is a slightly higher than average percentage of Hungarian-Americans in managerial and professional occupations, and a slightly lower than average percentage in service occupations, in "farming, forestry and fishing", and in "operators, fabricators, and laborers". Income levels (Table 9.8) are somewhat higher among Hungarian-Americans than in the average population. As far as their educational level is concerned, Hungarian-Americans have an overall somewhat higher level of education than the average U.S. population (Table 9.9).

As far as occupation, income and level of education can be treated as indicators of social integration, the above discussed figures show that Hungarian-Americans are fully integrated into mainstream U.S. society.

Linguistic integration into the mainstream society, that is, proficiency in English, is generally considered an important factor of social integration in the United States (cf. Grosjean 1982:66). Census figures show that Hungarian-Americans are linguistically well integrated into English-speaking life in the United States. As I have shown in the discussion of numbers quoted in Table 9.4 above, only 15% of all Hungarian-Americans speak Hungarian at home. In fact, as little as 7% of those born in the United States (that is, the second- and third-generation people) speak Hungarian at home, and we can probably safely assume that a lot of those who do not speak it at home do not speak it at all, i.e. they are monolingual English speakers.

As far as the English proficiency of those Hungarian-Americans is concerned who speak Hungarian in their homes, almost two-thirds (65%) professed to speak English

Table 9.7. Hungarian-Americans and total U.S. population by occupation, 1990

| | Hungarian-Americans | | Total U.S. population | |
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Employed persons 16 years and over	509,364	100	115,681,202	100
Managerial and professional	177,096	34.8	30,533,582	26.4
Technical, sales, and administrative	170,128	33.4	36,718,398	31.7
Service	48,915	9.6	15,295,917	13.2
Farming, forestry, and fishing	5,044	1	2,839,010	2.5
Production, craft, and repair	56,953	11.2	13,097,963	11.3
Operators, fabricators, and laborers	51,228	10.1	17,196,332	14.9

Table 9.8. Hungarian-Americans and total U.S. population by income, 1990

	Hungarian-Americans	Total U.S. population
Median household income	$35,200	$30,056
Median family income	$42,778	$35,225
Per capita income	$20,606	$14,420

Table 9.9. Hungarian-Americans and total U.S. population by level of education, 1990

	Hungarian-Americans	Total U.S. population
Persons 25 years and over	735,880 (100%)	158,868,436 (100%)
High school graduate or higher	594,720 (80.8%)	119,524,718 (75.2%)
Bachelor's degree or higher	197,114 (26.8%)	32,310,253 (20.3%)
Graduate degree or higher	84,265 (11.5%)	11,477,686 (7.2%)

very well (see Table 9.10) in 1990. As the table shows, Hungarian-speakers rank in English proficiency above the U.S. average population of non-English speakers while ranking exactly in the middle among the eleven Eastern-European languages for which comparable data is available. (Interestingly, Hungarian-speakers have the most similar English-speaking profile to Croatian-speakers – the group that was economically and socially most similar to them among the peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.) Only slightly more than 1,100 people, or 0.77% of the 148 thousand Hungarian-speakers, do not speak English at all.

Supporting evidence concerning these figures is presented in a study on Hungarian immigrants' English proficiency, DeKeyser (2000). He found that 39% of his 57 subjects professed to be more comfortable in Hungarian than in English, 35% said they were more comfortable in English, while 26% said it made no difference.

Other tendencies showing linguistic and social integration of Hungarian-Americans are ways of Anglicizing personal names (through respelling or translation) among immigrants and giving English first names and middle names to their children. For full details, see Kontra (1990–1995).

Table 9.10. Hungarian-speaking Hungarians-Americans compared to speakers of other Eastern European languages and all U.S. non-English speakers according to English proficiency, 1990

Population	Speaks English			
	% very well	% well	% not well	% not at all
All non-English	56.10	22.96	15.16	5.79
Slovak	72.54	20.30	6.85	0.31
Yiddish	71.05	20.75	7.24	0.96
Czech	70.64	23.18	5.86	0.36
Lithuanian	69.51	21.39	8.64	0.46
Croatian	66.34	24.25	8.65	0.75
Hungarian	65.04	25.61	8.58	0.77
Ukrainian	63.12	23.32	12.29	1.28
Polish	62.97	23.43	11.79	1.81
Serbo-Croatian	61.02	25.57	11.79	1.62
Rumanian	51.41	31.15	13.67	3.77
Russian	45.64	27.35	20.83	6.18
Eastern-Europeans, average*	63.57	24.21	10.56	1.66

* My calculations based on the above figures

2.4 Domains of minority language use

Sociolinguistic information on the domains of the use of Hungarian among Hungarian-Americans is available in four detailed linguistic studies on Hungarian-Americans, Kontra (1990), Bartha (1993), Fenyvesi (1995a), and Polgár (2001). All four of these studies targeted communities that were established in the first decades of the 20th century by the "old-timers" and where immigrants of later waves also settled, although somewhat sporadically: these were South Bend, Indiana; Detroit, Michigan; McKeesport, Pennsylvania (just outside of Pittsburgh); and Toledo, Ohio; respectively. The social and sociolinguistic profiles of these communities are very similar, and they present a largely unified picture of the domains of Hungarian language use.

The five domains of language use identified by Greenfield (1968) and used by Fishman (1972b) as basic in the analysis of multilingual speech communities are home, friendship, religion, education, and employment. Of these five, only the first three – home, friendship and religion – are characterized by the use of Hungarian in present-day Hungarian-American communities. The last two – education and employment – typically, involved some use of Hungarian in the earlier days of these communities, but not any more.

As Kontra (1990:25–27), Bartha (1993:64–74), Fenyvesi (1995a:3), and Polgár (2001:16–28) unanimously report, in the communities studied by them, Hungarian is used primarily with family members and with friends. It is used almost exclusively with parents and grandparents, often with spouses, and rarely with children. Language use with spouses is linguistically mixed, English or Hungarian, due to mixed marriages, but also because earlier second-generation Hungarian-Americans (i.e. the

children of old-timers) tend to speak English with their spouses if married to another member of the second generation but Hungarian if married to an immigrant. The children of these marriages nowadays tend to understand a little Hungarian but not speak it fluently. Hungarian-Americans usually use both Hungarian and English with their friends: Hungarian is used especially if the interaction involves two immigrants, less if it occurs between an immigrant and a second-generation person, and typically English is used between second-generation friends. Hungarian language use tends to be absent with neighbors since by the end of the 20th century the once fairly homogeneous Hungarian-American communities have become mixed, and most of the Hungarian-Americans themselves have moved out to other places and are now tied together solely by ethnic institutions like Hungarian churches and clubs rather than a shared neighborhood. Hungarian clubs organize community activities offering an opportunity to speak Hungarian. Favorites are social events like dinners and dances: *szüreti bál* 'grape harvest dance' in McKeesport and Toledo, *disznótoros* 'pig-killing' dinners in Toledo, Hungarian picnics in Detroit and McKeesport, *Szt. Anna bál* 'St. Anne day dinner and dance' and the Ethnic Festival in South Bend, a Hungarian Festival in Detroit and McKeesport, and other such occasions. In comparison, the (more formal) meetings of the William Penn Association (formerly called Verhovay) and the Hungarian Reformed Federation, both fraternal beneficiary associations, are typically run in English in Detroit and McKeesport. No institutions such as Hungarian-speaking restaurants or bars are reported in the four places except for Charley's Tavern in South Bend, run now by the largely English-speaking son of the founder and one unpopular Hungarian restaurant in Toledo. (For an analysis of the role of noodlemaking by older Hungarian-American women in the lives of ethnic communities, see Huseby-Darvas 1991/1992.)

The domain of religion is mixed Hungarian- and English-speaking. Of the South Bend Hungarian churches reported on by Kontra (1990:125), only one Roman Catholic church offered regular services in Hungarian. Bartha (1993:66) mentions one Reformed church with regular services. In McKeesport there is one weekly Hungarian service in the Hungarian Reformed Church. In Toledo, the Hungarian Roman Catholic church no longer has a resident Hungarian speaking pastor, only one who visits once every two weeks from Detroit (Polgár 2001:18).

Education and employment are domains where exclusively English is used now. Education, for the most part, has always been an English-speaking domain for Hungarian-Americans. With the exception of a Hungarian school operated by the Hungarian church from 1907 to 1970 in Detroit (Bartha 1993:65), the only Hungarian language school experience typically available for Hungarian-American children was in summer schools organized by Hungarian speaking priests and ministers where they taught catechism and basic information about Hungarian history and culture, all in Hungarian. All second-generation speakers in McKeesport, for instance, took part in courses like this as they were growing up in the 1930s and 1940s. These days, however, even in parishes where there is a Hungarian-speaking minister or priest, Sunday school is conducted in English since the attendees typically do not speak Hungarian

at all. One existing source of education in Hungarian is provided by Hungarian-speaking Boy Scouts (*cserkészet*), but these, because of the geographic dispersion of Hungarian-Americans, are usually summer programs only. Hungarian as a foreign language courses were offered in a dozen universities in the United States in 1995 (LSA 1995: 181), but these usually attract students of non-Hungarian descent interested in the language for academic reasons rather than Hungarian-Americans.

As for the domain of employment, the status quo is very similar to education. Many of the people interviewed for the studies reported at one time or another (typically up until the late 1960s) being able to use Hungarian at the workplace with Hungarian-speaking co-workers at the steel mill or other workplaces. This is, however, no longer the case except for only two of the 24 people interviewed by Polgár in Toledo (2001: 27). For a more detailed analysis of the domains of Hungarian language use in the Detroit community, see Bartha 1995/1996; for a comprehensive, anthropologist's account of Hungarian American ethnic life in Michigan, see Huseby-Darvas 2003.

As for the written use of Hungarian, all four studies report on the writing of private letters to relatives in Hungary as the sole domain where Hungarian is used. All four studies also report on the reading of Hungarian language papers (mostly those published in the United States) by Hungarian-Americans. The most recent of the four studies, Polgár (2001: 24) also indicates that the internet, specifically, web versions of Hungarian newspapers and magazines might also be becoming a factor supporting language maintenance efforts. She mentions that one of her immigrant subjects is a regular visitor of the homepage of *Nők Lapja* "Women's Magazine", the most popular women's weekly magazine in Hungary.

2.5   Language maintenance and shift, and factors affecting these

Immigrant groups of European origin in the United States are generally regarded as undergoing very rapid language shift, usually complete in three generations (cf. Grosjean 1982: 102–107; Paulston 1994: 13; Hamp 1994: 4838–4839). It seems that Hungarian-Americans present a typical case in this respect: unlike in some other European immigrant groups (such as, for example, Greek-Americans, Seaman 1972: 21, and Finnish-Americans, Hirvonen 1998) where third-generation speakers of the immigrant language are found, no studies on Hungarian-Americans to date have found speakers of Hungarian beyond the second generation.

It is generally held that there is no single set of factors that can predict whether minority language maintenance or language shift to the majority language will be the outcome of the bilingualism of a linguistic minority. Summarizing findings of various authors investigating language maintenance and shift, Mesthrie (1994: 1989–1990) lists the following groups of factors as influential: demographic factors, economic factors, institutional support, and status of the minority language.

Demographic factors such as the size (the absolute size of a minority community as well as its size relative to the dominant group) and distribution of a minority group have always tilted the maintenance vs. shift equation towards shift in the case

of Hungarian-Americans. Even though Hungarians arrived in great numbers in the early decades of the 20th century, they still were relatively small groups: in the peak decades of immigration, the 1910s and 1920s, the 460 thousand and 400 thousand Hungarian immigrants then living in the United States constituted less than 4% of the European immigrants, and less than 3% of all the immigrants (Gibson & Lennon 1999). Also, despite the fact that they settled in large numbers and established immigrant colonies, they lived next to groups of other Eastern-Europeans like Slovaks, Poles, and Serbs. Later, as we have seen, newer immigrants settled even more dispersed. After the 1956 revolution, even though immigration never completely ceased, it never again amounted to a real influx of new immigrants that could have meant a real infusion of Hungarian-speakers into the existing communities.

Economic factors often quoted to support shift are urbanization, industrialization and modernization. Almost exclusively, Hungarian-Americans have always been urban rather than rural, and the early wave almost entirely became industrial workers. The period after World War II, however, was not favorable for the industries that Hungarian-Americans worked in: the coal mines, the steel mills, and many factories (like the Studebaker car factory employing many South Bend Hungarians) closed. Large segments of the ethnic working-class populations from these areas (typically, those in their prime bread-winning years) moved elsewhere – thus further contributing to the dispersion of Hungarian-Americans.

Institutional support has been there in the Hungarian-American communities in the form of ethnic churches since the early decades of the 20th century, and, to a very small extent, in the form of education. In 1966, Fishman was able to report on a rather varied cultural life in the Hungarian-American community: 229 churches, 43 radio stations, 43 periodicals, and 459 other organizations (Fishman 1966: 39). By the 1980s and 1990s, Hungarian language media was present only through some Hungarian language newspapers of national distribution, and Hungarian programs in local English-speaking radio stations. The studies referred to mentioned two one-hour programs each in South Bend, Detroit, and McKeesport, broadcasting community news and Hungarian music. (For an anthropological analysis of the role of Hungarian ethnic radio broadcasts in the maintenance of Hungarian-American ethnic identity, see Huseby 1984.)

The status of the language, as a factor in language maintenance or shift, is important in the sense that, everything else being equal, a written language is easier to maintain than an oral one, and, again, a language which constitutes a majority language elsewhere and is held in high esteem has a better chance of being maintained. As much as about 89% of the earliest, peasant immigrants of Hungarian background were literate (Várdy 1989b: 232) – a rate actually relatively high for the early 20th century. Later immigrants tended to be of more educated backgrounds.

The picture that emerges is the following. The early decades of the 20th century show communities where language maintenance was possible. However, due to a combination of demographic, economic and institutional reasons, language shift has become dominant in the second half of the 20th century. This is what we see in the

available linguistic studies as well: small remnants of communities left over in the old centers of Hungarian-American life, where the only Hungarian speakers left are the aging 56-ers and children of the old-timers, as well as some newer immigrants. At the same time, institutional support has provided an easy access to English through education and the mass media, while economic opportunities have presented upward mobility to all those immigrants assimilating to mainstream English-speaking life, also clearly contributing to language shift.

Official language policy in the United States, or rather the lack of it, has long supported the shift of immigrants to English "without either constitutional or subsequent legal declaration or requirement that English is the official [...] language" (Fishman 1981:517). It has tolerated although did not support immigrant minorities' mother tongue use until the 1960s, and the lack of support for bilingual education meant that the existing education with English as a sole medium of instruction was one of the main forces of linguistic assimilation. The Bilingual Education Act of 1968, providing financial support for bilingual education, came too late for Hungarian-Americans: by this time few if any children of limited English proficiency remained in concentrated numbers in their communities. Similarly, English-Only legislation, which has been instituted in various states since the 1980s, has not affected Hungarian-Americans very much, since, by this time, they have been well on their way to language shift into English.

3. Linguistic aspects of Hungarian in the United States

3.1 Sources

In the description of the language of Hungarian-Americans I rely on the four detailed studies of Hungarian-American communities and their language discussed above, Kontra (1990), Bartha (1993), Fenyvesi (1995a), and Polgár (2001), as well as on Vázsonyi (1995), a dictionary of American Hungarian. The first three of the studies use the methodology of the sociolinguistic interview and the data they are based on is provided by taped and transcribed interviews with Hungarian-Americans. The interviews done by all three authors included guided conversations about the subjects' life histories, families, history and habits of Hungarian and English language use, and their linguistic attitudes towards the two languages. (For a typescript of a similar kind of interview – one carried out in English – with a Hungarian-American speaker, see Kontra & Nehler 1981b.) In addition to these, Kontra (1990) also used a picture description task aimed at eliciting modern everyday vocabulary in Hungarian, a shortened version of a traditional Hungarian dialectological questionnaire as well as short reading passages and word lists.

The sociolinguistic data concerning the subjects of Kontra's, Bartha's and Fenyvesi's studies thus came from the subject matter of the interviews, while the transcripts of the interviews constituted the corpus for linguistic analysis. Kontra (1990) used 80 hours

of recordings with 40 South Bend subjects, Bartha (1993) over 20 hours of recordings with 15 Detroit subjects, and Fenyvesi (1995a) over 13 hours of recordings (or 242 typed pages of transcripts) with 20 McKeesport subjects.

Polgár used the questionnaire of the Sociolinguistics of Hungarian Outside Hungary project (see Kontra, this volume), which she modified very slightly to make it relevant to the situation of Hungarian-Americans. The questionnaire contains both sociolinguistic questions and questions containing language tasks aimed at various linguistic variables of Hungarian (for the translated version of the parts of the original SHOH questionnaire that contains the language tasks, see the Appendix). Polgár (2001) provided a sociolinguistic characterization of the Toledo Hungarians. Even though she elicited the paper-and-pen questionnaire while tape-recording the sessions with 24 subjects, these conversations are not yet transcribed. In the present section I rely on the results of the linguistic questions of her questionnaire, unanalyzed for her thesis.

In describing the lexicon of American Hungarian, I heavily rely on Vázsonyi (1995), a dictionary of this variety. The dictionary is based on the vocabulary used in the ethnographic interviews Andrew Vázsonyi and Hungarian-American ethnographer and folklorist Linda Dégh recorded in the 1960s in the Calumet region, southeast of Chicago.

Even though other large corpuses of recordings have also been collected for linguistic analysis, these never reached the stage of being transcribed and analyzed. About 150 hours of recordings were collected by Elemér Bakó (reported on by Kontra 1985: 263; for a description of Bakó's own research agenda, see Bakó 1961, 1962). Kálmán (1970) and Falk-Bánó (1988) are preliminary reports on larger corpuses (of 16 and 54 hours of recordings, respectively), but, again, no studies reporting all of their findings have been published to date. Bartha also collected 180 hours' worth of interviews and about 25 hours' worth of conversation with 45 Hungarian-Americans in New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1994 (Bartha 1999: 46), but her findings of this comprehensive study have yet to be published. For details of pre-1985 linguistic research on Hungarian-Americans, see Kontra (1985).

3.2 A characterization of American Hungarian and its speakers

The fieldwork for the four studies and the dictionary that Section 3 of this paper draws on have all been conducted in traditional Hungarian-American communities, characterized by an interesting socioeconomic and cultural homogeneity. In addition to their social and economic homogeneity, these ethnic communities are surprisingly homogeneous culturally across the Great Lakes states. Because the main masses of the ethnic communities were of the little-educated classes, and because a sense of a national culture, Dégh (1996) argues, is established through education in school, these immigrants carried a loyalty mostly only to their own native local heritage, which, in the 'newly mixed' communities, constituted a diverse mixture of habits and customs from virtually all parts of Hungary. Also, Hungarian immigrants have mostly lived, although

geographically close to, but in linguistic isolation from other East European immigrant groups (often retaining natural mistrust with their former ethnic neighbors from the Habsburg monarchy), as well as in cultural and political isolation from the old country. These factors together, Dégh argues, shaped what became the Hungarian-American identity and its new cultural manifestations, which appeared through the suppression of the diverse heritage and the emergence of a set of standardized and homogenized identity symbols as a kind of 'common denominator'.

This cultural and socioeconomic homogeneity permits us to treat Hungarian-Americans in these communities as members of the same community, and their speech from different places as the same variety, which, although it bears traces of different dialects in Hungary, is sociolinguistically unified. In this chapter, therefore, I treat samples of this American variety of Hungarian from South Bend, Indiana, Detroit, the Calumet region, McKeesport, Pennsylvania, and Toledo, Ohio, as belonging to the same variety.

Quite possibly, a study of a Hungarian-American community of a different sociohistorical background would provide different results. Bartha (1999: 46–47) provides an indication of a different community in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Here Hungarian-Americans have retained a larger and socially more diverse population, with an educated elite of its own based at Rutgers University, and with several active institutions such as a Hungarian-American athletic club, a heritage center, and an alumni organization. The linguistic results are also different, according to Bartha: Hungarian is maintained to a much higher degree and even supported by purist language ideologies in the community. However, the comprehensive results of the New Brunswick study are not available yet.

In describing the unique features of American Hungarian (abbreviated as AH), I compare them with those of Hungarian as spoken in Hungary (HH), including dialectal and nonstandard features of HH.

Indeed, AH retains several features of specific Hungarian regional dialects (e.g. of the northwestern Győr-Sopron county dialect among South Bend speakers, Kontra 1990: 44, 53, 103; and of the northeastern *szabolcs-szatmári* and *abaúji* dialects among McKeesport speakers, Fenyvesi 1995a: 19–20, 60, 73).[2]

In addition, nonstandard features which more or less commonly occur in the speech of speakers in Hungary also occur frequently in AH speech.[3] The occurrence of such regional and social linguistic variables in AH has not been systematically studied in any study, and is, therefore, not discussed in this chapter. Their presence is, however, noted in studies of AH whenever the question might arise whether a feature of AH is attributable to the legacy of a dialectal feature of Hungarian.

Variability is present in AH speech in other ways as well, for instance, as intraspeaker variability, when speakers speak Hungarian with AH features sometimes and with HH features other times, depending on the interlocutor, the closeness of American English code-switches in the given discourse segment, or whether something is said early or later on in a Hungarian language conversation. (For an analysis of such variability in AH speech, see Kontra & Gósy 1988.) Despite both intraspeaker and

interspeaker variability, however, it is still possible to identify typically AH features on all levels of linguistic structure as well as in the lexicon.

3.3   Borrowing

In identifying a feature of AH as a result of language contact with American English, I use Thomason and Kaufman's (1988:21) notion of borrowing, in the narrow sense of the "incorporation of foreign elements into the speakers' native language". Borrowing, in their framework, is change that occurs when the native language of the speakers (Hungarian, in this case) is influenced by another language. Shift-induced interference plays no role in the AH case because, according to the Thomason-Kaufman model, it comprises the effects of a substrate or adstrate language on a target language (here, American English) through imperfect learning during language shift. Borrowing includes both structural and lexical borrowing, that is, both phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic borrowing, and that of lexical items.

3.3.1   *Structural borrowing*

In this subsection I discuss contact-induced features of American-Hungarian phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax, relying mostly on Kontra (1990) and Fenyvesi (1995a).[4] What features of AH have been identified in the studies which this discussion is based on is heavily influenced by the methodology of their data collection. Because the South Bend, Detroit and McKeesport studies are based on the transcribed texts of sociolinguistic interviews where speakers provided conversational data, many structural characteristics of their speech went, most likely, undescribed simply because speakers did not produce, or did not have a chance to produce, or, perhaps, chose to avoid them during the interviews. Methodology of transcription has also had an influence on the description of phonological characteristics: for instance, because Kontra used an orthographic transcription of his data, he was not able to investigate the status of assimilation processes in AH speech except for one because most of the assimilation processes are not marked in Hungarian orthography.

In all of the cases discussed in Subsection 3.2.1, AH borrows structural characteristics of American English.

3.3.1.1   *Phonetic and phonological features.* The presence of several phonetic and phonological features bearing the influence of American English have been documented in studies of AH.

3.3.1.1.1   **Subphonemic features.**   The most prominently noted subphonemic feature (i.e. one that does not introduce a new phoneme into the phonemic inventory of the language, only a new allophone) is the aspiration of syllable-initial voiceless stops /p, t, k/ in stressed syllables (as in 1 below). (HH has no aspiration at all.)

(1)   AH [ˌtʰizɛnˈkilɛnts] 'nineteen' (McK, Gen2)[5]

Aspiration is reported primarily in the second-generation speakers' speech: both in South Bend and McKeesport, most of them employ aspiration, with different degrees of frequency among the individual speakers. Some first-generation speakers were found to aspirate some of the time in South Bend, but none were found to do so in McKeesport (Kontra 1990: 41–42; Fenyvesi 1995a: 16). The feature is also noted as present in the speech of Detroit speakers, but no details are given as to its frequency or distribution between speakers of different generations (Bartha 1993: 132).

The velarization of *l* (that is, the use of "dark *l*'s") is also a commonly noted characteristic of AH: in McKeesport, it occurs very rarely in immigrants' speech, but all second-generation subjects use it, some of them most of the time (Fenyvesi 1995a: 19); it occurs in Detroit, too, mostly in the speech of those who immigrated as children and/or went to school in the U.S. (Bartha 1993: 133); and it is also present in South Bend, Kontra 1990: 31):

(2)   AH ['zɛmpɫeːn] 'Zemplén [name of a county]' (SB, Gen2)

The realization of the trill *r* as retroflex is noted in Kontra (1990: 45), Bartha (1993: 133), and Fenyvesi (1995a: 18): it occurs some of the time in the speech of about half of the second-generation subjects in McKeesport and only in a few instances in that of immigrants; in Detroit it occurs in the speech of those who also pronounce dark *l*'s; and it is also present in South Bend, e.g.:

(3)   AH ['ɻaːma] 'window pane' (SB, Gen2)

The diphthongization of the three long mid vowels /eː, øː, oː/ of Hungarian as [ej, øy̆, ow] is reported in the speech of South Bend and McKeesport speakers (Kontra 1990: 52–53; Fenyvesi 1995: 19–20, respectively). Diphthongs such as these occur in some regional dialects in Hungary, but the effect of these can be discounted in the case of South Bend speakers since none of the immigrant subjects nor the parents of second-generation subjects came from these dialect areas, but in both groups some speakers have them:

(4)   AH ['søy̆løy̆] 'grape' and [sejk] 'chair' (SB, Gen1 and Gen2, respectively)

In McKeesport, the effect of regional dialects cannot be discounted, since the parents of almost all of the second-generation speakers came from dialect areas with such diphthongs, and these speakers diphthongize these vowels all of the time. Immigrant speakers in McKeesport, however, do not diphthongize at all.

Tapping, the use of a voiced tap [ɾ] intervocalically in post-stress positions as an allophone of /t, d/, occurs occasionally in the speech of some speakers of either generation in South Bend (Kontra 1990: 51), and in that of some second-generation speakers in McKeesport (Fenyvesi 1995a: 17). (The tap only occurs in HH as a very restricted allophone of the trill *r*; Berney 1993: 17).

(5)   AH ['tʰuɾom] 'I know' (McK, Gen2) (vs. HH ['tudom])

Glottalization – specifically, here, the coarticulation of syllable-final *t* or *k* with a glottal stop – is a feature completely missing from HH. It occurs occasionally in the speech of one third of the McKeesport second-generation speakers and does not occur at all in the speech of the first generation:

(6)   AH [ˈveːɬɛʔtɬɛnyɬ] 'accidentally' and [ˈsoʔktak] 'they do [habitually]' (McK, Gen2)

It is important to note that glottalization occurs in the McKeesport data only with *t* and *k*, and not with *p*. The feature is not mentioned at all in Kontra 1990 for South Bend.

Unlike many languages, due to the opposition of short and long vowel phonemes, HH does not have a rule that lengthens short stressed vowels. In the McKeesport data, however, half of the second-generation speakers pronounce phonemically short vowels with a length identical to that of phonemically long vowels in stressed position, i.e. in initial syllables. (HH has initial word stress everywhere without exception, and in AH word-initial stress clearly prevails, although there are some exceptions to this; see Section 3.2.1.1.4 below).

(7)   AH [ˈtʰuːrom] 'I know' and [ˈkʰiːtʃit] 'a little-ACC' (McK, Gen2)

3.3.1.1.2 Phonemic mergers.   AH contains a few cases of phonemic mergers, that is, cases where the realizations of a HH phoneme are identical to the realizations of another, already existing phoneme.

The phoneme /dʒ/ is very rare in HH: it occurs in loanwords, especially of Turkish and English origin, e.g. HH /ˈlaːndʒa/ 'spear' and /dʒɛm/ 'jam', respectively. The phone [dʒ] also occurs as the result of the voicing of /tʃ/, as in /nintʃ##bɛnt/ [ˈnindʒbɛnt] 's/he is not in'.

In the McKeesport data, [dʒ] also occurs as the realization of /ɟ/ in all environments in the speech of two-thirds of the second-generation speakers (8). It occurs almost exclusively in the speech of half of all second-generation speakers, and alternates with [ɟ] for others. The affricate does not replace the palatal stop with one-third of the second-generation speakers or with any of the first-generation speakers. Kontra (1990: 44–45) mentions the realization of /ɟ/ as [dʒ] in the speech of some second-generation speakers in reading word-lists.

(8)   AH [ˈdʒɛrɛk] 'child' and [ˈhodʒ] 'how' (McK, Gen2)

In the McKeesport data there are also a couple of instances of the affricate realization as of /c/, the voiceless counterpart of /ɟ/:

(9)   AH [ˈkaːrtʃaːkat] 'cards-ACC' (McK, Gen2)

This is, however, very marginal and occurs very rarely in the speech of only two speakers (both of whom pronounce all /ɟ/ sounds [dʒ]).

Bartha (1993: 132) also reports the frequent realization of the affricate /ts/ as [s], exclusively in the speech of second-generation speakers:

(10)   AH [ˈɑrsɑ] 'his/her face' and [ˈsipøː] 'shoe' (Dt, Gen2)

3.3.1.1.3 Phonological processes.   The most prominently reported change in phonological processes in AH is degemination.

Geminates occur in HH obligatorily intervocalically, both word-internally and across word boundaries, but they are degeminated next to a consonant. In AH the situation is as follows with regard to geminates and degemination. First-generation speakers mostly retain their geminates (Kontra 1990: 43–44; Bartha 1993: 133; Fenyvesi 1995a: 27–28). Variability is reported for second-generation speakers: some degeminate everywhere, while the rest degeminate most of the time, only occasionally retaining intervocalic geminates. The examples in (11–12) demonstrate degemination:

(11)   AH [ˈsylɛtɛk] 'they were born' (McK, Gen2) (vs. HH [ˈsylɛttɛk])
(12)   AH [ˈmɛni] 'to go' (Detroit and McK, Gen2) (vs. HH [ˈmɛnni])

According to Imre (1971a: 269), the complete lack of geminates can be found in some small Hungarian dialect areas. Because of the rarity of the phenomenon in Hungary, and because none of the subjects or their ancestors come from these areas, the influence of Hungarian dialects in this feature can be discounted.

HH has an obligatory rule of voicing assimilation, according to which all obstruents agree in voicing with a following obstruent (except *v*) or *h*, word-internally or across a word boundary. In the McKeesport corpus all first-generation speakers fully retain this rule, whereas with all second-generation speakers it becomes optional: all of these speakers have variation in that they sometimes assimilate and sometimes do not (Fenyvesi 1995a: 22–23):

(13)   [ˈmɛkhɑɫt] and [ˈmɛghɑɫt] 's/he died' (McK, Gen2)

A palatalization rule in HH coalesces /t, d, n, c, ɟ, ɲ/ and a following /j/ into the geminated palatalized series of the stops (e.g. /laːt+ja/ → [ˈlaːcca] 's/he sees it'). This process is very common since several suffixes begin with a /j/. Another palatalization process completely assimilates an /l/ to a following /j/ (e.g. /ˈyl+j/ → [ˈyjj] 'sit [imperative]'); this assimilation is also very common, because of the frequency of the same /j/-initial endings. There are numerous instances in the McKeesport data where these two assimilation processes do not apply obligatorily in the second-generation speakers' speech. (They occur in the HH-like fashion in the speech of immigrants.) In the second generation, it does not occur at all in the speech of some subjects, occurs optionally in the speech of others, and occurs obligatorily in the speech of yet others. Palatalization does not occur in the following examples:

(14)   AH [ˈmɛnjynk] 'let's go' (McK, Gen2) (vs. HH [ˈmɛɲɲynk])
(15)   AH [ˈfojtatja] 's/he continues it' (McK, Gen2) (vs. HH [ˈfojtacca])

(16)   AH [ˈdyljøn] 'it should fall' (McK, Gen2) (vs. HH [ˈdyjjøn])

With the exception of some dialect areas (as well as a larger area in eastern Transylvania, Romania), HH has a very restricted obligatory assimilation rule involving *v*: the morpheme-initial *v* of the instrumental suffix *-val/vel* and of the translative suffix *-vá/vé* (but not of other *v*-initial suffixes) completely assimilates to the preceding stem-final consonant. In the McKeesport data (Fenyvesi 1995a: 25–26), first-generation speakers assimilate *v*'s fully according to the HH rule. The second-generation speakers' data, however, contains several examples of the lack of *v*-assimilation (17). Only few speakers assimilate in all instances, some assimilate optionally, while the others never do.

(17)   AH [ˈmɑmaːmval] 'with my mother' and [vaʃval] 'with iron' (McK, Gen2)

This feature is present in the speech of second-generation South Bend speakers (Kontra 1990: 73). (It is also reported for the Hungarian Israeli speaker reported to be undergoing language attrition in Vago (1991: 247).) The effect of non-assimilating Hungarian dialects can probably be excluded, since none of the immigrant subjects or second-generation subjects' parents came from those areas.

3.3.1.1.4 Suprasegmental features.   As far as suprasegmental features are concerned, AH shows differences from HH in changes in word and phrasal stress as well as in intonation.

In HH stress is not phonemic; on the word level, it always occurs on the first syllable of a word. Both in South Bend and McKeesport there are numerous examples of noninitial stress reported (Kontra 1990: 55–57; Fenyvesi 1995a: 28–30), although wordinitial stress is definitely prevalent in the speech of all subjects. First-generation speakers have fewer instances of noninitial stress than second-generation speakers. Most of the examples are from compounds (compound numerals, preverb-verb compounds etc.).

Compound numerals receive their primary stress on the first syllable of the compound in HH. In the AH examples that diverge from this pattern, primary stress is placed on the second part of the compound, like it would be in English.

(18)   AH [ˌsaːzˈɛzɛr] 'a hundred thousand' (McK, Gen2)

(19)   AH [ˌhusonˈɛɟ] 'twenty-one' (SB, Gen2)

Verbs preceded by a preverb are – with the exception of cases involving a special kind of emphasis – always pronounced as a phonological word in HH, with the only stress on the first syllable, i.e. on the preverb. In the AH data examples that deviate from this rule, stress is placed on the first syllable of the verb stem in most of the examples, similar to stress placement in a prefixed verb in English (20–21):

(20)   AH [ˌlɛˈiːrni] 'to write it down' (SB, Gen2)

(21)   AH [ˌvisɑˈbɛseːlni] 'to talk back' (McK, Gen2)

In a small number of examples, stress is noninitial, but either placed on the second syllable of the preverb (22) or on another syllable which is word-internal for the verb (23 – the preverbs are *alá* 'under' and *fel* 'up', respectively):

(22)   AH [ˌɑlˈɑːtɛteːk] 'they put it under it' (McK, Gen2)

(23)   AH [ˌfɛlɛˈmɛltɛ] 's/he lifted it up' (McK, Gen2)

In other compound words where stress was not placed on the first syllable, it occurred on the first syllable of the second half of the compound in all of the cases.

(24)   AH [ˌmɑɟɑrˈorsaːgon] 'in Hungary' [lit. 'in Hungarian-country] (McK, Gen2)

Both in the South Bend and McKeesport data there are numerous examples where the stress within a phrase (noun phrase, verb phrase, or postpositional phrase) is different from what it would be in HH (Kontra 1990: 57–58; Fenyvesi 1995a: 30–32). This feature is found in the speech of all speakers, regardless of generation. The following kinds of phrases show distinctions between HH and AH stress: NPs involving an adjective or quantifier, and phrases with negatives.

   Within the HH noun phrase containing a preceding adjective or quantifier, both the adjective or quantifier and the noun receive primary stress (Varga 1975: 32). AH speakers often stress phrases in an English-like manner, placing primary stress on the noun and secondary stress on the preceding adjective or quantifier:

(25)   AH [ˌʃokpʰejnzɛt] 'a lot of money.ACC' (McK, Gen2)

(26)   AH [ˌnaɟˈɟaːr] 'big factory' (SB, Gen1)

The second kind of phrase, with negation, always receives primary stress on the negative element only, in HH (Varga 1975: 38, 49) (27), unless it is a verb phrase with a tensed verb (usually carrying an auxiliary-like function) and an infinitival complement; in the latter case both the negative element and the infinitive get primary stress, while the tensed verb is unstressed (28).

(27)   HH /nɛm##ɛz##a##vaːroʃ/ → [ˈnɛmɛzavaːroʃ] 'not this city'

(28)   HH /nɛm##tud##iːrni/ → [ˈnɛmtudiːrni] 's/he cannot write'

In the South Bend and McKeesport corpuses these kinds of phrases are the most common source of stress deviation from HH: typically the negative element receives secondary stress and the negated noun, adverbial (29), finite verb, or, the infinitive (30), gets primary stress:

(29)   AH /nɛm##ittɛn/ → [ˌnɛmˈittɛn] 'not here' (SB, Gen2)

(30)   AH / nɛm##tudott##iːrni / → [ˌnɛmtudotˈiːrni] 'she couldn't write'
       (McK, Gen2)

As far as the intonation of AH is concerned, the most prominently noted feature is a different yes/no-question intonation than in HH, although Kontra (1990: 60–67) discusses other intonation features as well, such as an English-like AH mid–high–low

statement intonation where HH has falling intonation, and an AH fall–rise intonation in running accounts where, again, HH has falling intonation.

HH yes/no-question intonation rises on the penultimate syllable of the question and falls on the last syllable. AH, on the other hand, has been reported to have widespread English-like rising intonation. In South Bend, Kontra (1990:60) finds it a frequent phenomenon, and in McKeesport it is also reported as present in almost all speakers' speech, regardless of generation (Fenyvesi 1995a:32–33). Typical instances of such intonation are as follows:

        _   _   ▬   _   / \

(31) AH *Nem nehéz?* (SB, Gen2) vs. HH *Nem nehéz?*
      'Isn't it hard?'

        _   _ _   ▬   _ _ /   \

(32) AH *Voltál már ott?* (McK, Gen 2) vs. HH *Voltál már ott?*
      'Have you been there yet?'

In 1993 Kontra studied this phenomenon further in South Bend in great detail (playing the game "20 questions" with his subjects as well as having them ask him about Hungary and read out yes/no-questions), but the results of his study have not been published yet (cf. Kontra 1995a).

3.3.1.1.5 Morphophonemic processes: Vowel harmony

As is well known, Hungarian has vowel harmony, i.e. restrictions on what vowels can co-occur within stems and across boundaries between stems and inflectional or derivational suffixes. (Vowel harmony does not operate between stems in compounding or the formation of preverb–verb units.) Basically, the restrictions disallow the mixing of front and back vowels (backness harmony) and require a front rounded suffix after a front rounded vowel in the stem if there is one available (roundness harmony). For a comprehensive description of the rules of Hungarian vowel harmony, see Kenesei et al. (1998:420–425).

AH speech has been reported to violate rules of HH vowel harmony (Kontra 1990:53–55, 69–70; Fenyvesi 1995a:35–39). In a smaller proportion of these cases of violation, disharmonic inflections are used, whereas in a much greater number of cases it is derivational suffixes that are used disharmonically. Disharmonic inflections (33–34) tend to occur in the speech of second-generation speakers, whereas disharmonic derivational suffixes both in their speech and that of immigrants.

(33) AH *Feri-hoz* (SB, Gen2) (vs. HH *Ferihez*)[6]
       Feri-ALL
       'to Frank'

(34) AH *ismerős-ek-et* (McK, Gen2) (vs. HH *ismerősöket*)
       acquaintance-PL-ACC
       'acquaintances'

Disharmonic derivational suffixes occur frequently in AH. Both the studies quoted above and Vázsonyi (1995) contain many examples. Kontra (1990:69) quotes examples where the same borrowed English verb is sometimes used with a harmonizing suffix and other times with a disharmonic one: AH *szpell-ez-ik* 's/he spells' ~ *szpell-ol-ni* 'to spell', and AH *missz-ül-öm* 'I miss' ~ *missz-ol-ok* 'I miss'.[7] In the McKeesport data there are some examples of borrowed verbs receiving disharmonic derivational suffixes where the borrowed HH form of the same verb is harmonizing: AH *teszt-ol-ni* vs. HH *teszt-el-ni* 'to test', and AH *print-ol-va* vs. HH *print-el-ve* 'printed [participial form]'. Of the 203 verb entries in Vázsonyi (1995), 77 (38%) contain disharmonic derivational suffixes, e.g. *báderez* 'bother', *cséndzsol* 'change', *elsippol* 'ship', *felpikkol* 'pick up', *felszlejszol* 'slice up', *keccsol* 'catch', *klínol* 'clean', *meridol* 'to marry', *mikszol* 'mix', *misszol* 'miss', *rejdol* 'ride', *rentol* 'rent', *reszpektol* 'respect', *resztol* 'rest', *sévol* 'shave', *szpelol* 'spell', *szpendol* 'spend', *szpréol* 'spray'. The majority of these disharmonic verbs, 73 of the 77, receive disharmonic back suffixes, and only 4 disharmonic front suffixes. Borrowed verbs with disharmonic back suffixes exist in HH, too, but certainly in a much lower proportion than 36% of all borrowed verbs. In comparison, an informal survey of HH speakers in 1994 showed that they used many computer-related verbs borrowed from English in their everyday speech, but only about 6% of these had disharmonic back suffixes (Fenyvesi 1995a:38–39): disharmonic verbs in this survey included *apdétel* 'update' and *csekkol* 'check'. Because for this survey computer-related vocabulary was chosen, the survey also tested the word-formation intuitions of the surveyed HH speakers since most of this vocabulary in 1994 was not used in a standard way in Hungary, so any effect of standardizing tendencies on the speakers could be discounted.

3.3.1.2 *Morphological features*

3.3.1.2.1 Conjugations.   Throughout the verbal paradigm HH has a dichotomy of what is called the indefinite (or subjective) and definite (or objective) conjugations: a verb is in the indefinite conjugation if it has no object or if its object is indefinite, and it is in the definite conjugation if it has a definite object. The personal endings on the verb express definiteness/indefiniteness, person and number in one portmanteau morpheme, as in *csinál-unk* '(we) do-1PL.INDEF' vs. *csinál-juk* '(we) do-1PL.DEF'. A complex set of rules determines what constitutes an indefinite object and what a definite object in HH, for instance, an object is indefinite if it is a noun preceded by an indefinite article or no article, or if it is a first or second person pronoun, whereas it is definite if it is a proper noun, or a noun preceded by a definite article, or if it is a possessive noun phrase or a third person pronoun. (For a full description of the conjugations, see Kenesei et al. 1998:321–327.)

In AH a mixing of the two conjugations – i.e. the use of the definite conjugation in place of the indefinite and vice versa – has been reported in Kontra (1990:83–84), Bartha (1993), and Fenyvesi (1995a:40–44). In both South Bend and McKeesport the mixing of the definite and indefinite conjugations occurs rarely in the speech of immi-

grants and more frequently in the speech of second-generation speakers (only few of the latter do not have this feature at all). Bartha (1993:134) mentions the presence of this feature in Detroit, too.

Some examples of the definite conjugation used instead of indefinite are as follows:

(35)   AH *az   öreg-ek   meg-hal-t-ák* (McK, Gen2)
       the old-PL PVB-die-PAST-3PL.DEF
       'the old people died' (HH: *meg-haltak*)

(36)   AH *Akkor ismer-em   Athens, Ohio-ba   egy Széplaki-t* (SB, Gen2)
       then know-1SG.DEF Athens Ohio-INE a   Széplaki-ACC
       'Then I know a Széplaki in Athens, Ohio' (HH: *ismerek*)

(37)   AH *mindég az   hí-t-ák   engem, igen, Dani bácsi* (McK, Gen2)
       always that call-PAST-3PL.DEF me   yes   Dani uncle
       'yes, they always called me that, Uncle Dani.' (HH: *hívtak*)

Examples of indefinite conjugation used instead of definite include the following:

(38)   AH *és   tud-ott   az angol-t* (SB, Gen2)
       and know-PAST.3SG.INDEF the English-ACC
       'and he knew English' (HH: *tudta*)

(39)   AH *Ilonká-t   tanít-ott   de nem éngemet* (McK, Gen2)
       Ilonka-ACC teach-PAST.3SG.INDEF but not me
       'he taught Ilonka, but not me' (HH: *tanította*)

(40)   AH *össze-szed-t-ünk   magunk-at* (McK, Gen2)
       PVB-get-PAST-1PL.INDEF ourselves-ACC
       'we got together' (HH: *összeszedtük*)

The examples of mixing of conjugations are many and varied. Even though there are more examples where the indefinite conjugation is used instead of the definite than the other way around, no general tendency in this direction can be clearly established. Certain object types, however, seem to be more likely to cause a breakdown in the definite/indefinite rule: 1st person pronouns, infinitival clauses, objects with definite articles, demonstrative pronoun objects, and sentential objects. For speculations as to why such objects are more problematic, see Fenyvesi (2000:97–99).

One very curious detail about the mixing of the two conjugations in AH – showing that person/number marking is treated separately from marking of the conjugation – is that even when the conjugations are mixed, speakers always seem to choose the suffix corresponding to the right person/number from the other conjugation. No examples of a speaker choosing wrong person/number marking along with the wrong conjugation were found in the South Bend and McKeesport corpuses or among Bartha's examples (1993:134).[8] So, even though the definiteness/indefiniteness marking is undergoing change in AH, the person/number marking is fully retained. This, in effect, means that coding of verbs for person/number/definiteness is splitting in AH to separate person/number and definiteness marking, or, rather, the nonmarking of the latter.

Interestingly, also, many heavily inflectional immigrant languages (such as American Greek, Seaman 1972:165; American Polish, Lyra 1962; American Czech, Henzl 1982; Kučera 1990; American Slovak, Meyerstein 1959; American Serbo-Croatian, Albin & Alexander 1972; and American Russian, Polinsky In press) do not exhibit any change in person/number marking of verbs either while being heavily affected, for instance, in their noun morphology.

3.3.1.2.2 Preverbs.   HH preverbs function, for the most part, similarly to prepositions in verbs with prepositional phrases (e.g. *run up the stairs*) and particles in phrasal verbs (e.g. *blow up the building*) in English. In addition to having a preposition-like meaning like the former or being a noncompositional part of the verb like the latter, they can also have a purely aspectual meaning. Unlike an English preposition and adverbial particle, a HH preverb can occur before, after, or completely separated from the verb it is associated with. Morphological, syntactic, and semantic phenomena associated with preverbs are numerous, and an analysis of them in HH and AH is beyond the scope of this study. For a detailed account of characteristics of HH preverbs see Farkas and Sadock (1989). Instead of aiming for an exhaustive analysis of all aspects of preverb behavior in AH, then, I want to discuss some points that stand out in the McKeesport data (Fenyvesi 1995a:44–48). (Kontra 1990 does not identify AH characteristics in connection with preverbs in the South Bend data although examples involving the phenomena discussed below, do occur in his book.)

   There are several examples in the McKeesport data where preverbs are used in a way that differs markedly from HH usage. With few exceptions, all the examples come from second-generation speakers. They can be categorized in the following way: (i) cases where a purely aspectual preverb is lacking, (ii) cases where a preverb-verb construction is replaced by another preverb-verb construction in a simplificatory process, (iii) cases where the preverb of a preverb-verb construction is replaced by another preverb, (iv) cases where the whole preverb-verb construction is replaced by a construction modeled after an English phrasal verb, and (v) miscellaneous cases.

   There are cases in the McKeesport data where a preverb is lacking whose meaning in HH would be solely aspectual.[9] In (40), the missing preverb *el* has an inchoative meaning (i.e. signaling the beginning of an action), whereas in (41–42), the missing preverb *meg* is perfective.

(40)   AH *igen   <u>kezd-et</u>   sír-ni* (McK, Gen2)
         rather start-PAST.3SG cry-INF
         'he started to cry very much' (vs. HH *el-kezdett*)

(41)   AH *neki   nehezeb vout <u>tanul-ni</u>   az angol   nyelv-et* (McK, Gen2)
         DAT.3SG harder   was   learn-INF the English language-ACC
         'it was harder for him to learn the English language' (vs. HH *meg-tanulni*)

(42)   AH *és   ir-ni   magá-tu   <u>tanul-t.</u>* (McK, Gen2)
         and write-INF herself-ABL learn-PAST.3SG
         'And she learned to write by herself.' (vs. HH *tanult meg*)

In other cases the preverb-verb construction is replaced by another construction. In the following examples, a construction comprising the preverbs *be* 'in' and *ki* 'out' and the verbs *megy* 'go' and *jön* 'come', with the meaning 'go somewhere' or 'join' on the one hand, and 'leave' on the other hand, replaces the HH preverb *el* and another verb, where *el* expresses both the adverbial meaning 'away' and a perfective meaning.

(43)   AH *be-men-t*   *a   katonaság-ba* (McK, Gen2)
        in-go-PAST.3SG the army-ILL
        'he went to the army' (vs. HH *el-ment*)

(44)   AH *ki-jö-t-em*   *a   dzsár-bú* (McK, Gen2)
        out-come-PAST-1SG the factory-ELA
        'I left the factory' (=quit my job) (vs. HH *el-jöttem*)

(45)   AH *be-men-t-ünk   Budapest-re* (McK, Gen2)
        in-go-PAST-1PL Budapest-SUB
        'we went to Budapest' (vs. HH *el-mentünk*)

In two other cases not only the preverb, but the whole preverb-verb construction is replaced. In these the HH construction is replaced with *ki-jön*, just like some of the examples above, and they mean 'finish'.

(46)   AH *mikor kí-jö-t-em*   *a   **high school**-bú* (McK, Gen2)
        when out-come-PAST-1SG the high-school-ELA
        'when I finished high school' (vs. HH *el-végeztem*)

(47)   AH *május, mikor ki-jö-t-ünk*   *az   iskolá-bol* (McK, Gen2)
        May   when out-come-PAST-1PL the school-ELA
        'May, when we finished school' (vs. HH *el-végeztük*)

This feature is simplificatory and does not involve borrowing from English. The latter would probably be manifested in the form of a parallel usage of the preverb with a preposition or an adverbial particle, but since the equivalent English verbs do not have one, this possibility can safely be discounted.

In other cases the preverb is replaced by another preverb. In some of these there is an English construction that is the source of the AH form (48-49), while in others there is none (50–51).

(48)   AH *mikor a   husz   éiv-ed   fel-jár* (McK, Gen2)
        when the twenty year-PX2SG up-go.3SG
        'when your twenty years are up' (vs. HH *le-jár*)

(49)   AH *a   bányá-t   le-zár-t-ák* (McK, Gen2)
        the mine-ACC down-close-PAST-3PL
        'they closed down the mine' (vs. HH *be-zárták*)

Now consider the cases where there is no English source for the construction. In these the AH preverb-verb construction is actually meaningful in HH, but there it cannot

be conjoined with the object in the given sentence: the verb *kimos* in (50) has the HH meaning 'launder', and *kimagyaráz* in (51) 'explain away' or 'clear up'.

(50) AH *kí-mos-ni   a   géip-et* (McK, Gen2)
        out-wash-INF the car-ACC
        'to wash the car' (vs. HH *meg-mosni*)

(51) AH *angol-ul   joban tud-néi-k   ki-magyaráz-ni* (McK, Gen2)
        English-ESS better be.able-COND-1SG out-explain-INF
        'I could explain better in English' (vs. HH *magyarázni*)

In some cases involving four verbs, an AH preverb-verb construction replaces a HH verb or preverb-verb construction with which it is not connected in any way, but which is a syntactic and lexical calque on an English phrasal verb:

(52) AH *rá-tesz-em   a   rádiómüsor-t* (McK, Gen2)
        on-put-1SG the radio.program-ACC
        'I put on the radio program' (vs. HH *bekapcsolom*)

(53) AH *a   kórház-bol   le-te-tt-ek* (McK, Gen1)
        the hospital-ELA down-put-PAST-3PL
        'they laid me off at the hospital' (vs. HH *elbocsátottak*)

(54) AH *joban jön   neki   ki   a   magyar* (McK, Gen1)
        better come.3SG DAT.3SG out the Hungarian
        'for him, Hungarian comes out easier' (vs. HH *megy*)

In some cases the preverb *meg* is lacking where in HH it appears not in its perfective meaning but rather as a noncompositional part of the verb. Both of these occur in the speech of the same speaker and involve the same verb, *megismer* 'recognize'; the verb without the preverb, *ismer*, means 'be familiar with':

(55) AH *vajon   fog-nak ismer-ni?* (McK, Gen2)
        whether FUT-3PL recognize-INF
        'whether they will recognize us' (vs. HH *meg fognak ismerni*)

(56) AH *én fog-om ismer-ni   ő-t* (McK, Gen2)
        I   FUT.1SG recognize.INF he-ACC
        'I will recognize him' (vs. HH *meg fogom ismerni*)

This omission of *meg* probably has to do with the verb *ismer*, which is also problematic in AH (see below, under the discussion of lexical features): its meaning seems to have shifted from 'be familiar with' to 'recognize', while the verb *tud*, meaning both 'know' and 'be able to' in HH, has taken over the meaning 'be familiar with' as well.

     Concerning this loss of aspect marking in preverbs in AH, Bartha and Sydorenko (2000) propose, in an insightful analysis carried out in the Matrix Language Turnover hypothesis framework, that in AH preverbs gradually lose their function as aspect markers – an important role assigned to them in HH – and are, instead, used with a more English-like function of verb modifiers.

3.3.1.2.3 Case.   Hungarian, a heavily agglutinative language, has between 17 and 27 cases (the exact number depending on the definition of case by various authors – for details see Kenesei et al. 1998: 191–193). AH shows various differences in case usage as compared to HH, which, as I have demonstrated in detail elsewhere (Fenyvesi 1995/1996), can be grouped as follows: (i) loss of case inflections, (ii) simplification of the system of local cases in locatives, and (iii) replacement of cases. Kontra (1990) discusses differences in case usage with placenames, and Bartha (1993: 135) the loss of accusative suffixes. The majority of both first- and second-generation McKeesport speakers have instances of case usage different from HH in their speech.

About half of the instances where cases are used differently in McKeesport AH than they would be in HH are instances where case suffixes are lost. These instances are probably best seen as a change from the overt morphological case marking of HH to a more English-like system of abstract Case. One of the most often omitted case suffixes in AH is the accusative, as both the McKeesport data and Detroit corpus show (Bartha 1993: 135):

(57)   AH *le-ír-t-am*   *minden,   ami   kell* (Dt, Gen2)
        down-write-PAST-1SG everything which be.necessary
        'I wrote down everything that's needed.' (vs. HH *mindent*)

(58)   AH *a   magyar   nehezeb   vona   óvas-ni* (McK, Gen2)
        the Hungarian more.difficult be.COND.3SG read-INF
        'it would be more difficult to read the Hungarian [papers]'
        (vs. HH *magyart*)

Bartha (1993: 135) claims that the explanation is most likely phonological. In contrast, Bolonyai (2000), explaining a loss of accusative case suffixes of the same kind among bilingual Hungarian children growing up in the United States in the framework of the 4-M model (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2001), demonstrates that this model's distinction of system vs. content morphemes, where accusative morphemes constitute a class of late system morphemes, predicts that these will be less accurately produced than oblique cases like locative cases.

Other case suffixes – such as the essive, in (59), the instrumental, in (60), the dative, in (61), or the inessive, in (62) – are also sometimes lost in AH:

(59)   AH *az éinek-ek-et   joban tud-om   madzsar-ul   mint*
        the hymn-PL-ACC better know-1SG Hungarian-ESS than
        angol (McK, Gen2)
        English
        'I know the hymns better in Hungarian than English' (vs. HH *angolul*)

(60)   AH *S   ako tanákosz-t-am a   férj-em,   aki   most*
        and then meet-PAST-1SG the husband-PX1SG who now

férj-em. (McK, Gen2)
husband-px1sg
'And then I met my husband who is my present husband.'
(vs. HH *férjemmel*)

(61) AH *asz hí-t-uk   a   magyar   negyed* (McK, Gen2)
that call-PAST.1PL the Hungarian district
'we called it the Hungarian district' (vs. HH *negyednek*)

(62) AH *egyszer egy hónap* (McK, Gen2)
once   a   month
'once a month' (vs. HH *hónapban*)

Using Kontra's corpus of data, Solovyova's (1994) findings about the number of case suffix omissions in South Bend AH are very similar to corresponding results in McKeesport, as Table 9.11 shows.

The other half of the instances where cases are used differently in McKeesport AH than in HH are instances where a different case is used in AH than what would occur in HH. Almost 90% of all case replacements involve a replacement of a local case in McKeesport, whereas the corresponding figure in South Bend (Solovyova 1994) is 80% (Fenyvesi 1995/1996:390). Some examples are as follows: in (63) ablative is used instead of HH elative and sublative instead of HH illative; in (64) illative is used instead of HH delative; and in (65–67) superessive is used instead of HH sublative, allative, and essive, respectively.

(63) AH *men-t-ek   egy templom-tul a   másik-ra ez-ek a   népek*
go-PAST-3PL one church-ABL the other-SUB this-PL the people
'these people went from one church to the other' (vs. HH *templomból, másikba*) (McK, Gen2)

(64) AH *mindenki a   tükör-be akar-t   egyszere   me-ni*
everyone the mirror-ILL want-PAST.3SG at.same.time go-INF
'everyone wanted to go to the mirror at the same time' (vs. HH *tükörhöz*)
(McK, Gen2)

Table 9.11. The omission of case suffixes, as percentages of all omissions, in South Bend and McKeesport

Cases	South Bend	McKeesport
All local cases*	39.7%	47.8%
Accusative	29.4%	28.8%
Instrumental	14.7%	7.4%
Dative	10.3%	5.3%
Other cases	5.9%	11.6%

* Sum of percentages for inessive, superessive, allative, inessive, delative, sublative, and elative cases.

(65) AH *a   kisjány   ki-szalat   az   ut-on*
          the   little.girl out-run.PAST.3SG the   road-SUP
          'the little girl ran out in the road' (vs. HH *útra*) (McK, Gen2)

(66) AH *tartoz-t-unk   a   független   egyház-on*
          belong-PAST-1PL   the   independent   church-SUP
          'we belonged to the independent church' (vs. HH *egyházhoz*)
          (McK, Gen2)

(67) AH **always** *angol-on   beszél-nek ök   is*
          always   English-SUP   speak-3PL   they   also
          'they, too, always speak English' (vs. HH *angolul*) (McK, Gen2)

The main findings in connection with the simplification of the locative use of the
local cases of AH in comparison with HH are that in AH there seems to be a ten-
dency towards the elimination of the distinction of the in-cases (elative, inessive, and
illative), the on-cases (delative, superessive, and sublative) and the at-cases (ablative,
adessive, and allative), while the distinction along their direction (movement from
vs. static location vs. movement to) distinction is much more fully retained (Fenyvesi
1995/1996: 397–400). For a discussion of case-marking in placenames, see Fenyvesi
(1995/1996) as well.

3.3.1.2.4 Possessive suffixes.   Like almost all other Uralic languages, HH has pronom-
inal possessive endings (henceforth referred to as Px in the glosses, following the
tradition of Uralic linguistics) on the head noun of the possessed NP (*a könyv-em*
the book-Px1SG 'my book'). An overt pronominal for the possessor (in the nomina-
tive) is used only when the possessor is specifically emphasized (*az én könyv-em* the I
book-Px1SG '*my* book'). The dative is used for the possessor in the construction de-
noting ownership, *somebody has something*, and the dative possessor phrase in these
cases appears overtly only if the possessor is emphasized: ((*nek-em*) *van egy könyv-em*
(DAT-Px1SG) is a book-Px1SG 'I have a book').

   In AH, the loss of possessive suffixes has been reported for South Bend (Kon-
tra 1990: 72, 85–86) and McKeesport (Fenyvesi 1995a: 66–70), in the speech of both
first- and second-generation speakers, although more often in the speech of the latter.
They are lost both in simple possessed noun phrases (68) as well as the *somebody has
something* construction (69)

(68) AH *az   ö   mama beszél-t…* (vs. HH *mamája*)
          the he   mom   speak-PAST.3SG
          'his mom spoke…' (McK, Gen2)

(69) AH *nincs   nek-em   dzserek* (vs. HH *gyerekem*)
          not.is DAT-1SG   child
          'I have no children.' (McK, Gen2)

3.3.1.2.5 Mood. Changes in the use of the HH indicative, imperative-subjunctive, and conditional moods have also been reported in AH. For South Bend, a mixing of indicative and imperative-subjunctive mood verb forms as well as conditional forms of nonregular forms have been documented for second-generation speakers (Kontra 1990:71–72). For McKeesport, a mixing of indicative and imperative forms has been found in the speech of second-generation speakers (Fenyvesi 1995a:70–71), for instance. An indicative form is used instead of an imperative-subjunctive in (70), and an imperative-subjunctive instead of an indicative in (71):

(70) AH *az én munká-m volt, hogy minden be-megy a fanesz-ba,*
the I work-PX1SG was that everything in-go.3SG the furnace-ILL
ami kell (vs. HH *bemenjen*) (McK, Gen2)
which need
'My job was [to make sure] that everything that needs to goes into the furnace'

(71) AH *de a dzserek-ek hamar ért-s-ék egymás-t*
but the child-PL quickly understand-IMP-3PL each.other-ACC
'but children understand each other quickly' (vs. HH *értik*) (McK, Gen2)

In the McKeesport data, all instances of mixing are such that the person/number marking on the verb is correct at the same time, similarly to the cases where the person/number marking is correct while the choice of conjugation is made incorrectly (see Subsection 3.2.1.2.1 above). It is not possible to see whether the same is the case in South Bend, since for the majority of his examples Kontra (1990:71–72) only provides the form supplied by his subjects but not the context in which they appeared. It would certainly be interesting to investigate this issue further to see if indeed person/number marking is much more intact than the marking of moods just like it is intact while the choice of conjugations is affected.

3.3.1.2.6 Number marking. Two specific instances of number marking in AH have been tested as part of the Toledo questionnaire study. In both cases, HH requires singular nouns where English has plural forms (these latter occur in HH but are nonstandard). In both instances, standard Hungarian requires the singular form in generic reference to a class of identical items. In the test cases, sentences (505) and (511) of the Sociolinguistics of Hungarian Outside Hungary questionnaire (see the Appendix), subjects had to choose the more natural sounding of two sentences where one contained the standard, the other the nonstandard form. In both cases, AH speakers chose the more English-like, nonstandard Hungarian forms significantly more often than HH speakers did, see Table 9.12.

The AH results can be explained by the fact that in these cases of number marking, the English equivalent sentences reinforce the nonstandard plural forms.

Table 9.12. The choice of standard vs. nonstandard use of number marking in HH vs. AH

		HH*	AH
505:	nonstandard *banánokat*	13 (12.2%)	6 (33.3%)
	standard *banánt*	94 (87.9%)	12 (66.7%)
511:	nonstandard *függönyöket, szőnyegeket*	47 (43.9%)	15 (83.3%)
	standard *függönyt, szőnyeget*	60 (56.1%)	3 (16.7%)

(505): The Chi-square test shows the difference to be significant.
(χ^2 = 5.364318; p < .025)
(511): The Chi-square test shows the difference to be significant.
(χ^2 = 9.57205186; p < .005)
* HH figures from Csernicskó (1998: 257, 260).

3.3.1.3 *Syntactic features*

3.3.1.3.1 Focus.   Focus is a phenomenon in the syntax of HH that is tied in complex ways to many other related issues, such as configurationality, topic-focus relations, and semantics. Since considering this whole range of issues would be well beyond the scope of this paper, I will only deal with focus without regard to the other questions it is closely connected with.

In neutral (i.e. focus-free) sentences all constituents receive primary stress. The focused constituent immediately precedes the finite verb and is accompanied by primary sentential stress, while the other constituents receive secondary stress. HH is a *pro*-drop language; that is, personal pronouns in the subject position appear overtly only if they are emphasized, and in such cases they appear in focus position.

In AH there are numerous violations of focus-related features reported for South Bend (Kontra 1990: 75–79, 82), Detroit (Bartha 1993: 138), and McKeesport (Fenyvesi 1995a: 75–80). Sometimes focus movement is completely lacking; in such examples speakers give emphasis to a constituent through primary sentential stress. Sometimes a phrase other than the phrase the speaker means to emphasize occurs in the pre-verbal position, and the emphasized phrase gets primary stress in a post-verbal position. A great many personal pronouns appear overtly in AH even when they are not emphatic. All these focus-related features of AH are intertwined and cannot be completely separated from each other.

Focus-related features occur in the speech of both generations in South Bend and McKeesport, although more frequently in that of the second generation. (Bartha 1993: 138 does not give details of the occurrence of the feature across the generations). Examples of lack of focus and lack of *pro*-drop are given in (72–74); of lack of focus in (75–76); and of lack of *pro*-drop in (77–78):[10]

(72)   AH *Én fizetek   most **eighty-five** dollars egy hónapban.* (SB, Gen2)
      I   pay.1SG now eighty-five dollars a   month.INE
      'I pay 85 dollars a month.'
      (HH: *85 dollárt fizetek most egy hónapban.*)

(73)   [What did you do before you retired?]

AH *Én dougosztam <u>a   vágóhidon</u>.* (McK, Gen2)
I   worked.1sg the slaughterhouse.sup
'I worked at the slaughterhouse.'
(HH: *A vágóhídon dolgoztam.*)

(74)   [What language do you pray in?]

AH *Én imádkozok <u>kétszer</u>.* (McK, Gen2)
I   pray.1sg   twice.
'I pray twice.' (3MK2 25:15)
(HH: *Kétszer imádkozok.*)

(75)   AH *mamámnak   a   neve   vout   <u>Makai</u>*
mother.px1sg.dat the   name.px3sg was.3sg Makai
<u>*Rouza*</u>. (McK, Gen2)
Róza
'My mother's name was Róza Makai.'
(HH: *Mamámnak a neve Makai Róza volt.*)

(76)   AH *A   Magyar   Ház   épült   <u>1910-ben</u>.* (SB, Gen1)
the   Hungarian House be.built.3sg 1910-ine
'The Hungarian House was built in 1910.'
(HH: *A Magyar Ház 1910-ben épült.*)

(77)   AH *miután nyugdijba   vonult,   <u>ő</u> fojtatta   a*
after   retirement.ill proceeded.3sg he continued.3sg the
lelkészi   munkát
minister work.acc
'After he retired he continued to work as a minister.'
(HH: *Miután nyugdíjba vonult, folytatta a lelkészi munkát.*) (McK, Gen2)

(78)   AH *De ha magyar   istentiszteletre megyek <u>éin</u> joban érzem   hogy*
but if Hungarian service.sub   go.1sg I   better feel.1sg that
<u>*éin*</u> *templomba   voutam* (McK, Gen2)
I   church.iness was.1sg
'But if I go to the Hungarian service I feel more like I've been to church'
(HH: *De ha magyar istentiszteletre megyek, jobban érzem, hogy templom-
ban voltam.*)

The AH data from South Bend and McKeesport contain several cases where a phrase
occurs in the pre-verbal position in a sentence, but either (a) the focussed phrase
receives primary stress, while in accordance with the meaning of the sentence a differ-
ent phrase should be emphasized and receive phonological stress, or (b) the focussed
phrase is the one that should be emphasized and stressed but, instead, another phrase
is. In the example sentences below, the AH phrases that are given primary senten-

tial stress in the subjects' speech are marked by a double superscript accent, while the phrase that should be stressed and focussed, according to the meaning, is underlined.

(79) AH *De most ő   már   ”háromszor odahaza vót.* (SB, Gen1)
   but now he already three.times at.home was
   'He has been home three times.'
   (HH: *Ő már háromszor volt odahaza.)*

(80) AH *a   ”mi templomunk   vout a   magyar* (McK, Gen2)
   the we church.px1pl was the Hungarian
   'our church was Hungarian'
   (HH: *A mi templomunk ”magyar volt.*)

(81) AH *És   öü huszonedzs dolár edzs ”hounapra kapot* (McK, Gen2)
   and he twenty.one dollar a   month.sub got.3sg
   'And he was paid twenty-one dollars a month.'
   (HH: *”Huszonegy dollárt kapott egy hónapra.*)

The use of overt pronouns in object positions was tested in the Toledo Hungarian-American community. The questionnaire the linguistic component of which included all the sentences tested in the SHOH project contained two questions where overt object pronouns are nonstandard in HH: in both of these sentences, Toledo Hungarian-Americans provided significantly higher nonstandard results than HH speakers. The two sentences were (515) and (615) of the SHOH questionnaire (see the Appendix). HH speakers provided significantly more standard answers in the case of both questions than AH speakers, as is demonstrated in Table 9.13.

  Focusing and constituent order was tested in Toledo with the SHOH questionnaire by sentence (608), where subjects again had to choose the phrase they thought more fitting. Phrase (b) is standard in HH since the infinitival form *menni* 'to go' is in preverbal focused position, whereas in (a) it is not focused, which makes that phrase

Table 9.13. The choice of standard vs. nonstandard use of overt object pronouns in HH vs. AH

		HH*	AH
515:	nonstandard *láttalak téged*	23 (21.9%)	9 (50.0%)
	standard *láttalak*	82 (78.1%)	9 (50.0%)
615:	nonstandard *megkértem őt*	29 (27.4%)	11 (61.1%)
	standard *megkértem*	77 (72.6%)	7 (38.9%)

(515): The Chi-square test shows the difference to be significant.
($\chi^2 = 6.301457$; p < .025)
(615): The Chi-square test shows the difference to be significant.
($\chi^2 = 8.021872$; p < .005)
* HH figures from Csernicskó (1998: 262, 276).

Table 9.14. The choice of standard vs. nonstandard use of focus in HH vs. AH

		HH*	AH
608:	nonstandard *készül menni*	9 (8.4%)	10 (55.6%)
	standard *menni készül*	98 (91.6%)	8 (44.4%)

The Chi-square test shows the difference to be significant.
(χ^2 = 26.56843; p < .001)
* HH figures from Csernicskó (1998: 273).

nonstandard. The AH subjects chose the nonstandard, more English-like phrase significantly more often than HH speakers (Table 9.14).

3.3.1.3.2 Agreement. Agreement is another syntactic domain where AH has been reported to be different from HH, in four kinds of cases: (a) between subjects and verbs, (b) between attributive quantifiers and nouns, (c) between nouns and predicative adjectives, and (d) between relative pronouns and their antecedents. In all four of these categories, HH-like agreement is lacking. This has been reported for South Bend (Kontra 1990: 80-81) and McKeesport (Fenyvesi 1995a: 80–85).

Lack of person and number agreement between subject and verb occurs sometimes in the speech of first-generation speakers in South Bend, and in the speech of almost all second-generation speakers in McKeesport:

(82) AH *És   a   gyermekei   ért   magyarul   de   nem*
            and the child.px3sg.plp understand.3sg Hungarian.ess but not
            beszél   magyarul (HH *értenek, beszélnek*) (SB, Gen1)
            speak.3sg Hungarian.ess
            'And his children understand Hungarian but don't speak Hungarian.'

(83) AH *mind a   három fijú ud haragusznak* (HH *haragszik*) (McK, Gen2)
            all   the three boy so be.angry.3pl
            'all three boys are so angry'

(84) AH *vót   ety kis   hibák* (HH *volt egy pár hiba*) (McK, Gen2)
            was.3sg a   little mistake.pl
            'there were a few mistakes'

(85) AH *mindenki meghaltak* (HH *meghalt*) (McK, Gen2)
            everyone pvb.died.3pl
            'everyone is dead'

The second kind of lack of agreement occurs between quantifiers and countable nouns, where HH requires singular nouns, and English requires plural. This feature also occurs in the speech of both generations.

(86) AH *és   azokba   voltak   sok   mesék* (HH *sok mese*) (SB, Gen1)
            and that.pl.ine   were.3pl many story.pl
            'and there were many stories in them'

(87) AH *tizenédzs éivek* (HH *év*) (McK, Gen2)
      fourteen year.PL
      'fourteen years'

Lack of number agreement between a predicate adjective and its noun occurs in AH phrases involving plural nouns: here, in HH, predicate adjectives are also pluralized:

(88) HH *A fiú-k magas-ak volt-ak.*
      the boy-PL tall-PL were-3PL
      'The boys were tall.'

Both in South Bend and McKeesport, this kind of lack of HH-like agreement occurs in the speech of second-generation speakers only.

(89) AH *amikor még fiatal házas voltunk* (HH *házasok*) (SB, Gen2)
      when still young married were.1PL
      'when we were newly married'

(90) AH *ha rosz voltunk, kikaptunk* (HH *rosszak*)
      if bad were.PL be.punished.1PL
      'if we were bad (=misbehaved), we were punished' (McK, Gen2)

HH also has number agreement between a relative pronoun and its antecedent. The lack of such agreement is noted in the speech of second-generation speakers both in South Bend and McKeesport:

(91) AH *A leveleket, ami jönnek*
      the letter.PL.ACC which come.3PL
      Magyarországról (HH *amik*) (SB, Gen2)
      Hungary.DEL
      'The letters which come from Hungary'

(92) AH *Klári meg Karcsi azok, aki ötvenhatba átmentek Asztriába*
      Klári and Karcsi those who fifty.six.INE over.went.3PL Austria.ILL
      'Klári and Karcsi are those people who left for Austria in '56' (HH *akik*)
      (McK, Gen2)

Two cases of agreement were tested in the questionnaire study carried out in Toledo. In one of them, in HH plural subjects are associated with one thing of the same kind, the noun expressing the thing with which the subjects are associated with receive singular number. (In English, they receive plural agreement.) This was tested with sentence (611) of the SHOH questionnaire, where subjects had to choose the phrase that seemed to them more fitting. As Table 9.15 shows, AH subjects chose significantly more often than HH subjects the more English-like phrase, which is nonstandard in HH.

Another case of agreement was represented by SHOH questionnaire sentence (601), where a singular adjective is required as an object complement in HH, whereas a plural adjective is nonstandard. The AH responses in this case turn out to be significantly more standard than the HH responses (see Table 15), which is most likely

Table 9.15. The choice of standard vs. nonstandard use of agreement in HH vs. AH

		HH*	AH
611:	nonstandard *tűzoltóknak*	16 (15.1%)	8 (44.4%)
	standard *tűzoltónak*	90 (84.9%)	10 (55.6%)
601:	nonstandard *komolyaknak*	32 (29.9%)	1 (5.6%)
	standard *komolynak*	75 (70.1%)	17 (94.4%)

(611): The Chi-square test shows the difference to be significant.
($\chi^2 = 8.491963$; $p < .005$)
(601): The Chi-square test shows the difference to be significant.
($\chi^2 = 4.702162$; $p < .05$)
* HH figures from Csernicskó (1998:269, 274).

explained by the fact that the adjective in the corresponding English sentence would also be in the singular, so any influence of English reinforces the standard Hungarian variant rather than the nonstandard.

3.3.1.3.3 The *szokott* plus infinitive construction.   A change in the meaning of the *szokott* + infinitive construction from habitual present to habitual past tense is also documented for AH (Kontra 1990:114–116; Fenyvesi 1995a:88–89). The verb *szokott* has an auxiliary-like function in HH, although it is marked for past tense and conjugated for the definiteness/indefiniteness distinction, and requires person and number marking. In AH such a change of meaning of this construction occurs mostly in the speech of second-generation speakers. In all of the examples that I have considered it is clear from the context or from details elsewhere in the interview what tense the speakers are referring to (e.g. in the interview where 94 is spoken, the speaker mentions elsewhere that her father is dead).

(93)   [Do you have an acquaintance called Sándor?]

   AH *Hát, szoktam   ismerni   egy Sándor bácsit,   de   má*
      well used.to.1SG know.INF a   Sándor uncle.ACC but already
      meghalt. (SB, Gen2)
      PVB.died.3SG
      'Well, I used to know an Uncle Sándor, but he died already.'

(94)   [Do you listen to Hungarian radio programs?]

   AH *(: Oh:) igen, a   éidesapám   is   mindig szokta   halgatni*
      oh   yes, the father.PX1SG also always used.to.3SG listen.to.INF
      'Oh, yes, my father also used to listen to it all the time' (McK, Gen2)

3.3.2   *Lexical borrowing[11]*
The best catalog of lexical borrowings in AH is Vázsonyi's (1995) dictionary. It is one of only two existing dictionaries of immigrant languages (the other one being Virtaranta 1992, a dictionary of American Finnish). It contains 900 entries, the part of speech

Table 9.16. The distribution of entries by parts of speech in American Hungarian and American Finnish

Parts of speech	American Hungarian (Vázsonyi 1995)	American Finnish (Virtaranta 1992)
Nouns	640 (71.1%)	3570 (78.1%)
Verbs	202 (22.4%)	593 (13.0%)
Adjectives	72 (8%)	96 (2.1%)
Adverbs	27 (3.0%)	180 (4.0%)
Pronouns	1 (0.1%)	6 (0.1%)
Numerals	1 (0.1%)	–
Postpositions	–	3 (0.05%)
Particles	1 (0.1%)	–
Interjections	9 (1%)	15 (0.3%)
Phrases	20 (2.2%)	89 (2%)

distribution of which are as follows. The greatest number of entries (640) are nouns, followed by verbs (202), adjectives (72) and adverbs (27). There are 20 phrases, frozen in form, which are used as units (e.g. *ájdonó* 'I don't know' or *deccit* 'that's it'), 9 interjections (e.g. *dzsí* 'gee'), one numeral, one pronoun, and one particle. The distribution of entries according to parts of speech is very similar to that in Virtaranta (1992: 33), as Table 9.16 demonstrates.[12]

In the subsections below, I will discuss lexical borrowings in three categories: loanwords, loanblends, and calques. I define loanwords as instances of lexical borrowing where the English word form is borrowed with the meaning. Loanblends are typically compounds, one part of which is a borrowed English word whereas the other part is a Hungarian word, and the compound is copied from English. Calques (also sometimes called loan-translations) are words that are modeled on English words but whose forms are Hungarian forms. I regard as calques instances of semantic borrowing as well, i.e. words whose form is Hungarian and which are used in HH as well, but which get a new meaning in AH under the influence of their English equivalent.

Vázsonyi (1995) contains mostly loanwords, some (approximately 30) loanblends, and only three calques. Calques tend to be more difficult to notice in contact varieties than loanwords and loanblends since their forms are native, so this might have influenced Vázsonyi's method of selection of words for the dictionary.

One interesting characteristic of loans in AH – due to the variety not being standardized – is that several words have alternative forms, e.g. *ofisz ~ afisz ~ afic ~ ofic* 'office', *sztrit ~ strit ~ strít ~ stritt* 'street', *basz ~ bász* 'boss', and *bodi ~ badi ~ bádi* 'buddy'.

3.3.2.1 *The phonological adaptation of loans.* Similarly to most borrowing situations, in AH loans undergo phonological adaptation (i.e. nativization).

Most nativization is due to the lack of an exact equivalent of American English phoneme in Hungarian. Some of the most common changes are the following.

/θ, ð/: Hungarian lacks interdental fricatives completely. Loans containing these are adapted with dental stops or, less frequently, with fricatives: /ð/ > /d/ *brader* 'brother', *braderló* 'brother-in-law', *báder* 'bother [n]', *deccit* 'that's it', *deccoké* 'that's OK', *deccól* 'that's all', *deccrájt* 'that's right', and *fader* 'father'; but /ð/ > /z/ *bézingszút* 'bathing suit'; /θ/ > /t/ *ájtinkszó* 'I think so', *bekendfurt* 'back and forth'; /θ/ > /s/ *bászrúm* 'bathroom', *faltísz* 'false teeth', and *szenkszgiving* ~ *tenkszgiving* 'Thanksgiving'.

/ŋ/ > /ng/: Hungarian does not have the velar nasal as a phoneme, only as an allophone of /n/ before velar stops. Words containing this phoneme are nativized with /ng/: *bézingszút* 'bathing suit', *bilding* 'building', *bilongol* 'belong', *bordingház* 'boarding-house', *dájningrúm* 'dining room', *dúing* 'doing; to do', *dresszing* '(salad) dressing', *filingsztésin* 'filling station', *fisingel* 'fish [v]', *gémblingház* 'gambling house', *geng* 'gang', *livingrúm* 'livingroom', *parking míter* 'parking meter', *rangúl* 'wrong [adv]', *szekszgiving* 'Thanksgiving'. In one case, *bólineli* 'bowling alley', the AH word reflects informal, nonstandard English pronunciation with [n] rather than [ŋ].

/w/ > /v/: Since Hungarian lacks /w/, words containing it in the onsets of syllables are nativized into AH with /v/ (for coda /w/'s see discussion of the nativization of diphthongs below). Thus, AH has *drájvé* 'driveway', *hárdversztór* 'hardware store', *halovín* 'Halloween', *hájvé* 'highway', *hómvörk* 'homework', *imbitvín* 'in between', *kvittol* 'quit', *midvájf* 'midwife', *szájdvólk* 'sidewalk', *szvithárt* 'sweetheart', *vasrúm* 'washroom', *vejöldket* 'wildcat', *vell* 'well', *veszt* 'west', *vilbár* 'wheelbarrow', *viszki* 'whiskey'.

In some cases, a word-initial (or, less frequently, word-final) /s/ which is spelled in English with <c> is borrowed with /ts/ (which, in turn, is spelled with <c> in Hungarian): *cent* 'cent', *cigar* 'cigar', *cigárbox* 'cigar box', *címenflór* 'cement floor', *címent* 'cement', *cimentez* 'cement [v]', *cirkulálódik* 'circulate', *cirkulésin* 'circulation', *citi* 'city', but also *cinder* ~ *sinder* 'cinder', *citizen* ~ szitizen 'citizen', *fenc* 'fence', *insurenc* ~ *insurensz* 'insurance' *ofic* ~ *afic* ~ *afisz* 'office'. This substitution cannot be explained on phonological grounds, since Hungarian also has /s/ in all positions, and must be, therefore, the result of spelling pronunciation.

/æ/ > /ɛ/ Hungarian lacks a low front vowel, and English words borrowed into AH most often substitute it with its closest equivalent, the lower-mid front /ɛ/ (spelled with <e>). Some examples are as follows: *estré* 'ashtray', *hepi* 'happy', *grencsájd* 'grandchild', *grendmami* 'grandmother', *bólineli* 'bowling alley', *bekporcs* 'back porch', *blekbórd* 'blackboard', *embulenc* 'ambulance', *enimór* 'anymore', *enivé* 'anyway', *ent* 'aunt', *geng* 'gang'. Sometimes, due to spelling pronunciation, it is replaced by /a/ (spelled with <a>: *faktori* (but also ~ *fektri*) 'factory'.

Standard Hungarian and many Hungarian regional dialects completely lack diphthongs. Even though some of the Hungarian immigrants to United States were from dialect areas where diphthongs are present, the vast majority of diphthongs are nativized in loans. The diphthongs /ej, ow/ are usually substituted by long mid vowels /eː, oː/ (spelled with <é> and <ó>, respectively): *bébiszitter* 'baby-sitter', *drájvé* 'driveway', *ekszré* 'X-ray', *estré* 'ashtray', *halidé* 'holiday', *braderló* 'bother-in-law', *hóm* 'home', *ájdonnó* 'I don't know', *bangaló* 'bungalow', *biló* 'below [=subzero temperature]', *bólé*

'bowl', *bólineli* 'bowling alley', *felblóol* 'blow up', *ónol* 'own', *só* 'show [n]', *trektor* 'tractor'. The diphthong /aw/ is usually substituted by /aː/, in spelling <á> (*enihá* 'anyhow', *sáor* 'shower', *dántán* 'downtown'), less frequently by two *vowels*, /au/ (*braunsugor* 'brown sugar', *ápszejdaun* 'upside-down', *hausz* 'house'), and at least in one case, with either /aː/ or /oː/, *káboj ~ kóboj* 'cowboy'. The diphthong /aj/ is usually replaced by the closest Hungarian equivalent (long) vowel /aː/ plus /j/: *ájris* 'Irish', *Bájbl* 'Bible', *bájk* 'bike', *dájet* 'diet', *dájetol* 'diet [v]', *juláj* 'July', *lájt* 'light', *midvájf* 'midwife', *múnsájneros* 'moonshiner', *nektáj* 'necktie', *óvertájmoz* 'overtime [v]', *páj* 'pie', *szájdvalk* 'sidewalk'. But, in a few cases, it is substituted by /ɛj/, *átszejdon* 'outside', *felszlejszol* 'slice up', *hejermen* 'hired man', *loncstejm* 'lunchtime', *nejlán* 'nylon'; and in some cases by either /aːj/ or /ɛj/, *ejdi ~ ájdi* 'idea', *fejn ~ fájn* 'fine', *hejvé ~ hájvé* 'highway', *hejszkúl ~ hájszkúl* 'high school', *lájcensz ~ lejcensz* 'license', *munsájn ~ munsejn* 'moonshine', *ólrájt ~ ólrejt* 'all right', *rájdol ~ rejdol* 'ride', *sztrájk ~ sztrejk* 'strike [n]'.

In at least one type of nativization, not a phoneme but its allophone is what undergoes substitution: the American English tap, [ɾ], is nativized as a [d] in AH: for instance, *bader* 'butter', *gódehel* 'go to hell', *hárdetek* 'heart attack', *ráduvé* 'right away'.

Since HH (and, predominantly, AH as well) has word-initial stress, all loans are pronounced with such stress. In some cases, although not always, word-initial unstressed American English vowels are lost when words containing them are borrowed: *daptol* 'adopt', *daptolás* 'adoption', *genszt* 'against', *lektrik* 'electric', *lörcsik* 'allergic', *mördzsenszi rúm* 'emergency room', *partment* (~ *apartment*) 'apartment', *pojment* 'appointment'. But, unstressed wordinitial vowels are not always lost. They are sometimes retained in cases when the unstressed syllable contains the vowel only (*akrosz* 'across', *anaunszol* 'announce', *eleksen* 'election'), and always retained when the unstressed syllable has a consonant in the coda (*egzeminor* 'examiner', *egzisztál* 'exist', *ekszájtmen* 'excitement', *ekszkjúzol* 'excuse [v]', *ekszpektol* 'expect', *ekszpensz* 'expense', *eksztensen* 'extension', *endzsojol* 'enjoy'). Note that if the initial vowel were deleted these coda consonants could not be resyllabified into the onset of the next syllable, since that would go against the phonotactics of both Hungarian and American English. In some cases noninitial unstressed vowels are also lost, just like in the colloquial spoken American English forms of these words: *fektri* (~ *faktori*) 'factory', *grács ~ grázs* (~ *garázs*) 'garage'. In at least three cases, the whole unstressed syllable is lost: *gédzsment* 'engagement', *kjúzmi* 'excuse me', *tropender* 'interpreter'. Interestingly, one of these examples, *kjúzmi*, contains an onset (*kj*) that does not exist in HH (Siptár & Törkenczy 2000:98), only in American English (cf. *queue* or *cucumber*). This shows that the phonotactic constraints of Hungarian are also affected by contact with English here.

In at least one AH loan a simplification of the word-initial consonant cluster occurs, *kacstép* 'scotch tape', although at least one other word, *szkúl* 'school', does not simplify the same cluster. (Another AH example of cluster simplification is *pinklersisztem* 'sprinkler-system'; Miklós Kontra personal communication, 1993).

An interesting change occurs in some monosyllabic AH words. Most receive an extra wordfinal vowel, usually /eː/ (<é>): *káré* 'car', *bokszkáré* 'box car', *stritkáré* 'streetcar' (but: *puskár* 'push-car'), *báré* 'bar [place]', *hálé* 'hall', *bólé* 'bowling', *háré* 'hair',

sálé 'shawl'; but also *farma* 'farm', *majna* 'mine [n]', *sifta* 'shift'. In a small number of monosyllabic words, the final consonant is geminated: *stritt* 'street', *blakk* 'block', *trakk* (but also ∼ *trok* ∼ *trak*) 'truck'. (In connection with this, cf. Nádasdy 1989, observing that in HH monosyllabic loanwords containing short vowels usually also geminate the final consonant.)

3.3.2.2 *The morphological adaptation of loans.* The most regular rule of morphological adaptation of loans in AH is that verbs, just like borrowed verbs in HH, receive a thematizing suffix, *-l* or *-z*, preceded by a connecting vowel if the stem ends in a consonant. I have been able to find only one exception to this rule, in Vázsonyi's dictionary. The verb *fool around* is borrowed in two forms into AH, *fúl araund* and *fularound*, and the example sentences contain the following inflected forms: *fúlnak araund* 'they fool around' and *fularaundoltak* 'they fooled around', respectively (Vázsonyi 1995: 80–81). Of these, the former does not contain the thematizing suffix.

A relatively small number of words receive other derivational suffixes, the most common of which is the very productive suffix *-s* deriving adjectives which, in turn through zero derivation, often form nouns, just like in HH: *galondos* ∼ *galandos* 'gallon [adj]', *kannás* 'canned', *bucseros* 'butcher', *drugstóros* 'druggist', *farmeros* 'farmer', *gádneros* 'gardener', *gémbleres* 'gambler', *hólszéles* 'wholesaler', *krénes* 'crane operator', *lamberes* 'lumber dealer', *módlis* 'moulder', *múnsájneros* 'moonshiner', *szalonos* 'saloon keeper'. Some words are further derived with the suffix *-kodik/-kedik/-ködik* to form verbs meaning 'behave in the manner of': *bomoskodik* 'behave like a bum', *butlégereskedik* 'bootleg [v]'.

Other words receiving derivational suffixes include the following. Nominal suffixes (underlined and separated here by hyphens) are found in *dizi-ség* 'dizziness', *drink-ol-ó* 'saloon', *dapt-ol-ás* 'adoption', *hauszklín-ol-ás* 'house cleaning'; *grinór-os-an* 'in the manner of a greenhorn' has an adverbial suffix.

Many verbs are borrowed into AH with preverbs. In some of these the preverbs have an adverbial meaning: *elgémbliz* 'gamble away', *elmuffol* 'move away', *elpussol* 'push away', *felblóol* ∼ *felblóoz* 'blow up', *feldzsompol* 'jump up', *felkrenkol* 'crank up', *felmápol* 'mop up', *felpikkol* 'pick up'. In others, the preverbs are purely aspectual: *eldivorszol* 'divorce', *eljúzol* 'use up', *elkenol* 'can', *elkvittol* 'quit', *elmisszol* 'miss', *elsippol* 'ship', *elszeparétol* 'separate', *felhózol* 'hose', *felrézol* 'raise', *felszlejszol* 'slice up', *megbittol* 'beat'.

There is one noun in Vázsonyi (1995) that is borrowed into American Hungarian together with a plural ending and is then reinterpreted as a singular form: *benánesz* 'banana' (cf. *Elloptak egy benáneszt.* 'A banana was stolen', Vázsonyi 1995: 38).

In a small number of cases, words change their part of speech affiliation during the borrowing process without any derivation: for instance, *csikihárt* 'chicken-hearted', *akrosz* 'across', and *dánstéz* 'downstairs' are all nouns in AH.

3.3.2.3 *Loanwords.* Loanwords constitute the greatest portion of Vázsonyi (1995), as well as of the lexical borrowings mentioned in Kontra (1990), Bartha (1993) and Fenyvesi (1995a).[13]

Some examples of loanwords from Vázsonyi (1995) are the following.

Nouns: *ájszbokszi* 'ice-box', *aldermány* 'alderman', *balgém* 'ballgame', *bébisóer* 'baby shower', *bigbász* 'big boss', *bodi* 'buddy', *bucser* 'butcher', *csungám* 'chewing-gum', *dipó* 'depot', *faktori* 'factory', *fanesz* 'furnace', *farma* 'farm', *fenc* 'fence', *fórlédi* 'fore-lady', *gréd* 'grade', *hajvé* 'highway', *hálé* 'hall', *hanki* ∼ *hunki* 'Hunky', *hómszik* 'homesick', *hómvörk* 'homework', *imigrés* 'immigration', *indzsenér* 'engineer', *insurenc* 'insurance', *kálidzs* 'college', *kársop* 'carshop', *klörk* 'clerk', *majna* 'mine [n]', *mélmen* 'mailman', *múnsájneros* 'moonshiner', *nektáj* 'necktie', *núsz* 'news', *ofisz* 'office', *porcs* 'porch', *rédió* 'radio', *stór* 'stór', *szarokrád* 'sauerkraut', *sztepsz* 'steps', *sztraberi* 'strawberry', *tícser* 'teacher', *vasrúm* 'washroom', *zip* 'zipper'.

Verbs: *ánszerol* 'anwer', *báderoz* 'bother', *bárkol* 'bark', *bászol* 'boss', *bébiszittel* 'babysit', *bettol* 'bet', *börnol* 'burn', *csekkol* 'check', *cséndzsol* 'change', *dempol* 'dump', *diggol* 'dig', *drájvol* 'drive', *ekszkjúzol* 'excuse', *endzsojol* 'enjoy', *faniz* 'be funny', *fikszol* 'fix', *förnicsel* 'furnish', *hanimúnoz* 'go on honeymoon', *hepenol* 'happen', *júzol* 'use', *keccsol* 'catch', *kvittol* 'quit', *misszol* 'miss', *muffol* 'move', *nojzol* 'make noise', *pussol* 'push', *rentol* 'rent', *szpelol* 'spell', *szpendol* 'spend'.

Adjectives: *bizi* 'busy', *bulecprúf* 'bulletproof', *cingel* ∼ *szingel* 'single', *csili* 'chilly', *csíp* 'cheap', *dizi* 'dizzy', *fani* 'funny', *dszelesz* 'jealous', *dzsúszi* 'jucy', *fájn* 'fine', *fémes* 'famous', *fenci* 'fancy', *frendli* 'friendly', *hendi* 'handy', *hepi* 'happy', *hómméd* 'home made', *hómszik* 'homesick', *ízi* 'easy', *kúl* 'cool'.

Adverbs: *anesztli* 'honestly', *ápszedaun* 'upside-down', *bekendfurt* 'back and forth', *enimór* 'anymore', *enitájm* 'any time', *imbitvín* 'in-between', *klósz* 'close', *létli* 'lately', *mébi* 'maybe', *nekszdór* 'next door' *ráduvé* 'right away', *rangúl* 'wrong [adv]'.

Interjections: *anesztegád* 'honest-to-God', *dzsí* 'gee', *hajrap* ∼ *harjap* 'hurry up!', *helló* 'hallo', *ízi* 'easy!', *máj god* 'my God', *ó* 'oh', *ó boj* 'oh, boy'.

Phrases: *ájdonó* 'I don't know', *ájdunker* 'I don't care', *ájhóp* 'I hope', *ájmín* 'I mean', *ájtinkszó* 'I think so', *deccit* 'that's it', *deccoké* 'that's OK', *decrájt* 'that's right', *dzseszteszém* 'just the same', *fórszél* 'for sale', *gimi* 'give me', *godehel* 'go to hell', *góhet* 'go ahead', *gudbáj* 'good-bye', *haliduszé* 'how do you say?', *hóldap* 'hold-up', *juszí* 'you see', *kjúzmi* 'excuse me', *letszí* 'let's see', *vell* 'well'.

There is one each of numerals (*plenti* 'plenty'), pronouns (*jú* 'you'), and particles (*genszt* 'against').

3.3.2.4 *Loanblends.* The loanblends listed in Vázsonyi's dictionary are the following: *apartment-ház* 'apartment house', *bankház* 'bunk house', *bébiágy* 'baby's bed, child-bed', *betyárburd* 'boarding-house with only men as boarders' (from HH *betyár* 'highwayman, bandit'), *bizniszember* 'businessman', *blakház* 'blockhouse', *borbélysop* 'barbershop', *bordingház* 'boarding-house', *brendúj* (∼*brendnyú*) 'brand new', *brikház* 'brick house', *csenszjáték* 'game of chance', *farmaház* 'farm house', *fenc-rózsa* 'fence rose', *fildműves* 'fieldworker', *főbász* 'main boss', *fremház* 'frame house', *frontszoba* 'front

room', *fürdőszút* 'bathing-suit', *garázsember* 'garage-man', *gárbicskanna* 'garbage can', *gémblingház* 'gambling house', *gázbill* 'gas bill', *grendmami* 'grandmother', *grendanyuka* 'grandmother', *grédiskola* (∼ *grédszkúl*) 'grade school', *hobóállomás* 'hobo station', *jég-bakszi* (∼ *ájszbakszi*) 'ice-box', *kárbiztosítás* 'car insurance', *kompániaház* 'company house', *kórtház* 'courthouse', *kőmajna* 'rock mine', *ókontri* 'old country', *póstaofic* 'post office'. Others, from South Bend, are *fraternális egyesület* 'fraternal association', *kred-itkártya* 'credit card', *pártbasz* 'party boss', *virágbakszi* 'flower box' (Kontra 1990:100); and from Detroit *horszlégy* 'horse fly', *nyaktáj* 'neck tie', *szenes förnesz* 'coal furnace' (Bartha 1993:113).

In addition, many borrowed verbs also receive Hungarian preverbs and can thus be considered loanblends (see examples in Section 3.2.2.2 above).

3.3.2.5 *Calques.* Vázsonyi (1995) contains only two calques as entries (*asztalfelváró* 'waiter', literally, table-up-waiter, presumably, from the American English verb *wait tables*, and *papír* '(news)paper', which in HH it means 'paper [=material]').

Examples from Kontra (1990:100–101) include *elcserél* 'change' (HH 'exchange'), *emelet* 'floor' (HH 'nonfirst floor'), *felvesz* 'pick up [e.g. a language]' (HH 'pick up [only physically]'), *valamikor* 'sometimes' (HH 'sometime'), *megüt* 'hit, bump into' (HH 'hit [with hand or instrument]), *les* and *vigyáz* 'watch' (HH 'peep' and 'watch out', respectively); *példát ad* 'give example' (HH only *példát mond* 'say example'), *vonatot cserél* 'change trains' (HH only *átszáll* 'get over'), *fiúbarát* 'boyfriend' (HH *udvarló* 'courter'), *viccet játszik valakin* 'play a trick on' (HH only *megviccel* 'trick [vt]'),

Bartha's (1993:117–118) list of calques includes *rátesz* 'put on [music]' (HH *bekapcsol* 'turn on'), *moziház* 'movie house' (HH *mozi* 'movie theater'), *dzsélbe tesz* 'put in jail' (HH *bebörtönöz* 'jail'), *tud valakit* 'know somebody' (HH *ismer* 'know'), *megy* 'go, attend' (HH *jár* 'attend').

Fenyvesi (1995a:92–94) contains *mozi* 'movie' (HH 'movie theater'), *iskola* 'school [=college or university]' (HH *iskola* 'school', *egyetem* 'university', *főiskola* 'college'), *osztály* 'class [time period]' (HH *osztály* 'class [group of people]' vs. *óra* 'class [time period]).

3.3.2.6 *Borrowing of sibling terms.* In HH there are several words denoting female and male siblings. Thus *nővér* 'older sister', *húg* 'younger sister', *bátya* 'older brother', and *öcs* 'younger brother' are used in reference to one's own siblings and whenever the relative age of the sibling of the person in question is known. In addition to these, the words *testvér* 'sibling', *fiútestvér* 'boy sibling', and *lánytestvér* 'girl sibling', *fivér* 'brother', and *nővér* 'sister' are also used either in collectively referring to more than one of the four kinds of siblings, or when referring to siblings whose sex or age relative to the person in question is not known.

The use of terms referring to siblings is very interesting in the McKeesport data as it constitutes a clear example of replacement of marked vocabulary. In the data, sibling words occur almost exclusively in reference to the speakers' own siblings, that is, where HH would use the four basic terms (these are referred to as 'HH sibling terms' from

now on). Some AH speakers use the HH sibling terms, in accordance with HH rules. But others who mention sibling terms use only *testvér*, *fiútestvér* and *lánytestvér* in reference to their own siblings (referred to as AH sibling terms below), distinguishing between older and younger siblings with *idősebb* 'older' and *fiatalabb* 'younger':

(95)   AH *egy   fiútesvérem   vout* (McK, Gen2)
        one boy.sibling.px1sg was.3sg
        'I had one brother'

(96)   AH *éin vagyok, meg a   tesvéirem   Rouza, meg a   legfiatalab*
        I   am,   and the sibling.px1sg Róza, and the youngest
        tesvéirem,   Albert (McK, Gen2)
        sibling.px1sg Albert
        'there is me, my sister Róza, and my youngest brother Albert'

(97)   AH *az idöseb tesvér ot   születet   Magyarországon* (McK, Gen2)
        the older sibling there was.born.3sg Hungary.sup
        'my older sibling was born in Hungary'

There appears to be a tendency among second-generation speakers to use sibling terms paralleling the American English terms instead of the more marked HH vocabulary.[14] Kontra 1990 does not identify this feature, but his data actually contain it. The South Bend corpus shows a more varied picture than the McKeesport data, but it exhibits the same tendencies. In addition to the HH and AH sibling terms, some first-generation South Bend speakers also use the borrowed sibling terms *brader* 'brother' and *sziszter* 'sister'. These borrowings also appear in Vázsonyi's dictionary.

3.4 Code-switching

Code-switching between Hungarian and English is very clearly present in AH according to all the comprehensive studies of it (Kontra 1990: 13–14, 77, 94–96; Bartha 1993: 122–131; Fenyvesi 1995a: 95–96). A detailed analysis of the function and linguistic characteristics of code-switching behavior has, however, not been carried out in any of the studies so far: only rudimentary characterizations and categorizations have been made.

The interviews that served as the corpus of data mentioned above were not conducive to code-switching on the part of the AH speakers since they knew they were being interviewed by linguists from Hungary, which, as Kontra (1990: 14) observes, elicited more normative (i.e. monolingual Hungarian) speech than an everyday conversation with another AH speaker would have. However, since the subjects knew that the interviewers spoke English fluently and very well, this nevertheless allowed for at least some code-switching. Or, to put it in Grosjean's (1997, 2001) terms, the knowledge that they were conversing with bilingual Hungarian-English speakers activated their English as well, and therefore put them in a "bilingual mode" rather than a "monolingual mode". Being in a bilingual mode, then, they employed code-switching.

Since, as I have mentioned above, the South Bend, Detroit and McKeesport studies did not investigate code-switching in detail, they used basic working definitions of this phenomenon: Kontra (1990:92) and Fenyvesi (1995a:95) considered as code-switching into English any stretch of discourse that was pronounced with the speaker's usual English pronunciation, while considering words and phrases pronounced with Hungarian phonology as borrowings. Bartha (1993:94), in comparison, used frequency of occurrence as a basis of differentiation between one-word switches and lexical borrowing.

AH has been shown to contain word-, phrase-, and clause-level code-switching, as (98–99), (100–101) and (102–103), respectively, demonstrate. (The stretches of discourse that are considered code-switches appear in boldface in the examples below.)

(98) *Nem akarta, hogy híjuk **dad** vagy **father**.* (SB, Gen2)
      'He didn't want us to call him "dad" or "father".'

(99) *Goromba, goromba, **terrible** vout.* (McK, Gen2)
      'He was rought, rough, terrible.'

(100) *Én fizetek most **eighty-five dollars** egy hónapban.* (SB, Gen1)
      'I pay eighty-five dollars a month.'

(101) *Csak magyaról beszélünk **all the time**.* (Dt)
      'We speak only Hungarian all the time.'

(102) *Annyi, annyi minden van itt, **I don't want any gift. All right**.* (Dt)
      'There are so many, so many things here, I don't want any gift. All right.'

(103) *Dougozik öü is, de... **we get along**.* (McK, Gen2)
      'He also works, but... we get along.'

Some instances of AH code-switching involve what can clearly be defined as fixed, often used phrases:

(104) ***See?** Hogy megérti?* (SB, Gen1)
      'See, how he can understand it?'

(105) *Hát, **wait a minute**, aztat kihattad, hogy...* (Dt)
      'Well, wait a minute, you left out that...'

(106) *Nem tudom **for sure**.* (McK, Gen2)
      'I don't know for sure.'

Other instances contain code-switched material necessitated by lexical gaps in the language (107) or in the speaker's vocabulary (108):

(107) [What do you watch on TV?]
      *Többnyire nem **soap opera**. Meg este, mindig a... **the programs, the variety programs**, azt nézem.* (SB, Gen2)
      'Usually not soap operas. And in the evening, always the... the programs, the variety programs, that's what I watch.

(108)   *Nem tudom, angolul...mondani* **department**. (Dt)
    'I don't know, in English, you say department.'

Sometimes code-switched material contains quotations from discourse that was origi-
nally said in English:

(109)   *Mondom neki angolú, hogy soha nem hallottam én ezt a nevet magyarul. Ó,
    aszongya:* **wait a minute**. *Várj. Várj. Beszaladt a szobájába, van neki* **dictionary**,
    kigyött, megmondta, hogy mi az magyarul. De igen nevettem. **Boy**, *mondom,
    tetőled tanulok meg magyarul.* (SB, Gen1)
    'And I tell him in English that I never heard this word in Hungarian. "Oh", he
    says, "wait a minute". Wait, wait. He ran into his office, he has a dictionary, he
    came out and told me what that was in Hungarian. I laughed. Boy, I said, I'm
    going to learn Hungarian from you.'

(110)   *Múltkor is felhíttam, oszt mondom:* **May I speak to George Marton?** (Dt)
    'The other day I called him and said, "May I speak to George Marton?"'

3.5 Pragmatic features: Address

Address systems, like other aspects of sociolinguistic competence, are seldom men-
tioned in discussions of immigrant language maintenance and/or shift, although there
is ample evidence they too undergo changes. Previous research has revealed changes in
the German address system of German New Zealanders (Stoffel 1983).

HH has a system of address based on a dichotomy of formal (V) and informal (T)
address, as in many Indo-European languages, with co-occurrence rules among verbs,
pronominal address forms, nominal forms, and greetings. V vs. T address is used very
much along the lines of Brown and Gilman's (1960) classic article. Some differences
are that in Hungarian there is more than one way of expressing V address as far as verb
forms and pronominal address forms are concerned. These are the 3rd-person verb
forms, on the one hand, and the verb *tetszik* 'to please' followed by infinitival forms
on the other. In V address 3rd-person verb forms can co-occur with a pronoun, *ön*
or *maga*, where the former is more polite and/or more formal than the latter. The V
address *tetszik* does not have a corresponding pronoun – here a nominal address form
is used when the interlocutor must be referred to overtly.

The usage of address forms is constant between two members of a dyad, and ad-
dress changes occur only as a result of change in the relative status of the speakers (e.g. a
shift from nonreciprocal address to reciprocal V between a long-acquainted older adult
and a younger person just entering adulthood, or a shift from reciprocal V to recipro-
cal T between a professor and a former student when the latter enters into employment
in the same department). Temporary shifts between T and V address documented in
Brown and Gilman 1960 and Friedrich 1972, employed to signal sudden changes of
attitude, are not acceptable in Hungarian.

In terms of address usage, the McKeesport subjects can be grouped into two
very different categories of speakers: first-generation speakers and second-generation

speakers who have first-generation speakers of their approximate age or younger in their family – whom I will call 'fluent speakers' in this section – and the rest of the second-generation speakers, whom I will refer to as 'semi-speakers'. Although there is a lot of variation among members of both groups in their usage and perception of rules of address, the two groups stand apart in significant ways.

Fluent speakers actually use Hungarian in everyday conversations, usually with their spouses and one or two friends. They are also aware of the T/V distinction in HH, have rules about using one and the other, and are able to introspect and talk about their usage. Semi-speakers, on the other hand, do not use Hungarian on an everyday basis with anyone (even if their spouse is also a second-generation speaker). They are aware that there are different ways of addressing people in Hungarian, but they usually do not know what these consist of, are not able to introspect about their usage very easily, and also lack the metalinguistic means to talk about it.

In the course of my fieldwork I addressed all my subjects in a way I would have in Hungary. I gave V, *maga*, and first name and honorific kinship title *néni* 'aunt' and *bácsi* 'uncle' to all the speakers one generation older than me (I was 28 years old at the time). The two exceptions were speakers, both of whom insisted that I should address them with T and first names, arguing that 'they weren't so old' to be addressed with V. I addressed the younger speakers with T and first names – some of them because they suggested switching to T during our first meeting, and one because he was younger than I was and we had also met through mutual friends before. I received T and first name address from all the subjects whom I have addressed in the same way, due to mutual agreement with each, mentioned above.

From the members of the semi-speaker group, however, I received more T address than I would have expected according to HH rules. Even though I belonged to the same age group as the children of these subjects, the fact that I was an adult stranger on a somewhat formal mission of research in the community would probably have prompted V, *maga* and first name address in a similar situation among HH speakers. Only some subjects addressed me with V, *maga* and first name address, others addressed me with T and first name, while one speaker addressed me with the T pronoun *te* and V verb forms – an impossible co-occurrence in HH. According to HH rules, nonreciprocal T address towards me would have been especially unusual from older males, and it would have been introduced by a phrase like '*Hope you don't mind if I address you with T*' by the elderly female speakers.

The similarities between HH and AH address concern the use of address forms mostly between parents and their children, children and adults, and lay adults on the one hand and ministers on the other – truly reflecting the scope of Hungarian language use in McKeesport, where most of the speakers spoke Hungarian only in childhood, with their parents, with other immigrant adults, and in church.

All second-generation speakers reported having called their parents just as parents would be addressed in HH. Speakers who remember whether they used T or V verb forms in addressing their parents are divided between those who report having addressed both parents with V, those who addressed their mother with T and their father

with V, and those who addressed both parents with T. All speakers remember being addressed by first name and T by their parents. These combinations of address could be perfectly acceptable HH ways of addressing.

All the elderly second-generation speakers remember addressing adults in their childhood (typically, the friends of their parents or the parents of their friends) with first or last name plus honorary kinship title *néni* 'aunt' and *bácsi* 'uncle', and most cite V verbs as examples of how they would have addressed them. One younger second-generation subject reports using T verbs with the same name and title combination in the same situation. Both kinds of address would be acceptable in HH as well.

The speakers unanimously report using reciprocal first name and T verb address with friends, and the two subjects who had Hungarian-speaking co-workers of the same age and rank report the same usage with them as well. In these situations also HH address would be the same. All subjects except the minister and his wife report addressing Hungarian Protestant ministers with the HH-like double title *tiszteletes úr* 'Mr. Reverend'.

The members of the semi-speakers' group exhibit characteristics of address or addressing behavior that are not found in HH. As evidenced by the following facts, these are mostly due to an incomplete learning of and relatively small range of opportunities to use the complete HH address system in general, especially V address.

One such characteristic is the co-occurrence of T pronouns and V verbs in addressing the same person, as has been mentioned above. Another HH co-occurrence violation was occasionally used by one subject, who addressed me with the V pronoun *maga* when she used it in the nominal, but used declined 3rd-person pronouns like *vele* 'with him/her' and *hozzá* 'to him/her' instead of the declined forms of *maga* (e.g. *magával* 'with you.FORMAL' or *magához* 'to you.FORMAL')

Some subjects sometimes had difficulty understanding who my questions referred to when I asked them about themselves with V verbal address (which requires 3rd-person verb forms in HH); they asked me clarification questions, typically referring to their family members who had been mentioned in the interview before. A typical exchange went like the one in (111):

(111)   A: *Hol tetszett születni?* (Where were you.FORMAL born?)
        B: *Apám?* (My father?)
        A: *A Pista bácsi hol született?* (Where was Uncle Pista born?)
        B: *Én?* (Me?)
        A: *Igen.* (Yes.)
        B: *Dukénba.* (In Duquesne.)

For a brief discussion of such and similar communicative failures, see Kontra (1993b).

Other characteristics among the semi-speakers are the following. One subject expressed his belief that the addressing with T or V was a dialectal characteristic of Hungarian. Some openly admitted their inability to tell me what the difference was between two short sentences which were identical except that one contained a T verb and the other a V verb. Others did not seem to have any knowledge about T and V

address being different not only in nominal address forms, but also in verb forms, pronominals and greetings. Among the fluent speakers, I found a great tolerance towards being addressed with T forms even by strangers – the American-born subjects all said that they would not mind at all if an adult stranger addressed them with T at the first meeting (while the first-generation speakers all said that they would feel offended if it happened in Hungary, but learned not to mind it in the U.S.).

These second-generation speakers expressed a unanimous uncertainty about when they were supposed to use V address with Hungarians in and/or from Hungary, and all of them claimed to avoid using it with American-Hungarians of approximately their own age or younger. Some second-generation speakers said they believed that V address should be used only with people older than oneself, and to strangers. All fluent speakers except the one who lived a significant portion of her adult life in Hungary (she immigrated when she was 32) admitted that they know they suggest to their interlocutors that they switch from initial V to T more quickly (usually during the very first meeting) than would be usual in Hungary. After all, said one subject, 'a stranger is not a stranger after you've talked to them'. Some subjects said they do not feel any difference in addressing Hungarian-speakers in the U.S. and in Hungary.

Previous research on address in immigrant communities has also shown that the address system in the first language of bilingual immigrant communities may change in relation to the address system of the standard usage in that language in the 'old country'. Stoffel (1983) has demonstrated that there is a marked shift among bilingual Germans in New Zealand towards the use of first names and T forms in situations where a title plus last name and V form address would be predominant in German-speaking countries. She has also shown that in the immigrant community speakers have a higher degree of tolerance towards receiving address forms different from those they would consider appropriate in the given situation (e.g. receiving T address instead of the expected V); she argues that some uncertainty may arise, especially among second-generation speakers, about what address should be used in some situations. In a brief section Kontra (1990: 116–117) also reports that the usage of the AH pronominal and verbal address system is indeed different from that of HH – either lacking V forms or having different rules about when T and V are used.

The findings in McKeesport indicate that, in addition to the above features, the following are also characteristic of AH: a partial lack of V forms and the rules governing their use; a partial lack of metalinguistic ability in talking about address; inability to recall what address was used towards a person the speaker knew well; inability to tell how one is addressed by somebody else in a conversation at the present time; some violations of co-occurrence rules, and significant differences among speakers with respect to these characteristics.

3.6 Language attrition

In addition to characteristics where AH shows the effect of American English, in several features the effect of language attrition can be seen as well, especially in the speech

of second-generation speakers. I attribute a linguistic feature to the effect of language attrition if it is a result of simplification and reduction processes (Dorian 1981: 8; Mühlhäusler 1977) without compensation elsewhere in the linguistic system. However, it also has to be noted that in many cases borrowing and language attrition effects are inseparable, in what historical linguists (e.g. Campbell & Muntzel 1989) call cases of multiple causation. Thus, I categorize a feature as the result of language attrition if it is a simplification or reduction that did not make the structure more similar to American English. Examples of this from subsections above are the regularization of irregular verb and noun stems, or focus-movement of non-focussed constituents in syntax. Examples of features categorized as a change due to multiple causation, that is, due both to language attrition and to the influence of American English are the loss of gemination, the loss of pronominal possessive suffixes and appearance of non-focussed overt possessor pronoun at the same time, and the frequent lack of focus movement. (As I mentioned in the beginning of Section 3, I attribute a linguistic feature to borrowing if it incorporates elements of the speakers' other language.)

It should be emphasized that I am not claiming to have established with total certainty the cause of any specific change (except, obviously, borrowed words); rather, the claim is that the best available historical explanation – given the nature of the data – is the one I propose. If I categorize all of the 52 features that AH is different from HH in (for all details, see Fenyvesi 1995a, 1998a), the following picture emerges: 20, or less than half of these are due to borrowing alone; 28, or slightly more than half are the result of borrowing and attrition; and only 4 are affected by attrition alone.

Language attrition is, thus, very much present in AH – in most instances, showing its effect together with the influence of borrowing and only in few cases without it.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided an overview of the sociolinguistic and linguistic aspects of Hungarian-Americans and their language that information from various studies is available on. As both the sociolinguistic and linguistic evidence demonstrates, Hungarian-Americans as a group are undergoing language shift along the classic three-generation model, similarly to many other immigrant groups of the United States. However, the picture presented in this chapter is incomplete in the sense that the studies it is based on (Kontra 1990; Bartha 1993; Fenyvesi 1995a; Polgár 2001) all target traditional Hungarian-American communities from the oldest, primarily blue-collar settlements, while newer and socioeconomically more diverse communities would very likely present a somewhat different picture – possibly with slightly better chances of language maintenance and linguistically less affected Hungarian as their language. Studies on the latter, however, have not been published to date. Studies such as this would be highly desirable because they would enable us to have a more refined and up-to-date understanding of the state of the Hungarian language in the United States.

Notes

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1. Unless otherwise specified, all data quoted in Sections 2.2 and 2.3 are based on figures from the 1990 Census and Census 2000, released on the internet at http: //www.census.gov/.

2. The use of the phoneme /e/ instead of some of the occurrences of /ɛ/ occurs in many regional dialects in Hungary and is also present in the speech of some of the Hungarian-Americans (see Kontra 1990: 43–50; Fenyvesi 1995a: 15). For a detailed account of this feature, see Kontra (1993a).

3. An example of the former, a very common and nonstigmatized feature of spoken Hungarian, is the deletion of the final *n* in the inessive suffix *-ban* (as in *Washingtonba* 'in Washington' for *Washingtonban*). Another very common feature is the deletion of coda-position *l*'s (as in [boːt] for *bolt* 'shop' or [voːtɑm] 'I was' for *voltam*), which, according to Imre (1971: 261), is a general feature of Hungarian regional dialects, but is, most probably, best treated as a sociolinguistic variable.

4. For a detailed assessment of what features are characteristic of only first-generation speakers, second-generation speakers, or both, see Fenyvesi (1998a).

5. In the examples I provide the place (SB=South Bend, Dt=Detroit, and McK=McKeesport) and generation of the speaker from whom the example is given. "Gen1" is used for first-generation, while "Gen2" for second-generation speakers.

6. In examples where morphological structure is of importance, I separate morphemes with hyphens, which, in orthography, would not be used.

7. The thematizing suffixes *-z* and *-l* (preceded by a connecting vowel if the verb stem ends in a consonant) are verbalizing derivational suffixes in Hungarian which are obligatorily used when verbs are borrowed.

8. Interestingly, the same was found for British Hungarian in A. Benkő (2000), a study investigating morphological and syntactic features of Hungarian immigrants and their children in London: while these speakers mixed conjugations here, too, they never used the wrong person/number marking on verbs.

9. The element that fails to receive a preverb is underlined in all of the following examples.

10. In this section all AH examples are accompanied by the HH version of the sentence. In the English glosses of the AH sentences, verbs are supplied in the same tense and without the marking of definiteness/indefiniteness; only the person and number of the subject are marked. In many cases the English translation of the question which the subjects were answering is given in square brackets before the example, in order to supply the necessary context for the AH sentence. The constituents that, according to the context, should be focussed, are underlined in the AH sentences.

11. Unless otherwise marked, all examples in this section are from Vázsonyi (1995).

12. According to these calculations, the sum of the various kinds of entries in Vázsonyi 1995 is 978 rather than 900, due to the fact that some words have two or more meanings which are of different parts of speech, e.g. *bézment* 'basement', *bébi* 'baby' and *itáli* 'Italian' all have nominal as well as adjectival meanings.

13. In my discussion of loanwords, loanblends and calques, examples come mostly from Vázsonyi (1995), since it is more comprehensive than any of the studies of AH, even though some of the borrowings occur both in the dictionary and in one or more of the studies. I include examples from the studies only when they do not also occur in the dictionary.

14. A similar tendency to borrow English words in replacement of marked vocabulary also occurs in American Finnish, where compounds such as *southwest*, *northeast* etc. are borrowed to replace their Finland Finnish equivalents, which are noncompounded synthetic words (Pekka Hirvonen, personal communication, 1999).

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