



When the Border Crosses You

Aspects of Language and Identity in Transylvania between the Two World Wars

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Abstract. The article discusses the Transylvanian case of border crossings, the historical changes experienced by the communities living on this territory between 1918, the end of World War I, and 1944. The study starts with a short theoretical introduction to border studies and to the concept of border crossing, discussing aspects such as the issue of state and societal borders, power relations and sovereignty, and the negotiation of new identities within new state borders (understood both geographically and ideologically). The article analyses several fragments of texts that were published in one of the most important Hungarian newspapers in Transylvania, focusing on the concept of the border, on language rights, and minority rights as well as on some aspects of the linguistic landscape with special regard to the visibility or erasure of minority communities. The article concludes that the discussed instance of border crossing is particular in its nature as it shows similarities with the typical cases of border crossing; however, the staticity of the community itself and the movement of the border creates new possibilities for discussion.

Keywords: border studies, border crossing, negotiating identities, minority and majority communities, discourses of power

Conceptual framework

The present article analyses a particular case of border crossing, that of the Transylvanian society following the major historical changes of the period between 1918 and 1944 from a Hungarian perspective. In our analysis, we build upon the theoretical foundations of border studies both in their more traditional understanding, where “borders exert power as markers of sovereignty” (Kolossov–Scott 2013) and from the ethno-cultural perspective, in which borders “emerge through socio-political processes of border-making or *bordering* that takes place

within society” (id.). Our rationale is that with the changes of the physical and political borders between the Hungarian and Romanian states significant societal shifts emerged that resulted in the shaping of new identities and even new borders between the different ethnic and social groups whose lives were impacted by these historical events. According to Kolossov and Scott (2013), there is a powerful nexus between state and social borders: sovereignty is a product of power relations, and as such it affects all aspects of life, including the socially embedded power “to sort people according to the degree of their belonging to certain ethnic, cultural, political, and social groups” (id.). Sovereignty also justifies the alignment between territory, identity, and political community, articulated in our analysis as well: the attitudes towards shifting sovereignty are echoed in the newspaper articles published in one of the leading Hungarian newspapers of this period in Transylvania.

Border crossing in its most traditional understanding is moving across diverse borders such as race, gender, or geography (Anzaldúa 1987). In this approach, the border is understood as static and is crossed by the individual (or a group). Agency is assigned to the one who crosses the border or “decisively sits on a border, experiencing it as the central reference point” (Root 1996: xxi). It is associated with the individual’s movement, will, awareness, and strategies to cross the physically or socially defined border. Our analysis shows a somewhat different perspective: the fact that the border is not static at all and that political changes cause deep societal shifts result in changes in the role of the individual and that of the group as well. Agency is limited or even non-existent: people and communities experiencing the movement of the borders do not physically change their places, there is most probably no will to cross the border (as we shall see in our analysis), there is need to create strategies and negotiate new identities whilst in the same geographical space, and there is also a high sense of awareness regarding new political and social realities.

Historical background

Our examination focuses on experiences, negotiations, and reconstructions of borders (see Root 1996: xxi) among the ethnic communities in Transylvania, who lived through several changes of the political frontier after World War I and during World War II, from the point of view of the Hungarian community. We examine several texts published in *Keleti Újság* (‘Eastern Newspaper’), a Transylvanian Hungarian newspaper, to illustrate the attempts to negotiate and renegotiate the power relations between the new majority (the Romanian community) and the new minority (the Hungarian ethnic group). We will also try to identify the shifts in power discourse in the same news outlet when the

border is crossed time and time again. It is also significant to point out how the whole territory of Transylvania becomes understood as a contested border region, where “memory landscapes”, monuments, museums, historical sites but also place names, elements of the linguistic landscape and even street names become “sacred places of ethnic memory” with specific national interpretations of past realities and conflicts (Kolossoff–Scott 2013).

The end of World War I brought about great changes in Europe: several international treaties resulted in new national boundaries and new countries. The Versailles Treaty ended the process of consolidation of small European states into larger ones, and multinational empires, including the Austro-Hungarian Empire, were broken up (O'Dowd 2002: 15). The 20th century can be characterized not only by this proliferation of state borders but also by their geographic volatility (id.), and this had a significant impact on the communities and societies subjected to such shifts. As the literature shows, changes in political borders are typically not democratic processes “but rather a product of wars, invasions, dynastic settlements and the balance of power and coercion” (O'Dowd 2002: 16). Our analysis focuses on the Transylvanian situation with regard to the new minority (the Hungarian ethnic group), whose members are now citizens of the new political and geographical unit: Romania.

This region had always had a multi-ethnic and multicultural character: the 1920 census data on the mother tongue and ethnicity of the inhabitants show the coexistence of several ethnic groups, including Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Jews, and others, and this also meant the natural coexistence of the languages spoken by them (cf. Vargha 1997). Nevertheless, the new political realities impacted the Hungarian community in a way that defined the years to come, and they are echoed in today's negotiations of identity as well. As Kántor puts it, “part of an already formed nation, which had been involved in the process of nation building, suddenly became a national minority. (...) the leaders of the Hungarian national minority in Romania organized their political and cultural organizations on an ethno-cultural basis and promoted a policy of self-defence concerning the nationalizing thrust of the enlarged Romanian state” (Kántor 2005: 255). This shifting of the borders also led to instances of border crossing as commonly understood: the repatriation of a significant part of the Hungarian middle-class, who preferred to move to the new state of Hungary (Fleisz 2005: 81). Paradoxically, the lack of geographical movement resulted in what border crossing, movement across the border is associated with: the need to find and negotiate a new identity and make decisions regarding the possibilities and strategies it involves.

Borders can be crossed in many ways. Root describes four ways of experiencing, negotiating, and reconstructing borders: in the first one, the border is bridged by having two feet in both groups, suggesting the ability “to hold, merge, and respect

multiple perspectives simultaneously” (Root 1995: xxi). The second possibility is the shifting of the foreground and background, which does not mean switching loyalties, but it focuses on the situationality of ethnicity and race, and in our case citizenship. The third interpretation is decisively sitting on the border, understanding and experiencing it as the central reference point, while in the fourth approach one creates a home on one camp for a period of time and “makes forays” into other camps at some point (Root 1995: xxii). Our research focuses on how this involuntary crossing of the border was understood by the communities involved and how the negotiations of identity, of rights and the understanding of self and the other are portrayed in texts published in *Keleti Újság*, a newspaper with a defining role in representing and shaping the new Hungarian minority in the new state. As the mother tongue became the primary bearer of the national identity of the Hungarian community, its protection and safeguarding against all dangers – from the inside (the community of speakers themselves) and from the outside (the representatives of state power) – became one of the most significant topics in these negotiations (for a more detailed discussion of the issue of language, see Fazakas 2014a,b).

Methodology and a short presentation of the database

As previously stated, the study focuses on the content analysis of texts selected from the *Keleti Újság* newspaper. It was one of the most significant news outlets of the period in question: the first issue hit the stands on 24 December 1918 in Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár), and it became one of the longest-published Hungarian daily newspapers of the period between the two World Wars together with *Brassói Lapok* (‘Braşov News’) (Ambrus 2009: 22). Its name was changed to *Keleti Magyar Újság* (‘Eastern Hungarian Newspaper’) on 15 June 1944, and the last issue was printed on 6 October 1944. The editorial staff, and subsequently the readership, understood the newspaper as a minority institution, playing an important role in the organization of Hungarian cultural life and offering guidance regarding the general and linguistic rights of citizens and minorities in particular while also providing an important platform for publishing new literary works in the Hungarian language (cf. Ambrus 2009: 26–27). It aimed to represent the Hungarian community in Transylvania as a whole, to inform the readers, and to facilitate the peaceful reorganization of the Transylvanian society.

The ideological stance of the paper in its first years was a radical civic or democratic one, fighting against conservative and nationalist politics, striving to bring together the different ethnic communities of the region, especially the Romanians and the Hungarians, and working to create opportunities in this new minority existence. This is well illustrated by one of the first articles published in the paper:

Let us live with dignity, with understanding, with love side by side; the white moon shines for all of us, the acacia tree blooms for all of us and there is work for the good of the community for everyone.¹ (11 January 1919)

Another excerpt from the reaction piece to an article published by the Romanian nationalist newspaper *Patria* ('Homeland') reads:

Nevertheless, the professor is mistaken again. The Hungarian people do wish to live in peace and harmony with the Romanian people.² (11 July 1920)

Several articles discussed, however, the new political situation and everything it entailed on the societal level in Romania, in Europe, and in the world itself:

Mankind has been separated into first-class and second-class countries, and the new countries have third-class people in them, who are called national minorities; the previous ones are the new owners, the latter are the new servants (...) so that previous subservience can be replaced with new ones.³ (26 February 1922)

The first period of the newspaper lasted until 1927, when it was sold to the Magyar Party (in Hungarian: *Országos Magyar Párt*, in Romanian: *Partidul Maghiar*), becoming the official news outlet of the party (cf. Györfy 2010). The editor-in-chief after the turn was Endre Szász (until 1939) followed by József Nyíró (id.). This also meant an ideological border crossing into more radical views.

The present study is the continuation of a post-doctoral research (POSDRU/159/5.1/S/140863) which analysed the issues of multilingualism, linguistic identity, and ethnolinguistic vitality in the *Keleti Újság* newspaper, with special regard to attitudes and ideologies. In this article, we applied a multidisciplinary approach, making use of historical, sociolinguistic, sociologic, and even anthropological aspects in outlining the complex changes and shifts that defined the Transylvanian society as a whole and the Hungarian minority in particular in the given historical period.

- 1 Élünk hát becsülettel, élünk megértéssel, élünk szeretettel egymás mellett; a fehér hold mindannyiunknak ragyog, mindnyájunknak nyit az akác és akad munka is, a Közre hasznos – mindnyájunk számára. (All extracts were translated by the author. The original Hungarian extracts are transcribed with the present orthographical rules).
- 2 Pedig a professor úr megint téved. A magyar nép igenis békében és harmóniában akar élni a román néppel.
- 3 Az emberiséget felosztották elsőrendű és másodrendű országokra, sőt az új államokba még harmadrendű népeket is osztályoztak bele, elnevezvén őket népkisebbségeknek. Vannak tehát néptöbbségek és népkisebbségek; az előbbiek az új gazdák, az utóbbiak az új szolgák. (...) hogy az eddigi alárendeltségek helyébe más alárendeltségeket tegyen közéleti rendszerré.

We selected a corpus of texts from the newspaper, focusing on the periods of high political and societal instability and volatility: the years between 1919 and 1922 (the first years after the shifting of the border, when Transylvania became part of Romania) as well as the years 1939 and 1940 (right before and after the Second Vienna Award, as the result of which the northern part of Transylvania was annexed to Hungary). The texts were included based on their relevance to the research topic and research objectives: they either express explicit standpoints on the issue of languages (such as Hungarian as mother tongue, Romanian as the language of the state, opinions on speaking and learning foreign languages, issues of minority language rights, issues of minority language use, etc.) or they include some kind of a reference to the languages spoken, used, or somehow present (for example, as parts of the linguistic landscape as defined by Landry–Bourhis 1997) in the region and in the country, together with the questions regarding teaching and learning foreign languages. A separate group of texts is represented by advertisements that are connected to the issue of languages in some way: advertisements of jobs that require some level of language skills, advertisements of people looking for jobs who decide to share information on their personal language skills, advertisements of dictionaries and textbooks (mainly of foreign languages but of Romanian as well) as well as advertisements written in foreign languages. Our database features approximately 50,000 words from texts of various genres (lead articles, articles, news, advertisements, literary texts, etc.). All of these were subjected to content analysis. This article focuses on the texts that discuss the issue of identity and the attitudes towards the shifting of the borders.

Shaping and reshaping identities

As stated above, the mother tongue, the Hungarian language, and the Hungarian culture as the primary bearer of identity is a recurrent topic in several texts published in the newspaper. One early example is the following:

Extract 1: We are and we shall always be Hungarians, as the kiss of a Hungarian mother made us Hungarians and we have been raised in the Hungarian culture. The inscription on our headstones will be Hungarian, too... No one can ask for a different faith from us, as the son of a Romanian mother wants to die in dignity, too, faithful to his roots, language, culture.⁴ (11 January 1919)

4 Magyarok vagyunk és magyarok leszünk, mert magyar anya csókja avatott magyarrá bennünket és magyar kultúrában nevelődtünk. Magyar lesz a fejfánk verse is... Senki se követelhet más hitet tőlünk, mert a román anya fia is becsületesen akar meghalni, hűséggel ragaszkodva származásához, nyelvéhez, kultúrájához.

The extract above shows an unquestionable loyalty towards the Hungarian national identity, which is defined by several biological and cultural factors. The figure of the mother on its own is a substantive element in the construction of a national identity, as “women are typically construed as the symbolic bearers of the nation” (McClintock 1993: 62). As Yildiz stresses, there is a “manufactured proximity between ‘mother’ and ‘language’”, which illustrates how the modern notion of the mother tongue is represented as something that “emanates from the mother’s body” (Yildiz 2012: 12). The same ideological position is outlined in the following fragment as well:

Extract 2: I was given birth to be a Hungarian by my mother, my blessed father educated me to be a Hungarian, I have always felt and declared myself to be Hungarian, even in this instant, I want to and I will live on this blessed land, which is an integrant part of Romania.⁵ (a speech given by György Bernády, the future mayor of Târgu-Mureş/Marosvásárhely, 26 May 1921)

Both fragments bear witness to the need of the Hungarian community in Transylvania to formulate their identities as opposed to the national identities of other ethnic groups living in the same region and in the context of the new state. This leads to the conclusion that the crossing of geographical and political borders (regardless of agency) most definitely results in the outlining, naming, and embracing of categories of identity that had not been as crucial in the definition of self and of the group. It becomes obvious that such attempts to shape identity make use of aspects that could be understood as internal and external: the internal ones focus on innate, biological, cultural arguments that exist on their own (*I am Hungarian because I was born Hungarian, I was taught this language, and I was raised in this culture*), while the external ones define identity as opposed to another one (*I am Hungarian because I am not Romanian or any other nationality*).

The issue of the new state borders and everything it entails is also discussed in several texts published in the newspaper. The next extract is an early example:

Extract 3: New borders have been rounded up and outlined for us before the tribunal of the Paris panel of judges, and it is not the first time this newspaper publishes the repeated statement that we do not want to bring harm to the integrity of these borders by any means here. However, within the outlined and determined framework, the emergence of a new life

5 Magyarok szült édesanyám, magyarnak nevelt áldott emlékű jó atyám, magyarnak éreztem és vallottam magamat mindig, annak érzem és vallom magamat e pillanatban is, magyarként akarok és fogok itt ez áldott, ma Románia integráns részét képező földön tovább élni.

unfolds, the goodness or heaviness of which is not indifferent to anyone who has been assigned to this land by his or her own fate.⁶ (16 March 1921)

The fragment illustrates the conflicting attitudes towards the new geographical border: it is both something that is artificial and manufactured, thus dynamic and volatile, but also something that needs to be respected and fully accepted by the communities impacted by it, and – from this point of view – it is best understood as something decided by fate. In this approach the border is reiterated by the decision of the people to respect it and to continue their lives according to it, and this can also be interpreted as a form of re-claiming agency.

The fight for minority rights and minority language rights stems from similar approaches to the new border and the new state it defines: the in-group definition and shaping of minority identity is usually followed by the endeavour to have this identity accepted and recognized by the majority. And as the majority holds sovereignty, it is the one to decide upon the rights of minority groups, may those be political, linguistic, cultural, or educational. It is not the aim of this present paper to give a thorough analysis of the issue of minority rights in Romania between the two World Wars; nevertheless, it is important to stress how the right to use one's mother tongue in official settings as well as the right to education in the mother tongue became crucial in the negotiations of personal and group identities within the new Romanian state. Many texts included in the database invoke arguments from the realms of both emotions and reason. According to these, the emotional connection to the mother tongue is natural, and it is reasonable for people to use their mother tongues in every aspect of life. This is why the granting of minority language rights could lead to a harmonious society:

Extract 4: Here the use of language is not defined by territorial assignment but by individual or joint determination (...) However, today more than ever, the eternal laws of progress make it the most sacred individual right for everyone to use any language of the state-forming nations in all walks of life. And this is not only about justice or equity or expediency. But for the spiritual harmony of the peoples living within the same state community. Now the love of one's mother tongue is most natural and one of the most majestic human things.⁷ (3 July 1921)

6 Számunkra új országhatárokat kerekítettek ki és rajzoltak meg a világháborút befejező párizsi döntőbírótság ítélőszéke előtt s nem először jelenik meg ezeken a hasábocon az az ismételt kijelentés, hogy e határok épségét egy betűvel sem kívánjuk itt sérteni. A megrajzolt és elrendelt keretek között azonban új élet keletkezése bontakozik ki, amelynek jósága, vagy terheisége nem közömbös senkire, akit e földterületre rendelt a maga sorsa.

7 Itt nem a területi beosztás, de az egyéni, vagy testületi elhatározás szabja meg a nyelv használatát. (...) Ám a haladás örök természetű törvényei ma még inkább, mint ezelőtt, egyik legszentebb egyéni joggá teszik mindenkinek az államalkotó nemzetek bármelyik nyelvének az

Although the border is not explicitly mentioned in this fragment, the state defined by it is central in this reasoning as well as the need for the peoples living within the state to have the same rights. It is another example when the writer tries to build an argument by trying to find a connection with the other, in our case, the Romanian majority: the universal love of one's mother-tongue can function as a common denominator in negotiating minority language rights for the Hungarian community. This type of reasoning is important not only in order to address the majority but also to shape the ways the minority community conceptualizes and constructs its own identity invoking inalienable, universal rights.

Old spaces, new spaces: Memory landscapes or contesting the border?

Borders define and shape space: in the context of our analysis, the border crosses over spaces which are thus reinterpreted in terms of the power relations between the different cultures inhabiting that particular area. Linguistic landscape analysis provides a valuable tool in understanding the visibility of specific populations and communities based on the presence and distribution of languages in a particular linguistic landscape. According to Blommaert and Maly, public spaces are not only social arenas but also instruments of power, discipline, and regulation: they organize the social dynamics deployed in that space (Blommaert–Maly 2014: 3). This is closely connected to the above-discussed notion of memory landscapes or contested border regions, where elements of the linguistic landscape become places of ethnic memory.

The question of space and visible presence is discussed in several texts in our database, and this signals their importance not only from the point of view of the minority community, who wish to keep as much of their “old spaces” as possible, but also from the point of view of the new majority, who wants to take over these places and shape them according to their new functions and representations. This becomes possible as signs (in our case, place names, street names, street signs, advertisements, etc.) point towards the past, the future, to their intended audience but also to the present through their “emplacement” (Scollon–Scollon 2003, qtd by Blommaert–Maly 2014: 4). Thus, linguistic landscape and its regulation is much more than public administration policy: it defines, acknowledges, or ignores groups living in that particular space. This is the reason why the issues connected to linguistic landscapes were always of a

összes életviszonyokban használhatását. És pedig nemcsak a jog és nemcsak a méltányosság, vagy célszerűség szempontjából. De az egymással egy államközösségben élő népek lelki összhangja érdekében. Most az anyanyelv szeretete a legtermészetesebb s egyik legfenségesebb emberi dolog.

particular importance in multicultural and multilingual communities, especially around shifts in administrative power and state sovereignty.

Several texts published in the newspaper discuss the question of the regulation of street names, names of businesses, inscriptions, etc. The minority approach is always striving for visibility and trying to secure this right by law: the ministerial decree of 1920 regarding the bilingual use of street names in bilingual communities, however, was not taken into consideration by the local authorities, something that was discussed at length in the paper. Granting such rights was decided thus by local authorities, who frequently chose to disregard minority communities by the erasure of minority language elements from the linguistic landscape:

Extract 5: It has been disposed under serious fines that the merchants and businesses use signs and inscriptions in the future that are displayed mainly in the Romanian language.⁸ (4 December 1920)

Our following example describes the intolerant attitudes not only of some local authorities towards minority language inscriptions but also of citizens who do not agree with displaying such elements of the linguistic landscape and decide to tear them down:

Extract 6: The mood was especially negative in the Saxon towns in connection with the intolerant attitudes of the governing committee that allows only Romanian inscriptions. There are several purely Hungarian and Romanian towns in Transylvania and Banat, where only Romanian language inscriptions are tolerated, and it even happened that at night irresponsible elements tore down the business inscriptions they did not like.⁹ (19 January 1921)

The practice of destroying or vandalizing minority language inscriptions can be observed even today in frequent cases of painting over Hungarian place names, sometimes using the colours of the Romanian flag.¹⁰ This indicates the symbolic importance of the visible presence of minority communities and the historically embedded responses of “gaining back” territory and the inclination to interpret

8 Súlyos pénzbírság terhe alatt elrendelte, hogy a kereskedők és kereskedelmi vállalatok a jövőben csak oly cégtáblákat és címfeliratokat vehetnek alkalmazásba, amelyek elsősorban román nyelven vannak kiállítva.

9 Különösen a szász városokban volt éles a hangulat a kormányzótanács akkori türelmetlen politikája miatt, mely nem akart csak román felírásokat megtűrni. Ma is igen sok szinte tiszta magyar vagy német város van Erdélyben és Bánátban, ahol csak román nyelvű feliratokat tűrtek meg, sőt megtörtént, hogy a rendelet végrehajtóiul felelőtlen elemek szegődtek, akik egyszerűen éjjel letépték a nem tetsző cégtáblákat.

10 See, for example: <https://kronika.ro/erdelyi-hirek/trikolor-a-magyar-helysegnevtablakon>.

these to achieve and enforce minority rights as an attack against the majority community and the state itself.

Another fragment describes the situation in Târgu-Mureş/Marosvásárhely at the beginning of the 1920s:

Extract 7: It has been reported from Târgu-Mureş that the new police superintendent has started his activity by decrees on language use. The coachmen are supposed to know only Romanian street names, they are not supposed to go and to lift the whip ('drive') to old Hungarian street names. This is how he wants to whip out the memory of Hungarian street names.¹¹ (11 May 1922)

Extract 7 illustrates the way such cases were understood by the writers of the newspaper as well as the interpretations that were provided for the readership: space is never neutral, space is owned, and this ownership is visible. This fragment also represents a case of explicit erasure: the very existence of previous Hungarian names is being actively denied by the authorities; not only street names but the history and memory of the place itself is being overwritten.

From the point of view of critical discourse analysis, the texts published in the *Keleti Újság* newspaper before 1940 can be classified as belonging to what Fairclough calls "dominated (marginalized, 'alternative') practices" in the sense that the practices and representations are not those of the dominant group within the social network (Fairclough 1995: 12). This changes with another border crossing: society and subsequently power relations were rearranged as the result of the Second Vienna Award, where the frontiers between the two countries were moved again, and Northern Transylvania became part of Hungary once more. Discourses are reordered, and dominating practices can now be identified within the newspaper. We call these "echoes of re-crossing" that are conceptualized as a "return" to the natural order. What used to be the willingness of the minority in the dominated practice is now the expectation of the majority in the dominant one in terms of state sovereignty:

Extract 8: We are unbrokenly loyal to our kind, and our hard, veritable Hungarianness is complemented by an understanding nationality policy. However, it is an indispensable condition for the sons of the Hungarian motherland who speak different languages to understand and express

11 A rendelet szerint a bérkocsisoknak csak román utcanévet szabad tudniuk, a régi magyar utcanévekre nem szabad hajtaniuk és ostort emelniük. Ilyen finoman akarja kiostorozni a magyar utcanévek emlékét.

their attachment and loyalty to the state [i.e. the new Hungarian state].¹² (3 August 1943)

The extract continues with an illustration of the shift in discourse from dominated to dominant:

Extract 9: If we had suppressed the foreigners who moved here in the past one thousand years as they say we did, there would be no nationalities living here today.¹³ (3 August 1943)

History did not stop with this second border crossing: on 12 September 1944, the borders shifted again, and the ones defined in the Treaty of Trianon were reaffirmed in 1947. The last issue of the *Keleti Újság* was printed on 6 October 1944, less than a month after the establishment of the new political order, and most of the last issues were destroyed in the war.

Conclusions

Our analysis shows that the concept of the border and of border crossing in the case of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania between the two World Wars is a particular instance of border crossing: there is no will, no agency, and ultimately there are no clearly established strategies to manage it. The border was crossed by Transylvania as a whole, or, more precisely, Transylvania was crossed by the border.

The negotiations and renegotiations of identity in terms of minority language use, language rights, minority language education but also the issue of the visibility of the former majority is crucial in understanding the media representations of this new minority trying to find its place in a state which is not always benevolent towards the nationalities “stuck” within its borders. In our understanding, the repercussions of the volatility of the European borders still affect the Hungarian community in Transylvania today, meaning that one hundred years after the first border crossing there are still no clear strategies to experience and negotiate borders and crossing them in Root’s terms.

12 A magunk fajtájához való töretlen hűség, a kemény, gerinces magyarságunk mellett megértő nemzetiségi politikát folytatunk. Ennek elengedhetetlen feltétele azonban, hogy a magyar haza más ajkú fiai megértést tanúsítsanak és kifejezzék az államhoz való ragaszkodásukat és hűségüket.

13 Ha mi elnyomtuk volna az ezer éven át ide beköltözött idegeneket, mint ahogyan ezt ránk fogják, akkor ma még hírmondója sem lenne a nemzetiségeknek.

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