

Ottoman and Habsburg Legacies in the Balkans

Language and Religion
to the North and to the South of the Danube River

Edited by

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Those were all Serbian villages by the Danube:
The Concept of Space in Collective Narratives of the Serbs in
Hungary¹

Marija Ilić

1. A Brief Historical and Demographic Overview

One of the oldest written records of Serb migration to Hungary dates back to 1440 and refers to refugees who fled the Banat town of Kovin devastated by the Ottoman Turks, founding a new settlement of the same name on the Danube Island of Csepel (hun. *Ráckeve*, ser. *Srpski Kovin*; Ćirković 1982: 320). Although migration persisted from the Ottoman to the Hungarian territories – later Habsburg and Austro-Hungarian – two great waves have been particularly noted by historians. The First Serbian Migration led by the Orthodox Patriarch Arsenije III Čarojević in 1690, also known as “The Great Migration” (ser. *Velika seoba*), is thought to have been undertaken by about 30,000 Serbs, perhaps more. The Second Serbian Migration occurred in 1737, again led by an Orthodox Patriarch, Arsenije IV Jovanović, (Ćorović 1989; Popović 1954; Veselinović 1993). Ever since, the number of people declaring themselves as ethnic Serbs in population censuses, or declaring Serbian to be their mother tongue, has varied, as has the territory of Hungary throughout its history.

Glancing at the census figures for the area of present-day Hungary, it is evident that the number of Serbian native language speakers decreased considerably throughout the 20th century. Since 1980, the numbers of those whose native language is Serbian and those whose nationality is Serbian have been approximately the same, the sign of a small, tightly-knit community.

Table 1: Number and percentage of Serbs in present-day Hungary, 1900–2001²

Year	Population	Number		Percentage		Change	
		Language	National.	Language	National.	Language	National.
1900	6,854,415	24,254		0.35			
1910	7,612,114	26,248		0.34		108.22	
1920	7,986,875	17,132		0.21		65.27	
1930	8,685,109	7,031		0.08		41.04	

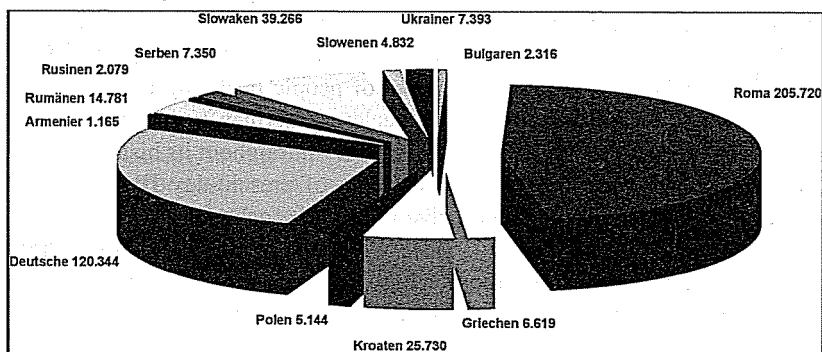
¹ This paper is part of the project “Ethnic and Social Stratification of the Balkans” (№ 148011), carried out at the Institute for Balkan Studies SASA in Belgrade, financed by the Ministry of Science of the Republik of Serbia.

² Figures from Table 1 can be found in Vékás 2005 and in *Population Census 2001*. I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. János Vékás of the Research Institute of Ethnic and National Minorities (HAS), who generously shared his time and expertise with me.

1941	9,316,074	5,442	3,629	0.06	0.04	77.40	
1949	9,204,799	5,158	4,190	0.06	0.05	94.78	115.46
1960	9,961,044	4,583	3,888	0.05	0.04	88.85	92.79
1970	10,322,099	7,989		0.08		174.32	
1980	10,709,463	3,426	2,805	0.03	0.03	42.88	72.15
1990	10,374,823	2,953	2,905	0.03	0.03	86.19	103.57
2001	10,198,315	3,388	3,816	0.03	0.04	114.73	131.36

Again, the number declaring affiliation to the Serbian minority in at least one of the four Census 2001 questions on identity, nationality, native language, cultural affiliation and the language spoken with family and friends was 7,350, less than 2% of the entire Hungarian population signalling a minority affiliation.³

Table 2: Number of people who declared an affiliation to one of the 13 minorities specified in the *Hungarian Minority Act LXXVII of 1993* in at least one of the four questions regarding identity in the Population Census 2001⁴



Considering their low number, the Hungarian Serbs live on a relatively large area, scattered throughout the country. Small Serb communities are spread in the southern part of the country, in the counties of Baranya and Tolna, then in Bácska (Bács-Kiskun County), Bánát, along the Mures river (Csongrád and Békés counties). They also live along the Danube river, from south to north of Budapest (Fejér and Pest counties). Nevertheless, there are many places

³ The 2001 Census allowed respondents to express their ethnic or national affiliation by answering four questions on aspects of ethnic identity. To each of these four questions three responses could be given, but there was no obligation to reply to them, or to the question on religious affiliation (Vékás 2005).

⁴ For Table 2 see Tóth, Vékás 2005; For *Hungarian Minority Act LXXVII of 1993* see <http://www.helsinki.hu/docs/Act%20LXXVII%20of%201993.pdf>.

where just a few Serbian families remained. Although scattered, the Serbian communities in Hungary exercise a kind of socio-cultural and kin network, and so form a functioning, interrelated, broader community which maintains internal cohesion. To a certain extent, Hungary also has a South Slav social, cultural and kin network.

This article focuses on the small Serbian community in the Hungarian village of Szigetcsép, and on oral narratives of the Szigetcsép Serbs about the origins of the community and the localities occupied by the village. Firstly, I shall focus on the community collective memory that facilitates the origin narrative construction. Through case studies, I shall attempt to outline the speech contexts employing narratives of origin, and then to analyse their content and structure. Furthermore I argue that origin narratives, which happen to be location based ones, are usually associated with narratives of the village area, which was divided on ethno-confessional line. Finally, I propose that both narratives derive from the same concept of space and repertoire of collective memory, and both serve as identity markers and group binders among the local Serbs.

2. The Serbs of Szigetcsép

The multicultural and multilingual village of Szigetcsép, where the research took place, is situated on the Danube island of Csepel in Pest County, some thirty kilometres south of Budapest. The village is inhabited by Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, several Roma families, with an admixture of families of Orthodox Bulgarian origin, who have for the most part been assimilated into the Serb population (Sikimić 2003; 2007; Ilić 2008).

Until World War II, the Germans and the Serbs were the two major ethnic groups in Szigetcsép, which then had only a few Hungarian families. According to the Potsdam Treaty of 1945, almost half the German population was driven out of Hungary (Apor 2004: 36). Official statistics for Szigetcsép show that about 500 local Germans were expelled in May 1946 and transported to Bavaria and Eastern Germany. This was almost two-thirds of the Szigetcsép German population. After the expulsion, more than 500 Hungarians are reported to have settled in Szigetcsép, arriving from Mezőkövesd (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County), Körösladány (Békés County), and Slovakia. (<http://w3.datanet.hu/~szigcsep/szcsep/cseptori/falutort.html>; Apor 2004: 34-35; Cajani 2004: 82-83). In the Serb discourse it is regularly recalled that the Germans once lived together with the Serbs, the Germans being described as the larger and more prominent group (Ilić 2008a).

At the time of our fieldwork in Szigetcsép in 2001 and in 2008, there were fewer than 100 Serbs; furthermore, it was an aging and declining population.

Living for centuries in the Diaspora, and surrounded by other communities such as German, Hungarian, and Croatian, they are considered to form a small enclave with its own enclave language.

Table 3: Serbian minority in the settlement of Szigetcsép according to the Hungarian Population Censuses 1980–2001⁵

Year	Population	Number		Percentage	
		Language	National.	Language	National.
1980	2,638	149	114	6.29	4.81
1990	2,184	127	103	5.82	4.72
2001	2,317	83	87	3.58	3.75

In the social network of Hungarian Serbs and other South Slavs, the community of Szigetcsép is closely connected to the neighbouring Serbian community of Lórév (ser. Lovra), Croatian community of Tököl (cro. and ser. Tukulja), and then to the other Serbian communities throughout Hungary, e.g. Pomáz (ser. Pomaz), Budakalász (ser. Kalaz), Százhalombatta (ser. Bata), Battonya (ser. Batanja), Medina, etc., with whom cultural, marital and social relations are traditionally maintained.

With regard to language practice, key identity issues, and lifestyle, the Serbian community of Szigetcsép is divided generationally, as has been the case with other Serbian communities in Hungary (Prelić 2004). The generations born before World War II were those of asymmetric bilingualism or multilingualism with a predominance of Serbian and some knowledge of German, rarely Hungarian (Sikimić 2003). However, the generations born after World War II have moved asymmetrically into bilingualism with a clear predominance of Hungarian, which within the youngest generations, born after the 1980s, shows a strong tendency towards Hungarian monolingualism. It is therefore an emblematic example of a community undergoing language shift, closely interconnected with occupational change and mobility in a rural setting, urbanisation, and high number of interethnic marriages (Ilić 2008b).

3. Fieldwork Method

During fieldwork by a research team from the Institute for Balkan Studies (including the author), more than 15 informants were interviewed. These were mainly over sixty years of age, male and female, and produced about 50 hours

⁵ The census figures in Table 3 were obtained from the Research Institute of Ethnic and National Minorities (HAS), Budapest and Mr. János Vékás; for data from 2001 see also Az 1990. évi népszámlálás; Population Census 2001.

of audio material.⁶ The interviews were semi-structured, the ethno-linguistic questionnaire being used as a guideline (Plotnikova 1996).⁷ The comments and free discourse of interlocutors were also recorded which brought us close to Anglo-Saxon qualitative research methods (Wiesenfeld 2000; Witz 2006; Sorescu-Marinković 2006). The questions were concerned with the linguistic, societal and cultural specificities of local community (e.g. Do you find your language different from the other Serbian villages in Hungary? What did an old Serbian wedding look like? etc.) Consequently, discourse of both interviewers and informants was coded within an ethnocentric matrix. The interviews occasionally elicited identity discourse which, as argued by Mladenova (2004: 107), provided answers to questions like the following: Who are we...? What are we known for? What makes me proud to be...?

Finally, I used the "broad transcription" which affirms the text-centred approach and its interest in the relations between language and an ideological set of beliefs (Dressler, Kreuz 2000; Lapadat 2000; Lapadat, Lindsey 1999). It actually means that paralingual cues of the speech act were for the most part omitted, albeit some were indicated, e.g. laughter, coughing, and any exceptional tone or strength of voice, if it varied significantly.

4. Analytical Tools

The communicative genre to be analysed I will mark as *dialogical narrative* and it consists of utterances by the various speaking subjects (Bakhtin 1979; 1981; Rogers, Marshall, Tyson 2006). Again, if narratives or narrative assertions are transmitted orally and passed on by the majority of a community, I will label them *collective narratives*. The understanding of collective narratives is dependent upon the concept of *collective memory*, developed and elaborated by sociologists, historians and cultural theoreticians (Halbwachs 1985 [1939]; Assmann 1992). The oral collective narratives of whatever community constitute the micro-social level of knowledge utilisation, and they are interrelated with what are known as *big narratives* or *narratives of the nation*, the terms used in ethnic and historical scholarship (Galasińska, Galasiński 2003; Nora

⁶ The fieldwork by Dr. Biljana Sikimić, Marija Ilić of the Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and the Arts (SASA), and Marija Vučković of the Institute of Serbian Language, SASA, took place from 18-21 September 2001, and by Marija Ilić from February to March 2008.

⁷ The Ethnolinguistic Russian methodological approach is based on the collection of local vernaculars, dialect lexicon, and narratives of the traditional way of life (such as traditional rituals, folklore texts, beliefs, etc.) (Tol'stoj 1989; Tol'staja 2002; Bartmiński 1992).

1989).⁸ Looked at formally, collective narratives consist of variable and invariant components of higher-order narrative structures, where the main grammatical features are usually generic, typifying references and sentences, as well as impersonal constructions.⁹

4. Origin Narratives: Three Settlements Story

All the informants were either asked to or spontaneously recounted a similar narrative of origin, indexing three historical, successive settlements of the Szigetcsép Serbs in Hungary, the third being the present-day one. Conversely, there was an almost total lack of memory of the ancestral region or place of origin, or the time of migration. They were quite confused or uncertain regarding the Great Migration, or offered different answers. When they occasionally mentioned dates for the migration or historical figures, it was obviously reinforced by formal, standardised history education in school, by Church discourse, or by the historical books that some of them have read.¹⁰ Yet again, memories of the way their ancestors were believed to have arrived (e.g. by boat along the Danube), and memories of the Serbian settlements as being scattered all along the Danube were regularly recollected. They are thus to be considered part of oral tradition and memory.

(Tape CS31; S.S., male, 1924-2006; S.N., male, 1930; born and married in Szigetcsép (both); education: elementary school (both); the interview took place in the Serbian cultural centre in Szigetcsép in 2001; B.S., female interviewer from Serbia)

B.S.: Were there any stories about, well, in the village, how did your elders come here? Any family stories? **S.N.:** We know that they travelled on boats to Yugoslavia in 1924 [an exchange of populations between countries called

⁸ Galasińska and Galasiński (2003: 854) found that preservation of the coherence of the narrative of the nation is part of the informants' discourse of identity.

⁹ Generic sentences and other generics refer to an entire class of entities (Mladenova 2003: 17); that is to say, they make statements about prototypic members of a category (Echartd 2000: 237).

¹⁰ Orthodox Patriarch Arsenije III Čarnojević, the leading political figure and the symbol of the Great Migration, as well as the Serbian Patriarchate were located in Kosovo town of Peć. It is therefore usually taken for granted that the majority of refugees came from Kosovo. However, the Serbian historiography proved that many refugees originated in other places and regions as well, e.g. Belgrade, Kruševac, Požarevac, Montenegro, etc. (Ćorović 1989: 209). Furthermore, dialect features in the language spoken by Szigetcsép Serbs show that it is predominantly Štokavian Ekavian dialect with some elements of Ijekavian. Thus, according to Stepanović (2000: 54) it belongs to the Šumadija-Vojvodina dialect type.

„opting“].¹¹ S.S.: Many of them. And they also arrived here by boat [in migrations during the Ottoman period]. The Serbian villages are all by the Great Danube. S.N.: On this and on the other side. S.N.: Szigetcsép, Lorív, Ráckeve. S.N.: Százhalombatta.

B.S.: Je se pričalo ovaj, kod vas u selu kako su vaši stari došli? Neke priče u porodici? S.N.: To znamo da su dvaest četvrtne godine išli u Jugoslaviju s lađama [međudržavna razmena populacije „optiranje“]. S.S.: Mnogo nji. A s lađama su i došli [u migracijama tokom otomanskog perioda]. Srpska sela su sva kraj Velikog Dunava. S.N.: S ove strane i s one strane. S.S.: Čip, Lovra, Kovin. S.N.: Bata.

In fact, the narrative of the origins would usually begin either from the moment the Serbian settlers arrived by boat in Hungary or, more commonly, from the moment the first settlement of Szigetcsép was established. Hence, the narrative of the origin of the Szigetcsép Serbs should be considered the story of three settlements. However, none of the informants could recall any historical date or period of time associated with the establishment of the first two settlements. It is, however, possible to date the total abandonment of the second settlement to the 18th century, since the construction of the present Serbian church in Szigetcsép began at the end of the 18th ct. Thus, the memories of the first two settlements refer to the distant past and are mainly legendary oral memory, or in the words of Jan Assmann (1992), cultural memory.¹² Still, oral memories of the second settlement included autobiographical, i.e. communicative (Assmann 1992) recollections by informants, since many of them went to worship at this abandoned settlement until World War II. In the place where the Serbian church once stood, a cross was erected; eventually, it was knocked down in the fighting of World War II. Until that time, the cross was regularly visited on the church's feast day of St. Nicholas on 22 May by elderly women (and possibly children), and candles were lighted. The procession ritual and the cross itself should be considered forms of commemorative practice and cultural memory.

¹¹ According to the Treaty of Trianon in 1920, members of the Serb minority in Hungary gained the right to opt for citizenship of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. About two-thirds of the Serbs (called *optants*) are believed to have left Hungary in the following decade (Malović 2001; Prelić 1995: 46).

¹² Jan Assmann (1992: 22) viewed cultural memory as a concept for saving the knowledge that lasts over generations; hence it includes rituals, ritual objects and sites, monuments, cemeteries, folklore, legendary history, etc. Conversely, communicative memory is based on everyday communication and autobiographical experience; it is thus marked by non-specialisation, reciprocity of roles, thematic instability, disorganisation and formlessness.

For the purposes of analysis I will focus on three dialogical narratives, i.e. three variants of the origin narrative, labelled I, II, III, told by three different informants, and attached in their extended versions to the end of the article.

4.1. Interaction and Contextualisation

The choice of narrative sequences to be analysed is arbitrary since the narratives were extracted from the flow of conversation during the interviews. It thus included problems of delineating a beginning and an end to the narratives. For the purposes of analysis, the origin narratives were considered focal stories and what preceded and followed them were regarded as invoking and ending sequences. In order to designate the participants' communicative roles, I use what seem at first glance to be two dissimilar terms: "interviewer" and "informant", by which I want to highlight the role played by the informant's knowledge in the process of creating meaning (Ilić 2005). In this paragraph I attempt to outline the context created through the interviewer/informant interaction (Sbisà 2002), i.e., which contextual elements were invoked by the discourse as constructed by the participants (Van den Berg 2005).

In Narrative I, the informant S.N. was asked a straightforward question about the time period of the migration and the region of origin (1.1. **M.V.:** Biljana asked you, er, if there was a family legend about when you came, and perhaps, if it is still remembered, where you came from, from which parts your family?). The answer was negative in relation to the region of origin, and vague in relation to the time of migration; S.N. mentioned just one historical figure – Čarnojević. (1.1. **S.N.:** That I don't know, which parts (coughs) we came from. And ever since Čarnojević, what year was it, fifteen hundred, fifteen hundred, five hundred, I don't know exactly. **M.V.:** I think it was sixteen hundred and something. **S.N.:** Sixteen hundred, something like that. Then our elders came here.) Looking back at the interaction, it becomes evident that the interviewer's questions were posed as a way of stimulating conversation (Goffmanova 2000; Sikimić 2004); at the same time they exhibit signs of the abstract thinking and scientific knowledge typical of written culture. However, S.N. associated the question on origin with the three settlements story passed down to him through oral tradition; the story itself was short and coherent (1.2). Further, it generated S.N.'s discourse on ethnically mixed marriages, us-and-them ethnic relationships, etc. (1.4).

In dialogical narrative II the conversation on the Danube and the local names (hydronyms) ascribed to it obviously prompted the interviewer to ask about the settlements by the Danube (2.1). The straightforward question prompted Ž.A. to set in motion the narrative of origin (2.2. **B.S.:** I was told that

once there was, er, that this is in fact the third place where the village stands now?) Once Ž.A. started the origin story, he constructed a coherent and cohesive narrative (2.3). It was then followed by Ž.A.'s story on the migration of the Hungarian Serbs back to Yugoslavia in 1924, during the exchange of populations (opting) between countries.

Lastly, the origin story in example III was triggered by the informants' (R.B. and M.O.) autobiographical reminiscences of the procession on the feast day of Saint Mark (8 May) to consecrate the wheat-fields (3.2). The informant M.O. mentioned that on that occasion they visited "the cross within the ruins" which led the interviewer to inquire about a visit to the previous settlement of Szigetcsép (3.3. M.I.: And on Saint Mark's Day did you go there where Szigetcsép once was, you know, there where it once was and then resettled?). Although the question did not directly tackle the issue of origin, it was sufficiently persuasive and stimulating to generate immediate story-telling (Goffmanova 2000; Witzel 2000). Again, the three settlements story appeared to be well-constructed and coherent (3.4). It was after that followed by informants' discourse on the former ethno-confessional spatial organisation of the village, and "us/them" ethnic relationships (3.7).

To sum up, although the interviewer/informant interaction had a considerable effect on the direction of the interview, it was of no significant influence on the structure of the narrative of origin. The origin narratives thus appeared to have a stable and coherent structure and to be almost self-contained. References to the historical time of migration and region of origin were either induced by the interviewer (I), or not mentioned at all (II, III). The contextualisation of the origin story reveals that it is positioned at the core of the collective identity discourse, since it was regularly associated with essential identity issues, such as "us/them" relationships over time and space.

4.2. Content and Structure

The basic origin story in all three narratives was rendered in a short and coherent manner, and referred to three successive settlements founded and abandoned by Szigetcsép Serbs (1.2; 2.3; 3.4), as illustrated by the following example: 1.2. But, then, the first village was (coughs) by the Great Danube. That's where they settled first, but the water flooded there, the Great Danube flooded. So they moved here, to the Little Danube. Well, the water flooded here too. Then they moved here, to this place. Further, all narratives unfold in a simple structure, organised as an enumerating list (the first village was ... [so] they moved ... then they moved). As the narratives show (I, II, III), references to each settlement consist of a double spatial designation: the first being

nominal and the second relational, demonstrative (by the Great Danube ... there; to the Little Danube ... here; this place ... here). Moreover, the reasons for abandoning the villages were regularly designated: in the narratives I and III "a flood" was marked out, whereas in the narrative II it was "a flood" (2.3. And a flood came there, and they were washed out – the first settlement) and "a fire" (2.3. And here too there was a fire, it destroyed the village – the second settlement). Conditionally speaking, it might be said that the oral mnemonic syntax of the origin narratives consists of two adverbial designations which were obligatory: one spatial and one supplying the cause. The only time marker was relational and connective – then. At last, by referring to the third, present settlement, the origin narratives would usually end (3.4. Then they built it here). The pronoun reference "they", as the subject of all sentences, denotes "the Szigetcsép Serbs", "our ancestors" wherein, although generic and specific meanings overlap, the generic sense prevails. The structure as outlined can therefore be viewed as a formulaic, invariant pattern of the origin narrative that constitutes higher-order narrative structures.

Yet, there were variable components within each origin narrative. Narrative II, for example, differed from the others as informant Ž.A. initially gave a short overview of wide-ranging Serbian migration to Hungary (2.3. Because when our ancestors moved here, they were, well, in that time when they came with Arsenije Čarnojević, the Danube brought them, the river Danube, which is, you can see even now, from, from the border all the way up to here, those were all Serbian villages by the Danube: Mohács, Rácalmás, Dunapentele, Dunaföldvár, the Serbs were there too, and here further on). The partial memory of the Great Migration, as has been pointed out, belongs to oral tradition; it is noteworthy that temporal reference to the time of migration was, as expected, absent. In fact, throughout all three narratives, time designation and time location tended to be absent. Exceptionally, informant R.B. in narrative III referred to the time the first settlement was abandoned, but disclaimed and distanced herself from that remembrance by pointing to the written record (3.4. We mention the year. It's written in the book which year [it was]). Obviously, memory of the time of migration was not embedded in oral memory discourse but rather originated in official (perhaps Church) discourse and commemorative practices.

Narratives II and III furthermore included other variable components, such as the name for the second settlement (toponym) (3.4. Even today we would say Old Village [Serb. Staro Selo]), legendary memory of the churches built in the second settlement (3.4. There were churches, a Serbian and Hungarian one, beside one another), autobiographical accounts of going to worship at the second settlement (2.3. There until World War II, our old women used to go out there, because there used to be a cross. It marked that there was a church there

once which was dedicated to Saint Nicholas in the summer, whose feast day is on 22 May), autobiographical memory of the demolition of the wooden cross (2.3. That's, then they, when the Russians came, after World War II, it was destroyed there then), autobiographical memories of the house-building that took place in the area of the former village during the Communist era (3.5. So I remember, when we in the Village, we have a house in the Village too. When they were building there in the Village [weekend and country cottages], I can't be sure when, in the 80s, when was it, by the end of 70s, the house was built there).

Finally, Narrative III displayed a set of meta-pragmatic comments as the informant R.B. constantly pointed to the particular sources her storytelling was based upon. These meta-pragmatic references indicated that the narrative of the origins had been handed down through oral tradition by preceding generations (3.4. There, they used to say that, that's where the people of Szigetcsép moved), or that it was based upon autobiographical memory (3.4. Even today we would say Old Village ... 3.5. So I remember... they were building there in the Village), or that it originated in institutional (official) discourse (3.4. It's written in the book which year [it was]).

To recapitulate: the origin narratives were contextualised at the core of the collective identity discourse. They have stable and coherent triadic structure, comprised of an invariant pattern alongside variable components: in its invariant part three settlements are enlisted. The syntactical-semantic structure unfolds that each settlement reference consists of two obligatory adverbial designations (spatial and causal), whereas the time indicators are absent or relational. If one considers the interconnectedness of time and space, which Bakhtin (1981: 250) calls *chronotopos*, it can be seen that the (historical) localities function as the primary means for materializing time in space, being organizing centers for the fundamental narrative events. On the whole, here space takes precedence over time, which results in a catalogue of diachronically successive *chronotopos* or, in terms of memory studies, topographic *mnemotopos* (place of memory, Assmann 1992). Indeed, the *mnemotopos* provide for the local Serbs a sense of community belonging and continuity across time and space. However, importance of the *mnemotopos* catalogue cannot be understood without the traditional space model based upon binary "our/their (space)" opposition. Not surprisingly, the Serbian memory of the origin was associated with the memory of the village area based upon a confessional principle.

5. Narrative of the Village Area: the Ethno-Confessional Principle

With regard to the concept of space, there were two main collective narratives of the elder Serbs – on the origin and on the area occupied by the village. Szigetcsép was until World War II effectively divided into two parts – the Swabian and the Serbian, Catholic and Orthodox respectively. The two ethno-confessional communities had two churches, two separate graveyards, and the houses were accordingly grouped in two different parts of the village. A few Hungarian families reported to have been living in Szigetcsép before World War II were also located in the Swabian part, sharing the same church and graveyard with the Swabian Catholics. In the center of the Serbian part stands the Orthodox Church surrounded by the graveyard, the boundary point between two parts marked by the Serbian wooden cross standing in the alley that formed the border. The Serbs interviewed claimed that prior to World War II they spent most of their time in the Serbian part, and also report on two taverns they frequented there. Besides the annual visit to the Swabian part on the feast day of the Catholic church, they occasionally paid private visits. This spatial model should be regarded as confessionally based, especially if one calls to mind the integrated Catholic area in the neighbouring multiethnic village of Tököl.¹³ Nevertheless, the spatial division for the local Serbs had had ethno-confessional connotations, as they differed from Hungarians and Swabians in ethnicity, language, and religion.

Until World War II the division of the village was for the most part effective, and so the Serbian wooden cross served as a ritual and border site at the same time. All Serbian traditional customs, especially those based on ritual processions, were situated by or circled around the cross that marked the border. Following World War II, when huge social changes occurred throughout the country as well as in local living patterns, the ethno-confessional border line was disrupted or even lost. Many Hungarian newcomers came to dwell in the Serbian part and the Serbian cross lost its significance as a border site. This change in living style came alongside many others such as a significant increase in inter-ethnic marriages, changes in native language use etc.

¹³ In the village of Tököl three ethnolinguistic communities – the Racz, the Swabian, and the Hungarian – all of them Roman Catholics – live together, sharing the same church, the same graveyard, while their houses are not strictly grouped by ethnic principle. However, within the church these different ethnolinguistic groups celebrate Mass in their own languages and at different time. "Racz" (Cro. and Ser. *Raci*) is the ethnonym used by people of this ethnic group to refer to themselves; they speak Štokavian-Ikavian dialect (which they call *Racki*), and have variable ethnic identifications; nowadays, they mostly declare themselves as Croats (Szilágyi 2006; Population Census 2001).

However, the confessional spatial pattern was regularly recounted in the discourse of older Serbs and figured as a metaphor for previous ethnic relations. It was commonly rendered within two semantic-discursive patterns “then/now” and “us/them”, where these two often intertwined. In other words, reminiscence of a ritual that went by the Serbian cross that marked the border or discourse on us/them ethnic relations would spontaneously trigger discourse on area in the village, and vice versa. The linkage “the cross on the border – us/them relations – village area” in any kind of discursive order or mix should be regarded as a collective feature of the Serbian identity discourse. Also the assertions “Before World War II the Serbs were from the cross up, and down there, there were the Swabians /and/ Catholics” should be considered a collective narrative based upon collective memory. This narrative itself undoubtedly conveys generic meaning since it is based upon generic and typifying (ethnic, confessional) references (“the Swabians”, “the Germans”, “the Catholics”, “the Serbs”).

The following example illustrates the discursive linkage we have discussed: them, then (“About three-quarters were Swabians, and only a couple of houses were Hungarian”) – division of the village area (“Here, the Serbs from the cross, there were all the Serbs”) – us/them, now (“Now everything is mixed up”). The assertion: “Here, the Serbs from the cross, these were all Serbs” (given in bold below) is certainly a fragmented collective narrative on the area of the village space.

(Tape CS31; S.S., male, 1924-2006; S.N., male, 1930; born and married in Szigetcsép (both); education: elementary school (both); the interview took place in the Serbian cultural centre in Szigetcsép in 2001; B.S., female interviewer from Serbia)

S.N.: My mother didn't speak Hungarian well. S.S.: Here, about three-quarters were Swabians, and only a couple of houses were Hungarian, couple of houses. **Here, the Serbs from the cross, these were all Serbs.** Now everything is mixed up. They even marry Hungarian women. B.S.: What language did your mothers speak? S.N.: Serbian. Only Serbian. S.S.: Well, there was no Hungarian. My wife was from Budakalasz. There were Serbs there too. And there were Swabians and the Slovaks [Tot] there too. B.S.: Your mother didn't know German or Hungarian? S.S.: No, Serbian and Hungarian.

S.N.: Moja mama nije znala zdravo mađarski govoriti. S.S.: Tu je valda tri firtale bilo Švaba, a par kuća bilo Mađžara, par kuća. Ovde Srbi od krsta, ovamo to su sve Srbi bili. Sad je pomešano. I Mađžarice žene. B.S.: Kako su vaše majke govorile? S.N.: Srpski. Samo srpski. S.S.: Pa nije bilo mađarski. Moja žena bila iz Budakalaza. I tamo bili Srbi. I tamo bili Švaba i Totova. B.S.: Vaša majka nije znala nemački ili mađarski? S.S.: Ne, srpski i mađarski.

Origin narratives II and III also include the collective narrative on the village area, albeit in the form of a prototext. They thus appear as a metatext involved in the dialogue with the latent collective narrative. Subsequent to the origin story in narrative II, the interviewer enquired if the “border” of the Serbian part was set by the upper cross. The informant Ž.A. accepted the suggested term “border” (Ser. *granica*), and added in a humorous tone that the bordering alley was named “portarthur” with laughter that followed (2.4). The appellation used by Ž.A. originated from the name of the historic site of Port Arthur, fought over by many empires;¹⁴ it was obviously passed on to the informant through oral tradition (“that’s what people used to call it”) and conveyed the memory of ethno-confessional rivalry.

2.4. B.S.: In that direction, as far as I got it, is the border. The border of the Serbian village part is there by the upper cross? **Ž.A.:** It is, it is. There was the border. And “portarthur” was there behind. It separated one village from another, an alley it was. We called it “portarthur”. **B.S.:** Hmm. And what’s that? **Ž.A.:** Well it’s behind. It is, that’s what people used to call it, now what it meant and what it didn’t (laughter). But it was “portarthur”, it was, that’s what people used to call it. **B.S.:** The village was separated by it. **Ž.A.:** The village was separated from the Hungarians and the Swabians.

In narrative III, the informant R.B. asserted “We circled the village” when describing the procession on the feast day of Saint Mark. The communicative misunderstanding however occurred when the interviewer tried to understand which village territory was circled by the circuit procession. The narrative sequence 3.6. reveals the ambiguous meaning the word “village” holds for the elder Serbs: it can denote either the Serbian part of the village or the village as a whole. In this light, M.O.’s response, which at first glance seems inappropriate, becomes understandable: “**M.O.:** Then there was wheat sown there. We came as far as the wheatfields. **M.I.:** So that’s the border of the village, in fact, isn’t it? **M.O.:** They didn’t send us back, the Swabians, not like we weren’t free to go there. We went.” It is apparent that the phrase “border of the village” called “the Swabians” into the minds of the informants; the dialogue was instantly followed by R.B.’s discourse on then existing ethnic endogamy. In contrast to the previously discussed narrative II, the suggested term “border” was somehow rejected by the informant – “Not like we weren’t free to go there. We went.” It seems that in this case the words “border” and “village” carried double, ambiguous meaning for the local Serbs and thus were confusing: they denoted a clear-cut division, which was not the case in the village. The percep-

¹⁴ Lüshun Port, historically referred to both as Port Arthur and Ryojun, is China’s northernmost ice-free seaport, in the district of Dalian. During the Boxer Rebellion (1899-1901), Austria sent its navy to the North China coast in April 1900.

tion of the Catholic area remained therefore “alien”, “theirs”, but nonetheless a “friendly” space.

3.6. **M.I.:** And when you said that on Saint Mark’s Day people went to the Swabian part, where were you going in the Swabian part? **R.B.:** Well, we went, to the [edge], to the alley [serb. *sokak*], that’s how we used to go. **M.O.:** Until we reached the alley. **R.B.:** Before the alley. **M.O.:** When we reached the alley, we went back then. **R.B.:** And then back again, we circled the village. And there was an alley, and then through another alley, then we went home. That’s it. **M.I.:** So, you went around it, in fact? **R.B.:** Well, yes. **M.O.:** Then there was wheat sown there. We came as far as the wheatfields. **M.I.:** So that’s the border of the village, in fact, isn’t it? **M.O.:** They didn’t send us back, the Swabians, not like we weren’t free to go there. We went. **R.B.:** Listen, listen, at that time, until World War II, until the war, there was no single woman who married a Hungarian or a Swabian. It hardly ever happened. But here in Szigetcsép it didn’t happen. **M.O.:** No. **R.B.:** Since the war, people began mixing with each other.

The narrative of the village area stands as an example of minimal collective narrative. Both narratives of origin and of the village area are generated at the core of the Szigetcsép Serbs identity discourse, closely interrelated and often spontaneously associated. Furthermore, both narratives unfold in the traditional, archaic space model which lies at the very heart of the identity of the older generations.

6. Conclusion

Being fundamental cognitive, cultural and social categories, time and space provide a comprehensive framework for all human activities. Relying on the studies of folklore theorists, especially Slavic folklorists and ethno-linguists, it can be concluded that the traditional concept of space is based upon binary classificatory logic as the dominant axiological model of traditional culture; it is thus conceptualised through a series of binary oppositions, such as “sacred/profane”, “own/alien”, “friendly/hostile”, “familiar/unfamiliar”, “our/their”, etc. (Lotman 1984, Detelić 1992). This model taken in its literal meaning is a very archaic one and as such may be discerned in archaic folklore texts (South-Slav epics – Detelić 1992; South-Slav incantations – Radenković 1996; South-Slav ritual toast – Petrović 2006, etc.). In her study on mythical space in the Serbo-Croat epic, Detelić (1992: 318) also points out that both tradition and the epics defined space as a discrete series of strong places, which was in complete contradiction to Newton’s comprehension of space as a homogenous and isotopic Euclidian continuum.

What kind of space model is unfolded by the collective narratives of the Szigetcsép Serbs? Constructed as a catalogue of topographic *mnemotopos*, the narratives of origin reveal space conceptualised as a discrete series of strong places, i.e. the Danube, the Serbian villages near the Danube, the first, the second, and the third settlement of Szigetcsép. Remembering the Danube (connection to the motherland) and Serbian villages by the Danube (connection to the Serbian community in Hungary), the Szigetcsép Serbs provide a spatial framework for their micro-community (three settlements). In regard to the settlements too, certain strong places or sites were singled out and remembered, most of them being in fact sacred sites (the church, the cross, etc.). Yet again, in the origin narratives the dynamic process of remembering and oblivion can be traced. The last thing the informants remembered about the first settlement – the furthest removed from them in time – was its physical locus, and this was preserved only vaguely in oral collective memory. This finding justifies the argument of Detelić (1992: 317) that in the process of cultural modelling the space is always attached to the “original” as its inseparable element. As for the collective identity of the Szigetcsép Serbs, it could be said that the semantics of physical continuity embodied in the space model dominate, absorb and emanate time semantics. Through the catalogue of settlements time takes on flesh, and becomes palpable and visible.

However, in the collective narrative on the village area, space is conceptualised through binary oppositions, “own/alien”, “our/their” (the Swabian/Catholic/Serbian part), and even through very archaic opposition “sacred/profane” (the cross, the processions delineating and consecrating the Serbian part as the sacred one). Yet, the oppositions “friendly/hostile”, “familiar/unfamiliar” are left out of this space concept. In the case of the Serbs in Hungary, it is obvious that space marked as “own”, “our”, “sacred” was delineated primarily along the confessional principle.

As Mladenova (2004: 177) points out, four valuable elements constitute the basis for the various identity discourses: the *people* who participate in the *events* that take place in a certain *territory* over *time*. The values attributed to these four variables as well as the choice of events to be remembered will vary for different discourses even when they are rooted in the same set of reality. “This significance is determined by their being perceived as having some consequence for the present: we are what we are because this or that happened in our past” (Holy 1996: 117; cit. Mladenova 2004: 107). In that sense, the analysed discourse samples do not reflect real, everyday life as they are highly charged with emotion and ideological values. The memory of the migration route provides for the Szigetcsép Serbs a sense of community across time and space and supports the notion of “belonging” to the native Serbian ethnic

group. On the other hand, if we compare these results with field research among the neighbouring South-Slav Catholics in the village of Tököl (unpublished field material by the author), we see that space model and migration route play almost no role in identity negotiation within this community.

The persistence of such an archaic space notion with many of its antiquated features among the Serbian peasantry in Hungary is certainly due to confessional differentiation in the multi-confessional environment of what was formerly Austro-Hungary, where the confessional mark in the Serbian case has been reflected and imprinted on the space, memory practice and identity discourse. As significant changes in socio-cultural settings take place throughout Europe, it remains to be seen how new forms of identity negotiations will expand among the younger and coming generations in a rural environment. In that sense it would be interesting to compare traditional and contemporary concepts of space among South-Slav Catholics and the South-Slav and Romanian Orthodox living in the multi-ethnic environment of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire.

7. APPENDIX: Transcripts

To facilitate analysis the transcriptions were divided into numbered sections. If something was omitted in order to shorten the transcript, it has been marked by an ellipsis (...). Paralingual cues are in parentheses: (pause), (sighs), etc. Comments or information contributing to understanding context are in square brackets: []. All recordings have been digitalised and stored in the Audio Archive at the Institute for Balkan Studies.

(I) (Tape CS21; S.N., 1930, male, born and married in Szigetcsép; education: elementary school; the interview took place at the local Serb cultural centre in Szigetcsép in 2001; M.V., female interviewer from Serbia)

1.1. M.V.: Biljana asked you, er, if there was a family legend about when you came, and perhaps if it is still remembered, where you came from, from which parts, your family? S.N.: That I don't know, which parts (coughs) we came from. And ever since Čarnojević, what year was it, fifteen hundred, fifteen hundred, five hundred, I don't know exactly. M.V.: I think it was sixteen hundred and something. S.N.: Sixteen hundred, something like that. Then our elders came here.

1.2. But, then, the first village was (coughs) by the Great Danube. That's where they settled first, but the water flooded there, the Great Danube flooded. So they moved here, to the Little Danube. Well, the water flooded here too. Then they moved here, to this place. M.V.: Just your family, or the whole of Szigetcsép? S.N.: The whole of Szigetcsép, the whole of Szigetcsép.

1.3. M.V.: Let me ask you if anyone talks about Serbs being in Szigetcsép even before Čarnojević, or they only came then? **S.N.:** No, there wasn't, no, no. They were somewhere else, in Szentandre, I don't know, wherever they were before Čarnojević. Here, there weren't any. **M.V.:** Is it known, er, how many families came with Čarnojević to the village then? **S.N.:** That I don't know. But there were around three hundred of us, as far as I remember, three hundred, three hundred and fifty souls. **M.V.:** How many Serbs are there here today? **S.N.:** A hundred and fifty. (sighs). **M.V.:** And so you remember that there were three hundred, three hundred and fifty before? **S.N.:** Well, I remember, it was before, before World War II (long pause). After, after the war, er, people started mixing with each other. A Serb took a Hungarian woman. And before, before, up until World War II, before, you weren't free to do that. To have a Serb take a Hungarian woman. The elders wouldn't allow it.

1.1. M.V.: Biljana vas je pitala, ovaj, da li postoji predaja porodična kad ste došli i možda, ako se to još uvek pamti, odakle, iz kojih krajeva, vaša porodica? **S.N.:** To ne znam, iz kojih krajeva smo (kašalj) došli. A od Čarnojevića, koje godine to bilo, hiljadu (pauza) pesto, hiljadu pesto, pesto godine, ne znam tačno. **M.V.:** Mislim da je hiljadu šesto i neke. **S.N.:** I šesto, tako nekako. Onda su naši stari došli ovamo.

1.2. Al onda se, prvo je selo bilo (kašalj) kraj Velikog Dunava. Tamo se prvo naselili, pa i tamo voda potopila, Veliki Dunav, potopila. Pa se onda preselili ovamo kraj Malog Dunava. Pa i ovde voda potopila. Onda se preselili ovamo, na ovo mesto. **M.V.:** To samo vaša porodica ili ceo Čip? **S.N.:** Ceo Čip, ceo Čip.

1.3. M.V.: A da vas pitam, da li se priča ovde da li je bilo i Srba pre Čarnojevića u Čipu, ili su tek tada došli? **S.N.:** Nije bilo, nije. Bilo je digođ, bilo, Sentandrije, ne znam, digođ bilo pre Čarnojevića. Ovde nije bilo. **M.V.:** A da li se zna koliko je, ovaj, porodica došlo sa Čarnojevićem tada u selo? **S.N.:** To ne znam. Al oko tri stotine nas bilo, kako se ja sećam, tristo, tristo pedeset duša. **M.V.:** Kolko danas ima Srba u, ovde? **S.N.:** Sto pedeset (uzdah) **M.V.:** A vi se sećate znači da ih je bilo i trista, trista pedeset ranije? **S.N.:** Pa sećam se, pa to je bilo pre, pre Drugog svetskog rata već. (pauza) Posle se, posle rata se, ovaj, počelo tu da se meša narod. Mađaricu uzeo Srbin. A pre, pre, sve do Drugog svetskog rata, prije, to nije bilo slobodno, da je jedan Srbin uzeo. Nisu dopušćali stari.

(II) (Tape CS33; **Ž.A.**, 1933, male, born and married in Szigetcsép; education: secondary school; the interview took place at the local Serb cultural centre in 2001; **B.S.**, female interviewer from Serbia)

2.1. B.S.: And what do you call the river? The Danube? **Ž.A.:** The Little Danube. **B.S.:** And you make a difference between one and the other? **Ž.A.:**

That's right, that is the Great Danube, and this is the Little Danube. And we're on the island, on an island, that's it.

2.2. B.S.: I was told that once there was, er, that this is in fact the third place where the village stands now?

2.3. Ž.A.: That's right, that's right. Szigetcsép in fact is built in a third place. Because when our ancestors moved here, they were, well, in that time when they came with Arsenije Čarnojević, the Danube brought them, the river Danube, which is, you can see even now, from, from, from the border all the way up to here, those were all Serbian villages by the Danube: Mohács, Rácalmás, Dunapentele, Dunaföldvár, the Serbs were there too, and here further on. And at first they settled, the Szigetcsép Serbs, near the Danube, but near the Great Danube. And a flood came there, and they were washed out. Then they moved over here to the Little Danube, near the Dunavac. And here too there was a fire, it destroyed the village. There was already a church there. There until World War II, our old women used to go out there, because there used to be a cross. It marked that there was a church there once which was dedicated to Saint Nicholas in the summer, whose feast day is on 22 May. **B.S.:** All right. Is it that cross you showed me when I was in the graveyard? **Ž.A.:** No, no, no. That's, then they, when the Russians came, after World War II, it was destroyed there then. **B.S.:** I see, the cross doesn't exist anymore. **Ž.A.:** It doesn't exist anymore. Then they moved here. Szigetcsép is in third place now ... [Conversation about the present church in Szigetcsép, about the migration of Szigetcsép Serbs to Bački Brestovac in Vojvodina in 1924] ...

2.4. B.S.: And, er, is there anything special in that, what do you call that place where the cross used to be, you have just [mentioned]? **Ž.A.:** Old Village. It was Old Village. It is Duž, and Duž remained Old Village. **B.S.:** And that's what it's called even now. **Ž.A.:** That's what it's called now. That's what we call it (pause). **B.S.:** In that direction, as far as I got it, is the border. The border of the Serbian village part is there by the upper cross? **Ž.A.:** It is, it is. That's where the border was. And "portarthur" was there behind. It separated one village from another, an alley it was. We called it "portarthur". **B.S.:** Hmm. And what's that? **Ž.A.:** Well it's behind. It is, that's what people used to call it, now what it meant and what it didn't – (laughter). But it was "portarthur", it was, that's what people used to call it. **B.S.:** The village was separated by it. **Ž.A.:** The village was separated from the Hungarians and the Swabians.

2.1. B.S.: A reku kako zovete? Dunav? **Ž.A.:** Mali Dunav. **B.S.:** A pravite razliku između jedne i druge? **Ž.A.:** Jeste, ono je Veliki Dunav, ovo je Mali Dunav. I mi smo na ostrvu, na jednom ostrvu, to je.

2.2. B.S.: Rekli su mi da je nekad bilo, ovaj, da je ovo, u stvari, treće mesto na kome sada postoji selo?

2.3. **Ž.A.:** Jeste, jeste, Čip u stvari na trećem mestu je sad sazidan. Jer kada su se naši preci selili ovamo, oni su, pa pošto je u ono vreme kada su sa Arsenijem Čarnojevićem došli, nji je Dunav vodio, reka Dunav, koja je, može se videti i od, od, od granice sasvim ovamo gore, to je sva srpska sela su pored Dunava: Mohač, Aljmaš, Pantelija, Čipljani pored Dunava, al pored Velikog Dunava. I tamo došla poplava, i izlila ih. Onda su se oni doselili ovamo kod Malog Dunava, kod Dunavca. I tu su isto, požar je bio, uništio selo. Tamo je već i crkva bila. Tamo je sve do Drugog svetskog rata, naše stare žene su išle tamo napolje, pošto je tamo bio jedan krst. Označito bilo da tamo bila crkva nekada, koja je slavila Letnjeg svetog Nikolu, koji je maja dvadeset drugoga. **B.S.:** Dobro. Je l to taj krst što sam bila na groblju, što ste mi pokazali? **Ž.A.:** Ne, ne, ne, ne, ne. To je, onda su, kad su došli Rusi, posle Drugog svetskog rata, onda se tamo poništilo to. **B.S.:** Aha, taj krst ne postoji više. **Ž.A.:** Ne postoji više. Onda su se doselili ovamo. Čip sad na trećem mestu ... [Razgovor o sadašnjoj crkvi u Čipu, o migraciji čipskih Srba u Bački Brestovac u Vojvodini] ...

2.4. **B.S.:** A ovaj, je l to ima nešto posebno na nekom, kako se to zove to mesto gde je bio taj krst, sad što ste [pomenuli]? **Ž.A.:** Staro Selo. To je bilo Staro Selo. To je Duž, i Duž je ostala Staro Selo. **B.S.:** I ona se i sad tako zove. **Ž.A.:** Sad se tako zove. Mi je tako zovemo (pauza). **B.S.:** U onom pravcu, koliko sam ja shvatila, znači granica. Granica srpskog dela sela je tu kod gornjeg krsta? **Ž.A.:** Jeste, jeste. Tu je bila granica. I portartur je bio ovde natrag. To je selo od sela [delilo], jedan sokak bio. To smo "portarturom" zvali. **B.S.:** Aha. A šta je to? **Ž.A.:** Pa to je tako natrag. Tako se, tako su kazali ljudi, sad šta je to značilo, šta nije (smeh). Al "portartur" je bio, to su, to smo tako zvali. **B.S.:** Time se odvajalo selo. **Ž.A.:** Odvajalo se selo od Mađara i od Švaba.

(III) (Tape CS6; **R.B.** female, born in 1921; **M.O.** 1919-2008; the informants were siblings, born and married in Szigetcsép; education: elementary school (both); the interview took place at **R.B.**'s family home in 2001; **M.I.**, female interviewer from Serbia)

3.1. **M.I.:** Er, did people use to go out on the river, on the Danube, on the first day of Christmas? Did they go? **R.B.:** No. **M.I.:** No? **R.B.:** No. **M.I.:** And did people go around the other homes? Did you go visiting each other or? **R.B.:** I didn't go at Christmas. At Christmas we mostly, we stayed at home, we'd rather.

3.2. **M.O.:** Ruža, and when we went, when we went, I know we went, well, to the Danube, you know. Then we'd pass by Slatina [the local grass plot], and we went all the way there, you know, our cross was in the ruins. **R.B.:** Er, on Saint Mark's Day [Serb. *Markovdan*] ... [conversation about the procession on Saint Mark's Day]

3.3. M.I.: And on Saint Mark's Day did you go, there where Szigetcsép once was, you know, there where it once was and then resettled?

3.4. R.B.: Well now, listen, sweetheart, once Szigetcsép was over here, across the Danube. Even today we would say Old Village [Serb. *Staro Selo*]. Then, Szigetcsép was, at first it was again near the Great Danube. There they used to say that, that's where the people of Szigetcsép moved. But there was the Great Danube, and the water flooded and the people had to move. Then they moved over here. We mention the year. It's written in the book which year [it was]. Then it was here, in the Old Village. There was a cross there for a long time, the cross in the Old Village. There were churches, a Serbian and a Hungarian one, beside one another. **M.O.:** One beside the other. **R.B.:** Beside the other. But again there, they said that the water surrounded the village, so the people couldn't get out to work in the fields. Then they built it here.

3.5. So I remember, when we're in the Village, we have a house in the Village too. When they were building there in the Village [weekend and country cottages], I can't be sure when, in the 80s, when was it, by the end of 70s, the house was built there. We built a cellar. As the cellar was built, so the soil, so, so the soil, as it had been banked up with soil, so it turned yellow, black. Because, it was banked up, this Village was banked up with soil, where the village had been. So, sweetheart, I remember when they reached the bottom, at the bottom there was such a round pit. My God, what was it? What was this now, such a round pit it was. I remember that in the Village, in, in the cellar.

3.6. M.I.: Did you use to go to the Old Village on particular feast days, to visit that [cross]? **R.B.:** Yes, yes. We used to go on, on Saint, which Saint was it when we went? Well, whenever, at that time, we went in procession to the Old Village. Was it Saint Nicholas? Saint Nicholas, the church was dedicated to Saint Nicholas, that was when we went, but it was long, long time ago. **M.O.:** Well, yes. **M.I.:** So you went in procession there on Saint Nicholas's Day? **R.B.:** Yes, yes, yes, yes. **M.I.:** And where was it there? Did you go to some place in particular? **R.B.:** There, there I don't know where it was. I just heard of it, but I don't know where the place was. **M.I.:** And when you said that on Saint Mark's Day people went to the Swabian part, where were you going in the Swabian part? **R.B.:** Well, we went, to the [edge], to the alley [Serb. *sokak*], that's how we used to go. **M.O.:** Until we reached the alley. **R.B.:** Before the alley. **M.O.:** When we reached the alley, we went back then. **R.B.:** And then back again, we circled the village. And there was an alley, and then through another alley, then we went home. That's it. **M.I.:** So, you went around it, in fact? **R.B.:** Well, yes. **M.O.:** Then there was wheat sown there. We came as far as the wheatfields. **M.I.:** So that's the border of the village, in fact, isn't it? **M.O.:** They didn't send us back, the Swabians, not like we weren't free to go there. We went. **R.B.:** Listen, listen, at that time, until World War II, until the war, there was no single woman who married a Hungarian or a Swabian. It hardly ever happened. But here in Szigetcsép it didn't happen. **M.O.:** No. **R.B.:** Since the war, people began mixing with each other.

- 3.1. M.I.:** A ovaj, je se ide na vodu, na Dunav, na prvi dan Božića? Je se išlo?
R.B.: Ne. **M.I.:** Ne? **R.B.:** Ne. **M.I.:** A je se išlo po drugim kućama? Jeste se posećivali ili? **R.B.:** Nisam išla o Božiću. O Božiću, najviše mi smo, kod kuće smo bili, po že-, želji.
- 3.2. M.I.:** Ružo, a kad smo išli, kad smo išli. znam da smo išli, ovaj, do Dunava, znaš. Onda smo Slatinom prošli, pa smo išli čak onamo, znaš, u ruševinama nam je bio krs. **R.B.:** Ovaj, na Markovdan ... [opis litije na Markovdan]
- 3.3. M.I.:** A je ste išli na Markovdan, tamo gde je nekada bio Čip, znate, tamo gde je nekada bio pa preseljen?
- 3.4. R.B.:** Pa sad, slušajte, dušo moja, nekada je bio Čip ovde preko Dunava. I dan današnji smo kazli Staro Selo. Onda je bio Čip, prvo je bio opet blizu Velikog Dunava. Tamo su kazali da su, tamo su se naselili Čipljani. Ali bio je Veliki Dunav, pa je izlivala voda, pa se narod moro da doseli. Onda se ovamo doselio. Na to, opominjemo se koje godine. Piše knjiga koje godine. Onda je bio ovde u Starom Selu. Tu je bio dugo krst, i u Starom Selu i krst. Tu su bile crkve i srpska i mađarska, jedno do druge. **M.O.:** Jedna kraj druge. **R.B.:** Kraj druge. Al i tu je opet, kazali su da je voda opkolila selo, da narod nije mogo da izade u atar da radi. Onda su obve sazidali.
- 3.5.** Tako da se sećam ja, kad smo u Selu, i u Selu imamo kuću. U Selu kad se zidalo, već neću da lažem osamdesete, kad je, sedamdesete na izmaku se zidala kuća. Pravili smo podrum. Kako se podrum pravio, tako se zemlja, tako je, tako je bila zemlja žute, crne, tako je bilo kako se nasipalo. Jer, jer se nasipo, nasipalo se ovo ovde Selo, di je Selo. Tako, dušo, sećam se na to, kad su došli na dnu, na dno, onda je bila ovako jedna okrugla jama. Bože, šta je ovo bilo? Šta je bilo, takva okrugla jama je bila. To se sećam u Selu, na, na, u, u podrumu.
- 3.6. M.I.:** A je se išlo o nekim praznicima u to Staro Selo, da se poseti taj? **R.B.:** Da, da. Mi smo išli na, na sveti, na kaki je svetac bio, kad smo išli? Pa kadkođ u ono doba, s litijom se išlo na Staro Selo. Sveti Nikola bio? Sveti Nikola, Sveti Nikola je bio hram crkve, onda smo, al to je bilo zdravo davno, zdravo davno. **M.O.:** Pa da. **M.I.:** Znači na Svetog Nikolu ste išli s litijom tamo? **R.B.:** Da, da, da, da. **M.I.:** A tamo gde je bilo? Je ste išli neg-? **R.B.:** Tamo, tamo ne znam di je bilo. Slušala sam, ne znam mesto di je bilo. **M.I.:** A to što kažete kad na Markovdan idete do u švapsko, dokle idete do u švapsko? **R.B.:** Pa ide-, dok nije, do sokaka, tako smo išli. **M.O.:** Dok ne dođemo do sokaka. **R.B.:** Pred sokakom. **M.O.:** Kad dođemo do sokaka, onda s vratimo, pa. **R.B.:** P onda opet nat-, ob- obišli smo selo. I ovako kako je, onda ovo sokak, onda opet jedan sokakm i onda smo išli već kući, tako. **M.I.:** Znači vi obidete u stvari? **R.B.:** Pa da. **M.O.:** I onda tu je bilo žito posijano. Tu do žita dođemo. **M.I.:** Znači to je granica, u stvari, sela, je l da? **M.O.:** Nisu nas vraćali natrag Švabi da nije slobodno mi tamo da idemo. Išli smo. **R.B.:** Slušajte, slušajte, u ono vreme do

rata, do rata se nije ženska udala za Mađara ili za Švabu. To je retko bilo. Ali ovdje nije bilo u Čipu. M.O.: Ne. R.B.: Već od rata se mešo narod.

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