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THE SUSTAINABILITY OF THE HUNGARIAN DIASPORA IN DUAL/MULTIPLE NATIONAL IDENTITIES IN SÃO PAULO

PhD thesis

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Thesis for obtaining a PhD degree in the Doctoral School of Multilingualism Doctoral School of the University of Pannonia

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the sustainability of the Hungarian diaspora's dual and multiple national identities in São Paulo, with a focus on the intricate relationships between language maintenance, identity formation, and cultural continuity. Based on semi-structured interviews with representatives of key Hungarian diaspora institutions and the self-developed National Identity Profile Questionnaire (NIP-Q), the study provides an in-depth examination of the community's migration history, linguistic features, and evolving perceptions of identity.

A key finding of this research contradicts the initial hypotheses: the majority of respondents across four generations identify themselves as having mixed national identities, integrating elements of both Brazilian and Hungarian heritage, rather than exclusively aligning with one nationality. This mixed identity reflects the complex interplay of cultural influences in a diasporic context, where attachment to ancestral roots coexists with the lived realities of integration into the host society.

Another significant finding is the linguistic distinctiveness of the diaspora. Members maintain a heritage version of the Hungarian language, which retains features characteristic of the dialects spoken by the original immigrants during the significant migration waves of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This language has undergone a series of changes due to prolonged contact with Brazilian Portuguese, creating a distinctive bilingual linguistic repertoire.

The dissertation stands as an innovative contribution to the study of national identity and multilingualism in the Hungarian diaspora in Brazil, a topic that has been underexplored despite the wealth of research on Hungarian communities worldwide. The findings are valuable not only for the diaspora itself but also for the Hungarian National State Secretariat, offering a deeper understanding of identity preservation and language use in diasporic contexts.

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I am grateful to the leadership of the Hungarian community in São Paulo for their warm welcome, indescribable help and guidance throughout the 9 months. From the community, I would like to highlight the role of my mentor Andrea De Jármy Derani, whose support helped me to feel at home nearly 11,000 km away from my actual home country.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Since 2010, the Hungarian government has been running several scholarship programmes to encourage mobility between the diaspora and Hungary. The preservation and development of Hungarian as a heritage language is one of the most important goals of these programmes. Just as heritage language communities within the "new" country of residence positively influence the maintenance of minority languages, spending time in the mother country also plays an important role (Festman et al., 2017; Kazzazi, 2011). Szécsi and Szilágyi (2012), in their study of immigrant families in the USA, examined how children and adolescents develop and maintain their Hungarian through trips to the homeland and through digital interaction. After visiting Hungary, adolescents, besides being more confident in their Hungarian speech, increased their email and Facebook communication with contacts in the country, while technology provided a way to sustain these connections between trips. Fenyvesi's (2005) research on Hungarian heritage language communities in North America offers a relevant contextual foundation for exploring related dynamics in Brazil. She examines how generational language shift leads to reduced Hungarian proficiency over time, particularly in the absence of strong institutional support. Importantly, she emphasizes the critical role of community institutions – such as heritage language schools, cultural associations, and churches – in sustaining intergenerational transmission and maintaining positive attitudes toward the heritage language.

The Rákóczi Association is a Hungarian non-governmental organization dedicated to fostering Hungarian identity, culture, and education among youth in Hungary, neighboring countries and the diaspora. The Diaspora Programme of Rákóczi was created for young people aged between 10 and 25, lasting between 8 and 10 days, during which participants can take part in summer camps or thematic study trips. The Balassi Programme support students involved in Hungarian studies at foreign universities with placements in Hungarian secondary and higher education institutions, giving them the opportunity to stay in Hungary for longer periods, learn the language, gain a broader understanding of the culture and develop contacts with local Hungarians. As part of the Balassi Programme, the first call for the Hungarian Diaspora Scholarship was launched in the academic year 2021/2022. Since its launch, the programme has attracted around 300 students of Hungarian heritage from all over the world. The most relevant grant for the collection of data for this dissertation is the Kőrösi Csoma Sándor

Programme, which allows Hungarian scholarship holders to spend 9 months in Hungarian diasporas around the world.

As one of the three scholarship holders sent to São Paulo, Brazil in the year 2020, I had a chance to work within the Hungarian community as a temporary employee of the Hungarian House. As the most important task of mine, I authored the second edition of the memorial book of the Association of Hungarian Entities in Brazil, which required a great amount of data collection, mapping of local conditions and interviews with leading figures of the community. The memorial book, with its first edition (Piller, 1996), was used as a guide in the chapters on the historical presentation of the Hungarian community and the Hungarian institutions, and the excerpts of the interviews for the memorial book sometimes touched on topics that have proved used for this research.

Previous research on Hungarian communities in Brazil has offered valuable insights into the historical development and cultural practices of these groups. Babarczi (2012) examines the history of Hungarian Jesuits who were active in Brazil during the 18th century. Jesuit missionaries played a crucial role in spreading European religious and cultural influences in Latin America, and Hungarian Jesuits were also actively involved in this process. After presenting the political, social, and economic situation of 18th-century Brazil, Babarczi presents a portrayal of the lives of the Hungarian Jesuit monks who continued their missionary work in Brazil. The work focuses on how they integrated into Brazilian society, the tasks they carried out, and the impact they had on the culture and religion of indigenous peoples.

In their study, Boglár and Kovács (1999) explore the processes of „tradition-making" within the Hungarian diaspora in Jaraguá do Sul, in the state of Santa Catarina. The study highlights how Hungarian immigrants and their descendants in Jaraguá preserve their cultural identity through language, religious practices, festivals, and, notably, folk dance – with the help of the much larger Hungarian community members of São Paulo. Folk dance is emphasized as a key element in maintaining a tangible connection to their Hungarian heritage, serving both as a form of cultural expression and as a social tool for passing traditions down to younger generations. The concept of tradition-making is central, as it shows how the community not only maintains but also adapts and reinterprets these cultural practices in their new environment.

Őry Kovács (2008) provides a comprehensive examination of the Hungarian diaspora, also in Jaraguá do Sul. The study discovers the historical development of the Hungarian community, tracing its origins, migration patterns, and settlement in this region of Brazil. It explores the role of historical events and socio-political changes, both in Hungary and Brazil,

in shaping the identity of the Hungarian immigrants and their descendants. Őry Kovács focuses particularly on the cultural identity of the Hungarian community, analyzing how they have preserved their heritage through language, religious practices, and social institutions.

Pongrácz (2008) examines the history and evolution of the Hungarian diaspora in São Paulo during the second half of the 20th century. The study focuses on the post-World War II wave of Hungarian immigration, which shaped the demographic and cultural landscape of the Hungarian community in Brazil. Pongrácz explores how this group maintained their cultural identity, particularly through religious institutions, language preservation, and social organizations, which played a vital role in fostering a sense of community. The period between 1945 and 1990 was marked by significant transformations, both in Hungary and in Brazil, and Pongrácz's research addresses how these broader geopolitical changes impacted the lives of Hungarian Brazilians.

The novelty of this dissertation is to offer a complex description of the Hungarian community in São Paulo from the perspective of national identity research and language maintenance. Multilingualism and multiculturalism have been present in Brazil for centuries, and it is into this milieu that the Hungarians have been integrated, along with other immigrant communities, especially since the early 20th century. Hungary's national policy and the institutions involved in the development of Brazil's language strategy and immigration history might also benefit from in-depth studies that approach the topic from this perspective. As far as the topic of national identity is concerned, the primary objective is to gain insight into community members' attitudes towards dual and multiple national identities through interview – and questionnaire-based research. Within this context, an important aim is to assess the sustainability of both the phenomenon itself and the characteristics of individuals regarding dual and multiple identities in a community located more than 10,000 kilometers from the country of origin. To explore this effectively, it is also essential to find out to what extent the institutions and organized activities that focus on the cultivation of inherited identities contribute to their sustainability. This study also seeks to examine how the construction of Hungarian identity in Brazil may differ from that in Hungary, drawing on theories of cultural hybridity, acculturation, and social identity formation. It aims to identify the key factors shaping national identity in either the Hungarian or Brazilian context, and to analyze how these elements vary intergenerationally within the diaspora.

In parallel to understanding identity matters, this research also aims at testing a novel tool applied to explore this topic, the National Identity Profile Questionnaire (NIP-Q), which

was developed and administered for this research, on a larger sample for the first time. For similar studies in the future, it is important to know whether the questionnaire is logically and content-wise appropriate and easy to understand for young and older people alike. The NIP-Q is designed to be a useful tool for researchers studying national identity in diaspora settings. To support this goal, it is important to test whether the questionnaire produces meaningful and reliable data. This includes assessing its consistency, exploring patterns in responses, and eventually validating it with larger and more diverse participant groups.

As regards the role of Hungarian as a heritage language – a term often used to describe a language learned at home from older generations but not necessarily maintained as the dominant community language – it is important to estimate the extent of language attrition across generations, and to examine the impact of Brazilian Portuguese on Hungarian (Fishman, 1991; Montrul, 2016). The interviews with speakers of different age groups will shed some light on the future of the Hungarian language in the community.

The following research questions and hypotheses have been formulated along with the research goals:

RQ1: Is there a difference in the perception of Hungarian and Brazilian national identities among different generations of respondents?

My hypothesis: the representatives of older generations have a stronger attachment to Hungarian culture and identity. However, since most participants of the study have some connection to the Hungarian House, it can be assumed that younger generations also consider it important to have strong bonds with the culture.

RQ2: What are the greatest identity-shaping factors in the participants' Hungarian identity? Are these factors much different from those of Brazilian identity?

My hypothesis: Based on previous diaspora research (Babarczi, 2012; Boglár and Kovács, 1999; Őry Kovács, 2008; Pongrácz, 2008) language plays a crucial role in the maintenance of Hungarian identity. Also, essential differences can be presumed regarding respondents' choices on the shaping factors of their different national identities.

RQ3: Do respondents think positively about their mixed identity?

My hypothesis: the expression of the dominance of a single national identity (whether Hungarian or Brazilian) is more important for the participants than the emphasis on their dual national identity.

Definitions of some key terms used in the dissertation:

MOTHER TONGUE: Generally understood as the first language acquired in early childhood, typically within the family context. It is strongly associated with emotional bonding, cultural identity, and early socialization. In this dissertation, the term refers to the language initially acquired by the speaker, regardless of current proficiency or dominant language use (UNESCO, 2003).

MINORITY LANGUAGE: A language spoken by a numerically smaller group within a society, often with limited institutional support and prestige. These languages tend to be overshadowed by dominant national languages and may be vulnerable to marginalization (Fishman, 1991).

INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE: Defined as a native language of a region, spoken by communities with long-standing historical ties to the territory predating colonization or state formation. Such languages are often endangered and under pressure due to assimilation (UNESCO, 2003).

HERITAGE LANGUAGE: Refers to an ancestral language learned at home by individuals from minority or migrant backgrounds, which is not the dominant language of the surrounding society. Speakers may exhibit varying levels of competence, and formal education in the language is often limited (Valdés, 2000).

IMMIGRANT LANGUAGE: Describes a language introduced into a country through migration, typically maintained within migrant communities across one or more generations. These languages face varying degrees of societal recognition and are often subject to language shift or assimilation (Clyne, 2003).

SEMI-OFFICIAL MINORITY LANGUAGE: Denotes a minority language that enjoys partial legal recognition or institutional support in specific regions or domains, such as local administration, media, or education. However, it lacks the full status and rights of an official national language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2013).

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Minorities and language policy

The concept of minority groups has been explored through various lenses in the social sciences, emphasizing their role in preserving cultural diversity while also addressing the systemic barriers they face. A foundational perspective on the value of cultural diversity comes from Boas (1940), who argued that cultural differences among groups of humans are essential and should be regarded as valuable. He referred specifically to linguistic and cultural minorities, highlighting their role in preserving distinct languages, customs, and social practices. According to Boas, these differences should be celebrated rather than suppressed, as they contribute to the richness of human society. Anderson (1983) provided a framework for understanding how minority groups maintain a sense of community across geographic and social boundaries. Anderson's concept of 'imagined communities' explains how members of a group, even when dispersed and lacking a shared political or physical space, remain bound by a common history and cultural identity. This is particularly relevant for minority and diasporic groups, who often rely on media, print culture, and now digital platforms to sustain their collective identity across generations. Newspapers, social media, and community websites play a crucial role in preserving cultural connections and fostering a sense of belonging, enabling minorities to remain linked to their heritage even as they integrate into wider societal frameworks.

However, the position of minority groups within the social structure is often one of marginalization. From the perspective of conflict theory, Rex (1983) defines minorities as groups that are politically, economically, or socially subordinated within a given hierarchy. Rex argues that minority groups frequently face exclusion from full participation in societal life, encountering systemic barriers that inhibit their social mobility and economic progress. This subordination is not only a matter of numbers but also of power dynamics, where the dominant group controls access to resources and opportunities, leaving minorities with limited pathways to equality. Building on this understanding of marginalization, Spivak (1988) extends the discourse to the notion of the subaltern. Spivak's concept refers to populations that are so deeply marginalized – socially, politically, and geographically – that their voices are often rendered silent within dominant power structures. The subaltern, as Spivak argues, exists on the fringes

of society, and their exclusion from power further perpetuates the systemic inequalities that minority groups face.

Language policies play a significant role in shaping the identity of minority groups. Phillipson (1992) introduces the concept of linguistic imperialism, a theory that examines how dominant languages, often tied to political, economic, and cultural power, systematically undermine and marginalize minority languages. Phillipson argues that linguistic imperialism is not merely about the spread of a dominant language but involves complex processes that favor one language over others, leading to the displacement, suppression, or even extinction of minority languages. This process is often a consequence of historical colonization, and cultural hegemony, where the language of the colonizers or dominant group becomes the standard for education and administration. He contends that the promotion of a dominant language is often justified through ideologies that present it as more "modern," "useful," or "civilized" compared to minority languages. These ideologies perpetuate inequalities by devaluing and marginalizing the linguistic and cultural identities of minority groups.

Language policies are influenced by social, political, historical, and cultural factors. They can vary significantly between countries and regions, reflecting the linguistic diversity and specific needs of the populations they serve. Decisions of language policies have an impact on language maintenance and sustainability, and on the national identity of minority groups. They can also have various goals and address different aspects of language use, such as official language designation, language(s) in education, linguistic rights and protection, and language planning and promotion. In this study, the latter aspect is the most relevant: the promotion and development of specific languages, especially minority or endangered ones. This may involve efforts to standardize, revitalize, or expand the use of certain languages through education, media, cultural initiatives, or public services with the aim of the minority languages being able to gain rights to have semi-official or official status (Spolsky, 2004; Wright, 2016; Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008). The protection and promotion of minority languages has become a critical area of focus for international organizations, governments, and scholars alike. Language, as a primary carrier of culture and identity, plays a vital role in the survival of minority groups. The recognition of the need to protect endangered languages and promote cultural diversity has led to the creation of key international frameworks and tools aimed at safeguarding linguistic and cultural heritage. Two of the most significant initiatives in this regard are the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger and the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity.

The UNESCO Atlas, first published in 1996, represents a critical resource in the global effort to preserve endangered languages. The Atlas documents languages at risk of extinction due to factors such as globalization, migration, and cultural assimilation, providing an accessible tool for researchers, policymakers, and communities seeking to protect their linguistic heritage. By identifying languages that are in danger of disappearing, it does not only highlight the urgent need for intervention but also emphasizes the connection between language and cultural identity. The loss of a language is often accompanied by the erosion of a community's knowledge systems, traditions, and worldview. In this context, the UNESCO document serves not merely as a repository of information but as a call to action, encouraging both local and global efforts to revitalize and maintain linguistic diversity. Complementing the focus on linguistic diversity is the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, adopted by UNESCO in 2001. This declaration recognizes cultural diversity as a common heritage of humanity, framing it as essential for peace, development, and the flourishing of societies. The declaration explicitly asserts that cultural diversity is as vital to humanity as biological diversity is to the natural world, underscoring the need to protect all forms of cultural expression, including minority languages. By affirming the rights of individuals and communities to maintain their cultural practices and languages, the declaration sets a standard for the protection of cultural rights on a global scale. Importantly, the document also promotes policies that encourage the inclusion of cultural diversity in education, media, and public life, recognizing that the survival of minority languages and cultures depends on their active presence in public spheres.

Zhang, Tsung and Zhuoma (2020) argue that language policy can be registered explicitly in official reports or regulations or expressed implicitly in the absence of support for languages. With the rise of the ecological approach to language policy study, the focus shifted from national to local perspectives. Within the framework of language ecology, research in language policy has pointed at preserving a wide range of languages by identifying the ecological elements that sustain linguistic diversity (Mühlhäusler, 2002). Two years after, Spolsky introduced the concept of language policy ecology (Spolsky, 2004), which views language practices, beliefs, and management as interconnected components influenced by various conditions within broader contexts, and results in the formation of language policy within a speech community.

Language education policy pertains to the structuring of language instruction within the formal education system and falls within the realm of language policy (Lambert, 1999). Viewed as a means of implementing and shaping language policy, language education policy is

employed by authorities to translate ideology into practical reality through formal education (Shohamy, 2006). Given that students gain new knowledge exclusively through language instruction, language education policy becomes pivotal in influencing language usage patterns among the youth. From this perspective, language education policy holds significant importance, as individuals studying a language can solely gain new knowledge through language instruction, regardless of the subject. As a result, it plays a role in forming the language usage tendencies of the younger generations.

2.2. Language policy and minority languages in Brazil

According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), Brazil has a population of approximately 213 million inhabitants. Brazil is a diverse country with a rich linguistic landscape, including numerous minority languages. The definition of a minority language by Stavans and Hoffmann (2015) describes it as a language used by a subordinated or culturally inferior group in relation to the dominant or socioeconomically more valued language of a country, with the official language generally being defined by the government (in Brazil, Portuguese and Sign Language), except in cases where the dominant language of the country differs. Minority language speaking groups can be divided into indigenous or regional minority groups and refugee or immigrant language groups (Extra & Gorter, 2001) – such as Hungarian outside of Hungary. In the context of Brazil, linguistic imperialism can be observed through the historical dominance of Portuguese as the national language. Portuguese became the dominant language in Brazil through the process of colonization by Portugal. As the Portuguese established their control over Brazil, they imposed their language as the primary lingua franca. This imposition led to the marginalization of indigenous languages and cultures, many of which have been lost or severely endangered due to the lack of institutional support and the pressures of assimilation.

Two centuries ago, hundreds of thousands of people in Brazil spoke languages other than Portuguese. At the beginning of the 19th century, Portuguese was spoken primarily in the north-east of the country, while in other regions, it was in contact with and influenced by the Tupi language, spoken by the Tupi Indigenous population. The Tupi Indians were one of the most important indigenous peoples on the continent, settling first in the Amazon rainforest, but around 2900 years ago they began to expand southwards and gradually occupied the Atlantic coast (Noelli, 2008). A living descendant of the Tupi language today is the Nheengatu language, also known as the 'common Amazonian language' (Moore et al, 1994). Nheengatu is thought to

have originated in the 17th century in northern Brazil, where it was a lingua franca, or intermediary language. It is still spoken in northern Brazil, along the Negro River, and in neighboring Colombia and Venezuela. The race for gold, which brought more and more Europeans and African slaves to Brazilian soil, led to the opening of the interior regions, with major changes in the languages spoken. While Portuguese in fact connected the whole of Brazil, it also, unfortunately, suppressed the indigenous languages. This has led to the threat of the disappearance of languages with a long history in the region, such as Guarani. Guarani, together with Tupi, forms the Tupi-Guarani family of languages, although the former is still spoken in Latin America. Moreover, Guarani is the official language of Paraguay and Bolivia, along with Spanish.

However, since the late 20th century on, the situation of minority languages in Brazil has shown significant improvement. The country has become increasingly open to the preservation and revitalization of minority cultures and languages, reflecting a broader commitment to cultural diversity (Hornberger, 2009; Cruz & Albuquerque, 2020). Brazil's recognition of the linguistic rights of indigenous and immigrant communities has led to the implementation of more inclusive language policies (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2017). For example, there has been a growing emphasis on bilingual education programs in indigenous areas, as well as the promotion of cultural heritage languages among immigrant communities. This shift reflects a move away from the linguistic imperialism that characterized earlier periods, where Portuguese was the overwhelmingly dominant language. While Phillipson's analysis of linguistic imperialism provides valuable insights into the historical marginalization of minority languages, the contemporary Brazilian context suggests a more positive trajectory. Today, the Brazilian government and various civil society organizations actively support the preservation of minority languages as vital components of the nation's cultural mosaic.

The promotion of preserving cultural assets and linguistic diversity, as emphasized by the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger and the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity has had a profound impact on those responsible for language policies worldwide, including South American nations. In response to this global influence, numerous projects have been initiated to research and maintain minority languages, including immigrant languages within Brazil. Recognizing the immense value of linguistic diversity, Brazil – where approximately 220 languages are spoken – has legally recognized it as a cultural asset to be safeguarded, as established in the Federal Decree No. 7.387 of 2010 (Brazil, 2010).

Brazil recognizes several minority languages with semi-official status at the municipal or regional level, including German (particularly its Hunsrik variety), Italian, Japanese, Pomeranian, Kaingang, and Guarani (Freire, 2017). This designation does not imply national co-official status alongside Portuguese but refers to legal recognition granted through local or state legislation. Such semi-official recognition typically allows these languages to be used in specific domains like public education, local administration, cultural programming, and public signage within the relevant municipalities, supporting their maintenance and intergenerational transmission. The policy of minority languages in Brazil, besides promoting and preserving linguistic diversity, intends to ensure the rights and cultural identity of these communities. As the first key aspect, Brazil values the indigenous languages spoken by various communities across the country (Cabral, de Araujo Sampaio & Sinha, 2016). The Brazilian Constitution of 1988 states that these languages are considered an integral part of the country's heritage and should be preserved and respected. In certain regions where indigenous languages are widely spoken, there may even be official bilingualism, providing both the indigenous and Portuguese language the official status. This recognition aims at ensuring that these communities can access government services, education, and other public resources in their own languages.

The Brazilian government also recognizes the cultural rights and own languages of Quilombola communities, descendants of Afro-Brazilian slaves, who established their own settlements through the centuries. However, the specific language policies for Quilombola communities may vary depending on regional and local contexts. For students of the Quilombola language, education can only be successful if it is based on institutional policies that include a separate language policy for speakers of these non-hegemonic languages (Ponso, 2018). The immigrant communities of Brazil (e.g. Hungarian, German, Italian or Japanese), have the right to preserve and use their native languages within their communities with Portuguese being the official language. In some cases, language maintenance efforts are supported through community organizations, cultural events, and language courses (Freire, 2017; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2017).

Brazil also supports linguistic research and documentation of minority languages to preserve linguistic diversity and promote cultural heritage. Academic institutions, research centers, and organizations work on documenting endangered languages and supporting initiatives to revitalize and sustain these languages. While Brazil has policies in place to protect minority languages, the implementation and effectiveness of these policies can vary across different regions and communities. Additionally, the promotion and preservation of minority

languages often involve collaboration between the government, educational institutions, indigenous and minority communities, and lastly, in case of immigrant minority groups, the home states (Cruz & Alberquerque, 2020).

2.3. Culture and language

Language serves as the primary medium through which, among other functions, cultural values are transmitted across generations. As Sapir (1921) stated, "language is a guide to social reality," reflecting the idea that language shapes our perception of the world and is a key element for cultural expression. Whorf (1956), building on Sapir's ideas, proposed the theory of linguistic relativity, which suggests that the structure of a language influences the way its speakers perceive and think about the world. This theory implies that language and culture are inseparable, as the categories and structures inherent in a language reflect the unique worldview of its speakers. The vocabulary and grammatical structures of a language often encode cultural priorities and social hierarchies, highlighting the values and norms that are central to a particular culture. Chomsky's Universal Grammar Theory (1986) argues that the ability to learn language is inborn in humans and that all languages have a common basic structure. While Chomsky's focus is on the cognitive aspects of language, his work indirectly addresses the cultural dimensions of language by suggesting that the diversity of languages reflects the diversity of human cultures. The variations in surface structures of languages across different cultures can be seen as a reflection of the unique ways in which different communities construct their social realities. Hymes (1964) expanded on the idea of the interconnectedness of language and culture by introducing the concept of communicative competence, which includes not only grammatical knowledge but also the social and cultural norms that govern language use in a particular community. Hymes argued that understanding a language requires more than just knowing its grammar – it also involves understanding how language is used appropriately in different cultural contexts. Halliday (1978) developed the theory of systemic functional linguistics, which views language as a social semiotic system. According to Halliday, language is a tool that individuals use to create meaning within specific social and cultural contexts. He argued that language functions to meet the needs of the culture in which it is used, and therefore, the structure and use of a language are closely tied to the cultural environment.

In the broader context of globalization, the relationship between culture and language has become even more complex. Blommaert (2010) discusses how globalization affects language use and cultural identity, introducing the concept of 'superdiversity' to describe the

increasingly complex linguistic landscapes in multicultural societies. Blommaert argues that as cultures come into contact through global migration, languages adapt and change, leading to the emergence of new linguistic forms and practices. This dynamic interaction of languages within diverse communities is vividly reflected in the linguistic landscape, where the visible use of multiple languages in public spaces serves as a powerful indicator of cultural and linguistic diversity.

The significance of the Linguistic Landscape (LL) as a field of research has been emerging in the last few decades due to the increasing number of signs, symbols, displays, advertisements, commercials, images, and posters. By analyzing signs of public places where texts are present in one or more languages, one can get an insight into the society where the signs are being broadcast (Landry and Bourhis, 1997). Most of the public signs are accompanied with texts in one or more languages, depending on the settlement, country, society, culture, and its inhabitants. People turn 'spaces' into 'places' (Shohamy, 2015) by filling them with public signs that are in favor of informing other people. Texts can be monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual, determined by plenty of factors (e.g. how touristic the settlement is, how many languages the society uses, etc.). The more globalized the countries and societies become, the larger need there will be for the representation of more than one language on public signs.

In their classic article about LL, Landry and Bourhis introduce two complementary definitions: according to the short one, it "refers to the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region" (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 25), and according to the more frequently quoted one, "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combine to form the LL of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration" (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 25). Beyond that, in their 1997 article, Landry and Bourhis differentiate informational and symbolic functions of the discipline that can serve together as a marker regarding the language status of communities living in the given territory. The authors suggest that the informational function covers the geographical territories and their language communities, setting up well-defined language boundaries along the analyses of texts on public signs. The symbolic function shows how individuals are being affected by the absence or presence of their language on signs, moreover, how individuals feel as members of a language community in a bi- or multilingual setting. Their hypothesis is that by analyzing public signs of a street, an institution, or any sites where language texts are present, one can also get an insight into the society where the signs are being broadcast. Even political background, economic

status, touristic capacity and also, multilingual awareness of a community can be speculated by examining the signs from LL approaches. Indeed, the geographic areas of most of the studies that have been carried out in the field of LL are multilingual countries and societies, often under circumstances of language conflicts. It is possible to find out which ethnic community is in hegemonic or subordinate role. Correlations between Linguistic Landscape and language maintenance have also been subject to research (Landry and Bourhis, 1997), just like the representation of language contact and change (Huebner, 2006; Piller, 2003). Examples of these can be observed also by analyzing the signs of public places in neighboring countries that have territorial conflicts between each other. There are numerous studies that deal with the status of the Hungarian language, for instance, also in relation with the language policy of the countries neighboring Hungary (Csernicskó & Laihonen, 2018). In some regions and settlements beyond the borders of the country, Hungarian texts on public signs are being suppressed or even erased with the aim of decreasing its dominancy over local languages, even in territories where most of the inhabitants are Hungarians. Font sizes, colors, special location of texts in one language over another can mean an intention to express superiority. Signs can be divided into analytical categories for understanding their authorship (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006). Top-down or official signs are set by the government of related organizations (e.g. street names, road signs), bottom-up or non-official ones are placed by autonomous social actors (e.g. personal ads, shop signs).

2.3.1. Sustainable development of cultures and languages

The concept of sustainable development was first introduced in 1987 by the World Commission on Environment and Development. It was defined as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987, p. 43). Sustainable development is commonly viewed as comprising ecological, economic, and social dimensions, often referred to as three 'pillars' (Connelly, 2007). In the field of policy, culture has been recognized as an aspect of social sustainability. Soini and Birkeland (2014) point out that the connection between sustainable development and culture has been discussed in other international policy documents and conventions, such as *In From the Margins* (European Council, 1997), *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage* (UNESCO, 2001), and *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Diversity of Cultural Expressions* (UNESCO, 2005). While international, national, regional, and local policies aimed at sustainable development often consider the cultural dimension as part of the social one (Chiu, 2004), Hawkes (2001) proposes cultural sustainability as a fourth pillar of sustainable

development, highlighting the role of culture in local planning. Sustainability of culture is a highly relevant topic for minority communities living in diaspora. When a minority community settles in a new country or region, they often face unique challenges that impact preservation and continuation of their cultural practices and language.

Sustainable language development requires a balanced approach that includes the revitalization of endangered languages, support for bilingual education, and the promotion of linguistic rights (Romaine, 2013). Romaine argues that language policies should not only focus on the preservation of linguistic diversity but also on empowering communities to use their languages in all spheres of life, including education, government, and media. Crystal (2000) points out that nowadays the survival of a language depends on its ability to adapt to changing social and economic conditions – languages must be integrated into the digital age, with efforts to create online content, educational resources, and media in minority languages. By doing so, these languages can maintain their relevance in a rapidly evolving world. Sen (1999) argues that cultural sustainability is even a key component of human development, emphasizing that the freedom to maintain and develop one's culture is fundamental to individual and collective well-being. By fostering an environment that supports linguistic diversity and cultural expression, societies can ensure that future generations inherit a rich and varied cultural heritage.

2.3.2. Cultures in Brazil

Before the arrival of European colonizers, Brazil was inhabited by a wide range of indigenous peoples, each with distinct languages, cultures, and social structures. The indigenous population, estimated to be around five million at the time of European contact, was organized into numerous tribes and nations, such as the Tupi, Guarani, Yanomami, and Arawak, among others. These groups played a foundational role in the early cultural landscape of Brazil, contributing to the country’s linguistic and cultural diversity. Ribeiro (1996) has extensively documented the influence of indigenous cultures on Brazilian society, noting that many Brazilian customs, foods, and place names have indigenous origins. The Tupi-Guarani languages discussed in the previous chapter, for instance, have left a significant mark on Brazilian Portuguese, with many words in daily use stemming from these languages.

However, the arrival of the Portuguese in the 16th century marked the beginning of a period of profound disruption for these indigenous groups. Colonization led to widespread

displacement, forced labor, and significant population declines due to diseases and violent conflicts. Despite these challenges, indigenous groups have maintained their cultural identities, and they continue to contribute to Brazil's cultural mosaic. Cunha (2009) points out the resilience of these groups and their ongoing struggle for recognition and rights in contemporary Brazil. The cultural diversity brought by these indigenous groups has laid the groundwork for Brazil's complex cultural identity, which would later be further enriched by waves of immigration that occurred primarily in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but also during and after the World Wars. These waves brought millions of Europeans, Asians, and Middle Easterners to Brazil, each group contributing distinct cultural elements to the Brazilian social fabric.

Following the devastation of the World Wars, Brazil became a popular destination for European and Asian immigrants, particularly Italians, Germans, Spaniards, and Japanese. These groups sought refuge and economic opportunities in Brazil, just like the significantly smaller Hungarian communities, attracted by the country's expansive agricultural lands and relatively open immigration policies. The Brazilian government, under leaders like Getúlio Vargas, actively promoted immigration as a means to "whiten" the population and stimulate economic development, as described by Lesser (1999). These immigrants brought with them their languages, religions, culinary traditions, and other cultural practices, which became integral parts of Brazilian culture. For instance, the German immigrants who settled in southern Brazil established communities that have preserved their language and cultural traditions to this day. Similarly, Japanese immigrants, who arrived in large numbers in the early 20th century, have left a lasting impact on Brazilian agriculture, cuisine, and cultural life, particularly in the state of São Paulo. Fausto (1999) highlights how these immigrant groups have retained distinct cultural identities while also contributing to a broader Brazilian identity.

The idea of Brazil as a "melting pot" of cultures has been a central theme in the country's self-perception. Theories of cultural pluralism, which suggest that different cultural groups can coexist and contribute to a larger, shared national culture, are particularly relevant in the Brazilian context. Freyre (1946) argues that Brazilian culture is a product of the blending of indigenous, African, and European influences, resulting in a unique cultural synthesis. This idea is further explored by DaMatta (1991), who examines how Brazilian national identity is constructed through the interplay of various cultural influences. Despite the ideal of cultural pluralism, the integration of immigrant groups into Brazilian society has not been without challenges. Questions of racial and ethnic discrimination, social inequality, and cultural

assimilation have been persistent themes in the history of immigration in Brazil. However, the overall cultural policy in Brazil has historically been one of inclusion, allowing various immigrant communities to maintain their cultural identities while also contributing to a shared Brazilian culture. This is evident in the way that festivals, cuisine, music, and other cultural practices from immigrant communities have been embraced as part of Brazil's national identity.

In recent decades, Brazil has increasingly embraced the concept of multiculturalism, which recognizes and celebrates the coexistence of diverse cultural groups within a single nation. Multiculturalism as a policy and social ideal seeks to promote equality and respect for cultural differences, encouraging all cultural groups to contribute to the national identity without losing their distinctiveness. The welcoming of multiple cultures has been both a government policy and a societal norm. Brazil's national identity is often described as inherently diverse, reflecting the contributions of various ethnic groups, including Indigenous peoples, Africans brought to Brazil as slaves, and immigrants from Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. The concept of "Brasilidade," or Brazilian-ness, is thus a composite identity that incorporates elements from all these cultures, as discussed by Vianna (1999). Brazil's cultural inclusiveness can be seen in its festivals, culinary traditions, and religious practices, For example, the influence of African traditions is evident in Brazilian music, dance, and religion, particularly in practices such as Candomblé and Samba, which have become symbols of Brazilian culture. The integration of European traditions is visible in Brazil's architectural styles, language, and educational systems, while Asian influences are reflected in the country's cuisine and agricultural practices.

However, this inclusiveness has not always been evenly applied. The integration of different cultures into Brazilian society has often been marked by a power imbalance, with certain cultural practices being more valued than others. Nevertheless, Brazil's official stance has generally been one of cultural acceptance, with various immigrant communities being allowed and even encouraged to maintain their cultural identities. This has led to a wide range of cultural expressions that contribute to a dynamic and evolving Brazilian national identity.

2.4. Identity and language

The topic of identity is employed in various contexts and has frequently sparked intense debates, particularly in recent decades. According to Erikson (1968), the ego, an unconscious mental process, consistently merges information from internal and external sources, creating a unified

entity that bridges one's inner and outer worlds. It is through the ego that individual and social components intertwine, forming the foundation of one's identity.

The term ‘identity’" finds its origins in the Latin language, derived from the root ‘idem’ meaning ‘the same’. Despite its literal definition, it encompasses both difference and similarity (Buckingham, 2008). On the one hand, it signifies individuality, as individuals possess their unique and enduring identities throughout their lives, or at least during significant periods. On the other hand, it signifies similarity, as it relates to shared self-perceptions within a broader community (e.g. Hungarians in Brazil). Owens and Samblanet (2013) suggest that the term ‘I’ refers to an individual's conscious processes, and identity serves as a ‘tool’ through which individuals and groups comprehend social and psychological phenomena. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) is a framework for understanding how individuals perceive and define themselves based on their membership in social groups. The theory posits that social identity is a crucial component of self-concept, derived from the knowledge of one's belonging to a particular group, coupled with the emotional and evaluative significance attached to that membership. According to SIT, individuals categorize themselves and others into various social groups, such as ethnic, national, or religious groups, which helps them to establish a sense of belonging. This categorization process often leads to in-group favoritism, where individuals favor members of their own group (the in-group) over those of other groups (the out-group).

A collective national or cultural identity is formed through numerous individual identities. Membership in a social group necessitates the presence of shared elements within individuals' identities, such as language, historical connections, cultural practices, religion, race, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, and more. A sense of belonging arises from identifying with one or more social groups that embody a sense of unity. Cultural and linguistic attributes contribute to a sense of cultural identification (Maher & Winston, 2017). National Identity Theory sheds a light on the processes through which national identities are constructed, maintained, and redefined over time. National Identity Theory suggests that shared symbols, myths, traditions, and language are essential elements that bind members of a nation together, even across borders. Smith’s work emphasizes the importance of historical continuity and the role of a shared past in forging a strong national identity (1992).

Berry's Acculturation Model (2005) offers a comprehensive understanding of the cultural and psychological changes that occur when individuals from different cultural backgrounds come into sustained contact with each other. This model identifies four acculturation strategies: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization, each

representing a different approach to dealing with cultural diversity. Integration occurs when individuals seek to maintain their original cultural identity while also engaging with the larger society, leading to a bicultural or dual identity. This strategy is often seen as the most adaptive, allowing individuals to navigate both cultures effectively. Assimilation, on the other hand, involves the loss of original cultural identity in favor of fully adopting the host culture, which can lead to the erosion of cultural traditions and language over generations. Separation occurs when individuals retain their original culture and avoid interaction with the dominant culture, and marginalization, the least adaptive strategy, happens when individuals lose contact with both their original culture and the host culture, leading to a sense of alienation.

According to Joseph (2004), the concept of identity encompasses two fundamental aspects: (i) the name, which serves as a basic means of distinguishing one person from another, and (ii), the intangible phenomenon that resides within each individual and constitutes our true essence. In his 2004 book, Joseph categorizes identities into three groups, with individual and group identities being particularly relevant to the current study. He emphasizes that individual and group identities operate independently at the deictic level. While group identities like ‘Brazilian’ or ‘Catholic’ are not typically considered names, they carry a broader significance. The term ‘Brazilian’, for example, not only refers to a specific group of people but also conveys deeper complexities and characteristics that extend beyond the mere name of an individual Brazilian person.

Identity researchers often discuss two distinct historical models. Gleason (1983) identifies one model rooted in psychology, specifically based on the work of Erikson. The other model originates in sociology, particularly influenced by Mead and his theory of symbolic interactionism (1934). The first model sheds light on the stability and coherence of the self, while the latter highlights its changeability and adaptability. Pléh (2015) calls ‘centripetal’ the concept that sees self-perception as constructed from body image, while the perspective that considers it as shaped by external factors, such as social interactions and interpersonal relationships, is referred to as 'centrifugal'.

According to Bögre (2020), the relationship between life stories, identity, and narratives has gained increasing recognition recently. Narrative identity research is based on the idea that individuals form their identities by constructing personal stories, and that the defining essence of identity is reflected in these narratives. The influence of both centripetal and centrifugal models is evident within narrative identity theories, blurring disciplinary boundaries and establishing a bridge between them. It is no longer feasible to claim that one model exclusively

aligns with psychology while the other pertains solely to sociology due to the interconnectedness of these approaches. Hammack (2015) further argues that narrative identity serves as a link between individual and social cognition, social categorization, and linguistic and discourse research.

2.4.1. Identity of multilinguals

Bilingualism does not mean biculturalism in most cases, and nor sharing awareness towards another culture necessarily presupposes language proficiency in another language. Maher and Winston (2017) state that knowing more than one language does not automatically indicate loyalty to more than one ethnicity, but it is rather an expression of cultural capital, of personal complexity. They differentiate three groups of individuals related to the relationship between their language and culture. Bicultural bilinguals can communicate proficiently with users of both languages and in the meantime, they identify themselves with both cultures. They form new kinds of identities (Hall, 1996) that belong to two worlds, speak two languages, and live with two identifications. Monocultural bilinguals barely go out of their 'cultural zone' therefore they belong to only one cultural context in which they acquired another language as L2. Bicultural monolinguals are those for instance, who form an immigrant community – they maintain cultural habits and religious practices, although their ancestors did not pass on their mother tongue. There are immigrants who willingly lose their part of identity that was represented by their native country and its values, and tend to identify themselves instead with their host country. Also, there are some who improve a new, more complex identity, becoming culturally distributed (e.g. Brazilian-Hungarian).

There are no two linguistic minorities that are the same, since each is being affected by different political, economic, geographical, and socio-cultural features (Stavans & Hoffmann, 2015). Considering language, members of linguistic minorities also vary even within every single community – there are monolingual speakers whose mother tongue is either one of the minority languages or the majority language, and bilinguals or multilinguals, who have already acquired the language of the host country besides the language of their community, and also an L3 in an educational context. Hence, language competence within immigrant communities can vary greatly, ranging from monolingualism to different degrees of bilingualism. These stages often reflect a continuum between full proficiency in the host country's language and maintenance of the minority or heritage language.

According to Simon et al. (2013), dual identity is the identification with both an ethno-cultural minority group and the society of residence. González and Brown (2003) also describe the term 'dual identity' as a state when an individual identifies him/herself with two groups at the same time (which can also be competing). Klandermans et al. (2008) conclude that in the comparison of immigrants with single and dual identities, the latter are likely to be more satisfied with their situation. Dual identity is not just the root of dual culture but also the outcome of it.

Grosjean (1982) argues that bilingual individuals possess a unique identity that goes beyond mere proficiency in two languages. Bilingual identity is not a fixed, singular entity but rather a complex and dynamic interplay of various components. Grosjean claims (1996) that more than half the world's population speaks at least two languages, and the definition 'bilingual' includes individuals "ranging from the migrant worker who speaks with some difficulty the host country's language (and who cannot read and write it) all the way to the professional interpreter who is totally fluent in two languages" (p. 23). This description absolutely fits the members of the Hungarian community in Brazil, where one can meet Brazilians – professional chefs, doctors, teachers, athletes, and spouses of Hungarian individuals – who can speak more fluent Hungarian than some of those of Hungarian origin. Grosjean also states that bilingual individuals often develop bicultural identities, where they are immersed in and identify with the cultural norms, values, and behaviors of both language communities they are involved in. Also, the identity of bilinguals is influenced by emotional and social experiences with each language community – positive or negative emotions associated with a cultural group can shape how they perceive their identity in relation to the language concerned. The level of identification to each (national) identity might depend on which generation of an immigrant minority group an individual belongs to.

The study by Miramontez, Benet-Martínez, and Nguyen (2008) offers valuable insights into the complexities of bicultural identity integration (BII) among Asian Americans. In their study, the authors explore how Asian Americans perceive their bicultural identities, focusing on the degree to which these individuals detect their dual identities as compatible or conflicting. The concept of BII serves as the central framework for this study, measuring the extent to which participants can reconcile their identities as both Asian and American. The findings reveal a clear distinction between those with high and low BII: individuals who view their dual identities as compatible tend to report higher life satisfaction, lower stress levels, and overall better psychological well-being. These participants are more likely to embrace their bicultural

identity, finding harmony between their Asian heritage and their American cultural context. On the other hand, participants with low BII, who perceive their identities as conflicting, often struggle with managing their dual identities. This internal conflict can lead to significant stress and may cause individuals to prioritize one identity over the other, potentially at the expense of their overall well-being. The present study provides a useful parallel for examining similar dynamics within other multicultural contexts, such as the Hungarian diaspora in Brazil, where individuals may also experience varying degrees of identity integration and face similar challenges in balancing their dual or multiple identities.

2.4.2. Identity of minority groups

The formation of minority identity is influenced by both internal dynamics within the minority group and external forces from the broader society. Hall (1990) provides a foundational perspective on identity as a fluid and dynamic construct, arguing that identity is continuously negotiated through cultural practices and social interactions, reflecting a complex interplay of internal and external forces. His theory emphasizes that identity is not static but evolves over time, influenced by the ways individuals engage with their cultural environment. Kymlicka (1995) also contributes to the understanding of minority identities by advocating for the recognition and protection of minority rights. He states that minority groups have a right to maintain their distinct cultural identities, which are often closely linked to language.

The identity of minority groups is deeply intertwined with language, which serves as a key marker of cultural distinctiveness and continuity. Language plays a crucial role in maintaining cultural identity, negotiating social positions, and resisting assimilation into dominant cultures. Fishman (1991) examines language maintenance and shift as central to cultural identity preservation, while Gal (1979) analyzes language shift through the lens of social stratification and language ideologies. They argue that language is not merely a tool for communication but a crucial marker of cultural identity. Language maintenance refers to the efforts made by minority groups to preserve their heritage language, while language shift involves the gradual adoption of the dominant language. Crystal (2000) describes these phenomena, discussing factors that contribute to the endangerment and extinction of minority languages. Cummins (2001) focuses on the role of bilingual education in supporting minority language maintenance. According to Cummins, effective bilingual education programs can help preserve minority languages and support cultural identity. His research stresses the importance

of educational policies in promoting linguistic diversity and fostering positive identity development among minority group members.

Dorian (1989) mentions the dynamics of language shift, discussing how minority languages are at risk of extinction when younger generations adopt the dominant language. Her research highlights the impact of language shift on the cultural identity of minority groups, emphasizing the challenges faced in sustaining heritage languages. Polinsky (2018) emphasizes that heritage speakers typically show reduced proficiency and structural changes influenced by the dominant language, while community support and education can help maintain the heritage language. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), argues that discriminatory language policies can lead to cultural assimilation and loss of identity. She advocates for the protection of linguistic diversity as a fundamental human right, highlighting the need for supportive policies and practices to sustain minority languages. Language is also a tool for identity negotiation in multilingual contexts. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) examine how individuals use language to express their identities, reflecting their cultural and social positions. This dynamic process of identity negotiation sheds light on the ongoing efforts of Hungarians in Brazil to assert and redefine their cultural identity in a multilingual and multicultural context, and underlines the importance of individual and collective action in preserving minority languages and identities.

The relationship between language, identity, and integration is complex. While adopting the dominant language of the host society can facilitate social integration and economic opportunities, it can also pose challenges to maintaining a distinct cultural identity. Vertovec (2001) discusses how diasporic communities often balance the pressures of integration with the desire to preserve their heritage, using language as a key tool in this balancing act.

2.4.3. Types of bilinguals and how they store their languages

Based on Weinreich's (1953) and Pavlenko's categorization (2005), bilinguals can be classified regarding the context of language acquisition – there are coordinate, subordinate and compound bilinguals. Bilingual individuals belonging to the coordinate category learn two or more languages in distinct contexts or environments. For example, they might use one language at home (e.g., with family) and another in a separate setting, such as school or work. In this case, each language is linked to different experiences and cognitive frameworks, allowing the individual to develop separate conceptual systems for each language. Subordinate bilinguals acquire their L2 by relying on their L1. This often means that they learn the second language

through translation or by mapping new words onto the conceptual framework of their first language. They may struggle to use the second language independently without referencing the first one, making the second language somewhat dependent on the first. Compound bilinguals acquire two languages in the same context or environment, meaning that both languages are learned simultaneously and used interchangeably in similar social, cultural, and educational settings. As a result, the two languages are integrated into a single conceptual framework, where words from both languages may be linked to the same set of meanings or concepts.

2.4.4. Parental input in raising multilingual children

One of the several strategies that may lead to success in raising bi- or multilingual children is the One Parent, One Language (OPOL) strategy, which was first introduced by Ronjat (1913; cited by Navracsics, 1999), who described the approach as a way for parents in mixed marriage families to help their children acquire the two languages of the parents by consistently associating the appropriate language with the appropriate parent. This method has since been widely discussed and analyzed in bilingualism research, including by scholars like Chevalier (2015). He reviewed 15 studies on trilingualism which revealed that children whose parents implemented the OPOL strategy were more likely to develop active multilingualism compared to those whose parents did not adopt this approach. In cases where OPOL was not followed, the societal language often dominated, leading to a decline in the use of one or more parental languages by the children. While OPOL and strict language separation are particularly effective in early childhood to support the acquisition of multiple languages, their importance diminishes as children grow older and achieve proficiency in all their languages. At this stage, practices such as translanguaging do not hinder active multilingualism and can contribute to a more harmonious multilingual development.

Curdt-Christiansen and La Morgia (2018) carried out a study on family language practices and their impact on heritage language literacy among 66 families with children who spoke both English and a different heritage language. The research highlighted the significant role of parental language use in fostering heritage language acquisition. Families where parents consistently used the heritage language both with each other and with their children observed a greater likelihood of the child adopting and actively using the heritage language. Braun and Cline (2014) conducted interviews with 35 trilingual families in England and Germany, finding that children are more likely to acquire their parents' minority languages when the majority

language is spoken less frequently within the home. A home environment that prioritizes minority languages plays a crucial role in facilitating their successful acquisition.

Lanza (2007) introduces the concept of a continuum of parental discourse strategies, which serves as a framework for analyzing how parent-child interactions in bilingual families either support or hinder the development of a child's two languages. One of the most impactful signals that a child does not need to use the parental language occurs when the parent switches to the language the child is using. This shift undermines the child's motivation to engage in the heritage language.

2.5. Hungarians in São Paulo

Brazil's Law No. 219 of 2006, which proposed the establishment of the Hungarian Community Day, estimates that around 100,000 individuals of Hungarian heritage or ancestry reside in Brazil. The estimated population of the Hungarian community according to other resources is also believed to range between 80,000 and 100,000 individuals. However, this number is approximate, as it is often challenging to determine the exact size of diaspora communities due to factors such as mixed marriages and the assimilation of successive generations. These estimates are generally based on several sources. Studies and research on diaspora communities, such as reports by the Hungarian Diaspora Council, frequently examine the population of Hungarian communities around the world. Additionally, Hungarian diplomatic institutions and civil organizations connected to Hungarian communities in Brazil, such as cultural associations or church-related sources, offer their own population estimates. International migration statistics also provide data on immigrants residing in specific countries, though these sources may not fully capture the true size of diaspora populations, as the complexities of migration and identity formation make precise estimates difficult.

The city and region of São Paulo are home to the largest Hungarian community of Brazil, while sizeable Hungarian populations can also be found in other cities such as Rio de Janeiro, Curitiba, and Porto Alegre.

In the course of history, both language contact and language spread were the outcomes of migration waves, without regard to which era it was, and which ethnicities were involved in the process. In Brazil, the population of the Hungarian diaspora is formed by groups of large immigration waves and the descendants of the immigrants. The identification of the main periods, and thus their number, varies from one researcher to another. According to Pongrácz

(2008), the immigration of Hungarians to Brazil consisted of six major waves, while Bába (2015) identifies five main periods up until 1956. Anderle (2008) distinguishes four major waves of immigration, and this is the position taken in this study. He suggests a more transparent and efficient differentiation and observation of the four waves, which is relevant in the scope of this study on the Hungarian diaspora living in São Paulo. The other perspectives include immigration periods that did not consist of a significant number of people compared to the above mentioned four, and they also tend to view Latin America as a whole.

Geographically for Hungarians, Brazil as an area of settlement and new beginnings means almost exclusively the southeastern states along the Atlantic coast – Santa Catarina, São Paulo and Paraná. The fact that these states offer a similar climate to home was not a secondary factor for the immigrants – the weather in this part of Brazil is closest to the continental climate. On the other hand, as agricultural workers made up the majority of the first wave groups, it did matter what crops were grown on the various plantations. In the states further inland from the coast and closer to the equator – Mato Grosso, Maranhão, Ceará, Paraíba and Bahia – small Hungarian groups are scattered only occasionally.

2.5.1. Migration waves

From 1890, as part of the first large-scale immigration of the period at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries (Pongrácz, 2008), about two hundred families from Veszprém and thirty from Székesfehérvár emigrated, attracted by, among other things, the favorable immigration policy of the country. The Brazilian state covered the travel costs, and landlords who owned the plantations undertook to cover the settler's expenses for a year and to provide the land needed to support his family. On the other hand, disillusionment and disappointment with the ’new life’ was not uncommon – it often took 10-15 years for families to create conditions for themselves similar to those they had left behind in Hungary.

The organization of the Hungarian settlements began in the 1920s. These were started by men fleeing from disappointing living and working conditions to the interior of São Paulo state. They established entire villages, built churches and schools. However, settlements bearing names of Hungarian historical figures, such as Árpádfalva, Szentistvánkirályfalva, Bocskaitelep, Rákóczifalva, were depopulated or lost their Hungarian connection completely a few decades later. The emigrated families of the first wave were almost completely assimilated into the local culture, mostly because the circumstances at the time did not create the conditions

for communication with the mother country (Piller, 1996). During the early to mid-20th century, the global communication infrastructure was far less developed than it is today. For many immigrant communities, including Hungarians in Brazil, maintaining regular contact with their country of origin was extremely challenging. Factors such as the high cost and limited availability of international travel, the lack of accessible long-distance communication technologies (such as telephones or reliable postal services), and political upheavals in Europe, especially during and after World War II, contributed to the isolation of these diaspora communities from their homeland. Without the ability to easily communicate with family and friends back in Hungary, or access Hungarian media and cultural products, these immigrant families found it very difficult to maintain their language and cultural practices. The absence of Hungarian-language newspapers, radio programs, and educational resources in Brazil meant that Hungarian children were more likely to be educated entirely in Portuguese and socialize primarily with non-Hungarian peers. Over time, this led to a gradual language shift, with subsequent generations becoming more fluent in Portuguese and less connected to their Hungarian heritage.

The socio-political climate in Hungary during the 20th century, including the impacts of World War II, the Soviet occupation, and the subsequent communist regime, further hindered the flow of cultural exchange and information between Hungary and its diaspora. These factors created an environment in which assimilation into Brazilian culture became the path of least resistance for many Hungarian families. Without the reinforcement of their cultural and linguistic identity from external sources, these families naturally began to adopt the dominant language and cultural norms of their new environment.

A great proportion of the groups, linked to the First World War, came from areas that were no longer part of Hungary after the Treaty of Trianon. The second migration wave mainly consisted of less wealthy, blue-collar people from the middle and lower classes. Tens of thousands of them began working on the coffee and sugar cane plantations, two of the country's main export products (Szilágyi, 2003). However, for many of them, this life proved to be deeply below their expectations, and they left with other immigrant communities and sought their fortunes in the big cities. The situation of the First World War immigrants was made more difficult by the fact that the Hungarian diplomatic missions could not officially deal with people who did not have Hungarian passports. After the Treaty of Trianon, many citizens of the former Hungarian territories were forced to give up their passports, and they were given Romanian,

Czechoslovak, Yugoslav, Austrian passports – this also meant a dead end considering their contacts with the Hungarian consulate and thus with Hungary (Kóbori et al., 2017).

The third migration wave, which lasted during and after the Second World War, consisted of wealthier and more educated people. Brazil welcomed immigrants in a targeted way: as there was a shortage of engineers, electrical technicians and teachers, for example, immigrants with specific qualifications and experience were among the first to be granted residency (Piller, 1996). They were people of different social status and with different political views compared to those that arrived in the first and the second waves. Brazil also offered asylum to tens of thousands of Europeans with Jewish origin, including Hungarians fleeing the Holocaust. During the years of World War II, many Hungarian families were stuck in European camps before the great voyage, but during this time and under these circumstances they were able to preserve and practice their Hungarian identity through community-building activities such as scouting and folk dancing.

The fourth and last major wave of migration was emigration after the 1956 revolution. Appoximately 1,500-2,000 Hungarians – mainly young, educated people – were forced to flee, most of them from Budapest (Szilágyi, 2003). Thanks to the local representations in Brazil, which by this time were solid and significant, the integration of the immigrants from 1956 into Hungarian communities was much easier. Nevertheless, after the situation in Hungary had stabilized, many of them moved back to their homeland. Today's Hungarian community in São Paulo is considered the most populous in Latin America and is made up of groups from the above-mentioned immigration waves and their descendants.

These long decades were not only a period of founding organizations and newspapers, but also of fierce political and personal struggles and infighting within Hungarian colonies and associations - emigration of many political shades. The groups arriving in the different waves of migration were often of different political orientations, in stark contrast to those already there, making it difficult for them to agree on the direction of development of certain organizations. However, concern for what was happening in the homeland and the importance of preserving the culture and language proved to be more important, serving as a cohesive force for a community of nearly 100,000 people.

2.5.2. The history of the status and use of the Hungarian language in São Paulo

In 2010, a census conducted by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística – IBGE) highlighted Brazil's rich multicultural and multilingual composition. The census revealed the use of 274 indigenous and 56 immigrant languages, including Hungarian, along with several Afro-Brazilian, Creole languages, and two types of sign languages (Cardoso, 2016). These findings led to the issuance of Federal Decree 7387 in 2010, which established the National Inventory of Linguistic Diversity (Inventário Nacional da Diversidade Linguística – INDL). This inventory has since become the official tool for recognizing minority languages spoken in Brazilian society. The process of codifying minority languages began in 2002 (Morello, 2012) and has so far resulted in the official recognition of 22 minority languages. Inclusion in the National Inventory of Linguistic Diversity can be initiated by any indigenous minority or immigrant community in Brazil that has resided in the country for more than three generations, provided they can demonstrate historical continuity and active use of their language through audio recordings, video footage, or written documentation (Silvestrin, 2016). The process is overseen by the National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage (Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico Artístico e Cultural – IPHAN), which has detailed the necessary steps for sociolinguistic research in its Research Methodology Guide. This research forms the basis for the inclusion of languages into Brazil's Cultural Heritage. This process is also available to the Hungarian minority in Brazil, as the Hungarian language has been in use in the country for nearly 200 years (Thomázy, 2023).

In diaspora communities, the phenomenon of language shift presents a significant challenge to the preservation of cultural identity. This question arises when younger generations, born or raised in a new country, gradually shift to the dominant language of the host society, often at the expense of their heritage language. As these younger individuals become more integrated into the new country, the need to use the dominant language – whether at school, in the workplace or in social interaction – is becoming more and more crucial. Consequently, the heritage language may be relegated to a secondary status, often limited to use within the family or community settings, if at all. Over time, this shift can lead to a gradual erosion of fluency in the heritage language, as younger generations may not be provided with the same environments that encourage its consistent use. Ensuring the transmission of language and cultural knowledge to future generations is essential for the sustainability and continuity of any diaspora community. The preservation of language and cultural practices not only maintains

a connection to the ancestral homeland but also reinforces a strong communal identity in the face of assimilation pressures.

This question became critical for the Hungarian immigrant community in São Paulo following World War I, when a significant influx of Hungarian immigrants settled in the city. The rapid increase in the Hungarian population created an urgent need to provide adequate educational opportunities for their children, who were at risk of losing their heritage language and cultural ties in a predominantly Portuguese-speaking environment. At that time, there was a notable lack of public education for Hungarian children in São Paulo.

Learning the Hungarian language has become even more popular in the diaspora than it was before, because one of the conditions according to the Citizenship Act of Hungary for becoming a citizen has become the proficient knowledge of their heritage language.

2.5.3. Education in Hungarian as a minority language in São Paulo

Recognizing the importance of education in preserving their language, the Hungarian community took proactive measures to address this gap. In 1927, the first Hungarian school in São Paulo was established, marking a pivotal moment in the community's efforts to sustain their linguistic and cultural heritage. This initial step was soon followed by the formation of the Alliance of Hungarian Schools, an organization dedicated to promoting a unified approach to Hungarian education in São Paulo. The Alliance played a crucial role in coordinating the efforts of various Hungarian educational institutions (Thomázy & Thomázy, 2020). These schools adopted a bilingual curriculum that integrated both Hungarian and Portuguese. By institutionalizing bilingual education, the Hungarian community sought to create an environment where future generations could remain connected to their cultural roots while also fully participating in the broader Brazilian society. This approach aligns with broader theories of language maintenance, such as those proposed by Fishman (1991), who emphasized the importance of education and institutional support in reversing language shift and sustaining minority languages over time. Fenyvesi (2005) also points out that community institutions, such as heritage language schools and cultural associations, play a crucial role in maintaining Hungarian among later generations, despite overall trends of language shift.

The language policy of a state holds significant authority in shaping the national curriculum, which also encompasses the choice of language of instruction. Cenoz and Gorter (2012) classify the language usage within the school curriculum into four categories: (i)

complete lack of minority language education, (ii) the minority language being limited to a subject while the official state language serves as the medium of instruction, (iii) both the dominant and minority languages being used as mediums of instruction, and (iv) the minority language serving as the medium of instruction in school education, with the dominant language being taught as a subject. The third category was the most common in the early Hungarian schools in Brazil. In 1938, there were still twelve functioning Hungarian schools, but by 1951 the era of Hungarian schools had come to an end. More than 10,000 children received primary education in these Hungarian schools, but due to institutional nationalization, schools went under a transition into a full Portuguese curriculum (category i). The prohibition of minority organizations and the use of minority languages had a profound impact not only on the Hungarian language within the minority community but also on the language preservation efforts of other major immigrant groups, including the Germans, Italians, and Japanese (Cardoso, 2016).

Despite the strict regulations and the dominant language curriculum, which was the only option allowed, *Colégio Santo Américo*, a private school was established by Hungarian Benedictines from Pannonhalma in 1951. Hungarian weekend-schools and the opportunity for high school graduates to take Hungarian matura exam were provided by the Benedictines in the following decades.

The developing scout movement, with the creation of György Szondi Scout Troop offered the possibility for representatives of the young generation who wanted to strengthen their Hungarian identity and maintain their language by involving themselves into a community of more generations of Hungarians. The weekly scouting events are aimed, among many other elements, at teaching history, literature, and language.

From the last decade before the millennium, the University of São Paulo (USP) has been offering Hungarian language courses through the Department of Oriental Languages. Furthermore, since 2014, in cooperation with the University of Pécs, Hungary, students of the USP have had the possibility to attend lectures on Hungarian studies in a mixed Portuguese and Hungarian context and language, held by Hungarian professors delegated from Hungary. The interest in learning Hungarian has grown in the past decade, and the language courses provided by the Hungarian House, one of the oldest Hungarian-related institutions, have become increasingly popular. The Hungarian House is the center of the Hungarian culture, and its reputation continues to influence visitors to this day.

2.5.3.1. Hungarian Language School of the Hungarian House

In the decades before 2000s, there were always people who taught Hungarian in the community, but as an organization, the school as a formal institution did not exist, unlike in other Hungarian communities in the diaspora, where Hungarian weekend schools operated. Then, first on a voluntary basis, teacher groups were organized in the Hungarian House, but in the meantime more and more private teachers worked outside the institution - this meant competition for the Hungarian House, but also a green light for the promotion of culture and language. In the 2000s, mainly in order to maintain the Balázs Péter Nursing Home, also run by the Hungarian community, the Hungarian school was also seen as a source of income to help cover some of the costs.

From the 2010s one of the key educational initiatives was the establishment of regular Hungarian language courses aimed at different age groups and proficiency levels. These courses were designed not only to teach the language but also to immerse students in Hungarian culture, thereby reinforcing the connection between language and identity. The curriculum often included elements of Hungarian history, literature, and traditions, ensuring that students received a comprehensive cultural education alongside language instruction. In addition to language courses, the Hungarian House organizes cultural events, where the Hungarian language is used. These events provide practical opportunities for students to apply their language skills in real-life contexts.

It is important to note that the University of Debrecen and the University of Pécs provided textbooks for the Hungarian House for educational purposes. At the end of the 2010s, the school had about 20-25 students, then after the COVID pandemic there was a big increase in the number of students.

In 2020, the Language School of the Hungarian House was affected by the pandemic, but the institution emerged from it with renewed vitality. Leaders of the association realized that they could use massive marketing and media campaigns to increase the number of people willing to learn Hungarian. Over the next two years, the number of students grew from 20-25 to 130-150, and the number of teachers doubled. The Hungarian House now provides in-person and online education and offers two types of scholarship to motivate people to learn the language. Ten percent of the adult students receive a scholarship, allowing them to cover only 40% of the tuition fee. Also, the Hungarian House and the Szondi György Scout Troop takes over 80% of the cost of the children’s course.

In 2022, online research was conducted by coordinators of the language course of the Hungarian House, with the aim of discovering the motivation and the background of the students enrolled in the Hungarian classes. The Student Profile Questionnaire was filled in by 125 individuals. The main motivation of learning Hungarian turned out to be having the sufficient knowledge for the language exam needed to acquire the citizenship, according to 55% of respondents. Twenty-one per cent indicated language learning in general as their reason of attending Hungarian classes, pointing out that the procedures of other minority language schools (e.g., Italian and German) are much more bureaucratic. Ancestry (16%) and understanding the culture (8%) were the least significant motivating reasons. The average age of respondents was 40, but there is a large gap between the youngest (under 15) and the oldest (above 70) student, therefore the answers to the question on descendance were very different: 3% of the group is claimed to be descendants of Hungarian parents of great-grandparents, 31% of Hungarian great-grandparents, 37% of grandparents and 19% of parents. Ten per cent has no Hungarian heritage but has Hungarian partners. Only 50% of the respondents lives in São Paulo, 45% in other parts of Brazil and 5% abroad. However, as the language school of the Hungarian House offers online teaching, this is not a problem for those motivated to learn Hungarian.

2.5.4. The sustainability of the Hungarian culture in São Paulo

2.5.4.1. The Hungarian House in São Paulo

The oldest and most important institution in the life of the Hungarian community in São Paulo is the Association of Hungarian Entities in Brazil, or Associacão Húngara Auxiliadora do Brasil (later known as the Hungarian House), founded in 1926 by Hungarians who emigrated to Brazil after World War I. Its statutes were based on the principles of the Deutscher Hilfsverein (German Aid Association), which by then had 60 years of experience.

Immigrants needed to face restrictions regarding their use of language and maintenance of the Hungarian culture in most of the host countries they could escape to. From 1941, speaking Hungarian or any other languages of the Axis powers was forbidden in São Paulo. Moreover, the Hungarian House was subject to expropriation. It took almost two years of official state supervision and control to convince the authorities that the work of the Association was only aid and education, which were for the benefit of the state itself, too. However, in accordance with the new law introduced, the Board of Directors could only be composed of native Brazilian citizens. The official name also had to be nationalized, in which the word ‘Hungarian’ could

not appear – since the Brazilian authorities allowed the first general meeting of the association to be held on September 30, 1943, the organization got renamed to Associação Beneficiente 30 de Setembro (Benefit Association 30th of September). The colony gratefully remembers to this day the Brazilian directors who helped the organization to survive. World War II curbed the development of the community, decrees of the Brazilian government regulated the abolition or nationalization of associations and schools that were established by the immigrant groups of the Axis nations.

By 1945, the board of directors, composed of Hungarians, could be set up again. However, due to the different waves of migration, social interests and political views often diverged the community. The diaspora of São Paulo matured relatively late for the establishment of an own Hungarian House, which opened its doors in Avenida de São João in the late 60s. The building of the Hungarian House, which is the home of the community today, was constructed in 1985 in Rua Gomes de Carvalho, partly with the help of donations of the colony. The objective of *Casa Húngara* is to cultivate and maintain the Hungarian culture, language, and national identity. Nowadays, events organized by the board are already in the Portuguese language besides Hungarian, because of the younger generations and mixed marriages. On Hungarian public holidays, the Hungarian House regularly holds commemorative events, which include performances by scouts and folk dancers, as well as speeches by invited guests from Hungary. Hungarian dinners, joint cookouts, Hungarian markets, Easter, literature and chess circle, Christmas market, Hungarian mass - these and many other smaller events enrich the Hungarian community life, which is one of the most active among the Hungarian colonies in South America. The events are usually attended by various numbers of people, between 150 and 200.

2.5.4.2. The General Consulate of Hungary in São Paulo

Hungary has altogether 10 institutions of diplomatic representation in Brazil. They include the Embassy of Hungary in the capital Brasíla and other nine consulates around the country. *Consulado Geral da Hungria em São Paulo* is located in one of the business districts of the Brazilian metropole, in a skyscraper of a corporate center.

For diaspora communities, maintaining transnational ties with the countries of origin is indispensable from the point of view of sustaining their culture and language. In the beginning of the 2010s, Hungary's national policy was characteristically open on several fronts towards

the Hungarian communities living in the diaspora. The amendment to the Citizenship Act, which came into force in 2011, breaks with the requirement of Hungarian residency as a condition for acquiring Hungarian citizenship. Thanks to the simplified naturalization process, a person whose ancestor was a Hungarian citizen and who speaks Hungarian can acquire the citizenship. Those who have previously held Hungarian citizenship but lost it for historical reasons can use the legal institution of re-acquisition. Since 2011, a person who has been married to a Hungarian citizen for at least five years can also apply.

The acquisition of Hungarian citizenship and the ever-increasing motivation to learn the Hungarian language, as the results of the Student Profile Questionnaire show, cannot be fully understood without considering the broader political implications of these choices. While traditional and cultural reasons, such as maintaining a connection to one's heritage, are certainly significant, the political dimensions of acquiring Hungarian citizenship also play a vital role. The desire to obtain Hungarian citizenship may be influenced by the political benefits associated with holding citizenship from an EU member state. Hungarian citizenship provides access to the European Union, including the right to live, work, and study in any EU country. This can be appealing for individuals seeking broader economic opportunities, educational prospects, or a more flexible mobility within the EU. Therefore, while cultural and symbolic connections to Hungary are important, the acquisition of Hungarian citizenship can also be seen as a strategic move, driven by pragmatic considerations of economic and social mobility.

Furthermore, the Hungarian government's policies towards its diaspora potentially have political undertones, too. The policy of the naturalization process allows ethnic Hungarians living abroad to acquire citizenship more easily, which can be interpreted as a way for the Hungarian state to strengthen ties with its diaspora and trying to expand its political influence. By granting citizenship, the Hungarian government can strengthen the loyalty of the diaspora, which may have political consequences. Hungarian citizenship grants the right to participate in Hungarian parliamentary elections, even for those living abroad, which introduces a direct political connection between the diaspora and Hungary. The rights associated with Hungarian citizenship are another important aspect to consider. Beyond the practical benefits of EU mobility, Hungarian citizens in Brazil might have access to consular protection and other diplomatic services.

As a result of the amendment to the law, nearly 700,000 individuals have been granted Hungarian citizenship worldwide, according to the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH, 2020). Many of São Paulo's Hungarian community have also taken the advantage of the

procedure, and every year new applicants can obtain their documents ceremonially at major events of the colony, organized partly by the General Consulate.

Before World War I, the diplomatic institution was involved in the activities of the Association of Hungarian Entities in São Paulo whenever it was possible. After WWII and the communist turn in Hungary though, the Consulate was seen by the community as a local representation of communism. The Hungarian government did not even reopen the Consulate in its former function; it only operated as a commercial representation. It was not considered convenient for the Hungarians in the colony to visit the Consulate, and did not seek contact with the Hungarian community, either. The situation of WWII immigrants was made more difficult by the fact that Hungarian diplomatic missions could not officially deal with individuals who did not have Hungarian passports – after the Treaty of Trianon, most of the people from the regions that became parts of neighboring countries were forced to give up on their passports.

By the 70s, Hungarian politics experienced a détente. Members of the Hungarian community in Brazil had the chance to go back to Hungary, and visas were provided by the newly formed Consulate. What is more, the Consulate started to host national holidays and traditional celebrations, which were attended by more and more people from the colony. Today, the *Consulado Geral da Hungria* has a leading role in organizing the Hungarian community life in São Paulo. In addition to that, since the introduction of the simplified naturalization procedure in Hungary in 2011, it has provided the gateway to acquiring citizenship for those who have Hungarian ancestors or are married to Hungarian citizens (in case of possessing at least an intermediate level of Hungarian language proficiency).

2.5.4.3. A preliminary note on the linguistic landscape of Hungarian institutions in São Paulo

As a supplementary element of my broader research into the status and use of Hungarian in São Paulo, I conducted a small-scale linguistic landscape study (Csrepka, 2022) to examine how the Hungarian language is visually represented in two central institutions of the local diaspora: the Hungarian House (*Casa Húngara*) and the General Consulate of Hungary. While limited in scope, this investigation aimed to explore the symbolic and practical roles of public signage in supporting heritage language maintenance.

Following established linguistic landscape methodologies (Pavlenko, 2009; Reh, 2004), I collected 77 photos – 50 at the Hungarian House and 27 at the Consulate – documenting all fixed signs inside and outside both buildings. Signs were categorized by language content (Hungarian, Portuguese, English), by type (monolingual, bilingual, multilingual), and by official status (top-down institutional signage). Information arrangement was also analyzed to see whether bilingual or multilingual signs treated languages equally or emphasized one over another.

Results showed clear differences between the two institutions. At the Hungarian House, which serves as a cultural and educational hub, Hungarian predominated among monolingual signs (31 out of 42). These were found especially on room names, library labels, and commemorative plaques celebrating community members. Portuguese monolingual signs were mainly functional, such as safety instructions, while bilingual and multilingual signs often balanced Hungarian and Portuguese equally or included English in some cases. This pattern aligns with the House's mission to foster Hungarian language use and cultural identity among new generations.

By contrast, the General Consulate of Hungary displayed a more Portuguese-dominant linguistic landscape. Of its 14 monolingual signs, 13 were in Portuguese, reflecting its administrative role in serving the wider Brazilian public. Yet Hungarian remained consistently present in all bilingual and multilingual signage, often paired with Portuguese or English in contexts that promoted cultural heritage. For example, the "Corner of Books" initiative encouraged visitors to engage with Hungarian literature—a relevant detail, given that language learning is vital for citizenship applicants.

Signage in the two institutions reflects a functional adaptation to context: the Hungarian House intentionally represents Hungarian to support cultural transmission, while the Consulate uses Portuguese for administrative clarity but still ensures Hungarian remains visible in culturally significant contexts. Even with its limited scope, the study offers insight into how linguistic landscape can play both informational and symbolic roles in diaspora settings, helping to normalize the heritage language in public space and support language maintenance efforts.

2.5.4.4. Other Hungarian institutions

Creating institutions rooted in the culture of the old country can contribute to the sustainability of immigrant culture and language. During the 20th century, numerous associations were

established by European immigrant groups like Hungarians in São Paulo (Némethy, 2001). However, by the turn of the millennium, besides the primary institutions such as the Hungarian House and the General Consulate only a fraction of these organizations endured. Within the Hungarian community, a few entities, such as Colégio Santo Américo, Szondi György Scout Troop, Pántlika Folk Dance Group, Restaurante de Chárika and Clube XV de Março survived until the 2000s. A very important institution in the life of the Hungarian community, the Balázs Péter Nursing Home, which had a rich history of almost 60 years, closed its doors in 2018.

Colégio Santo Américo, originally known in Hungarian as Szent Imre Kollégium, was founded by Hungarian Benedictine monks, who were willing to continue their educational and religious mission in a new land during the mid-20th century. The college was named after Saint Emeric (Imre), the son of Hungary's first king, Saint Stephen, and a revered figure in Hungarian history and Roman Catholic tradition. When the college was established, the curriculum was designed to provide a high-quality education while also fostering a strong sense of Hungarian identity among the students. Over time, Colégio Santo Américo evolved into one of São Paulo's most prestigious educational institutions, and although the school has become more integrated into the broader Brazilian educational system, it continues to honor its Hungarian roots. It has historically hosted Hungarian language masses, which are typically held in the chapel of the college, where the Hungarian Benedictine monks originally conducted services. At the chapel Hungarian Catholics can come together to worship Hungarian language, preserving a key aspect of their spiritual heritage. While the frequency and specific details of these masses may vary, they continue to be an important aspect of the religious life of the community. The Colégio also serves as the venue of various Hungarian events, such as holiday celebrations.

The Szondi György Scout Troop, founded in 1949, was named after the 16th century Hungarian hero György Szondi. At a time when scouting was banned in Hungary by the communist regime, diaspora communities like those in São Paulo used scouting as a key means of preserving Hungarian culture and traditions. Today, the Szondi György Scout Troop continues to be active, organizing regular outdoor activities in the Simon Bálint Scout Park, located in Embu, a town near São Paulo. While Portuguese has become the dominant language within the troop, Hungarian language and cultural learning remain central to its mission. A significant aspect of the troop's activities involves preparing older scouts for leadership roles through exams, which require scouts to demonstrate not only their language skills but also their knowledge of Hungarian literature, geography, ethnography, and history. It is a common trend that those who serve as scout leaders often become key figures in the community's institutions

in adulthood, such as members of the Hungarian House's board of directors or employees at the Consulate.

The Pántlika Folk Dance Group was established in 1968 and has always attracted many participants from the community. In its early years, the leaders faced significant challenges in gathering audiovisual materials such as CDs and cassettes, and creating choreographies, as there were no online resources available for accessing music or videos, unlike today. Despite these difficulties, the ensemble has grown into a professional dance group and has even traveled to Hungary on several occasions to perform. Today, dancers meet multiple times a week, brought together by their shared love for Hungarian folk culture, music, and dance. Although Portuguese has become the primary language of communication within the group, the Pántlika Folk Dance Group serves as yet another example of how language does not have to be the primary factor in preserving identity within a multi-generational diaspora.

The Balázs Péter Nursing Home, maintained by the Hungarian community since 1961, functioned as a residential care and could constantly host 25–30 elderly individuals until 2018. It played an important role in supporting older members of the Hungarian diaspora in Brazil and represented one of the key institutions established by Hungarian emigrants in the country. The leaders of the Hungarian institutions in São Paulo have always stressed the importance of maintaining the nursing home. One of the main objectives of the celebrations that took place in its last years, such as the Love Ball, the Easter Egg Festival or the Hungarian Food Festival, was to ensure its financial survival. Originally only elderly Hungarians were allowed to stay here, but by its last decades it had opened its doors for Brazilians, too. It is important to note that the Balázs Péter Nursing Home was a bicultural institution, whose leadership aimed to ensure that both Hungarian and Brazilian residents lived together harmoniously and maintained friendly relations. In 1996, after several official inspections, the prestigious daily newspaper "O Estado do São Paulo" published an article in which it listed the institution as one of the "excellent homes for the elderly". The Hungarian authorities finally decided to let go of the Balázs Péter Nursing Home 22 years later, in 2018.

Restaurante de Chárica is a well-known Hungarian restaurant in São Paulo. It is recognized as one of the most prominent establishments serving traditional Hungarian cuisine in the city. The restaurant was founded in the mid-20th century, in the aftermath of World War II and the 1956 Revolution. Even today, Chárica is a cultural hub for the Hungarian community and also those locals who appreciate Central European cuisine. The restaurant often hosts

cultural events and gatherings, providing a space where Hungarian traditions and culinary arts are preserved and celebrated.

Clube XV de Março has historically served as a gathering place for the Hungarian diaspora, offering a space for cultural, social, and recreational activities. The club was named after 15th of March, a significant date in Hungarian history that commemorates the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. The club is home to S.E.R.V.A (Sociedade Esportiva Recreativa de Vila Anastácio, “Vila Anastácio Sports and Recreation Society”) originally founded by Hungarians as a football team. Although today the team is not made up of Hungarian players, the club's colours are red, white and green, and their mascot is the Hungarian Puli. The team was created to provide the Hungarian community with an opportunity to connect through sport, especially football.

CHAPTER 3. DATA AND METHODS

3.1. Participants

In this dissertation, I refer to the 'old diaspora' as communities that have been established at a particular location for a long period, spanning several generations. The children, grandchildren, and even great-grandchildren of the earliest settlers still live in the areas to which their ancestors once immigrated. These groups primarily left their home countries for political reasons, influenced by external circumstances that often did not involve a deliberate choice of destination. In many cases, the destination was a country that they did not personally choose, but rather one that was accepting political refugees at that specific time and under those circumstances. Today, these communities are held together more by cultural ties than by linguistic ones. In contrast, the term 'young diaspora' refers to groups that have emigrated in recent years or decades. Due to advancements in the information technology, communication with Hungary is much easier and more frequent, and even travel to Hungary is feasible. The young diaspora is primarily composed of individuals who emigrated for economic reasons, often as a result of personal decisions. While they are undoubtedly familiar with contemporary dialects and slang, the intergenerational transmission of the mother tongue within the young diaspora is not always seamless. This is sometimes due to a lack of willingness on the part of first-generation parents to actively pass on the language as a heritage language.

In this study, I consider as first-generation migrants those who decided to emigrate in their adult years during the previous century, irrespective of the type of migration (political, economic, family reunification, etc.) and the migration waves that they were part of. Therefore, individuals settling down in Brazil with their parents as young children are considered second generation – as are those born in Brazil to first generation parents. The definition is much simpler for the third and fourth generations, who were already born in Brazil to second and third generation parents, respectively. It is important to note that, there were some first-generation participants who arrived in Brazil recently, so they are also considered first-generation members. However, there may be a 40–50-year difference between the two first-generation emigrant groups. When analyzing the data, I will separate their answers in quantitative and qualitative analysis. Most of the interviewees have a higher education degree or are studying in higher education and already have a secure job. With a few exceptions, the interviewees speak English in addition to Portuguese and Hungarian.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 11 individuals, with each generation being represented. Some of the participants fulfill or have fulfilled important positions at the Hungarian House or at the General Consulate. The interviewees are Hungarian language users on a daily, weekly, or at least a monthly basis – also depending on the generation. From the first generation, one female and one male, while from the second generation three female and one male participant were asked for the interviews. Two female and one male gave interviews from the third generation, and one female and one male from the fourth. The interviewees were selected based on several criteria. First and foremost, I wanted to target representatives from each generation, including those with a broad perspective of the Hungarian diaspora – whether they are a past prominent figure in the Hungarian community, a former or current employee of the Hungarian House, a person working at the Consulate, or a member of a cultural group such as a folk dance troupe or scout troop.

ID	**No. of generation**	**Gender**	**Context of bilingual language acquisition** (Pavlenko, 2005)	**National identity**
P1a	1st gen.	Female	Coordinate	Triple (HU, BR, EU)
P1b	1st gen.	Male	Coordinate	Dual (HU, BR)
P2a	2nd gen.	Female	Coordinate	Dual (HU, BR)
P2b	2nd gen.	Female	Coordinate	Dual (HU, BR)
P2c	2nd gen.	Male	Subordinate	Dual (HU, BR)
P2d	2nd gen.	Female	Coordinate	Triple (HU, BR, AU)
P3a	3rd gen.	Female	Coordinate	Dual (HU, BR)
P3b	3rd gen.	Female	Compound	Triple (HU, BR, US)

P3c	3rd gen.	Male	Compound	Dual (HU, BR)
P4a	4th gen.	Female	Compound	Triple (HU, BR, US)
P4b	4th gen.	Male	Compound	Dual (HU, BR)

Table 1. List of Interviewees

Table 1 was created mainly to identify the interviewee in the quotations from interviews during the dissertation. Respondents were given different identification codes to ensure their anonymity and unique identification. The ID starts with the letter 'P' (Participant), followed by the generation number (1,2,3, or 4), and ends with the third character as a serial letter within each generation, based on alphabetical order. The last two columns are grouped by the factors that are most relevant to the study, that is, context of bilingual language acquisition and national identity.

Representatives of the oldest generation (P1a, P1b) learnt Portuguese by adopting the majority language of the country using Hungarian at home in family context, or friends among each other. Except for the P2c interviewee, all first- and second-generation interviewees fall into Pavlenko' s coordinate category. The interviews revealed that they used Hungarian in their home environment as children and Portuguese at school and later at work. Although one of these respondents has clearly since become more fluent in Portuguese than in Hungarian (P2b), she also belongs to the latter category in terms of bilingual language acquisition. Interviewee P2c was already in his youth when he discovered his interest in learning Hungarian, and he used Portuguese as his L1 to help in learning Hungarian. From the third generation "downward," Pavlenko's compound category is the most common. Here, there is intergenerational phenomenon, as younger individuals were more likely to be born into mixed marriages, where both languages were likely used at home. All of the third and fourth generation respondents were part of either the scouts or the folk dance group, where children from mixed marriages would sometimes speak Portuguese, sometimes Hungarian, thus creating the same context for bilingual language acquisition.

Seventy-eight respondents of four different generations filled in The National Identity Profile Questionnaire (NIP-Q). No specific criteria were imposed for selecting participants for

the questionnaire, apart from aiming to include individuals who identified as being of Hungarian heritage. For the in-person administration of the questionnaire, I made deliberate efforts to reach representatives of each generation. In the case of the online version – which received a higher number of responses – the distribution was facilitated by one of the leaders of the Hungarian House. He shared the questionnaire through the organization's mailing list and Facebook group, both of which consist of members with Hungarian ancestry. In the NIP-Q, the first generation was represented by 14 participants, the second by 33, the third by 22, and the fourth by 9 individuals. The most populous age group is between 40 and 65 years old, while the least represented are those under 18 years old. Gender distribution was almost evenly balanced, with 38 female and 40 male participants.

Generation	Number of participants
1st	14
2nd	33
3rd	22
4th	9

Table 2. Distribution in the generations of participants in the NIP-Q

Eighty percent of the respondents were born in Brazil. The nationalities of the ancestors are remarkably diverse besides Hungarian and Brazilian: family members of Japanese, Portuguese, French, Italian, German, Austrian, Ukrainian, Slovenian, Yugoslav, Romanian, Slovenian, Turkish and Chilean origin were indicated. As illustrated in Table 3, 15% of participants indicated Hungary as their place of birth, but there were some that were born in Romania or Ukraine, more specifically from the Hungarian-inhabited areas. There was one person that indicated Austria and two who were born France. This confirms that approximately one-fifth of the participants are representatives of the first generation.

Place of Birth	Brazil	Hungary	Austria	Ukraine	Romania	France	Total
Number of Respondents	61	12	1	1	1	2	78

Table 3. Respondents and their places of birth

If we look at the country of origin of the ancestors, both maternal and paternal grandfathers of the respondents come from Hungary in the largest proportion. Given the circumstances of migration flows and historical facts, this is hardly surprising.

3.2. Data

I used two instruments, which are complementary, to explore my participants' identity construction both quantitatively and qualitatively. The semi-structured interviews allowed me for a deeper analysis while the questionnaire served as a good basis for a quantitative account of the answers to my research questions.

3.2.1. Interviews

The 11 representatives of the interviews are of four distinct generations within the Hungarian community. These personal conversations were structured around a predefined set of 26 questions, covering various topics such as family, language, culture, and identity. The length of the interviews depended on the openness of the interviewees, their attitude to the questions and last but not least their free time – the shortest recorded interview is 19 minutes and 13 seconds, while the longest is 2 hours, 19 minutes, and 37 seconds. Taking all interviews into account, the mean length of interviews is 1 hour 17 minutes. In his work, Lutz (1988) emphasizes the significance of considering the language skills of both the researchers and the informants when gathering data for anthropological studies on language. The language proficiency of the researchers in the target language plays a crucial role as it can serve as one of the primary avenues for ”access to local ethno-psychological knowledge” (p. 84). Additionally, Pavlenko (2005) highlights the essential nature of discussing the language histories and proficiency levels of both parties involved when the goal is a comprehensive data analysis in a particular research study. The participants were in a multilingual mode during the interviews as they were aware

of the interviewer's proficiency in Portuguese and English, in addition to Hungarian. During the recorded interviews, the interviewees opened up honestly, as they saw the friendly intention of the interviewer to integrate into the community, so that the observer's paradox be avoided.

Two of the interviewees work as Hungarian teachers in the community, and the influence of Portuguese was less noticeable in their speech. Given that the 11 interviewees are or were active members of the Hungarian community and have played some role in the life of the Hungarian House, as members of the folk dance group or as scout leaders over the years and decades, the level of Hungarian spoken and written in the interviews is higher than that of their peers in general, and of the community as a whole.

3.2.2. The National Identity Profile Questionnaire (NIP-Q)

National identity is as much a hereditary dynamic as language and can be shaped and cultivated in similar ways in order to be sustained. However, motivation may vary, depending on several factors, such as intergenerational relations, the influence of age, the commitment to preserving inherited values, the prevalence of mixed marriages, and so on. To analyze such dynamics, the National Identity Profile Questionnaire (NIP-Q) was developed to explore the perception of dual or multiple national identity of the members of this national minority group. The questionnaire sheds light on both the more and the less dominant identities, as well as on factors that influence the level of these identities, while the results make it possible to see in which generations these factors are more or less prominent.

The processing and interpretation of the data gained from NIP-Q can provide an opportunity to develop a pathway to long-term sustainability considering the cultural, social and identity context. The study not only seeks to explore the internal dynamics of a certain community but also contributes more broadly to a deeper understanding of the complex questions of similar diasporas, intercultural interchange and globalization, while providing an empirical basis for sustainable national identities and cultural heritage.

The idea of the National Identity Profile Questionnaire was adopted from the Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire (LEAP-Q) by Marian, Blumenfeld, & Kaushanskaya (2007), but NIP-Q was designed specifically for conducting identity research. After some piloting, I used it to collect data for the first time within the Hungarian community in São Paulo. The NIP-Q consists of three parts: in Part 1 (History), respondents answer questions about the origin of their family members, pointing out the ancestry of the national identities they

inherited. Furthermore, they need to list the national identities that form their self-definition in order of dominance. By analyzing the answers of Part 1, we can find out which generation the surveyed individuals belong to, and we can already get an insight into whether attachment to inherited national identity actually decreases as generations get younger. In Part 2 (Attitude), participants express their attitudes towards each national identity and set an order among the five indicated factors (language; place of residence; religion; family; cultural habits) that shape their national identity No.1, No.2 and No.3 (if they have one). This section sheds most light on which of the factors listed above play the most important role in preserving their Hungarian identity.

Part 3 (Relevance) asks respondents to complete identity-related sentences by selecting the national identity they consider most relevant. The responses in Part 3 reveal insights such as which national identity is more closely associated with their sense of humor, and their language preferences for watching films or listening to music. Part 3 ends with a question about the perception of the participants on their mixed national identity.

Among other objectives, the NIP-Q was created to explore the relationship between different generations and their self-identification, and the emotions of participants related to their Hungarian and Brazilian national identities. The questionnaire also aims to explore the degree to which emigrating Hungarians and their descendants hold on to their origins, and the extent of assimilation into the local culture, language, and everyday life.

3.3. Procedure

The data collection processes I carried out can be divided into two parts. The semi-structured interviews were carried out in 2020, while the call for filling out the National Identity Profile Questionnaire was issued in 2023. In 2020, the first year of the coronavirus pandemic, a 9-month grant by the Hungarian State Secretariat for National Policy provided me with the opportunity to conduct field research.

The pandemic initially made it difficult to engage with participants and to map the Hungarian related institutions, but with the rapid development of video-calling apps, it became possible to conduct interviews in the online space, and later, as the epidemic subsided, face-to-face interviews took priority. In the former case, the recording function of the apps helped to save the conversations, while the face-to-face interviews were documented by the voice recorders of mobile phones. The interviews were subsequently transcribed, also with particular

attention to the spoken language speech characteristics, so that I can analyze them later and compare generational differences in this respect, too. This research approach was rooted in qualitative methods, acknowledging the limitations associated with a small sample size. The second reader of the interviews was my supervisor.

The opportunity to collect data in 2023 was partly supported by a grant from the University of Pannonia. The questionnaire prepared for the fieldwork was developed based on the content of the interviews, the mapping of the most important local Hungarian institutions and the experiences gained by living among the Hungarians in São Paulo. Before distributing the final version of the NIP-Q, I conducted an informal pre-test with five acquaintances, all of whom held dual or triple citizenship. Based on their feedback, I refined several items to improve clarity and ensure that the questions were easily understood by respondents with complex national identity backgrounds.

For the representatives of all the four generations, NIP-Q was available in Portuguese, knowing that they understand completely and are fluent in the language, while the level of proficiency in Hungarian is varied among younger groups. Participants could fill in the printed version of the questionnaire during events of the Hungarian House, while the online version was shared on several web interfaces managed by the personnel of the institution. The analysis of the results was conducted after the fieldwork ended. Prior to the final analysis, the responses collected on paper were manually entered into the same Google Forms database as the online responses. This ensured that all data were stored in a single, consistent format, making the analysis more transparent and manageable. Most of the questions were multiple-choice, which made it easy to translate the printed version into the online space and proved to be a useful method for analyzing the results, too. Time saving was also an important consideration - the simplicity of the questions made the questionnaire generally 10-15 minutes to complete. According to the responses to the very first question of the NIP-Q, 86% of respondents felt most comfortable by answering questions about their dual or triple national identity by choosing the highest option possible (option 6). Five percent choose option 5, another 5% option 4, while 3% was split between options 2 and 3. This question had 6 options to choose from so that, without creating an absolute middle option 3, respondents would have to make a choice and consider whether they felt positive or negative about completing the interview.

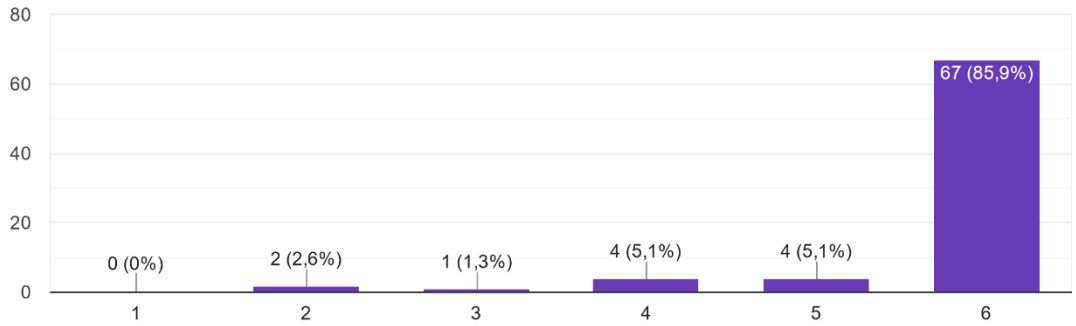

Figure 1. Level of convenience in completing the National Identity Profile Questionnaire

(Minimum score: 1; Maximum score: 6)

The responses were evaluated in two ways. The aim of analyzing the "Individual" responses was to group the results according to the generation of the respondents, extracting attributes specific to each age group. The review of the "Summary" responses was designed to generate age-independent results specific to the community as a whole. The multiple diagrams that have been developed in this way can be used in the future for topic-specific research and can also provide interesting feedback to the Hungarian House, and even the Hungarian State Secretariat for National Policy, which has provided the diaspora with enormous intellectual and financial support over the past decades.

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS AND ANALYSES

4.1. Participants' reflections on the Hungarian language and culture in the diaspora

Based on the results of the different research materials, I found that apart from the first-generation Hungarians, who have maintained their L1, Portuguese is the mother tongue of the diaspora. The younger generations use Hungarian less and less frequently, and in many cases Spanish or English has become the second language instead of Hungarian. For parents from the first generation, it was natural to teach their children Hungarian, to enroll them in Hungarian scout troops, and later in folk dance groups. In the second and third generations, the previous trend is declining, mainly due to mixed marriages and rapid assimilation (Piller, 1996) – their children speak less Hungarian, and nowadays the working language of scouting and folk dancing is mainly Portuguese. But the community cannot be blamed, their love and loyalty towards Hungarian culture and identity is just as unwavering as before.

(1) *Nemcsak a cserkészetbe, de a táncba is, meg mindenbe, tehát ezek a.. ezek a-aa mozgalmok, amik vannak a kolónián belül sajnos egyre ne.. egyre nehezebb, ugye? Mert a vegyes házasságok.. a vegyes házasságba a szülők inkább portugálul beszélnek otthon és ő nekik is kezd egyre nehezebb lenni tudod hogy magyarul beszéljenek, már mondom, mer inkább portugálul beszélnek egész nap. Hiába, ha az ember nem gyakorolja, lehet az anyanyelve az embernek…*

"Not only in scouting, but also in folk dancing and everything… so these, these a-aa activities that we have within the colony are unfortunately becoming more and more difficult, aren't they? Because in mixed marriages, the parents prefer to speak Portuguese at home and it's getting harder for them to speak, you know, Hungarian, I'm telling you, because they prefer to speak Portuguese all day long. it's no use, if you don't practice it, even if it is your mother tongue.

(Interviewee P2a)

At the time the dance groups were formed, it was important for the leaders to ensure that everyone was fluent in Hungarian and that the members of the group were of Hungarian origin. Today, the leadership is more accepting, recognizing the fact that the culture can only continue if there is no strictness in these aspects. Here are two interview pieces from the same participant, who happens to have learned Hungarian as a child in part because of folk dance,

and then as an adult admits that the culture is more important as a product of dance than the language.

(2) *Beszéltünk magyarul, magyar kaja volt, satöbbi satöbbi, ömmm de a kapcsolatunk ez volt és és és nagyon erősebb lett nekem a kapcsolatom a magyar családommal, amikor kezdtem táncolni. Szóval ez szerintem ez emmm én a tánc miatt kezdtem tanulni a nyelvet például. Szóval nem beszéltem semmit, és nekem fontos volt tanulni, és és és nekem ez amikor tudtam a nagymamámmal beszélni magyarul, ez huh, ez nagy élmény volt.*

"We spoke hungarian, we had hungarian food, etc., etc., etc., umm but our relationship was that and and and and I had a very strong relationship with my hungarian family when I started dancing. So I think it's emmm I started to learn the language because of the dancing for example. So I didn't speak anything and it was important for me to learn and and and and for me it was when I could speak hungarian with my grandmother, it was huh, it was a great experience."

(3) *Nézd... A táncba ma is főleg szerintem majdnem mindenki magyar származású, de ez nem fontos már. Magyar nyelven volt a próba régen, ami már nem nagyon, most vegyesen. Mindig számolunk magyarul, de nem beszélünk egymással magyarul vagy a próbán se.*

"Look... Even today I think almost everyone in the dance group is of hungarian origin, But that's not important anymore. Hungarian used to be the language of rehearsal, which is not so much anymore, now it's mixed. We always count in hungarian, but we don't talk to each other in hungarian or in rehearsal, either."

(Interviewee P2c)

The official Hungarian ceremonies are hosted in Portuguese, while the performances (scout shows, choir, recitations) are presented in Hungarian or in Hungarian and Portuguese. However, this is more to preserve tradition than to ensure mutual intelligibility, as most of the people who attend community events would have difficulty understanding only Hungarian. It was initially upsetting for the older generation to experience the dominance of the Portuguese language even in the Hungarian ceremonies, but they also realized that this is an inevitable, natural process of generational change.

Hungarian expressions and accents typical of certain regions used by the first generation of emigrants were passed on to the children and grandchildren of the second and third

generations. In the absence of continuous contact with present-day Hungary and the people living there, the new expressions, newcomers' words and slang were not integrated into the language of the community over the past century. Grandchildren learned the variety of Hungarian their parents taught them. Their grandchildren's linguistic heritage is thus the Hungarian language of their Hungarian-born ancestors.

4.2. Content analysis of the interviews

4.2.1. Identity of the participants

Active members of the Hungarian community consider themselves individuals with dual (or triple) identity: Brazilian and Hungarian – the dominance of each identity depends mostly on the generation the person belongs to. From the selection criteria of the interviewees, it was very likely that there would not be a person with a single national identity, as all of them have ties to a Brazilian Hungarian institution or group, which they attach great importance to in their lives. Table 1 shows that seven out of the eleven respondents identify themselves as dual national identities (Hungarian and Brazilian), while there are four individuals who identify themselves as triple. Two of the latter (P3b, P4a), mother and daughter, spent several years of their lives in the United States of America, before and after their residence in Brazil, respectively. Today they both live in Hungary. Interviewee P2d was born in Brazil, moved to Hungary in her adult years and now, she lives in Australia. Interviewee P1a identified her third national identity as "pan-European", as a separate identity from the other two – she used to live in Germany and Switzerland in her youth ages.

I hypothesized that the younger the participants are, the more they consider themselves Brazilian, rather than Hungarian. Given the results of a larger questionnaire survey (e.g. NIP-Q), this statement may be realistic, but for such a sample of the selected interviewees, the responses show different results. Although the representatives of the oldest generation (P1a, P1b) clearly placed Hungarian above their Brazilian national identity, a third (P3b) and a fourth generation (P4a) also identified Hungarian as a stronger identity. At the same time, a representative of the second generation (P2b) clearly favored the Brazilian identity. Thus, for the selected group of interviewees, there is no correlation between the weakening of Hungarian identity and the younger generations.

4.2.2. Influencing factors of language preference

4.2.2.1. Emotions

Emotions affect language choices, people attach great importance to choosing the language in their linguistic repertoire that properly fits the certain situation, how their languages are being used and what the values that are accompanied by each language. Sapir (1921) stated that language is a key element for cultural expression (cited by Heider, 1991) and some languages are better suited for an individual when it comes to expressing emotions.

(4) *Ömm szeretem a magyar nyelvet, vannak dolgokat amiket úgy gondolom hogy csak magyarul tudok kifejezni.*

"Well, I love the Hungarian language, there are things I think I can only express in hungarian."

(Interviewee P3a)

(5) *Előfordult már olyan, hogyha valakivel beszélek portugálul aki tud magyarul, úgy hirtelen érzem, hogy ez vagy az a szó magyarul jobban mutatja vagy jobban adja meg a-aa hogy mit érzek.*

"It happens that when I'm talking to someone in portuguese who speaks Hungarian, I suddenly feel that this or that word could express more in Hungarian what I'm feeling."

(Interviewee P1b)

Interviewee P3c works as a Hungarian-Portuguese interpreter in court. Translating into his beloved Hungarian language for Hungarian criminals caught in Brazil creates a dissonant situation. For him, the language is associated with childhood and adolescent memories, dreams, literature, the tastes of traditional Hungarian dishes, not with crimes.

Language choices can be determined by the bonds that individuals have with their languages and identities, and their actual feelings might be affected by the language they speak or listen to. Religiosity, for instance, has a great tradition in the Hungarian diaspora in Brazil. In São Paulo, the first Hungarian immigrants built churches and even until today the members of the community can attend a mass, listening to priests and pastors with Hungarian origin.

(6) *Tartom egyformaképpen a hittemet, úgy ahogy tanultam magyarul, csak most portugálul tartom, mert inkább a portugál misére járok, talán egy kicsit átáll az embernek a hitje is, de hogyha néha beszélek erről magyarul a papámmal, akkor ez visszajön és szerintem ez nagyon erősen hozzá van öö fűzve a magyarsághoz*.

"I keep my faith the same way, the way I learned it in Hungarian, but now I keep it in Portuguese, because I prefer going to the Portuguese mass, maybe I change my faith a little bit, but if I talk about it sometimes in Hungarian with my father, it comes back and I think it's very strongly connected to being Hungarian."

(Interviewee P3a)

Hungarian as the heritage language of Interviewee P3a, has more significant dominance in religious life due to the bonds that she shares with the language and the memories that she carries by acquiring Hungarian language. Weinreich (1953) states that bilinguals might have different emotional attachment to each of their languages. Involvement of one language in determining emotional attachments throughout the life of a bilingual can create bonds strong enough to cause conflicts with the bonds established by the other language. This also helps explain the increasing degree of language attrition and the declining level of language maintenance observed among younger Hungarian generations.

4.2.2.2. Parental input

The Hungarian language is used less frequently in families, especially in mixed marriages, where generally the Hungarian parent considers themselves more Hungarian than Brazilian, compared to the children, who are already more Brazilians than Hungarians. Although it is undoubtable that Hungarian language can be maintained much more efficiently in families where both parents are Hungarian or have Hungarian ancestors, research shows that the transmission of heritage languages is more successful in cases where the mother is the transmitter in mixed marriages. De Houwer's research (2007) is well-known in the field of bilingualism and language acquisition, particularly regarding the impact of parental language input on a child's language development. One of her significant findings is that when the mother is the primary transmitter of the heritage language, children are more likely to become bilingual compared to when the father is the sole provider of language input. This may be related to the fact that mothers often spend more time with their children during early developmental stages, providing more opportunities for language exposure.

(7) *Mi fent a szobában ment a portugálul nyelv, és ha szülők ott voltak akkor felkiabáltak: Milyen nyelven beszéltek? Akkor átfordultunk magyarra, beszéltünk valamennyit, akkor megin portugál, s akkor megint jött lentről: Milyen nyelven*

beszéltek? Ezt például én nem csinálom a gyerekekkel, tudod? Ebbe lesz különbség. Csomó szókincs el fog veszni, hogy én nem szólok rájuk...

"We used to speak Portuguese upstairs, and the parents yelled at us: what language are you speaking? then we switched to Hungarian for a while, then back to Portuguese, and we heard again: what language are you speaking? for example, I don't do that with my children, you know? there will be a difference. A lot of vocabulary will be lost because I don't tell them to use it."

(Interviewee P3a)

However, even among the youngest generation, there are those who consider it essential to pass on the Hungarian language at the stage when they become parents – even in mixed marriages.

(8) *Nekem szerencsém volt hogy mindkét szülejm magyarok, mindketten magyarul tanultak meg otthon is, mindketten amikor megházasodtak, csak magyarul beszéltek hozzám. De legtöbb esetben ez nem így történik. Én is biztos hogy a magyart meg fogom tanítani a gyerekeimnek.*

"I was lucky that both my parents are Hungarian, both of them learned Hungarian at home, and when they got married, they only spoke Hungarian to me. But in general, that's not the case. but I'll definitely teach Hungarian to my children.."

(Interviewee P4a)

Third and fourth generation Hungarians' mother tongue is Portuguese, and their L2 is often English or Spanish. Thus, Hungarian might only be their L3 or even L4.

(9) *Szóval már úgy van, hogy mind a három nyelvet használjuk ugye a magyart, portugált, angolt és az a szó jön be ami… mittudomén gyorsabban jön be a fejünkbe és aztán abban a nyelvben mondjuk. Szóval egy mondat köztünk lehet hogy lesz mind a három nyelv.*

"So we use all three languages, Hungarian, Portuguese, English, and we use the word that comes into our head… I don't know, it comes into our head faster and then we say it in that language. so a sentence between us might be in all three languages.."

(Interviewee P4b)

Interviewee's P2d generational classification is peculiar, as she is a second generation on her father's side, but her grandparents moved to Brazil first on her mother's side, making her third generation on that line. Thus, in terms of a high level of Hungarian language proficiency, a generation was left out of the interviewee's family.

(10) *Édesanyámnak sosem volt a magyar az első nyelve. Ő rosszabbul beszél magyarul, mint én, írni nem is tud, mert ő nem járt cserkészetre vagy hasonlóra, ami megtanította volna. Az ő édesanyjával, nagymamámmal viszont mindig csak magyarul beszéltünk.*

"Hungarian was never my mother's first language. she speaks Hungarian worse than I do, and she can't even write, because she didn't go to scouting or anything like that to teach her. But with her mother, my grandmother, we always spoke only Hungarian."

(Interviewee P2d)

4.2.2.3. Social status

Languages can be tightly connected to national, cultural, religious identities, and also to social status, hence some languages, and therefore identities, can be linked to higher or lower classes (Heller, 1992). Surprisingly, some examples show that the Hungarian language and identity appear to seem more appealing than one would think, and being part of the Hungarian community can even lead to jealousy.

(11) *Néha alakulnak furcsa helyzetek, mindig úgy néz ki, hogy az ember annyira büszke, öö sokszor van az, hogy azt mondják 'jaaaj asszíszi hogy jobb, mert magyar és nem brazil', szóval kicsit próbálok vigyázni erre, de néha, nem egyszer, hanem többször eltávozom a brazil barátnőimtől emiatt, mert érzem, hogy ők féltékenyek, hogy „ah ela é húngara" és akkor így néznek, hogy... Tudod…*

"Sometimes there are strange situations, it always seems that you're so proud, um, a lot of times they say 'yeah, she thinks she's better because she's Hungarian and not Brazilian', so I try to be a little bit careful about that, but sometimes, not once but several times, I get distant from my Brazilian friends because of that, because I feel that they're jealous, like 'ah she is Hungarian' and then they look at me like… You know…

(Interviewee P3a)

(12) *Volt egy olyan szituáció, amikor valamér ki lettem tüntetve hogy öööö legjobb menedzser vagy mittudomén mi, és akkor az egyik alkalmazott mikor megtudta gúnyosan azt mondta hogy biztos azért lettem a legjobb menedzser, mert magyar, mert európai vagyok*.

“There was a situation where I was somehow awarded that I was the best manager or whatever, and then one of the employees, when he found out, said sarcastically that I must have been chosen to be the best manager because I’m Hungarian, because I’m European.”

(Interviewee P1a)

(13) *De ez egy, munkatársaknak ez egy vicckérdés, hogy az én üknagyapám volt Dracula és hogy azér van a COVID mer hogy mi denevérek vagyunk, szóval ilyesmikkel játszadoznak ők.”*

"But it's a, it's a joke to my colleagues that my great-great-grandfather was Dracula and that the reason we have COVID is because we're bats, so they mess around with that sort of thing.."

(Interviewee P1b)

(14) *Találkoztam velük most, amikor már nagy felnőtt vagyok ugye, és azt mondták, hogy “sohasem felejtettem el, hogy amikor gyerek voltál, én úgy akartam veled menni hogy mi olyan jó a magyar cserkészetbe hogy te mész a magyar cserkészetbe hogy te nem akarsz velem maradni.*

“I’ve met them now, when I’m an adult, and they said, “I’ve never forgotten that when you were a kid, I wanted to go with you so badly, I had no idea what’s so good about Hungarian scouting, and that you’re going to Hungarian scouting instead of staying with me..”

(Interviewee P2a)

4.2.2.4. Attitudes towards the Hungarian language

The representatives of the first generation acquired Hungarian as their mother tongue, and unanimously claim that their attachment towards it is still very strong. These participants speak Hungarian fluently, with occasional code-switches to Portuguese, English, or German. To the question ‘Can someone consider him/herself Hungarian without proficient Hungarian language

knowledge?' representatives of different generations gave different answers, but the tendency is that the younger the interviewee, the less he/she considers Hungarian language skills as an inevitable criterion for identifying with the identity. Interviewee P1a feels that without a high level of Hungarian language proficiency, she herself could not be a Hungarian citizen in Hungary.

(15) *Ha már valakinek ez az állampolgársága, akkor lege... legalább tudja azt a nyelvet, beszélje azt a nyelvet. Nekem ez az elképzelésem*.

"If one has a citizenship, then he should at least know the language, speak the language, that's my idea."

(Interviewee P1a)

(16) *Igen. Vedd például Jaraguá do Sult. Ahol senki se beszélt magyarul, de abszolút magyarnak érezték magukat, amikor megértették, honnan származnak.*

"Yes. Take Jaraguá do Sul, for example. Where nobody spoke Hungarian, but they felt absolutely Hungarian when they understood where they originated from."

(Interviewee P1b)

(17) *Van amikor gondolkozom, hogy hát én nem százalékosan beszélek magyarul, lehetnék-e egészen ma-magyar.. száz százalékosan magyar állampolgár, magyar… Magyarországon. És nem vagyok mindig biztos, hogy jó-e a többi magyarnak, hogy közben brazil is vagyok.*

"There are times when I wonder, if I don't speak a hundred percent Hungarian, could I be a hundred percent Hungarian citizen, a Hungarian in Hungary. And I'm not always sure if it's good for the other Hungarians that I'm Brazilian at the same time."

(Interviewee P3a)

Many first-generation members of the active community even express their displeasure with Hungarian parents who do not teach their mother tongue to their children when they have a chance to do so. In response to the same question, two of the participants, who teach Hungarian, made clear statements in favor of the importance of the language:

(18) *A legelső feltétel a magyar állampolgársághoz, hogy tanuld meg a nyelvet. Nem tudja kiejteni a magyar családi nevét, nem tud semmit. És akkor magyar vagy? Hát egy papír nem jelent semmit, mer szívből igazán nem vagy magyar.*

"The very first condition for Hungarian citizenship is to learn the language. You cannot pronounce your Hungarian family name, you don't know anything. So you are Hungarian? Well, a paper doesn't mean anything, because you're really not Hungarian in your heart."

(Interviewee P3b)

(19) *Magyar kultúrát tapasztalni, élni, az nagyon nehéz a nyelv nélkül. Ezért szerintem a-aa hangsúly az inkább a nyelvben kell lenni.*

"To experience Hungarian culture, to live it, it is very difficult without the language, therefore, I think that the um, emphasis should be more on the language."

(Interviewee P3c)

The L1 for most of the third and fourth generation is already Portuguese, not Hungarian. The latter is learned mostly in their familiy. Participants of this generation appear to be more open-minded regarding the interdependence of Hungarian citizenship and language command.

(20) *Lehet, hogy kezdésnek így is lehetséges magyarnak lenni, de be fog jönni a nyelv, hogy kezdje* betölteni *azt a megértést, hogy tényleg mi is a magyar. Én asszem hogy még az érzéseken is átérzem mondjuk úgy, nemcsak a nyelven*.

"It may be possible to be Hungarian for a start, but the language will come in and start to fill in the understanding of what 'Hungarianness' really is. I think I even get it through my feelings, so to speak, not just the language."

(Interviewee P3a)

(21) *Szerintem igen, lehetséges, de főleg azoknak, akiknek valami kontaktusuk van a magyarság közösséghez. Mert ha nem, akkor nem is tudják, hogy létezik. Vannak olyanok sajnos, akik messze laknak, nincs lehetőségük, tudod hogy hogy közreműködjenek, hogy többet lássanak, pedig nagyon szeretnék.*

"I think it is possible, but especially for those who have some contact with the Hungarian community. Because if they don't, they don't even know it exists. Unfortunately, there are people who live far away, they don't have the opportunity to, you know, contribute, to see more, but they would love to."

(Interviewee P2a)

For descendants of the eldest generations, identification with the culture and traditions is as equally important as mastering the language. They consider it possible to be Hungarian without proficient language knowledge, but they also admit that language is a key factor. Learning and using Hungarian in their families were important both for them, and their parents:

(22) *Mindig magyarul beszéltünk. Fontos volt, hogy mikor volt valami brazil velünk, ne beszéljünk magyarul. Hogy ők megértik, hogy mit mondunk. De mikor csak mi voltunk, mindig magyarul beszéltünk.*

"We always spoke Hungarian. It was important that when we had a Brazilian with us, we didn't speak Hungarian. So that they would understand what we were saying. But when it was just us, we always spoke Hungarian.."

(Interviewee P2b)

(23) *És ránk szóltak, amikor portugálul beszéltünk: hogy beszélsz? Csak magyarul, csak magyarul! És mi csak azért is próbáltuk ugye, mert nem lehetett… De nekünk minden csak magyarul ment. És ezt nem lehet ma megcsinálni és ez nekem annyira.. Valahogy fáj ez, tudod?*

"And they turned to us when we spoke Portuguese: how are you speaking? Only Hungarian, only Hungarian! Although we tried [Portuguese] just because we were not allowed to… but we could only speak Hungarian. And it's not possible to do that today and it hurts me so much, you know.?"

(Interviewee P2a)

In the family of another participant, where Hungarian was the dominant language in the beginning, too, they used Portuguese when they wanted to talk about something secretly.

(24) *Például a édesanyám otthon csak magyarul beszélt a szüleivel, de mindig beszélt portugálul a nagynénimmel, a testvérrel, mer volt nekik egy ilyen titkos nyelv, mer a szü.. a nagysz.. a nagyszüleim beszéltek portugál, de nem nagyon jól. Szóval amikor ők beszélték portugál, akkor "gyorsan, ők nem értik!".*

"For example, my mother only spoke Hungarian with her parents at home, but she always spoke Portuguese with my aunt, with her brother, because they had this secret language, because my grandparents spoke Portuguese, but not very well. So when they spoke Portuguese, it was like "quick, they don't understand!"."

(Interviewee P2c)

Participants from the third generation are less proficient in Hungarian. Code-switching often occurs, in most of the cases to the Portuguese language:

(25) *Hogy mennyire fontos az Isten és hogy mennyire fontos a-a religiosidade, tudod*?

"How important God is and how important religiosity is, you know?"

(Interviewee P3a)

(26) *A nevelés miatt, né? A integridade, honestidade, respeito, aa hogy az ember hogy viselkedik a másik..másokkal*.

"Because of education, right? Integrity, honesty, respect, mm how one behaves with other.. others."

(Interviewee P3c)

Only a few younger generation participants communicate in Hungarian within their families, the others use Hungarian only through scouting or in the language courses provided by the Hungarian House. They all agree that being proficient in Hungarian is not a requirement of being Hungarian.

(27) *A cserkészeten csak kevesek beszél magyart, né? Mégis van cserkészet, van magyar töri..történelem tanítás meg irodalom is ott. Mindenki szeret járni, büszkén szeret járni mint magyar, pedig már régóta portugálul megy minden.*

"Only a few among the scouts speak Hungarian, right? Yet there is scouting, there is Hungarian history and literature teaching there. Everybody loves to attend, proudly loves to attend as a Hungarian, even though everything has been in Portuguese for a long time."

(Interviewee P4b)

The same participant, along with several others of a similar age, is not content with the fact that his Hungarian identity is based on preserving his inherited culture and customs, but also strives to cultivate the Hungarian language to the highest possible degree:

(28) *Szóval ha rosszul beszelek, én próbálok jobban lenni, de nem fogok nem beszélni arra hogy félek, hogy az emberek rosszat tesznek szerintem. Má volt másko…máson… má..máshogy volt, hogy amikor mindig féltem, de kezdtem ilyen szerintem építeni egy ilyen bátorság, hogy ezeket csinálok, és ha rossz van, akkor tanulok, és tovább*.

"So if I speak wrong, I'll try to be better, but I'm not going to not speak up for fear of people thinking I'm doing wrong. I had a different… different way that when I was always scared, but I started to build such I think a kind of courage to do these things and if I'm wrong, I'll learn and move on.."

(Interviewee P4b)

4.2.2.5. Attitudes towards Hungarian culture

Culture, like national identity and language, can be an inherited value that can be made sustainable at individual and group levels through appropriate transmission. When, in the interview with two participants at the same time, the daughter talks about celebrating Christmas according to Hungarian customs, the mother emphasizes the transmission of culture from generation to generation.

(29) *Igen, a magyar szokás. Én úgy nőttem fel, úgy voltunk hogy okéj, ha már a szülők úgy neveltek fel, hát akkor továbbítsuk a… a szokásokat mi is ugyanúgy a mi gyerekeinknek.*

"Yes, the Hungarian custom. I grew up, we were like, okay, if that's the way our parents brought this up, let's pass on the..the customs to our children in the same way."

(Interviewee P3b)

The Hungarian House offers weekly rehearsals for folk dancers, reunions of groups with different hobbies, Hungarian dinner every second week, large-scale celebrations on Hungarian national holidays, and large groups of representatives of the first generation are always present.

(30) *Hogy szoktam ünnepelni a magyar eseményeket? Úgy, hogy vagy részt veszek az ünnepélyen vagy magam vagyok a-aaa az organizációban, vagy én szerepelek, vagy ott vagyok, dehát természetesen száz százalékosan ott vagyok. Vagy mint hallgató, vagy mint rendező, vagy mint szereplő, vagy mind a három*.

"How do I celebrate Hungarian events? I take part in the celebration or I'm in the organization, or I'm involved or I'm there, but of course I'm there one hundred percent. As audience, or as a director, or as a performer, or all three.."

(Interviewee P1a)

Participants of the first generation agree that maintaining the Hungarian culture is one of the most significant elements in their identities. To the question regarding the importance of knowing Hungarian literature, music, theatre and history, the eldest participant's answer is straightforward:

(31) *Nagyon fontos. Hozzátartozik a kultúrámhoz. Az én kultúrámhoz, és szerintem hozzá kéne hogy tartozzon minden magyar származásúnak a kultúrájához.*

"It is very important. It is part of my culture. It's part of my culture and I think it should be part of the culture of every person of Hungarian origin."

(Interviewee P1b)

A second-generation interviewee points out that she enjoys and pays attention to the theatre and movies, but history for her means only Brazilian history.

(32) *Filmek, színházak én szeretem. Szeretem hallani a magyar magyarul beszélni, mert nagyon más, a-amit az ember itt hallgat, nem? Történelmet.. csak brazil emlékezés.*

"Movies, theaters I love. I like to hear Hungarian spoken in Hungarian because it's very different from what you hear here, isn't it? History… Just Brazilian memories."

(Interviewee P2b)

Some of the third-generation participants are also familiar with and consider the Hungarian literature, history, and music very important, but in general, their attitude towards this aspect of culture is not definite. Also, because of a possible pressure from the parents' side, a participant feels guilty not feeling the need to get more involved in these topics.

(33) *Szerintem igen, fontos, ha már kint élünk és meg akarjuk tartani a magyarságot akkor ezeket a dolgokat is meg kell tartani. Nem mondom azt hogy most végig tudom az Ady Endre meg József Attila, Arany János és a Petőfi verseket, de mi tudjuk hogy kik voltak, és nekem ez nagyon fontos. A történelem plane.*

"I think yes, it's important, if we are living out here, if we want to keep the Hungarian identity, we have to keep these things. I am not saying that I know all the poems of Endre Ady and Attila József, János Arany and Petőfi by heart, but we know who they were, and for me that's very important. History is especially important.."

(Interviewee P3b)

(34) *Szóval kéne, hogy fontosabb is legyen, de ezek nem olyan dolgok, amik amik annyira vondzanak igazából, tudod*?

"So, it should be more important, but ut's not the kind of thing that really appeals to me, you know."

(Interviewee P3a)

Not surprisingly, a fourth-generation participant clearly states that he does not follow trends in Hungarian music and films:

(35) *Szóval zeneket, filmeket nem annyira, őszintén mondom, filmeket inkább máshol nézek, brazilokat.*

"So music, movies, not so much, I'll be honest, I prefer to watch other movies, Brazilian ones."

(Interviewee P4b)

It is the active members of the second and third generation descendants in their 40s and 50s that are the leaders of the community in São Paulo now. They form the directorate of the Hungarian House, for instance. One of the participants keeps the traditional customs even outside the events of the Hungarian House, and she involves her Brazilian husband, too:

(36) *Aztán persze, hogy locsolás, hogy tojásfestés, mmöö húsvétkor. Szóval ezt a férjem is megtanulta és ő is csinálja és szereti csinálni és én büszke vagyok, hogy ezek benne vannak az én családomba mái napig*.

"Then of course, easter sprinkling, painting eggs, etc. So that's what my husband learned to do and he does it and he loves to do it and I'm proud to have it in my family to this day."

(Interviewee P3a)

One second-generation participant says that for her, the common events of the colony are the best way to preserve the Hungarian identity. She stresses that these activities contribute greatly to the separation of Hungarian and Brazilian national identities:

(37) *Kell, hogy legyen minden, ami a magyarokhoz kapcsol. Maga a magyar kolónia, hogy egyre többen összejöjjön. például most egy brazilnak azt mondom, hogy megyek tojást festeni. Mi?? Tojás festeni. Áá de klassz, és mi az? Abszolút nem értik*

azt a kultúrát, azt az izét. Tehát teljesen más.. Máshogy van beállítva a mi agyunk ebből a szemponból."

"There has to be everything that links me to the Hungarians. The Hungarian colony itself, so that more and more people come together. For example, I tell a Brazilian that I'm going to paint eggs. What??? To paint eggs. They absolutely don't understand this culture, that thing. So it's completely different… our brains are set up differently from this point of view."

(Interviewee P2a)

Third generation Hungarians are the new hope of the community. The young people who are interested in culture maintenance take part in scouting, attend folk dance rehearsals and language courses. But as the world changes, this generation is having more and more impulses at both local and international levels – they have more chances to travel than their ancestors did, and with the globalization of the English language and the Western culture, it is hard for older immigrant generations to pass on the interest in maintaining the Hungarian language and culture.

(38) *Fontos annyiból, hogy mindig mondom, hogy oké, valamikor fogom tudni ezt (irodalom, történelem, színház), de ööömm nem hívja a figyelmemet ez. Brazil vagyok.*

"It's important in that I always say, okay, I'll know this at some point! But it doesn't attract my attention. I am Brazilian."

(Interviewee P3c)

Another participant did not understand why cultural maintenance was important in his family:

(39) *Az ember ismerte Magyarországot arról, amit a nagyszülők meséltek, a szülők meséltek, és oké ömm leült a nagypapa meg a papa, hogy meghallgatjuk vasárnapi ebédkor a Liszt Ferenc..ö…cet, és akkor ott sírva fakad a papa meg a nagypapa egy ebédnél, most mi va.. mi történt, tudod?*

"You knew Hungary from what your grandparents told you, what your parents told you, and okay, um, um, father and grandpa sat down to listen to Ferenc Liszt at Sunday lunch, and then there's father and grandpa crying, what happened, you know?"

(Interviewee P3a)

4.2.2.6. Attitudes towards Hungarian identity

There is no doubt among the participants of the first generation in the declaration of Hungarian identity. They consider themselves Hungarians (or Europeans) rather than Brazilians, their bonds with their Hungarian identities are unbreakable.

(40) *Mindig magyarnak. Mindig. Brazíliából jövök, de magyar vagyok.. Mindig, mindig, mindig, mindig*.

("Always Hungarian. Always. I come from Brazil, but I am Hungarian.. Always, always, always."

(Interviewee P1a)

(41) *Én bevallom neked hogy kettős állampolgár vagyok, én nem a 2008-as állampolgári esküt tekinteném fontosnak, hanem én mindig magyar voltam. Nem mondanám azt hogy csak a magyar, de az európai, európai értékek egész biztosan mások, mint a braziloké. És akkor ez bennem is bennem van, mert bizonyos mértékben brazil vagyok, de igyekszem inkább magyar lenni.*

"I admit to you that I am a dual citizen, I would not consider the oath of citizenship in 2008 to be important, but I have always been Hungarian. I wouldn't say that it's only Hungarian, but European. European values are certainly different from the Brazilian. And then it's in me too, because I'm Brazilian to a certain extent, but I try to be more Hungarian."

(Interviewee P1b)

A younger female participant claims that even the majority of her friends are all with Hungarian origins because they have uncountable things in common.

(42) *Szinte kilencvenöt százalékban a baráti köröm magyarokból áll, így hát én csak magyarok között vagyok. Ők legalább megértik, hogy én mit akarok mondani és én megértem, hogy ők mit akarnak mondani. Szoktunk színházba menni, moziba menni, enni, inni, mulatni, pédául emegyünk pédául Lizihez a sítióba és egész nap csak énekelni megyünk magyar népdalokat. Ha elmegyünk egyik nap a csak azér hogy verseket mondjunk, s akkor egész nap verseket mondunk.*

"Almost ninety-five percent of my friends are Hungarians, so I'm only among Hungarians. At least they understand what I have to say and I understand what they have to say. We go to the theatre, to the cinema, we eat, drink, have fun, we go to Lizi's place

in the farm and sing Hungarian folk songs all day long. If we go out one day just to recite poems, and then we recite poems all day long."

(Interviewee P2a)

The question of identity is less obvious for the younger generations. They were born and raised in Brazil, they have been speaking Portuguese since early childhood, and it is more common for them to find Brazilian partners. In general, these generations are indecisive when i4 comes to choosing their more dominant identities.

(43) *Attól függ, hogy hol vagyok. Ha Európában, akkor biztos magyarnak. Ha Amerikában, akkor legtöbbször brazilnak*.

"It depends on where I am. If I'm in Europe, I'm definitely Hungarian. If I'm in America, most of the time I am Brazilian."

(Interviewee P3b)

For them, the most convenient state is to feel the components of both identities.

(44) *Nagyon érdekes és igazából az ember nem is magyar és nem is brazil. Az az igazs.. hogy mi 'bragyarok' vagyunk. Igen, és ez.. evvel kicsikét megtaláltuk a helyünket, mer igazából nem vagy egy sem, s a másik sem. Vagy mind a kettő, igen*.

It's very interesting and you're not really Hungarian or Brazilian. The truth is… that we are 'Brungarians'. Yes, and that's where we've found our place a little bit, because we're not really one and not the other. Or both, yes."

(Interviewee P3a)

Participants were asked about personality patterns within themselves that may have been influenced by their Brazilian or Hungarian national identity. One second-generation participant highlighted the general interest in culture, while third and fourth-generation interviewees mentioned their mixed national identity and what characteristics they have transferred from one into the other.

(45) *Maga a történelem, az érdeklődési öööö igények, tudod? Maga a hagyományok öööö most tudod Szent István, hogy az első király... Az ember beszél ilyenekről, abszolút, de itt még a brazil történelmet se tudják rendesen, tudod? És öööö ez hiányzik szerintem ez a kultúrai kérdés. Nagyon nagyon különbözők. Itt olyan üres az egész. Az ember nevet, persze jól érzi magát, meg nagyon helyesek az emberek,*

meg satöbbi, de amikor az ember tényleg leül és próbál beszélgetni valakivel és nem tud, akkor olyan üres egy kicsit.

"The history itself, the interest and needs, you know? You know, the traditions, uh, you know St. Stephen the first king… you talk about these things, absolutely, but here they don't even know Brazilian history properly, you know? And uh, I think that's missing, this cultural issue. They are very different. You smile, of course you have a good time, and the people are very nice and so on, but when you really sit down and try to talk to somebody and you can't, it's a bit empty."

(Interviewee P2a)

(46) *A brazíliai magyarok nagyon műveltek emberek. Több nyelven beszélnek, sokat ismerik a-aa legalább az európai kultúráról. De.. de nagyon ritkán megtalálni egy brazil ember, aki akár rendesen tudjon beszélni angolul is*

"Hungarians in Brazil are very educated people. They speak several languages, they know a lot at least about European culture. But… but it is very rare to find a Brazilian person who can even speak decent English."

(Interviewee P3c)

(47) *Hát a-aa házigazdálkodás, meg a pénzspórolás, ezek nálam öö nagyon mások szerintem, mint az átlag brazilnál.*

"Well, the housekeeping and the saving of money, these are very different for me than for the average Brazilian."

(Interviewee P3b)

(48) *A brazil, a brazil identitásból szerintem kiszedte.. szerintem ilyen vidábban, vidábba.. részet, hogy ilyen vidám és öööö és ilyen a beszélgetés, a reláció az emberekkel, az szerintem inkább a brazil identitásokba vannak.*

"From the Brazilian identity, I think I've taken out… its more cheerful part, it's more cheerful and um the way of talking, the way of relating to people, I think it's more in the Brazilian identity.."

(Interviewee P4b)

(49) *Ahogyan vitatkozunk, az nagyon magyar. Ahogyan káromkodunk, az éé az szintén magyar. Meg talán ahogy beszélünk, az emberek azt mondják hogy milyen hangosan beszélsz állandóan.*

"The way we argue is very Hungarian, the way we swear is also Hungarian. And maybe the way we talk, people say how loud we talk all the time."

(Interviewee P4a)

Another set of questions focused on whether the participants who had already visited Hungary perceived any differences between the identity markers of Hungarians in Hungary and those of Hungarians in Brazil. Respondents' answers mentioned a significant degree of pessimism and an apparent general sadness among Hungarians in Hungary.

(50) *Ez a kedv, vagy vagy én nem is tudom minek nevezni ezt, ilyen… Viselkedés, a negatí.. Egy kicsit negatívumok a magyarok, kicsit negatív gondolkodású… Teljesen megértem, azután mind amit már Magyarország átélt nem egyszer, a háborúk is, meg mindent…*

"This mood, or I don't even know what to call it, this kind of… attitude, negativity… a bit negative Hungarians, a bit negative thinking… I understand completely after all that Hungary has been through more than once, the wars and everything.…"

(Interviewee P2a)

(51) *Én mindenkinek köszönök, de a magyarok sokszor ilyen csúnyán néznek vissza... ez a ez a ridegség a magyaroknál... ez nekünk ez, én nagyon nehezelem.*

"I thank everyone, but the Hungarians often give us such a cold look… this coldness of the Hungarians… it's hard for us, I find it very hard.."

(Interviewee P4a)

Generally, Hungarian identity is less dominant compared to Brazilian among the members of the younger generations. However, they assign great importance to their Hungarian identity, but it is important to note that these participants are attached to the Hungarian House. There are only a few exceptions in these generations that consider themselves more or even equally Hungarian than Brazilian. To the question "what nationality would you present yourself as in a third country?" everyone's answer as: Brazilian.

Reflecting on Whorf's theory of linguistic relativity (1956), the interviewees also reported that they show a different identity when using another language – although in the following case the fact that the interviewee does not speak Hungarian as highly as Portuguese is also crucial, but the fact that the Hungarian dialect used in the diaspora is an "old Hungarian dialect" is also an important factor:

(52) *Nem tudok beszélni pontosan, amit akarok. És például amikor magyarul beszélek, sokkal komolyabb vagyok, főleg mer nem tudom beszélni mint egy fiatalabb, zlenggel és a többi. Nem tudok teljesen magyarul… Tudok pár… De de hogy valaki aki eléjön és mondja: heló, cső, mizu? Ez nekem nem létezik. Érthető, de olyan magyar nem tanulunk, ugye? Biztos hogy látszik, hogy öö van az akik mondják hogy itt mi beszélünk, mint az öregek.*

"I can't talk about exactly what I want. And for me, for example, Hungarian is more serious, because I can't speak it like a younger person, slang and all. I don't know Hungarian completely... I know some... but someone who comes up to me and says: hey, what's up? that doesn't exist for me. Understandable, but we don't learn Hungarian like that, do we? Sure you can see that here we speak like old people.."

(Interviewee P2c)

Anyone in the community today who wishes to learn or improve their Hungarian language skills can do so much more easily than in previous decades, largely thanks to the advent of the information society. Enthusiastic members, especially from the younger generations, are well-versed in slang and expressions commonly used by young people in Hungary, which they can pick up from movies or by following various social media platforms. The community also manages its own online pages on the most popular platforms, where content is shared bilingually. There are specific user groups, such as the scout community, where daily communication takes place, and part of it is conducted in Hungarian. In line with Crystal's (2000) argument about the importance of active language promotion to prevent language shift, the Hungarian community in Brazil has made commendable efforts, including developing a growing presence on social media platforms where they share and promote Hungarian language content to keep it vibrant and accessible for younger generations.

The last interview question was about moving to Hungary. I wanted to know whether, if all the conditions were met, the participants would leave Brazil behind and move to Hungary, the country of their ancestors or, if applicable, their old homeland from where their family or

themselves defected long years ago (hence the term ‘to refect’ used by the Hungarians in Brazil, as the opposite of the word ‘to defect’). Answers to this question were also ambiguous and there was no pattern to indicate whether the decision depended on generation. It is worth noting that moving to Hungary is also described as ‘moving home’ by interviewees who have never lived in Hungary. There are also various arguments against moving to Hungary, such as the climatic conditions, the pessimistic approach to life of Hungarians, or the lack of family and friends.

(53) *Mindegyik Magyarországra visszament rokonom azzal kezdte, hogy hogy fogom kibírni a hideget? Gyűlölöm a hideget. Ezen kívül négy hónapon keresztül csak sötétség és és depresszió, mit csinálsz otthon? Meg vagyok róla győződve, hogy jól éreztem volna magam, ha nem lenne ez a tél, akkor már rég otthon lennék. Szal sajnos nem mentem, itt ragadtam, és itt fogok meghalni.. Jaj, de borzasztó! Jaj Istenem.*

“All my relatives who went back to Hungary asked me how I was going to survive the cold. I hate the cold. Besides, four months of darkness and depression, what do you do at home? I’m convinced that I would have had a good time ago, if it wasn’t for this winter issue, I would have been home a long time. So sadly I didn’t go, I’m stuck here and I’m going to die here… oh how awful, oh my God…”

(Interviewee P1a)

(54) *A kedvem az megvan, de néha fékezek, hogy na jó, de a gyerekeim, meg a testvérem itt vannak. És nem tudom milyen lenne a téllel.*

"I have the desire, but sometimes I stop myself, because my childrend and my sister are here. And I don’t know how I’d deal with the winter.”

(Interviewee P1b)

(55) *Asszem hogy igen, mi már sokszor gondoltunk rajta, pláne hogy vannak akik már csinálták. De hogy megtegyük a lépést, nehezebb. És akkor jön a realitás, ugye? Szóval… Az állás, az állás egy nagy kérdés, és hogy a fiatalok hogy fogják érezni magukat.*

“I think so. We’ve thought about it many times, especially as some people in our community have done it. Bit taking the step is harder, ad that is where reality comes in, right? So… Job, job is a big question, and how our children will get on there.”

(Interviewee P3a)

(56) *Hát öööö attól függ, tehát öö bizonyos szempontból gondolom a helyzet jobb Magyarországon mint itt, de más szempontokból jobb itt, és itthon van a családom, és ha a ugyanazok a tehát fizetés, meg élhetési helyzetben lennék Magyarországon, akkor nem biztos, hogy mennék.*

Well, it depends, so um, in some ways I guess the situation is better in Hungary than here, but in other ways it's better here, and I have my family here. If I had the same salary and living situation in Hungary, I'm not sure I would go.."

(Interviewee P3c)

(57) *Alig várom, van egy tervem, még nem tom hogy sikerül-e, lakni Magyarországon.. Visszamenni.. Az ember úgy mondja mindig, látod, hogy visszamenni Magyarországra, pedig soha se laktam Magyarországon. De van ilyen tervem, és van nagy kedvem elmenni Magyarországra lakni. Hazamenni*.

"I'm looking forward to it, I have a plan, I don't know if I'll succeed yet, to live in Hungary… to go back… people always say, you see, to go back to Hungary, even though I've never lived there. But I have such a plan and a great desire to go and live in Hungary. To go home.."

(Interviewee P2a)

(58) *Ha valamiért nem nem élnék Magyarországon, az pont ez.. ez a negatív hozzáállás miatt. Ez ez nagyon zavar engem*.

"If there's one thing because of what I wouldn't live in Hungary, it's this.. negative attitude. It bothers me a lot."

(Interviewee P3b)

(59) *Még sohasem voltam Magyarországon, de én nagyon gondolok erre. De oda kell menni, meg kell nézni, milyen az élet ottan, és nincs családom, né? Mostmár öreg vagyok, hogyha barátokat csinálni. Újabb barátokat nehéz, nehéz. De nagyon gondolok erre. Nincs kizárva.*

"I've never been to Hungary, but I think about it a lot. I have to go there, see what life is like. I don't have any family, né? I am old now to make friends. Making new friends is difficult. But I think about it a lot. It's not out of the question."

(Interviewee P2b)

(60) *Amitől a legjobban félek hogy nem fogok kijönni a magyar emberekkel és a magyar életmóddal, pláne ezzel a rossz kedvvel, hogy minden olyan hivatalos… És a klímával, hogy én nem tudom hogy fogom kibírni azt a három-négy hónapot teljes sötétbe meg hidegbe. Mer ebből a szempontból nagyon brazil vagyok, és szeretem a napot, a meleget, a világságot.*

"What I'm most afraid of is that I won't get along with Hungarian people and the Hungarian way of life, especially with this bad mood, that everything is so formal… and the climate, that I don't know how I'm going to survive those three or four months in total darkness and cold. Because I'm very Brazilian in that respect, I like the sun, the warmth, the light.."

(Interviewee P4a)

4.3. Results of the National Identity Profile Questionnaire (NIP-Q)

4.3.1. Family origins and dominant national identity

(61) *A dédszülők jöttek, a II. világháború után, és úgy hogy aaa gyerekük, aki az én nagypapám, 6 éves volt, amikor kilépett Magyarországról.*

"My great-grandparents came after WWII, and so their child, who was my grandfather, was 6 years old when he left Hungary."

(Interviewee P4a)

(62) *Mindketten erdélyiek voltak a nagypapa, nagymama, szóval ők a 20-as években amint megtörtént a Trianon, asszem 24-ben jöttek vagy ilyesmi.*

"They were both Transylvanian, grandfather, grandmother, so they came in the '20s as soon as Trianon happened, I think it was '24 or something."

(Interviewee P3b)

(63) *Jó, a nagymamám Aradon született, majd amikor ő tizennégy éves volt, akkor ideköltözött és ez a két háború között volt.*

"Okay, my grandmother was born in Arad, and then when she was fourteen, she moved here, and that was between the two wars."

(Interviewee P3c)

The next set of questions asked respondents which national identity is more dominant in their self-identity. Based on the responses (see Figure 2), 57 respondents put Brazilian identity as a self-definition component in first place, 19 in second place and 2 in third place – the latter certainly being the case for those with a triple national identity.

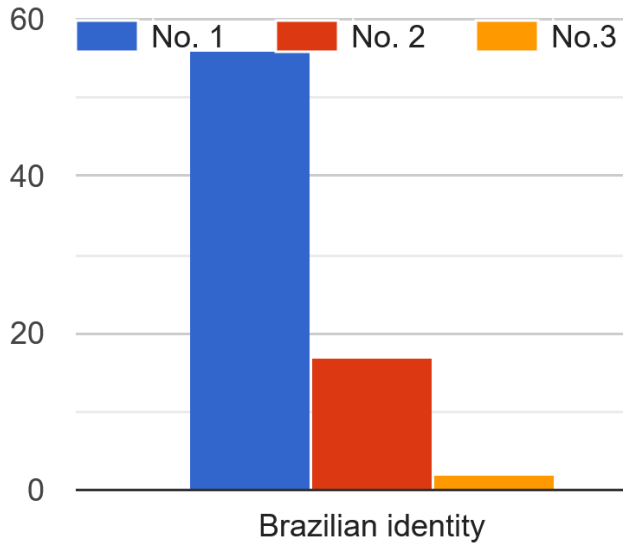

Figure 2. The level of dominance of Brazilian identity

For two individuals, a 3rd national identity was the most dominant. A woman in her 80s, for example, indicated 'European' as her 3rd identity, and surprisingly she showed more attachment to this on a couple of points than to her Brazilian identity, which she ranked second.

Table 4 illustrates that among first-generation participants, Hungarian is more dominant than Brazilian (10 : 4), for second and third generations, Brazilian is the more dominant one (11 : 22 and 5 : 17) and none of the fourth-generation respondents chose Hungarian as their dominant national identity (0:9).

Generation No. / More dominant identity	Gen. 1.	Gen. 2.	Gen. 3.	Gen. 4.	*Total*
Hungarian identity	10	11	5	0	*26*
Brazilian identity	4	22	17	9	*52*

Table 4. Dominant identity of each generation

There are some outstanding counterexamples in terms of the proportions obtained. One of them is a second-generation Hungarian participant with only Hungarian ancestors, for whom the Brazilian identity clearly dominates over the Hungarian one in his daily life, according to his perception (99% vs 1%). Altogether three individuals claimed that for them, Hungarian and Brazilian identities contribute equally to their self-definition.

4.3.2. Attitudes towards national identities

When asking about their sentiments towards their Brazilian national identities, 41% and 43.62% of respondents chose the option ‘very close’, and ‘close’. The ‘little bit close’ option counted 11.5%, while those who picked ‘not close at all’ (2.6%) and the ‘No idea’ (1.3%) made up the rest of the answers (Fig 3).

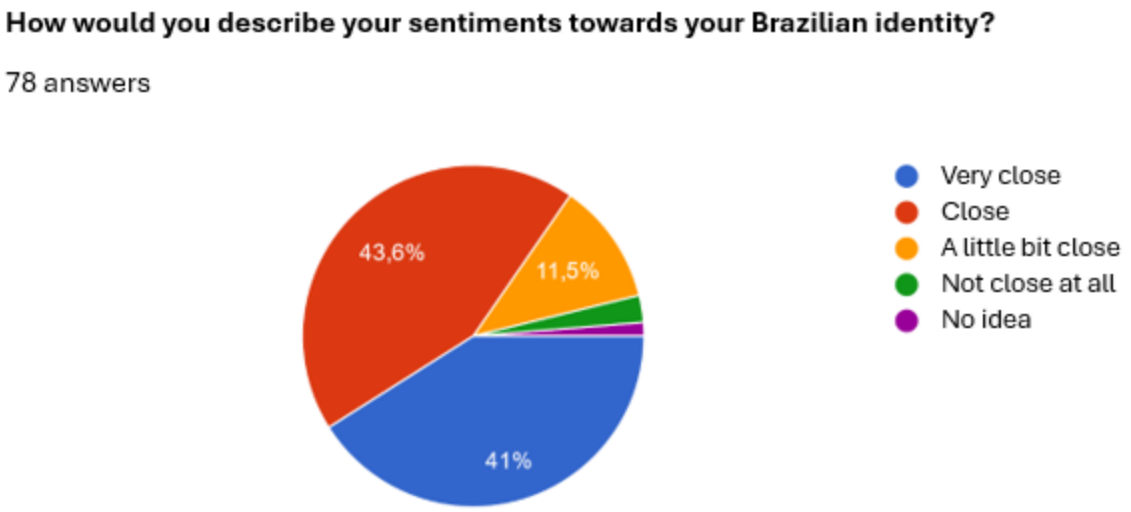

Figure 3. Sentiments towards Brazilian national identity

Even though, as Table 2 shows of the 78 respondents, 61 were born in Brazil, only 32 respondents feel very close to their Brazilian national identity. The ‘close’ option was selected by 34 participants. Moreover, the clear predominance of Brazilian national identity over Hungarian in Table 3 (52 : 26) would also suggest that more participants would choose the "very close" option.

In the case of *Hungarian identity*, the most popular choices were equally ‘very close (41%), and close (41%). 14 respondents (17.9%) claimed that their sentiments towards their

Hungarian national identity are ‘neutral’, and there were no ‘not close at all’ and ‘I cannot answer’ answers registered (Figure 4). There is therefore not much difference in the relationship between emotions and identity of each nationality.

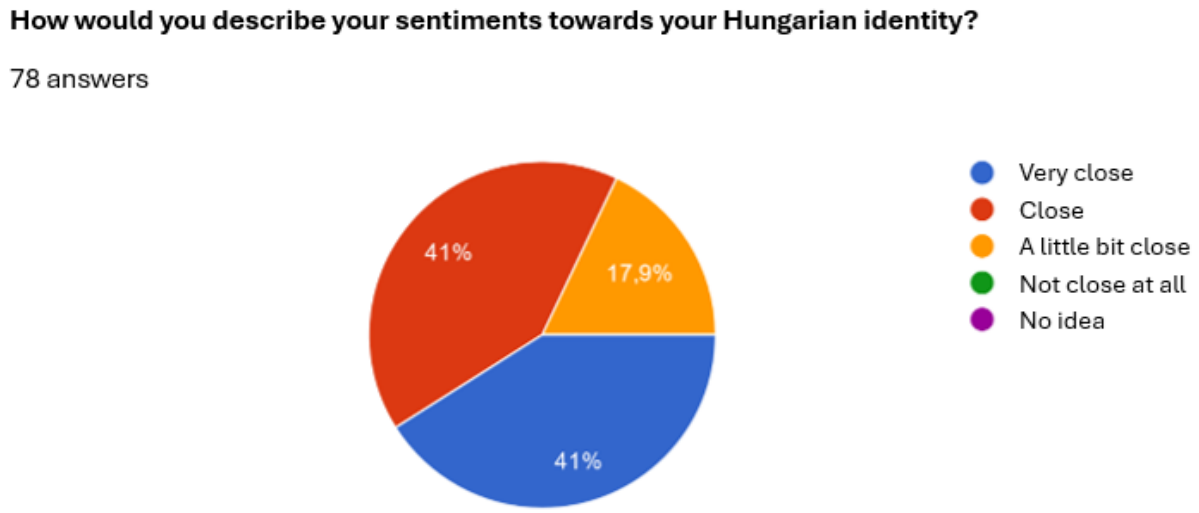

Figure 4. Sentiments towards Hungarian national identity

A fourth-generation respondent, who also indicated that his sentiments are ‘very close’ to his Hungarian national identity, identified his origins as one of the most important elements for both his personal and social spheres. Belonging to the Hungarian community adds an extra dimension to his identity that other Brazilian citizens do not possess. A third-generation respondent even claims that the Hungarian culture is a component of the Brazilian ‘universal’ culture.

(64) *Nekem az magyar lenni itt Brazíliában nagyon fontos… A braziloknak van egy dolog, és amit van ilyen sok brazil költők, akik szoktak írni róla, hogy a braziloknak hiányzik valamit, amit az iden.. identitás. Arra mert a brazilnak nagyon sok öööö külföldi származás vannak, és mindenki van másik származásuk öö valaki japán, van aki magyar, német, a brazilnak hiányzik egy ilyen, amit a-aaz ország identitásnak van. Szóval ez az egyik dolog, amit szerintem én is és szerintem mi együtt, mi tudtunk a magyarságra öööö identifikálni, vagy a magyarságra öööö mutatni, hogy ez öö ez a mi identitások, és az hogy magyar vagyunk.*

“For me, being a Hungarian here in Brazil is very important… for example there is one thing that so many Brazilian poets write about, that Brazilians lack something that is their own identity. Because Brazilians have a lot of foreign origins, some are Japanese,

some are Hungarian, some are German, and Brazilians are missing something that is the identity of the country. So that's one of the things that I and we together were able to identify with Hungarianness or point to Hungarianness that this is um, this is our identity and that we are Hungarian."

(Interviewee P4b)

(65) *Ahogy látom, a magyar kultúra az a brazil kultúrának egy része. Mert öö a brazil identitás az egy univerzalista identitás, legalább elvileg, tehát bármilyen kultúra tartozhat ebben az országban.*

"As I see it, Hungarian culture is a part of Brazilian culture. Because um, the Brazilian identity is a universal identity, at least in principle, so any culture can belong to this country."

(Interviewee P3c)

The question *How important is it for you to speak the language of your Brazilian/Hungarian identity?* which aimed to explore the perception of the participants regarding the relation between their language and identity, produced quite different answers (Figure 5.). This was the first time in the analysis of the NIP-Q responses that it became evident that the adequate knowledge of the heritage language is not the most important factor in their Hungarian national identity.

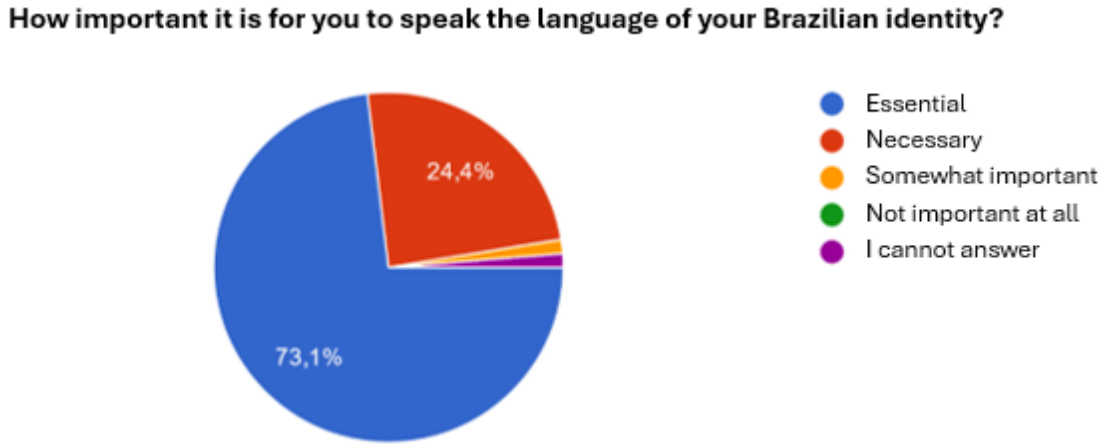

Figure 5. Relationship between Portuguese language and Brazilian identity

Seventy-three percent of respondents claimed that speaking the Portuguese language is 'Essential' for their Brazilian identity, while 24.4% chose the 'necessary' option. Only 2% chose

the other responses (‘not important at all’ and ‘I cannot answer’). This means that the use of Portuguese is clearly an elementary part of the respondents' Brazilian identity. Moreover, it can be concluded that this is independent of the generational distribution.

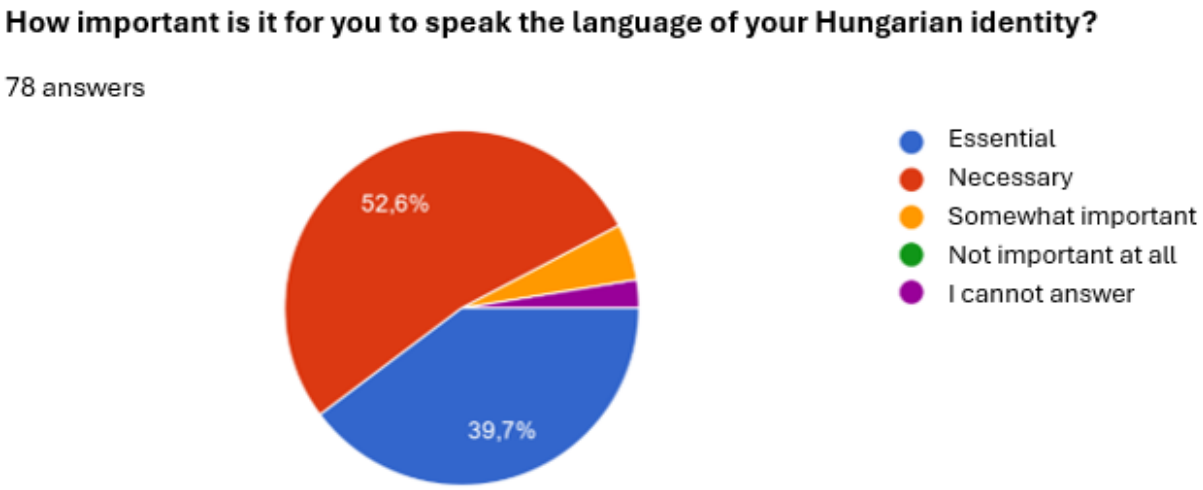

Figure 6. Relationship between Hungarian language and Hungarian identity

For the Hungarian language question, the 'Essential' is clearly below the 'Necessary' answer (39.7% and 52.6%), and the proportion of respondents who voted for ‘Somewhat important' and 'Not important at all' is also higher (Figure 6.). This confirms or at least predicts that Hungarian does not play as important role in their Hungarian national identity as Portuguese does in their Brazilian one.

The next task in Part 2 was to rank the five indicated factors that influence their national identity. These are Language, Place of residence, Religion, Family, and Cultural habits. Participants were asked to select the importance of each of the five factors on a scale of one to five, with a 5 indicating that the factor was very important in shaping identity and a 1 indicating that the factor was not at all important. For *Place of residence* as a Brazilian national identity influencing factor, 37 respondents picked rating 5 on the same scale, being by far the most popular choice. Rating 4 was chosen by 21 participants, while the lowest rating, according to which the place of residence is not being considered as an important influencing factor, gained only two choices (Figure 7). This result suggests that physical belonging is a very important determinant of Brazilian identity.

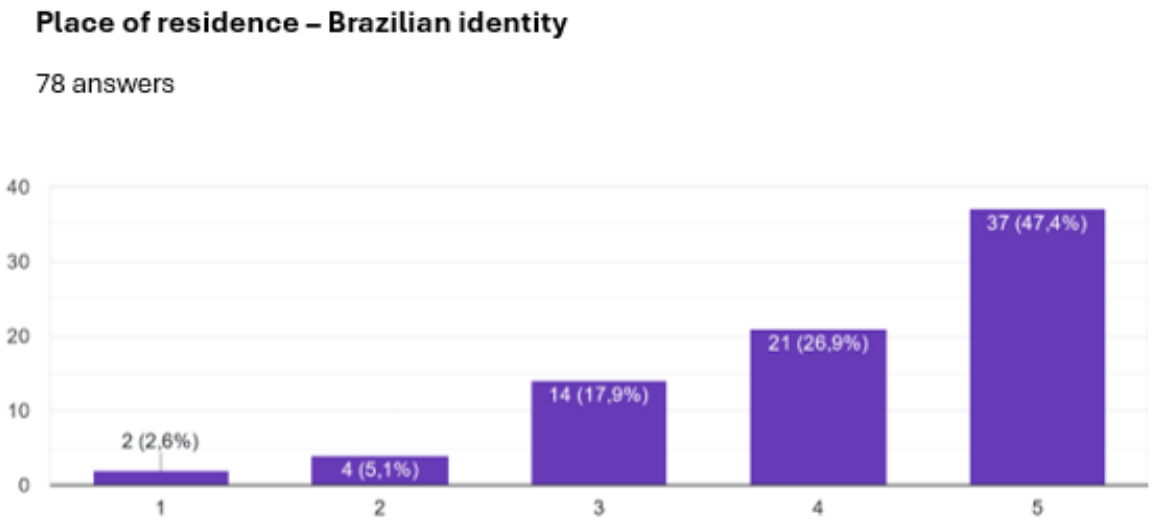

Figure 7. Place of residence as a factor in Brazilian national identity

To the same question regarding Hungarian identity, we get a scale of ranking in the opposite direction (Figure 8). The community living far away from Hungary does not consider place of residence to be an essential element of their Hungarian identity, which is not surprising considering that an earlier question revealed that the majority of respondents had not visited Hungary or had visited it only a few times. Only 2.6% of respondents think that the place of residence in Hungary is of great importance, while nearly 47% think that this question is negligible, which leads to the conclusion that residence is not a determinant of identity.

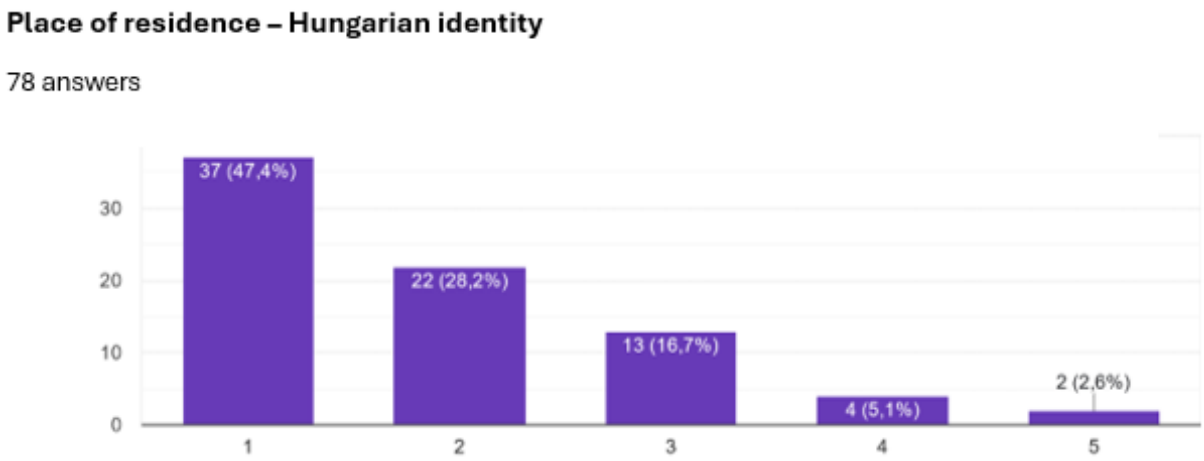

Figure 8. Place of residence as a factor in Hungarian national identity

The second point is the importance of language in each of their identities, on the same 5-level scale (Figure 9.). Although the column of rating 3 in the middle got relatively high (17

participants) here again, we get a confirmation that Portuguese language is an important part of their Brazilian identity, as 28 respondents chose the highest option, while 23 participants marked rating 4.

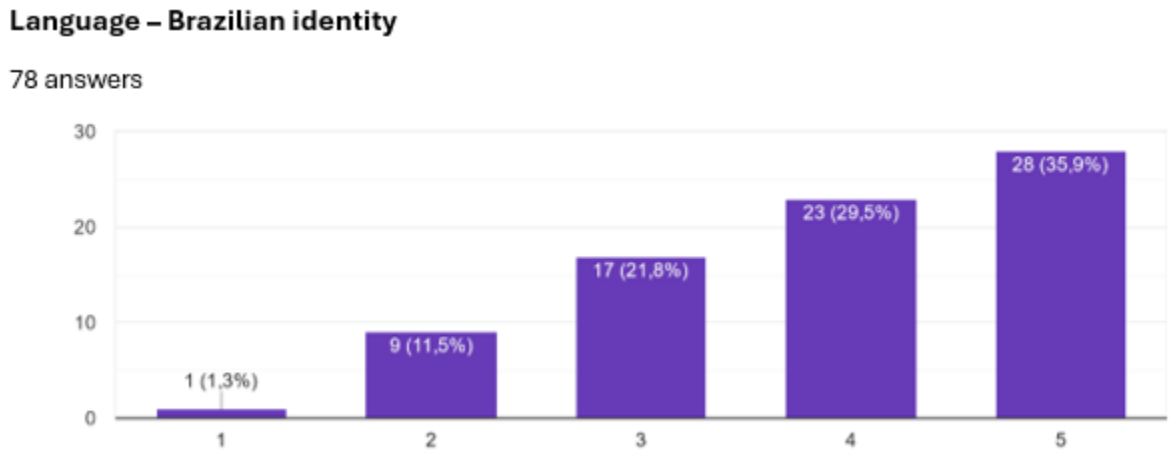

Figure 9. Language as factor in Brazilian national identity

On the same one to five scale, level three got the greatest number of votes in connection with Hungarian language as an influencing factor (27 choices). This reveals that language is by far not the most important element in maintaining Hungarian national identity for the respondents, while it plays a significant role in their Brazilian national identity. The ratings reveal that while respondents feel the importance of having a proper command of the Hungarian language in terms of their identity, other factors play a more significant role. However, it also becomes clear that there are only a few persons who believe that knowledge of the Hungarian language is not important at all (Figure 10).

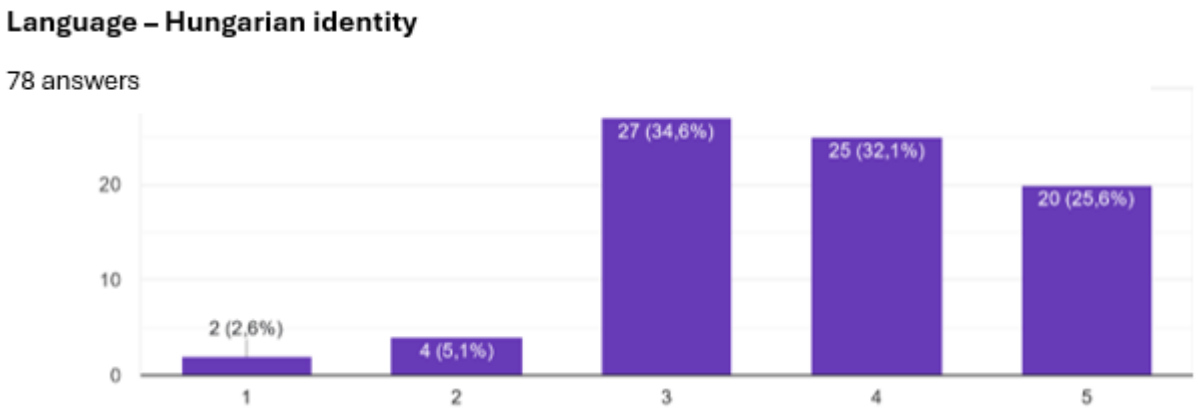

Figure 10. Language as a factor in Hungarian national identity

(66) *Lehet az ember magyar a nyelv nélkül. Vannak akik cserkészetre járnak vagy néptánc, ők is nagyon kevesen tudnak, mégis magyarok.*

“One can be Hungarian without the language. Some people go scouting or folk danging, very few of them knows the language, but they are Hungarians.”

(Interviewee P2b)

(67) *Okvetlen a legelső a nyelv. Hogy szeret pörköltet enni vagy Dobos tortát, vagy mulatni egy táncházban, az is nagyon fontos. De ha nincs a nyelv, akkor hiába a többi. Én így gondolom*

"First and foremost is language. The fact that he or she likes to eat stew or Dobos cake or have fun at a folk dance event is also very important. But if there is no language, the rest is useless. That’s what I think.”

(Interviewee P1b)

The third question was about religion that has no, or just a small influence on differentiating their national identities – most participants chose rating 1 (70% for the Brazilian and almost 60% for the Hungarian). Rating 5 got only 5% and 6% for each national identity. This means that religion does not limit their full involvement in any identity, but this scale is presumably only generalizable to diasporas where the host country and the immigrant group share the same religion. The results of the survey would certainly be different if, for example, the religious question of the Japanese or Jewish community in São Paulo were analyzed.

The next point in Part 2 is the influence of the Family in shaping identity. Here again there is a noticeable difference in the scale. Although the option "the most important" (rating 5) proved to be the most popular for both national identities, the Hungarian scale shows a much clearer increase (Figure 12), and the responses to Brazilian identity show greater variation on the scale (Figure 11).

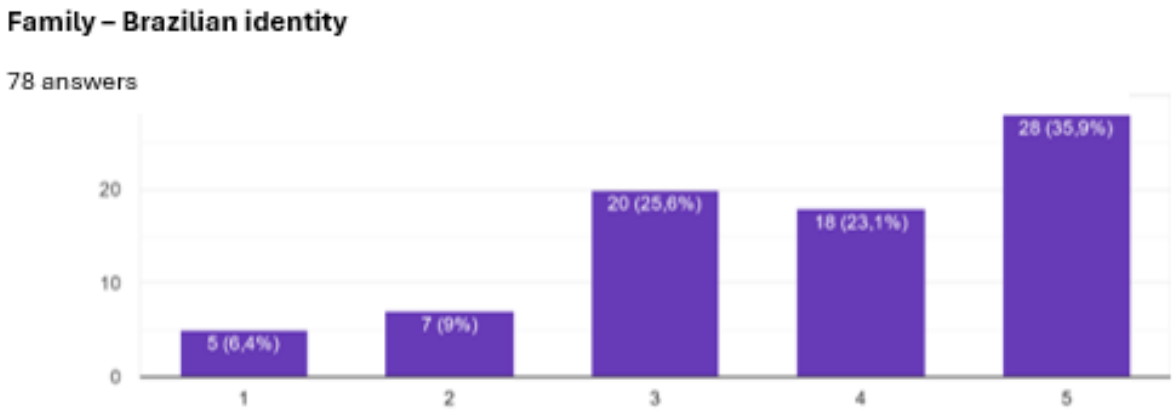

Figure 11. Family as a factor in Brazilian national identity

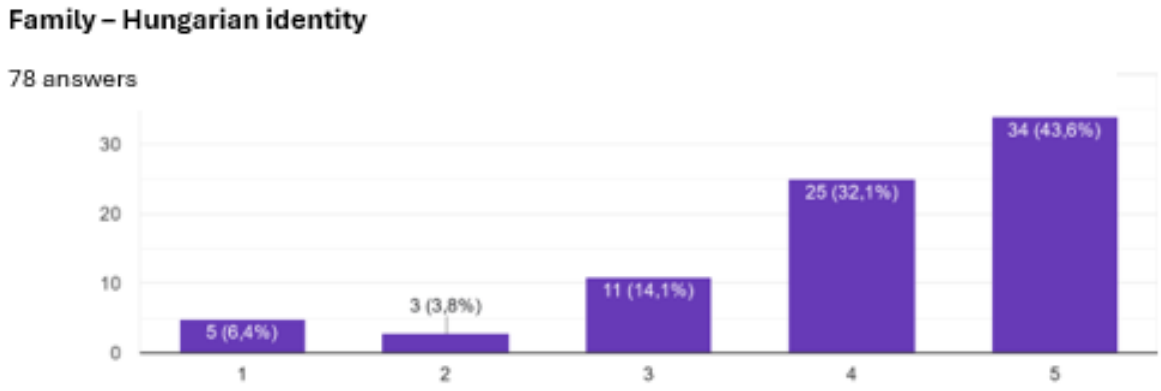

Figure 12. Family as a factor in Hungarian national identity

The answers confirm the assumption that origin as such is of clear importance in the life of a minority community. The family is the environment where the heritage language and culture can be transmitted to the greatest extent. Parents and grandparents, by sharing the experiences and stories, whether in the motherland or in the Hungarian community, can make a big contribution to motivating the younger generations to learn a language or to further cultivate Hungarian culture. Obviously, over the decades, Hungarians have mixed with Brazilian families, so the importance of the Brazilian family members is also undisputed.

As the last part of the task, participants had to rank the importance of cultural habits in their national identities. The scale of importance of cultural habits in the Brazilian identity shows a pyramid, with the middle, rating 3 highlighted (Figure 13). Brazilian cultural customs as part of their same identity are indifferent for most participants (32.1%). In general, members of the Hungarian community, in terms of their dual identity, attribute more attractiveness to the practice of Hungarian cultural customs than the one of Brazilian, in many cases even when they identify Brazilian as their dominant identity.

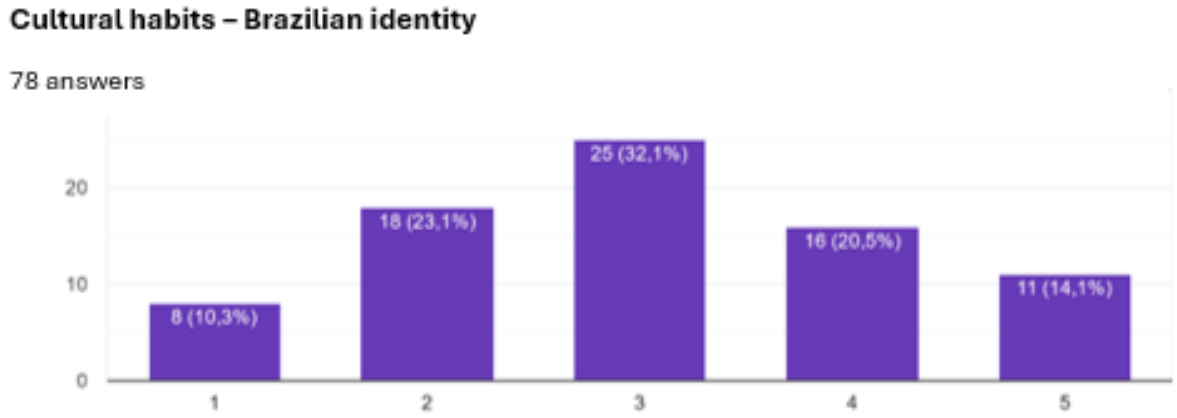

Figure 13. Cultural habits as a factor in Brazilian national identity

(68) *Imádom ezt az országot, imádom, de hogyha az ember úgy van, hogy leül tényleg egy brazillal beszélgetni, persze vannak ilyenek is meg olyanok is, de annyira más, annyira hiányzik az a, az a gazdagabb kultúra, tudod? Tehát hiányos itt a kultúra-kérdés.*

"I love this country, I love it, but when you sit down and you're talking to a real Brazilian, of course there are such and such, but it's so different, I miss the, the richer culture, you know? So there is a lack of culture here.."

(Interviewee P2a)

The importance of Hungarian cultural customs was rated much higher (Figure 14). Although rating 5 was not the one chosen by majority of participants, as rating 4 proved to be the most popular choice, the two 'most important' options were chosen by 57 respondents altogether.

Figure 14. Cultural habits as influencing factor of Hungarian national identity

The results of the NIP-Q's Part 2 indicated that while proficiency in the Hungarian language remains important, particularly among older generations, other elements such as family and cultural habits were considered even more significant in maintaining Hungarian identity.

In Part 3 of the questionnaire participants were asked to choose which cultural habits they prefer to keep that are linked to each of their national identities (Figure 15).

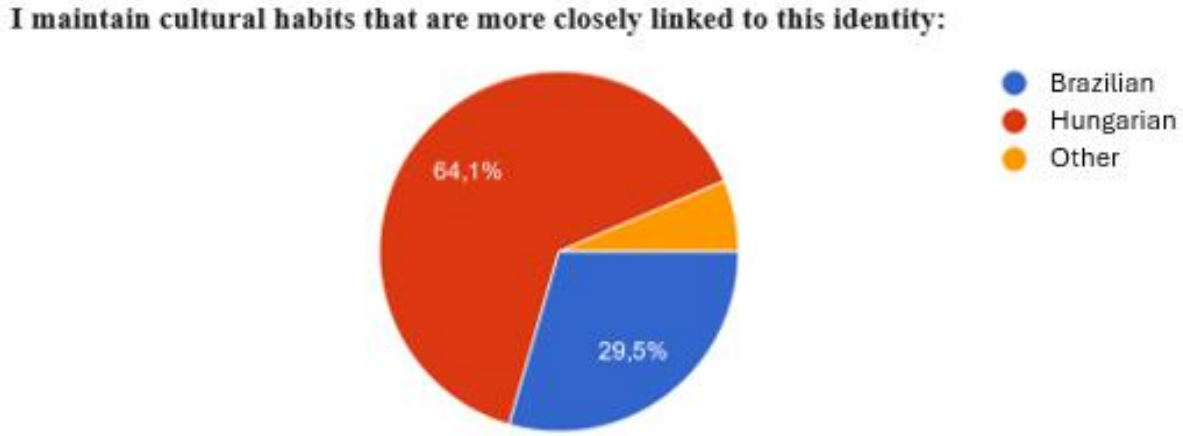

Figure 15. Preference in cultural habits

Participants in Part 3 were asked therefore to complete identity-related sentences by choosing the national identity they find most relevant, with the additional option to select a third choice when the answer does not clearly align with a specific national identity. The aim

was to find out which national identities are preferred in which domains of their daily life. For three statements, the third, neutral option was chosen by the majority. According to these, in the questions "When forming a friendship or relationship, I take into account that the person is closer to this national identity", "I prefer to watch films related to this identity" and "I prefer to read literature related to this identity", the balance is not tipped towards either the Brazilian or the Hungarian identity.

In the ranking of the two national identities, the largest difference in favour of the Brazilian identity was for the statement „I prefer the humour of the culture related to this identity" – this is largely due to intelligibility and language skills, or lack thereof. In this topic, Brazilian identity received more than twice as many votes as Hungarian identity. This also suggests that the older generation is closer to Brazilian humour than to the Hungarian (Figure 16).

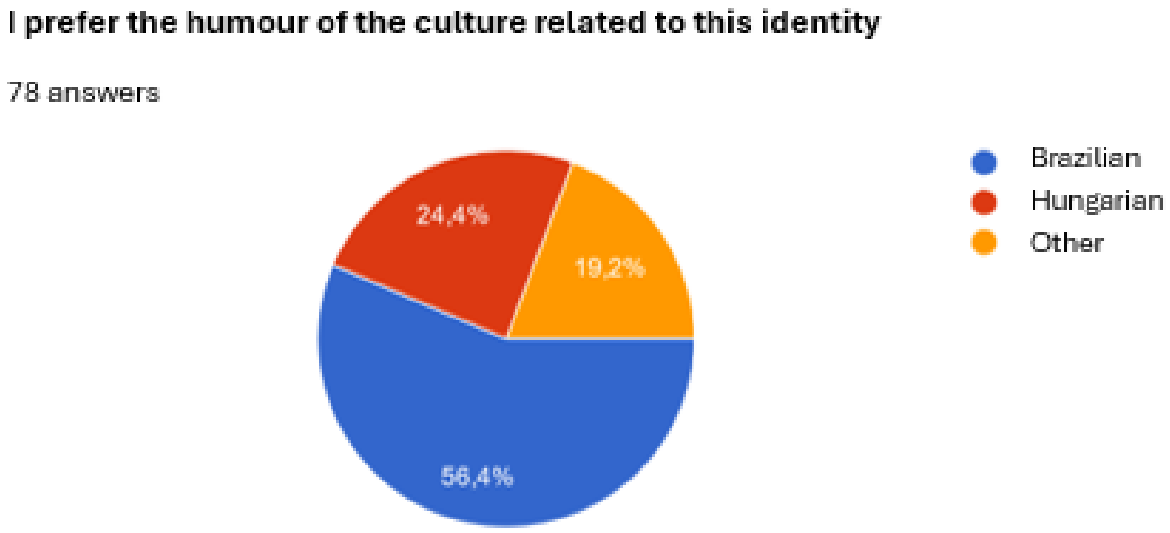

Figure 16. Humour and identity

The biggest difference in favour of Hungarian identity (apart from the cultural habits discussed earlier) was related to culinary experiences (Figure 17). More than half of the respondents would choose Hungarian cuisine over Brazilian. The Hungarian House also offers regular cooking classes to members of the community, and on a monthly basis, also organized by the institution, visitors can enjoy Hungarian flavours at a community level on Hungarian Dinners.

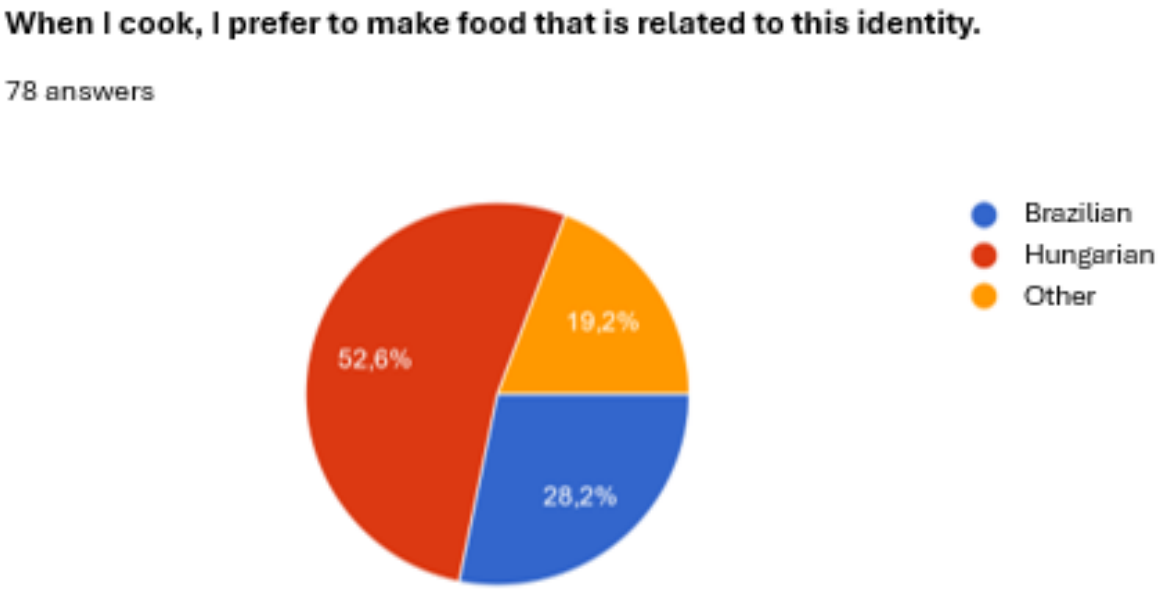

Figure 17. Cuisine and identity

Hungarian national identity was chosen by the majority for the statement ‘I prefer listening to music in connection with this identity’, which can be attributed to the love of Hungarian folk music, especially by those members who have ever folk danced or attended folk dance performances within the community.

Brazilian national identity was more popular for the following: ‘At a sporting event, when my aforementioned nations play against each other, this identity is the strongest in me’. Football is the most popular sport in Brazil, and the Brazilian team has been known to be among the world's elite for decades, so it's hardly surprising that they are devoted to it.

These results again confirm the importance of the Hungarian House as the stronghold of the Hungarian community and culture in São Paulo, its events, and its aspiration of involving more and more members of the Hungarian community in their regular cultural events are visibly and perceptibly effective.

4.3.3. Perception of mixed national identity

The final question of the questionnaire in Part 3 asked about respondents' perceptions on their dual national identities (Figure 18.). To find out, they were asked to choose one of the following five statements.

1. The Brazilian identity is the strongest in me.

2. The Hungarian identity is the strongest in me.

3. I have a mixed identity, and I am proud of it.

4. I have a mixed identity, but I am not proud of it.

5. I do not wish to answer.

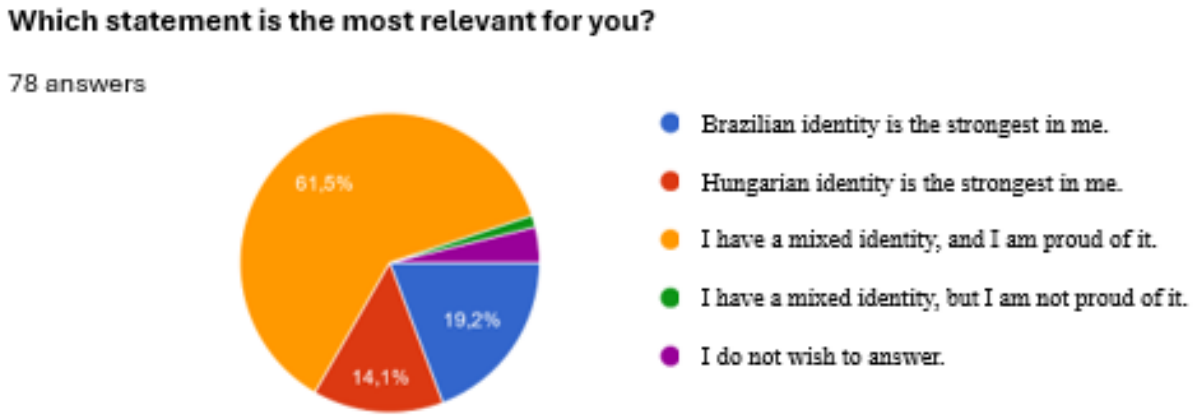

Figure 18. Perception of mixed national identity

Although overall relatively more people chose Brazilian as the sole dominant identity than Hungarian (19.2% and 14.1%), the clear majority, 61.5% of participants claimed that they were proud of their mixed identity. There were three respondents that did not wish to answer, and only one who picket ‘I have a mixed identity, but I am not proud of it’.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

5.1. General discussion

The results obtained from the methods outlined earlier (semi-structured interviews and the National Identity Profile Questionnaire) provide an insight into the Hungarian minority in São Paulo, focusing on their efforts to maintain language and cultural identity while adapting to Brazilian society for several generations already. Brazil's language policy aligns with the principles outlined in the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger and the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, positioning the country as a supporter of linguistic and cultural preservation for minority groups. Far from imposing restrictions on language use, Brazil actively promotes the preservation of minority languages and cultures. This commitment is evident in its support for institutions that enable cultural preservation, such as those serving the Hungarian minority. These institutions provide spaces where identity-nurturing groups can meet and engage in cultural activities, ensuring the intergenerational transmission of heritage. Regarding minorities with European origin such as Hungarians, the concept of Boas (cited by Blackhawk & Wilner, 2018) that the cultures represented by minority groups contribute to the diversity of a country and that differences should be respected rather than suppressed is made sense of. Although the period marked by state centralization (as mentioned in the introduction) confirmed Rex's position on his conflict theory (1983), that certain minorities were politically disadvantaged in the hierarchy of the host country, the Hungarian community in Brazil since has enjoyed greater freedom in using their language, both in spoken and written forms. This is supported by the findings of the preliminary Linguistic Landscape study, which highlight the visible presence of Hungarian in signage and public texts, reflecting an environment that encourages bilingual communication. Additionally, bilingual engagement has extended to digital platforms, where Hungarian Brazilians communicate in both Portuguese and Hungarian, reaching an audience of thousands. Notably, in general, Brazil, and more specifically São Paulo is not considered to be the hotbed of linguistic discrimination, nor the process of misrecognition (Gal & Irvine, 1995) is perceptible, since the Brazilian metropolis is a melting pot of numerous minorities, cultures, and languages.

The interviews revealed a variety of family models among participants, reflecting diverse approaches to language use and transmission within the Hungarian families. Some descendants reported that during their childhood, they exclusively spoke Hungarian at home with their parents. Interestingly, however, many of these individuals, now parents themselves,

did not consciously adopt any specific strategy for passing on the Hungarian language within their mixed marriages. Such an absence of intentionality in language transmission can significantly hinder a child's acquisition of the heritage language (Lanza, 2007). Consistent with this, interviewees of the present study noted that their children now face difficulties in using Hungarian fluently, and expressed regret for not holding on more to the OPOL strategy and not being stricter or more deliberate in encouraging the use of Hungarian, recognizing the missed opportunity to deepen their children's connection to their linguistic heritage. There were also examples of couples who, despite being part of later generations, found each other within the Hungarian community and decided to speak only Hungarian to their children at home. In their case, Braun and Cline's (2014) claim was supported, as excluding the majority language at home significantly increased the likelihood of their children acquiring the heritage language. Families where parents consistently use Hungarian both with each other and with their children are far more likely to see their children adopt and actively use the language (Curdt-Christiansen & La Morgia, 2018). However, this strategy can only be fully realized in families where both parents are confident speakers of Hungarian. Among older generations, passing the language on to children was considered a natural responsibility, which often leads to criticism of 'modern' parents who, despite having the opportunity to speak only Hungarian at home, fail to prioritize the transmission of the heritage language.

The Hungarian community in São Paulo is an old diaspora, but of course there are also a small number of families who have moved there in recent decades, which gives some basis for comparison between 'younger' and 'elder' first-generation participants. Although there were no 'younger first generation' participants among the interviewees and only a very small number among the questionnaire respondents, it can be said that results showed a different perception on dual culture and dual national identity comparing to 'elder first-generation' members. The fact that the younger group is much more open to multiculturalism and multilingualism is mainly due to globalization, the acceptance of different cultures and the acceleration of information technology. Assimilation to the local language and culture and the shaping of one's own national identity to that of the host country can be seen as a much automatic process today than it was a hundred years ago. Regarding RQ1 ("Is there a difference in the perception of Hungarian and Brazilian national identities among different generations of respondents?"), the results indicate that the vast majority of respondents across the four surveyed generations perceive themselves as individuals with mixed national identities rather than identifying solely as Brazilian or Hungarian. However, generational differences emerged: while older generations

tend to express stronger attachment to Hungarian heritage, younger generations also consider these bonds important, likely influenced by their connection to the Hungarian House. This highlights the importance of considering dual or multiple identities and their generational shifts when examining the identity construction of diaspora communities.

Findings of the semi-structured interviews suggest that older generations might lean towards integration or separation considering the 2005 Acculturation Model proposed by Berry, maintaining strong ties to Hungarian culture while selectively engaging with Brazilian society. Younger generations, however, might exhibit more integrationist and assimilationist tendencies, especially if they have been raised in a predominantly Brazilian cultural environment and have less exposure to Hungarian language and traditions. Given these facts, it is not surprising that language is not even close to the number one factor in preserving Hungarian identity among younger people. This finding can be attributed, in part, to the continued existence and influence of cultural, religious, and community institutions such as the Hungarian House, the Colégio Santo Américo, Szondi György Scout Troop and Pántlika Folk Dance Group.

In the 21st century, *Casa Húngara* is the home of most Hungarian events in São Paulo. It is located in Vila Olímpia, a district that is easily approachable from most parts of the city. Since the Benefit Association 30th of September moved there from its previous home in 1985, it also hosts the Hungarian language school and operates an own library with books from the mother country or of Hungarian authors from Latin-America. The building itself has been renovated between 2019 and 2022, with the financial help of the Hungarian government. By offering spaces where members of the diaspora can engage with their heritage through cultural education, communal gatherings, religion, cuisine, music and dance, these institutions help to preserve a collective Hungarian identity that transcends linguistic proficiency. As Hymes (1962) stated in relation to his concept of communicative competence, knowing the grammar of a language is not enough for understanding it – during the events of the Hungarian House, members of the community with the will of learning and practicing Hungarian language can apply their knowledge in its proper cultural context. It was also clear from the discussions with representatives of different generations that Hungarian cultural customs are extremely important in sustaining national identity, and the superiority of Hungarian over Brazilian identity in terms of culture was indicated on several points. Keeping cultural habits and attending community events is an individual choice, as opposed to, for example, place of residence. The interview quotes in which participants identify their belonging to the Hungarian community and participating in regular events together as the most defining component of

Hungarian identity are also evidenced here. Language is not a direct condition for keeping cultural customs, nor is location – respondents who cannot attend Hungarian House events for different reasons are likely to keep traditions alive in the same way within their families. Acculturation Model also highlights the role of social and institutional factors in shaping these identity strategies. Conversely, the lack of such support could push younger generations towards assimilation or even marginalization.

Addressing RQ2 ("What are the greatest identity-shaping factors in the participants' Hungarian identity? Are these factors much different from those of Brazilian identity?"), the research findings challenge conventional assumptions about the primacy of language in maintaining cultural identity. For many respondents, language was not the most crucial factor in sustaining Hungarian national identity. Instead, emotional and symbolic connections to Hungarian heritage often outweighed linguistic proficiency. In contrast, for Brazilian identity, physical aspects such as residence played a more prominent role. This emphasizes the complex interplay between emotional and physical elements in the construction of national identities within the diaspora, underscoring the distinct but complementary factors shaping Hungarian and Brazilian identities. Belonging to the Hungarian community, the occasional communal gatherings with peers of the same cultural ancestry, have a more social impact on them, as referred to 'centrifugal' by Pléh (2015), but besides, the psychology factor is also present to some extent.

In relation to RQ3 ("Do respondents think positively about their mixed identity?"), the dissertation uncovered both the advantages, and the challenges associated with possessing a dual or multiple national identity. While the data suggests that many respondents do value their mixed identity, the dominance of heritage national identity tends to decrease across younger generations, leading to more complex and sometimes conflicted self-definitions. Especially for middle generations, there is often a sense of uncertainty or ambiguity about the relative importance of their Hungarian and Brazilian identities. This can create a feeling of not fully belonging to either culture, but conversely it can also offer the opportunity to embrace both identities equally.

(69) *Néha úgy érzem, hogy nem tartozom ide. Itt is (Brazíliában) és ott is (Magyarországon) az az érzésem, hogy egyik országhoz sem tartozom igazán.*

"Sometimes I feel like I don't belong here. Here (in Brazil) and there (in Hungary), I have a feeling that I don't really belong to either country."

(Interviewee P3a)

(70) *Sose tudom, hogy magyar vagyok, vagy brazil vagyok. És akkor egyszer hallottam valakit, hogy "én nem vagyok 50 százalék magyar és 50 százalék brazil, hanem 100 százalék magyar és 100 százalék brazil vagyok", én ezt adoptáltam magamnak ezt a mondatát.*

"I never know if I am Hungarian or Brazilian. And then one day I heard somebody say, 'I'm not 50 per cent Hungarian and 50 per cent Brazilian, I'm 100 per cent Hungarian and 100 per cent Brazilian', and then I adopted that sentence for myself.."

(Interviewee P2a)

Referring to Buckingham's definition (2008), identity can incorporate difference and similarity, as well. Considering the situation of the diaspora and the answers to the questionnaire, it can be concluded that while the attitude of each individual towards the Hungarian and Brazilian national identity is different, one of the most important findings of the research is that the 'Brazilian Hungarian', as double national identity serves as a unifying phenomenon that is being present in the majority of the respondents. This identity is referred to as 'bicultural' by Grosjean (2015), who argues that identification with more than one culture's norms and values contributes to a more complex identity of an individual.

(71) *Mindegyik kultúrának van vannak előnyei és hátrányai. Én úgy voltam nevelve, hogy inkább öö vegyem á.. vegyem magamnak a legjobbakat mindegyikből.*

"Each culture has its advantages and disadvantages. I was raised to take the best of each one."

(Interviewee P3c)

The results confirmed the findings of Miramontez, Benet-Martínez and Nguyen (2008) that majority of participants of dual national identity are proud of both identities and can live their dual cultures in harmony. Pride in their identity and a sense of belonging to both cultures often lead to a stronger self-identity and a more positive sense of life. With the term 'Brazilian Hungarians' we have a social group with specific attributes, whether linguistically or culturally considered. Their attachment to both nations is much stronger than their rejection of either. The NIP-Q results further underscored the prevalence and significance of dual national identities, that serve as a unifying phenomenon that resonates with the majority of respondents. The findings suggest that this dual identity is not merely a passive state of being but an active and

dynamic process of self-definition that allows individuals to bridge their Hungarian heritage with their Brazilian nationality. Linguistically, Brazilian Hungarians use a dialect that is also peculiar to them, which has now become a mixture of the old Hungarian dialect of Hungary and Portuguese linguistic influences. Both the importance of family and religious affiliation is unquestioned, while in everyday matters (culinary, literature, music, sports, etc.) one identity or the other can be more dominant.

Tajfel and Turner's 1979 Social Identity Theory (SIT) provides insights into how members of the community identify with both Hungarian and Brazilian cultures. Older generations may display a stronger attachment to their Hungarian identity, viewing it as a key component of their self-concept, while also identifying with Brazilian society. The theory's concept of "positive distinctiveness" suggests that members of the diaspora might emphasize their Hungarian heritage to maintain a unique and positive identity in the face of Brazilian cultural dominance. As SIT suggests, social identity can influence intergroup relations, leading to either harmonious integration or social tension, depending on how groups perceive each other. In analyzing the Hungarian diaspora, SIT allows for an exploration of how identity is negotiated within the context of dual nationality, where individuals might experience a dynamic interplay between their Hungarian roots and their Brazilian environment. Respondents consistently emphasized the importance of these cultural markers in distinguishing the Hungarian community from the broader Brazilian society while fostering a sense of pride and belonging. Furthermore, the integration of younger generations into activities like scouting and folk dance groups demonstrates how in-group cohesion and the reinforcement of shared cultural heritage help sustain the diaspora's identity. Even in the previous century, when connections to the motherland were limited, the Hungarian diaspora in Brazil demonstrated remarkable resilience in preserving its identity. Anderson's National Identity Theory emphasizes that shared symbols, myths, traditions, and language are essential elements that bind members of a nation together, even in the absence of physical proximity or political ties. These principles were clearly reflected in the Hungarian community's ability to maintain a collective identity through cultural practices, language use, and generational storytelling, despite their geographical separation from Hungary. Smith's (1992) emphasis on historical continuity and the role of a shared past in forging national identity resonates with the practices of the Hungarian diaspora. Older generations focus on transmitting traditions and language to ensure the preservation of cultural connections to Hungary. Among younger members of the community, often born and raised in Brazil, this identity takes on a more symbolic or cultural form, rooted in heritage rather

than primary identification. The interplay between these generational perspectives reflects Smith's theory, demonstrating how a shared past remains central to sustaining national identity, even as its expression evolves over time. In the contemporary era, the concept of "imagined communities" of Anderson remains highly relevant, albeit supported by modern tools such as media and digital platforms. These platforms play a pivotal role in bridging the gaps that once existed, enabling the Hungarian diaspora to stay connected with Hungary and with one another across borders.

Vertovec (2001) highlights the intricate relationship between language, identity, and integration, emphasizing how diasporic communities manage the pressures of adopting the dominant language of the host society while striving to preserve their cultural heritage. For the Hungarian community in Brazil, this dynamic is evident in their dual approach to language use. Proficiency in Portuguese is essential for social integration and economic participation, yet the community remains deeply committed to maintaining Hungarian as a heritage language. This balancing act fosters a form of biculturalism, enabling individuals to maintain a strong connection to their Hungarian roots while embracing their Brazilian nationality.

5.2. Participants' language use in the interviews

While analyzing the interviews, the interviewees' specific language use was also noticeable apart from the content of the answers. Several factors shape the uniqueness of the linguistic heritage of the Hungarian diaspora in São Paulo. In general, the community's language use is characterized by the adoption and integration of the vocabulary, idioms and dialects of the ancestors living in Hungary and the annexed parts of the country before the migration waves of the 20th century. This is where Blommaert's concept of 'superdiversity' (2010) becomes relevant, that global processes such as migration can lead to the emergence of new variations of certain languages through the mixing of cultures.

Another decisive factor is the internal pressure exerted by the Portuguese language in Brazil on the spoken languages of minority communities, including Hungarian. The mixing of Romance and the language of origin results in a series of code-switches, word mispronunciations, conjugation difficulties and often a lack of mutual understanding. Maintaining contact and communication with the motherland is of paramount importance for the language maintenance and linguistic development of Hungarians living abroad.

5.2.1. Language mixing

If the conversation is between two parties who speak both Portuguese and Hungarian, i.e. they are bilingual (Grosjean, 1996), their language use is full of code-switching, as there is no need for strong language control, they do not exclude anyone from the conversation by using mixed language. They insert Portuguese words into Hungarian sentences or vice versa. One reason for this may be the greater frequency with which the word is used in one language.

Participants did not feel the need for language control during the interviews. In several cases, the word of Hungarian origin was replaced by a word of foreign origin, which is more commonly heard in Portuguese:

- *sítio* "farmhouse"

"Emegyünk pédául Lizihez a sítióba és egész nap csak énekelni megyünk."

"We go to Lizi's farmhouse and just sing all day."

- *curtina de ferro* "iron curtain"

"Szóval régóta, de először még a szüleimmel és gondolom, hogy aaa curtina de ferro után kicsivel."

"It's been a long time, but first time with my parents and I think it was a little bit after the aaaa iron curtain."

- *religiosidade* "religiosity"

"Hogy mennyire fontos az Isten és hogy mennyire fontos aaaa religiosidade, tudod?"

"How important God is and how important is theee religiosity, you know?

- *relações públicas* "public relations"

"A Magyar Ház igazgatósága aki fogadott mindig, szóval volt ilyen relações públicas, hogy fogadja aki jön…"

"The Directorate of the Hungarian House that always welcomed them. So there were such public relations for whoever arrived."

- *distraída* "distracted"

"De ez nem külön a magyar helyzet, hanem én eléggé elfogult és distraída vagyok…"

"But it's not specifically the Hungarian situation, but I'm quite biased and distracted."

- *mais pessoal* "more personal"

"*Mmm szerintem egy nekem ami fontos, mer ez egy ilyen mais pessoal, hogy a mamám magyar, papám brazil."*

*"*Mmm an important thing for me, because it's more personal, that my mom is Hungarian and my dad is Brazilian."

- *Papai Noel* "Santa Claus"

"Más, hogy a gyerek a Jézuskát várja és hogy itt teljesen más hogy Papai Noel meg minden."

"It's different that the child is waiting for the little Jesus and that it's completely different here with Santa Claus and everything."

"Szóval sosem volt olyan, hogy ja, 25-én jön a Papai Noel vagy a Santa Claus, mindig a Jézuska, s az angyalok."

"So it's never been like, yeah, on the 25th it's Santa Claus that comes, it's always little Jesus and the angels."

- *estrela de cinema* "movie star"

"Milyen különböző név… Mint ilyen, ilyen hogy mondák, estrela de cinema vagy valami ilyesmi…"

"What a different name… Like a, as they say, movie star or something like that."

- *hereditário* "hereditary"

"És ez, az, é é hereditário. A vérbe van ez nekünk, nem?"

"And it is, ehm hereditary. It's in our blood, isn't it?"

- *tradição, isso* "tradition, that's it"

"Családba ott csak magyarul beszéltünk és a cserkész is jó mert az megtanította a magyar öööö ejj könnyebb brazilul mondani nem? Ömmm tradição, isso."

"In the family we only spoke Hungarian and the scout also good, because it taught us the Hungarian ummm it's easier to say it in Brazilian, isn't it? Ummm tradition, that's it."

- *transição* "transition"

„És akkor van ilyen transição idő, amit az emberek akik mindig tanultak, kezdtek tanítani és kezdnek odaadni a további dzseneráció."

“And then there’s a time of transition, when people who have always learned, have begun to teach and hive to further generations.”

- *resumir* “summary”

“Szerintem magyar dolgokat csinál, vagy magyar programokat tartsuk, de brazil.. brazil módszerekkel, tudod? Szerintem ez ilyen resumir.”

“I think it’s about doing Hungarian events, but in Brazilian… Brazilian way, you know? I think that’s a kind of summary.”

- *ata de reunião* “protocol”

“*Brazil himnusz, jó. Ki viszi a cédét? Ki viszi a zászlót? Ki lesz a beszéd? Ez volt ilyen ata de reunião.”*

“Brazilian anthem, okay. Who’ll take the CD? Who carries the flag? Who will make the speech? It was like this protocol.”

- *cobrador* “inspector”

“Vagy hogy ilyen hogy bemegyek egy buszba, és úgy mondjuk jónapot kívánok a sofeernek, meg ugye ott a cobrador aki ott ugye beszedi a díjt.”

”Or if I go into a bus and say hello to the chauffeur, and there’s the inspector who collects the fares.”

- *mensagem* “message”

“Azért neki mindig küldök ööö hangot ööö mensagem? Hangüzenetet, mert írni nekem nagyon nehéz.”

“Is that why I always send ummm voice ummm message? Voice message, because writing is very difficult for me.”

- *Consulado* “Consulate”

“Van egy ilyen magyar kurzus, és akkor sikerült meghívni mer segített a Consulado, szóval...”

“There is a Hungarian course, and they managed to invite us with the help of the Consulate.”

- *que coisa* “what a thing”

“*Á, que coisa, Rosszat mondok a brazilról*!”

“Ah what a thing, I say bad things about Brazilians.”

Participants occasionally use mixed language, when they 'Portugueseize' Hungarian words and expressions or when they 'Englishize' Portuguese ones. These examples illustrate mixed-language forms in which Portuguese (and sometimes English) roots take Hungarian grammatical morphology, including case endings, possessive suffixes, plural markers, derivational suffixes, and verbal or participial endings. Such forms demonstrate productive morphological integration rather than simple code-switching.

- *legreligiósóbb* “the most religious” – Portuguese adjective + Hungarian superlative suffix
- *mennek churrascóra* “go to a barbecue” – Portuguese noun + Hungarian allative case ending
- *incentiválják* “they encourage” – Portuguese verb root + Hungarian verbal derivation and conjugation
- *genealógikus fa* “family tree” – Portuguese-derived adjective used in Hungarian noun phrase
- *celularod* “your cellphone” – Portuguese noun + Hungarian possessive suffix
- *groupinhában* “in a small group” – English noun + Portuguese diminutive suffix + Hungarian inessive case
- *impressionálva* “under the impression” – Portuguese verb stem + Hungarian adverbial participle
- *namoralni* “to flirt” – Portuguese phrase root + Hungarian infinitive suffix
- *preconseitók* “prejudices” – Portuguese noun root + Hungarian plural suffix
- *dezrespektust* “disrespect” – Portuguese noun root + Hungarian accusative suffix

5.2.2. Discourse markers, disfluencies

It is typical of all participants that in many cases they notice their own contact effects in speech, and their attempts to prevent or correct them, often without awareness, lead to disfluencies or to gain more time retrieving the appropriate words, to discourse markers. If the speakers notice their contact effects, the speech production process is interrupted until it is corrected (Levelt, 1989). According to the Main Interruption Rule, the time gained between the detection of the mistake and its solving is used by the speaker for self-correction. The time won is often in the form of filled pauses or repetitions, but it is also often the case that the speaker simply changes language to maintain continuity of the conversation and invokes the word or phrase sought in

the other language (Navracsics, 2007). Discourse markers, without exception, appear frequently in the speech of all interviewees. In any case, Brazilian Portuguese is characterized by the use of colloquial turns of phrase and filler words to maintain the interlocutor's interest, and therefore the number of these is even higher in the interviews in order to avoid speech errors. The discourse markers *ugye* "right", *érted* "you know", *szóval* "so", *não é* "isn't it?" appear very frequently during the conversations. The most typical discourse marker for Interviewee P2b was *não é/né* "isnt'it?", as it appeared 25 times out of about 1900 words. Interviewee P2c, who pronounced roughly 5600 words based on the interview transcript, used the filler word *szóval* "so" 119 times during the interview. Therefore, if we were now at the beginning of the interview, there would be roughly a 2.13% chance that the interviewer's next word in the conversation would be the filler word "so".

Moreover, almost all types of disfluencies are present in the interviews recorded. The most frequent are hesitations "umm", "aaaaa", stretches "*deeee*" "buuut", *hááát* "well", and repetitions *Nagyon gazdag, nagyon nagyon gazdag a mi magyar kultúránk* / "Our Hungarian culture is very rich, very very rich.".

5.2.3. Self-corrections

There are several types of self-correction phenomena that can be observed during the discussions with the participants. The most common ones are those that result from the dominance of the speaker's use of Portuguese over Hungarian. When a bilingual speaker tends to speak quickly and fluently, there is a tendency to loan translate from one language to the other, which may result in some meaning, but there is a noticeable change of sense and an incorrect structure of words or sentences. Interviewee P2a corrects herself as soon as she realizes code-switching – what is more, she even admits that she is not sure about the Hungarian translation: *Ez egy akkora nagy ajtó előtted, tudod, mint mint öööö curriculumodnak, tehát a-aaa az életrajzodnak, vagy nemtommicsoda..* / "It's such a big opportunity for you, you know, like, uh for your curriculum, so your, uh your resume, or whatever.".

A similar situation occurs in the speech of Interviewee P4b – he is insecure about the meaning of the appropriate Hungarian word, so he even gives up recalling it: *Itt mindig volt valamit más öööö relációm az emberekkel… Másik öööö fffog.. fogalm… fo… relação… nem tom mi az.* / "Here I've always had some other, uh, relationship with people… Some other, uh, cco.. concept, co… relation, I don't know what that is". A few minutes later in his interview, the

same participant makes sure that his sentence has the proper meaning by changing the uncertain Hungarian word to its Portuguese equivalent: *Szóval aki magyar az lehet, hogy származásuk vannak… vagy leszármazásuk… Descendentes.* / "So those wo are Hungarians may have ancestry… Or descent… Descendets". When the participant intended to borrow the Portuguese word for 'surprised', as soon as he found its Hungarian translation, he corrected himself: *Mmmm inkább nem, inkább öööö surprendes… surpredos… inkább meglepődtek.* / "Mmm no, rather not. Rather, um, surprendes… surprised."

In the conversation with Interviewee P2c, there were several occasions of hesitation over loan translation – the Portuguese word came to his mind first, and by saying it, he gained some time to recall the Hungarian equivalent: *Próbáltak folytatni ömmm de a másik néptánccsapat kicsit ömm volt öö mais presente, jobban jelen voltak, míg ők nem mindig.* / "They tried to continue like that mmm but the other folk dance group was a bit more present, while they were not always". Also, when the word *közösség* "community" did not immediately come to his mind, the speaker, after some hesitation in starting with the Portuguese cognate *colónia* "colony", decided to try to come up with the correct Hungarian equivalent: *Szerintem nagyon fontos, hogy ott legyünk mert mi részt veszünk a colo.. col.. a közösségben, szóval…* / „I think it's very important to be there because we are involved in the colo… col.. community, so…". In answer to a later question, there was also an example where he was not sure of the Hungarian equivalent of the Portuguese word (committee), so he preferred to express himself in Portuguese for mutual understanding, because the Hungarian word he used had a different meaning – and he was aware of that: *Úgy működött a Magyar Ház biztos… biztonság… hogy mondják? Diretoria*. / "This is how the Hungarian House's secure… security worked or how to say? Directorate". The main reason of the confusion was that morphologically, the Hungarian word *bizottság* "committee" is very similar to *biztonság* "security". On another occasion the speaker simply gave up looking for the Hungarian equivalent of the Portuguese word and continued the sentence: *Ööö könnyebb volt aa hogy mondják… gerenciador… ömm hogy mondjak, hogy mondjak… Mert nem kellett két hivatalos egyesület, hanem elég volt egy*. / "It was easier to… how to say… gerenciador (management) … umm how to say, how to say… Because there was no need for two official associations, one was enough."

Interviewee P3a was stuck in a similar process of loan translation, noticing that the Hungarian meaning would be incorrect: *A férjem egy vagy két éve nye… kapta meg az útlevelét*. / "My husband wo.. got his passport a year or two ago". In Portuguese, the verb *ganhar* "to win" is often used in cases where an object is obtained. Self-correction also follows mispronunciation based on the same phoneme in one of the first-generation participants'

responses: *Ha elmegyünk egyik nap csak azér, hogy verseket mondjunk, s akkor mindennap… egész nap verseket mondunk*. / "When we go there one day just to recite poems, then we recite poems every… all day long". The Portuguese expression *todos os dias* "every day" is identical in sound to *todo o dia* "all day". This must have caused a mistake in the recall, which is immediately corrected by the speaker.

The suffixing system of Hungarian words is, of course, very different from Portuguese in many ways. A significant part of the self-correction phenomena is because the interviewees are aware that the Hungarian suffixation they use is incorrect. As a consequence, after a little hesitation, they try to correct it and choose the correct suffix. This can be observed during the interview with P2a, who realized the incorrectness of the personal pronoun she used: *Amikor a gyerek azt mondja hogy jaj dejó, már alig várom, hogy menjek oda. Tudod, hogy hogy.. És ott próbálni csak magyarul foglalkozni velük... vele.* / "When the kid says 'oh my, I can't wait to go there'… You know how it is.. and there is to try to engage in Hungarian with them.. with him." Interviewee P2c corrected himself in a similar way, after a pause to find the correct pronoun for the Hungarian verb: *És nem tudunk mi történt, de ezután mi mi fölnéztünk őket, azt mondani? Rájuk.* / And we don't know what happened, but then we looked them up, do we say this? Looked up at them."

5.2.4. The accusative case

Portuguese does not distinguish between the accusative and nominative case, unlike Hungarian does. It is known from descriptions of children's language (Lengyel 1981; Navracsics 1999) that for Hungarian, as well as for bilingual and multilingual children of Hungarian and other languages, learning the use of the accusative is a long process. Although the descriptions of children's language suggest that the expression of the object is the first grammatical morpheme that appears in the child's speech, in Hungarian it is particularly difficult to distinguish the object according to its markedness. In a Hungarian monolingual environment, learning the use of the accusative case is also a matter of time, but in a multilingual environment, surrounded by languages that do not even morphologically denote the object phrase, is marked only by its function in the sentence, it is particularly difficult to learn when to mark the and when to omit it:

Én	*csinálom*	*ünnepség*	*része, és*	*beteszem*	*néptánc.*
1.SG	do.1SG	ceremony	part.ACC and	include.1SG	folk dance.ACC

“I do the part of the ceremony and I include folk dance.”
(Interviewee P2c)

Filmek, *színházak* *én szeretem.* *Szeretem* *hallani a magyar.”*
Movie.PL theater.PL 1.SG love. 1.SG love.1SG listen.INF the Hungarian.ACC
“Movies, theatre I love. I love listening to Hungarian.”
(Interviewee P2b)

A legtöbb *ünnepek* *a cserkészekkel* *ünnepeljük.*
The most holiday.ACC the scout.PL.INSTR celebrate.1PL
“We celebrate most holidays with the scouts.”
(Interviewee P4a)

Ő *alapította* *ezt* *a* *Pannónia Világklub.*
3SG found.PAST.3SG this.ACC the Pannónia World Club.INTENDED.ACC
“He founded this World Pannonia Club.”
(Interviewee P1b)

Egymilliószor *láttam* *ilyen* *kazetta.*
A million times see.PAST.1SG such cassette.INTENDED.ACC
“I’ve seen such cassette a million times.”
(Interviewee P2c)

Egy *könyvből* *kellett volna tanulni* *egy* *tánc.*
A book.ELA should have learn.INF a dance.INTENDED.ACC
“We should have learnt a dance from a book.”
(Interviewee P4b)

Csináltak *egy* *ilyen* *felújítás.*
Do.PAST.3PL a such renovation.INTENDED.ACC
“They did such a renovation.”
(Interviewee P3c)

There have also been some cases where the accusative case has caused such confusion that it has been used when it was not needed, for example:

Vannak	*dolgokat*	*amiket*	*úgy*	*gondolom*	*hogy...*
There are	things.ACC	that.ACC	so	think.1SG	that…

"There are things that I think…"
(Interviewee P4b)

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has explored the complex nature of national identity among the Hungarian diaspora in São Paulo, with a particular focus on dual national identities, and the roles of language and emotional affiliation. Having developed and utilizing the custom-made National Identity Profile Questionnaire (NIP-Q) as a key research tool, the study provided quantitative insights into how individuals within this community perceive and construct their identities.

The main findings show that the two historical models of identity rooted in psychology and sociology can be found in the individuals of the diaspora. However, as generations change, the balance between these models is shifted. For the first and second generations, psychological factors play a greater role. A vivid memory of Hungary, feelings towards it and its people, the knowledge and love of the culture, and a high level of cultivation of Hungarian as a mother tongue put the personal factors in focus, and this contributed to the psychological formation of their identity. For them, the Brazilian national identity is the result of public factors, i.e., of a sociological approach. These are the results of the external influences that they experienced when they arrived in their new environment. Conversely, the representatives of the younger generations experience a reversed identity shaping influence, and the Brazilian identity is the one they are psychologically attached to.

Older participants tend to express a stronger attachment to the Hungarian culture and identity. At the same time, generational patterns are not entirely uniform as the presence of Hungarian identity elements are observed among some younger respondents – particularly those with personal or family connections to Hungary or to community institutions.

Language plays a central role in maintaining Hungarian identity. However, it was not the only determining factor: emotional ties, family heritage, travel experiences, and symbolic elements also emerged as significant contributors to identity construction. The distinction between the identity-shaping factors for Hungarian and Brazilian identification is also evident, with Hungarian identity being more strongly linked to heritage and affective memory, while Brazilian identity is often framed in terms of everyday life and social belonging.

In this study I could observe that most participants identified with both nationalities rather than emphasizing only one. Mixed identity emerged as the dominant category, with dual affiliation often perceived as natural and unproblematic. Although the concept of dual or multiple identities presents certain challenges, it also represents a powerful way for individuals

to come to terms with and integrate the cultural influences of their heritage and the society in which they live. The results of this study indicate that the "Brazilian Hungarian" identity serves as a critical tool for fostering community cohesion and ensuring the continued relevance of Hungarian culture and language in Brazil. This research contributes to a broader understanding of how diaspora communities maintain and negotiate their identities in an interconnected world, offering insights that are applicable not only to the Hungarian diaspora but to other diasporic groups as well.

Limitations of the study

While the present dissertation sought to provide a multidimensional insight into the identity formation and linguistic practices of Hungarian descendants in São Paulo, several limitations must be acknowledged. First, the size and scope of the empirical corpus present restrictions regarding the generalizability of the findings. Although the number of valid responses in the National Identity Profile Questionnaire (NIP-Q) is relatively high, with close to 80 participants from different generations and varying degrees of community involvement, it still represents only a fraction of the overall Hungarian-origin population in São Paulo. Importantly, many respondents filled out the questionnaire online, indicating that the sample also reached beyond the core group regularly attending events at the Hungarian House. This diversity enhances the internal value of the results and allows for meaningful insights, yet from a demographic standpoint, the dataset cannot be considered fully representative of the broader diaspora.

Second, the questionnaire itself, though grounded in relevant literature and pilot-tested prior to deployment, was designed specifically for this research. As such, it does not constitute a previously validated instrument, and it has not yet been tested in terms of reliability or validity in a systematic way. As a result, the findings based on the questionnaire should be interpreted with some caution.

Third, the qualitative component of the study – primarily based on narrative interviews – offers valuable depth but inevitably reflects a subjective and self-selected participant pool. Those willing to share their experiences and reflections in depth are not necessarily representatives of the broader Hungarian-Brazilian population, and their accounts may be influenced by specific biographical, emotional, or ideological factors.

Finally, the study focused on the Hungarian community exclusively in São Paulo, which – despite being one of the largest and most historically significant diaspora clusters – cannot stand

for the full diversity of Hungarian heritage experiences in Brazil. Other regions, generational profiles, and institutional contexts may yield different configurations of identity and language use.

Implications for future research

Despite the aforementioned limitations, the findings of this dissertation offer relevant insights into heritage identity formation and language-related attitudes among diaspora populations. The mixed-methods approach, which combined questionnaire-based profiles and narrative interviews, proved to be particularly effective in capturing both structural tendencies and how individuals understand and relate to their heritage and identity. These results highlight the importance of exploring national identity not only as a categorical affiliation but also as a lived and narrated experience shaped by emotions, memories, and family histories.

One key implication concerns the role of emotional attachment and symbolic associations in maintaining a sense of Hungarian identity – even in cases where active language use is minimal or absent. The qualitative data, in particular, underscore how intergenerational transmission, family ties, and personal memories can sustain identification with Hungary, even in transnational and multicultural environments. These results can contribute to existing studies on heritage identity by highlighting the potential role of emotional and narrative factors alongside language knowledge.

Looking ahead, further research could involve a broader range of locations and participants. For example, Hungarian communities in other Brazilian cities or in different countries could be included in future studies, allowing for comparisons that reveal common patterns as well as local specificities.

It would also be valuable to examine the views of younger individuals or those with little or no active knowledge of the Hungarian language, as their perspectives could provide insight into more symbolic or background forms of ethnic identity. In such studies, the NIP-Q could serve as a useful tool for exploring identity profiles across diverse diaspora contexts. Finally, an extensive study of the language variety of Hungarian with the influence of Brazilian-Portuguese, would also serve as a complementary investigation of the Hungarian diaspora in Sao Paolo.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Semi-structured interview questions

1. What is your official nationality?

2. Do you keep Hungarian customs? If yes, what are they?

3. Are Hungarian holidays important? If yes, which ones, how do you celebrate them?

4. Are Hungarian history, literature, theatre, films, etc. important to you?

5. Do you keep in touch with other Hungarians in Brazil? If so, how often, why is this important to you? What do you do together?

6. Are you proud of being Hungarian? Do you tell others about it?

7. Do you think it is important to pass on the Hungarian identity to the next generation?

8. What, if anything, helps to preserve your Hungarian identity?

9. Are there things or characteristics that distinguish your Hungarian and Brazilian identity? What are the characteristics that you may have developed because of your 'Hungarianness'?

10. Was there any distinction because you are both Hungarian and Brazilian? Were there any situations in which this had either a negative or a positive effect?

11. Who in your family first came to Brazil from Hungary and when?

12. Do you keep in touch with any relatives or friends living in Hungary? How often? Do you visit them or do they visit you?

13. Do you have any experiences of Hungary?

14. What are the things you think Hungarians in Hungary are different from Hungarians here?

15. How do you feel about the Hungarian language? How often do you use it?

16. Did you learn it at school or in your family?

17. Do you think one can be Hungarian without knowing the Hungarian language?

18. Do you have memories or family stories about the language you spoke as a child? Was it important to your parents that you spoke Hungarian?

19. If you spoke Hungarian at home as a child, what language do you speak now with your parents or siblings?

a) Do you imagine a relationship/marriage with a Hungarian (or a person of Hungarian origin), or are you not concerned about this 'condition'?

b) Are there cultural differences that come up between you (if you are a Hungarian-Brazilian couple)?

c) Would you teach/educate your children in Hungarian?

20. In a third country (not Brazil or Hungary), would you present yourself as Hungarian or Brazilian?

21. What nationality is your group of friends?

22. Do you belong to many groups on social media? If so, what is the ratio of groups/pages with a Brazilian and Hungarian connection?

23. What language do you post in on social media?

24. Do you ever unintentionally switch languages while talking? If you notice, do you correct yourself? What do you do when you do?

25. If it were that easy, would you move to Hungary? If yes, why, if not, why not?

Appendix B/1

The National Identity Profile Questionnaire (NIP-Q)

Multilingualism Doctoral School, University of Pannonia

The aim of NIP-Q is to highlight the specific features of individuals who share dual or triple national indentities.
The main concept of the questionnaire is adopted from the Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire (LEAP-Q) by Marian, Blumenfeld, & Kaushanskaya (2007), but NIP-Q was designed specifically for conducting identity research (2023).

National Identity Profile Questionnaire (NIP-Q)

Last name		First Name		Today's date	
Age		Date of birth		Gender	

PART 1

1. **How comfortable do you feel by filling in a questionnaire related to your dual/triple national identity?**

not comfortable at all	rather comfortable	fairly comforatble	quite comfortable	very comfortable	absolutely comfortable
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

2. **Were you born in a different country from where you live now?**
   a) Yes, I was born in _____
   b) No, I was born in the country where I am living now.

   Was your mother born in a different country from where you live now?
   a) Yes, she was born in _____
   b) No, she was born in the country where I am living now.

   Was your father born in a different country from where you live now?
   a) Yes, he was born in _____
   b) No, he was born in the country where I am living now.

   Was your maternal grandmother born in a different country from where you live now?
   a) Yes, she was born in _____
   b) No, she was born in the country where I am living now.

Was your maternal grandfather born in a different country from where you live now?

a) Yes, he was born in _____

b) No, he was born in the country where I am living now.

Was your paternal grandmother born in a different country from where you live now?

a) Yes, she was born in _____

b) No, she was born in the country where I am living now.

Was your paternal grandfather born in a different country from where you live now?

a) Yes, he was born in _____

b) No, he was born in the country where I am living now.

3. **Please list the national identities that form your self-definition in order of dominance**

(Note: please, use this order in the further questions)

1.	**2.**	**3.**

Indicate the percentage of these national identities represented in your everyday life

(Note: your percentages should add up to 100%)

List identity here			
List percentage here			

In total, for how long have you lived in the identity-related countries you listed in the previous question?

List identity here			
List duration of time here			

PART 2

My national identity No. 1: _____

1. **How would you describe your feelings about your national identity No. 1?**

   a) Very close
   b) Close
   c) Not so close
   d) Not close at all
   e) No idea

2. **How important is it for you to speak the language of your national identity No. 1?**

   a) Essential
   b) Necessary
   c) Not so important
   d) Not important at all
   e) Can't say.

3. **Please rank the following factors influencing your national identity No. 1. in order of importance** (**1**: lowest; **5**: highest)

   __ Place of residence
   __ Language
   __ Religion
   __ Family
   __ Cultural habits

My national identity No. 2: _____

1. **How would you describe your feelings about your national identity No. 2?**

   a) Very close
   b) Close
   c) Not so close
   d) Not close at all
   e) No idea

2. **How important is it for you to speak the language of your national identity No. 2?**

   a) Essential
   b) Necessary
   c) Not so important
   d) Not important at all
   e) Can't say

3. **Please rank the following factors influencing your national identity No. 2. in order of importance** (**1**: lowest; **5**: highest)

   __ Place of residence
   __ Language
   __ Religion
   __ Family
   __ Cultural habits

My national identity No. 3 (if any): _____

1. **How would you describe your feelings about your national identity No. 3?**

   a) Very close
   b) Close
   c) Not so close
   d) Not close at all
   e) No idea

2. **How important is it for you to speak the language of your national identity No. 3?**

   a) Essential
   b) Necessary
   c) Not so important
   d) Not important at all
   e) Can't say

3. **Please rank the following factors influencing your national identity No. 3. in order of importance** (**1**: lowest; **5**: highest)

   __ Place of residence
   __ Language
   __ Religion
   __ Family
   __ Cultural habits

PART 3

1. **Please match the most relevant statements to your national identity using the following numbers:**

1: My national identity No. 1

2: My national identity No. 2

3: My national identity No. 3 (if any)

4: It does not matter

__ When making friends, I take into account that the person is closer to this identity.

__ When starting a relationship, I take into account that the person is closer to this identity.

__ I prefer watching films related to this identity.

__ I prefer listening to music related to this identity.

__ I prefer reading literature related to this identity.

__ At a sports event, when my above-mentioned nations play against each other, this identity is the strongest in me.

__ I keep cultural habits and traditions more intensely linked to this identity.

__ When cooking, I prefer to prepare dishes related to the cuisine of this identity.

__ I prefer the humor/jokes of the culture related to this identity.

I am more expressive using the language related to this identity of mine in the matter of:

__ honesty

__ healthcare

__ emotions

__ criticism

__ public sphere (formal relationships)

__ private sphere (informal relationships)

__ my career

__ household maintenance

__ school/work

__ hobbies

2. **Which is your strongest identity?**

a) My national identity No. 1.
b) My national identity No. 2.
c) My national identity No. 3 (if any).
d) I have mixed identity, and I am proud of it.
e) I have mixed identity, but I am not proud of it.
f) I do not want to respond.

3. **After filling in this questionnaire, how comfortable do you feel about giving answers related to your dual/triple national identity?**

not comfortable at all	rather comfortable	fairly comforatble	quite comfortable	very comfortable	absolutely comfortable
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

Appendix B/2

Pannon Egyetem, Többnyelvűségi Nyelvtudományi Doktori Iskola

A NIP-K célja a kettős vagy hármas nemzeti identitással rendelkező személyek, nemzeti hovatartozásukról alkotott képének felderítése. A kérdőív alapkoncepciója Marian, Blumenfeld és Kaushanskaya (2007) Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire (LEAP-Q) című kérdőívére épül, azonban a NIP-K-t kifejezetten identitáskutatásra terveztük (2023).

Nemzeti Identitás Profil Kérdőív (NIP-K)

Vezetéknév		Keresztnév		Mai dátum	
Életkor		Születési dátum		Neme	

1. FEJEZET

4. Mennyire érzi magát komfortosan egy, az Ön kettős/hármas nemzeti identitásával kapcsolatos kérdőív kitöltésekor?

kényelmetlenül érzem magam	inkább kényelmesen, mint kényelmetlenül	viszonylag kényelmesen	meglehetősen kényelmesen	nagyon kényelmesen	abszolút kényelmesen
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

5. Ön más országban született, mint ahol most él?

c) Igen, ebben az országban születtem: _____

d) Nem, abban az országban születtem, ahol most is élek.

Az édesanyja más országban született, mint ahol Ön most él?

a) Igen, ebben az országban született: _____

b) Nem, abban az országban született, ahol most is élek.

Az édesapja más országban született, mint ahol Ön most él?

a) Igen, ebben az országban született: _____

b) Nem, abban az országban született, ahol most is élek.

Az anyai nagymamája más országban született, mint ahol Ön most él?

a) Igen, ebben az országban született: _____

b) Nem, abban az országban született, ahol most is élek.

Az anyai nagypapája más országban született, mint ahol Ön most él?

a) Igen, ebben az országban született: _____

b) Nem, abban az országban született, ahol most is élek.

Az apai nagymamája más országban született, mint ahol Ön most él?

a) Igen, ebben az országban született: _____

b) Nem, abban az országban született, ahol most is élek.

Az apai nagypapája más országban született, mint ahol Ön most él?

a) Igen, ebben az országban született: _____

b) Nem, abban az országban született, ahol most is élek.

6. **Kérjük, sorolja fel az önmeghatározásában szerepet játszó nemzeti identitásokat, dominanciájuk sorrendjében.**

(Megjegyzés: kérjük, a további kérdésekben is ezt a sorrendet használja)

1.	**2.**	**3.**

Adja meg, hogy az említett nemzeti identitások milyen százalékokban jelennek meg az Ön mindennapi életében.

(Megjegyzés: a számoknak ki kell tenniük a 100%-ot)

Nemzeti identitás			
Százalék			

Összesen mennyi időt élt az előző válaszban felsorolt, nemzeti identitásokhoz köthető országokban?

Nemzeti identitás			
Időtartam			

2. FEJEZET

Az 1. sz. nemzeti identitásom: _____

4. **Hogyan jellemezné az 1. sz. nemzeti identitással kapcsolatos érzéseit?**

   f) Nagyon közeli
   g) Közeli
   h) Nem annyira közeli
   i) Egyáltalán nem közeli
   j) Nincs ötletem

5. **Önnek mennyire fontos a nemzeti hovatartozásával való azonosulásában, hogy beszélje az 1. sz. nemzeti identitáshoz köthető ország nyelvét?**

   f) Nélkülözhetetlen
   g) Szükséges
   h) Nem olyan fontos
   i) Egyáltalán nem fontos
   j) Nem tudom megmondani

6. **Kérem, rangsorolja a következő befolyásoló tényezőket 1-5-ig az Ön 1. sz. nemzeti identitására vonatkozóan, fontossági sorrendben**
   (**1**: legkevésbé fontos; **5**: legfontosabb)

   __ Lakhely
   __ Nyelv
   __ Vallás
   __ Család
   __ Kultúra

A 2. sz. nemzeti identitásom: _____

1. **Hogyan jellemezné a 2. sz. nemzeti identitással kapcsolatos érzéseit?**

   a) Nagyon közeli
   b) Közeli
   c) Nem annyira közeli
   d) Egyáltalán nem közeli
   e) Nincs ötletem

2. **Önnek mennyire fontos a nemzeti hovatartozásával való azonosulásában, hogy beszélje a 2. sz. nemzeti identitáshoz köthető ország nyelvét?**

   a) Nélkülözhetetlen
   b) Hasznos
   c) Nem olyan fontos
   d) Egyáltalán nem fontos
   e) Nem tudom megmondani

3. **Kérem, rangsorolja a következő befolyásoló tényezőket 1-5-ig az Ön 2. sz. nemzeti identitására vonatkozóan, fontossági sorrendben**
   (**1**: legkevésbé fontos; **5**: legfontosabb)

   __ Lakhely
   __ Nyelv
   __ Vallás
   __ Család
   __ Kultúra

A 3. sz. nemzeti identitásom (amennyiben van ilyen): _____

1. **Hogyan jellemezné a 3. sz. nemzeti identitással kapcsolatos érzéseit?**

   a) Nagyon közeli
   b) Közeli
   c) Nem annyira közeli
   d) Egyáltalán nem közeli
   e) Nincs ötletem

2. **Önnek mennyire fontos a nemzeti hovatartozásával való azonosulásában, hogy beszélje a 3. sz. nemzeti identitáshoz köthető ország nyelvét?**

   a) Nélkülözhetetlen
   b) Hasznos
   c) Nem olyan fontos
   d) Egyáltalán nem fontos
   e) Nem tudom megmondani

3. **Kérem, rangsorolja a következő befolyásoló tényezőket 1-5-ig az Ön 3. sz. nemzeti identitására vonatkozóan, fontossági sorrendben**
   (**1**: legkevésbé fontos; **5**: legfontosabb)

   __ Lakhely
   __ Nyelv
   __ Vallás
   __ Család
   __ Kultúra

3. FEJEZET

4. Kérem, az alábbi számokat rendelje hozzá az Ön által megjelölt nemzeti identitásokhoz leginkább kapcsolódó állításokhoz!

1: az 1. sz. nemzeti identitásom

2: a 2. sz. nemzeti identitásom

3: a 3. sz. nemzeti identitásom (amennyiben van ilyen)

4: teljesen mindegy

__ Baráti kapcsolat kialakításánál figyelembe veszem, hogy ehhez a nemzeti identitáshoz áll közelebb az illető.

__ Párkapcsolat kialakításakor figyelembe veszem, hogy a kiválasztott személy ehhez a nemzeti identitáshoz áll közelebb.

__ Szívesebben nézek olyan filmet, amely ehhez a nemzeti identitáshoz kapcsolódik.

__ Szívesebben hallgatok olyan zenét, amely ehhez a nemzeti identitáshoz kapcsolódik.

__ Szívesebben olvasok olyan irodalmat, amely ehhez a nemzeti identitáshoz kapcsolódik.

__ Amikor egy sporteseményen a személyes identitásomat formáló nemzetek csapnak össze, ez az identitásom a legerősebb.

__ Kulturális szokásokat, hagyományokat őrzök, amelyek intenzívebben kapcsolódnak ehhez az identitáshoz.

__ Amikor főzök, inkább olyan ételeket készítek, amelyek ezen identitás konyhájához kapcsolódóak.

__ Jobban szeretem annak a kultúrának a humorát/vicceit, amelyek ehhez a nemzeti identitáshoz kapcsolódnak.

Kifejezőbben használom az ehhez a nemzeti identitásomhoz köthető nyelvet a következőkben:

__ amikor őszinte vagyok;

__ az egészségügyben;

__ érzelmeim kifejezésekor;

__ ha kritikus vagyok;

__ hivatalos ügyekben;

__ ismerősök körében;

__ a karrierem építésében;

__ a háztartással kapcsolatos ügyek intézésében;

__ iskolában/munkában;

__ kedvenc elfoglaltságaimban.

5. Melyik nemzeti identitás él a legerősebben Önben?

g) Az 1. sz. nemzeti identitásom.

h) A 2. sz. nemzeti identitásom.

i) A 3. sz. nemzeti identitásom (amennyiben van).

j) Vegyes nemzeti identitásom van, és erre büszke vagyok.

k) Vegyes nemzeti identitásom van, de nem vagyok rá büszke.

l) Nem szeretnék válaszolni.

6. Az Ön kettős/hármas nemzeti identitásával kapcsolatos kérdőív kitöltése után mennyire érzi komfortosan magát?

kényelmetlenül érzem magam	inkább kényelmesen, mint kényelmetlenül	viszonylag kényelmesen	meglehetősen kényelmesen	nagyon kényelmesen	abszolút kényelmesen
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

Appendix B/3

Multilingualism Doctoral School, University of Pannonia

O objetivo do NIP-Q é destacar as características específicas de indivíduos que compartilham indentidades nacionais duplas ou triplas. O conceito principal do questionário é adotado a partir do Questionário de Experiência Linguística e Proficiência (LEAP-Q) de Marian, Blumenfeld, & Kaushanskaya (2007), mas o NIP-Q foi criado especificamente para conduzir pesquisas de identidade (2023).

Questionário de Perfil de Identidade Nacional (NIP-Q)

Nome		Data de hoje	
Data de nascimento		Gênero	

ASSUNTO 1

1. O quão confortável você se sente ao preencher um questionário relacionado à sua dupla/tripla identidade nacional?

não é nada confortável	pouco confortável	razoavelmente confortável	bastante confortável	muito confortável	absolutamente confortável
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**

2. Você nasceu em um país diferente de onde você vive agora?

a) Sim, eu nasci em _____

b) Não, eu nasci no país onde eu vivo agora.

Sua mãe nasceu em um país diferente de onde você vive agora?

a) Sim, ela nasceu em _____

b) Não, ela nasceu no país onde eu vivo agora.

Seu pai nasceu em um país diferente de onde você vive agora?

a) Sim, ele nasceu em _____

b) Não, ele nasceu no país onde eu vivo agora.

Sua avó materna nasceu em um país diferente de onde você vive agora?

a) Sim, ela nasceu em _____

b) Não, ela nasceu no país onde eu vivo agora.

Seu avô materno nasceu em um país diferente de onde você vive agora?

a) Sim, ele nasceu em _____

b) Não, ele nasceu no país onde eu vivo agora.

Sua avó paterna nasceu em um país diferente de onde você vive agora?

a) Sim, ela nasceu em _____

b) Não, ela nasceu no país onde eu vivo agora.

Seu avô paterno nasceu em um país diferente de onde você vive agora?

a) Sim, ele nasceu em _____

b) Não, ele nasceu no país onde eu vivo agora.

3. Por favor, liste até 3 identidades nacionais que dominam na sua autodefinição

(Nota: considere o No.1 como a identidade nacional mais dominante para você, e use esta ordem nas próximas perguntas)

1.	**2.**	**3.**

Indique a porcentagem dessas identidades nacionais representadas em sua vida cotidiana

(Nota: suas porcentagens devem somar 100%)

Liste aqui a identidade			
Liste aqui a porcentagem			

No total, por quanto tempo você viveu nos países relacionados à identidade que você listou na pergunta anterior?

Liste aqui a identidade			
Liste a duração do tempo aqui			

ASSUNTO 2

Minha identidade nacional No. 1: _____

1. Como você descreveria seus sentimentos sobre sua identidade nacional No. 1?

a) Muito próximo

b) Próximo

c) Pouco próximo

d) Nenhum pouco próximo

e) Não faço idéia

2. Qual importância tem para você falar a língua de sua identidade nacional No. 1?

a) Essencial

b) Necessário

c) Pouco importante

d) Nenhum pouco importante

e) Não sei dizer

3. Por favor, enumere os seguintes fatores que influenciam sua identidade nacional No 1. em ordem de importância (**1**: maior; **5**: menor)

__ Local de residência

__ Idioma

__ Religião

__ Família

__ Hábitos culturais

Minha identidade nacional No. 2: _____

1. Como você descreveria seus sentimentos sobre sua identidade nacional No. 2?

a) Muito próximo

b) Próximo

c) Pouco próximo

d) Nenhum pouco próximo

e) Não faço idéia

2. Qual importância tem para você falar a língua de sua identidade nacional No. 2?

a) Essencial

b) Necessário

c) Pouco importante

d) Nenhum pouco importante

e) Não sei dizer

3. Por favor, classifique os seguintes fatores que influenciam sua identidade nacional No. 2 em ordem de importância (**1**: maior; **5**: menor)

__ Local de residência

__ Idioma

__ Religião

__ Família

__ Hábitos culturais

Minha identidade nacional No. 3 (se houver): _____

1. Como você descreveria seus sentimentos sobre sua identidade nacional No. 3?

a) Muito próximo

b) Próximo

c) Pouco próximo

d) Nenhum pouco próximo

e) Não faço idéia

2. Qual importância tem para você falar a língua de sua identidade nacional No. 3?

a) Essencial

b) Necessário

c) Pouco importante

d) Nenhum pouco importante

e) Não sei dizer

3. Por favor, classifique os seguintes fatores que influenciam sua identidade nacional No. 3 em ordem de importância (**1**: maior; **5**: menor)

__ Local de residência

__ Idioma

__ Religião

__ Família

__ Hábitos culturais

ASSUNTO 3

1. Por favor, combine as declarações mais relevantes com sua identidade nacional usando os seguintes números:

1: minha identidade nacional No. 1

2: minha identidade nacional No. 2

3: minha identidade nacional No. 3 (se houver)

4: indiferente

__ Ao fazer amigos, levo em conta que a pessoa está mais próxima a esta identidade.

__ Ao iniciar um relacionamento, levo em conta que a pessoa está mais próxima a esta identidade.

__ Prefiro assistir a filmes relacionados a esta identidade.

__ Prefiro ouvir música relacionada a esta identidade.

__ Prefiro ler literatura relacionada a esta identidade.

__ Num evento esportivo, quando minhas nações acima mencionadas jogam umas contra as outras, esta identidade é a mais forte em mim.

__ Mantenho os hábitos e tradições culturais mais intensamente ligados a esta identidade.

__ Quando cozinho, prefiro preparar pratos relacionados com a cozinha desta identidade.

__ Prefiro o humor/brincadeiras da cultura relacionada a esta identidade.

Sou mais expressivo usando a linguagem relacionada a esta identidade minha na questão de:

__ honestidade

__ saúde

__ emoções

__ críticas

__ esfera pública (relações formais)

__ esfera privada (relações informais)

__ minha carreira

__ assuntos domésticos

__ escola/trabalho

__ passatempos prediletos

2. Qual é a sua identidade mais forte?

a) Minha identidade nacional No. 1.

b) Minha identidade nacional No. 2.

c) Minha identidade nacional No. 3 (se houver).

d) Eu tenho identidade mista e tenho orgulho disso.

e) Eu tenho identidade mista, mas não tenho orgulho dela.

f) Eu não quero responder.

3. Depois de preencher este questionário, o quanto você se sente à vontade para dar respostas relacionadas à sua dupla/tripla identidade nacional?

não é nada confortável	pouco confortável	razoavelmente confortável	bastante confortável	muito confortável	absolutamente confortável
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**