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SUMMARY OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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A sociolinguistic study of Hungarians living in France

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I. Topic and aims

The aims of this dissertation are to study the language use, identity, and family-internal socialisation of **Hungarian–French bilingual speakers** living in France, to explore interference phenomena and code switches observable in their speech, and to discuss general issues of language loss and language shift. I tried to make an **overall methodological attempt** at presenting, via a sociolinguistic study of Hungarian–French bilingual speakers, the **tendencies of language change** observable in the Hungarian diaspora living in a European country at the turn of millennium. I started from sociolinguistic foundations but also made use of methods of other disciplines like onomatology, sociology, etc.

1. On the choice of topic

This study requires great methodological thoroughness and circumspection partly because it is **unprecedented** in France. Although János Gergely had conducted phonetic investigations in the 1960s among Hungarians living in France (GERGELY 1968, 1988), no **sociolinguistic research** has been undertaken on the linguistic situation of the Hungarian minority living in France so far, despite the fact that, as far as non-neighbouring European countries are concerned, this is the country with the second largest Hungarian population (after Germany): according to a 1999 estimate of the World Federation of Hungarians, forty thousand people (KOVÁCS 1999: 49).

The dissertation presents my sociolinguistic investigations of Hungarian–French bilingual speakers living in and around the French capital, in the Île-de-France region. I attempted to explore a mosaic-like Hungarian “community” living in a large European city, using modern technology (Internet, Skype, etc.) but observing Labovian methodological principles to the utmost: to combine the subjectivity of personal presence and researcher’s experience (participant observation, informal conversations) with conclusions that can be drawn from objective facts (materials of recorded interviews and questionnaires).

It is my hope that my research results are comparable with data gleaned from similar bilingual Hungarian families living in other countries and hence I can contribute to an overall picture of emigrant Hungarian minorities worldwide. Selecting from the rich literature, I attempted to make use of the lessons that can be drawn, along with the general works on bilingualism, from the smaller number of studies of Hungarians living in Western countries as well as the larger number of studies on Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin, and to conduct comparative research, too. I compared the tendencies observed among the emigrant linguistic minority with data coming from Hungarian minorities in the Carpathian Basin, with the results of sociolinguistic, sociological, cultural anthropological, etc. surveys involving them.

2. Research hypotheses

After studying the relevant literature, drawing lessons from earlier case studies, and conducting pilot surveys, I formulated the following research hypotheses.

2.1. Hypotheses on family-internal language use and linguistic socialisation

2.1.1. If we study French–Hungarian families, it is an important question which of the two parents is Hungarian: if it is the father, the children will probably speak poorer Hungarian. I assume that children can only learn Hungarian really well if their mother is a native Hungarian and consistently speaks to them only in Hungarian.

2.1.2. Children of Hungarian–Hungarian couples living in France will speak better Hungarian than children born in mixed families (cf. BARTHA 1999: 141).

2.1.3. In their early years (aged 2 to 4), children speak better Hungarian than they do later when they have joined majority communities (French nurseries and schools).

2.1.4. If the family has several children, the first-born will have the best command of Hungarian.

2.1.5. After they start going to nursery or other children’s community, the children will start speaking French at home, too.

2.1.6. The task of parents in passing on their language is facilitated by technical devices.

2.2. Hypotheses concerning interference phenomena, code switching, language shift, and language loss

My hypotheses on language loss and language shift are based on Gonzo and Saltarelli's emigrant language model (BARTHA 1995: 42–46). It is already in the first generation of emigrant bilingual speakers¹ that the process of “fading” begins, usage becomes simplified, but this never entails language loss. Simplification, in the case of the first generation, shows up the most markedly in the area of the lexicon. Thus, the language acquired by the second generation will already be a kind of “emigrant language”. As a consequence, some members of the second generation will speak L₁ fluently as children but then gradually lose some of their competence; but others will fail to acquire their parents' language “perfectly” to begin with. Inadequate language acquisition, then, is partly due to the parents' language loss. Emigrant L₁ loss occurs as a combined result of forgetting, incomplete acquisition and, primarily, the intensive influence of L₂. The end result is that the individual partly or totally loses his/her first-language competence and skills. By the time of the third generation, simplification assumes such dimensions that it leads to rearranged language structures, community language shift, and/or individual language loss.

The literature studies language loss in two perspectives: accordingly, it differentiates **functional vs. structural language loss** (BARTHA 1995: 44). Functional language loss is the case where the use of L₁ quantitatively diminishes and is restricted to informal scenes of language use. Structural language loss, on the other hand, concerns usage, the internal structure of the language, and results in qualitative changes of the system (BARTHA 1995: 42–46). Accordingly, I formulated the following hypotheses:

2.2.1. The occurrence of interference phenomena and code switching will be more widespread in interviews of the second generation than in those of the first.

2.2.2. Since members of the first generation will not learn the language of the host country perfectly, members of the second generation will often correct their French utterances. The Hungarian of the first generation will be characterised by lexical gaps and obsolete expressions.

2.2.3. Members of the first generation will think that there is no essential difference between their own speech and the language used back in Hungary.

2.2.4. For the second generation, the most conspicuous difficulty will be the reduced character of their Hungarian lexicon and of their spelling skills. Their communication problems (apart from their limited vocabulary and their accent) will primarily be of a pragmatic nature: 1. forms of greeting, 2. politeness (T/V), 3. directness.

2.2.5. The third generation, due to their parents' insufficient command of Hungarian and mixed marriages, will understand but not speak Hungarian, at best.

2.3. Hypotheses on vernacular language use and attitudes

2.3.1. The vernaculars of the first and second generations are not the same (KISS 1995: 14). In the case of the first generation, I take Hungarian to be their vernacular; but for the second, their imperfect command of Hungarian and the large amount of French input means that French is to be taken as dominant.

2.3.2. Subjects' beliefs and attitudes will influence the chances of language retention and identity formation to a large extent.

2.4. Hypotheses on language retention, culture transmission, and identity formation

2.4.1. The most important component of Hungarian identity is the Hungarian language.

2.4.2. Parents' motivation is not sufficient in itself either for successful acquisition of Hungarian or for language retention. The possibilities of language retention and culture maintenance depend on the network of relationships that the given family has with Hungarians, especially with people living in Hungary.

1 On terminological difficulties, see below (II/1).

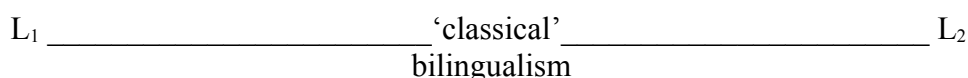
- 2.4.3. The wish of language retention and the level of education/culture are interrelated.
- 2.4.4. The families under study will take national commemoration days to be the characteristic Hungarian holidays, thus contributing to the strengthening of Hungarian identity.
- 2.4.5. Parents' identity forming aspirations are well reflected in name giving; hence, neutral or French first names will predominate. Parents will show conflict avoiding behaviour and refrain from choosing typical "Hungarian names", facilitating the integration of their children.

II. Theoretical framework, methodology of research

1. Theoretical framework, issues of terminology

The initial hypotheses were tested by pilot investigations. The principles of LABOV (1972) and BELL (1976) for sociolinguistic research and GROSJEAN (1995)'s **situation continuum** gave the broad theoretical outlines; further subhypotheses were worked out for the present research that are detailed in the relevant chapters.

My subjects were **first, second, and third generation Hungarian–French bilingual** speakers. Accepting István Csernicskó's interpretation, I defined **bilingualism** as a continuum whose endpoints, represented by monolinguals in one and the other language, are not part of the continuum: "Hence, I interpret bilingualism as a continuum whose endpoints are monolingualism in L₁ and monolingualism in L₂, and whose central point is 'classical' bilingualism" (CSERNICKSKÓ 1998: 195).



According to the manner/reasons of its emergence, the literature distinguishes **historical** or **indigenous** bilingualism from **emigrant** bilingualism (BARTHA 1999: 78, KISS 1995: 184). I use these terms in the dissertation with the proviso that I am aware of the fact that most Hungarians living in France today cannot be taken to be emigrants in the strict sociological sense – as Erzsébet Zelliger has pointed out to me – and would more appropriately be called **migrants**. However, for clarity, I will keep the term **emigrant bilingualism** as used in the bilingualism literature; but I wish to use it as an umbrella term covering classical emigrants who were forced to leave Hungary for historical and political reasons, economic emigrants whose numbers began to rise in the 1970s, as well as migrants of the recent past and of today who choose to live in France in the spirit of European mobility.

2. Methodology

The material of this dissertation was collected **between 2006 and 2010** from first and second generation Hungarians living in France. This was preceded by a pilot fieldwork in the spring of 2006. Most of the material reported on here was collected in 2007 (14 subjects) and 2010 (51 subjects) in and around Paris, in the Île-de-France region, where Hungarians are assumed to live in the highest numbers in France. (They number roughly 18 thousand here.) Another interview was made in 2011 in Budapest, thus the total number of interviews went up to sixty-six. The collection of 2007 mainly involved language use by second generation subjects, whereas that of 2010 concentrated on linguistic socialisation models in Hungarian–French bilingual families, family-internal communication, the possibilities of language retention, transmission or abandonment of culture and identity, and habits of language use of the first generation and their effect on those of second and third generations. In addition, by way of participant observation, I had occasion to take a glimpse of the lives of four Hungarian communities (*Institut Hongrois; Mission Catholique Hongrois de Paris; Mardis Hongrois de Paris, Nos Petits Magyars*). In sum, I report on **thirty-two families** (129 people) and five individual subjects. I submitted the recorded material of **sixty-six** subjects to content analysis.

Fieldwork was conducted by using a questionnaire of seventy-five questions in the form of

directed conversations (interviews); this gave me a chance to establish personal contacts with the subjects, to explore the **system of motivation** behind the claims made during the interviews, to ask for repetitions and clarifications. The material was submitted to **content analysis**. The picture was made more complete by additional **questionnaires, free and semi-structured conversations, participant observation**, as well as the study of the linguistic material of phone calls, emails, sms messages, community sites, homepages, and newsletters. Participant observation is one of the most time consuming fieldwork techniques and the data obtained cannot always be appropriately qualified (BARTHA 1999: 113); yet, this is the most authentic way of studying the language use of a community and eliminating the effect of the Labovian observer's paradox (KISS 1995: 36). Since the data collector, the transcriber, and the researcher working with the material collected were the same person, I had direct possibilities to draw **objective conclusions** from my own **subjective experiences** during the testing of my hypotheses.

III. The structure of the dissertation

In addition to the first, introductory chapter (*I. Introduction*) stating the aims of the dissertation and the last chapter (*VII. Summary*) giving a concise summary of the results, the dissertation consists of five major chapters: *II. Methodology*, *III. Bi- and multilingualism*, *IV. Exploration of language use*, *V. Mutual linguistic influences*, *VI. Issues of identity in a minority situation*.

The chapter on **research methodology** describes the preparations for the fieldwork in Île-de-France, the course of the fieldwork, and the subsequent study of the material, including the methodological difficulties involved; all this has already been touched upon above in section II.2 (*Methodology*).

The third chapter (*Bi- and multilingualism*) focuses on basic concepts and terminological issues pertaining to bi- and multilingualism. It briefly introduces the sociolinguistic situation of the **indigenous** and **emigrant** Hungarian minorities, discusses the study of **language contacts of Hungarian**, and mentions the major **studies of bilingualism** of recent decades involving this language. The second part of the chapter describes the situation of **Hungarians living in France**.

The fourth chapter (*IV. Exploration of language use*) discusses scenes of language use, family-internal linguistic socialisation, use of the vernacular, language choice and attitudes. The relative prestige of the two languages within the family is an important issue, given that mixed marriages may accelerate assimilation and language shift. Of the 32 families involved in this research, nine are **endogamous** (Hungarian–Hungarian) and twenty-three are **exogamous** (French father and Hungarian mother: 18, Hungarian father and French mother: 3, Hungarian–French second generation parent and French parent: 2 families). The **quantitative loss of ground** of Hungarian shows functional language loss by second-generation French–Hungarian bilingual speakers. Communication in Hungarian goes on within restricted **scenes of language use** even within the family: siblings almost always prefer their dominant French to Hungarian when talking to each other. Members of the second generation still communicate in Hungarian with their parents, but mainly passively: they answer in French to the parents talking to them in Hungarian. The following chart represents the family language use:

Family	Family members										Language use									
	Nationality		Children																	
	father	mother	1 st		2 nd		3 rd		4 th		Father – mother	Mother – children				Father – children				Child – child
			sex	age	sex	age	sex	age	sex	age		1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	
CS1	4	HUN	HUN	F	20	M	16				H	H:F	H:F	-	-	F	F	-	-	F
CS2	5	HUN	HUN	F	28	F	25	F	18		H	H:F	H:F	F	-	HF	HF	HF	-	F
CS3	6	FR	HUN	M	10	F	9	M	6	M	3	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F+H
CS4	4	FR	HUN	F	8	F	6				F	HF	FH	-	-	F	F	-	-	HF
CS5	4	HUN	FR	F	8	M	4				F	F	F	-	-	H:F	F	-	-	F
CS6	4	FR	HUN	F	16	F	13				F	H:F	H:F	-	-	F	F	-	-	F+H
CS7	4	FR	HUN	F	10	M	5				F(H)	FH	FH	-	-	F	F	-	-	FM
CS8	3	FR	HUN	F	5						F	H	-	-	-	F	-	-	-	-
CS9	4	FR	HUN	F	13	F	5				F	H	H	-	-	F	F	-	-	FH
CS10	4	FR	HUN	M	17	M	13				F	H	HF	-	-	F	F	-	-	FH
CS11	6	HUN	HUN	M	10	M	2	F	30	M	25	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	HF
CS12	4	FR	HUN	M	11	M	9				F	H	H	-	-	F	F	-	-	FM
CS13	3	FR	HUN	F	8						F	H:F	-	-	-	F	-	-	-	-
CS14	3	FR	HUN	F	17						F	HF	-	-	-	F	-	-	-	-
CS15	4	FR	HUN	F	8	M	5				F	H	H	-	-	F	F	-	-	M+F
CS16	4	FR	HUN	M	13	F	8				F(H)	HF	FH	-	-	F	F	-	-	F
CS17	3	FR	HUN	F	3						H	H	-	-	-	F	-	-	-	-
CS18	4	FR	HUN	F	9	M	6				F	HF	FH	-	-	F	F	-	-	F+H
CS19	4	HUN	HUN	F	8	M	5				H	H	H	-	-	H	H	-	-	H
CS20	4	FR	HUN	F	10	M	5				F	H	H	-	-	F	F	-	-	F+H
CS21	4	HUN	FR	M	40	F	26				F	F	F			F	F			F
CS22	3	HUN	HUN	F	23						H	HF				HF				
CS23	4	HUN	HUN	F	25	M	19				H	H:F	H:F			H:F	H:F			F
CS24	4	HUN	FR	F	21	F	19				F	F	F			F→H	F			F
CS25	4	FR	HUN	F	20	F	16				F	F	F			F	F			F
CS26	5	FR	HUN	M	23	F	21	M	13		FH	FH	FH	FH		FH	FH	FH		FH
CS27	3	HUN	FR+HUN	M	35						H→F	F				H→F				
CS28	5	FR	HUN	F	20	M	18	M	13		GER→F	F	F(H)	F		F	F	F		F
CS29	3	HUN	HUN	M	35						H	H				H				
CS30	5	HUN	HUN	F	36	F	33	M	30		HF	HF	HF	HF		HF	HF	HF		F
CS31	4	HUN	HUN	M	10	F	8				H	H	H			H	H			H
CS32	4	FR	HUN	M	8	F	5				F	HF	HF			F	F			F

HUN	Hungarian	F	only French
FR	French	H	only Hungarian
M	Male	HF	Hungarian dominated bilingualism
F	Female	FH	French dominated bilingualism
		H:F	balanced bilingualism
		F(H)	French communication (sometimes Hungarian)
		H:F	parents' question in Hungarian; children's answer in French
		H→F	language change (from Hungarian to French)
		GER→F	language change (from German to French)
		F+H	additive bilingualism

Looking at the linguistic socialisation of second and third generation speakers, we find several **models of bilingual socialisation**. Switching models is a frequently encountered situation. For instance, when the child starts going to nursery, even the Hungarian mother begins to use the dominant French language, lest her child finds him/herself in a deprived situation due to his/her imperfect command of French, rather than trying to strengthen the child's Hungarian that is increasingly losing ground anyway. Another important question is which parent is a native speaker

of Hungarian: usually it is the mother who stays at home with the small child, thus in cases when the mother is the Hungarian parent, children have more of a chance to acquire Hungarian early on; also, the employment of Hungarian nannies, babysitters, au pairs is of great help. The child whose father/mother spoke French less well when moving to France and spoke Hungarian to the children, at least initially, is more fortunate. The corpus includes instances of several **models of family-internal bilingual socialisation**: **Ronjat's**, **Haugen's** and **Fantini's** models are equally found (BARTHA 1999: 168–176). The question is, however, what could motivate members of the second generation for learning Hungarian. Final examination in Hungarian (as an optional subject) that can earn an extra point for students at the end of their secondary school studies is topmost on the list. But even at a younger age, along with the parents' favourable behaviour, the role of Hungarian relatives, especially cousins, friends and other members of the **same age group living in Hungary** is very important. On the parents' part, **consistency**, the employment of native **Hungarian au pairs**, appropriate **motivation** and the presentation of **bilingualism as a value** are also essential.

Public use of Hungarian in community settings in France is rather restricted (we studied various programmes of the Institut Hongrois, the Mission Catholique Hongrois de Paris, and the Mardis Hongrois de Paris). Older subjects living on their own (FM23, FM24, FM25) mention the Mission as the sole possibility for them to meet Hungarians on a weekly basis. Virtual **scenes of language use** having appeared over the past two decades, as well as the radical changes in Hungary's political system and foreign relations makes it necessary to involve a new topic of investigation in bilingualism research: the role of intensive communication via the internet in halting the process of language loss and facilitating language retention. This is also discussed in detail in the fourth chapter.

Questions on **vernacular language use** (in particular, the language of prayer, counting, curses, and dreams) definitely show the dominance of French in each and every second-generation subject. Joint or alternating use of both languages or the primacy of French is found in their case. The vernacular uses of language are dominantly Hungarian-based in the case of the first generation.

In the third part of the chapter, studies of language **loss**, language **shift**, language **retention**, and language **choice** are discussed, as well as results of a **study of attitudes**, closely related to the last of these.

The fifth chapter deals with how **languages influence one another** (*V. Mutual linguistic influences*) and presents consequences of **structural language loss**. This loss concerns language use, the internal structure of language, and **qualitative** changes in the language system. The constant influence of French results in a weakening of linguistic awareness, "forgetting the language" in the case of the first generation, and creates gaps of language acquisition in the case of the second generation that will be filled in by speakers either by analogical extensions of L₁ patterns or by direct or indirect borrowings from L₂. In speakers of both generations, elements of L₂ (French) are adapted to L₁ (Hungarian) from the phonetic and phonological levels up to the pragmatic level; but the occurrence of such tokens is significantly more frequent in the second generation. Consequently, in studying bilingualism, the study of **contact phenomena**, **borrowings**, and **code switches** is of utmost importance (BARTHA 1995: 45–46). In the dissertation, I discuss interference phenomena and types of code switching separately for each linguistic subsystem: 1. **Phonetic and phonological issues**, 2. **Morphological issues**, 3. **Lexical issues**, 4. **Syntactic issues**, and 5. **Socio-pragmatic and intercultural issues**. The interference phenomena attested in the corpus are exemplified by a rich array of instances taken from the interviews and are systematised, too. Among **phonetic and phonological issues**, I discuss differences in articulation, stress, intonation, and the sound system briefly, using examples from the corpus, given that Jean Gergely studied these issues very thoroughly and had the effect of French on Hungarian intonation as the topic of his dissertation (GERGELY 1968, 1988).

Among **morphological issues**, I discuss difficulties of expressing the accusative as they appear in the corpus, and differences that arise from the frequent use of synthetic-analytic constructions (triads of locative suffixes, instrumental *-val/-vel*, or the verbal suffix *-hat/-het*). Hungarian uses synthetic constructions a lot more often than French does. Analytic constructions

are more typical of the latter; but counterexamples can be found both in French (BÁRDOSI & KARAKAI 1996: 25) and in Hungarian (MGR.: 62–62). The most conspicuous differences and the dominance of analytic constructions in the interviews that can be traced back to the influence of French on Hungarian are illustrated by examples taken from the interviews.

Although borrowing can occur on any level of a language, with respect to the definition of borrowing and code switching, the decisive role is played by the lexicon (KISS 1995: 203, BARTHA 1999: 119). **Phenomena of lexical interference** occur in large numbers in the corpus especially in the interviews of the second generation; this shows the dominance of French and its effect on the Hungarian language use of the speakers, their deficient language acquisition, the lack of specialised terminology, lexical gaps, etc. **Intralingual phenomena** like *táskásos* for *táskás* ‘baggy’, as well as **interlingual phenomena** occurring in the interviews were also considered. Among interlingual phenomena, direct borrowings come about by the interference type known as ‘base-keeping code switching’ in my corpus, too: their target-language sound shape is identical to that in the source language (LANSTYÁK 2006: 31). The material also contains examples of **direct borrowing** (yielding direct loanwords like *mémoire* ‘MA thesis’, *classe préparatoire* ‘university entrance preparatory class’, etc.) and **formal borrowing** (yielding formal loans like *ifi* for *hifi* ‘high fidelity stereo equipment’). In the case of **indirect borrowing**, no foreign morpheme appears in the target language: instances of **calque expressions** include e.g. *ők cseréltek nevet* for *nevet változtattak* ‘they changed their surname’. In my corpus, such calques show up in dates, loan translations, passive constructions, divergent use of verbal arguments, etc. Another type of indirect borrowing is **semantic borrowing**, resulting in semantic loans like *butik* ‘shop’ (using the general French meaning of *boutique* as opposed to the more specific Hungarian meaning ‘small shop selling items of clothing’).

Among **syntactic issues**, I discuss problems of word order, with a separate section devoted to those concerning preverbs. Divergences in number agreement (e.g. *voltak néhány problémám* ‘I had a few problems’) are followed by difficulties of the use of pronouns. After dealing with problems in differentiating definite vs. indefinite verbal paradigms of Hungarian, I present a few examples of syntactic calques (e.g. *a férjével, aki ő is magyar* ‘with her husband who is Hungarian, too’) and I try to account for the lack of possessive suffixes in cases like *neki nincs ímél* ‘she does not have any email addresses’.

The section on **socio-pragmatic and cultural issues** presents some cases of communication failures that second generation Hungarian–French bilingual speakers encountered in Hungary, in terms of a study of linguistic and communicative competence (BAŃCZEROWSKI 2000: 342–351). I discuss pragmatic “errors” that come about in intercultural communication situations and represent the interaction of bilingual thinking and bilingual speech (BÁRDOSI & KARAKAI 1996; SZILI 2004). The investigation encompasses socio-cultural values as reflected in communication, directness, and the interlocutors’ attitudes toward emotions, presented in a series of case studies. Members of the first generation have no pragmatic problems that they are aware of; the largest deficiency is in their word stock. Subjects having lived in France for as long as 30–40–50 years, however, have interiorised French habits to such an extent that Hungarian habits, culture, etc. may become alien to them. With increasing time, the direction of cultural transfer may be reversed (Hungarian→**French**→Hungarian). However, speakers tend not to be aware of the fact, resulting in communicative disorders during their stay in Hungary. Communicative problems of the second generation (along with their limited vocabulary and their accent) are fundamentally of a pragmatic nature: they have to do with directness, forms of address (the use of T/V), and forms of greeting.

An important part of research on contact phenomena is the investigation of **code switching**: in my material, there are examples of **base-keeping**, **base-changing**, and **base-alternating** code switches.² In bilingual speakers’ repertoire, code switching has to be seen as one of the most

²“If code switching concerns a smaller linguistic unit below the level of utterance, such that the sequence concerned can be interpreted as part of a larger unit or an utterance, we speak of **base-keeping** code switching. (...) If code switching concerns a larger linguistic unit (...), we speak of **base switching**. (...) If the discourse involves a series of code switches, we have to do with **alternating bases**” (LANSTYÁK 2006: 108–109).

fundamental sources of interaction (BARTHA 1999: 122), hence it is no wonder that they occur with conspicuous frequency in minority discourses of my material: they occur significantly more often in discourse with members of the second generation than in those involving the first generation. In second-generation conversations, code switching occurs once in every 3 or 4 turns on average, but individual differences are so large that they make it almost impossible to make relevant statistical statements. Code switches as a communicative strategy carry linguistic and social information, too (GUMPERZ 1970; BORBÉLY 2001). Therefore, I found it important to discuss the information content of code switches (e.g. metaphorical code switching) and to sketch the problems of distinction between direct borrowing vs. code switching. I classified instances of code switching occurring in the corpus by linguistic levels into 1. phonetic/phonological, 2. morpheme level, 3. word level, and 4. sentence level code switches. I survey various **typologies of code switching** with illustrative examples taken from the corpus, and list the reasons of **code switching** and its **pragmatic functions**: 1. faster exchange of information, 2. clarification question, 3. direct quotation, 4. metalinguistic statement, 5. topic-related code switching, 6. alternating bases (GAL 1979), 7. expression of emotion, 8. repetition, correction, 9. the phenomenon of “catchwords”.

In the penultimate chapter (*VI. Issues of identity in a minority situation*), I primarily seek to determine to what extent **Hungarian** is an **identity forming factor** for Hungarian–French bilingual speakers living in Paris. Side by side with the conscious identity forming activity of the dominant (French monolingual) majority community, individual and community-level minority (Hungarian) identity formation goes on in a setting where unambiguous signs of assimilatory tendencies can be attested. The few institutions whose existence is tolerated by the majority state represent limited scenes of community language use for emigrant communities; hence the only permanent scene of language use remains **the family**. This situation points toward assimilation as sketched in Gonzo and Saltarelli’s emigrant language model (BARTHA 1995: 37–47). Since in an emigrant minority situation the **task of maintaining language and culture** is almost exclusively **restricted to family-internal socialisation** (HAMERS & BLANC 1989: 115), the investigation of the latter is of utmost importance. The most relevant aim of this chapter, therefore, is the presentation of the interaction of **culture, language and identity** in the families investigated. As national identity is especially important in a minority situation, I first explored the components of that identity: I studied the identity forming factors taken to be important by members of the first generation, and I compared the results coming from emigrant Hungarians with those of identity studies carried out among Hungarians living in the Carpathian Basin (GEREBEN 1999, 2005; VERES 2008). The most important thematic elements occurring in answers to the question “What does being Hungarian mean to you?”, inquiring into the identity of participants of the investigation carried out in France, are as follows: 1. emotional component (e.g. pride), 2. mother tongue, 3. family links and shared culture (cultural identity).

Case studies on the identity of members of the second generation try to find out how that “shared culture” and thereby some kind of cultural identity is transmitted in practical terms to young second-generation Hungarian–French bilinguals living in France, that is, in what form and via what (linguistic and not strictly linguistic) contents Hungarian culture is constructed for them, how their parent’s intention to form their identity is implemented in cultural activities. **Leisure activities** reflect which cultural tradition a bilingual speaker feels to be his/her own, which cultural context (s)he feels at home in; therefore, I asked to what extent the Hungarian language is present in the **cultural dimensions** of leisure activities (watching television, listening to the radio, reading). I was also interested in finding out how much the objective requisites (books, CDs, DVDs, etc.) are available for the subjects in Hungarian.

Among not strictly language-dependent cultural activities, I asked my subjects about Hungarian cuisine and “Hungarian” holidays. It is important to note that the “Hungarian” holidays these families mentioned first were “family” holidays (e.g. Santa Claus’ day, name days, “Hungarian”-type Christmas, Easter, etc.). The main reason is that in the language use of emigrant minorities, due to the limited scenes of language use, functional (and structural) language loss takes place and the Hungarian language (also Hungarian culture) becomes restricted to the family circle and bound to

familiar circumstances. Thus the family becomes the primary vehicle of Hungarian culture and hence Hungarian identity is primarily manifested via family holidays. Important pieces of information were given about the manner of family socialisation by answers referring to a “Hungarian” way of celebrating Christmas and Easter. (In this respect, there are significant differences between festive customs in Hungary and in France.)

Habits of **name giving** or **name selection** are also part of cultural transmission and the maintenance of traditions. I found it important to carry out identity investigations in terms of name giving habits because, in addition to their linguistic relevance, “name giving and changing one’s last name have social, cultural and psychological components” (ZELLIGER 2012: 42), through which identity is formed, transformed, and expressed. In that respect, I studied married names of first generation female subjects, first names given to second-generation subjects, and the motivations of name giving; I also asked about the use of nicknames, and about what changes were expected in the third generation, whether they would give Hungarian first names to their future children. A variety of motivations and strategies underlie name giving habits, ones that are easy to inquire about and insist on in an interview situation, a distinct advantage over questionnaire-based studies.

The name corpus of the second generation can be divided in two large sets: prior to 1989, officially registered French names were more frequent, with the Hungarian version or a Hungarian-type nickname used only within the family. This is similar to Erzsébet Zelliger’s data coming from Austria (ZELLIGER 2007: 227–33 and 2012: 42–49), just like the increasingly “international” character of name giving after 1989. It is clearly shown by the collected material that **name giving** carries the intention of the first generation to form a **double identity** in members of the second generation. The primary **motivation of name giving** is to find a name that is the least problematic, one that fits in well with the stock of names of both languages. Nevertheless, bilingualism leads to **having double names** in all cases: even names that are spelt identically in the two languages are pronounced in two different ways in the two, not excepting even the “most international” names, either. **Nicknames** are also often given, and here the dominance of Hungarian is unambiguous, even in families where Hungarian does not function as a family language any more, and language loss has occurred in an extreme form. One of the reasons is the emotional component associated with Hungarian; the other one is that diminutive forms are rarely used in French.

It can be seen that **language loss**, a process that accelerates in the second generation, goes together with extensive **cultural loss** or assimilation to the dominant French culture. It can be expected to become total and irreversible by the fourth generation.

IV. Results and conclusions

We can formulate our research results in terms of the hypotheses given in section I/2 (*Research hypotheses*) whose confirmation or rejection can be listed as below. (The decimal numbers before each paragraph refer back to the corresponding hypothesis as given in section I/2 above.)

Results on family-internal language use and linguistic socialisation

2.1.1. In general, it is true that children will probably speak poorer Hungarian if the native Hungarian member of the family is the father. However, I only had four families in which I could investigate this issue, and I could interview only two of them. The results show a tie: In two families, the children (young adults) have a good command of Hungarian, whereas in the other two they don’t (or hardly do) have any command of it. It is important to note that where the children speak Hungarian well, the mother also does. However, bilingual children living in France do not have to rely on their mothers in learning Hungarian: they can acquire the language from their nanny, the “jeune fille au pair”. Several families have chosen the solution that they employed Hungarian girls whose French was poor or nonexistent to care for their children, and thus, although the family’s common language was French, the children acquired a good command of Hungarian from those girls.

2.1.2. The preliminary hypothesis that children of Hungarian–Hungarian couples living in France would speak better Hungarian than children born in mixed families was not confirmed. A lot depends on the parents’ attitude, on their favourable or disfavourable behaviour, on the choice of nannies, on grandparents, cousins, as well as on the frequency of visits to Hungary, too.

2.1.3. If in Hungarian–Hungarian families the parents consistently separate the language of the home and the language of the majority community, and in French–Hungarian families they stick to the principle of “one person – one language”, children indeed speak better Hungarian in their early years (2 to 4) than they do later. When they join majority communities (enter French nurseries and schools), children will tend to switch languages at home, too: the siblings will talk to each other in French.

2.1.4. The claim that the eldest child will have the best command of Hungarian is only true if the children’s linguistic *curriculum vitae* is identical. If, however, one of the children spends more time with the Hungarian grandparents or has more intense relationships with Hungarian friends of the same age, this particular child will speak better Hungarian by the end of his/her adolescence.

2.1.5. It is true that children switch to speaking French at home (with one another) once they start going to nursery. Since in the majority community French is the usual common language of playing together, children will carry this over to their homes without even noticing. (For more detail, see the first section above.)

2.1.6. The task of parents in passing on their language is facilitated by technical devices today. Technological development, the elimination of the sense of seclusion, the diminution of distances has entailed in the past few decades that the second generation turns toward either English or Far Eastern cultures rather than Hungarian or even French homepages, films, music, etc. On the other hand, Skype, chat forums, and emails facilitate the maintenance of family relationships at a distance, and help keeping up permanent, intensive contacts with the actual live language. Satellite or internet-based television and radio broadcasts, and the online press also play an important role in receiving up-to-date information (in Hungarian).

Results concerning interference phenomena, code switching, language shift, and language loss

Hypotheses on language loss and language shift were formulated on the basis of Gonzo and Saltarelli’s emigrant language model (BARTHA 1995: 42–46).

2.2.1. The hypothesis that the occurrence of interference phenomena and code switching would be more widespread in interviews of the second generation than in those of the first was confirmed. I studied interference phenomena at all linguistic levels:

- (1) Phonetic/phonological, e.g. *A francia pedig nem hangsúlyoz, és felviszi a végét.* ‘French uses no stresses and raises the end.’ (FM11)
- (2) Morphological, e.g. *sok magyar Franciaországon nincs* ‘there are not many Hungarians in France’ (2FM5)
- (3) Lexical, e.g. *Hát én classe prépa-ba szeretnék menni.* ‘Well, I would like to go to a preparatory class.’ (2FM8)
- (4) Syntactic, e.g. *mert mindig vannak sok vendégek* ‘for there are always many guests’ (2FM10)
- (5) Pragmatic, e.g. level of familiarity

An example for the base-alternating code switching (BARTHA 1999: 110; GAL 1979):

2FM8: *Oui, j’aime bien quand je suis à Lovas*

FM2: Lovasba is szeretett, igen nagyon szeretett menni. Nem tudom, a *hangulat* más.

2FM8: *Oui, voilà! C’est l’ambiance qui est différente.*³

32FM8: *Oui, j’aime bien quand je suis à Lovas* (‘Yes, I really like when I am in Lovas.’)

FM2: She really liked to go to Lovas, yes really liked. I don’t know, the atmosphere is different.

2FM8: *Oui, voilà! C’est l’ambiance qui est différente.* (‘Yes, it is! The different is the atmosphere.’)

2.2.2. Members of the first generation told me during interviews that they had not been able to learn the language of the host country perfectly, and that members of the second generation often corrected their French utterances. Even if somebody speaks French almost perfectly, with no audible accent, he or she may still use the wrong articles sometimes as their use is based on an automatism. The Hungarian language use of the first generation, on the other hand, is characterised by lexical gaps (filled in by French equivalents). They tend to use obsolete words and expressions, especially if their contacts with people in Hungary are not that intensive.

2.2.3. Indeed, members of the first generation encounter the largest discrepancy in their word stock since they have spent most of their active lives outside Hungary. We should recall, however, that subjects having lived in France for as long as 30–40–50 years have interiorised French habits to such an extent that Hungarian habits, culture, etc. may become alien to them without their being aware of the fact. With increasing time, the direction of cultural transfer may be reversed: Hungarian→**French**→Hungarian.

2.2.4. Members of the second generation tell me that the most conspicuous difficulty for them is the reduced character of their Hungarian lexicon and of their spelling skills. The reason is that they usually only speak Hungarian at home and with their friends, and that they learnt the language orally, many of them cannot write in Hungarian at all. Hungarian specialised terminology, school vocabulary etc. is often quite completely missing from their competence, since almost none of my second generation subjects have ever attended a Hungarian school for a considerable time. The assumption of the pragmatic difficulties listed in the hypothesis has also proved to be confirmed.

2.2.5. During fieldwork I had occasion to observe how Gonzo & Saltarelli's model of the emigrant linguistic continuum works in practice. Members of the third generation usually understand but do not speak Hungarian, since their (second-generation) parents already acquired this language imperfectly and/or married a native French speaker, whereby French became the common language of the home. On the other hand, a new tendency is also taking shape: with Hungary joining the European Union, the market value of Hungarian has risen in France. In addition to the employment of native Hungarian babysitters, mentioned above, some members of the second generation take up jobs in Hungary and so their children may join a Hungarian children's community for some time.

Results on vernacular language use and attitudes

2.3.1. This hypothesis has been fully confirmed. The vernacular of the first generation, even after as much as five decades spent in France, remained Hungarian. The area where Hungarian has been preserved the most fully is the language of prayer. The interviews have supported my assumption that the vernacular of the second generation, on the other hand, is French.

2.3.2. This preliminary hypothesis has also proved true. Parents getting consciously prepared for having their children acquire Hungarian and the helpful and supportive attitude of spouses who think that command of Hungarian is an asset greatly influence identity formation within the family. In the case of some families I worked with, the parental attitude based on the hidden prestige of Hungarian and the principle of "I will teach my child Hungarian, if only out of spite" counteracts the French society's aspiration for linguistic uniformity.

Results on language retention, culture transmission, and identity formation

2.4.1. Looking at the Hungarian identity of the first generation we can say that affective components (positive feelings) are more of a factor in identity formation than the mother tongue itself. The retentive power of the family and care for Hungarian culture are also important principles figuring in subjects' answers. Therefore, these were the factors I primarily relied on in my investigation of the second generation.

2.4.2. My assumption that possibilities of language retention and culture maintenance depend on the network of relationships of the given family has been perfectly confirmed: close contacts with people living in Hungary, especially with those belonging to the same age group, may represent strong motivation for language retention.

2.4.3. Most of my subjects are university graduates and attach high priority to careful language use. I found that the wish for language retention is the higher the more educated the subject is; such subjects think that knowledge of Hungarian is “valuable”, “an asset”. For subjects with lesser levels of education, the emotional component and links with the part of family living back home are the most important reasons why they take the transmission of Hungarian to be desirable. Non-intellectual subjects did not formulate a conscious strategy, they tried to become “perfect French people”; but not speaking good Hungarian anymore and not yet speaking good French, they became “semi-lingual”, as it were.

2.4.4. This assumption did not prove true. The subjects mentioned as typical Hungarian holidays certain family holidays that are not celebrated in an average French family (like Santa Claus’ day or name days). The former is seen as a typical Hungarian holiday by nineteen out of thirty-two families and is celebrated accordingly. This confirms the observation that the main factor and vehicle of Hungarian identity is the family, the micro-community of family-internal socialisation.

2.4.5. Most parents prefer names that sound the same or close enough in both languages (e.g. *Linda*, *Lily*, etc.). The names most often chosen in the past decade have been those of an international character. Many parents simply disregarded spelling problems and those of accented vowel letters.

V. Outlook, further research

This paper investigated but a narrow cross-section of the highly involved area of Hungarian–French bilingualism. I hope that this research can be carried on both in France and in other countries, extended to a wider range of subjects, in collaboration with research centres abroad, in teamwork. Further research could be part of an **overall international cooperation in the medium and long run** that could investigate the language use, identity, possibilities of language retention of the **Hungarian diaspora in Western countries** in the framework of multilateral projects and could also make comparisons with surveys of minority Hungarian speakers of the Carpathian Basin. To that end, existing infrastructure should be made use of and lacking infrastructure should be created, relying on the partly available institutional and personal background, and work out a real strategy and action plan for Hungarian diasporas on the basis of the results of those investigations.

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