UNIVERSITAT OBERTA DE CATALUNYA

A critical sociolinguistic study of diasporization among Hungarians in Catalonia

Doctoral Thesis
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Abstract

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A critical sociolinguistic study of diasporization among Hungarians in Catalonia

The thesis seeks access to how contemporary diasporas evolve, how diasporization takes place under the conditions of late modernity, and how language features in this process. By diasporization, I refer to the process(es) in which diasporic groups emerge and individuals start to engage in certain diasporic practices, i.e., social practices that are associated with their ethnic or national origin or with their imagined homeland, or with boundary management in the host-land. Writing *diasporization* and *diasporic* instead of *diaspora*, I attempted to emphasize that I did not wish to treat diaspora as a bounded entity or as sharing common conditions. Rather, I presented diasporization as an emerging process that creates commonalities and social practices among people who share similar experiences of dispersion.

I studied first generation Hungarians in Catalonia between 2018 and 2022. As the Hungarian presence in the whole of Spain has been a fairly new phenomenon, the participants of this study provided a great opportunity to identify contemporary and novel aspects of mobility in late modernity in which language plays a key role. The research questions dealt with the discourses that circulated among Hungarian diasporic subjects in Catalonia, the practices they engaged in, and the resources that were deployed in their specific processes of diasporization. To truly address these questions by "thinking diaspora from below", the research was an ethnographically informed critical sociolinguistic one that drew on collaborative methodologies in order to include the emic perspectives of the participants. To capture these perspectives, the research combined many data generating techniques, such as ethnographic fieldnotes, biographical interviews, online focus groups, collection of material traces, and collaborative interpretation with the key participants of the research.

I treated the questions articulated by the key participants as traces of the multiple foci of interests and concerns of the diasporic subjects. Therefore, I brought them into dialogue with the three conventional criteria of diasporas (dispersion, boundary-maintenance and homeland orientation) in sociological literature as well as with the sociolinguistic concerns about language and migration. I argue that the contemporary diasporic experiences of Hungarians in Catalonia do revolve around these criteria, but their experiences can be lived in individually fluid and complex modes in which language plays an important role. Four possible dimensions of the diasporic were identified in the thesis: the chronotopic, the boundary-management, the posthumanist, and the rhizomatic dimension.

The chronotopic analysis of the narratives of the participants on dispersion showed that participants with a longer history in Catalonia displayed more loyalty to Catalonia or to Spain in general, while the newcomers tended to treat the space and the time around their transnational mobility as more flexible than before. The analysis on boundary-management showed that the Catalan language was still seen as an authentic language of Catalan people that cannot become the voice of a Hungarian diasporic subject without political commitment and the accumulation of cultural capital, whereas the Castilian language functioned as an anonymous language of all. The posthumanist approach to diasporization showed that the diasporic is produced and perceived through a wide arena of multilingual (that is not necessarily connected to the Hungarian language), multimodal and multisensory resources, and certain forms of homeland orientation can be expressed through such production and perception. The rhizomatic way of looking at the diasporic acknowledged that it is not necessarily a constant looking back or a nostalgic

reconstruction of the homeland, but it can also embody reorientations and redefinitions of the identity such as Hungarians in Catalonia starting to identify more generally as Eastern Europeans.

Keywords: *chronotope, collaboration, critical sociolinguistics, diaspora, diasporic subjects, diasporization, Hungarians in Catalonia, rhizome, sociolinguistics of diaspora*.

Resum

Gergely Szabó

Un estudi sociolingüístic crític de la diasporització entre els hongaresos a Catalunya

La tesi investiga com evolucionen les diàspores contemporànies i de quina manera es produeix la diasporització en les condicions de la modernitat tardana. Amb *diasporització* em refereixo al procés, o processos, en què sorgeixen els grups diaspòrics i els individus comencen a dur a terme certes pràctiques diaspòriques, és a dir, pràctiques socials que s'associen amb el seu origen ètnic o nacional, amb la seva pàtria imaginada, o amb la gestió dels límits al país d'acollida. En escriure *diasporització* i *diaspòric* en lloc de *diàspora*, he intentat emfatitzar la voluntat de tractar la diàspora no com una entitat delimitada o que comparteix condicions comunes, sinó més aviat, com un procés que crea punts comuns i pràctiques socials entre persones que comparteixen experiències similars de dispersió.

Per això, he estudiat les experiències d'hongaresos de primera generació a Catalunya entre el 2018 i el 2022. Atès que la presència hongaresa al conjunt d'Espanya és un fenomen força recent, els participants d'aquest estudi m'han proporcionat una gran oportunitat per identificar aspectes contemporanis i nous de la mobilitat en la modernitat tardana en què la llengua juga un paper clau. Les preguntes de la investigació es refereixen als discursos que circulen entre els subjectes diaspòrics hongaresos a Catalunya, a les pràctiques que realitzen i als recursos que despleguen en els seus processos específics de diasporització. Per abordar aquestes qüestions "pensant la diàspora des de baix", la tesi pren forma d'estudi crític informat etnogràficament i basat en metodologies col·laboratives, per incloure les perspectives èmiques dels participants. Per tal de captar aquestes perspectives, l'estudi combina múltiples tècniques de generació de dades, com ara les notes de camp etnogràfiques, les entrevistes biogràfiques, els grups focals en línia, la recopilació de rastres materials i la interpretació col·laborativa amb els participants clau de l'estudi.

Les preguntes articulades pels participants clau han estat tractades com a indicatives dels múltiples focus d'interès i preocupacions dels subjectes diaspòrics. Per tant, les he posat en diàleg amb els tres criteris convencionals de les diàspores que estableix la literatura sociològica (dispersió, manteniment de fronteres i orientació cap a la pàtria), així com amb els conceptes sociolingüístics sobre la llengua i la migració. La tesi sosté que les experiències diaspòriques contemporànies dels hongaresos a Catalunya giren al voltant d'aquests criteris, però aquestes experiències poden ser viscudes de maneres individuals fluïdes i complexes en què la llengua juga un paper important. La tesi identifica quatre possibles comprensions del diaspòric: la cronotòpica, la de gestió de fronteres, la posthumanista i la rizomàtica.

L'anàlisi cronotòpica de les narratives dels participants sobre la dispersió mostra que els participants amb una història més llarga a Catalunya expressen més lleialtat al país d'acollida, mentre que els nouvinguts tendeixen a tractar l'espai i el temps entorn de la mobilitat transnacional de manera més flexible. L'anàlisi sobre la gestió dels límits mostra que la llengua catalana és vista com la llengua dels catalans, que no es pot convertir en veu d'un subjecte diaspòric hongarès sense un compromís polític i l'acumulació de capital cultural, mentre que la llengua castellana funciona com una llengua anònima i de tothom. L'enfocament posthumanista de la diasporització demostra que allò diaspòric es produeix i es percep a través d'un ampli escenari de recursos multilingües (no necessàriament relacionats amb la llengua hongaresa), multimodals i multisensorials, i certes formes d'orientació cap a la pàtria poden expressar-se a través d'aquesta producció i percepció. La forma rizomàtica de veure la diàspora reconeix que no és

necessàriament una constant mirada enrere o una reconstrucció nostàlgica de la pàtria, sinó que també pot encarnar reorientacions i redefinicions de la identitat, com per exemple que els hongaresos de Catalunya comencin a identificar-se de manera més general com a europeus de l'Est.

Paraules clau: *cronotop, col·laboració, diàspora, diasporització, hongaresos a Catalunya, sociolingüística crítica, sociolingüística de la diàspora, subjectes diaspòrics, rizoma*.

Resumen

Gergely Szabó

Un estudio sociolingüístico crítico de la diasporización entre los húngaros en Cataluña

La tesis pretende indagar en cómo evolucionan las diásporas contemporáneas y de qué modo tiene lugar la diasporización en las condiciones de la modernidad tardía. Con diasporización me refiero al proceso o procesos en que surgen los grupos diaspóricos y los individuos comienzan a realizar ciertas prácticas diaspóricas, es decir, prácticas sociales que se asocian con su origen étnico o nacional, con su patria imaginada, o con la gestión de las fronteras en el país de acogida. Al escribir *diasporización* y *diaspórico* en lugar de *diáspora*, intenté enfatizar la voluntad de tratar la diáspora no como una entidad delimitada o que comparte condiciones comunes, sino más bien, como un proceso que crea puntos comunes y prácticas sociales entre personas que comparten experiencias similares de dispersión.

Para ello, estudié las experiencias de los húngaros de primera generación en Cataluña entre 2018 y 2022. Dado que la presencia húngara en el conjunto de España es un fenómeno bastante reciente, los participantes de este estudio me proporcionaron una gran oportunidad para identificar aspectos contemporáneos y novedosos de la movilidad en la modernidad tardía en los que la lengua juega un papel clave. Las preguntas de la investigación se referían a los discursos que circulan entre los sujetos diaspóricos húngaros en Cataluña, a las prácticas que éstos realizan y a los recursos que despliegan en sus procesos específicos de diasporización. Para abordar estas cuestiones "pensando la diáspora desde abajo", la tesis toma la forma de estudio crítico informado etnográficamente y basado en metodologías colaborativas para incluir las perspectivas émicas de los participantes. Con el fin de captar estas perspectivas, el estudio combinó múltiples técnicas de generación de datos, como las notas de campo etnográficas, las entrevistas biográficas, los grupos focales en línea, la recopilación de rastros materiales y la interpretación colaborativa con los participantes clave del estudio.

Las preguntas articuladas por los participantes clave fueron tratadas como indicativas de los múltiples focos de interés y las preocupaciones de los sujetos diaspóricos. Por lo tanto, las puse en diálogo con los tres criterios convencionales de las diásporas en la literatura sociológica (dispersión, mantenimiento de fronteras y orientación hacia la patria), así como con los conceptos sociolingüísticos sobre la lengua y la migración. La tesis sostiene que las experiencias diaspóricas contemporáneas de los húngaros en Cataluña giran en torno a estos criterios, pero dichas experiencias pueden ser vividas de modos individuales fluidos y complejos en los que la lengua juega un papel importante. En la tesis identifiqué cuatro posibles comprensiones de lo diaspórico: la cronotópica, la de gestión de fronteras, la posthumanista y la rizomática.

El análisis cronotópico de las narrativas de los participantes sobre la dispersión mostró que los participantes con una historia más larga en Cataluña muestran más lealtad al país de acogida, mientras que los recién llegados tienden a tratar el espacio y el tiempo en torno a su movilidad transnacional como más flexibles. El análisis sobre la gestión de las fronteras mostró que la lengua catalana es vista como la lengua de los catalanes, que no puede convertirse en la voz de un sujeto diaspórico húngaro sin un compromiso político y la acumulación de capital cultural, mientras que la lengua castellana funciona como una lengua anónima y de todos. El enfoque posthumanista de la diasporización demostró que lo diaspórico se produce y se percibe a través de un amplio escenario de recursos multilingües (no necesariamente relacionados con la lengua húngara), multimodales y multisensoriales, y ciertas formas de orientación hacia la tierra natal pueden expresarse a través de dicha producción y percepción. La forma rizomática de ver la

diáspora reconoce que no se trata necesariamente de una constante mirada hacia atrás o de una reconstrucción nostálgica de la patria, sino que también puede encarnar reorientaciones y redefiniciones de la identidad, como por ejemplo que los húngaros de Cataluña empiecen a identificarse de forma más general como europeos del Este.

Palabras clave: *cronotopo, colaboración, diáspora, diasporización, húngaros en Cataluña, rizoma, sociolingüística crítica, sociolingüística de la diáspora, sujetos diaspóricos*.

Összefoglaló

Szabó Gergely

A diaszporizáció kritikai szociolingvisztikai vizsgálata katalóniai magyarok körében

Az értekezés arra keresi a választ, hogyan jönnek létre a kortárs diaszpórák, hogyan zajlik a diaszporizáció a késő modernitás körülményei között, és milyen szerepet játszik a nyelv ebben a folyamatban. Diaszporizáció alatt az(oka)t a folyamat(oka)t értem, amely(ek) során diaszpóracsoportok alakulnak ki, és a migrációban résztvevő egyének elkezdenek bizonyos diaszpórikus gyakorlatokat folytatni. Olyan társadalmi gyakorlatokat, amelyek etnikai vagy nemzeti származásukhoz, elképzelt hazájukhoz kötődő vagy a befogadó országban történő határkezeléshez kapcsolódnak. A *diaszpóra* helyett a *diaszporizáció* és a *diaszpórikus* fogalmakra támaszkodom, ezzel igyekszem hangsúlyozni, hogy a diaszpórát nem jól körülhatárolt entitásként kezelem. Ehelyett a diaszporizációra emergens folyamatként tekintek, amely közös pontokat és társadalmi gyakorlatokat hoz létre hasonló szétszóródási tapasztalatokkal rendelkező emberek között.

A vizsgálatot első generációs katalóniai magyarok körében végeztem 2018 és 2022 között. A magyar jelenlét egész Spanyolországban meglehetősen új jelenség, a kutatás résztvevői így lehetőséget kínáltak számomra a mobilitás kortárs és újszerű aspektusainak feltárására a késő modernitásban és a nyelv kulcsszerepének megfigyelésére ebben a folyamatban. A kutatási kérdések arra vonatkoztak, hogy milyen diskurzus hatják át a diaszporizációt, milyen gyakorlatok jellemzik azt, és milyen erőforrásokat vetnek be a katalóniai magyarok e sajátos folyamat során. Annak érdekében, hogy ezekre a kérdésekre valóban „a diaszpórát alulról elgondolva” válaszolhassunk, a kutatás etnográfiailag megalapozott kritikai szociolingvisztikai vizsgálat volt, amely a résztvevők émikus perspektíváinak bevonása végett kollaboratív módszerekre is támaszkodott. E perspektívák megragadására a kutatás számos adatgeneráló technikát ötvözött, például etnográfiai terepmunkát, életrajzi interjúkat, online fókuszcsoportokat, tárgyi nyomok gyűjtését és a kutatás kulcsrésztvevőivel való kollaboratív interpretációt.

A kulcsrésztvevők által megfogalmazott kérdéseket a diaszpórában élő alanyok érdeklődésének lenyomataiként kezeltem. Ezért ezeket a kérdéseket az egyes elemző fejezetekben párbeszédbe állítottam a diaszpórák szociológiai szakirodalomban szereplő három hagyományos kritériumával (szétszóródás, határmegtartás és szülőföldi orientáció), valamint a nyelvvel és a migrációval kapcsolatos szociolingvisztikai fogalmakkal. A dolgozatban amellett érvelek, hogy a katalóniai magyarok kortárs diaszpórikus élményei valóban e kritériumok köré rendeződnek, de azokat egyénileg változó és összetett módokon élhetik meg, ezekben a tapasztalatokban pedig kitüntetett szerepet játszik a nyelv. Ezért munkámban a diaszporizáció négy lehetséges, szociolingvisztikailag megalapozott értelmezését azonosítottam: a kronotopikus, a határkezelési, a poszthumanista és a rizomatikus értelmezést.

A résztvevők szétszóródásról szóló elbeszéléseinek kronotopikus elemzése azt mutatta, hogy a hosszabb katalóniai múlttal rendelkező résztvevőknek nagyobb a lojalitása Katalónia vagy általában Spanyolország iránt, míg az újonnan érkezettek hajlamosak voltak a transznacionális mobilitásuk körüli teret és időt rugalmasabban kezelni, mint a korábban érkezettek. A határkezeléssel kapcsolatos elemzés azt mutatta, hogy a katalán nyelvre továbbra is a katalán nemzet saját és autentikus nyelvének tekintették, amely politikai elkötelezettség és kulturális tőke felhalmozása nélkül nem válhat a magyar diaszpórikus egyén hangjává, míg a kasztíliai nyelv mindenki anonim nyelveként funkcionált. A diaszporizáció poszthumanista megközelítése

megmutatta, hogy a diaszpóra a többnyelvű (nem feltétlenül a magyar nyelvhez kötődő), multimodális és multiszenzoros erőforrások széles arzenálján keresztül termelődik és válik érzékelhetővé, így a szülőföldi orientáció bizonyos formái ezek felsorakoztatásán és felismerésén keresztül fejeződhetnek ki. A diaszporizáció rizomatikus szemléletmódja arra mutatott rá, hogy a diaszpóra nem feltétlenül jelent állandó visszatekintést vagy a szülőföld nosztalgikus rekonstrukciójára tett kísérletet, hanem az identitás átorientálódását és újradefiniálását is megtestesítheti, például olyan társalgásokban, amelyekben a katalóniai magyarok általánosabban kelet-európaiként kezdik azonosítani magukat.

Kulcsszók: *a diaszpóra szociolingvisztikája, diaszpóra, diaszpórikus egyén, diaszporizáció, katalóniai magyarok, kollaboráció, kritikai szociolingvisztika, kronotoposz, rizóma*.

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It has been for four years since I started my PhD. During these four years, I have met many people who have contributed to this thesis in one way or another. Let me thank them all here in a linguistically diverse manner.

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When not working on the thesis, my non-academic friends always helped me to relax, for instance, by doing sports with me, such as los jugadores de Rugby Club Badalona and Fehérvár Rugby Club játékosai. Besides, when travelling to conferences, Kerék Ádám hosted me in Copenhagen, whereas Márkus-Herczeg Ildikó and Bence did the same in Amsterdam-Diemen twice. Köszönöm, és azt is, hogy megmutattátok, mikor érdemes befejezni egy szöveget.

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Special kiitos goes to Petteri Laihonen who replied yes to our call to become the third member of my doctoral thesis committee in Barcelona and a committee member at the pre-defense in Budapest. Although it was not possible to travel to Jyväskylä due to the pandemic restrictions in 2021, he made it possible to have me in his university, Jyväskylän yliopisto, in a fashion called "virtual research stay" to be able to meet other colleagues and PhD researchers in Finland and visit their events online.

My co-supervisor, Joan Pujolar provided me a welcoming environment at the UOC. Gràcies per la teva feina com a director durant aquestes quatre anys. N'he après molt de tu, especialment en l'àmbit etnografia, sociolingüística crítica i escriptura acadèmica (tant al món anglosaxó com a l'Europa continental). Els teus comentaris, a vegades durs, però honestos i constructius, sempre han ajudat a tirar endavant la tesi.

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I dedicated this work to all Hungarians in Catalonia.

Ezt az értekezést a Katalóniában élő magyaroknak ajánlom.

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Note on terminology and transcription

For the sake of confidentiality, all data has been anonymized. Thus, all personal names appearing in the analysis are pseudonyms. Where it is possible in the thesis, I draw on the words of the research participants; glottonyms make the only difference. Acknowledging that there are ideological tensions around them in Catalonia, I preferred to stay with English glottonyms. Thus, following the solution of Woolard (2016), I use Catalan and Castilian even though most research participants refer to the latter as *spanyol* ('Spanish').

Quotes from audio recordings are always shown first in original and then in English translation. In the case of fieldnotes, only English translations are published.

Transcription key

italics	original utterances
< >	words without an established Hungarian orthography
|	a pause
-	a cut-off or self-interruption
@	unintelligible
(#laugh)	the author's description of non-linguistic events
[ ]	explanations by the author or missing words in translation
[…]	shortening of the excerpt by the author
{ }	simultaneous speaking

1. Introduction

Although the notion of diaspora dates back thousands of years, diasporas are enjoying a renaissance in the 21st century due to novel forms of human mobility and communication, and the desire to unite citizens in foreign countries through national policies. Yet less scholarly attention has been paid in the field of sociolinguistics to the process through which diasporic groups emerge and individuals start to engage in diasporic activities, i.e., the process of *diasporization*. The literature that addresses the sociolinguistic dimension of migration does not usually frame the issue from the perspective of the community that is on the move, but focusing on the processes of diasporization provides an insight especially on that perspective. This thesis is an ethnographically informed critical sociolinguistic study that discusses the sociolinguistic dimensions of diasporization under the conditions of late modernity. I studied first generation Hungarians in Catalonia between 2018 and 2022. This population is not conventionally seen or addressed as a *diaspora* yet, but I hope to show the relevance of the concept by describing how individuals (to whom I refer to as *diasporic subjects*) engage in diasporic activities and participate in the process I call diasporization. In order to strengthen the validity of the research findings and implement some contribution to the democratization of the research process, I also applied collaborative research techniques. This way, I endeavored to realize a sociolinguistic study on diasporization that accounts for the emic perspectives and the involvement of the interested parties.

This thesis offers three potential contributions. First, as an ethnographically informed critical sociolinguistic study, it endeavors to widen the scope of the sociolinguistics of globalization and mobility by developing an understanding of diasporization that includes the "language issues that matter" (Heller et al. 2018). It provides a comprehensive and detailed theoretical grounding of the processes of diasporization in late modernity, with a particular focus on the role of language. Although sociolinguistics has recently been concerned intensively with the questions of diasporas (see Canagarajah & Silberstein eds. 2012, Márquez Reiter & Martín Rojo eds. 2015, Albury & Schluter eds. 2021, Tseng & Hinrichs eds. 2021), so far, it has failed to create a framework that can sociolinguistically explain the aspects of contemporary processes of diasporization, such as diasporic orientations and diasporic connectivity (Vigouroux & Mufwene 2021). For providing such a theoretical grounded, the thesis draws on an in-depth and situated exploration of a certain diasporic population, Hungarians in Catalonia, with special regards to language and identity work in late modernity. Whereas Hungarian sociolinguistics conducted many studies on the language of émigré communities (Fenyvesi 1995, 2005; Huber 2016; Kontra 1990; Kovács 2005; Szabó-Törpényi 2013), lesser attention has been paid to how such communities were formed and discursively constituted as diasporic and Hungarian (but see also Bartha 2005, Hasulyó-Pintz 2020, Hatoss 2020). In contrast to these studies, doing research with Hungarians in Catalonia offers a case study in which the most recent forms of human mobility can be explored under the contemporary circumstances because the Hungarian presence in Catalonia has only lately become visible (Csányi 2018). Second, the thesis also offers a novel methodological approach I labeled as collaboration. Cameron and colleagues (1992) already advocated for only doing research *on, for* and *with* participants, but a claim for transforming the role of research participants in sociolinguistic inquiry has been put forth in recent years (for an overview, see Bodó et al. 2022a). Thus, my research was not only a study *on* diasporization and the diasporic subjects participating in this process, but it was also conducted *for* their interests, and, most importantly, *with* their collaboration (see also Lexander & Androutsopoulos 2021).

I draw on the theoretical framework of critical sociolinguistics (Heller 2011, Heller et al. 2018) that defines language broadly, and sees it as a set of discourses, a series of practices, and an accumulation of resources. This framework advocates for a social constructivist approach to social categories, ethnographically informed methodologies, and critical stances towards power inequalities (for further discussion, see Chapter 2). Thus, I do not address diaspora as a state, a fact, or a stable, well-defined bounded entity, but rather emphasize the dynamic construction of such categories (see also da Silva 2011) and focus on the process of diasporization. I also draw on the sociologist Rogers Brubaker's critique on the three criteria of diasporas, namely dispersion, boundary-maintenance, and homeland orientation (Brubaker 2005), arguing that these aspects can be defining in the self-interpretation and the self-presentation of diasporic groups, but they are not the unique ones. In my analysis, I combined the research participants' perspectives with these criteria and other related sociolinguistic concepts. More precisely, I used the concepts of chronotope, boundary-work, semiotic assemblage, and rhizome to explain several aspects of diasporization. I treated these concepts as possible sociolinguistic readings of the diasporic.

As an ethnographically informed study, this research encompassed different forms of data generation, such as observation (participant observations at diasporic events), elicitation (individual interviews, focus group discussions, language diaries), and documentation ("collecting rubbish" and material traces; Blommaert & Dong 2010: 58). When making sense of the data generated, I also implemented a fourth technique that I called collaborative interpretation (for further discussion, see Chapter 3). Following the intention of involving the interested parties in the knowledge production process, I collaborated with five key participants, namely Detti, Rebeka, Pál, Dénes and Gyuri (all names are pseudonyms). We created a group that gathered monthly, and we named *magyar tertúlia* (*magyar* 'Hungarian' in Hungarian, *tertúlia* 'social gathering' in Catalan). I treated *magyar tertúlia* as a space of reflexivity for this research which meant that I asked the key participants to raise questions they would ask when meeting other Hungarians in Catalonia. This way, the collaboration with the key participants made it possible for them to contribute to the definition of what social and linguistic issues are actually relevant to address in a thesis if we want to describe the ways in which this group of people, Hungarians in Catalonia, relate to diasporization.

At the beginning of this research, I defined wide research questions related to the discourses that circulate among Hungarians in Catalonia, the practices they engage in, and the resources they deploy in their specific processes of diasporization. To narrow down the possible topics of the analysis, the questions raised by the key participants have become central (for further discussion, see Section 3.4). All analytical chapters begin with the issues identified in these questions. I brought these into dialogue with the criteria set in the literature on diaspora (dispersion, boundary-maintenance, homeland orientation), as well as with the sociolinguistic concepts utilized in many other contexts (chronotope, boundary and identity work, semiotic assemblage, rhizome). Chapter 4 discusses the chronotopic aspects in line with the participants' diasporic imagination in the personal narratives on dispersion and diasporic group formation. Chapter 5 and 6 deal with the questions of (linguistic) boundaries, e.g., how they are imagined, negotiated, maintained or eliminated between the participants and the society they wish to or do not wish to integrate into, how the Self and the local Other is enregistered. Chapter 7, drawing on the concept of semiotic assemblage, enlists the many linguistic, multimodal, and multisensory resources that the diasporic subjects deploy in order to express their homeland orientation or experience their bonds to the imagined homeland. Chapter 8 provides a rhizomatic understanding of the diasporic, and captures the hybrid performances of the diasporic subjects, a process (or set of processes) I called reorientation. By homeland reorientation, I refer to specific practices in which, instead of the nostalgic reconstruction of the homeland, the diasporic subjects

combine the specificities of the homeland and the host-land with the aim of making the homeland a better place. This also attests to some of the ways in which the experience of diasporization reshapes the ideas and relationships of the subjects to their homeland.

The thesis is organized as follows. In Chapter 2, I first describe the definitions of diaspora and diasporization. Then I provide a state-of-the-art on ethnographically informed studies arguing that ethnography can simultaneously be understood as an epistemological orientation, a methodological toolkit, and a way of structuring knowledge through the process of writing. At the end of the chapter, I overview the traits of critical sociolinguistics, the ways it contributes to the study of globalization, late modernity, and social constructivism. I also summarize the ways critical sociolinguistics defines discourses on language, linguistic practices, and linguistic resources that I understand as units of the total (socio)linguistic fact. In Chapter 3, I show how these theoretical principles have informed the methodology of my research. For that, I introduce the research site (Catalonia) and the participants (first-generation Hungarians in Catalonia), the activities I carried out in the three research phases (pre-fieldwork, main fieldwork, and post-fieldwork phase), the types of data generated through different techniques (observation, elicitation, documentation, and collaborative interpretation), the four-step analytical process (mapping, tracing, connection, claiming), the research ethics, and the advantages and limitations of the research project. In the analytical chapters (4, 5, 6, 7, and 8), I follow a specific pattern of presentation: I start off with a vignette on the question formulated by the key participants and I proceed to connect it to the literature on diasporas. Then I give a brief theoretical overview on a specific sociolinguistic concept that I found productive to address that particular aspect. Each chapter ends with the feedback provided by one of the key participants and an autoethnographic reflection I wrote about my experiences while residing in Catalonia and becoming a diasporic subject myself. This I do in order to reflexively examine the positionality from which I wrote the thesis. In Chapter 9, I conclude the results of this study in three sections focusing on the sociolinguistic theory of diasporization, the specific case of Hungarians in Catalonia, and the collaborative methodology for sociolinguistic inquiry.

Before immersing myself in the sociolinguistic details of the diasporization process of Hungarians in Catalonia, in the next section, I clarify some decisions about the language choices of this thesis – a thesis that is written in English about Hungarian-speaking people (mostly) exposed to Castilian, Catalan, and many other languages in their new place of residence.

1.1. On the language of this thesis

My research has sought to reduce the distance between academic and non-academic actors at several stages with the aim of contributing to the democratization of academic knowledge production (Appadurai 2006). As part of this project, I have made a number of attempts to collaborate with the interested diasporic parties in the course of the research because I believe that if a researcher wishes to take the "thinking diaspora from below" approach (Rosa & Trivedi 2017) seriously, then the involvement of the diasporic subjects' perspectives into the research process is also necessary. These attempts will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, but as democratization must also address the access to knowledge, which is also a question of linguistic hierarchies, I would like to clarify my language choices first.

The language we academics practice has power, and our linguistic choices have influences. Such choices in connection with the research presented in this thesis were hard to make and they deserve some considerations at the very beginning. The participants who self-identify as "Hungarians" in Catalonia were addressed in a language of their choice, namely *magyar* ('Hungarian'). This language would not have been the only option, but was the most plausible one as a key aspect of the diasporic events was to create a somewhat Hungarian-speaking environment

(see da Silva 2012 on the Portuguese-Canadian). Besides the communication with the participants, I myself wrote all my notes and transcripts in Hungarian as it was the easiest way for me. However, the thesis was written in English, for several reasons. One of these reasons is the fact that English has undoubtedly gained a dominant position in the globalizing academic sphere. To put it in another way, English has become an academic lingua franca of our age.

There are two main problems with this fact. First, the community of sociolinguists has always been celebrating linguistic diversity (Piller 2016) – irrespectively of whether this diversity manifests itself in the inner variation of the languages or in the multilingual practices of speakers. Yet if the members of this community would like to increase or maintain their visibility internationally (but also in front of national boards), they are forced to implement publication plans in which English is preferred over any other language (Solovova et al. 2018). And it is not just English that is preferred in general, but a very specific form of English, English accessible for only a privileged few (Smakman 2015).

Second, this academic English is not accessible to (most of) the participants of this research. Thus, when designing the research, I also had to consider how to bridge the distance between the language repertoires of the diasporic subjects and the linguistic expectations of academic writing. I came up with two ideas. The first one is in connection with the process of knowledge production. In the phase of post-fieldwork, I intended to show the results to the key participants before publication in order to receive their confirmation and consent. Instead of asking them to read academic texts written in English, I decided to write summaries of the findings of each analytical chapter in plain Hungarian. This choice of mine was very much appreciated by the interested parties. The second one, which is more important now, is about the dissemination of the research findings for academic audiences. As the thesis is written in English, it has to comply with some monolingual requirements. However, this does not necessarily mean that it cannot contain the original words of the participants – which are, by the way, not always words that are traditionally associated with the Hungarian language, but in some cases they are Catalan or Castilian words (or linguistic resources, as I will call them in this thesis) as part of the individual diasporic expressions of the participants. Therefore, when presenting interactional data in the thesis, I opted for providing the original wordings first in italics and then an English translation. The only exception I made was glottonyms: although the participants spoke about *magyar, katalán* and *spanyol*, I decided to call these languages consistently Hungarian, Catalan and Castilian in the thesis following the principles defined by Kathryn Woolard (2016: xix) who advocated for giving preference to *Castilian* over *Spanish* in academic texts in order to better describe the local sociolinguistic milieu. On another level, I often chose the participants' own terms as analytical categories reflected in the titles of the sections. In these cases, I left the original wordings of the participants without English translation. As it will be shown later, the ways the diasporic subjects studied in this research communicate are mostly tied to named languages, but in a few cases they transcend such boundaries – in this thesis, I aim to do something similar.

I do this because ethnographically informed studies always endeavor to get the emic perspectives of the research participants and etic perspectives of the research community closer to each other. This way, I also wished to create a somewhat polyphonic text which depicts both the voice of the interested parties and the voice of the research active analyst. The decision to transgress the monolingual requirements associated with academic writing to a certain level might be understood as an act of decolonization (Canagarajah 2022). But my purpose was not to decolonize neither the participants of this research, nor the Hungarian language itself – they just do not need such a patronizing gesture. My objective, as mentioned above, was rather to realize some form of democratization in as many phases of the academic knowledge production process as possible (see Appadurai 2006). Including the original words of the participants in

the titles of the chapters is one possible way to do so – if these words were said in Hungarian, I may have killed two birds with one stone.

Of course, I am aware that this choice of mine will not change the sociolinguistic dynamics of the academic world at all. But hopefully, it will be an initial one among the myriad steps towards pushing the boundaries of monolingual academic English writing. *It ain't much, but honest work*.

2. Theoretical framework

As mentioned in the introduction, this thesis studies diasporization among Hungarians in Catalonia in an ethnographically informed critical sociolinguistic framework. However, it might require some explanation why I made the decision of applying this theoretical framework. Despite the growing number of sociolinguistic studies on diasporas in recent years (Albury & Schluter eds. 2021, Karimzad & Catedral 2021, Lexander & Androutsopoulos 2021, Márquez Reiter & Martín Rojo eds. 2015, Ndhlovu 2017, O'Brien 2017, Rosa & Trivedi 2017, Tseng & Hinrichs eds. 2021), critical sociolinguistic inquiry still has more to add to the description of the hybrid and dynamic processes of diasporization in the late modern era, i.e., to the processes in which diasporic groups emerge and individuals start to engage in diasporic activities, as defined above.

In this chapter, I provide an overview of why critical sociolinguistics could potentially give impetus to the study of diasporization and why it is important to do so. First, I sketch the ways diaspora has been conceptualized historically, scientifically, and politically to show that emphasis should be put on the ongoing creation of diasporas by drawing on concepts such as diasporization, diasporic subjects, diasporic practices, and so on. Then in the second section of this chapter, I provide another overview on why ethnographically informed studies are the best option to study diasporization. I argue that ethnography has implications for epistemological orientation, methodology, and writing as well, and these three can potentially contribute to a better understanding of diasporization as I intend to address it. I also outline the main specificities of these three in order to explain that an ethnographically informed study of diasporization provides the means to tackle the issues emerging during research, such as the positionality of the researcher while becoming a diasporic subject, the reliability of the data generated while monitoring the diasporic, and the ways writing about diasporization affirm the diasporic group. In the third section, I will briefly summarize the main traits of critical sociolinguistics including its reinterpretation of the notion of language, the connections with globalization and the flows of semiotic resources, as well as the connections to other social sciences that are needed to critically address power relations in connection with diasporization. Additionally, I will argue that critical sociolinguistics' social constructivist understandings of sociolinguistic phenomena enable us to study diasporization in ways that bring to light the locally relevant aspects of the process. To be able to see both top-down and bottom-up aspects of diasporization, I will offer a framework of resources, practices and discourses that intends to capture the whole picture on the process.

This chapter should be read as a state-of-the-art of the general ideas of ethnographically informed studies and critical sociolinguistics that inspired my own research, while Chapter 3 will get into the specifics on how these ideas were utilized throughout the course of research.

2.1. From diaspora to diasporization

In this thesis, I speak about the *diasporization* process(es) of Hungarians in Catalonia instead of a well-defined *diaspora* community. I have many reasons to do it this way: some of them are conceptual, while others are connected to the specific ethnopolitical context I studied. In this section, I provide a brief overview of the concept covering the following themes: the original meaning of diaspora, its repurposing in social sciences, diaspora as a political project in the Hungarian context, the sociolinguistics of diaspora, and the way it is understood in this thesis. I argue that focusing on the process of diasporization would allow us to approach more efficiently the dynamic and hybrid character of the diasporic (Albury & Schluter 2021) and

challenge the "big battalions of groupism" (Ndhlovu 2017), i.e., the essentialist approaches to diasporas and languages.

The term *diaspora* has Greek origin. It literally means 'scattering', and in Ancient Greece diaspora (διασπορά) was used to describe a group of citizens who decided to settle in a recently colonized territory. However, the term developed new connotations when the Bible was translated into Greek, and diaspora started to refer specifically to the dispersed indigenous population of Israel. This dispersion meant forced displacement as imposed by Babylonians and later by the Roman Empire. Until the 20th century, diaspora was mostly associated with urban Jewish communities who retained their distinctiveness amongst other ethnic and/or religious groups of the cities. In terms of the migration history that associates dislocation with fate and victimization (Cohen 1997), the Jewish, Greek and Armenian experiences might be labeled as *classical diasporas*, while *modern diasporas* emerged through the intercontinental mass migration initiated by population within the boundaries of the colonial superpowers at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries (Sahoo 2017: 2).

In recent decades, however, the term is used to refer to other types of (not necessarily involuntary) displacements as well in social sciences. Seemingly, all groups of expatriate people, who share the same ethnic origin and moved to one place from another, have been called diasporas lately (Cohen 1997). Brubaker (2005), one of the leading sociologists on diasporas, points out that the proliferation of the term might lead to the loss of its explanatory power. As Tölölyan puts it, where "once were dispersions, there now is diaspora" (Tölölyan 1996: 3), and the lack of differentiation ignores the complex and diverse lived experiences of the people involved (Ndhlovu 2017). When the term started to expand in scholarly works, several authors attempted to set up criteria to define diaspora communities (see Safran 1991, Cohen 1997): spatial dispersion (crossing state borders), homeland orientation (desire or nostalgia for the place of origin and its values), and boundary-maintenance (resistance to assimilation, self-segregation; for further discussion, see Brubaker 2005). Brubaker, however, does not agree with the way in which the literature treats boundary-maintenance, as he proposes a more process-oriented conceptualization. He adds that this way of seeing diaspora misses the possibility of the emergence of hybridity. For him, diaspora is not to be reduced to ethnically defined transnational groups; it is rather to be seen as a project that facilitates the processes of diasporization entailing other research areas, such as "diasporic stances, projects, claims, idioms, practices, and so on" (Brubaker 2005: 13). Therefore, in this thesis, I also treat diaspora as something that is always "under construction".

Tsagarousianou and Retis (2019) also miss hybridity from previous discussions of diasporas. They argue that the appearance of diaspora in the literature in the 1980s was parallel with the intensification of scholarly interest in describing the novel dimensions of human mobility and connectivity. The authors also try to recontextualize the concept and urge the recognition of the outer and inner heterogeneity and fluidity of diasporas (see also Drzewiecka 2017). They claim that there are two main differences between earlier and *late modern diasporas*. The first is the impact of media and translocal communication as the consequences of an interdependent social world. And the second, facilitated by the first one, is that the future imaginaries of such diasporas, instead of looking back to one direction as previously indicated, are complex and multidirectional, and have the potential to create closer bonds between home and host societies. Therefore, instead of conceptualizing diaspora as enumerable homogeneous entities, it would also be important to take a closer look at how the boundaries of diasporas are negotiated. Because, as Werbner argues, "diasporas do have boundaries, but [that] boundaries of diaspora are defined and highlighted situationally, dialectically and over time, in action, through performance and periodic mobilizations" (Werbner 2015: 51). This consideration is in line with Hall's work

(1990) who, from a cultural identity perspective, sees the essence of diaspora in the boundary-work of cultural reproduction and reinterpretation.

As the term diaspora is not exclusively used in the field of social sciences, but in everyday politics as well, an important aspect of researching diaspora is the political project that actually calls the diaspora into being (Kovács 2020). Let me demonstrate that in the Hungarian context. *Diaszpóra* ('diaspora') as an important political concept turned up in 2010, when the recently elected governing parties, Fidesz and KDNP initiated new ethnopolitical directions. This also coincided with the period when migration to Western European countries started to intensify after Hungary's succession to the European Union (Hárs 2018). The previous governments since the democratic transition in 1990 did not consider Hungarian émigré communities as target groups of Hungarian politics. They rather focused only on the Hungarian-speaking kin-minorities in the neighboring countries of Hungary. The number of these populations cannot be measured precisely, but the "sum of Hungarians in the neighboring countries of Hungary is 2.1 million, and the estimate for the number of Hungarians living in the West is 2 million" (Kovács 2020: 1146). Ever since the unsuccessful referendum on dual citizenship for minority Hungarians in the neighboring countries in December 2004, there has been a constant aspiration on the behalf of Fidesz–KDNP for cross-border reunification of the nation. The second Orbán government extended this principle to those who have moved to the West in the past and more recently, and they created the slogan of the *egységes magyar nemzet* ('unified Hungarian nation'; e.g., 'Hungarian Diaspora Policy – Strategic Directions' 2016: 5).

As part of a diasporic project, this new imagination of the nation manifested itself, for instance, in the creation of a board called the Hungarian Diaspora Council, in the establishment of scholarships to send young Hungarians to help the operation of now-called diaspora organizations, and in the disbursement of financial support to these organizations through a fund (for further discussion, see Pogonyi 2017). According to the Hungarian Diaspora Policy document, the strategic system consists of the following steps: finding the diaspora, addressing the diaspora, preserving the diaspora, making the diaspora interested, linking the diaspora to Hungary ('Hungarian Diaspora Policy – Strategic Directions' 2016: 11). To put it in Brubaker's terms (2005), a claim for the diaspora was created by the kin-state. Nevertheless, the Hungarian diaspora policy does not address émigré communities equally. It rather targets some of the older, historically defined communities of the descendants of the post-world war emigrants and the refugees who decided to leave the country after the defeat of the revolution in 1956 (Kovács 2020). This does not necessarily mean that the recent emigrants of the last two decades and their bottom-up organizations are not taken into account, but their interests are ignored in case they do not engage with the practices and the views offered by the institutions in the kin-state, so they distance themselves from Hungarian ethnopolitics. As Brubaker notes, "not all those who are claimed as members of putative diasporas themselves adopt a diasporic stance" (Brubaker 2005: 12). The case of Hungarians who recently moved to other European countries seems to be similar in the sense that they adopt different diasporic stances. For instance, Hungarians in Catalonia constitute a group in which community building takes place in the complex web of grassroots activities of people – of course, not independently from the impact of the kin-state, but also under several other influences, more likely as bottom-up initiatives, performing several forms of diasporic Hungarianness.

Here comes sociolinguistics into the picture, a field of inquiry that can potentially address the ideologies and the linguistic practices which contribute to the emergence and maintenance of diasporas (see Márquez Reiter & Martín Rojo 2015). As Canagarajah and Silberstein put it, "once we stop treating diaspora as bounded, territorialized, static, and homogeneous, we begin to appreciate the role language and discourse play in its construction" (Canagarajah & Silberstein 2012: 82). It is, however, not enough to stop treating diaspora as bounded, as the emphasis

should be put on the processes of diasporization, i.e., the specific ways in which the diasporic is being linguistically and discursively constructed by the "claimed" members of the diaspora, as Brubaker 2005 put it. Rosa and Trivedi (2017) propose "thinking diaspora from below", a grassroots approach in order "to track the dynamic, situated processes through which diasporic identities are constructed, enacted, and transformed" (Rosa & Trivedi 2017: 337). This way, sociolinguistics has the potential to show how diasporic identities and linguistic practices shape each other, and what kind of new language ideologies emerge through their dynamic interaction (Sankaran 2020). Furthermore, sociolinguistics can address the issues of how boundaries are created, maintained, and negotiated through discursive and (meta)linguistic means. The sociolinguistic literature in recent years has entailed a wide range of topics related to diasporization: the media practices and the communicational patterns of diasporic connectivity (Androutsopoulos & Lexander 2021, Theodoropoulou 2021), the conviviality of diasporic communities (Márquez Reiter & Patiño Santos 2021), the inner variation of diasporic groups (Sharma 2021, Mesthrie 2021), and the images of the homeland and the host-land (Karimzad & Catedral 2021, Mayoma & Williams 2021).

This is why in my research, I opted to conduct an ethnographically informed sociolinguistic study in order to observe the circulating discourses, the locally embedded practices, and the resources which play key roles in the process of diasporization. This includes exploring, for instance, how the images of the homeland, the host-land and other social categories are discursively constructed by the different actors or participants. This way of seeing diaspora shares a common ground with Brubaker (2005) in the need of considering the ways the "claimed" members react to the homeland's orientation. According to my fieldwork experiences, Hungarians in Catalonia demonstrate some forms of resistance to the ways Hungarian diaspora communities are seen by the kinstate. This resistance can be tracked both at the institutional level and in personal narratives. The participants of this research would not even use *diaspora* as an emic category to describe their situation mainly because of its current political connotations in the Hungarian context. The use of the term *diaspora* in my work would also be problematic as it may make people perceive that my study implies the perspective of the current Hungarian ethnopolitics. My decision to use *diasporization* and *diasporic* may also be seen as a solution to dodge this problem. The ways the participants navigate in the social world and the ways they narrate this navigation are very much similar to what the literature identifies as *diasporic*. Papp Z. and colleagues (2020) also found in a survey study on Hungarians living in Western countries that diasporization still operates according to the same categories put in Brubaker (2005) as criteria for diaspora (dispersion, homeland orientation, boundary-maintenance), but a dynamization of such categories can be observed. Therefore, in the thesis I do not refer to the Hungarian population in Catalonia as a *diaspora*, but I discuss the individual and collective experiences of *diasporization*.

I discuss these experiences in terms of the criteria established previously in the research of diasporas. I do not necessarily do it this way because these three criteria are still in the focus of many studies (see Androutsopoulos & Lexander 2021, Tseng & Hinrichs 2021). I do it this way because I intended to address the "language issues that matter" (Heller et al. 2018), and during the fieldwork it turned out that these are the issues that still matter even under the circumstances of late modernity. This was not merely my observation. As a further development of critical sociolinguistic inquiry, I applied collaborative methods as well, in which key participants of the research were asked at one point of the study to formulate questions they were interested in when making acquaintances with other Hungarians. These questions did not directly become research questions, but they influenced me in the ways I organized the analytical chapters. What I intended to do was to conceptually bridge Brubaker's criteria with issues brought up by the key participants that I then also connected to sociolinguistic concepts. The analytical chapters

of the thesis, thus, cover the themes of dispersion (Chapter 4), boundary erosion (Chapter 5) and boundary maintenance (Chapter 6), homeland orientation (Chapter 7) and homeland reorientation (Chapter 8). In this sense, the current research fills a gap in the sociolinguistic studies of diasporas as it has managed to capture diasporization in terms that are meaningful to speakers instead of drawing on categories pre-defined by the academic community.

In sum, I define *diasporization* as a process in which individuals start to engage in certain "diasporic practices", i.e., social practices that are associated with their ethnic or national origin or with their imagined homeland, or with boundary management in the host-land. Diasporization originally refers to a group in its way of becoming a diaspora, but here, in the circumstances of late modernity, it can also refer to all those engaging in diasporic practices. For instance, media practices that connect the individual with the images and the people of their homeland while residing in an entirely different place. In this thesis, I call these people interchangeably *diasporic subjects* (as my etic category) or *Hungarians* (as a self-ascribed term by themselves).

2.2. Why ethnographically informed?

As stated above, I conducted an ethnographically informed study by which I refer to an in-depth and situated exploration of sociolinguistic phenomena. I argue that such an approach best describes the process of diasporization as it takes into account the perspectives and experiences of the participants. In this section, I provide a literature review on what ethnographically informed study means and what consequences to academic knowledge production it entails. Although ethnography is most often associated with the method of participant observation, I argue that a study can and should be ethnographically informed on three levels: on its epistemological orientation, on its methodology, and on its way of presenting the knowledge produced throughout the research. These three levels manifest in three different sets of research activities: during the ethnographic fieldwork, I as a researcher monitored what is diasporic; by taking part in diasporic activities for the research, I necessarily became at least temporarily diasporic; and by disseminating the findings, I contribute to the processes of diasporization.

Before getting to the details, some terminological clarifications are needed. In their programmatic article, Blommaert and Rampton (2016) mention the application of linguistic ethnography as the first step in their proposed agenda for the sociolinguistic inquiry of globalization, which draws on people's own understandings of language issues. Researchers who agree with this idea argue that the presumed higher complexity caused by social changes specified earlier requires more and deeper ethnographic description because of its capability to generate in-depth knowledge from the "chaos" (Blommaert & Dong 2019). Sociolinguistics has always been *per definitionem* an interdisciplinary field with all its advantages and disadvantages; it always introduced terms, concepts, methods, and theories from other disciplines such as sociology, psychology, or anthropology. Ethnography has not been unprecedented in the history of linguistics either (see Hymes 1964), but it is having a renaissance now in critical sociolinguistics. Clear boundaries between ethnography, folklore, and anthropology (and between anthropological linguistics and linguistic ethnography) cannot be delineated either historically or conceptually. Duranti (1997), for instance, discusses ethnography in a distinct chapter in his book as a part of linguistic anthropology, while Blommaert and Dong (2010) define it as a paradigm.

However, the present piece is not a place to do justice between the representatives of these territories. I personally chose the word *ethnography* and I identify my project as *ethnographically informed* (see also Heller 2011, Heller et al. 2018). As mentioned above, ethnography, in my understanding, does not offer a unified methodology, it rather unifies an epistemological orientation, methodological principles, and a way of structuring academic knowledge. In the

following three subsections, I set out the theoretical implications I put into practice in the course of my own research from the literature of cultural anthropology and linguistic ethnography.

2.2.1 Ethnography as epistemology: becoming the diasporic

In this study, the emphasis is not on the description of what a diasporic group is like. The research rather focused on the issues the diasporic subjects themselves found important, i.e., diasporization was studied by drawing on the emic perspectives of the interested parties. Diasporization may better be described based on the various perspectives of the speakers than only by drawing on the ways nation-state immigration policies treat the diasporic subjects. This requires the application of an ethnographically informed qualitative epistemology that favors situated knowledges (see Haraway 1988) on diasporization. I argue that ethnographic epistemology fits this approach the best as besides being a methodological toolkit, ethnography also represents a certain epistemological orientation. In this subsection, I outline that this epistemology challenges positivist traditions by transforming informants into research participants, by constructing generalizations out of the local, and by critically discussing the positionality of the researcher who is necessarily involved in diasporization to some extent.

The fieldwork based on observations is the *differentia specifica* of ethnographic inquiry. The research which draws on the presence and the participation of the fieldworker enables a suitable epistemological orientation that not just relies on qualitative data but situates the scope of research distinctly from other – for instance, variationist sociolinguistic – approaches (Rampton et al. 2015). The metascientific presuppositions of ethnographic projects also entail the wish to break up with the (crypto)positivist tradition of the philosophy of science which defines the goal of scholarship as the description of universal laws and the exploration of regularities through the application of the same methodological principles (Friedrich 1992). However, data in ethnographic epistemology are not seen as being "out there" waiting to be examined, but as generated by the fieldworkers themselves. Thus, research is comprehended as a process of knowledge production. The production, in this sense, should not be imagined anymore in an unidirectional power relation of the researcher and the "informants"; we should rather speak about "participants" or "collaborators" who actively participate in the processes of production and interpretation (Fluehr-Lobban 2008). In my case, I called everyone a *participant* who once decided to take part in any research activities voluntarily, and I labeled five persons who committed for a longer-term collaboration with me as *key participants*.

The knowledge produced by ethnographic inquiry is different from the one produced in research conducted with a positivist approach. Ethnographic knowledge is never going to be absolute and nomothetic, rather reflexive and idiographic, i.e., focuses on individual cases. This also entails that the few generalizations an ethnographer can make is derived from the local contexts. This type of research is characteristically not hypothesis-driven, but explorative; that is to say, its aim is not to justify or disprove previously articulated scientific theories. Correspondingly, ethnographic research embraces qualitative epistemology and ontology that are dominated by the social constructivist approach, and therefore they draw on *a posteriori* knowledge. This does not necessarily mean that deductive logic is replaced by inductive logic, because no fieldworker arrives to their field of research without presumptions, knowledge on literature about similar cases, or previous field experiences. Thus, the ethnographic lens necessary for sociolinguistic inquiry is understood as a recursive process in which the researcher must also reflect on their role and effect in data generation. As the intervention of the fieldworker into the daily lives of the participants is inevitable, it should not be kept in the dark in the writings about the research. Instead, the fieldworkers' presuppositions, their role and effect

in the data production processes, their involvement, as well as the phases of entrée, networking, and rapport must be reflected and documented critically.

Ethnography is not a politically or ethically neutral activity and this requires forms of reflexivity from the researchers. The ethnographers should not regard themselves as objective observers independent from any social positions (such as gender, sexuality, race, class, and so on), who would not affect their participants and interview partners unwittingly (see Turai 2019). The neutral, omnipotent, and disembodied observer does not exist. The trustworthiness of ethnographic grounding is neither built upon its supposed objectivity, nor on the belief that a researcher can write up their findings without either anger or zeal. In contrast, the potential of ethnography precisely lies in the ability to get into interaction with participants' emic experiences through multiple interpretations.

Instead of looking for the most probable or the prototypical, an ethnographic study seeks access to possible occurrences. While the Labovian tradition of sociolinguistics focused on frequency, correlation, and patterns, attention here is paid to the speakers' acts with language (Pennycook & Otsuji 2015a). As Li Wei puts it, analyzing language activities "requires a paradigm shift from frequency and regularity oriented, pattern-seeking approaches to a focus on spontaneous, impromptu, and momentary actions and performances of the individual" (Li 2011: 1224). Conducting research with mostly qualitative data, ethnographers reject the ideal of representativity based on *a priori* categorization of people, languages, and so on. As a corollary, no techniques or logic of probability sampling can be applied. However, this does not mean that there would not be any patterns. There are patterns in ethnographically informed studies, but they relate primarily to co-occurrences, and not correlations. For instance, ethnographic inquiry may focus on how certain language activities become meaningful linguistic practices of diasporic subjects, but not on the frequency of such activities.

To exploit the potential of ethnographic epistemology in the study of diasporization, one possible solution is to make the fieldworker a diasporic subject. During this research, I myself also became a diasporic subject. But this solution has its own benefits and limits. On the one hand, by becoming a Hungarian in Catalonia, I got access to information from the participants and my own emic experiences that other researchers would not have been able to (let them be scholars in Hungary or from Catalonia). On the other hand, access to local knowledge is always positioned depending on the identities of the fieldworker and the social circumstances. Thus, to reflexively tackle these issues, all analytical chapters end with a section on auto-ethnographic notes in order to show where I was in the data generation process.

2.2.2. Ethnography as method: monitoring the diasporic

Ethnography is most often used to describe sets of methods for producing data. These sets of methods might be categorized into three types: observation, elicitation and documentation. When monitoring the diasporic, the same sets of methods may be fruitfully applied. In this subsection, I sum up what the field in ethnographic fieldwork implies, how these sets of methods can be carried out, what claims can be made by each, and how they contribute to the validity of ethnographically informed studies. I argue that the diversity of data sources and the recursive logic (i.e., the possibility to return to trace our steps) provide such validity.

Ethnographic research is characterized by the researcher's presence in the field. In classical Malinowskian anthropology, the field was understood as an exotic site for studying the "uncivilized", geographically far from the ordinary lives of the fieldworkers. This type of research required stationary fieldwork, that is a long-term stay together with the examined community, including acquiring their habits, their language, their myths, and participating in their practices

and rituals. However, a lot has changed since then: the observed population is not called "savages", culture is not approached from an ethnocentric (and therefore, colonizing) stand, and the field is not necessarily rural and fixed anymore. Sociolinguistic inquiry dealing with migration and transnational mobility draws on a postmodern anthropological understanding of the field, which is multi-sited by nature (Dick & Arnold 2017). A multi-sited fieldwork traces cultural formations "across and within multiple sites of activity" (Marcus, 1995: 96); this tracing might include people, their trajectories, objects, actions, or, in my precise case: resources, practices and discourses. The deconstruction of the exoticism of the field has entailed the extension of possible sites into urban environments; further, as the population of cities changed, ethnographers also moved into cities (Coulmas 2018). Thus, every physical space can become a field. And the same concerns digital spaces as well. Leppänen and Kytölä (2017) argue that internet-mediated platforms create social interactions that supplement the participants' offline realities and intertwine with them in several ways. In this sense, a digital space can be the main site of an ethnographic research, but it can also help supplementary data collection for "offline" ethnographies or facilitate rapport with the participants (Kaur-Gill & Dutta 2017).

Participant observation has long been seen as the default *modus operandi* of ethnographic research. In a contemporary understanding of fieldwork, however, it rather consists of three main strategies to collect data: observing, eliciting, and collecting material traces (Heller et al. 2018: 77). Observation serves to find out what people actually do in social events. To find out, for instance, how they speak, with whom, where and when they interact, what linguistic resources are mobilized, and how they are evaluated. The observations of the fieldworker are structured into fieldnotes (Emerson et al. 2011). The fieldnotes serve two purposes: first, they help to establish patterns when entries from different days are compared; and second, they are already an act of proto-analysis (Heller et al. 2018: 81). These fieldnotes might consist of very different information in terms of the research questions and the personality of the fieldworker, but they typically include factual information (the event, location, time, participants, etc.), notes on what happened or what was said, details on materials in connection with the event (music, food, drink, etc.), and further questions or notes for the research (Heller et al. 2018: 83). It also has to be noted that what is recorded or written down is already a selective process and, thus, part of the analysis (i.e., what the researcher sees important or relevant enough for documenting). Conversations are usually transcribed simultaneously, but fieldnotes might also be supplemented by other data sources (as audio or video recordings) when the ethical conditions meet the standards. Recordings both have advantages and disadvantages: they make the work of the researcher easier and the data gathering more reliable, but at the same time, they can alienate participants and make them feel uncomfortable and inauthentic. In addition to the textual forms of the jottings, they might be complemented with the fieldworker's drawings on how the physical space is structured where the observation was done. Jottings and other recordings are converted into a more narrative text typically written up after the fieldwork.

The next strategy is elicitation, which is mostly done through interviewing, but other relevant methods (survey or focus group) are adaptable as well. The purpose of elicitation is to find out what people say about what they do in certain social events and why. Interviews in ethnographic research are usually in-depth, unstructured or semi-structured, but in some cases, the term *ethnographic interview* is also used (for instance in Codó 2018). These interviews collect narratives of the interview partners' experiences and understandings (O'Brien 2017), but they are necessarily interactive, intersubjective events between the researcher and the research participants (Laihonen 2008). The point of eliciting is not to explore "how things actually were", but how the narrators see themselves, how they represent their awareness, role, identity, and the culture, language, past, and future of their imagined communities in co-creations with the interviewer. Thus, interviews should be treated as socially situated events themselves (Heller et

al. 2018: 87); they are non-recurring and unrepeatable. The narrative is in fact constructed in the interactive *pas de deux* between the fieldworker and the interview partner. These kinds of interviews mostly consist of open questions to let the participant(s) make their voice heard without much intervention by the fieldworker. Elicitation in the context of ethnographic inquiry might embrace visual methods too. Language portraits, for instance, recently became very popular solutions to conduct narratives on multilingual or multidialectal repertoires and life trajectories (Busch 2018). In such cases, it is not just the products that matter for the researcher, but also the oral explanations provided by their creators.

The reliability of ethnographic methods depends on the diversity of data sources, or in other words, an ethnographic approach entails the need for triangulation. Triangulation is defined in social sciences as "the use of several different research methods to test the same finding" (Babbie 2007: 113); here it is rather meant to shed light on all possible (sometimes contradictory, sometimes overlapping) perspectives. That is why fieldworkers endeavor to document everything, to gather material traces, or, as Blommaert and Dong (2010: 58) call this activity, they "collect rubbish". This rubbish includes every piece of item that may hold any information that facilitates a better understanding of the research topic: objects, texts, documents, artifacts, fliers, mails, posters, social media posts, photos, books, audios, videos, etc. In the case of sociolinguistics, linguistic-semiotic landscapes have great relevance as they "offer us a very stimulating diagnostic methodology to study linguistic changes in the public domain" (Maly 2016: 704).

Ethnographic methodology is also characterized by relative flexibility and recursivity. The field never looks like how one imagines it in the pre-fieldwork phase or the research design period. Indeed, the field itself can change during the fieldwork; some new sites emerge, some eliminate, some turn out to be unavailable for the researcher. This particularity requires flexibility. Ethnographers have to be ready to rearticulate their research questions, their methods, and their attitudes to the topic and to the participants. Recursivity here means that "you must be prepared to go back to square one (or maybe two or three) and retrace your steps whenever necessary, though hopefully more or less within the same territory" (Heller et al. 2018: 14). Ethnography, thus, as a method is based on the presence on the field and conducted by a fieldworker who resonates to all changes on the sites of the fieldwork. Recursivity also contributes to the reliability of ethnographically informed research.

An ethnographically informed study that focuses on the process of diasporization has to implement and critically reflect on all the techniques of observation (in my case, see Subsection 3.3.1), elicitation (see Subsection 3.3.2), and documentation (see Subsection 3.3.3). The proportions of the three techniques may vary depending on the research context, but all are necessary in the monitoring of the diasporic. To create flexibility and recursivity, a fourth level was used for this study which I named collaborative interpretation (see Subsection 3.3.4). Collaborative interpretation was a mode to better involve the participants' perspective in the knowledge production. This way, the main findings were constructed in collaboration with the key participants.

2.2.3. Ethnography as a genre: affirming the diasporic

Conducting research on a particular diasporic population creates a certain kind of image of that population to the outside world. In my case, this means that the research itself effectively becomes part of the diasporization process. The critical sociolinguistic study of diasporization has to acknowledge this fact, and the genre specificities of ethnographically informed inquiry provide answers to this challenge. In this subsection, I describe that writing constitutes an integral part of each research stage of ethnographic studies, that polyphony is a necessary characteristic of ethnographic writing, and that this genre slightly differs from conventional academic writing.

Ethnographic research is seen as a process which consists of different, but similarly important stages such as data production (from writing jottings to writing up fieldnotes; all these already involve some interpretations), data analysis (including writing memos), and writing a final research report. All these stages convert human interaction, human affair and human knowledge into texts and that makes writing one of the most important activities of an ethnographer. Thus, writing an ethnography is usually understood metaphorically as translation. However, this translation differs from the job of the professional translators because, as Crapanzano warns us, "the ethnographer has no primary and independent text that can be read and translated by others", but all those 'primary' texts are transcribed by themselves (Crapanzano 1986: 51). In this sense, writing about subjects and groups as diasporic already translates their being as diasporic for the audience of the texts. Therefore, it is proper to include their voices in such texts.

According to Clifford (1983), the research paper presented at the end of ethnographic inquiry can be captured by the Bakhtinian concept of *polyphonic novel*, "the carnivalesque arena of diversity" (Clifford 1983: 137), in which the most heterogeneous sample of opinions and experiences can be voiced. Several ways of structuring an ethnography exist, but the polyphony here refers to that writers must not exploit the voices of their participants; rather, they should explicitly indicate who speaks out from their texts or who is voiced in it. Of course, the way polyphony is implemented is context-dependent as ethical issues and questions might come up by revealing the identity of the participants on a practical level. In most cases, pseudonymization or anonymization must be done because several types of conflict of interest might arise. These questions of responsible research are, however, more general than ethnographic writing (for further discussion on the ethics of this research, see Section 3.5). What is important here is to emphasize the need for involving the voices of the research participants in the final text – even if these voices are anonymized.

Besides being polyphonic, the transparency of an ethnographic description can be provided by reflections on the researcher's personality, the methodology, the fieldwork, the presuppositions, and the process of data gathering. The scope of ethnographic inquiry concerns unique data and its conclusion resists overgeneralizations. As a corollary of the epistemological orientation discussed above, an ethnographic text can make statements on possibly recurring practices, but not on tendencies. These statements should pursue transferability which helps the theses be comparable with similar works (Duff 2008: 51–53). In some cases, these theses are also shown to participants and the researchers ask them to comment on the findings before publication. As part of the collaboration with the key participants, I also asked them to give reflections on the results in the post-fieldwork stage (see Subsection 3.2.3).

An ethnographic text may differ in some characteristics of academic standards from other disciplines. A relative freedom is given to the authors in order to let them be able to make their arguments plausible. Pennycook and Otsuji (2015a), for instance, decided not to provide a methodological chapter in their book. Instead, they give relevant small methodological hints at the end of every chapter about their ethnographic approach. Moreover, Rampton (2006) ended his book with a long chapter on methodological reflections.

When writing up this thesis, I had to realize that the way I write about the Hungarians in Catalonia would influence the way the process of diasporization is acknowledged and perceived. Although collaborative techniques were applied in the research process which served as a space for the participants to work out some feelings and problems, writing a thesis on diasporization is a final moment of affirming the diasporic. Therefore, as I already mentioned at the end of the introduction, I have always tried to create a polyphonic text and to represent the voices of the participants as truthfully and authentically as possible. Chapter 3 is a thorough description of the methodology of the research, but at the end of each analytical chapter two

sections are dedicated to the feedback of a key participant and an auto-ethnographic note from my own perspective.

2.3. Why critical sociolinguistics?

Sociolinguistics, since its inception, has been concerned with the ways language and society interact within a wide scope of interests from how social differences are reflected in linguistic variation to the linguistic construction of such differences (see Coupland eds. 2016, Mesthrie ed. 2011). This research was inspired by a recent sociolinguistic paradigm that has frequently been called critical sociolinguistics. I argue that the traits of critical sociolinguistics are the most adequate to address contemporary issues of diasporization. These issues are in line with the various meanings associated with the modifier *critical*, so in the following I describe what critical may refer to.

First, to study diasporization, there is a great need for breaking up with the hegemony of bounded notions of diaspora in order to be able to represent it as an ongoing process (Canagarajah & Silberstein 2012, Tsagarousianou & Retis 2019). Critical sociolinguists also advocate for a terminological and epistemological renewal in which the focus is rather put on the constructedness of taken-for-granted social categories, such as languages (Arnaut et al. eds. 2016, Coupland ed. 2016). They argue that the toolkit of previous waves of sociolinguistics was insufficient to be attentive to contemporary transformations of language issues in the context of globalization and digitalization, such as the emergence of new digitized linguistic practices and the global flow of discourses (see Blommaert 2010; for further discussion, see Subsection 2.3.1). Moreover, the previous waves were busy describing the ways languages are spoken in the diasporas and missed shedding light on the perspectives of speakers as active agents in the social world – e.g., on how they contribute to the emergence of diasporic groups through language. Thus, by providing a critique towards the bounded views on language, critical sociolinguistics has the potential to fruitfully address the dynamicity of diasporization (for further discussion, see Subsection 2.3.2).

The ways diasporas and the processes of diasporization are imagined are informed by power relations and inequalities. There are different normativities on how the diasporic subjects should behave – from the perspective of the homeland, from the point of view of the host society, according to international communities, and so on. These normativities are never neutral but ideologically loaded and constrained by socioeconomic interests. The critique of critical sociolinguistics is not restricted to the views of language as an abstract phenomenon that is separate from social processes, but it is also about power and social differences. In Monica Heller's words, critique is "to think in terms of processes that underlie the ways in which social difference is bound up in relation to inequality, or, to put it differently, in terms of what social categorization has to do with social stratification" (Heller 2011: 35–36). A linguist who is engaged in social critique, in this sense, is keen on understanding the living conditions of the speakers. For instance, they seek access to the linguistic resources that are considered important, but also available, and to how these have an impact on the linguistic and metalinguistic practices and discourses (for further discussion, see Subsection 2.3.3). Critical sociolinguistics, thus, is capable of critically addressing social issues that determine how diasporization is experienced by the diasporic subjects, e.g., racism in the context of Black and Latino diasporas (Rosa & Trivedi 2017), or new nationalisms in European contexts.

2.3.1. A sociolinguistics of globalization and mobiles resources

Critical sociolinguistics is also often understood as a sociolinguistics of globalization and mobile meaning-making resources that circulate globally (Blommaert 2010). In this section, I provide a state-of-the-art on the specificities of critical sociolinguistics in connection with globalization. I argue that the deconstruction and reinterpretation of the notion of language, the emphasis on the whole process of semiosis in sociolinguistic phenomena, and the connections to other social sciences are necessary aspects of critical sociolinguistics in order to capture the peculiarities of contemporary diasporization in the analytical parts of this thesis.

Languages have been traditionally seen as stable, homogeneous, well-defined, countable, and object-like entities that can be "used", "inherited", "acquired", "transmitted", and so on (Blommaert & Rampton 2016). By tradition, I mean a development of European modernity, in which concepts such as nation, race, or language were imagined (Anderson 1991), or rather invented and constituted (Makoni and Pennycook 2007). Thus, named languages are actually artifacts such as time, space, or currency. However, one shall not think that this critique of the language construct means that languages do not exist by themselves. These constructs are very real indeed, as they still have material consequences in our social realities. The consequences include how language policies are carried out, how education is organized, or how societies are differentiated. Bauman and Briggs in their influential book, titled *Voices of Modernity* (2003), outline a history of the modernist project of nation-states, which focuses on language as a key aspect shown in cases from creating national literatures to founding scientific institutions. While the conceptualization of named languages traces back to the philosophic and intellectual background of the Enlightenment and Romanticism, it continues to function in-between the political-economic pillars of the contemporary world. Even though national elites cannot lean on a status quo inherited from the 19th century anymore, they "develop new ideological frameworks, strategies and tactics to maintain their dominant position" (Pujolar 2007: 78). Critical sociolinguistics deals with such ideological frameworks. In other words, critical sociolinguistics, in contrast to the Labovian conventions, does not wish to create boundaries between languages or dialects by exploring statistical correlations; it rather makes efforts to reveal how the boundaries and differentiations are created in interactions and through metadiscursive processes (Gal 2016). Therefore, languages as constructions (mostly connected to the modernist project of nation states) may change discursively through the indexical stances of speakers' evaluations and reflections about linguistic resources.

It would be misleading to suggest that critical sociolinguists only touch upon the ideological level. On the contrary, scholars advocate for a rethinking of old Fishmanian metaphors about linguistic elements and language use such as codes and code-switching (see Pennycook 2016). Indeed, it was especially the inner logical development of linguistic ideology studies which made it urgent to revise and reframe the previously taken-for-granted concepts (Coupland ed. 2016). This turn in sociolinguistics might be identified as the deconstruction or the reinterpretation of the notion of language. For instance, bilingual speech in a social approach (see Heller ed. 2007) is not seen any longer as a linguistic activity operated by two discrete systems. Thinking in discrete systems meant that bilinguals were presumed to use either A or B languages to communicate with speakers of each category (for a psychological-psycholinguistic debate on the topic see MacSwan, 2017; Otheguy et al., 2019).

To eschew such oversimplifications of sociolinguistic phenomena, Alastair Pennycook (2016) suggested a paradigm shift which he named "trans-super-poly-metro movement" alluding to the emergence of new technical terms that sought to grasp novel perspectives. This movement refuses essentialist categories (such as distinct named languages or dialects), rather puts the emphasis on the dynamics, the fluidity and the context-dependence of individuals' linguistic (or even semiotic) practices and repertoires. With this monstrous and odd paraphrase above,

Pennycook refers to the proliferation of terms, which sheds light on different aspects of sociolinguistic complexity, such as *heteroglossia* (Blackledge & Creese eds. 2014), *translanguaging* (García & Li 2014), *superdiversity* (Blackledge et al. 2018), *metrolingualism* (Pennycook & Otsuji 2015a), or *polylanguaging* (Jørgensen et al. 2016). What is in common in these terms is that they all attempt to transgress the conventional model of capturing linguistic activities through discrete and distinguishable categories of named languages, registers, or dialects. The model of *languaging* refers to the action that "languagers" (instead of language users) do: they apply a great range of features from their linguistic repertoires in order to achieve their communicative goals regardless of which named languages those features are associated with (Jørgensen 2008). Feature, in this sense, is the sum of a linguistic (phonological, morphological, lexical, etc.) unit and the regularities indexically connected to them. When one acquires a new language, in fact one acquires linguistic units and the values attributed to them including metalinguistic labels (such as *Hungarian, slang*, or *Central Transdanubian dialect*, etc.). The above-mentioned terms like *languaging* capture those linguistic practices in which the speaker crosses the boundaries intentionally or unintentionally between named language categories.

While these reframing concepts revolutionized the ways sociolinguists see linguistic activities, they also aroused criticism. Questioning the framework of languages as "stable ontological realities" (Block 2008: 191) has become "a mantra of sociolinguistics", as Makoni (2012: 189) sees it. Jaspers and Madsen (2016) also argue that we still live in a "languagised world", in which people keep investing in separate languages. The new terms as analytical concepts are clearly capable of a more precise description of sociolinguistic phenomena, while the concepts of named languages, dialects, multilingualism and so on could be used as long as they are meaningful for the speakers themselves. To contextualize these theoretical developments of critical sociolinguistics to this research, what should be considered is the "language issues that matter" (Heller et al. 2018). When engaging in diasporic practices, Hungarians in Catalonia intensively draw on the categories of named languages (such as *magyar* 'Hungarian' and *katalán* 'Catalan'). They circulate certain forms of knowledge on what social functions it may entail to speak *magyarul* ('in Hungarian') or study *spanyolul* ('in Spanish'). But this does not necessarily mean that they only operate through monolingual practices. They often transgress the boundaries of these named languages – such practices also have their social functions between the participants. Boundary-work through language is essential in the process of diasporization (for further discussion, see Chapter 5 and 6).

It is not just the deployment of language ideology studies (Schieffelin et al. eds. 1998) which compelled the researchers of language and society to reform their frameworks. Societal changes in the contemporary world construe key motivations as well. The ongoing global demographic and cultural transformations described by the vague umbrella term of globalization are aspects of key historical-geopolitical developments: the collapse of the Soviet Union, the economic liberalization in the Far East, the spread of digital communications, the tertiarization of the economy. Nowadays we face a social diversification that has not been experienced previously. Movements of people have become more complex and multi-faceted.

As a result of technical development, more people travel: for leisure, for work, to study, to commute, to start a new life in a new place, to fight in a war, to escape from a war and so on. Meanwhile, travelers can communicate easily through virtual channels even if they are absent physically (Jacquemet 2005, Sheller & Urry 2006). Two interacting forces meet: increasingly intensified and diversified migration together with the widespread internet-oriented and long-distance communication and information technologies (Arnaut et al. 2016). The description of these transformations is characterized by complexity and unpredictability. A high degree of variation in the socially constructed categories of migrants is emerging. This variation partly follows traditional demographic categories (nationality, race, ethnicity, gender, language, etc.),

but it also comprises the motives and the purposes of migration, level of mobility, participation in the labor market of host societies, contact with the issuing country and so on (Vertovec 2007). In the case of Hungarians in Catalonia, it would be tempting to treat them as one unified group sharing the same nationality and ethnicity or citizenship. The picture is, however, way more complex than that. This community of people is layered internally – not just in Vertovec's factors, but also in how they imagine diasporic ideals (for further discussion, see Chapter 4). This layeredness brings us to an important point of critical sociolinguistics. It is crucial to find the categories the observed speakers identify as important instead of describing them with *a priori* categories that may be irrelevant in their self-definition. In the case of diasporization, it is necessary to gain access to what the diasporic subjects think about what layers make them unique.

Critical sociolinguistics is also a sociolinguistics of mobile (semiotic) resources. The considerations of mobility were established in social sciences; sedentary theories (in which I include dialectology and variationist sociolinguistics, too; cf. Britain 2016) understand stability as normal, and meaning and space as anchored. In contrast, the paradigm of mobilities emphasizes that every space is interconnected in the network of relations, and the novelty of the 21st century's mobility is the velocity and the intensity of various flows (Sheller and Urry 2006). Drawing on Appadurai (1996) and Steven Vertovec's concept of superdiversity (2007), Jan Blommaert (2010) claims that mobility does not only refer to the movement of people, but also to the global circulation of signs, discourses, and ideologies. Blackledge and his colleagues (2018) add that the notion of mobility describes the dislocation of language and communicative acts from a fixed position in time and space; in addition, "it focuses not on language-in-place but on language-in-motion, with various spatiotemporal frames interacting with one another" (Blackledge et al. 2018: xxviii). This approach widens the perspective of research as well. Blommaert and Rampton (2016), for instance, argue that sociolinguistics cannot be the description of language with sociological variables, but it has to become a semiotic inquiry of the mobility of signs.

The linguistic is only one of the semiotic-communicative resources, and every communicative event requires the mobilization of the interactants' whole repertoires of these resources (Thurlow & Mroczek 2011). Therefore, multimodality is also part of the paradigm shift in sociolinguistics, and "multimodal analysis is an inevitable empirical adjustment to contemporary conditions" (Blommaert & Rampton 2016: 28). It is not only the linguistic landscapes (for an early collection of papers, see Shohamy & Gorter ed. 2008) or the semiotic landscapes (Jaworski & Thurlow ed., 2010) that are to be included in a holistic (and thus multimodal) sociolinguistic analysis, but the oral, the written, the digital and other modes of communication are also needed to be taken account of. If one would like to conduct a sociolinguistically relevant research on the processes of diasporization, she has to consider not just languages and the linguistic, but also the entire process of semiosis. This means that the diasporic might include other meaning-making resources as well that should not be left out of the analysis of diaspora (for further discussion, see Chapter 7 and 8).

Critical sociolinguistics clearly shares common interests and theoretical foundations with other social sciences. Agha (2007a) argues that it is not just linguistics that has something to do with language, because all human affairs are debated, evaluated, and carried out by the means of language. The "linguistic turn" in both the humanities and the social sciences (anthropology, sociology, communication, pedagogy, cultural studies, history, etc.) occurred as an orientation to this linguistic aspect of human affairs. Bell (2016) mentions the linguistic turn and the social constructivist theory of knowledge when, drawing on Hymes's essay (1974), he portrays a need for a socially constituted linguistics which understands language as inherently social and society as inherently linguistic. I now turn to (often taken-for-granted) concepts that are challenged in critical sociolinguistics and appear in my doctoral research.

2.3.2. A sociolinguistics of social constructivist understandings

It is not just the notion of language that critical sociolinguists deconstruct. Their inquiry must break up with the preordained view of the functions of social categories (see Bucholtz & Hall 2005). In this subsection, I delineate how identity and speakerhood are understood in this thesis. I argue that an extensive description of diasporization in the late modern era requires a social constructivist understanding of such notions.

In the variationist paradigm of sociolinguistics, languages, speakers, and social classes were (and still are) seen as relatively well-defined and fixed. Critical sociolinguistics inquiry, however, puts emphasis on mobility, context, and access to resources (Smakman and Heinrich, 2018). Therefore, these categories should not be seen as static entities, rather as dynamic processes, which are constituted and also reproduced by social interaction and linguistic-semiotic activities. As Evans puts it, "language not only reflects and expresses relations, ideas and information but also actually plays a large part in constructing them" (Evans 2015a: 3). Thus, the categories of social phenomena are approached in this thesis in the context of diasporization as actively produced and discursively maintained.

People – in the case of linguistics, speakers – have often been described by sociological and demographic variables. William Labov (1972), for instance, in his famous study on Martha's Vineyard, classified his informants by the variables of age, occupation, place of residence, and ethnicity, in order to explain the social motivation of a sound change. The epistemology of such analyses draws on the assumption that the speakers' linguistic behavior is determined by these variables. However, a correlational analysis is much more difficult to carry out these days. Vertovec (2007: 1025) points to that, due to globalization, "significant new conjunctions and interactions of variables have arisen through patterns of immigration". More importantly, these variables do not necessarily correlate with the linguistic or any other type of social identities of the speakers. Identities, in this sense, should not be seen from an essentialist scope. Instead, a poststructuralist or social constructivist approach would emphasize the concept of performativity, which refers to the ongoing process through which identities are constantly produced, negotiated, and reshaped (Butler 1990; Cameron 1997). Identity then is not a fixed attribute of the speakers, which has an *a priori*, determined impact on behavior. Rather, it is something that might become relevant in a given context, and something that must be done (performed) by the participants of a specific interaction to become relevant (Bucholtz & Hall 2005; see also De Fina 2011, Wortham et al. 2011 and Chapter 4). Taking up an identity is a chain of performances, in which certain meaning-making linguistic-semiotic resources associated with that identity must be employed. These performances, nevertheless, are sometimes restricted by the biological or material determinations of the performer. Horner and Daily-O'Cain argue that social constructivist approach to language and linguistic practices "does not postulate that everything is possible, but rather recognises and explores how identities and power relationships unfold and potentially fluctuate under given socio-historical conditions" (Horner & Daily-O'Cain 2019: 2). In our case, for instance, the question is not just how self-identified Hungarians live their daily lives, speak, write, etc. in Catalonia. It is also, or rather, how they perform to be diasporic through social actions and linguistic practices and how they engage in the processes of diasporization.

Identity is an extremely loaded term in and outside of academia. On the one hand, understanding it as a dynamic process of performative becoming through applying certain linguistic-semiotic resources is very fruitful in sociolinguistic inquiry. On the other hand, the term covers a strikingly enormous range of topics from social structures to cultural capital (see Evans 2015b). In my research, I do not ignore the multiple aspects of identities, e.g., from gender to

nationality; nevertheless, I also focus on belonging to discursive spaces and actual geographic places as these are main parts of boundary work in the process of diasporization. The need to be recognized as a full member of any of these spaces can appear in very different ways in the life trajectories of transnational migrants (see Jacquemet 2019). And this is actually how different sets of linguistic repertoires come to the picture. Belonging to a group, to a community, to a society usually comprises knowledge of or at least making efforts to acquire a named language or a named dialect (Flubacher et al. 2016). In my project, two facets are clearly salient. First, whether participants endeavor to maintain a diasporic or heritage identity and national belonging, and how (see Chapter 4 and 7). Second, whether they show willingness to be integrated into the destination country or, to put it in other words, willingness to belong to local communities by becoming new speakers of the "autochthonous" languages (for further exploration, see Chapter 5 and 6). In the analysis, I do not distinguish these two concepts artificially because they are not mutually exclusive. But, according to the above-mentioned characteristics, I understand identity as a wider category that can refer to a wide range of identity constructs, while belonging refers to a narrower range of phenomena that entails forms of spatiality as well (see Horner & Daily-O'Cain eds. 2019).

Besides identity and belonging, another concept that has been lately revised is speakerhood. The issue of who counts as a *native speaker* – or a speaker in general – of a language has widely been problematized in the different subdisciplines of linguistics (cf. Davies 2003). Meanwhile, less attention has been paid to those who are recently conceptualized as *new speakers* (for an early account, see O'Rourke & Pujolar 2013). The term *new speaker* was originally coined as a reflection on the ideologically biased and sometimes paradoxical approach to nativeness by researchers in the field of minority languages. The notion of native speaker, such as that of language demonstrated above, "is in fact merely an artefact of the Romantic ideology linking language, nation, and territory" (O'Rourke et al. 2019: 17). The main problem with this sort of conceptualization is that it draws on a deficit model that stigmatizes "non-native", "second" language speakers and any "non-normative" language trajectories.

The critique from O'Rourke and her colleagues was articulated firstly in the context of language revitalization programs, which tend to place native speakers on a pedestal as the true heirs of minority languages. While the concept of *new speaker* was created to shed new light on issues of minoritization (for cases in the Iberian Peninsula, see Ramallo et al. eds. 2019), it broadened the perspective for other language affairs as well. Now, in an extended definition, new speakers refer to those (adult) people who have got into a new environment where they have to or wish to mobilize differently experienced linguistic and semiotic resources in any or all aspects of their daily lives. The model of new speaker, therefore, includes the speakers of revitalized or revitalizing languages of autochthonous minorities (such as Catalan, Galician, or Irish), dislocated people (for instance migrants, asylum seekers), but also the participants of tourism and the internationalization of university studies (O'Rourke & Pujolar 2015). This model refuses every form of innatism, that is, being a speaker of a language is understood in the terms of displaying "authentic" linguistic practices (including accents) associated with the sociohistorical construct of a named language (Jaffe 2015). An important emphasis in my research is put on who is recognized as a legitimate speaker of a language and how those speakers are imagined (for instance, see Chapter 6).

All the questions discussed above are in connection with late modernity and what is called "the reflexive project of the Self" by Giddens (1991). Late modernity refers to the contemporary era in which traditional knowledge structures have become fragmented, so that one's life project must include the construction of the self accompanied by continuous self-presentations. In sociolinguistic terms, self-presentation puts an emphasis on the speaker "as the mobilizer of language resources", "as the agent of sociolinguistic change" (Sabaté-Dalmau 2018: 4), and as the

performer of a personality belonging to certain communities or identities. Putting the individual into the center of attention is clearly a late modern feature (see Giddens 1991) in research as well, but it helps to adopt a "from below" approach which seeks access to a deeper understanding of factors that are present in a person's life, such as the interconnectedness of transnational lifestyles, diasporicity, the constraints or willingness of becoming a new speaker, of integrating into the host society (or societies), etc. What makes these features late modern is that the diasporic subjects have choices about how to implement self-realization. For instance, if they wish, become lifestyle migrants (Codó 2018), if they want, they can sacrifice all their weekends for their community; the choices are many. Of course, this kind of agency does not necessarily mean free choice (Ahearn 2001). The diasporic subjects are constrained by many aspects, such as nationalistic and cosmopolitanist discourses, economic resources, symbolic power, cultural capital. This thesis discusses such constraints and intends to shed light on the fact that there are multiple possibilities for performing diasporic identities.

Other concepts, which entail a social constructivist understanding and are connected to the subtopics of the research, will be discussed in each analytical chapter. To introduce them briefly, Chapter 4 draws on the concept of *chronotope* which refers to the narrative constructions of the self in terms of time-space configurations (see Woolard 2013). Chronotopes were used in the analysis to better address the diasporic experiences of the subjects on dispersion and diasporic imaginations. Chapter 5 and 6 are fostered by the concept of *ideologies of authority*, namely the ideology of anonymity and authenticity (Gal & Woolard 2001). In Chapter 6, I also used the concept of *enregisterment*. Enregisterment is a metasemiotic process in which certain forms of speech become recognized as a feature of a group of speakers (Agha 2005). These concepts were utilized to interpret the boundary work diasporic subjects do in order to maintain or erode certain boundaries. In Chapter 7, I supported my analysis with the notion of *semiotic assemblage* that refers to the ad hoc groupings of meaning-making resources (Pennycook 2018). Semiotic assemblage helped to understand better how the diasporic subjects recognize certain practices and resources as diasporic or characteristic of the homeland. In Chapter 8, I used the metaphor of *rhizome* that is a reframing of social phenomena that challenges binary views (Milani & Levon 2016). Here, rhizome was used to discuss the reorientations diasporic subjects do, i.e., when reinterpreting their situation and the features they associated with the homeland.

2.3.3. The total (socio)linguistic fact

As mentioned above, the sociolinguistic study of diasporization requires an approach that is able to merge top-down and from-below perspectives in order to be able to critically address social differentiation. The way I chose to achieve that goal was to observe different layers of sociolinguistic phenomena defined here as *resources*, *practices* and *discourses*. I draw on these terms, because critical sociolinguistics treats language broadly, which also entails that language can be understood as a set of resources, as a set of practices, and as a set of discourses. When defining these layers as the initial categories for observation in the ethnographic fieldwork, the term *total linguistic fact* provided a great inspiration that I endeavored to translate into sociolinguistically and analytically relevant terms. I argue that these categories are essential to get access to the full picture of sociolinguistic phenomena, diasporization in my case. Here, I give a summary of the development of the term, and I discuss resources, practices and discourses in subsections.

The concept of the *total linguistic fact* was originally coined by Michael Silverstein, drawing on the French sociologists Émile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss, as the "interaction of meaningful sign forms, contextualized to situations of interested human use and mediated by the fact of

cultural ideology" (Silverstein 1985: 220). Silverstein's quoted article was clearly a manifesto for socially and semantically relevant linguistics opposed to structural approaches (Rampton et al. 2015). Both Saussurean (*langue* vs. *parole*) and Chomskyan (*competence* vs. *performance*) dichotomies were critiqued because of their tendency to decontextualize an idealized form of language without acknowledging its culturally and socially grounded nature (Agha 2007a, Geeraerts 2010). The very term *total linguistic fact* has been rediscovered in the research of the sociolinguistics of globalization since the 2010s. Blommaert and Rampton (2016), for example, mention it amongst their guiding principles in the study of language and communication. Their argument for reaching back to the total linguistic fact (and for the need of a socially holistic view on language) is the speakers' complex biographic and linguistic trajectories in the contemporary social world (see also Van der Aa & Blommaert 2017). Recently, the concept of total linguistic fact has started an encompassing career in the fields of sociolinguistics: it has appeared in a variety of papers from linguistic schoolscapes (Årman 2018) to language and sexuality research (Levon & Mendes 2016).

The total linguistic fact has three interacting levels: form, use and ideology – as Silverstein (1985) put it in his intensively cited sentence quoted above. In his approach, form refers to a structural perspective which emphasizes that linguistic forms interact in a conventionalized system of grammar. Use constitutes the pragmatic perspective: it is the application of a linguistic form in an actual communication situation. The ideological perspective consists of the explicit or implicit metapragmatic and metalinguistic considerations on linguistic forms, meanings, functions and values. However, the total linguistic fact has lately been used in the sociolinguistic literature in an extended meaning in which these three levels have been widened or reinterpreted. Karrebaek (2013), for example, in her research of Danish schools, defines form as linguistic choice, use as interactional use, and ideology as metapragmatic utterances. On another occasion, Wortham (2008), in his article on educational linguistic anthropology, mentions a fourth level which is called domain. Domains are places in the historical movement of forms and ideologies between certain events. Karimzad (2020) also advocates for an understanding of the total linguistic fact which acknowledges the dynamics of scales and chronotopes, and he offers the term *total sociolinguistic fact*. These three works have one important thing in common: their authors propose to make Silverstein's concept more encompassing by being attentive to a wider social-cultural context of human communication and semiosis (see also Li 2018, Spotti 2019).

In my research I apply *total (socio)linguistic fact* not only as a principle, but its three levels as analytical tools, as well. In order to achieve that, I also extend their meanings by translating the names into current sociolinguistic terms. By form I mean linguistic *resources*; the term refers to every linguistic feature which forms a part of the set of speech modes used by a speaker (Jørgensen et al. 2016). Therefore, these linguistic resources and evaluations associated with them constitute one's linguistic repertoire (Blommaert & Backus 2013, Busch 2012). When linguistic resources are used by interactants in order to achieve their communicative goals, they do linguistic acts that may form *practices* when they are repeated (García & Wei 2014). Linguistic and semiotic resources, repertoires, and practices are informed by cultural models, ideologies, "sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein 1979: 193). These models are, however, not static nor unvarying; they are (re)created, modified, sometimes deconstructed in the indexical order of a *discourse* (Blommaert 2005). If the total linguistic fact is "irreducibly dialectic in nature" (Silverstein 1985: 220), then the total (socio)linguistic fact would also be inherently heteroglossic in nature. Heteroglossia is a term coined in Bakhtin's English translations (see Bakhtin 1981). According to his works and his sociolinguistic interpretations (e.g.,

Blackledge and Creese eds. 2014), all utterances are permeated by ideology and filled with tension. Here, I emphasize that resources and practices are also ideologically loaded.

Resources

Resources here are understood as the smallest unit of the total (socio)linguistic fact. In this subsection, I provide a brief introduction of the history of the term and its usage in critical sociolinguistics, I also touch upon how they constitute repertoires, and I formulate research questions in connection with resources in the processes of diasporization.

Heller and Duchêne (2012) argue that language has two main roles in the globalized new economy of late modernity. On the one hand, it is a symbolic value as a marker of "authentic" identities. On the other hand, it is also a technical skill in the networks operating globally. Language is understood metaphorically in both cases as a resource. However, this metaphor is not novel at all; many American linguistic anthropologists had already used it before Irvine (1989) articulated her thoughts on language and political economy in which she interpreted certain verbal skills as economic resources drawing on the indexicality of signs. This economic metaphor is parallel with another one in which language is seen as part of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1977).

What is new, however, in critical sociolinguistics is that resources are conceptualized to be analytical units at a lower scale. According to Blommaert, resources are "the actual and observable ways of using language" (Blommaert 2010: 102). The term *linguistic resource* is not only a synonym for sign, and it is not merely a more sophisticated way of referring to linguistic elements or features. A resource is the aggregation of a semiotic sign, and related meaning and evaluation (Jørgensen et al. 2016). Meaning and evaluation should not be understood here as static and universally established abstractions, but as an ever-changing and context-dependent tacit outcome. This does not suggest that meaning and evaluation lack historicity; they actually rely on the speakers' own historical experiences. Critical sociolinguistics recognizes language socialization as a process of sociocultural learning during which one not only picks up a linguistic (e.g., phonological, morphological, lexical) feature, but also gains knowledge on how it is appropriate to use and where, and what languages, registers, situations, and social roles they are associated with (Blommaert & Backus 2013). When people communicate, they sort out resources at their disposal creatively drawing on their previous experience. As Bakhtin (1981: 293–294) puts it,

> The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes "one's own" only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a natural and impersonal language (it is not, after all, out of a dictionary that the speaker gets his words!), but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one's own.

Bell (2016) argues that while Bakhtin was a forerunner of constructivists, he also admitted the centripetal forces of normalcy in modern languages. The economic metaphor of resource helps us understand the dialectic of centripetal (homogenizing) and centrifugal (destandardizing) powers, the ensemble of fixity and fluidity in languaging. A resource is something that people utilize in a specific social-historical environment in order to achieve their goals. The very same resource might be extraordinarily precious in a particular moment, but disappointingly worthless in another one. A linguistic resource works the same way: certain features might have very different associations and evaluations in an academic text and in a chitchat on a conference coffee break between two long acquainted but distant colleagues; on the streets of Bronx

and in the buildings of Wall Street; in the Medieval and in the Modern Age; in the kitchen and in the bedroom; said to our parents and to our kids. As Jaspers and Madsen put it, the "use of these resources is significantly impacted by wider sociocultural and ideological models connecting signs to registers, languages, styles or codes" (Jaspers & Madsen 2016: 240).

Most people do not keep only one type of coin in their wallet, and they do not have only one sort of linguistic resource in their repertoire. And they do not keep the same coins in their lifetime, as one cannot speak the same way at the age of 5 and in the retirement years. Repertoire here, unlike how Gumperz (1972) conceptualized it, is not understood on the community level, but on the individual one. They are "biographically organized complexes of resources" (Blommaert and Backus 2013: 5). The repertoire is intersubjective: it is shaped by interactions and by the influence of other interactants. Interlocutors may exchange each other's utterances and ideological positions.

If we want to have a look at the full picture of communication, these resources are not just linguistic; when we write or chat, we apply other types of multimodal resources, too. The main questions in connection with resources and repertoires in a critical sociolinguistic approach to diasporization could be: what resources are mobilized in the observed interactions of diasporic subjects? How are these resources evaluated by other diasporic subjects? Which resources are followed by metadiscursive reflections? What types of resources (linguistic, gestural, visual, audial etc.) tend to assemble in the creation of spaces in diasporic events?

Practices

Practices, as the second dimension of the total (socio)linguistic fact, are interpreted in this thesis as reiterated acts. In this subsection, I briefly summarize how language can be understood as social action, how critical sociolinguistic inquiry has treated linguistic practices and I also formulate some questions that might be useful in studying diasporization sociolinguistically.

The view of language as social action has long been conceived in the history of the social sciences and humanities. Malinowski already realized that incorporating a certain amount of local resources into the researchers' repertoire is necessary for grasping the "natives'" point of view in order to fully understand their actions and realities which are constructed by language. Later, a pragmatic view of language helped Austin and Searle to create their speech act theory which interpreted utterances as acts of speakers to achieve assertively what they want (for a brief summary see Duranti 1997: 214–244). However, an utterance, in a sociolinguistic perspective, is not merely an act, an action or an activity, but it can constitute a practice, too. Cameron understands practice in comparison to ideology as "the way language is actually used" (Cameron 1995: ix). Language use might nonetheless seem an outdated technical term here. On the one hand, it suggests that there is language, a collection of linguistic features out there in nature that can be used as a tool. On the other hand, the concept of practice assumes that "language is a product of social action" (Pennycook 2010: 8). When speakers apply the resources of their biographically and historically deployed repertoires, they draw on the language shaped by previous social actions. These shared social actions are linguistic practices that are, as Pennycook puts it, "repeated social and material acts that have gained sufficient stability over time to reproduce themselves" (Pennycook 2017: 9). The appearance of *practice* in linguistic inquiry was inspired by practice theory which involves Bourdieu's concept of habitus, Foucault's concept of discipline and Giddens's concept of structuration (see Duranti 1997: 10–13).

Practices are always carried out in a particular spatiotemporal context; indeed, they are constitutive elements of contextualization. Linguistic resources are exposed to entextualization, a process in which earlier established forms and meanings are lifted out of their original

environment and relocated into another. With other words, it is a process in which practices are de- and recontextualized (Bauman and Briggs 1990). The reason for putting resources and practices into the center of attention in the critical sociolinguistic study of diasporization lies in the recognition of the peculiarities of the contemporary social world and information technological developments that made these processes unprecedentedly rapid and questioned the notion of locality (Blommaert 2010). Jacquemet, for instance, in his work offering the term 'transidiomatic practices' (2005: 264–265), argues that transnational migrants "interact using different languages and communicative codes simultaneously present in a range of communicative channels, both local and distant" (Jacquemet 2005: 264–265).

Thus, practice, as the second unit of analysis of the total (socio)linguistic fact, is understood here as repeated activity that simultaneously draws on the historicity of resources ("word in language is half someone else's"; Bakhtin 1981: 293) and on the creative application of those resources from the speaker's repertoires. Accordingly, routinized practices may be understood as sites for actual performances which consist of metapragmatic activities as well such as enregisterment (see Agha 2005 and Chapter 6). The category of practice also includes metalinguistic *verbal hygiene practices* in which speakers make efforts to regiment or normalize other speakers' utterances (see Cameron 1995). Practices, such as resources, are never neutral, but permeated by ideological assumptions. Questions arising might be the following: which linguistic practices are frequent in certain events among the participants? How do diasporic practices emerge? Which practices are interpreted by the participants as common and which as uncommon? Why are rare practices happening and in what context? If verbal hygiene practices occur, why?

Discourses

By discourses as the third unit of the total (socio)linguistic fact, I mean sets of influential views on language that determine how speakers view particular languages and their role in their lives. In this subsection, I provide a brief overview of how discourse and ideology were interpreted previously, and I narrow these definitions to language-related discourses. At the end, I formulate questions in connection with the study of diasporization.

Discourse has a multitude of different meanings in the literature of humanities and social sciences: a complex of linguistic forms, language-in-use, real language, text, etc. (for a brief review see Blommaert 2005: 1–20). The interest of social scientists in analyzing discourses was labeled above as "linguistic turn", but there never was a scientific consensus on what is meant by this term. One of the first schools that connected linguistic analysis of discourses with social issues was critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA, drawing on a Foucauldian understanding of the term, argues that discourses produce and reproduce power structures, hegemony, inequalities, and hierarchies (Fairclough 1995). In this sense, discourse is more than mere signs and language; it is a way of systematizing the world through social practices (see also Gee 1990, 2015 on big 'D' Discourses). The critique of such approaches problematizes the force of discourses resulting from the totalizing and deterministic view of Foucault's model (see Evans 2015b). While critical discourse analysis has had a great impact on critical sociolinguistics, I also argue that a narrower definition of discourse is needed in order to see a full picture of structure and agency, or to be able to explain the total (socio)linguistic fact.

First, a clarification has to be given on the relationship between discourse and ideology. Woolard states that the two terms often overlap, and ideologies "may be implicit or explicit, systematic or partial, hegemonic or contested" (Woolard 2016: 16; cf. Woolard 1998). I emphasize again that in my approach, resources (or forms in Silverstein's terminology) and practices (or contextualized use of forms) are already loaded with ideologies. My differentiation

here lies in accentuating both the inseparability of forms and indexical values, and the oversimplifying nature of abstract grammatical analyses. Woolard offers a definition in which she interprets discourses of language as "instances in which speech, text, or other media offer actual representations of language", that "lie not just in what is literally said, but also in the interstices, presuppositions, and entailments of what is said" (Woolard 2016: 16).

Pietikäinen (2015: 210), also relying on Foucault's work and CDA's findings, explains discourse as

> historically embedded, relative stable, yet flexible way of signifying events, practices and relations through semiotic resources. A particular discourse conveys a particular kind of rationality and logic, which in turn structures language and other semiotic practices and experiences. Hence a discourse is always articulated in relation to social action, which in turn is embedded in a wider matrix of various historical, political, ideological and economic processes.

Pietikäinen in this article, for instance, uses discourse as an analytical unit to understand the ongoing social changes in connection with multilingualism in Sámiland. She renders her findings into three settings: discourses of endangerment, of commodification, and of carnivalization. This division helps her to show the very different discourses on the use, the status, and the vitality of Sámi languages among the speakers, and also to provide insight on which resources and practices reproduce these discourses. Pietikäinen's work also point out that discourses exist side by side (she calls this the "rhizomatic nexus of discourses"; Pietikäinen 2015: 207); hence, a parallel can be drawn with Bakhtin (1981) who discusses the co-presence of discourses that offers frameworks of speech types and genres, or with other words, routinized practices and conventional ways of mobilizing resources. Such a dialectic approach may facilitate to eschew the polemics of structure versus agency by emphasizing both the influence of powerful discourses as frameworks and the possibility of transgressing or reshaping them. Questions in conjunction with discourse could be: which recognizable discourses circulate among the participants? Which are the most influential ones? How do these discourses influence the diasporic imaginations of the participants? Which discourses are competing with each other, and how?

3. Methods and fieldwork

In this research diasporization was studied with an ethnographically informed critical sociolinguistic approach among Hungarians in Catalonia. After clarifying the theoretical underpinnings, this chapter shows how theory was put into practice. Thus, I describe the research site, the participants, the different phases of the fieldwork, the types of data generated, the analytical process, the research ethics principles and practices, and I finally discuss the advantages and the limitations of the research. The main argument of this chapter is that an ethnographically informed critical sociolinguistic approach may lead to collaborative research which can potentially lead to a better and more valid understanding of diasporization and an ethically just way of researching.

In the first section, I delineate the research context by describing the sociolinguistic situation of the research site, Catalonia. I specifically address the ways in which Hungarians were measured in statistics in Catalonia and the whole of Spain, and I proceed to explain how the participants were chosen in this study. In the second section, I lay out the three phases of my fieldwork: the pre-fieldwork, the main fieldwork and the post-fieldwork. While the pre-fieldwork phase was based on standard sociolinguistic research methods, throughout the second and third phases, the research drew more and more on collaborative techniques. In the third section, I list the different types of data I generated during the fieldwork. Besides the three pillars of ethnographically informed studies (observation, elicitation, and documentation), I also applied a technique that I called *collaborative interpretation*, which refers to the involvement of the key participants in the different research stages. Following this line, in the fourth section, I present how the long-term collaboration with the key participants helped me identify the most important questions of diasporization, which were also of help in the 4 analytical steps of mapping, tracing, connecting, and claiming. As I consider collaboration an ethical question as well, in the fifth section, I discuss the research ethical questions of this study with special attention to the practical aspects (e.g., informed consents), to the conduction of research activities during the COVID-19 pandemic, and to the relevance of ethical considerations in the democratization of academic knowledge production. The chapter ends with a section on the advantages of such research on diasporization and the possibilities of tackling the limitations by the collaboration as I argue that it may potentially contribute to the validity of research findings.

3.1. The research site and the participants

In this section, I briefly describe the research site in general terms and in relation to the research participants. I explain why Catalonia is an appropriate research site for the study of the process of diasporization, the number of Hungarians residing there, and the participants of my research. I argue that Catalonia is different to some extent from other places where a significant number of Hungarians reside, because there is no clear script for a newcomer for mainstream language learning strategies, but there are many ways of adapting to the local language ideological situation.

3.1.1. Catalonia

Catalonia is currently one of Spain's autonomous communities which has historically been a region characterized by high mobility, multiculturalism, and many forms and ideologies of bilingualism (see Vila et al. 2017, Woolard 2020). However, during the dictatorship of Franco (1939–1975), the population was exposed to violent cultural homogenization, which also included the promotion of Castilian as the only legitimate national language and the ban of

Catalan from all public spheres. After 40 years of repression, the restoration of democratic values also covered attempts for conciliation with suppressed regions and populations. Distinct contracts and autonomy statutes were signed by each community; in the Catalan case, the Statute of Autonomy was promulgated in 1979 and modified in 2006. In theory, these documents, in line with the constitution of the state, guarantee the linguistic rights of Catalan speakers by acknowledging Catalan as the "own language" (*llengua propia*) of the community, whereas Castilian is recognized as the official language of the whole state. This distinction clearly reinforces a dichotomy which can be associated with the ideologies of authenticity and anonymity by Gal & Woolard (2001). As Woolard puts it (2016: 7), authenticity "holds that language variety is rooted in and directly expresses the essential nature of a community or a speaker", whereas anonymity refers to a language that is a "neutral vehicle of communication, belonging to no one in particular and thus equally available to all". Minority languages are usually understood as authentic languages linked iconically to a certain group of people. Jiménez-Salcedo (2019) also adds that seeing Catalan as a minoritized language is a better way of describing the situation both in Catalonia and Andorra because, despite any endeavors, Castilian became a lingua franca, and the social role of Catalan could not increase as expected.

Focusing on the individual level, however, several studies show a more optimistic view on the linguistic situation of Catalan in Catalonia (see Woolard and Frekko 2013). Woolard (1989) argued that Catalan and Castilian indexed different ethnolinguistic identities which were associated with other types of social positions as well. Being a Catalan speaker traditionally meant to be a descendant of an autochthonous family, while speaking Castilian was linked to immigration from other parts of Spain and being employed in jobs that require less education or specific skills. This contrast limited the access to social mobility and symbolic capital. By the 2010s, however, this ethnolinguistic status quo seemed to be fragmented, or as Pujolar and Gonzàlez (2013) put it, the Catalan language became de-ethnicized. Back to the 1980s, anyone could tell who is Catalan and who is Castilian according to the linguistic behavior of the interlocutor, but as a result of the program of linguistic normalization, Catalan has become a public language instead of just being a marker of authenticity.

Transnational migration and increased mobility make this picture more complex (Pujolar 2020). Newcomers are frequently not aware of the local cultural and sociolinguistic situation. Sometimes they do not even know that Catalonia has a peculiar political situation in Spain (Patiño-Santos 2018). Among lifestyle residents, the political controversies often result in refusal toward the Catalan language and culture (Codó 2018). As Massaguer Comes (2022) puts it, the re-ethnicization and the re-politicization of the Catalan language can be observed among non-Spanish nationals. Some attitudinal studies conducted within particular ethnic groups also reported more negative attitudes towards Catalan compared to Castilian (see Fukuda 2017 in the Japanese and Ianos et al. 2019 in the Romanian communities; see also Subsection 5.2). Nevertheless, Lanz and colleagues (2020) envision a "mirror effect" within particular diasporic communities. This mirror effect refers to identification with Catalan as a result of sympathy coming from being a speaker of a less valued or recognized language. This view suggests that Catalans and foreign-origin people in Catalonia could potentially see each other as allies, which also correlates with one of the modern visions of Catalan as a transgressive language that erases ethnic labels (Woolard 2016). The speakers of Hungarian and Catalan languages are not necessarily conscious of that, but in this sense, they share cultural commonalities in the long-standing struggle for appreciation and authority derived from the anonymity of their language. Therefore, leaning on shared collective experiences of minoritized status and authenticity, mirror effect could legitimately be present within the Hungarian diasporic communities in Catalonia. As it will be shown in the analytical chapters, however, there are also other ideological aspects at play.

3.1.2. Hungarians in Catalonia

After the fall of the Iron Curtain and the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, migration from East-Central European countries to Western Europe became freer and easier. In the case of Hungary, the movement of the population accelerated significantly after the accession to the European Union (2004) and to the Schengen Agreement (2007), and this is also the case with Spain as a destination country. In 2017, Spain was the 6th most popular destination for Hungarian out-migration after Germany, the United Kingdom, Austria, Switzerland, and the Netherlands (Csányi 2018: 72), even though the other five countries had historical traditions to host Hungarian immigrants, which started long before Hungary's accession to the European Union.

In the following, I will present statistical data on the distribution of Hungarians in Catalonia (the second most popular destination of Hungarians in Spain after the Canary Islands; Csányi 2018) with the aim of orienting the reader in the trends of Hungarian newcomers. However, it is important to clarify that the official statistics do not always classify the population in ways that are directly relevant to this thesis. In Chart 3.1, I depicted the number of Hungarians in Catalonia according to three different data sets in order to demonstrate how problematic it is to define Hungarianness from an *a priori* perspective. First of all, nationality is mostly defined by the country of origin, which, for instance, excludes kin minorities in the neighboring countries (like Hungarians from Romania, Slovakia, etc.), who might be more interested in engaging in activities with other Hungarians in Catalonia than with majority members from their country of origin. Secondly, different institutes use different sources of information, so that some figures might differ significantly. In the forthcoming lines, I draw on three publicly accessible datasets. The first one (hereinafter: S-INE) is derived from the yearbooks of the Spanish *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* ('National Institute of Statistics'). S-INE provides data on how many Hungarians (defined by birthplace) officially lived in each Catalan province. Although S-INE goes back earlier, data is missing between 1991 and 1998, because during that period the yearbooks did not differentiate Hungarians from other European populations. The second dataset (hereinafter: S-Idescat-1) is derived from the webpage of the *Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya* ('Institute of Statistics in Catalonia'). It lists Hungarians (defined by nationality, i.e., people with Hungarian identity cards), who were registered in a system called *padró continu*. As a corollary, in 2020 the number of Hungarian-origin foreigners counted by Idescat deviated by 92% from what INE counted (S-Idescat-1: 3738, S-INE: 1948). The third dataset (hereinafter: S-Idescat-2) is derived from another platform of the Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya, which draws on another register. S-Idescat-2 shows more correlation with S-INE; however, S-Idescat-1 provides data broken down by provinces, while S-Idescat-2 only shows numbers for the whole of Catalonia. In addition, S-Idescat-1 has data available only from 2012, while S-Idescat-2 provides data from 2000.

Although the accuracy of the data is questionable, the chart effectively illustrates the tendency mentioned above. According to these statistics, the number of (legally and permanently residing) Hungarians did not even reach 100 until 2000. After that, however, the number increased twelve-fold in 10 years (S-INE: 1202), and since then it has almost doubled (S-INE: 1948). This also means that there may be differences in the diasporic experiences depending on when the diasporic subjects arrived in Catalonia and what kind of diasporic groups existed in those times (further explored in Chapter 4).

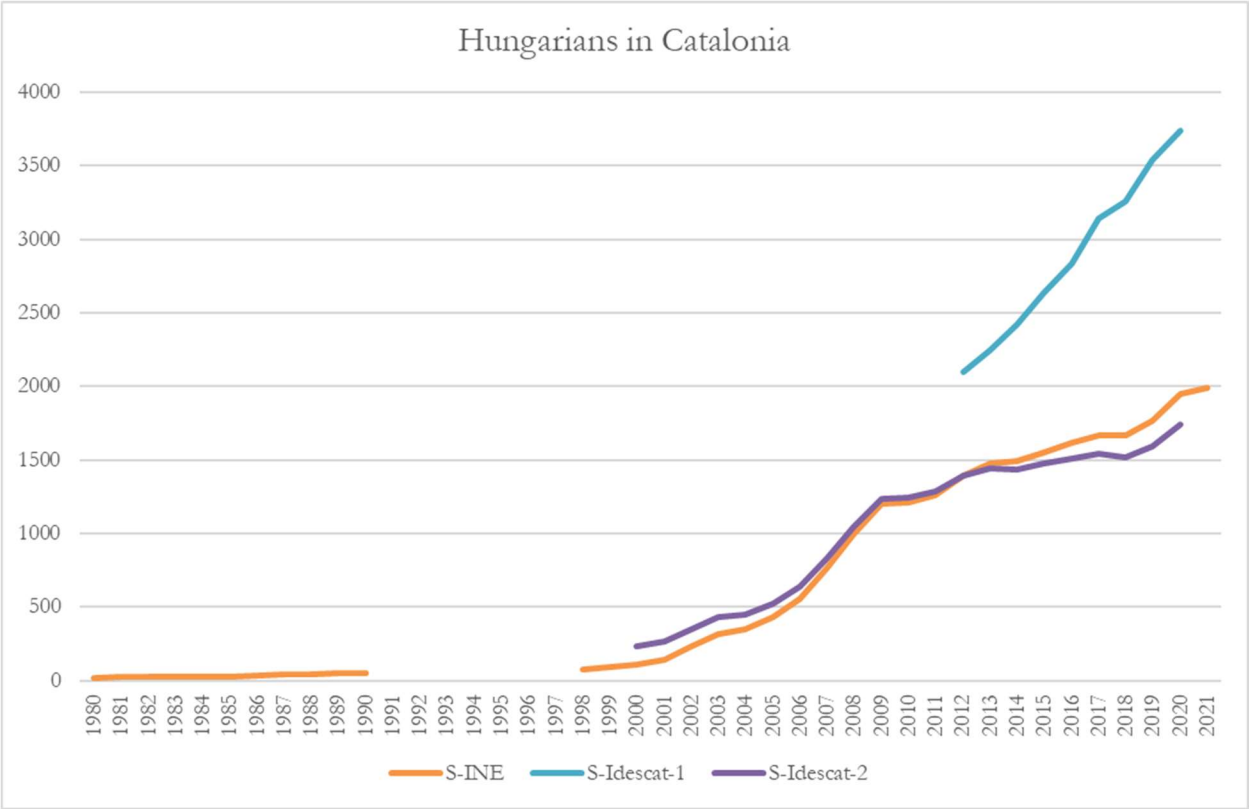

Chart 3.1: The number of Hungarians in Catalonia from 1980 to 2021 based on 3 datasets

When evaluating the situation of Hungarian groups in Catalonia, a closer look on the distribution of these people is also worth mentioning. Chart 3.2 shows how Hungarians were distributed among the four provinces of Catalonia. As we can see from this chart, the most frequent place of residence for the registered Hungarian population has always been the province of Barcelona. The lowest percentage of the population in this province was in 2000 when it was down to 58%. However, since then, this percentage has been increasing and it seems to be stagnating at around 80% by the 2020s. The province of Girona was in the second position for a long time, however, it switched places with the province of Tarragona recently. The number of Hungarians in the province of Lleida has exceeded 50 only once.

The reason for discussing this distribution is my observation that the categorization of Hungarians *in Catalonia* and *in Barcelona* has been frequently used interchangeably during my fieldwork. Therefore, the Hungarian experience of living in Catalonia in the 2010s and the 2020s is and will be mostly Barcelona-centered. This had consequences also on the ways the participants of this research socialized into the local sociolinguistic milieu, the ways they imagined their situation in Catalonia, and even on the ways they created diasporic relations. As Barcelona and the coastal regions of Catalonia attract many foreigners (and even Spaniards who were born outside of Catalonia), Hungarians sometimes only had access to other expatriates.

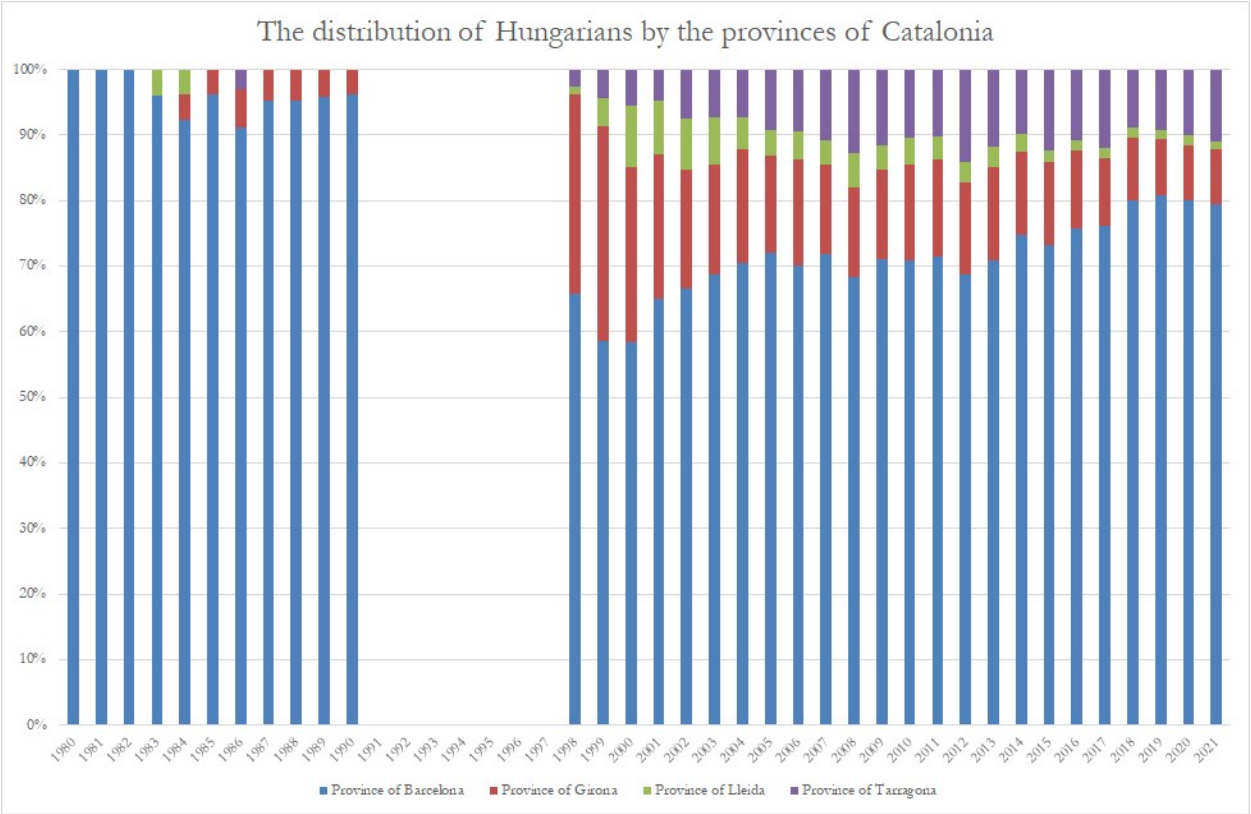

Chart 3.2: The proportion of Hungarian population in the provinces of Catalonia according to S-INE

3.1.3. The participants

Whereas the diasporization of Hungarians in Catalonia is a new phenomenon, as shown in the previous subsection, I defined the "researched" population as first-generation Hungarians living in Catalonia, or, in the case of returnees, as Hungarians who previously lived in Catalonia. Defining who counts as Hungarian is highly problematic. According to the statistical data shown in Chart 2.1 and 2.2, Hungarianness is contingent on Hungarian citizenship. In the research, I prioritize a Hungarianness outlined by diasporic Hungarians themselves, defined rather as "ethnic" Hungarianness through self-identification and engaging in diasporic activities with other Hungarians. For instance, some people I met in Catalonia were born in neighboring countries and did not hold Hungarian citizenship. Yet they went to Hungarian diasporic events, identified as Hungarians, and were perceived as Hungarians by others (which in fact coincides with how current Hungarian ethnopolitics understands the notion of diaspora; see Kovács 2020 and Section 2.1).

Throughout the fieldwork, I made audio recordings with 41 people in total, but of course, I met many more Hungarians during my residence in Catalonia. In some cases, the interviews were single encounters with the research participants, because I was not able to maintain contact with them. In other cases, they were the first ones in a longer collaboration. But mostly, interviews were only one encounter of a few with Hungarians with whom I had met before and I would meet after, e.g., at diasporic events. In a few cases, I also interviewed some people during these events, because it felt easier to record what they wanted to say to me about the programs then and there. From this 41 people 31 participants gave me individual biographic interviews, the other 10 only participated in other activities (e.g., online focus groups, diaries). From the 31 interview participants, 8 were returnees who had already moved back to Hungary after a

significant time of residence in Catalonia. Most of these Hungarians lived in the Barcelona province, but a few of them had experiences in other parts of Catalonia as well. The youngest participant was 24-years old, while the oldest one was 73. For some reason, more women wished to participate in the research, and only 12 men gave me interviews. However, among the key participants, the proportion was the opposite. When asking people to participate in interviews, I purposely sought for a maximum diversity (at least within the Barcelona area) in terms of gender, age, time of arrival, and time spent in Catalonia to be able to fully depict the complexity of Hungarians in Catalonia.

The group whom I call "key participants" are five people who volunteered to meet regularly with me and each other after the lockdown. Of course, other people showed a great interest in the research, and I made many other friends during my time in Catalonia, who had an important influence on the way I look at diasporization. However, it was these five people who had the opportunity to participate in the long-term group collaboration (which we called *magyar tertúlia*) and who volunteered to do so themselves even under pandemic restrictions. They did not know each other previously, and I see this as an advantage because this way I could track how this diasporic group was being formed, drawing on the shared ethnic and linguistic identity. It was fortunate that these five people came from different backgrounds, thus contributing to a richer set of perspectives.

In the analytical chapters, when quoting a participant, I will shortly describe their life situation. But as the key participants are going to be voiced frequently in the analytical chapters, I now introduce them in the chronological order in which they arrived in Catalonia.

Gyuri celebrated his 70th birthday when we first met each other in 2020 online. He was one of the applicants for online focus groups to my advertisement written to a mailing list. He was born and raised in Budapest. His parents, first generation intelligentsia, made him start learning German early, and then he chose English in the secondary school in addition to Russian, which was compulsory at that time. He also speaks French, Castilian and Catalan. He went to the University of Technology in Budapest. After living a few years together in Budapest with his Catalan wife whom he met on the Yugoslavian seashore during a holiday, he migrated to Catalonia in 1983. First, they had resided in a mid-size town of the interior, before moving to Barcelona where they have been living since then. He was a civil engineer in Hungary, and after one and a half years of being unemployed, he had the chance to restart his engineering career in Barcelona where he later became a director of a company. During his lifetime he also worked as a consultant in an Asian and a Caribbean country for shorter periods. After his retirement, he wanted to stay active, so he earned a bachelor's degree in liberal arts. He is a father of two, and a grandfather of one who was born during the fieldwork. He keeps in touch with his former colleagues and friends in Hungary remotely, and he spends most Augusts in Budapest with his wife where they also have a flat.

Dénes, working as a maintenance worker, arrived in Barcelona in 1990 at the age of 20 following one of his childhood friends who longed to become a millionaire outside of Hungary. Previously, he was studying English during his one and a half year of conscription. In his first years in the city, he shared a flat with other Hungarians, and worked in several semi-skilled positions. In those years, he was learning Castilian and Catalan spontaneously during his working hours by chatting with clients. A few years later, he met his Catalan wife. They are currently living in a city in the agglomeration of Barcelona, and they are parents of two young adults.

Pál was raised in a small town in the southern region of Hungary and studied architecture in Budapest. At the end of his university studies, he won an Erasmus scholarship in 2000 to spend an academic year at a Catalan university. While attending his classes in Castilian, he also managed to start an internship in one of the best designing studios in Barcelona. Based on this

opportunity, he decided to switch universities, and restarted his professional training, where he also had to use Catalan, but according to his report, he only started to speak Catalan well enough after more than a decade. After graduation, he also trained himself as a sheet metal worker and, somewhat surprisingly, a confectioner, a domain in which he now works as an entrepreneur. He married a Castilian woman; they have a daughter and live in one of the central quartiers of Barcelona.

Detti started the academic year of 2017 in one of Barcelona's universities as an Erasmus student in cultural anthropology. In order to do fieldwork for her thesis, she remained in the city with an internship. Right after graduating in Budapest, she returned to Barcelona to start working as an English teacher as she also owns a degree in English and Spanish philology. She previously lived in Poland, Israel, and in the southern part of Spain for shorter terms with different scholarships. In the district of Barcelona she lives in, she was able to earn good social capital from local people. She is also a competent speaker of Catalan and Portuguese but sees Castilian and English as foreign languages in which she feels comfortable to speak.

Rebeka earned her master's degree in psychology in Budapest, where she was born and raised. She lived a year in Paris earlier, but at the beginning of 2019, at the age of 26, she decided to move to Barcelona with her partner. She obtained a position at the call center of a big international company due to her good language competencies in French, Italian, and English. Soon after she became team leader, however, at the beginning of our collaboration she lost her job due to the coronavirus crisis, but a few months later she started to work at a local company. During the pandemic, she started to learn Castilian and Catalan simultaneously. Despite her short presence in Barcelona, she lived in different districts. Rebeka is most often found in international expatriate communities; she has few local connections according to her self-reports.

Last but not least, I also have to mention **János** as the fifth plus one key participant who replaced Detti in the post-fieldwork as she did not wish to give feedback on the research findings. János joined *magyar tertúlia* only in the spring of 2021 when it became legally possible again to organize gatherings with more than 6 people in Catalonia after the lift of the actual pandemic restrictions. János was a retired journalist who had previously lived in Germany, Russia, China, Belgium and Madrid as well. János moved to Catalonia in 2018 with his local partner.

3.2. The phases of the fieldwork

This research started in 2018 and ended in 2022. I discern three phases in my fieldwork: the pre-fieldwork phase, the main fieldwork phase, and the post-fieldwork phase. During the pre-fieldwork phase (2018–2019), I generated data mainly through the standard methods of individual interviewing and ethnographic observations. In the main fieldwork phase (2020–2021), I modified my approach, and I also included collaborative research techniques in my methodological repertoire. In the post-fieldwork (2022), I did not generate new primary data, but focused on the writing process, and at the end, I continued the collaboration with the key participants by showing them summaries of the research findings. The next table demonstrates how these phases can be located in time and space.

Phase	Location	Research activity	Duration
pre-fieldwork	Barcelona	standard methods (participant observations, documentation, interviews)	February 2018 – February 2019
	Budapest	standard methods (interviews with returnees)	March 2019 – February 2020
main fieldwork	Barcelona	standard and collaborative methods	February 2020 – July 2021
post-fieldwork	Budapest	writing, further collaboration with the key participants	August 2021 –

Table 3.1: The research phases

My first encounter with the members of the Hungarian community was in 2018, whereas the bulk of my fieldwork ended in the summer of 2021. Thus, the data and conclusions presented in this thesis draw from the experiences of Hungarians in Catalonia between 2018 and 2021. Of course, there are also many references back to earlier times through the recollections of the research participants, and the thesis also includes some insights on how they envisioned their future. Nevertheless, as new agents may emerge and socio-technical conditions may change in the future, the dissertation cannot make any predictions about how the next few years will be for the diasporization of Hungarians in Catalonia. What it can provide, however, is a complex, polyphonic explanation on what diasporization was like between 2018 and 2021, and why. In the next subsections, I describe the characteristics of each phase in detail.

3.2.1. The pre-fieldwork phase

In this subsection, I explain how I met Hungarians in Catalonia the first time. I also describe the ways I generated data in the pre-fieldwork phase that took place between February 2018 and February 2020. My agenda followed "conventional" techniques, such as observations, interviews and collection of materials. I argue that these techniques were necessary to obtain my first impressions on the research site and create my network for the main fieldwork phase.

In 2017, I was considering the idea of doing an Erasmus+ traineeship. At that time, I was finishing my MA studies and writing my thesis partly about Hungarian American weekend schools (see Szabó 2018, 2020), and my first idea was to search for Hungarian associations in European countries on the internet. I emailed a few of them enquiring if they were interested in hosting me. The ones in Barcelona and Madrid responded quickly. The association in Madrid was supposed to be the official host, but it turned out that the one in Barcelona needed an assistant (for further exploration of the story of these associations, see Section 4.3). In the end, I went to Barcelona at the beginning of February 2018. Back then, I already knew that later I would do some kind of research there, but I was not planning to start so early. It quickly turned out that my tasks would only cover assistance at weekend school activities and collection of membership fees. Thus, I started to map out the events organized by the Hungarians there at that time and went to all of them.

Although there was already a weekend school, a different group of people decided to organize another one, and I was asked to assist at both. This assistance mostly meant actual help in the decoration of the classrooms, the preparation of learning materials, and, in some cases, participation in the games and activities with the children. As a participant in the classroom

interactions, I did not make notes there. However, my conversations with the parents and the teachers enabled me to meet many people and learn about their motivations to engage in such activities, as well as the discourses that were circulating about Hungarian identity in these settings.

I also attended the rehearsals of a Hungarian folk-dance group. Frankly, these activities were far from my comfort zone as I never practiced dancing before. However, the two organizers appreciated that my presence increased the headcount and I endeavored to learn all the tricky dance steps. A few times this group also invited Hungarian musicians to give a concert or provide the music for a *táncház* (literally 'dance house', a revitalized and popular tradition where, opposed to a stage performance, anyone can join regardless of their skills; Taylor 2021). Other grassroots events were also organized – sometimes by the same people, sometimes by others. Once a group of actors came from an alternative theater in Budapest to perform their play based on the poems of Attila József, a famous Hungarian poet. I also participated in a Hungarian picnic on Easter Monday in Parc de la Ciutadella, the largest park of Barcelona, and a few weeks later the same people hosted a barbecue party in the nearby mountains of Penedès. On another occasion, a family day was thrown during the summer, which included games for the children along with cooking and eating together.

The General Consulate of Hungary in Barcelona was also accustomed to organizing public commemorations around each national holiday in Hungary. These commemorations were primarily aimed at strengthening diplomatic relations with local stakeholders, but they also served as meeting points for Hungarians living in Catalonia. Although it was not necessarily the task of the consular services, the general consulate tried to take into account the needs of local Hungarians and help their initiatives among their restricted financial opportunities. This manifested in, for instance, a Hungarian summer camp for children for which professional guidance was provided by one of the Hungarian universities involved in teacher training. I was also invited in this one-week long program in 2018 as an activity incorporated into my Erasmus+ traineeship. The participation at all these events helped me to develop my network with Hungarians in Catalonia.

During the traineeship, in May 2018, I learned that I had obtained a grant for my PhD, so besides mapping these events, I started asking a few of my acquaintances if they would give me an interview in the future. Therefore, the core of the data generated in the pre-fieldwork phase were semi-structured biographic interviews, fieldnotes written after the Hungarian-related events I attended, and materials connected to these events. In this sense, I conducted a fieldwork based on the conventional triadic methodology of ethnographies: observation, elicitation, and documentation. By conventional, I also mean that I identified myself as a researcher who will make sense alone of the data generated without further collaboration with the participants. As a corollary, what I understood as a field for observation was the events which would have been organized to gather Hungarians without my presence and contribution as well. Emphasizing this is important as my approach changed during the main fieldwork phase (described in the next subsection).

In the autumn of 2018, I continued to attend all the afore-mentioned events. During my presence in Barcelona province, I tried to get to know all the possible diasporic activities Hungarians could engage in. Therefore, I became a customer of a hair salon run by a Hungarian hairdresser, I visited the Hungarian bar, I bought products in the Hungarian shop, I ordered a Christmas pastry from a Hungarian confectioner, I went to a Hungarian masseur and so on. I also joined the concerts of a local Hungarian singer, moreover, I attended the concerts of Hungarian bands on tour in Barcelona or the games of Hungarian sport teams.

In the beginning of 2019, I returned to Hungary for a year as my co-tutelle doctoral program required that. However, I was not idle during this period. First, I tried to keep up the contacts with my acquaintances online and monitored the new events that were taking place in Catalonia. For instance, I discovered that new ethnic businesses emerged at that time: a Hungarian-speaking tour guide service and an accommodation service. Second, I once made a one-week long visit in the summer in order to meet my contacts and check these services out. Third and not least, I decided to conduct other biographical interviews with people who returned to Hungary. As one of them put it, "*Barcelona egy nagy átjáróház*" ('Barcelona is a large entrance hall'), by which she referred to the fact that she knew a lot of Hungarians who only spent a short time there and then moved to another place or back home. I do not know whether her impression can be statistically justified or not. What I do know is that I was also interested in the narratives of such people who returned; I was curious to find out why they chose de-diasporization. I understood their decision also as a late modern phenomenon: in most diasporic cases, return was not an option up until late modernity. By conducting these interviews, I got deeper insights into the motivations, benefits and drawbacks of living in Catalonia. And I became even more excited to get back to the research site in 2020.

3.2.2. The main research phase

In this subsection, I describe the main fieldwork phase that lasted from February 2020 to July 2021. I explain that the COVID-19 pandemic made the planned research activities impossible and that I finally carried out the fieldwork with the addition of collaborative research techniques. I argue that the collaborative agenda of this research was beneficial in several respects. It contributed greatly to a better interpretation of contemporary diasporization by the inclusion of the interpretations of the diasporic subjects themselves. But it was beneficial for the key participants as well, because they could use their expertise to contribute to the academic knowledge production and they also participated in activities where they have potentially become more aware of their diasporic situation as Hungarians in Catalonia.

The main fieldwork phase started at the end of February 2020 when my flight landed in Barcelona. In the next two weeks I organized some meetups with my earlier acquaintances and attended four events (a handball game, a national commemoration organized by the Consulate General of Hungary in Barcelona, a book launch, and a guided tour in the Gothic district of Barcelona) to generate ethnographic fieldnotes. I was keenly preparing for the weekend because I had been invited to visit a weekend school activity and the general consulate also planned to host a series of events called *Magyar Kulturális Napok* ('Hungarian cultural days'). So basically, I had just restarted on-site fieldwork when a nationwide state of alarm was announced by the prime minister of Spain on March 13 due to the rapid growth COVID-19 cases. The weekend school had to be canceled like every other planned activity. From March 15, a general lockdown was ordered in the whole country: people were not allowed to leave their residences except for essential needs such as purchasing food or attending emergencies. At the first announcement, this period was promised to last for only 15 days, however, these strict restrictions were prolonged several times because the number of positive cases and patients treated in emergency rooms did not decrease.

I myself, after my return to Barcelona, had not found a permanent place to rent yet before the lockdown, so I was spending my days in a tiny shadowy room with poor internet connection. While finding myself in such a precarious and nerve-racking situation, I also started to worry about the well-being of my former participants and the possible outcome for my research as the field practically disappeared. I started thinking about what I could do to move forward with my project, which made me face some contradictions. I, indeed, was already aware that what I

defined as the field in the pre-fieldwok phase had only been my imaginary and arbitrary construct; but my preconception was that the socially situated events where I had conducted ethnographic fieldwork were initiated and organized by others, not me. It was obviously unavoidable to participate in and shape diasporic practices during ethnographic fieldwork, but to achieve the goal of observation, it seemed necessary not to intervene deliberately by organizing such events directly. Of course, my presence and my behavior had an influence on these events. Yet I saw myself only as an intruder, a friendly stranger, or a new member; it depended on the angle from which I looked at my subjectivity. The new restricted and reserved social circumstances, however, also resulted in the fact that I had to reframe my position as a researcher. I had to find an approach of doing fieldwork which would replace my original plans and be more beneficial for participants in any sense in those hard times, even if I had to give up the conventional and convenient position of an observing fieldworker. I had already known previously that I would eventually become a potential member of the "researched" population. After all, I was a diasporic Hungarian just like them in one way or another, but at that moment I had to acknowledge that it became truer than before as I shared the very same frustrations and feelings of uncertainty and worry about loved ones back in the homeland. I realized that I could not pretend anymore that I was both an insider and an outsider. Therefore, I became the one who would create the new spaces of encounters for Hungarians. I knew that I would have to create these spaces in a way that would meet the current legal regulations, the principles of research ethics, and last but not least the needs of the potential participants.

After the second prolongation of the lockdown, I decided to organize online meetings with fellow Hungarians. I sent advertisements to the mailing list of Hungarians in Catalonia, which I became a (passive) member of back in 2018, originally created for *Aranyalma Kör* (one of the former diasporic groups in Catalonia discussed in Chapter 4) and to a Facebook group that aimed at gathering Hungarians around Barcelona. The advertisements consisted of an introduction on who I was and where we could have met before, a description of my idea on sharing thoughts online with other Hungarians, and I also informed them about the fact that the encounters would also have research purposes. I received a great amount of positive feedback on a wide range of modalities from Facebook likes to emotional personal messages. These feedbacks, however, were not necessarily converted into participation in the scheduled programs. Some of my former acquaintances expressed their approval of the idea, but they did not wish to join an online meeting. Others registered but never showed up, which can be explained by the proliferation of burdensome and long online meetings that were taking place at the time. Still, the suggestion worked out well in the sense that those who eventually joined were delighted to be able to talk with other Hungarians. Despite the fact that I could not leave my residence, I could meet up digitally with people whom I had never met before, and they also got the chance to find new friends or rebuild old friendships. The participants appreciated the possibility to connect with other Hungarians in Catalonia. Perhaps one of the most endearing scenes was when a participant showed her newborn baby to her friends for the first time on camera.

The way these conversations were arranged was built on the idea of online focus groups or online focus group discussions (cf. Flynn et al. 2018; Daniels et al. 2019; Jiang & Cohen 2020; for further description see Subsection 3.3.2). Although I call these encounters online focus groups, they were not carried out the same way as focus groups conventionally are. There are at least two differences. First, I prepared a guide of questions for the first meeting in order to avoid a possible awkward silence, but the participants were encouraged from the very beginning to bring their own questions, topics or doubts into the conversations. The usual dynamic of a focus group discussion is characterized by impenetrable barriers and power relations between the researcher and the informants. Here, however, I was treating the participants as partners

from the first moment and made them feel that they had the right to ask questions or influence the whole discussion. Second, these encounters were not restricted to a single occasion of obtaining data from the informants only for research purposes, but a possibility of joining other occasions was offered to everyone.

The following Autumn in Catalonia did not turn out to be easier for the organization of face-to-face encounters. The only type of diasporic event that restarted was the Hungarian weekend school, but I did not have the chance to visit it, because only 6 persons were allowed to be in the room. When I tried to organize interviews with new people, I was rejected several times despite the fact that I gave them the opportunity to make decisions on almost every aspect of the meeting (e.g., online or offline, the platform we should use). Most people were tired of online meetings, but tried to minimize face-to-face encounters, so they asked me to meet upon a later occasion when the pandemic would already be over. I felt it was not the time to be pushy or obtrusive. But as we all know now, the pandemic did not want to go away so easily. I was still able to conduct some biographical interviews this way, but I lacked access to more spontaneous encounters.

Some of the participants of the online focus groups, however, asked me to continue as they were interested in both my research and getting to know the people they met there better. Although some of them dropped out, five participants became regular visitors of these events. These five people became the key participants I described previously. We named our encounters *magyar tertúlia*. The word *magyar* is the glottonym and ethnonym used for 'Hungarian', whereas *tertúlia* is an Iberian term for 'gathering, social circle'. *Tertúlia* here is written according to the Catalan orthography (in Castilian it would be *tertulia*), but this is only a coincidence: the participants chose this because it is closer to the way Hungarians would write it.

Parallel to my group work with the key participants, I also used the more conventional research techniques that could be done under the ever-changing pandemic situation, i.e., it was unpredictable what could be done in person and what could not. I conducted biographical interviews and I also went to the concerts of a Hungarian singer – the only Hungarian-related event I was aware of at that time. I also reached out to five participants with the idea of creating language diaries (Jones et al. 2000). I asked more people, but as in other cases, I did not want to be obtrusive under such precarious circumstances with those who seemed reluctant. In the realization of this set of diaries, I endeavored to give the participants as many choices as I could. Finally, all of them decided to write it (instead of creating an audio or video recording about themselves), but they differed on whether they chose a table or a narrative format. After they sent me their diaries, I also interviewed them on the experience, and on two occasions we also conducted group interviews, because some of the participants wanted to discuss their own diaries with other participants as well.

As time went on, *magyar tertulia* discussions changed. They were not focus groups anymore. It took quite a time for the key participants to understand that I did not want to treat them as mere informants who would stop them when they speak about 'irrelevant' topics. One of them was at first reluctant and told me "*te vagy a főnök*" ('you are the boss'), but slowly he also caught the idea. *Magyar tertúlia* worked like a space of reflexivity. When some of the pandemic measures were lifted, we switched to offline meetings. One of the key participants offered a place in his shop for these more or less monthly meetings. At the first offline occasion, I asked them to write questions on sticky notes that they would like to discuss with other fellow Hungarians in Catalonia. This served two objectives. First, these sticky notes provided topics for these *magyar tertulia* discussions for months. Second, they also helped to structure the thesis. These questions became the questions of the analytical chapters (for further explanation, see Section 3.4.). In some cases, I also shared some early findings or dilemmas with them, by which they could have felt more involved in the research.

Back then in the winter of 2020 and 2021, the number of people at social gatherings was restricted to 6, so I insisted on not inviting others to *magyar tertúlia*, because I did not want to ask them to participate in something illegal – despite the fact that we all experienced that no official authority vigilated this rule and most people did not care about these restrictions anymore. When this rule was lifted as well, we started to tell other people about *magyar tertúlia* and asked them to join. So, these events started to become a thing, and the last encounter was about how they would continue these encounters when I left Catalonia.

What I went through as a researcher in the main fieldwork phase may be called a "collaborative turn". Although, as it was hinted earlier, critical sociolinguistics already include the chance to carry out research with the collaboration of the key stakeholders (Heller et al. 2018: 119–120), my ideas were also inspired by recent inclusive (Szabó & Troyer 2017), participatory (Bodó et al. 2022a), empowering (Cameron et al. 1992, 1993), accompanying (Bucholtz et al. 2016), citizen science (Svendsen 2018, SturzSreetharan et al. 2019), and collaborative (Lexander & Androutsopoulos 2021) research techniques and epistemologies of sociolinguistic inquiry. As mentioned earlier, I had previously planned to bring the results back to the field – in a form of "linguistic gratuity", as Wolfram (1993) put it –, but this would not have been such a subversive act. So, I decided to make parts of the research collaborative. In applied linguistics, the adjective *collaborative* can refer to a wide range of phenomena in which two or more people do something together (e.g., collaborative writing, see Storch 2019).

Here, by collaborative, I refer to the long-term involvement of the key participants which also contributed to some forms of the democratization of the research process. I would not like to kid myself by saying this was a fully participatory or empowering or egalitarian study – as it was not –, but the way the key participants were involved in some research phases can easily be labeled as collaborative. My aim with the collaboration was to provide the key participants as many rights as possible to let them influence the research, to say, participate democratically in the knowledge production process. This solution had two advantages. The first advantage is about the research outcome: collaboration helped to find better insights on the process of diasporization and the dilemmas, doubts and questions the diasporic subjects were interested in discussing. The second advantage is about the social impact: those involved in the long-term collaboration could participate in the academic knowledge production and, more importantly, find a space in *magyar tertulia* where they could learn new insights about their situation as Hungarians in Catalonia. As Hodge and Jones put it, "an effective way to carry out valid, reliable and ethically sound research, particularly within an ethnographic framework, is to work collaboratively with the people involved at every possible level" (Hodge & Jones 2000: 304). Of course, the number of possible levels to get people involved is fairly restricted for a doctoral research. In my case, these aforementioned inspirations made an impact on the way the main fieldwork phase was carried out via the long-term collaboration with the key participants, on how this thesis has been organized according to the questions in *magyar tertulia* discussions (see Section 3.4.), as well as on the post-fieldwork.

3.2.3. The post-fieldwork phase

Collaboration with the participants did not end with the main research phase. In this subsection, I describe what I did in the phase I call post-fieldwork by which I refer to the activities with the participants after the main fieldwork. I argue that these activities can potentially contribute to a deeper involvement of the participants and to the validity of the research findings.

In the summer of 2021, I returned to Hungary, but of course, I remained in contact with the key participants through mobile devices. I started to write up the thesis. By the end of May 2022, I completed writing the analytical chapters which were organized around the questions

mentioned by the key participants. I summarized the main findings of these chapters and sent one of them to each of the *magyar tertúlia* participants (see these summaries in Appendix D). With this, I had several objectives in connection to the democratization of the academic knowledge production process. First, I wanted to express my appreciation for their time and commitment by showing them these before the publication of the results. Second, I also wanted to gain greater reliability for the findings and participatory validity (Nind 2014: 91). If the thesis was mainly about them, then they were the experts who had the best insight in the topic (i.e., their own life-worlds), thus, they also deserved to comment on what was written about them and correct me if I made a mistake. Third, this solution provided an option to make the thesis a polyphonic ethnographically informed description of diasporization. Thus, the analytical chapters also include the feedback of the *magyar tertúlia* participants.

In July 2022, I also made another one-week long visit where I showed the results of the thesis to some former participants who previously showed interest in the findings, and I organized a meeting for the *magyar tertúlia* participants as well. For this post-fieldwork activity, I created visualizations of the chapters in order to help me better explain the findings to the participants (see these visualizations in Appendix E). At these encounters, I received no negative feedback, but the participants appreciated that I showed them what I found and that they had the opportunity to ask me further questions.

To sum up what the three phases of the fieldwork served for, I would draw on some aforementioned words in Chapter 2. The pre-fieldwork phase was a means for monitoring the diasporic. The main fieldwork phase could not have been done without becoming the diasporic and creating collaboration with the interested parties. Whereas the post-fieldwork phase was about affirming the diasporic and maintaining that collaboration with them.

3.3. The types of data generated

In the following, I provide a brief overview of the whole data set generated during my fieldwork. In this research I applied the three main ethnographic techniques to produce data: observation, elicitation, and documentation. I complemented these three techniques by a fourth one which I named collaborative interpretation. By collaborative interpretation, I refer to the long-term collaboration with the key participants. I argue that the combination of observation, elicitation, documentation and collaborative interpretation helped to describe the contemporary process of diasporization among Hungarians in Catalonia in a way that simultaneously contributes to the knowledge of the scientific community and the democratization of academic knowledge production process through the inclusion of the interested non-academic parties.

3.3.1. Observation

I used observations as a starting point for the research. In this subsection, I describe how I wrote fieldnotes, what I recorded in my research diary and how I conducted autoethnographic notes.

From the beginning of this research, I wrote fieldnotes after every diasporic event I visited as a participant observer. The types of the occasions varied in a wide range from the commemorations of the Consulate General of Hungary in Barcelona to grassroots encounters. These fieldnotes include descriptive information of the events, the activities carried out, the participants and my reflection on their behavior, selective notes on what was said and how, the material aspects and some open questions for further fieldwork to find out. I wrote up the fieldnotes typically right after getting home from an event in the genre of a diary. Quick notes were rarely jotted, only in case a complex linguistic phenomenon turned up that I needed to record before

forgetting it. I rather focused on memorizing what happened in order to be able to write up a relatively structured narrative later (for other solutions see Heller et al. 2018: 83).

I also wrote a research diary during the fieldwork. In this document I made notes on the preparation for fieldwork activities and the conditions of each data generation event such as interviews and focus groups. This diary helped me record several background information, while my own positionality and my relationship with each participant also became more easily traceable through this exercise. It is important to emphasize that interviews are socially situated encounters, and as such they cannot be treated as isolated from the circumstances they were conducted in (see Goebel eds. 2020). When analyzing them, all bits and pieces of extra observations might bring some important detail into the interpretation. The research diary also gave the opportunity to write up the questions and dilemmas emerging during the fieldwork.

As I myself became a Hungarian in Catalonia, I decided to write some autoethnographic notes on how I experienced some language-related issues (for a use of autoethnography in the exploration of the diasporic, see Choi 2012). Most of these notes were written in the lockdown period. As I myself developed a scattered, diasporic life while being in the research site geographically, sometimes I also faced similar situations my participants told me about, so I found it useful to write down these experiences for two reasons. First, to provide an additional angle to my analysis (to examine the data from another perspective), and second, to be able to answer consciously when I was asked by the participants about my own experiences.

Type of data	**Amount of data**
observation of diasporic events	32 sets of fieldnotes
research diary	65 pages of diary
autoethnography	18 pages of autoethnographic notes

Table 3.2: The description of observational data

3.3.2. Elicitation

Most of the data generated in my research was elicitation data. By elicitation, I mean all data production methods in which participants are asked by the researcher. As this type of data was produced via a few different methods (i.e., individual interviews, online focus groups, diaries, language portraits), I discuss them in separate subsections.

Individual interviews

As biographical interviewing has long been a primary method for studying migrants and diasporic subjects (see Codó 2018, De Fina 2015, De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2008, Guhlich 2017, O'Brien 2017, Perrino 2011), I also decided to base my research on it at first. Thus, individual biographical interviews are the largest subset in my data, I conducted 31 of them. These interviews were semi-structured, individual narrative interviews. Although I arrived at these research events with an interview guide that included a list of questions in four modules (linguistic biography migration history, language, contact with Hungary, contact with other Hungarians), I always tried to give enough space to the participants to organize their narratives as they wished (for the questions, see Appendix A). The interviews started with a question on the participants' experiences on how diversely one could speak. This is an open-ended question

which had two functions: first, instead of answering direct questions, the interview partner got familiar with the interactive nature of this interview situation; second, it gave a focus to communication and languaging without using the word *language*. As this question can result in multiple narratives, some participants spontaneously referred to other topics that were included in the interview guide. The questions in the guide had a temporal arrangement, but in case the interview partners started to tell their live story according to a different logic, I aligned to their flow of topics. This interview guide rather served as a lifebelt in case the interview partner lacked verbosity. Most of the participants were open to speak freely about their lives and bring new topics into the discussion, but it is also true that some of them preferred to answer strictly my questions and nothing else.

It is important to emphasize here that I recognize interview situations as socially situated events in which certain cultural and interactional dynamics are at stake (Laihonen 2008; see also Laihonen 2009). People tend to have a scenario in their mind on the roles and the mechanisms of an interview. In these situations, there is always a researcher who asks questions and a person who answers those questions (see De Fina 2011, Wortham et al. 2011). The ethical constraints also had an impact on how our interaction went on: before conducting the interviews, I always had to clarify the most important information in connection to the research and ask their written consent. Therefore, these interviews were (just like any kind of elicitation in general) far from being based on the interaction of two equal interlocutors, as interviews never are (Laihonen 2008). However, this does not necessarily mean that biographical interviewing would not be a useful research method. It is rather important to clarify the situations in which such conversations took place. Thus, the analysis of such encounters requires reflexivity: the answers given by the participants do not come out of nowhere, but as a response to the preconceptions associated with the fieldworker. During the fieldwork, I was mostly treated as a fellow Hungarian, another diasporic subject, who was in need of orientation in Catalonia (for an example, see the analysis in Subsection 4.1.2). In four cases, I also conducted interviews during the ethnographic fieldwork when the participants showed interest in explaining to me some details of the events.

Online focus groups

As described in the previous section, in 2020 meeting in person was not possible for a long time. In this period, I myself created online spaces for encounters which I call online focus groups. The platform I applied for the online focus groups was Google Meet because my university had a subscription to this service, and I found that it can be used by anyone who owns a Google profile. The greatest advantage of focus group discussion is its potential to collect interactive data; in this sense it combines the benefits of both participant observation and individual interviews as a complementary data source in qualitative epistemology. In some cases, they also serve as means for participants to gain new experiences and to get to know some information they have not known before. In their classic forms, focus groups vary in the number of participants from 6 to 12, their timespan does not exceed 90 minutes, and the research provides a neutral location where video and audio recording can be conducted. They are widely used in several disciplines such as marketing, sociology, education, geography etc. (Smithson 2000; for sociolinguistic use, see Keating 2019). However, the online version was primarily applied in qualitative health studies (see Flynn et al., 2018; Daniels et al., 2019; Jiang & Cohen, 2020). In general, online focus groups function well with fewer participants than face-to-face focus groups. According to the aforementioned literature, the advantages are the followings: it is a convenient solution to span across physical distances, people with restricted mobility can also participate, anonymity is easily resolvable which is important in case of sensitive topics, it is cost-effective, and last but not least, it can be used when face-to-face focus groups cannot be

organized – such as in the case of global pandemic (see also Fazakas & Barabás 2020). Of course, online focus group is not the panacea for all qualitative research, it obviously has its own disadvantages as well. Participation is more difficult to control (the late arrival of participants, earlier leaving, late cancellations etc.), technological problems might turn up (due to poor internet connection or unknown software), the circumstances of the participants might disturb the conversation (background noise, other people). These benefits and drawbacks differ in terms of the research context, the preferences of the participants, the relationship between researcher and participant, technological challenges, confidentiality and consent, recording and transcription, and the access to the videoconferencing service.

Most of the aforementioned issues occurred in my fieldwork as well. Organizing these conversational events required great effort and patience. Although all participants were at home and had more leisure time available than usual, some of them lost count of time and arrived late, left messages unanswered, or simply did not attend at the end. Technological problems turned up as well, but they were mostly solved quickly. Most of the participants did not live alone, so in some cases they needed to coordinate with their family members or flatmates, but these did not cause any difficulties during the focus groups. In other cases, e.g., when the newborn baby was shown to friends, the online platform and the research event together created a way of maintaining an emotive relationship between people which is already a recognized and frequently utilized social practice in translocal families (Palviainen 2020). In some of these videoconferences, previously unacquainted people could meet each other which was also a way of looking at how diasporic subjects interact with each other. Although I call these meetings online focus groups, I did not behave as a classic moderator or facilitator. I prepared a list of questions in relation to the quarantine for the first few online focus groups (see Appendix B), but I pointed out at the beginning that we did not have to speak about them and I encouraged participants to ask questions from each other. In two of the online focus groups, I handed over the right for them to ask – this instruction resulted in gaining two important insights: first, I got access to how diasporic subjects tried to get to know each other, and second, I got familiar with the questions they are interested in discussing. In the lockdown, I conducted 8 of these online focus groups, while later in the autumn I recorded 4 more with those who by then became the key participants of the whole research.

Diaries and language portraits

As mentioned in Subsection 3.2.2, at one point under the restrictions, I decided to ask some former participants to contribute to the research by creating diaries on their communicational practices, and 5 participants agreed to participate finally. Such techniques have been used in minority language contexts in order to find out the amount or frequency of how much people actually talk in majority and minority languages (e.g., Jones et al. 2000, De Meulder & Birnie 2020). In my case, the scope was a bit wider: I did not limit language to speaking and writing a certain named language, but I asked them to include every communication act that is important for them (for the instructions, see Appendix C). This resulted in rich data on how the diasporic subjects communicate. The diaries were supplemented by follow-up interviews.

Once I also asked participants to draw their language portraits which is a research method for mapping one's linguistic repertoire (Busch 2012, 2018). This happened the first time when it became possible to meet up with more than 6 people again. I just meant this to be a playful exercise to start a conversation, but these portraits also turned out to be a rich source for understanding some of the participants' motivations on, for instance, why they moved to Catalonia (therefore, I consider them separate from *magyar tertúlia* discussions). Here I have also slightly deviated from the original instructions: I did not use the word *language*, and this caused very

diverse solutions in the exercise. My aim with that was to find out whether all language-related issues are connected to named languages or not. This activity was followed by a group discussion.

Type of data	Amount of data
biographical interview	31 interviews (time in total: 34:24:49)
ethnographic interview	4 interviews (time in total: 2:30:28)
online focus group	12 online focus groups (time in total: 18:12:13)
diary	5 diaries and 5 follow-up discussions (time in total: 4:39:14)
language portrait	7 drawings and 1 follow-up discussion (time: 0:46:37)

Table 3.3: The description of elicitation data

Diaries and language portraits were not originally planned parts of this research, but I used them during the main fieldwork phase as possible solutions to elicit data on the linguistic practices of the participants under restricted social circumstances. Despite being standalone valuable methods in studying speakers' subjectivity differing from conventional one-on-one interviews (see also Purkarthofer & Flubacher eds. 2022), in the analysis of this thesis they are treated as complementary data sources.

3.3.3. Documentation

Blommaert & Dong (2010: 58) suggest collecting every "rubbish" which is in connection with our fieldwork. At diasporic events during fieldwork, I endeavored to collect everything I could think of and carry with me: fliers, flags, business cards, handouts, representational products, etc. When any information on the events had been shared publicly on the internet, I saved them. I bookmarked all the media releases I found in connection with Hungarians in Catalonia or in Spain. When somebody took a photo in encounters with research purposes and sent it to me, I downloaded them. I was somewhat obsessed with collecting such materials. I tried to document every tiny bit of Hungarianness in Catalonia. These were mostly used to constantly map what is going on in the field, but in some cases this type of data will be also shown in the analytical chapters.

3.3.4. Collaborative interpretation

By collaborative interpretation, I refer to the collaborative techniques I used in the main fieldwork phase and the post-fieldwork phase. These techniques included the gatherings with the key participants which we called *magyar tertúlia* and the feedbacks the key participants gave me to the summaries I wrote about the analytical chapters. I argue that the collaborative interpretation within this research contributed to a better understanding of diasporization by involving the perspectives of the diasporic subjects and it also contributed to the democratization of the academic knowledge production process.

The face-to-face meetings we organized with the key participants were called *magyar tertúlia*. In the *magyar tertúlia* discussions, the topics were defined by what the key participants wrote on the cards in the first offline meeting. These *magyar tertúlia* discussions were also a

space of reflexivity, by which I mean that everyone had the opportunity to give reflections on what was previously discussed, and in a few cases I also brought small interactional data excerpts to interpret together. We also created an online chat platform for ourselves, where such shorter pertinent conversations could be delivered as well between the monthly encounters.

Methodologically, it is also important to mention that building rapport for such deep collaboration requires a long time. In my case, it also took months to let the key participants get to know me enough to participate actively and reframe their own position from informants to something deeper. These are all necessary for collaborative interpretation. With time, most pandemic restrictions were lifted by April 2021, so other people were invited to *magyar tertúlia* discussions as well.

As part of the collaborative interpretation, before leaving Catalonia in July 2021, I asked the five key participants to give some reflections on how they felt during our collaboration – two of them did this individually, while three of them chose to complete it in a group conversation. At the end of these, I told them that I would later approach them again when I wrote the analytical chapters.

By May 2022, I wrote summaries of these chapters which were sent to the key participants who were asked to give feedback on the findings in whatever form they prefer. With four of them, I made another recorded conversation, while one of them preferred to give written feedback. In July 2022, I also visited a *magyar tertúlia* gathering, where I showed them a summary of the results. In this *magyar tertúlia*, another conversation was recorded.

Type of data	**Amount of data**
magyar tertulia discussion	7 audio recordings (time in total: 9:02:36)
fieldwork-closing conversation with the key participants	3 audio recordings (time in total: 1:32:40)
post-fieldwork individual feedback	4 conversations (time in total: 1:29:08), 1 written feedback
post-fieldwork focus group	1 audio recording (time in total: 1:49:46)

Table 3.4: The description of interpretational data

I would not like to give the impression that this is the first research in the history of sociolinguistics to use the tool of collaborative interpretation. Despagne (2021), for instance, used a technique which she called "interpretive focus groups" (IFG). IFGs served for the participatory secondary analysis of the data, and in this sense, it was one of the two levels of triangulation. As a benefit, Despagne mentions that the participants of IFGs also pointed out connections that the researcher had not noticed (Despagne 2021: 144). In this sense, they were able to validate, challenge and reinterpret the researcher's interpretations, i.e., the method of IFG increased the reliability of the results. Although Despagne calls this the "decolonization" of research, recommends choosing community members for IFGs who are more familiar with academic processes than the average participant. In my context, however, the very same people were asked to participate in interpretation, as they were the ones who have both shown interest in the topic of the research and sacrificed time to collaborate in longer terms. The fact that they were asked to comment on the findings before final publication is not intended to be a form of decolonization, but rather an attempt to democratize the research process. I share the idea of Appadurai that

research "is an essential capacity for democratic citizenship" (Appadurai 2006: 176). As he also argues, "while knowledge of the world is increasingly important for everybody (from tourist guides to pharmaceutical researchers), the opportunities for gaining such knowledge are shrinking" (Appadurai 2006: 176). I believe that through long-term collaboration, methodical thinking together and collaborative interpretation, the key participants themselves have benefited from the experience that exploratory research can give – especially by gaining knowledge in a democratized framework.

3.4. The analytical process

In this section, I explain how the data described in the previous section was analyzed in my research. I describe the 4-step analytic method I drew on, the ways the collaborative interpretation influenced the organization of the analytical chapters, and the ways the interactional data was approached. I argue that the collaboration with the key participants helped me identify the most important traits of diasporic experiences in late modernity in line with the existing literature; these traits are dispersion, boundary-maintenance, boundary-erosion, homeland orientation and homeland reorientation that I later also connected to sociolinguistic concepts. I also argue that the data shown in this thesis should be understood as research moments in which diasporic subjects interact while doing constant identity and boundary work.

As described above, the data of the research was generated from very different data sources. To be able to manage them, I drew on a 4-step method proposed by Heller and her colleagues (2018: 105–120) for ethnographic studies. These four steps included the activities of mapping, tracing, connecting, and claiming. Mapping refers to the organization of our data in terms of categories, resources, activities, time, space, and material objects. Tracing is the activity of following some chosen categories in order to explore the circulation of people, resources and social actions. The first two steps are descriptive ones, while the third one is explanatory, in which the researcher has to find some interconnections between the elements previously mapped and traced. The last step is an explicit articulation of what my explorations allow me to say about the research questions.

At the beginning of the research, I first wanted to map the discourses that circulate among Hungarians in Catalonia, their practices and the resources they draw upon when engaging in the processes of diasporization. In this sense, I did not arrive at the fieldwork with well-articulated and specific research questions as is usual in the case of not ethnographically informed studies, but I wanted to explore how diasporization manifests under late modern circumstances among Hungarians in Catalonia and how diasporic experiences are interactionally constructed. I, of course, had certain assumptions on what topics would be interesting or important to discover in connection with the processes of diasporization. For instance, it promptly turned out that the topic of integration is a very frequently discussed topic among Hungarians in connection with the local languages (as it will be shown in Chapter 5). However, I had been struggling with identifying the language issues that matter the most for Hungarians in Catalonia. I overcame this barrier during the collaboration with the key participants. At our first *magyar tertúlia*, I asked them to write up questions or topics on sticky notes that they would discuss with other Hungarians in Catalonia. Their questions and topics were certainly determined by our previous encounters, but these notes still represent the participants' own interests that were shaped throughout our collaboration. We discussed these questions and topics during the *magyar tertúlia* discussions, but then I also retraced them in the whole data. As my all-time objective was to explore the processes of diasporization in line with the issues that the diasporic subjects themselves find important, I decided to put the questions on these cards written by them into the focus of each analytical chapter.

Similarly to the findings of Papp Z. and colleagues (2020), I also observed that these topics are parallel with the qualities that Brubaker (2005) finds defining in the literature of diaspora: dispersion, boundary-maintenance, homeland orientation. Of course, this is not a coincidence; these are my own interpretations inspired by how the key participants articulated their questions. I organized the analytical chapters in a way in which the taxonomy of the literature review by Brubaker (2005) and the issues brought in by the key participants can be read together with certain sociolinguistic concepts. However, as Brubaker (2005) already shed light on it, the categories of dispersion, boundary-maintenance and homeland orientation have to be approached in a more dynamic and diverse mode. Therefore, I have divided the topics of boundary work and orientation into two separate chapters.

The number of the chapter	**Title**	**The criteria from Brubaker (2005)**	**The question of a key participant**
4	Dispersion	Dispersion	*Honnan indult, mi a célja?* ('Where is he/she from, what is his/her aim?')
5	Boundaries in erosion	Boundary-maintenance	*Hogy megy a beilleszkedés?* ('How is [your] integration going')
6	Boundaries maintained		*Van-e itt valami, ami nem tetszik nekik?* ('Is there something they do not like here?')
7	Homeland orientation	Homeland orientation	*Hazaszeretet – haza elhagyás – bűntudat* ('Patriotism – leaving home – remorse')
8	Homeland reorientation		*Tanult valamit, ami csak itt volt lehetséges?* ('Did s/he learn something that was possible only here?')

Table 3.5: The outline of the analytical chapters

In the analytical chapters, interactional data will be presented as evidence of the claims. Therefore, it is important to underline here how these interactions are approached. When participants tell something about what they usually do is not understood in a way that they actually do that. These tellings are rather understood as narratives (De Fina 2003, De Fina & Georgakopoulou eds. 2015). The "truthfulness" of these narratives is not necessarily important. What matters more is the way the diasporic subject mobilizes discourses, practices and resources in order to represent herself, her roles, her identities, her imaginations in front of other diasporic subjects (see also De Fina 2011, Wortham et al. 2011). In line with that, the interactions themselves are treated as moments of the fieldwork in which diasporic subjects engage in certain forms of identity negotiation. Narrative analysis is frequently used in migration studies in order to find access to the own perspectives of migrants (on language and communication in the case of sociolinguistics; see also De Fina & Tseng 2017). Moment analysis, coined by Li Wei, switches the focus onto the "spontaneous, impromptu, and momentary actions and performances of the individual" (Li 2011: 1224). The combination of these two in the ethnographically informed inquiry can be extremely fruitful in understanding the meaning-making processes in connection with diasporization that relies on the groupings of various resources that might be historically connected to each other.

3.5. Research ethics

All research activities can potentially have ethical implications, and in some cases, these go beyond the ethical approval of research. In this section, I describe the practical aspects of research ethics, the ways how I carried out the main research phase during the COVID-19 pandemic, and how the collaborative part of this research contributed to an ethical and responsible way of researching.

One of the first ethical issues is how the research and researcher are introduced to potential research participants. When I met a Hungarian living in Catalonia during my ethnographic fieldwork, I always tried to make it clear that I was there primarily for research purposes. After approaching them to ask for their participation in an interview, I also included the key research ethics information, such as the fact that participation is completely voluntary and can be canceled at any time, and there was no risk of personal harm as the material will be anonymized. When conducting an interview, I only started the recorder after the clarification of ethical and legal issues and the participants' consent. In practice, this meant the signature of a form that was available in English and Castilian (see appendix F) – the whole process was approved and the form was provided by the Ethics Committee of the Open University of Catalonia. In some cases, the participants asked for my explanation in Hungarian instead of reading the legal text thoroughly in another language before signing the document. After the interviews, I transcribed and anonymized all the recorded data. I gave pseudonyms to all participants. I stored these files along with my fieldnotes and other research material in a password-protected folder created by a software called Veracrypt as required by the protocol of the Ethics Committee.

Research ethics, however, is not only about meeting the legal requirements. A major ethical concern during my fieldwork was the vulnerability of the research participants during the COVID-19 pandemic. More precisely, how the fieldwork could be delivered in a way that met the current restrictions, did not risk the participants' well-being, and was simultaneously beneficial for them. During the ten-weeks long quarantine, I could only get into contact with Hungarians online. Instead of continuing conducting individual interviews online, I decided to organize meetings where the participants had the chance to share their own thoughts, sometimes concerns with fellow Hungarians which was both valuable for them and for my research. As this period was extremely stressful for everyone, I was never pushy with the potential participants who, for instance, forgot to show up at the scheduled time and I tried to avoid putting pressure on them. Although the strictest pandemic restrictions were only in place for the ten-week period, this did not mean that it was easy to organize face-to-face meetings afterwards. These restrictions were always changing during the main fieldwork phase and were not lifted fully, so I never initiated a meeting which would infringe the measures in force. Besides, throughout the main fieldwork phase, I had to always keep in mind the individual needs of the participants and endeavored to adapt to these needs. For instance, when somebody preferred to speak to me online or postpone our meeting, I agreed – even if postponing the encounter led to never meeting in the first place. When I met somebody in person who preferred to wear a mask, I wore it – and I took it off when somebody preferred not to wear it outdoors and wanted to see my face instead. So the two factors that I always took into account when organizing meetings with the participants were the current pandemic measures and the preferences of the participants. In some cases, these two factors led to contradictions. For instance, when there was a curfew from 10 o'clock in the evening, I insisted that the *magyar tertúlia* should end before, because I did not want the participants to break the law because of the research – they all accepted my proposal, but some commented that nobody takes these rules seriously anymore. My decision may seem paternalistic, yet I think this was the only way of researching ethically and responsibly during the COVID-19 pandemic. Since no one could be sure at the time what the right or preferable behavior was in terms of prevention, I always adapted the "rules" of the

research meetings to the current regulations and the individual preferences of the participants. In my opinion, this was the only way of tackling the issue of vulnerability.

Besides the practical questions of informed consents and the pandemic, I also treated the collaborative part of the research as a question of research ethics. Collaboration has its advantages in contributing to a better understanding of the sociolinguistic phenomena of diasporization, but it also contributes to the democratization of academic knowledge production. The key participants showed a high level of commitment and interest in this research and they sacrificed a great amount of time and energy to take part in the *magyar tertúlia* gatherings. Therefore, I also considered it an ethical obligation to involve them in further phases of the research. For instance, the post-fieldwork activities allowed them to see the research findings and provide feedback on them. Among the ethical questions, I also emphasize here that I wrote the summaries for the key participants in Hungarian, thus providing better access to the research findings for those who were not familiar with academic English texts. This way they had the chance to shape how the diasporization of Hungarians in Catalonia is represented in this dissertation. Although this solution did not subvert the power relations of academic knowledge production, it can be understood as an attempt of ethical and responsible research *on*, *for* and *with* (Cameron et al. 1992, 1993) the diasporic subjects.

3.6. Advantages and limitations

This project, as an ethnographically informed study, has the potential to address the emic perspectives of diasporic subjects, i.e., to find access to the most important factors Hungarians in Catalonia see salient in their diasporic experiences. As a critical sociolinguistic study, it can conceivably point to the role that language plays in the process of diasporization and the language issues that matter for the diasporic subjects. As the research also applied collaborative techniques, it contributed to a better and more ethical representation of the evolving Hungarian diaspora in Catalonia.

However, as all academic research has limitations, ethnographic knowledge production has too, and these limitations also have to be taken into consideration. Ethnographic research acknowledges that data production and interpretation are produced by the positionality of the researcher. I conducted the fieldwork of this thesis as a male researcher in his mid-20s with a master's degree in teaching Hungarian and History. This set of information surely made an impact on how research participants saw me and what stories they wanted to tell me, for instance, in relation to gendered aspects of diasporization. As a corollary, it can also be stated that representations through the publication of research findings are always partial as no researcher can get equal access to every important aspect of the field. Although the majority of Hungarians in Catalonia live in Barcelona province and most of the diasporic events are Barcelona-centered, it is also important to mention that the sample of participants also mostly consisted of Barcelona-located people. Whereas the pandemic restrictions did not allow me to broaden the perspectives any further, it can be assumed that other types of diasporic experiences could have been touched upon with Hungarians centered in other provinces of Catalonia.

In my research, I endeavored to acknowledge these specificities, thus, I worked out three methodological aspects to manage them in a way that even contributes to the validity of the research findings. The first aspect was the involvement of the key participants in the research process by delineating the main topics of the research together throughout the discussions of our space of reflexivity called *magyar tertúlia*. With this aspect, I aimed to accommodate my own perspectives with the experiences of the key participants. The second aspect was the collaboration in the post-fieldwork phase. As mentioned above, I wrote summaries of the research findings to show them to the key participants. Their feedback can be read at the end of the

analytical chapters. With this solution, I intended to make the text more polyphonic by representing their voices in addition to mine. As I do not want to give the impression that this research report is independent of the researcher's perspective, the third aspect is that the analysis also includes comments on how I was present in the interactions. Besides, at the end of each chapter, I provide an autoethnographic reflection on my own diasporic experiences as a Hungarian in Catalonia in order to show reflexively how my positionality influenced the process of data production and analysis.

Each analytical chapter is organized as follows. It kicks off with an introductory vignette that begins with a quotation from a *magyar tertúlia* discussion. The introduction presents the topic in line with the content of the chapter. Then, a short theoretical part helps capture the phenomenon articulated in the question. After showing the body of analysis with the connections found between the mapped and the traced categories in subsections, the chapter continues with a summary of the claimed findings. At the end, for the sake of polyphony, the feedback of a key participant is presented along with a few of my autoethnographic notes and reflections.

4. Dispersion

This chapter seeks access to the personal experiences of migration and the ways these experiences are narrated into the biographies of the participants in terms of time and space. These topics have not arisen merely from my scholarly interests but are also the outcome of the collaboration with the key participants. As I mentioned above in the methodological chapter, the key participants were requested on one occasion to write questions on a sticky note which they would ask from other Hungarians in Catalonia. The questions that gave impetus at the base of the current chapter were the following: *Honnan indult, mi a célja?* ('Where does he/she come from, what is his/her aim?'). These two questions already imply that dispersion is recognized as a common source of experience and dialogue by Hungarians in Catalonia. In this chapter, I interpret these experiences together with the notion of dispersion and the conceptual framework of chronotopes.

As discussed in previous chapters, diasporization is understood here as an emerging experience of individuals instead of putting diaspora in the focus of research as a structural category. Experiences may differ from individual to individual, but in general these may be approached in line with criteria set out in previous research. One obvious aspect of these experiences is that of displacement, of moving somewhere else in space. A less obvious aspect is the different temporalities that people bring to bear when they make sense of this displacement. This is described here with the label *dispersion*, which is the first criterion in Brubaker's article (2005: 5) on the definition of diaspora in previous research. Dispersion may be considered obvious to describe diaspora, but it is also vague in the sense that the necessity of displacement is not clarified. Brubaker argues that dispersion "can be interpreted strictly as forced or otherwise traumatic dispersion; more broadly as any kind of dispersion in space, provided that the dispersion crosses state borders" (Brubaker 2005: 5). The problem with the strict understanding of dispersion is that it implies a homogeneous group that once faced a kind of collective cataclysm that then provoked the dispersion. Although forced migration can be one specific experience associated with diasporization, it is however, not necessarily the case with diasporas in late modernity as are addressed by an increasing number of scholars (see Androutsopoulos & Lexander 2021, Karimzad & Catedral 2021, Márquez Reiter & Martín Rojo eds. 2015).

Hungarians in Catalonia do not constitute a homogeneous community and do not share a collective history of migration. This population consists of people with diverse backgrounds and motivations despite the relatively short time span in which Hungarians have been settling in the autonomous community. Most of them come from Hungary, while others from the Hungarian minority communities of the neighboring countries. Some of them came to work, others to study; some of them arrived alone, others were accompanied by their family; some plan to stay longer or forever, while others only want to spend a shorter time there. None of these motivations can be approached from forced migration, yet, the participants showed interest in finding common ground in their incentives for dispersion.

When discussing the questions of *Honnan indult, mi a célja?* ('Where does he/she come from, what is his/her aim?') during one of the *magyar tertulia* discussions, Dénes, a key participant, revealed that he was the one who had written this note, so he made an attempt to clarify the question. In this explanation, he provided an autobiographical narrative in which he compared the past and the present version of himself.

(1)
Dénes: én arra gondoltam ezzel a- szerintem ez egy elég találó kérdés ugye. végülis mindent magába foglal. nagyon sok mindent. tehát személyesen, ö szakmailag, ö végülis magamra gondolván, amikor- mikor

elindultam Magyarországról, húszévesen, akkor azt hittem, hogy sokat tudok, hogy nagy tapasztalat van mögöttem. hát természetesen nem volt. és végülis hát idővel rájöttem, hogy- hogy egy- hogy ahol kibontakoztam, az végülis itt volt, ahogy érett emberré kovácsoltam magam, vagy kovácsolt az élet, és ö és hát persze nagyon sok minden, ahogy visszagondolok, hogy- hogy ö magyarországi önmagam az egy- egy ö teljesen- ö tudatlan ö | valaki volt. egy tudatlan, tapasztalatlan- nem tudtam semmit az életről

English translation:

Dénes: with this question I referred to- I think this is a conundrum. after all it covers everything. a lot of things. so personally, ehm professionally, ehm after all thinking about myself, when- when I left Hungary, at the age of twenty, I thought that I knew a lot, that I had a great amount of experiences. of course, I did not. and after all, well later I realized that- that a- that where I [viz. my story] unfolded, it was here after all, where I have made a mature person out of myself, or life did that, and ehm and well of course a lot of things [comes to my mind] if I recollect, that in Hungary I was- was a completely- ehm completely clueless | one. a clueless, inexperienced- I did not know anything about life

In this excerpt, Dénes opposed his current self to his former self both in spatial and temporal dimensions. In this narrative account, the here-and-now Dénes was characterized by maturity, whereas the there-and-then persona was understood as a clueless and inexperienced one. The narrator Dénes saw the shift not only in the passing of time, but in the loci as well: *itt* ('here') was where he was able to become what he would like to represent about himself to his interlocutors. He depicted this shift with two grammatical subjects: first, he referred to himself ([*én*] *kovácsoltam magam* '[I] have made out of myself'), then to the circumstances in general (*kovácsolt az élet* 'life did'). Dénes constructed a self-image that originated from his migration route and his presence in Catalonia (for an analysis of biographical time, see Woolard 2013: 213–215). Notably, Dénes also constructed his experience of displacement within the temporality of a lifespan from youth to maturity, a dimension which, as I will show below, was not shared by all participants in the way they recounted their own experiences.

To understand these relations, I draw on the Bakhtinian concept of chronotope, which is adopted in sociolinguistics to demonstrate that identity is never finalized or fixed, rather actively and interactively performed (Creese & Blackledge 2020). In Lyons and Tagg's words, chronotopes are "the socially conditioned configurations of time and space, which reflect and determine the historical, biographical, and social relations within a given interactive context" (Lyons & Tagg 2019: 658). Dénes's questions on the past and the future of other Hungarians in Catalonia cannot be adequately approached without taking into account what kind of chronotopically organized self-identifications emerge in the observed narratives. In this chapter, combining Dénes's question with the scholarly perspectives, I examine the complex identity work research participants as narrators did in different contexts, i.e., what they said about dispersion, about where they come from and what their aim was.

In this chapter, I first discuss the conceptual framework of chronotope. Then I analyze the personal narratives of the participants that include (often stereotypical) self-identification categories with respect to migration trajectories, such as *integrálódott* ('*integrated*') or *nomád* ('nomád'), *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* ('Hungarian who lives a bit further'), *gyökértelen* ('rootless'), *segítő* ('supporting person'). I argue that these self-ascribed categories embody different experiences of dispersion and they were also usually associated with certain forms of social behavior (such as language choices) in the narratives of the speakers. Then, the next section provides an overview of how the participants recalled the former and current Hungarian organization in Catalonia in connection with these chronotopic categories. I end the chapter with Dénes's feedback on the summary of the findings and my own autoethnographic reflection on where I came from and what my aim was with this study.

4.1. The concept of chronotope

The term was coined in the translations of Mikhail Bakhtin's essay titled *Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel* (Bakhtin 1981: 84–258). Chronotope literally means 'time-space' in Greek (*χρόνος* 'time', *τόπος* 'space'). Bakhtin defined it as "the intrinsic connectedness to temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature" (Bakhtin 1981: 84). The reason for the great influence the concept made is the way it sees time and space inseparable from each other in the process of meaning-making and semiosis. Although Bakhtin applied chronotope for the historical semiotic analysis of literary genres, he also noted that it is possible to "deal with chronotope in other areas of culture" (Bakhtin 1981: 84). Chronotopes do not merely determine genres, but images of the self and certain character developments as well (Woolard 2013). Understandably, linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics also discovered the concept recently due to its potential to explain social and linguistic relations. In Jan Blommaert's words, chronotopes "invoke and enable a plot structure, characters or identities, and social and political worlds in which actions become dialogically meaningful, evaluated, and understandable in specific ways" (Blommaert 2015: 109).

There is also a great body of literature on the sociolinguistic analysis of narratives and migration that uses chronotope (Catedral 2021; Creese & Blackledge 2020; Karimzad & Catedral 2018a, 2018b, 2021; Perrino 2011, 2015), but the main reason for applying the concept here lies in the capability to shed light on the ways narrators do complex identity work with references to time and space. De Fina (2016) identifies three important aspects of Bakhtin's theory that provide an impetus for this analysis. The first aspect is the connection between chronotopes and ideologies. The excerpts of this chapter will also point out the diasporic subjects' endeavor to fit a complex web of social expectations, normativities, and ideological settings that may differ in time and space. The second aspect is the fractal quality of chronotope, which eventuates that they can be identified on different scales. This characteristic fosters the possibility to map chronotopes throughout disparate data sources (for instance, in individual interviews, in group conversations, and in diaries). According to Goebel, the researcher also has to move between time and space "to understand the indexical potentials of semiotic forms used in situated interaction" (Goebel 2020: 67). Finally, the third aspect is that identities are essentially chronotopic. There is dynamicity in a chronotopic approach that makes it especially useful here: the identities emerge in interaction, but their meaning is made by their circulation and social evaluation. Such as in Bakhtin's examples on literary genres, the identifications Hungarians apply in their interactions in Catalonia can also work just because chronotopic identities have historicities and spatial dimensions, but they also have potential to change dynamically.

In the analysis, I also draw on the term "figure (of personhood)", which corresponds to "indexical images of speaker-actor in general terms" (Agha 2005: 39). Although the recent sociolinguistic literature uses *figure* interchangeably with *voice* and *persona* (see Bodó et al. 2019, 2022b; Jonnson et al. 2020; Kiesling 2019, Park 2021), by figure I refer to the chronotopically organized self-ascribed identity categories in the narratives of the research participants. Of course, figures are not equivalent to the identities of the speakers in the sense that they are not entirely textual, but figures, "as indexicals that can be used to identify, enact, or perform person types, serve as the semiotic basis for the construction and negotiation of identities" (Park 2021: 49). Drawing on Goffman's approach to the figure, Pujolar (2001) argues that a speaker is always split within a narrative "into different characters and roles she animates through different voices and gestural indications" (Pujolar 2001: 175). By the usage of figure in this analysis, I would like to emphasize that these self-ascribed identity categories are characters in the narratives that can be seen as one way of understanding how dispersion is enacted.

4.2. Chronotopic figures in the personal narratives of Hungarians in Catalonia

In the following, I provide an overview of the most salient chronotopic figures from the data: the *integrálódott* ('integrated'), the *nomád* ('nomad'), the *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* ('Hungarian who lives a bit further'), the *gyökértelen* ('rootless') and the *segítő* ('supporting person'). These figures are going to demonstrate that there is not only one diasporic experience on dispersion in late modernity. A chronotopic approach to dispersion can potentially show the fact that there can be myriad ways in imagining a diasporic subject in time, space, and morality. The *integrálódott* belongs to an earlier experience of migration when displacement was mostly understood as a single and irrevocable decision. For the *integrálódott*, the morally acceptable behavior is to adjust to the local milieu as promptly as possible. In contrast, in the chronotope of the *nomád,* dispersion is seen as a constant movement in which the space where one is currently located does not really matter. The figure of the *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* perceives the distances and the boundaries between the homeland and the host-land but sees them easily penetrable due to the European free movement. The figure of the *gyökértelen* is stuck between two localities: cannot feel at home in the homeland anymore and cannot feel at home in the host-land yet. The figure of the *segítő*, however, sees her role in creating homeliness for her beloved ones in the host-land by maintaining contacts with both the local and the homeland communities. These five chronotopes embody acceptable diasporic behaviors. However, at the end of the section, I also mention three other figures that were judged by the participants as ones that the diasporic subject should not become. These were the figures of the *emigráns* ('emigrant') who takes a lot of care of what happens in Hungary, the *világpolgár* ('world citizen') who does not really share patriotic feelings, and the *guiri* ('tourist' in Castilian) who do not involve in local issues at all. I argue that these figures circulate among Hungarians in Catalonia as chronotopic images of the diasporic subjects.

4.2.1. The *integrálódott*

For some diasporic subjects, the most acceptable behavior is endeavoring to adjust to the norms of the host-land as soon as possible. This way of looking at the justification of dispersion manifested in the emergence of the chronotopic figure of the *integrálódott* during my fieldwork with Hungarians in Catalonia. In this subsection, I explain the characteristics of this figure through the examples Gyuri, one of the key participants gave me. The figure of the *integrálódott*, in this context, is one who refuses the attitude of *emigráns* ('emigrant) Hungarians and identifies with the struggles of Catalans. The first occasion I met Gyuri was an online encounter after he replied, without any prior contact, to my call to participate in the research online during the COVID-19 lockdown. He was already a retired person then, with significant spare time (for a more detailed description, see Subsection 3.1.3). When I conducted the first interview with him, he turned out to be an extremely talkative person, who shared a great amount of information about himself. Later in the *magyar tertulia* discussions, he repeatedly constructed an image about himself as a *teljesen integrálódott* ('fully integrated') person. The following excerpt shows the first time he used this self-identification. The category came up after I asked him whether he had any experiences on what local people thought about Hungarians coming to Catalonia. In his exhaustive response he opposed himself to the figure of the *emigráns* ('emigrant') and, as shown in Excerpt (2).

(2)
Gyuri: *egy időben engem meg is lepett, hogy- hogy nem nagyon kérdezősködtek, hogy* (#said in low pitch: *hát hogy van az a Magyarország?*) *meg satöbbi satöbbi, hanem- hanem ö elfogadtak. persze ehhez talán kellett az is, hogy én- én sose viselkedtem úgy- persze nem rejtettem véka alá sem, de sosem viselkedtem*

úgy, mint egy külföldi, tudod? tehát igyekeztem úgy viselkedni, mint hogy az- az elképzelésem az volt, hogy- hogy itt- itt integrálódom, tehát a munkavégzésben, a- és a társadalmi életben, mondjuk így, tehát ö család, barátság, satöbbi satöbbi, de nem voltam az a magyar, aki állandóan Magyarországról beszélt, tudod? mer van egy ilyen- ilyen, hogy az ember néha @, aki hát- aki- az emigráns, tudod? tehát ö tehát nem- nem- úgy érzem, hogy nem volt bennem soha az úgynevezett emigráns ö komplexus. tudod? tehát- tehát nem tartottam magam soha emigránsnak, hanem egy olyan magyarnak, aki családi okok miatt ö hát itt él

English translation:

Gyuri: at a certain point it even surprised me that they were not asking about (#said in low pitch: well how is that Hungary?) and etcetera etcetera, but- but ehm they accepted me. of course it was perhaps needed that I- I never behaved like- of course I did not hide it, but I never behaved like a foreigner, you know? so I endeavored to behave like that- my imagination was that- that I integrate, so in work, in- and in social life, let's say like, so ehm family, friendship, etcetera etcetera, but I was not that [kind of] Hungarian who was always speaking about Hungary, you know? because there is this kind- kind, that one sometimes @, who well- who- the emigrant, you know, so ehm so no- no- I feel I never had this so-called emigrant ehm complex. you know? so- so I never saw myself as an emigrant, but a Hungarian who ehm lives here for family reasons

Throughout his narrative, Gyuri constructed an image of his past self as someone who was immediately accepted by the local society after his arrival. This was explained by his behavior opposed to another figure which he labeled first as *külföldi* ('foreigner'), then as *emigráns* ('emigrant'), and the experience of this figure was even called *emigráns komplexus* ('emigrant complex'). With this opposition, he also did complex identity work in this event of speaking when assessing his past activities.

When making sense of such autobiographical narratives, it is important to take into account the switches between the spatial and temporal dimensions. Drawing on Jakobson's terminology, Wortham and colleagues (2011) distinguished between the event of speaking and the narrated event in an interview. This distinction fosters the understanding of a narrative as chronotopically organized because speakers take up interactional positions within an event of speaking regarding smaller and larger societal questions. The narrated events in the event of speaking also contribute to situational and macro roles (De Fina 2011). In this case, when being in the situational role of an interviewee, Gyuri alluded to the expected social and linguistic behavior of a newcomer. This behavior was explicated as integration with respect to family, work, and other social organizations. He claimed that he fulfilled this macro role of an integrated person, but others did not, and he condemned these others for remaining in the position of the *emigráns*. He did not specify any actual persons labeled this way, but still this depiction of others contributed to his own self-image construction.

Although in the first line of Excerpt (3) he became uncertain about the credibility of his previous statements, he continued his answer switching between past and present narrated events. Later in this excerpt he created an alignment between himself, the socially recognizable figure of a Catalan speaker, and an actual person with similar characteristics.

(3)

Gyuri: *nem tudom, hogy- hogy ö nem tudom, hogy ez- ez- ez valóban így volt-e, vagy csak kitalálom, tudod? de én úgy gondolom, hogy ez- ez így volt. tehát- tehát én ö a- a kapcsolatokban úgy- úgy igyekeztem viselkedni, mint egy spanyol, vagy egy katalán ugye, ez mindegy ilyen szempontból, tehát mint- mint egy spanyol. és ezért aztán ö nem is nagyon adtam alapot arra, hogy- hogy ö engem végülis mit tudom én- volt- volt* (#laugh) *olyan, még az elején, volt egy ö munkalehetőségem, ami aztán nem jött be, egy- Madridban, és elmentem Madridba, ez nyolcvanhárom végefelé volt, és ö nekem akkor már- én ugye spanyolul mindig a feleségemtől tanultam, és rettenetes katalán akcentusom van, ö hát rettenetes- szóval nagyon ér- (#laugh) érezni a katalán akcentust, tehát nekem nem magyar akcentusom van, mikor spanyolul beszélek, hanem katalán, tudod? és ezt nem tudom, hogy te felfigyeltél-e rá, hogy- például akinek*

rettenetes katalán akcentusa van, most nap, mint nap láthatod, az a Salvador Illa, az egészségügyi miniszter. ezt az akcentust a spanyolok ki nem állhatják, tudod?

(#both laugh)

Gyuri: *figyeld majd meg a- a Salvador Illának, aki ugye naponta ö nyilatkozik a tévéhíradóban, neki van ilyen. na most nekem ugyanilyen* (#laughing: *akcentusom van*). *na most amikor Madridba mentem, mondom nyolcvanháromba volt még, azt mondta nekem ott egy fickó, „te ide figyelj, hogy van neked ezzel a névvel ilyen- ilyen szörnyű akcentusod?"* (#laugh)

English translation:

Gyuri: I don't know if- if ehm I don't know if it really was this way, or I'm just making it up, you know? but I think that it was this way. so- so I ehm in- in relations I tried to behave like a Spaniard, or like a Catalan, this doesn't really matter, so like- like a Spaniard. so then ehm I did not give a reason to I don't know- once- once (#laugh) at the beginning, I had a job opportunity that did not work out finally, a- in Madrid, and I went to Madrid, this was at the endish of [nineteen] eighty-three, and ehm I already had- I learnt Spanish from my wife, and I have a terrible Catalan accent, ehm well terrible- so one can fe- (#laugh) feel the Catalan accent, so I do not have a Hungarian accent when I speak Spanish, but I have Catalan [accent], you know? and I don't know if you have observed that- for instance someone with a terrible Catalan accent, you can hear him now every day, is Salvador Illa, the minister of health. the Spaniards cannot stand this accent, you know?

(#both laugh)

Gyuri: observe this- this Salvador Illa, he gives statements in the news every day, he has this [accent]. well I have the same (#laughing: accent). when I went to Madrid, as I said this was in [nineteen] eighty-three, a lad told me there, "hey listen, how [is it that] you have this name and this- this terrible accent?" (#laugh)

In the second line of this excerpt, Gyuri clarified that the expected behavior he was able to adhere to was behaving "like a Spaniard". Even though he previously claimed in Excerpt (2) that being *integrálódott* only requires not to be an *emigráns*, here it turned out that integration cannot be seen as a unidirectional process. He said that it did not matter whether he tried to behave like a Spaniard or a Catalan. The narrated event from 1983 points to the fact that his agency in this question was quite restricted based on his linguistic resources. The way he had learned Spanish (back in Hungary with the help of his Catalan spouse) already anticipated how he would find a place for himself in the multicultural society he intended to adjust to. He had developed an accent which he evaluated as discernibly Catalan, and this feature in his speech production led him to be stigmatized in a job application situation in Madrid, the capital of Spain. This experience of his is parallel to what minority speakers are usually exposed to (or capturing this case, to what Catalans usually experience in other parts of Spain). In this sense, integration for Gyuri also meant to undertake the struggles and the collective experiences of Catalans in the Spanish society. This was also realized in the event of speaking when he made parallels between his accent and the minister's accent, and he argued that the stigmatization of their accents created commonality between them.

The way he narrated this past event also entailed some consequences for the event of speaking and for the interactants in that speech event. After speaking in general about socially recognizable figures (the *integrálódott*, the *emigráns*, a Spanish, a Catalan), he turned his narrative to an actual person, namely Salvador Illa who was serving as the Minister of Health of Spain at the time of the interview. Gyuri advised me to observe this man's way of speaking in order to understand his narrative on what the Catalan accent is like that both he and Illa possessed. This again shows that one takes up both macro and situational roles during an interview (which of course cannot be separated from each other; De Fina 2011). On the one hand, Gyuri constructed the self-image of a person who became an accepted member of the Catalan society, and this is also observable in the way he states generalizations on the way Spanish people treat Catalans (*ezt az akcentust a spanyolok ki nem állhatják* 'the Spaniards cannot stand this accent'). On the other hand, he also footed the position of the expert interviewee who was authorized to give "homework" to me, the person who was primarily in the interactional role of a fieldworker asking questions. This can be traced back to other roles and identities we reproduced in the

conversation. First, there was a significant age gap between us; second, I was not just younger than him but a newcomer in his eyes, who needed orientation in the local milieu. In this sense, our conversations also reproduced how two diasporic subjects with entirely different backgrounds might negotiate their interactive positions.

To sum up, the self-image Gyuri intended to build up contained moral assumptions on how a person migrating from Hungary to Catalonia should behave. This self-image, the figure of the *integrálódott*, was constructed in opposition to the refusal of integration: the *emigráns komplexus*. Gyuri coherently represented this image about himself throughout my whole fieldwork. His attitude, however, is not unique. In Subsection 4.3.1, I am going to show that this way of seeing the situation of Hungarians in Catalonia might also be observed in the entire generation that participated in the activities of the first diasporic organization, namely the Hungarian-Catalan Cultural Association founded in 1987. While Gyuri demonstrated a certain form of integration in his interview, Chapter 5 is going to provide a more detailed account on the kinds of discourses that circulate on the process of integration in the material of this thesis.

4.2.2. The *nomád*

Dispersion in late modernity is not necessarily a one-way road: some diasporic subjects go from one place to another without being linked emotionally the same way to each and also have the opportunity to return. In this subsection, I explain the figure of the *nomád* with the examples of János who identified as a *clandestino* (‘clandestine’) and Mónika who labeled herself as a *digitális nomád* (‘digital nomad’). The chronotopic figure of the *nomád* describes her life as one that is the same everywhere and is characterized by constant in-betweennness.

The moral approach to the necessary individual endeavors towards integration, which was definitely represented in Gyuri’s narrative in the previous chapter, is not necessarily obvious for everyone. People tend to have entirely different motivations for living in Catalonia. The next excerpt, part of another biographical interview, provides an example from the other extreme. János, who previously lived in several other countries as a reporter, moved to Barcelona after his retirement with his local spouse. The context of his sentences was my question of whether he ever felt disadvantaged.

(4)

János: *ha a hatóságokról beszélünk, akkor igen. most itt különösen. tehát megnehezedik- ez a nincs- még mindig nincs niém* [külföldi személyazoanosító számom]. *én egy* <clandestino> *vagyok. mondjuk ez volt a- ö Brüsszelben öt évig, szóval nagyon nem zavar, csak- csak mégis, tudod?* [...] *ha így kijössz, és pláne ha nyugdíjas vagy, akkor kell egy papír, hogy a magyar egészségügyi biztosító- szóval- és ezek ilyen huszonkettes csapdái dolgok*

Gergely: *hogyne*

János: *hogyha kell az a papír, de ahhoz a papírhoz az kell, hogy- szóval igen. nem untatlak, ezt igen, ezt éreztem. a másik pedig az, hogy hát persze, hogy érzem azt, mondjuk Katalóniában itt ö amióta függetlenségi processz van ugye, azóta hát a katalán nacionalizmus semmivel se jobb, mint a spanyol, szóval- tehát ö ez- ez- és én a katalán függetlenséggel alszom egy ágyba*

English translation:

János: if we speak about authorities, then yes, especially here. it is more difficult- this not- I still don’t have a NIE [‘foreign identification number’]. I am a <clandestino>. well, it was the- ehm [same] in Brussels for five years, so it doesn’t really bother me, but- but still, you know? [...] if you come here, and especially if you are retired, then you need a paper that the Hungarian health insurance- so- these are kind of Catch-22 situations

Gergely: of course

János: if you need that paper, then you need that [other] paper to- so yes. I will not bore you, yes, I felt this. the other thing is that of course I felt it let’s say here in Catalonia ehm since the independence process has

been on, since then Catalan nationalism has not been better than the Spanish at all so- so ehm this- this- and I share my bed with the Catalan independence

The self-ascribed category János used in his narrative is an unknown word in Hungarian; *clandestino* is a Spanish term usually referring to undocumented migrants. He, as a citizen of the European Union, was not residing in Catalonia illegally, yet he identified with this term pointing to the fact that because of the lack of a foreign identification number (that one has to apply for it if being an EU citizen), his access to health services was limited. According to my field experience and informal conversations with them, Hungarians in Catalonia usually interpret the process of obtaining the foreign identification number a *huszonkettes csapdája* ('Catch-22 situation'). János, the *clandestino* in this narrative, however, was not annoyed by the fact that he did not own local documents because that had been his way of living for a long time. This is also reflected in how he thought about any forms of nationalism. He also took up a moral position but an entirely different one from what Gyuri embodied. In this sense, the *clandestino* is an antithesis of the *integrálódott* in not showing sympathy to local national struggles.

After being interviewed, János frequently joined the face-to-face *magyar tertulia* discussions. At one of those occasions, the participants were invited to draw their language portraits (Busch 2012). In this activity János was the only one who did not depict any named languages on the silhouette (see Image 4.1). However, he provided brief textual explanations to his drawing: *Piros = szenvedély = mindig* ('Red = passion = always') and *Nyelv = minden* ('Language = all of them').

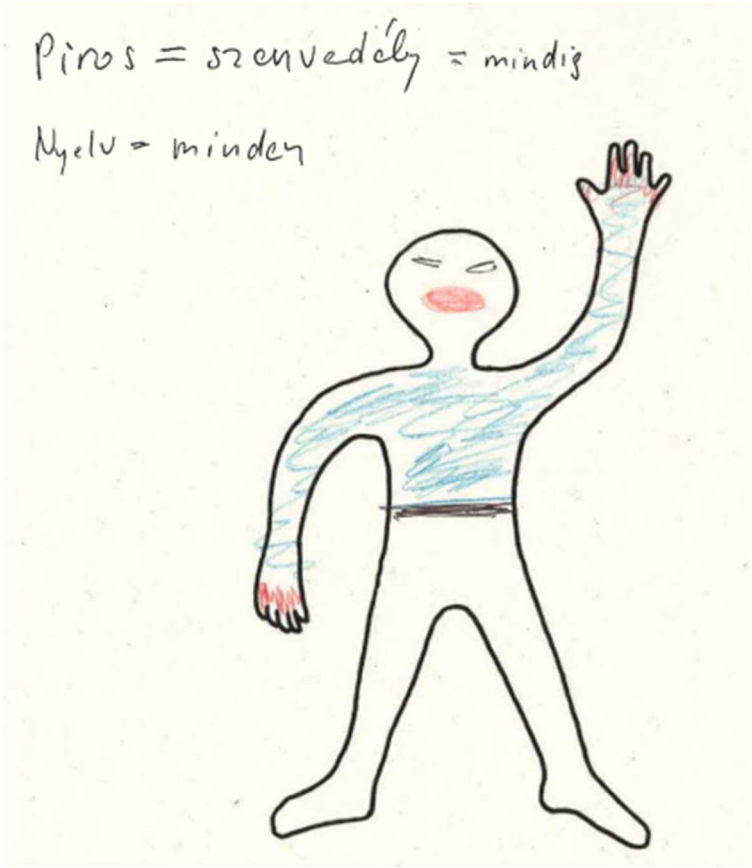

Image 4.1: János's language portrait

These portraits were discussed in a group of three without the presence of the fieldworker (as I gave them the recorder to start whenever they wanted while I was explaining the task to another group of participants). When he described his drawing to the others, he reasoned his choice by taking my instruction seriously, namely that they were to depict on this portrait how they communicate. He clarified that by *szenvedély* ('passion') he meant the feeling that carried him away whenever he was arguing with somebody. He also said that "*az az érdekes, hogy ez minden nyelven így van, tehát ez nem nyelvfüggő*" ('what is interesting is that this happens this way in every language, so it doesn't depend on the language') and "*tehát bármilyen nyelven beszélek, még az is, amelyiken rosszul beszélek*" ('so whatever language I speak, even in the one I speak poorly'). His two interlocutors, Rebeka and Detti found his point of view extremely interesting because they would not have described their communication that way. Detti added that when speaking Catalan or Portuguese passion would not carry her away and "*az egy jó szint, amikor tudsz veszekedni valakivel*" ('it is a good level when you are already able to argue with someone').

János's portrait is a good example to demonstrate that his *clandestino* attitude (as he put it) can be associated simultaneously with placelessness and everywhereness, or in-betweenness. While others represented their linguistic repertoire in terms of languages and actual spaces, János rather focused on the modes of communication that were not strictly connected to the language and the locus. His chronotope is what Woolard (2013: 218) called "adventure time of everyday life" first coined by Bakhtin describing ancient Roman literature. János developed an image of a new cosmopolitan self, which was located outside of space and time, and which was separate from the current Spanish social context and chronological time but was still able to successfully navigate in life.

Although János was the only one identifying as *clandestino* in my fieldwork, similar life experiences of everywhereness and in-betweenness can be found in the data that might also be labeled as nomadic lifestyle. Mónika, the protagonist of the next excerpt, had been living in Barcelona for two years when I met her. She had previously lived in the United States of America and also obtained citizenship there. The way she described her life in Los Angeles at the beginning of our conversation was quite similar to the way Gyuri described his early life in Catalonia. She also used the notion of *integrálódott* in the American context, however, when she turned to the present in time and to Barcelona in space, while narrating her life-journey, she identified as a *digitális nomád* ('digital nomad').

(5)
Mónika: *annyit fejlődött a technológia, azt akartam mondani, hogy lehetővé vált nagyon sok mérnöknek, illetve technológiában dolgozó embernek, hogy otthonról dolgozzon*
Gergely: *mhm*
Mónika: *az úgynevezett digitális nomád, és hogy itt vagyok, és mivel adott volt, tehát megváltoztatták a szerződésemet, otthonról is végezhetem a munkámat, innentől kezdve úgy döntöttem, hogy visszajövök Európába egy kicsit, nem biztos, hogy örökre*

English translation:
Mónika: technology has developed a lot, I wanted to say, that it became possible for a lot of engineers or people working in technology to work from home
Gergely: mhm
Mónika: the so-called digital nomad, and that I am here, and as it was given, so they changed my contract, I was able to do my job from home, I decided to come back to Europe a bit, it may not be forever

Mónika constructed her image as newly enabled by the sociotechnical context. Being a *digitális nomád* was understood here as a privilege for the people working in her sector. The

narrated past event that made her move to Barcelona was that her contract was modified by virtue of technological advances. In the event of speaking, she prepared her narrative to explain her present social and linguistic behavior. A clearer distinction between times and spaces was drawn in a later part of our interview.

(6)

Mónika: *nekem teljesen más a helyzetem itt, mint az Usába volt, amikor- az Usába én integrálódtam, tehát kimentem, egyetemre jártam, munkahelyem volt satöbbi. itt már én a digitális nomádok életét élem, én itt vagyok szórakozni, de hogy mondjuk ez a független- tehát hogy fogalmam nincs a dolgokról, érted. jó, így próbálok spanyolul valamennyire megtanul- járok spanyolórára meg minden, de én, figyelj, én felkelek és otthon vagyok egyedül egész nap, amíg dolgozom a számítógépen, érted, tehát hogy én nem vagyok egy katalán munkahelyen, én nem tom, milyenek*

English translation:

Mónika: my situation here is entirely different from what it was [like] in the USA, when- in the USA I became integrated, so I went there, I studied at university, I had a job etcetera. here I live the lives of digital nomads, I am here to have fun, but for instance this independen- so I have no clue about the things, you see. okay, I try to learn some Spanish- I go to Spanish classes, but I, listen, I wake up and I am at home alone all day till I work on the computer, you see, so that I am not in a Catalan workplace, I dunno what they are like

In these lines, she did not challenge the necessity of integration for the sake of the individual. On the contrary, she mentioned integration as an obvious and unquestioned thing to do. However, she connected it with her past and her life in the United States and opposed it to her present life in Barcelona. The figure of the *digitális nomád* was understood as one who enjoyed life and was not involved in local political issues. This uninvolvement also manifested in the way Mónika spoke about her intentions in language learning. She mentioned her investment in going to Spanish classes but did not mention any endeavors in learning Catalan.

Her narrative also implied some kind of timelessness of her situation, especially when she clarified in Excerpt (5) that her presence in Barcelona might not last forever. During the whole interview, she said several times that she was in Barcelona in order to find inspiration for her artistic activities, which she identified as hobby and passion. In addition to these comments, the fact that she invited me to her atelier to conduct the interview, points to an intention of her to construct her image as a painter as well.

The self-ascribed figures of the *clandestino* and the *digitális nomád* in these interviews can both be understood as outsiders who wish to remain uninvolved in local questions and in some local language practices. In this sense, they intend to embody the supralocal position of a cosmopolitan lifestyle. This stance was frequent in the interviews with those who arrived in the 2010s and might potentially be labeled as "lifestyle migrants", as Codó (2018) put it. Chapter 6 will discuss this stance in connection with a neoliberal rationale (Martín Rojo & Del Percio 2019).

4.2.3. The *kicsit távolabb élő magyar*

As mentioned above, feeling *integrálódott* or being *nomád* are two extremes in the stance towards the local societies for the diasporic subjects. Most narratives in my data, however, are somewhere between these two poles. Others would describe their stance towards dispersion and lifestyle as more hybrid and dynamic compared to how Gyuri and János did. In this section I explain the chronotopic figure of the *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* ('Hungarian who lives a bit further') for whom Europe is understood as a big space where borders are imperceptible and

who differentiates herself from previous waves of dispersion. This figure is demonstrated by the words of Tamás.

Tamás has been living in Barcelona since 2005. He, however, did not necessarily see this as a juncture in his life. As he put it, "*gyakorlatilag olyan, mint hogyha Magyarországon élnék, csak kicsit távolabb. tehát nem Debrecenbe élek, hanem Barcelonába*" ('practically it's like living in Hungary, just a bit further. so I don't live in Debrecen [viz. the second-largest city in Hungary], but in Barcelona'). As Tamás grew up in the capital city of Hungary, his perspective is Budapest-centered, but other participants also frequently mentioned Catalonia's close proximity to Hungary as a benefit. According to the way he articulated the similarities between moving to another country and moving to the second-largest city in Hungary from the capital, we might anticipate that he did not attend to any diasporic activities. On the contrary, he used to be a particularly active member of the community until his children grew up. Yet, he made spatial and timely differentiation between his situation and that of others.

(7)

Tamás: *hát mondjuk a nyolcvanas évek, akkor valóban megvolt ez a distinkció, hogy- hogy ö ugye hogyha volt a családodnak vagy a baráti körödnek egy Londonba, Los Angelesbe vagy Stockholmba szakadt ö része, akkor ö volt egy ilyen lélektani határ, ami fizikailag nem- nem mindig volt mindig könnyű átjárható. ennek voltak adminisztratív ö vízum, egyéb, utazás, anyagi gondjai, illetve akadályai. ugye más volt, markánsan más volt az életszínvonal ennek a választóvonalnak a két részén. ö ez azonban itt most már az Európán belüli meglehetősen szabad ö mozgással, ö a korlátok lebontásával azér nagy- nagy mértékbe eltűnt ez a- ez a látható vagy láthatatlan- most nem akarom vasfüggönynek nevezni, mert nem a vasfüggöny, ez inkább egy bennünk lévő ö láthatatlan választóvonal volt. ö úgy szoktam ezt hasz- ö ö megközelíteni, hogy ö hogyha mondjuk budapesti illetőségű, vagy odaköt család és barát, és kapsz egy munkát Debrecenben, ez eddig sem volt furcsaság. hát most ugyanilyen esélyed Münchenbe, vagy Málagában vagy- vagy mit tudom én- Korinthoszban kapjál munkát. és odamész, vagy ott alakíts ö alapíts családot, tehát Európában belül ez a külföldön élni ez ö ez- ez ö ez úgy- olyan értelemben légneművé vált, hogy- hogy szerintem tényleg az elmúlt tíz-tizenöt évben légneművé váltak, vagy ki- ö kiszélesedtek a határok*

English translation:

Tamás: well let's say in the eighties, there really was this distinction that- that ehm if you had part of your family or your friends ehm in London, Los Angeles, or Stockholm, then ehm there was this psychological boundary that was not- not always easy to cross physically. this had administrative [elements such as] ehm visa, other, travel, financial issues or barriers. right, the living standards were sharply different on the two sides of this separation line. ehm however, here with the fairly free ehm movement in Europe, with the dismantling of barriers, this has already disappeared to a large extent, this- visible or invisible- now I don't want to call it Iron Curtain, because it's not Iron Curtain, this is rather an invisible separation line in us. ehm I usually use- ehm ehm approach this as ehm if [you are] from Budapest, or your family and friend link you there, and you get a job in Debrecen, this had not been strange [before]. well now you have the same chance to get a job in Munich, or in Malaga, or- or I don't know- in Corinth. and you go there, or there you shape ehm start a family, so in Europe this living abroad this ehm this- this ehm this like- in a sense became gaseous [viz. 'insignificant'] that- that I think the borders became gaseous in the last ten-fifteen years, or they bro- ehm broadened

Tamás's chronotopically organized narrative first created contrast between his own experience in the present and the experiences of others in the past in which the experience of space was different. Tamás constructed an image of himself in the narrated past that is different from others in terms of the time dimension in the sense that he has experienced boundaries dissimilarly. Although he also referred to a certain historical collective memory of Eastern Europeans (namely, the Iron Curtain), he clarified that it was rather a psychological boundary. He provided a list of references to understand the several aspects of this boundary (such as visa, costs, etc.). He then turned back to the circumstances of the present, which he characterized as "free movement". His use of this term was a clear repurposing of the legal principle unequivocally linked

to the European Union. He argued that it was not strange anymore to start working in other European countries instead of other Hungarian cities.

While pointing out differences, Tamás also constructed commonness between him and those who have already experienced this free movement in Europe in the next excerpt.

(8)

Tamás: *határok vannak, és azt hiszem ö ö ezek a különbségek, amikkel kapcsolatban a nyolcvanas évekre utaltam, talán még- még felfedezhetők, hogyha mondjuk valaki Európát és mondjuk Bolíviát próbálja össze. tehát hogyha valaki elmegy a családból, baráti közösségből Bolíviába élni, ott még meglehet ez a- az a ö határ ö érzés, hogy tényleg fizikailag is egy másik kontinensen, nehezen elérhető, nehéz vele kommunikálni, nehéz őt meglátogatni, de itt Európán belül ez ö ez ö ez már nagyon-nagyon eltűnőben van*

English translation:

Tamás: there are boundaries, and I think these differences, by which I referred to the eighties, may still- still be found, in case let's say somebody tries [viz. 'compares'] Europe and let's say Bolivia. so if somebody leaves his/her family, community of friends to live in Bolivia, there they can still have this- this ehm feeling of a boundary ehm that they really are physically [being] on another continent, hard to reach, hard to communicate with, hard to visit, but here within Europe this ehm this ehm this is already disappearing very-very [fast]

In Excerpt (8) Tamás clarified that boundaries still existed in his perception, however, these boundaries became palpable only outside of Europe. According to the way Tamás narrated it, boundaries are no longer there within Europe as the European Union has made them disappear; whereas for some people from outside the continent, boundaries are still there the same way as it was there for those behind the Iron Curtain. While the distinction was created previously in the dimension of time in Excerpt (7), here it was inserted into the dimension of space. By separating himself from others in space and time, in the here-and-now of the interview, or in the event of the speaking, Tamás constructed an image of himself as not so different from those who live in Hungary. His narrative, thus, embodies a newer and different way of experiencing diasporization that has rarely been visible previously. Tamás made this divergence due to differences in political regimes very explicit, but other participants in the research also saw their migratory experience different from the experiences in earlier periods.

These people mostly refer to themselves only as *magyarok* ('Hungarians'), and the way they engage in certain diasporic activities also shows some slight differences in terms of what constitutes the feeling of togetherness. The focus, unlike the activities organized by the Hungarian-Catalan Cultural Association, has slowly shifted from being in Catalonia to Hungarianness. Tamás, for instance, was the organizer of the *Aranyalma Kör* which was the first group to engage in activities related to teaching Hungarian to the second generation (this will be further discussed in Subsection 4.3.2).

4.2.4. The *gyökértelen*

The previous subsections discussed interview excerpts with people who expressed that they found a new home away from the places they grew up in, or that they are like at home everywhere. In contrast with that, "*gyökértelenség*" ('rootlessness') is the experience of those who have spent significant time in dispersion but could not really settle down in the new place, while they do not feel homely in the old place anymore. The chronotopic figure of the *gyökértelen*, thus, is one who feels like there is no more space for her to call home in the world.

Dóra, a married woman in her mid-thirties was from a small town in Western Hungary and had been living in Barcelona for 10 years when I interviewed her. Since she moved to

Barcelona, she had been doing administrative work for multinational (and thus, multilingual) companies where she had benefited from her expertise in German and English. Thanks to this kind of working environment, she had also acquired a good level of Castilian. Drawing on that, she had once quit her job at the time and decided to spend a few months in a Caribbean country as a volunteer. This experience made her want to switch professions and start working at a foundation or a local non-governmental organization when she returned to Barcelona. However, then she found that "*itt nehéz katalán nélkül*" ('it is difficult here without Catalan'), and she had to look for a new job in the private sector again. This caused her dissatisfaction despite the fact that she had always felt as a valued employee of the companies she worked for, because of her language skills. When speaking about this feeling in the interview, she made a comparison between her actual workplace and an imagined Hungarian one.

(9)
Dóra: *azt látom, hogy a magyaroknak nagyon ö nagyon alacsony vagy ö sokunknak nagyon ö kicsi a- | önbizalma, spanyoloknak abból itt egy csepp hiány nincs, sőt, néha egy kicsit ugye túl sok is, ami abból a szempontból jó, hogy ugye mi nekünk külföldieknek ö azér fel tudja tornászni a- | az önbizalmunkat, főleg úgy, hogyha esetleg ö olyan környezetbe kerülsz, hogy mondjuk kell a- kellenek a nyelvek, és ak- például a spanyolok egyáltalán nem beszélnek nyelveket, és te- te meg odakerülsz mint négy nyelven beszélő ember, és ö ö nem is csak hogy ö önbizalomjavító, hanem ö hanem amikor az ember tud azon gondolkodni, hogy azér mégis csak jó, hogy megtanultam a nyelveket, hogy eljöttem külföldre, lehet, hogy ezt otthon nem érezném annyira mondjuk megbecsültnek magamat*

English translation:

Dóra: I see that Hungarians [have] very ehm very low or ehm a lot of them [have] very ehm low- | self-esteem, which Spaniards do not lack at all, indeed, sometimes [they have] a little bit too much, which is good in the sense that for us foreigners ehm it can boost the- | the our self-esteem, especially if perhaps ehm you get into an environment where let's say you need the- you need the languages, and th- for instance Spaniards do not speak languages at all, and you- you get there as a person who speaks four languages, and ehm ehm it is not only a ehm confidence booster, but ehm but when the person starts to think about that it is still good that I have learnt the languages, that I came abroad, maybe I would not feel valued to the same extent at home

In this excerpt, Dóra provided an overgeneralized picture on what Hungarians and Spaniards are like in terms of self-esteem and language skills. In spite of speaking in general, she clearly narrated her own way of being a Hungarian in the Spanish society: she had low self-esteem which then increased by the feedback she received from her local co-workers and supervisors. Interestingly, in this narrative she highlighted a specific form of multilingualism she had acquired, one that was appreciated in the sector she worked in, but she left local forms unacknowledged. This implicitly alludes to a general view of what legitimately counts as *speaking languages* and what does not; in this view, locally acquired languages in the Catalan context do not constitute an element of that. Thus, the appreciation of speaking languages was not experienced generally either, so Dóra created a spatial distinction in her narrative. It was rather treated as a value in her current place of residence and would not have been the same in Hungary in her view. Thus, she constructed an image of herself as a multilingual employee who earned appreciation through her language learning efforts made in the past. This image also served as a justification for living abroad in our conversation. After this turn, I asked her whether she missed something from Hungary.

(10)
Dóra: *hát a családom nagyon* (#laugh)
Gergely: *mhm*
Dóra: *de meg hát egy-két barátom, de ugye a mai tech- információs technológiával szinte azér heti szinten tudok beszélni a legfontosabb barátaimmal meg rokonokkal is. érdekes, mer pár évvel ezelőtt azt*

mondtam volna, hogy nagyon hiányzik a- a- úgy minden, és az utóbbi pár évben, hogy hazamegyek ö kicsit olyan gyökértelennek érzem magam, tehát hogy hazamegyek, jó, szeretek otthon lenni, hm kihasználok minden pozitívumát az otthonlétnek

Gergely: *mhm*

Dóra: *de olyan furcsán érzem magam, hogy mennék is, maradnék is*

Gergely: *mhm*

Dóra: *de ez úgy mondom, az utóbbi években, pedig előtte nagyon honvágyam volt, és most is néha nagyon rám jön, de- | de azér ö most érzem, hogy azér tíz év az nagyon meg tudja változtatni az embert*

English translation:

Dóra: [I miss] my family very much (#laugh)

Gergely: mhm

Dóra: but well one or two of my friends as well, but today with ['thanks to'] the tech- informational technology I can talk to my most important friends and relatives almost on a weekly basis. it's interesting, because a few years ago I would have said that I missed the- the- like everything very much, and in the last few years when I go home ehm I feel a bit rootless so I go home, good, I like to be at home, hm I take advantage of all the positive aspects of being at home

Gergely: mhm

Dóra: but I feel a bit weird as I would leave, [but] I would [also] stay

Gergely: mhm

Dóra: but this, I tell you, is in the last years, but before that I used to be really homesick, and sometimes I still get very [homesick], but- | but now ehm I feel that ten years can change a person very much

Here Dóra started to provide a slightly different image of herself than in the previous excerpt. In this narrative she depicted herself as a person who had been suffering from homesickness, so that space or distance or separation really entailed an emotional cost. Such as Tamás did in Excerpt (7), Dóra also made an implicit distinction between her current situation and that of others in the past. However, instead of pointing out the changes that had taken place in travel possibilities, she put emphasis on the resources that helped her communicate easily with friends and relatives between different places, so that she could keep old relations alive.

Dóra also made an explicit distinction between her current and past feelings towards the homeland. She described herself as a person who had been nostalgically longing for her homeland for many years in the past; but that the situation now was different. The current experience, however, was more based on a person who got stuck between two locales: the homeland was not the same anymore, but she was not settled in the new place either (see also Karimzad & Catedral 2018b). She narrated herself as someone who had changed in the timespan of her 10-years long residence in Barcelona. When describing the figure of the *gyökértelen*, she made an intertextual reference to a Hungarian independent documentary series titled *LEAVE/STAY* (in Hungarian: 'MENJEK/MARADJAK') first aired in 2013. This documentary intended to address the dilemma of a great number of Hungarians in the job market of the European Union: is it worth living in another country or not, and if one has already been abroad, is it worth staying or is it better leaving? By using the same verbs in her sentence (*mennék* 'I would leave' and *maradnék* 'stay'), she expressed her identification with the same dilemma which has evolved in her throughout those 10 years.

The interview with Dóra showed that the way somebody positions herself in a conversation can potentially change chronotopically. This refers to both the narrated events and the event of speaking. The diasporic identity can be a multiple one in relation to times and spaces (Tseng & Hinrichs 2021), so was Dóra's in the past and in the present of the interview. She constructed different but not necessarily contradictory images of herself in the quoted excerpts. These images were the proud multilingual speaking global languages, who was able to work for multinational companies, but could not for local organizations, and the foreigner who was suffering first from homesickness, then rootlessness. Feeling *gyökértelen* was a frequent theme mostly appearing in interviews with those who had already spent significant time in Catalonia but had

not developed strong local bonds. These people tended to be the ones who started to engage in grassroots Hungarian-speaking activities starting with the 2010s, after spending years enjoying the multicultural milieu in Barcelona independently from other Hungarians in the city. The ways these grassroots activities emerged will be detailed later in this chapter, and the values and semiotic resources attributed to them will be discussed in Chapter 7.

4.2.5. The *segítő*

For some diasporic subjects, dispersion was a choice of sacrifice, for instance, for their family. The category discussed in this subsection through the examples of Zsera, the *segítő* ('supporting person'), refers to people who described their migration from a passive position. By this I mean that they arrived at a certain location as a family member of one who had been, for instance, offered a new job at that place. The chronotopic figure of the *segítő* is one who has to create links between the homeland and the host-land. This was the only gendered category in my data; the *segítők* were mostly women.

Zsera was one of the interviewees who returned to Hungary after a ten-year long residence in Barcelona. However, when we first met in 2018, she was a respected member and organizer of Hungarian activities in Catalonia. She moved to Barcelona with her husband and their daughter because the husband got an opportunity to work for an international company there. When she spoke about their first years in the early part of the interview, she told me that she was only able to start looking for jobs when their second child went to kindergarten. In the meantime, she started to learn Spanish, which she understood to be a must. As her husband worked in an English-speaking environment, she became the one who had to create bonds with the local milieu. As she said, "*nekem kellett azonnal gyorsan fölszedni valahogy a nyelvet, hogy egyáltalán a boltban megértsük, hogy mit veszünk, vagy- vagy el tudjuk intézni a dolgokat*" ('I [was the one who] had to pick up the language somehow immediately quickly, to understand at least what we buy at the store, or- or to be able to arrange things'). In the next excerpt she identified this position that she located as *segítő*.

(11)
Zsera: *hogyha most máshogy csinálhatnám, nem tom hogy hogy és milyen eszközökkel, akkor valószínűleglegalábbis ezt szoktam mindenkinek javasolni, aki így nőként egy ilyen segítő vagy háttér dologba belemegy, hogy ö hogy valahogy próbáljon meg azonnal valamit keresni-találni, menni egy helyi közösségbe, mer hogy sokkal öm könnyebb és fölgyorsít bizonyos dolgokat. a nyelvtanulás egyszerűbb lesz, helyi ismerősökkel sokkal egyszerűbben megtalálja az ember azokat a pontokat, ami szükséges a gyerekeknek, különóra, tehát azok a tájékozódási pontok, amit így külföldiként először nehéz összegyűjteni*
English translation:
Zsera: if I could do it another way, I don't know how or by what means, I probably- at least I give this advice to everyone, who as a woman agrees to this kind of supporting person or background thing, to try to search-find something immediately, to go into a local community, cos it's ehm way easier and it speeds up some things. language learning will be easier, with local acquaintances it will be way easier to find those points that are necessary for the children, private lesson, so those landmarks that are first difficult to collect as a foreigner

Zsera understood her way of living as a choice she had made. Although she constructed the *segítő* ['supporting person'] (or *háttér* 'background' figure) as a female figure, she did not suggest that this would be the only way as a woman. From the third line, she started to give instructions on how the *segítő* should behave. These instructions all refer to the task of creating and maintaining contacts with local people in order to support the family. This image of the *segítő* that Zsera took up is parallel to the stereotypical role associated with women: the mother

as the one who makes great sacrifices, who provides a loving home environment, and who is responsible for inserting the family into a wider community. The last factor was the one in which Zsera faced difficulties due to the lack of social and linguistic capital. Therefore, it was less easy for her to find the *tájékozódási pontok* ('landmarks'), as she put it.

In the following years, Zsera eventually gained that capital. She earned competence in the local languages and made a myriad of acquaintances, which helped her to start working as an event manager. She not only succeeded in this, but along with a friend of hers she started to organize gatherings for Hungarian women in and around Barcelona. According to other interviews and ethnographic observations, those who arrived and lived in Catalonia as *segítő* tended to be more disposed to engage in diasporic groups such as this one or in weekend schools.

4.2.6. What not to be: the *emigráns*, the *világpolgár*, and the *guiri*

Last, I have to dedicate a subsection for those chronotopic figures that were unfavorable for the Hungarians in Catalonia. In the processes of any kind of differentiation, there are identity categories seen by the individual as the Other or that they identify against. In the interactional data shown in this chapter these figures were the *emigráns* ('emigrant') that appeared in different interviews and focus groups and the *világpolgár* ('cosmopolitan') and the *guiri* ('turist') which were discussed in the *magyar tertúlia* discussions. These, just as the self-ascribed categories, did not refer to actual biographic characters but typified figures of personhood. Nobody identified with these categories throughout my fieldwork, yet they emerged as figures whose behavior should be avoided because they were treated as morally questionable. The *emigráns* was understood as people who over-emphasize their ethnic-national identities despite being in another place.

Looking at the life journeys of the participants, we could easily label them as people with cosmopolitan lifestyles. Cosmopolitanism, however, turned out to be an idea with negative connotations. During the long-term collaboration with the key participants, a similar term was *guiri*. Guiri is a Castilian colloquial term usually referring to tourists who behave in a strikingly different way than the locals. In the discussions the figure of the *világpolgár* and the *guiri* were imagined as people who lived in a bubble and just did not have any clue about the local customs. Thus, the imagined diasporic subject was expected to eschew the mistake of remaining "too" Hungarian and too foreigner. However, as it was shown in this section, the ideal for the behavior of the diasporic subject differed strongly depending on the chronotope that appeared in the narrative of the participant.

4.3. Chronotopic figures in the narratives on the group formation of Hungarians in Catalonia

It is not just personal biographical narratives that are organized into time-space framings and interpreted through chronotopic figures, but the narratives on collective diasporic experiences can potentially be approached from the concept of the chronotope. In this section, I examine how the participants described their circulation in specific organizations that were based on different assumptions as to what being a diasporic Hungarian meant. For this purpose, I combine a chronological overview of the Hungarian diasporic organizations in Catalonia from the 1980s to present day with the accounts participants recalled about their participation in these organizations in their trajectories resources that were being mobilized in order to bring Hungarians together in specific ways. Thus, the focus is not necessarily on the solid historical documentation of what these organizations had done, but rather on what discourses circulated around them, and how they were remembered by the participants at the time of the fieldwork.

As shown above, chronotopes in the narratives tend to create moral positions as well. I argue that these diasporic groups, as social institutions, prescribed certain norms and expectations in different time-spaces. This does not mean that the members always fit these expectations, but certain personas were prone to join these groups depending on their social profiles. I understand these personas not as concrete persons from my fieldwork, but as figures of personhood (Agha 2005). For instance, the figure of the *integrálódott* ('integrated') might also be seen as an ideal also characteristic of the first club of Hungarians in Catalonia established in 1987, namely the *Katalán-Magyar Kulturális Egyesület* ('Catalan-Hungarian Cultural Association', in Catalan: *Associació Cultural Catalano-Hongaresa*). The second group, called *Aranyalma Kör* (literally 'Golden Apple Circle') established in the 2000s put emphasis on the transmission of Hungarian cultural traits and the Hungarian language to the second generation, thus, I argue that their activity can be connected to the figure of *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* ('Hungarian who lives a bit further'). Among the developments in the 2010s, I first mention the emergence of the new ethnopolitical direction of the Hungarian government. In the context of Hungarians in Catalonia, this direction can be touched upon in the collaboration with a Madrid-located organization called *Madách Egyesület* ('Madách Association'). The other development in the 2010s was the rise of social media that fostered the creation of other grassroots diasporic groups and the advertisements of ethnic businesses that made it possible for all others to find Hungarian companionship. In this sense, these developments can be associated to newer forms of mobilities and also to other chronotopic figures as well, mentioned in the previous section, such as the *nomád* ('nomad'), the *rootless* ('gyökértelen') and the *segítő* ('supporting person').

4.3.1. The beginnings: the *Katalán-Magyar Kulturális Egyesület*

In this subsection, I seek access to how the members of the *Katalán-Magyar Kulturális Egyesület* imagined the ideal diasporic behavior. For this purpose, I first provide an overview of the brief history of this association, drawing on the few available written sources (Baló 2011; Brachfeld Latzkó 1990; Mikes 1991, 2001) and the accounts some members gave me in interviews. The aim of this association was mainly the cultural mediation between the Hungarian and the Catalan elites by Hungarians with extended social capital in Catalonia. Thus, I argue that the ideal for the association was the chronotopic figure of the *integrálódott* ('integrated') who had easily adjusted to the Catalan society, more precisely, the Cataln middle class. At the end of this section, I also shed light on how maintaining such an organization became difficult in the mid-2000s because newcomers came with new demands about how the local Hungarian community should function.

The *Katalán-Magyar Kulturális Egyesület* was officially established on April 23, 1987. The date is also symbolic: Saint George's Day (Sant Jordi) is an important cultural event in Catalonia since the early 20th century. The founders of this association were Pere Joaquin Brachfeld Montaña, Jaime Rodrigo de Larrucea and Péter Brachfeld Latzkó. The latter person became the first president of the association and the main organizer of its events. He was still remembered as a beloved and extraordinary person by the former members during my fieldwork, some of which I interviewed. The respect towards him was expressed by referring to him as *Péter bácsi*, which is an informal but respectful way of addressing someone in Hungarian (*bácsi* could be translated as 'uncle', but it does not necessarily imply a family relationship).

In an early report published in a Hungarian journal, Brachfeld Latzkó (1990: 65) claimed that the Association had around 200 members, but "*a Barcelonában és Katalóniában élő magyarok száma alig éri el a 40-et, vagy 50-et*" ('the number of Hungarians living in Barcelona and Catalonia hardly reaches 40 or 50'). Its members were predominantly married couples where generally only one of the spouses was Hungarian plus other local cultural actors. In an

interview, another prominent person of the club told me that the highest number of members they could reach at the end of 1990s was 400, out of which approximately 100-140 were Hungarians. That might be the reason why the members referred to the association as *Barcelonai Katalán-Magyar Kulturális és Baráti Egyesület* ('Catalan-Hungarian Cultural Friendship Association of Barcelona') in their articles written in Hungarian (cf. Brachfeld Latzkó 1990; Mikes 1991, 2001), which was not the officially registered name of the organization, but somehow (consciously or unconsciously) differentiated them from other Hungarian-related diasporic clubs around the globe. Their early activity "*úttörőnek és hézagpótlónak tekinthető*" ('can be considered as pioneer and niche'), as Brachfeld Latzkó (1990: 65) put it, because it was the first initiative to unite Hungarians and the lovers of Hungarian culture in Catalonia – and probably in the whole country.

Drawing on the afore-mentioned written sources (Baló 2011; Brachfeld Latzkó 1990; Mikes 1991, 2001) and the stories told to me in interviews and informal conversations, I would argue that the Association's role in cultural diplomacy could also be considered unique in comparison with that of other Hungarian émigré communities and if we consider the scope of their activities. Instead of focusing on the nostalgic reconstructions of the idealized images and habits of the homeland, this association was looking for the possibilities to create and maintain contacts and cultural bonds between the elites of the sending and the host societies. More precisely, most of their programs were based on mediating high culture, such as book launches of contemporary Hungarian books and their Spanish translations, lectures on historical and cultural topics, fine art exhibitions, and film screenings. Mikes (2001) argues that the Association had multiple objectives since its inception: to create a community of Hungarian individuals living in Barcelona, to introduce Catalans to Hungarian culture and history, and to organize the teaching of Hungarian language at university level – unfortunately, the success of this last objective was only ephemeral (see Mikes 1991).

These aims might be best understood in terms of two factors. The first is a geopolitical one: in the late 1980s, Catalonia was still a fairly young autonomous community amongst the preparation of the Olympic games in Barcelona, while Hungary was also expected to start its democratic transition soon. According to my interviews with some early members, the Catalan elite displayed a great interest in following the political events of Hungary at that time. Hungary was seen as exemplary in gaining independence from oppression, namely, the influence of the Soviet Union. Thus, in the years of the regime change and the first free elections (1989–1990), the members of the Association wrote reports and reviews for the local press (see Mikes 2001: 35). Official international relations started to revitalize between Spain and Hungary at the time, and the General Consulate of Hungary in Barcelona also came into existence in 1992. Although the Association remained independent from the consulate, some of their events were organized together.

Besides the mutual interests the elites of the two nations expressed, this association embodied something close to the moral position of the figure of *integrálódott* ('integrated') in Subsection 4.2.1. Integration, in this case, referred precisely to the integration by emigrée Hungarians into the Catalan (upper-)middle class and cultural elite. This was a direct consequence of the migratory profiles of the members. As stated above by Brachfeld Latzkó (1990), these Hungarians were mostly wedded into Catalan families, and they had arrived in Catalonia for marital reasons. In this sense, their life journey differed from most of the diasporic narratives I had access to. Most of my participants were neither displaced from their country of origin for political reasons, nor did they emigrate for the hope of a better life and economic prosperity. Thanks to their local ties, these people had been able to promptly gain social capital in Catalonia. In this sense, they did not need the support of other Hungarians locally. On the contrary, the

expected behavior of the *integrálódott* diasporic subject was to utilize its social capital for creating connections between the host culture and the cultural elites back in Hungary.

This state of affairs can be found in the life-story of Péter Brachfeld Latzkó. He arrived in Catalonia with his spouse of Catalan origin in 1960. He had been living in Venezuela for two decades already, hence from before World War II. His brother, Ferenc Olivér Brachfeld played an important role in his decision to move to Barcelona. Ferenc Olivér (who died early in the 1960s because of a heart attack) was a famous Jungian psychologist and literary translator living in Barcelona since 1929 (Baló 2011). Péter followed him admittedly, he was translating fiction and other types of literature to both Spanish and Catalan, and he also organized cinema sessions in close collaboration with the cultural attachés of the Hungarian Embassy of Madrid even before the existence of the Association. There was even a hearsay at that time, as one of the members told me, which claimed that the Association was founded by Péter in order to popularize the oeuvre of his brother, Ferenc Olivér. Regardless of the validity of this rumor, the social network of the association was fairly extensive. For instance, the inaugural meeting elected Jordi Maragall i Noble as honorary president, who was a lawyer and a politician, at the time a senator for Barcelona province. In addition, the writer Josep Maria Castellet became the honorary vice-president. Castellet was the chief editor of the publishing house Edicions 62, which published Hungarian authors' works in Catalan translation. The local social capital mobilized by Brachfeld can also be traced in the venues of the events: most of them were organized in the auditorium of the Ateneu Barcelonès, which is still an important and traditional organization of the Catalan intelligentsia in the heart of Barcelona.

From the 1990s, the cultural activities of the Association remained important. Just to mention a few of them: a Hungarian-language almanac on Catalonia was published in 1992. In 2000, a roundtable was organized on Hungarian literature with special attention to poetry with both Hungarian and Catalan participants. In 2001 and 2002, a series of 14 lectures on Hungarian geography, history, music and other disciplines was supported by UNESCO (for more details, see Baló 2011, Mikes 2001). However, after Brachfeld Latzkó died in 2003, the frequency of the events organized by the Association decreased significantly.

Some of his followers remained active in propagating the maintenance of Hungarian and Catalan cultural bonds. Drawing on Mikes' words, the task of the Association was "*nem csak a magyarság összetartása, hanem ezen jóval túlmenően Magyarország, a magyar művelődés és a magyar történelem megismertetése és megszerettetése az egyébként is érdeklődő katalán közönséggel*" ('not only to bring Hungarians together, but beyond that to promote Hungary, Hungarian culture, and Hungarian history to Catalan audiences who have already demonstrated their interest'; Mikes 2001). However, from the 2000s, a generational conflict emerged, which was labeled "*a nagy szakadás*" ('the great rupture') in one of my interviews. As the number of Hungarian migrants in the region started to increase (see Chart 3.1 above), their interests commenced to change as well. The composition of the Hungarian population in Catalonia diversified in terms of socioeconomic status, education, and profession. For instance, a demand emerged for a group of people to organize weekend school-like activities for the children of the newcomers. At present, the Association still exists *de jure*, but it does not organize events based on Hungarian-Catalan cultural relations anymore.

The next excerpt is from an interview with one of the members of the Association. It serves as an explanation to why this generational conflict was seen as a "great rupture" by the elders. According to Hilda's narrative, new Hungarians, who arrived in Catalonia around the millennium, had a different set of values than the one she and her generation had.

(12)

Hilda: *azok a fiatalok, akik már nem is fiatalok, akik csinálják ezt az egyesületet, egy a probléma velük, hogy csak gyerekfoglalkozásokat készítenek, és csak a magyar magnak. tehát egyszerűen fel sem merül bennük, hogy mást is lehetne csinálni, esetlegesen lehetne előadásokat csinálni, kulturális kiállításokat csinálni @. csak gyerekprogramok vannak, ami nagyon jó, hogy van, nagyon jó, de hát ez mondjuk egy- egy akkora- ez ténylegesen csak a magyar- a fiatal magyar házaspárokat érdekli, és az összes többit nem* (#laugh). *tehát ö ez nagyon jó, de szerintem mást is kellene csinálniuk, de mind amikor mondtuk ezt a Gyuri meg én is ö egy-két embernek, akkor nem érdekelte a dolog őket. tehát szerintem ez a hazafias érzelmek, amik voltak bennünk, az szerintem- most már mindenki nagyon európai, és mindenki nagyon világpolgár, és szerintem ezek az érzelmek szerintem nincsenek meg az emberekben. és szóval akkor még itt lehetett magyarul beszélni sokat, hetente voltak rendezvényeink, és havonta egy előadás, s havonta egy koncert*

English translation:

Hilda: the youngsters, who are not young anymore, who do this [other] association, there is a problem with them that they only do activities for children and only for the Hungarian core. they don't even think to do something else, perhaps doing lectures, doing cultural exhibitions @. there are only activities for children, which is very good that it exists, but it let's say a- a- such- it factually only interests Hungarian- young Hungarian couples, and no one else (#laugh). so ehm this is very good, but I think they should do something else too, but when we told this both Gyuri and I to ehm one-two people, they were not interested in the thing. so I think the patriotic feelings we had I think- now everyone is very European, everyone is very cosmopolitan, and I think people don't have these feelings. and so back then it was possible to speak Hungarian a lot, we had events every week, a lecture every month, and a concert every month

The way Hilda was speaking about the role of such activities differed from the mainstream discourse on language maintenance (or the metaphor of loss, Block 2008). Organizing and participating in educational programs specialized for the children of emigrants is usually treated as the most essential thing one could do for the transmission of the language and culture. Hilda, however, found this kind of program too limited in the number of people who could be addressed. Her narrative indexically linked patriotic feelings to certain types of activities that were aimed at local people to familiarize them with Hungarian high culture. This is also connected to the figure of the *integrálódott* and the chronotopically salient moral position behind it. Hilda pointed out the morally acceptable choices in the past (from her point of view) and judged others' past and present choices both in the narrated event and in the event of speaking from the moral position that was opposed to Europeanness and cosmopolitanism. According to other reports (Baló 2011, Mikes 2001), she might have exaggerated the frequency of the events organized by the Association, but what is more important is that these events were attributed to speaking Hungarian and patriotic feelings, while the activities for Hungarian-origin children were not.

This interview excerpt is a good example of how the expectations towards the social practices of other speakers work and how a different experience of diaspora might emerge at a particular historical moment. Hilda represents the older generation, who perceived that something had inevitably changed in the way they had experienced what being Hungarian in Catalonia meant. From the overview of the history of the *Katalán-Magyar Kulturális Egyesület* we can see that its activities were extremely important in the milieu of the 1980s and 1990s. However, the Hungarian newcomers from the early 2000s were gradually bringing in new understandings and new priorities (switching the ideal of the *integrálódott*), such as living in the Europe of free movement, maintaining the opportunity of moving back to Hungary, and teaching Hungarian for the second generation. In the next chapter, I show how the increase in the number of Hungarians in Catalonia had consequences to the development of another Hungarian diasporic group also mentioned in Excerpt (12).

4.3.2. From the millennium: the *Aranyalma Kör*

By comparing the narratives and life trajectories of my informants, it seems clear that the motivations of the population newly arrived during the 2000s differed in important ways from the ideal of the *integrálódott* ('integrálódott') represented in the way of looking at the morally acceptable way of the diasporic as prompt adjustment to the Catalan society. These new people were "infected" with the idea of free movement, as Tamás put it in Excerpt (7). This does not necessarily mean that this population remained fully and consistently unintegrated. It just means that they had other preferences compared to the previous generations, such as creating closer bonds with the homeland and contemporary Hungarian culture. The chronotopic ideal of the people who started to engage in new Hungarian-speaking activities from the second part of the 2000s could be best described with the label given in Subsection 4.2.3: the *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* ('Hungarian who lives a bit further'). As Hilda also observed in (12), the new Hungarian population did not consider mediating Hungarian high culture for the Catalan audience to be the most important activity they could do. The needs of the community have changed in terms of the contacts with the homeland so do their opportunities as frequent visits became feasible. The new needs and the opportunities required new solutions in organizing Hungarians in Catalonia.

From the second part of the 2000s, a new group was formed of people in their 30s with families. The name they used for this group was *Aranyalma Kör*, which is indicative of their main interest. *Aranyalma* ('golden apple') is a motif that frequently appears in Hungarian folklore, especially in folktales, while *Kör* (literally meaning 'circle') refers to a group of people sharing the same interests. The intention was clear: to organize events where language, folk culture and other sorts of knowledge associated with nationality can be shared and transmitted to younger generations. Their meetups were mostly party-like gatherings of families where a few parents prepared some activities for the children, although in some cases, artists from Hungary, such as singers and storytellers, were also invited. However, the *Aranyalma Kör* never became a formally registered club or association, as the organizers did not feel the need to do so. They did not apply for any financial aid either from Catalan cultural organizations or Hungarian ones. The group members financed each of their gatherings, which usually meant only the costs of food and the rent of a venue. The invited guests were accommodated in the homes of the members.

The organizers estimated that they were in contact with around a hundred families. Tamás, who was there from the beginning, recalled this period in the interview as follows.

(13)

Tamás: *emlékeim szerint olyan száz család volt a levelező listánkon, tehát lélekben száz családdal tartottuk a kapcsolatot, de persze a foglalkozásokra, az összejövetelekre ö ennél kevesebben jöttek, de ö így is népes tá- társaság alakult ö ö jött össze.* [...] *még az Aranyalma előtt ö a konzulátusnak volt egy ö évi legalább egyszeri rendszeresen össz- összejövetele. ezt úgy hívtuk, a legalább egyszerit, a Mikulás ö rendezvény, ö ahol lehetett találkozni itt élő magyarokkal. tulajdonképpen az Aranyalma is félig-meddig ezekből a Mikulás-rendezvényekből nőtt ki, és próbálta őket rendszeressé tenni nem évente egyszer-kétszeri találkozóval, hanem legalább havi egyszeri találkozóval.* [...] *mondta a* (#delete: female name)*, hogy ezek a dánok, a dán anyák ö havonta rendeznek ö ugyanott ebbe a műteremben összejöveteleket, ahol énekelnek, mesélnek, jól érzik magukat, beszélgetnek, ö gyerekekkel foglalkoznak. és mondta a* (#delete: female name)*, hogy ha a dánok meg tudják csinálni, akkor mi miért ne tudnánk megcsinálni? úgyhogy ez- szerintem ez ha már nem én vagyok az ötletgazda, de van egy ilyen jó ötlet, akkor ez tökéletes ö ö leírja az én hozzáállásomat, hogy ha itt él szétszórva egy magyar közösség, ha van egy jó ötlet, amivel össze lehet őket fogni, akkor miért ne tudnánk ezt megcsinálni? ö és- és- és ö hát ez adott erőt meg ez- ez adott lelkesedést számomra abban, hogy- vagy ahhoz, hogy ebben részt vegyek, és- és a- közreműködjek abba, hogy ebből legyen valami. tehát ha a dánok tudják, akkor tuti, hogy mi is meg tudjuk csinálni, és végül meg is csináltuk, és nagyon jól éreztük magunkat, és nagyon jó rendezvényeket szerveztünk*

English translation:

Tamás: according to my memories there were like a hundred families on our mailing list, so we maintained the contact with a hundred families in spirit, but of course to the activities, to the gatherings ehm fewer of them came, but ehm there was still a large bunch [of people] ehm ehm who came together. [...] before the Aranyalma ehm the consulate had one ehm per year at least one regular gath- gathering. we called it, at least one of them, the Santa Claus ehm event, ehm where one could meet other Hungarians living here. actually Aranyalma also grew out from this Santa Claus event more or less, and tried to make it more regular than having only one or two gatherings per year, but at least one gathering per month. [...] (#delete: female name) told us that these Danish, the Danish mothers ehm organize a gathering per month ehm in this art studio where they sing, they tell stories, feel good, talk, ehm do activities for children. and (#delete: female name) said if the Danish can do it, why couldn't we do it? so this- I think if I'm not the mastermind behind it, but there is a good idea, then this perfectly ehm ehm describes my attitude, if a Hungarian community lives here scattered, if there's a good idea to gather them, why couldn't we do it? ehm and- and- and ehm well this gave me strength and this- this gave me enthusiasm in that- or for that to participate in this and- and to- contribute to make it a thing. so if the Danish can do it, then it's sure that we can also do it, and finally we could do it, and had a great time, and we organized very good events

The organizers of the *Aranyalma Kör* created a mailing list through which they advertised their events to the interested people. As Tamás outlined, the events had two main inspirations. The General Consulate of Hungary had already organized an event every year in which they somehow reconstructed the Hungarian tradition of the Santa Claus party where children receive gifts on the name day of Saint Nicholas (6th December). Tamás and his fellows aimed to make such happenings more frequent for their children. Interestingly, the other inspiration came from another diasporic group. Back then, a Hungarian woman was working in an art studio which was rented for an event every month by Danish people for educational and socialization purposes; thus, this woman suggested to her fellow Hungarians that they should do something similar.

For the *Katalán-Magyar Kulturális Egyesület*, impetus was given by Catalan cultural bodies, while *Aranyalma Kör* was rather influenced by Hungarians and the interaction with other foreign populations. The figure described as *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* ('Hungarian who lives a bit further') sees its life in less eschatological terms than the *integrálódott* ('integrated'). On the one hand, when integration is mentioned, it is always chronotopized as a unidimensional process between cultures from which there is no return. On the other hand, the chronotope represented by the one "who lives a bit further" is more complex in terms of the myriad opportunities for the future, and thus, it also holds the possibility of settling in a less permanent way. These different experiences of diasporization clearly stem from the socio-technical contexts; travel and digital connectivity have also become more accessible. Tamás and his fellows did not only consider contacts with Hungary in terms of cultural mediation, but also in terms of actual life-choices. They wanted their children to be familiarized with experiences of Hungarian heritage, which might then also result in temporary or even permanent stays in the home country as they anticipate that maybe they or their children will continue moving from one place to another.

4.3.3. After 2010

From the 2010s, Hungarians started to arrive in Catalonia in even larger numbers: according to the data of S-INE and S-Idescat-1 (see Chart 3.1), there was a significant increase in the number of Hungarians living in Catalonia until 2009; the process started to slow down a bit, but there has still been an upward trend. At the same time, a greater attention started to be paid to diasporic communities by the Hungarian state, which influenced how a diasporic group can be imagined. In addition, new technological devices fostered the opportunity to get into touch with other diasporic Hungarians easily and to organize grassroots activities together. In this subsection I discuss these developments and enlist the diasporic activities of

Hungarians with special attention to how the participation in these experiences are narrated. First, I show how a collaboration developed between a Madrid-located organization (called *Madách Egyesület* 'Madách Association') and the Hungarians in Catalonia, and how the cease of this collaboration can be linked to the rejection of ethnopolitics in Hungary and the chronotopic figure of the *emigráns*. Second, I discuss how social media has generated a number of new meeting places for Hungarians in Catalonia, and I provide a brief overview of these from Hungarian-speaking gatherings to ethnic businesses.

The ethnopolitical call and the Madách Egyesület

The first characteristic of the 2010s is in connection with the "destiny" of the *Aranyalma Kör*. After 2010, when the second Orbán-government was elected, the Hungarian state shifted its orientation in ethnopolitics. Since then, both autochthonous transborder Hungarian-speaking communities and émigré communities have been encouraged and supported financially to organize their cultural and educational institutes and maintain their bonds with the homeland (Pogonyi 2017). Thus, the state has been sending signals to Hungarians abroad on the importance of retaining a certain form of Hungarian identity (Kovács 2020). Some have answered such ethnopolitical calls, some have not. Older diaspora organizations started to form federations (for instance, NYEOMSZSZ, the Western European Association of Hungarian Country Organizations currently consists of 18 organizations) and new clubs also emerged with the hope of receiving aid from Hungary. The latter also happened in Spain.

A bunch of Madrid-located Hungarians started a weekend school-like activity, which they later transformed into an officially registered association in 2014. Its official name in Castilian is *Asociación de Amigos de la Cultura Húngara Madách* ('The Madách Association for the Friends of Hungarian Culture'), in which *Madách* is a wordplay: it is an acronym (including M for Madrid), but Madách is also the surname of a 19th-century Hungarian playwright, Imre Madách. In Hungarian, the members refer to the association as *Madách Egyesület* (in which *Egyesület* means 'Association').

According to the statutes of the association, the goals of the *Madách Egyesület* coincide with the expectations of Hungarian ethnopolitics.

(14)
Los fines de esta Asociación son los siguientes:
a) Promover, propagar la lengua húngara, y facilitar acceso a todas las personas que quieran aprenderla, cultivarla y mantenerla.
b) Organizar actividades tanto para niños como para mayores en la lengua húngara.
c) Ofrecer la posibilidad de organizar diversos eventos como foros, reuniones, cursos, celebraciones con acceso a todo el mundo quien quiera comunicarse en esta lengua.
(Source: http://www.madach.es/est/, last access: 15/10/2022)
English translation:
The aims of this Association are the followings:
a) To promote, to propagate the Hungarian language, and facilitate access to all people who would like to learn, cultivate, and maintain it.
b) To organize activities both for children and for adults in Hungarian language.
c) To offer the possibility of organizing various events like forums, reunions, courses, celebrations with access to everyone who would like to communicate in this language.

The *Madách Egyesület* is still Madrid-located, but it wanted to become an umbrella organization of Hungarians in all of Spain. The homepage of its website treats this intention as a fact.

(15)

Az egyesület 2014-ben alakult Madridban, ahol három magyar család elhatározta, hogy gyermekeiknek szüksége van magyar nyelvű közegre. Így kezdődött a történet, amelyből mára már egy országosan működő, több mint száz tagot számláló szervezet nőtte ki magát.

(Source: http://www.madach.es/, last access: 15/10/2022)

English translation:

The association was founded in 2014 in Madrid, where three Hungarian families decided that their children needed a Hungarian-language environment. This is how the story began that has now grown into a national organization with over 100 members.

Yet the connection between the *Madách Egyesület* and *Aranyalma Kör* was the result of an individual decision rather than conscious planning. In 2016, a Hungarian pedagogue moved to Barcelona from Madrid because her husband got a new job there. She decided to transfer the methods of *Magyar Játék Vár* to Barcelona, which has been a weekend school-like program in Madrid for Hungarian children. This name is also a wordplay: it can literally mean 'Hungarian game is waiting [for you]' and 'Hungarian game castle' which refers to *játékvár*, a playgroup where parents can leave their children for a few hours, while professional pedagogues do playful educational activities with them. This name implies that Magyar Játék Vár was not a classical diasporic school where language, history and other subject were taught, but a two-hours long occasion where children (from approximately age 5 to 12) were invited to get familiar with knowledge structures associated with Hungary and Hungarian culture through multisensorial and multimodal experiences, such as painting, music, and other sorts of artisanal tasks. The formation of this program was initially supported by the *Madách Egyesület*'s financial resources from Hungary, which was spent on the purchasing of materials. In return, the *Madách Egyesület* asked the informal leader of *Aranyalma Kör* to become a part of the *Madách Egyesület*. Thus, approximately 20 families joined by paying the annual membership fee in the first year. This deal seemed to be mutually beneficial. The *Madách Egyesület* was able to show numbers, while the former organizers of *Aranyalma Kör*, who were already a bit exhausted, felt relief that they could pass the torch, and the continuation of the educational activity was provided. The communication between Madrid and Catalonia, however, was not balanced.

I myself went to Barcelona for the first time with the help of the *Madách Egyesület*. I was looking for a place to do an Erasmus+ traineeship in the spring of 2018, and they were the ones I found on the internet as an official body, which was a requirement for a host institution. The place of the traineeship was in Barcelona but my supervisor was in Madrid. She described to me their relationship with those in Catalonia as harmonious and informed me that my main task would be to assist the educational activities. When I arrived it turned out immediately that the situation was entirely different from what I was told. The relationship between the two actors had deteriorated a lot. The members in Catalonia reported that they did not really see what their membership fee was spent on, but one of my tasks given by the supervisor was to convince them to pay for the next year as well. The teacher of *Magyar Játék Vár* was also somewhat disappointed because she received support from another teacher in Madrid personally but not from the association itself. Retrospectively, I would say that both parties (leaders of the *Madách Egyesület* and Hungarians in Catalonia) worked for a shared cause, but they missed communicating their own needs and wills. To be fair, *Madách Egyesület* also provided opportunities for those in Catalonia. For instance, as a member of the *Madách Egyesület*, one could send their children to so-called diaspora summer camps organized by the Hungarian state. The problem was that Hungarians in Catalonia were not asked whether they were interested in such programs – and they were mostly not. Thus, the close collaboration between the association and the Catalonian members ceased after 3 years when *Magyar Játék Vár* stopped working in its original form due to a personal decision of the head teacher. As 2020 kicked off with the COVID-19 pandemic, no other events were organized under the name of *Madách Egyesület*. Although it

still had members from Barcelona, when I stopped fieldwork in the summer of 2021, there were no traces of any happenings, and weekend school activities had started to be organized in a grassroots manner in four different age groups. It was not the case with other territories. Madách Egyesület still had great relationships with the communities in the region of Costa del Sol (in Andalusia) and Zaragoza (in Aragon).

For most Hungarians engaging in diasporic activities with other Hungarians in Catalonia, the ethnopolitical environment of the 2010's has been troublesome. In the next excerpt, one of the former organizers of *Aranyalma Kör* events expressed his aversion in general terms (although not specifically towards the *Madách Egyesület*).

(16)

András: *átment egy ilyen fideszes ö ö hagyományőrző, meg ilyen nyelvmegőrző politikás dologba. igaziból nekem nagyon nem tetszik. most nem a- az ideológia nem tetszik, mer szerintem Magyarországról nem értik, hogy mi a kétnyelvűség az egész- vagy soknyelvűség, sok kultúrához tartozás, és azér egy olyan- olyan- ilyen béna magyar kultúrát próbálnak nyomatni, ami nekünk nem releváns.* [...] *kisebbségi magyarok azt tudják, hogy a magyarországi magyaroknak van egy elképzelése arról, hogy mi magyarnak lenni, amit nem osztanak meg a két- két- vagy többkultúrájú magyarok. tehát tipikusan mondjuk Budapest lehet, hogy Székelyfölddel összekacsint, de azér az erdélyi magyarsággal nem kacsint össze. tehát így ha kolozsvári magyarokat is ismersz, akkor tudod, hogy ez ilyen „nehogy már te mondd meg, hogy hogy legyek magyar", „honnan tudod te azt, hogy-?". na és akkor nekem is ez az érzésem, hogy itt még mindig megy ez a "körben áll egy kislányka", de hogy nekünk nem ez a- nem ez a magyar kultúra. és ö ez nekem így a hetvenes éveknek a magyar kultúrája, és nem a mai magyar kultúra, és ezér így- tehát nem releváns egyszerűen. és ezér én soha nem is vittem oda, meg a tábori programok is nem ez a vagány ilyen ö modernebb elképzelés, hanem olyan programokat csinálnak a gyerekeknek, ami az én gyerekkoromba volt tábori program. és má én se szeretem*

English translation:

András: it became this Fidesz-like ehm ehm traditionalist and language preservationist political thing. honestly I really don't like it. now not the- the ideology [is what] I don't like, cos I think [they who are] from Hungary do not understand what bilingualism is, the whole- or plurilingualism, belonging to multiple cultures, and thus they try to push that- that- this lame Hungarian culture which is not relevant for us. [...] minority Hungarians know that Hungarians in Hungary have an imagination of what it is to be Hungarian that is not shared by the bi- bi- or multicultural Hungarians. so typically let's say Budapest and Szeklerland might wink at each other, but not with Transylvanian Hungarians. so like if you know Hungarians in Cluj Napoca as well, then you know that it's like "don't you tell me how to be Hungarian", "how do you know that-?". and then I have the feeling that here they still do this "a girl standing in a circle", but for us it is not- this is not the Hungarian culture. and ehm for me this is the Hungarian culture of the 70s, and not the Hungarian culture today, and therefore like- so it is simply not relevant. and because of that I never brought [my children] there, and summer camps are also not this cool like- more modern concept, because kids are doing programs that were summer camp programs in my childhood. and I didn't like it either [back then]

The criticism in András's words is a self-evident consequence of the ideal of the *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* ('Hungarian who lives a bit further'). He created a chronotopic distinction between what the situation is like in Budapest and Szeklerland, a region in Romania where the Hungarian-speaking population is over 70%, and what it is like in Catalonia. He rather identified with Hungarians in other regions of Romania whose lives were described with the words *soknyelvű* ('plurilingual') and *többkultúrájú* ('multicultural'). He quoted typified sentences from an imagined Transylvanian Hungarian who would deny being told how to behave as a Hungarian. The distance between his opinion and the ethnopolitical stance in Hungary was also understood in the dimension of time. He criticized the older pedagogical methods (referring to a folk song titled *Körben áll egy kisleányka*) he experienced as a child which he would rather not transmit to his children but was still pushed in such programs. András, without naming it, constructed a figure which was named *emigráns* ('emigrant') Hungarian in Subsection 4.2.1 by

Gyuri. This figure is one which is exclusively occupied with Hungarian affairs even in Catalonia. According to my fieldwork, the figure of the *emigráns* seems to be widely rejected by Hungarians in Catalonia as it brings in certain ethnopolitical connotations and this might be also the reason for the cease of collaboration with *Madách Egyesület*.

András' opinion was harsh but not unique. Others with whom I had the opportunity to speak also expressed similar criticisms. They felt that they were not addressed by the Hungarian ethnopolitics because its views and programs were understood as old-fashioned and thus unrealistic. There are contending forms of Hungarianness at stake here as there can be found a division between the Orbán government's ethnonationalism and the more cosmopolitan identifications of diasporic Hungarianness.

The rise of social media groups and new practices

The other characteristic of the 2010s (besides the ethnopolitical changes) was a sociotechnical one: social media started to inevitably become part of people's daily lives. Research on the online interactions of diasporic subjects usually emphasizes the fact that maintaining contact with those who remained in the homeland became feasible (see Androutsopoulos & Lexander 2021, Palviainen 2020, Sabaté i Dalmau 2014). An important feature, however, is that diasporic subjects in the same location might also create commonality through such devices (Fernández Suárez et al. 2021, Theodoropoulou 2021).

What I see as characteristic of the development of Hungarian diasporic groups in Catalonia from the 2010s is the combination of social networks, diversification of activities and emergence of ethnic business. For Hungarians in Catalonia the new media platforms were not just places to facilitate communication between those who had already known each other, but also to find new fellow Hungarians and initiate discussions. The *Aranyalma Kör* mostly addressed families through a mailing list, but platforms like Facebook started to fill the gap created by those interested in engaging in other kinds of Hungarian-speaking activities from the 2010s. When I asked Hungarians at my first fieldwork encounters how they get to know others, they mostly referred to the closed Facebook groups dedicated to Hungarians. These groups functioned as spaces for sharing information on upcoming events and for asking questions related to any aspects of life in Catalonia. To demonstrate what kind of grassroots diasporic activities were fostered through social media platforms within Hungarians in Catalonia, I show an excerpt from a participant who recently arrived in Catalonia when we met, yet she immediately seized two opportunities.

I interviewed Hédi in 2018, when she was in her late 20s. At the beginning, it turned out that she had moved to Barcelona only 2 months earlier with her Spaniard partner after a few years spent in Germany. Yet, her answer summarized well how a newcomer might find modes to create contact with other Hungarians at that time.

(17)

Hédi: *Facebookon* (#laugh)*, hát mit használsz, hogyha új vagy? Facebookon- az egyik Facebook csoportban beírtam, hogy ö „új vagyok itt, valakinek van-e esetleg kedve egy kávét meginni?", és ö erre az üzenetemre jött ö kettő fontos válasz. öm az egyik a- a barcelonai magyarok táncháza úgymond, a másik pedig a- a barcelonai nők csoportja, és mindkettőnek aznap vagy azon a hétvégén egy-egy programja, és öm úgy döntöttem, mivel az egyik program az eléggé- erősnek tűnt kezdésnek, ilyen környezetvédelmi program volt a barcelonai nők csoportjában* (#laugh)*, hogy inkább elmegyek táncolni* (#laugh)

English translation

Hédi: on Facebook (#laugh). well, what do you use when you are new? on Facebook- in one of the Facebook groups I wrote that "I'm new here, does anyone fancy drinking a coffee?", and ehm to this message two important replies came. ehm one of them was the- the dance house of Hungarians in Barcelona let's say,

and the other [was] the- the group of women in Barcelona, and each had a program that day or that weekend, and ehm so I decided to [go], as one of the programs was a bit- strong for a start, like environmental protection in the group of women in Barcelona (#laugh) so I rather went to dance (#laugh)

Hédi, in the first line, treated using Facebook as taken for granted in case of being new somewhere. She was the one who initiated a meet up with unknown people, but then she ran into two possible activities which had already been organized. The first one was a so-called "dance house" (*táncház*). Dance house refers to those kinds of folk-dance events which are not stage performances, but occasions for ordinary people to practice easier dance steps with each other. The dance house movement was a counter-cultural movement born in the socialist Hungary of the 1970s with the aim of revitalizing folk culture mostly in urban contexts. That is the reason why the new ethnopolitics has been generous with diasporic folk-dance groups. In the context of Catalonia, however, hosting dance houses was more like a grassroots activity: it grew out of the initiative of a person in Barcelona who used to do folk-dance back in Hungary, and she was the one who decided to organize such events with another person living in a village in the southern coastal area. They were the ones who taught the newbies the most fundamental motions in these events. All were welcome who were willing to dance a bit, but most of the rehearsals did not exceed the number of 10 persons during my fieldwork. This program started in 2017 but stopped due to the pandemic in 2020.

The other activity mentioned in Excerpt (16) by Hédi is a group made up of Hungarian women in and around Barcelona (also mentioned in Subsection 4.2.5), which had monthly gatherings where a member gave a lecture or hosted a workshop in connection with her expertise or hobby. The women's club can be understood as a meeting point also for the figure of the *segítő* ('supporting person') who are women devoted to making connections with both locals and Hungarians. These two programs can both be connected to the figure of the *gyökértelen* ('rootless'), the one who does not really have local social contacts but would rather not move back. Instead, they attempt to engage in and reproduce some practices of 'Hungarianness'. Such practices might involve going to folk dance rehearsals (no previous experience is required) or joining a club where compatriot women discuss interesting topics.

Hédi positioned herself as someone for whom it is obvious to contact fellow Hungarians in the new location. She constructed the chronotopic image of the diasporic Hungarian for whom it is self-evident to meet up with fellow Hungarians in a location far from the homeland. Others, however, might prefer meeting with non-Hungarians (including both local people or other expats regardless of nationality) in the new place, whose behavior can be connected to the figure of the *gyökértelen* ('rootless'). For the *gyökértelen*, it became important after years of living abroad to create bonds with other diasporic Hungarians. According to her interview, this was the case with Klára, a cosmetician in her mid-40s, who had been in Barcelona since 1998. When I was first conducting fieldwork in 2018, she organized two large grassroots events (which were independent from the organizations mentioned in the previous subsections). However, when I asked her which kind of Hungarian programs she had visited before, it turned out that she had avoided meeting with other Hungarians for a long time.

(18)

Klára: *az utóbbi időbe szerintem én azér megpróbálok mindenhol ott lenni, az elején nem akartam megmondom az őszintét, én ki akartam totál ebből vonni magam, mikor beindult ez a-*

Gergely: *mi változott?*

Klára: *Facebook.* [...] *én akkor nyitottam meg kétezertízbe az üzletem, már volt Facebookom, de hát akkor még- akkor még kapizsgáltam kétezernyolcba, hogy na ezt az ismerőst összeszedni, családot meg ilyenek, de én annyira nem foglalkoztam vele, és akkor jött a* (#delete: male name)*, elkezdi „csináljunk egy csoportot" ma- a magyarok* <Catalunya>. [...] *legelőször, dobtam is egy hátast, hogy „úristen, mér jön*

hozzám egy magyar fiú? mit akar tőlem?", tudod, mer én akkor rég találkoztam magyarokkal, s akkor ennyi végülis, hogy ö ö mondja, hogy csinálunk egy csoportot, fölrakja, hogy fodrász, én meg kozmetikus, mer hogy van azér itt sok magyar, és lehet, hogy van igény rá. én meg tök szégyenlős voltam, „én nem, én nem", én nem akarom, hogy az legyen, hogy csámcsogjanak rólam. egy, mer tudom, hogy a régi magyarok totál ilyenek voltak, ezek a szurkálódósok, kibeszélősek, rosszindulat meg satöbbi, volt egy pár rossz tapasztalatom, és más magyarokkal- és nem akartam nagyon a magyaroknak én hirdetni magam, én elvoltam a kis spanyol-külföldi körömbe, úgy voltam, hogy elég az nekem

English translation:

Klára: in recent times I think I try to get everywhere, at the beginning [however] to tell you the truth, I wanted to completely exclude, when this started-

Gergely: what has changed?

Klára: Facebook. [...] I started my business in 2010, I already had Facebook, but back then- back then I did not realize in 2008 that- this looking up these acquaintances, family members and so on, but I did not really care about it, and then came (#delete: male name) who started [viz. said] "let's do a group" Hun- the Hungarians <Catalunya>. [...] at the first time I threw a backflip [viz. I was surprised] like "oh my god, why does this Hungarian guy come to me? what does he want?", you know, because I hadn't met Hungarians for a long time, and that's it, that ehm ehm he says to do a group, he will put up [viz. post] that he is a hairdresser, I am a cosmetician, because there are a lot of Hungarians here, and there might be a demand for it, but I was completely shy, "I don't, I don't", I don't want them to gossip about me. first, because I know that old Hungarians were completely like that, this kind of poking fun at others, gossiping, maliciousness and so on, I had some bad experiences, and other Hungarians- I did not want to advertise myself for other Hungarians, I was [doing well] in my small Spanish-foreigner circle, I felt like it was enough for me.

Klára's story on contacting Hungarians differs strongly from motivations previously described above. She mentioned a hairdresser (who had already moved to another country by the time of the interview) who created one of the Facebook groups with the purpose of expanding his clientele with other Hungarians. In this case, engaging in activities with other Hungarians was not merely something done for leisure, but rather serving economic interests. Because of her early bad experiences with other Hungarians (she did not specify exactly who she referred to as "old Hungarians"), she was at first reluctant to take part in such initiatives. However, she was convinced by others, and later she realized that she did enjoy the company of other Hungarians. The importance of this aspect lies in the fact that her stance towards diasporic encounters chronotopically changed during her life-journey. As a result, during her years as a self-employed, she provided cosmetic and other beauty services to many Hungarians. In addition to that, she later organized some events as well, drawing on her network of fellow Hungarians in Catalonia. For instance, some participants mentioned a moving moment to me from the 2016 UEFA European Football Championship, when Klára gathered a great number of Hungarians to watch together the game Hungary played against Portugal. She also mentioned in her interview that "*tök jól esett azér, hogy hetvenen éneklik a magyar himnuszt*" ('it felt so good to have seventy people singing the Hungarian [national] anthem together').

Drawing insights from the stories of Hédi and Klára, new diasporic practices emerged in this decade that resulted in new kinds of programs where Hungarians could meet and in services provided to each other. Due to the growing number of Hungarians in Catalonia and the easier flow of information, other more permanent services also came to existence from the 2010s which could be labeled as instances of ethnic economy, "a specific form of business by an 'ethnic' group" (Flubacher 2020: 115–116). These were no longer visible only in the digital space but became an integral part of the linguistic-semiotic landscape of Barcelona too. The first ethnic business, Hungaryto was founded in 2010, and it has been the "only traditional Hungarian restaurant (Hungarian cuisine only) in Barcelona (and practically in the whole Iberian Peninsula), which brings the most popular flavors and dishes of my country, Hungary, to these lands" (https://hungaryto.com/nosotros, last access: 15/10/2022, my translation from Castilian). Another example is Futballárium Barcelona, which has been a sports bar specialized in

international sport tourism. The pub is located near Camp Nou, the famous stadium of FC Barcelona. The owners opened it in 2013, and they also started to serve food in 2014. Moreover, there is a Hungarian shop in the city, which is called Paprika Gourmet. Close to this shop, one could also find a unisex hair salon as well, called El Húngaro Hair Stylist. In the gothic district, there is a candy shop called Çukor; the name is a wordplay: *cukor* means 'sugar', but the Hungarian *c* is not pronounced as a velar plosive [k], but a voiceless alveolar affricate [t͡s], so the consonant associated with the *ç* grapheme is used so that it sounds somewhat closer to the Hungarian phoneme.

The scope of these businesses has varied. For instance, the restaurant has catered to local clientele; the Hungarian shop has served those who would have liked to buy Hungarian products; and the bar has occupied the niche market of the international supporters of FC Barcelona. Besides them, others have also been relying on large-scale tourism. While some Hungarians were already making some income extra-officially by providing accommodation and/or guiding tours to Hungarian travelers, two local Hungarians started two businesses independently from each other in 2019: Magyar Vándor Barcelona ('Hungarian wanderer Barcelona') has been a tour-guiding service, whereas SzoBarça (in which *szoba* stands for 'room' in Hungarian) has served as an apartment for Hungarian tourists.

To sum up briefly, we can conclude that in the 2010s the diasporic experience of Hungarians in Catalonia diversified, so did their opportunities to meet up with each other. Since then, all kinds of people could find Hungarian-related activities in the host-land from children activities through dance houses to restaurants depending on whether they are in the position of a *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* ('Hungarian who lives a bit further') or a *nomád* ('nomád').

4.3.4. The situation in the 2020s

At the end of this overview on the diasporic groups of Hungarians in Catalonia, I wish to write some words on the current situation in the 2020s after the COVID-19 pandemic. As shown above, the diasporic activities of Hungarians in Catalonia increased in number and diversified in nature in the 2010s. However, non-lucrative grassroots activities have always been exposed to uncertainty, e.g., in some cases continuity was not ensured when the main organizers wanted to reduce their activities for certain reasons, or they decided to move to another place (mostly back to Hungary). The restrictions of the pandemic also made social gatherings impossible for a long time. Besides the ethnic businesses, the only activity that restarted by the end of my fieldwork was the weekend school. Indeed, it was the very first time when it really started to function as a school in the sense that classes were provided for four age groups by different teachers under the auspices of the same organization.

What remained "untouched" by the pandemic were the social media platforms. Although according to the previous accounts, it might seem that Hungarians in Catalonia saw social media as a panacea for all problems of socialization, this was hardly the case. The large Facebook groups mentioned by Klára had 4-5 thousand members, and they were rarely moderated. Although Idescat-1 counted almost 4000 Hungarians in Catalonia (cf. Chart 3.1), the number of members in these Facebook groups were obviously unrealistic. These groups were replete with people who did not dwell in Catalonia, but asked permission to join for some reason. During my fieldwork, a lot of people complained about the fact that tourists from Hungary were looking for advice in these groups instead of letting "local" Hungarians discuss their issues. In addition, there was also a significant number of posts for commercial purposes in these groups.

This problem was nicely worded by Máté, a man in his early 30s, who joined *magyar tertúlia* discussions in the summer of 2021. He asked us for advice on how he could organize some

events because he was unsatisfied with what he had experienced so far. In a chat message, he summed up briefly the issues of networking on these social media platforms.

(19)
Máté: *Engem az motivált a kérdés felvetésében, hogy számomra egyedül a különbözô Facebook csoportok léteztek mint "agóra" és ott általában a "kell-e PCR teszt", "orvosi marihuana eloado"* (!) *és "válassz az 500 tv csatorna közül" szinvonalu posztok pörögtek, de azok legalább napi szinten.*
English translation:
Máté: What motivated me in asking you is [the fact] that only various Facebook groups existed for me such as "agora" and there usually the "is PCR test needed", "medical marijuana for sale", and "choose from 500 television channels" quality [viz. kind of] posts were circulating, but those at least on a daily level.

What Máté problematized about the Facebook groups created for Hungarians in Catalonia was that they did not function as an agora could, i.e. they did not provide space for meaningful discussions for Hungarians who actually lived in Catalonia. This was also a chronotopic imagination on how diasporic encounters should look like. He stylized three such typical texts, which were irrelevant for him. The first text (*kell-e PCR teszt* 'is PCR test needed') voiced the figure of a Hungarian tourist who asks practical questions from other Hungarians living there, and the last one (*válassz az 500 tv csatorna közül* 'choose from 500 television channels') referred to chain messages circulated also by non-local people in a great amount of Facebook groups dedicated to expatriate Hungarians.

The criticism by Máté was not unique. I also heard a lot of people complaining about this trend. It is, however, important to emphasize here that the wish to have an agora-like place to discuss locally relevant topics with compatriots in Hungarian was already there when I left the research site, however, a practical plan on how to create one was just not conceived yet. When writing these lines, I can argue that *magyar tertúlia* became one such place on a small scale as the participants continued to organize such encounters themselves every month even after my return, although it did not grow bigger. And it also seems that some other groups and types of diasporic activities might turn up in the future. So far, I cannot tell whether the chronotopic figures of diasporic Hungarians will be even diversified or not – but this is not the topic of this thesis.

4.4. Summary

In this chapter, I examined the individual experiences associated with the "dispersion criterion" of diasporization. Dispersion traditionally referred to forced migration but here it was understood more broadly to any kind of dispersion in space (following Brubaker 2005). I associated this criterion with a question formulated by Dénes, one of the participants in the *magyar tertúlia* gatherings: *Honnan indult, mi a célja?* ('Where is he/she coming from, what is his/her aim?'). Thus, my objective in this chapter was to shed light on the complexity of contemporary diasporic experiences, i.e., on how the diasporic subjects narrate their dispersion in connection with time, space, moral positions and personal motivations. Thus, I first mapped the self-ascribed categories used by the participants in the interview situations: the *integrálódott* ('integrated'), the *nomád* ('nomad'), the *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* ('Hungarian who lives a bit further'), the *gyökértelen* ('rootless'), and the *segítő* ('supporting person'). Secondly, I traced these categories throughout the whole data set generated during my fieldwork. I did not treat these categories as neutral ways of expressing one's ideas. They were rather means of self-positioning for the participants in an interaction with me as a Hungarian fieldworker. To make sense of these categorizations, I drew on the concept of chronotope. The Bakhtinian term is used widely

in the literature, but here I narrowed it down to the spatiotemporal frames that became salient in the narratives of the participants that also designate what counts as morally accepted behavior in a certain time-space. Therefore, I connected the self-ascribed categories with moral expectations in the first part of this chapter. In the second part, I also connected these categories with the main moments of the brief history of Hungarian diasporic group formation in Catalonia from the 1980s to the early 2020s, and I claimed that moral positionalities change depending on the chronotope evoked in the narratives.

Before turning to the summary of my findings of this chapter, I first outline the "findings" of the *magyar tertúlia*. In the meeting where Dénes's questions were discussed, the five key participants (Detti, Rebeka, Pál, Gyuri, Dénes), János and I were present. The participants first thought that their different life situations were hard to compare, but then they realized that they actually had a lot in common. With a few exceptions, they all wanted to get away from their Hungarian environment for a longer or shorter period as a form of adventure or to create a completely new life. But it was not an easy decision for any of them. When discussing the reasons for moving to Catalonia from Hungary (for the dispersion), they identified two factors that made significant differences. The first one was a generational gap in their discourses on migration. The older participants narrated their migratory experiences as something that had a specific objective, while the younger participants did not put an emphasis on life goals. They recalled their first experiences in Catalonia as looking for their own paths. The other factor was the differences in what I would call class backgrounds. In this case, the experiences of the intellectuals from the capital city were contrasted with those participants who had working-class background or came from non-metropolitan areas. Moving to Catalonia (or abroad in general) was seen as an enormous step for the second group, while the first one imagined that their life would have been similar in Budapest.

In these accounts in the *magyar tertúlia*, some chronotopes can be touched upon, such as the chronotope of adventure or the chronotope of life as a long journey. In my analysis in the first part of this chapter, I listed chronotopically organized identity constructions that appeared mostly in one-on-one interview settings. Although I identified the self-ascribed categories in biographical narratives, this does not necessarily mean that these categories correspond to actual biographical characters. They were more like socially recognizable positions taken up in the event of speaking. It is possible that the participants would draw on other time-space frames in interactions with other people, but as this research focuses on the processes of diasporization, the key here was how they positioned themselves with Hungarian interlocutors – to which I count myself as well.

The chronotopic figure of the *integrálódott* ('integrálódott) had gone through a unidirectional process (integration, adjustment) in time, more precisely lifetime duration. The practices of the *integrálódott* were imagined between two locales, the homeland and the host-land, that require different behaviors. The *integrálódott*, for whom the "proper" behavior was to adapt to the ways of the local population, was opposed to the figure of the *emigráns* ('emigrant'), who behaved similarly to the way they behaved in their homeland. The second chronotope was the *nomad* ('nomád') which was demonstrated by the example of the *clandestino* ('clandestine') and the *digitális nomád* ('digital nomad'). I treated these two figures as the same chronotope as both are characterized by the permeability across spaces. The *clandestino* was positioned in two ways: the one who acted according to the same values everywhere and always, and the one who did not immerse in the local issues anywhere, although the life of the *clandestino* was represented by visiting different places and shorter time periods spent in each locale. The same everywhereness and in-betweenness characterized the *digitális nomád*, as well, with the exception that being a *digitális nomád* was understood as being a recent option available only for a privileged few that was enabled by the ways in which technologies have made it possible to

"collapse" space. In this sense the position of the *digitális nomád* was unbounded in space but bounded in time to the present. In the third chronotope, the figure of the *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* ('Hungarian who lives a bit further') treated her mobility as a short-distance one different from others' experiences in both time and space: different from those who left Hungary earlier in an era of less advanced technologies and different from those who moved to another continent. In this sense, this chronotope includes new forms of mobility and is also connected to the last two decades of free movement for Hungarians in the European Union. The fourth chronotopic figure was the *gyökértelen* ('rootless') who felt stuck between two localities after spending years abroad. The *gyökértelen* could not feel homely neither in the place of origin anymore, nor in the place of residence (perhaps at least for now). This feeling of nowhereness for the *gyökértelen* often resulted in investment on creating bonds with both Hungarians and other diasporic individuals. The fifth chronotopic figure, the *segítő* ('supporting person') showed similarities with the *gyökértelen* in the need of maintaining contact with the imagined homeland, however, the *segítő* as the only gendered figure saw the goal of her mobility as some kind of sacrifice for their family by creating the feeling of homeliness that might be both temporal and permanent. Besides age, class background, and life goal as defining factors, this section added profession, time spent in the host-land, gender, and family background as well to the "findings" of the *magyar tertúlia* discussion.

I do not argue that these are the only possible chronotopic aspects in which the processes of migration and diasporization can be imagined, I just argue that these are the ones that became salient in the data generated through the fieldwork. And I also claim that the ways these chronotopes are loaded with (language) ideological tensions and moral expectations determined on how diasporic groups and activities emerged within Hungarians in Catalonia. The first such group was the *Katalán-Magyar Kulturális Egyesület*. Their activity might be easily understood in line with the chronotope of integration; the members were upper-middle class people who intended to contribute to the mediation between Catalan and Hungarian high culture. In these terms, the members merged the symbolic capital they brought with themselves from one place with the cultural and social capital obtained at the other place that certainly defined the way they imagined an ideal behavior of the newcomers.

As the number of Hungarians in Catalonia significantly increased after the millennium, their experiences also diversified. The second diasporic group, the *Aranyalma Kör* was made up of people who saw themselves as Hungarians who lived a bit further in the sense that they arrived in a new geopolitical era that also characterized the way they looked at their mobility. That was imagined in the context of a European free movement which also implied the possibility of returning or maintaining a life drawing on two localities. Thus, their activities were focusing more on the second generation, they mostly organized events for families where their children could meet with modern Hungarian culture. Other diasporic groups also emerged from the 2010s due to new social media platforms and because there was a growing demand for Hungarian-speaking spaces from those who might be labeled as *gyökértelen* or *segítő*, for whom new experiences of being between two locales have emerged. This was also the decade when ethnic businesses were founded for the first time, and this development also implied novel forms of mobility and diasporization in which the contact between two geographical spaces has been palpable in material goods.

The last diasporic group I mentioned was the Madrid-located diasporic umbrella organization of Hungarians in Spain, namely the *Madách Egyesület* which had close collaboration with Hungarians in Catalonia between 2016 and 2019. This collaboration, however, ceased. This can be explained by the fact that the majority of Hungarians in Catalonia rejects the current Hungarian ethnopolitics that also brought *Madách Egyesület* into existence. The cease of the close collaboration can also be reasoned by the refusal of the figure of the *emigráns* ('emigrated')

that was demonstrated in the examples of this chapter. In the data, I found two other refused chronotopic figures: the figure of the *világpolgár* ('cosmopolitan') and the *guiri* ('tourist'). These two figures cannot be connected to any organizations, but it can be summarized that the imagined diasporic subject was expected to eschew the mistake of remaining "too" Hungarian and too foreigner.

4.5. The feedback of Dénes

After finishing the conclusions of this chapter, I wrote a 2-pages long summary in Hungarian (see Appendix D). I sent it to Dénes with whom we had an online meeting after that. He started his feedback by thanking me for writing up the summary in an intelligible way that both explained the most important terms and the results of the chapter. He liked reading it and found the results interesting.

(20)

Dénes: *ezt nagyon érdekesnek találom. és ö hogy- hogy ez így csoport- csoportosítani ugye az élményeket, és még ugye azt is elmagyarázod, hogy- hogy- bizonyos pillanatokban bizonyos helyzetekben mindenki másképp látja saját magát és a többieket is. s ezt teljesen így érzem én is. tehát ugye ahogy beszéltünk néha, ugye ez a világpolgár dolog. tehát igen, hogy bizonyos szempontból igen, más szempontból nem, vagy nem akarom magam annak tekinteni, tehát ez- ez igen, ez ö | mondjuk hogy hát végülis erre törekszik a tanulmány, hogy végülis ezt az egész bonyolultságát bemutassa a- a- ennek a vándorlási kérdésnek mondjuk valahogy így érzem*

English translation:

Dénes: I find this very interesting. and ehm that- that this can be cat- categorized like the experiences. and you even explain that- that- in certain moments in certain situation everyone sees themselves somewhat different and others as well. and I feel this completely the same way. so like we spoke sometimes [about] this world citizen thing. so yes, from a certain point of view yes, from another point of view no, or I don't want to see myself that way. so this- this yes, and ehm | let's say that the article endeavors this to show the whole complexity of this- this- migration question, I feel this somehow

Dénes a bit later said that to some extent he can be seen as a *világpolgár*, but he saw belonging somewhere a life commitment – which is, in his understanding, the antithesis of being a world citizen. He also added that the *magyar tertúla* discussions made him realize that cosmopolitanism is not necessarily a bad thing, but he preferred not to be identified by this word, as he found a new home in Catalonia due to his family and he still saw Hungary as another home for him.

He found the categorization, used in this chapter, powerful and well-described. He said that he could have been described with almost all the identity categories during the different periods he spent in Catalonia – except the digital nomad, although he laughingly added that it might happen in the future. After saying this, another possible category came to his mind.

(21)

Dénes: talán- az én első ö szakaszom az az volt, hogy le is tagadtuk a magyarságunkat. […] ö szégyelltük, szégyelltük azt, hogy mi egy olyan országból származunk- hát én és még néhányan, tehát bizonyos fiatal csoport, akikkel voltam, s akkor ö mert olyan közönségesnek találtuk, meg ö hát tele volt itt mindenféle ö olyan ember, aki számunkra érdekesebb országokból származtak. magyar? hát senki se tudta hova rakni. azt tudták ugye, hogy a vasfüggöny mögött van, meg hogy azok olyan szegények, meg mit tudom én mi. és egy ideig, az első időkben ö általá- el is titkoltam, hogy izé- hogy magyar vagyok

English translation:

Dénes: maybe- my first ehm period was when we even denied our Hungarianness. […] ehm we were ashamed of it. we were ashamed that we came from a country- well I and a few others, so certain young

> group with whom I was, and then ehm because we found it ordinary, and ehm well here was full of ehm people who came from countries more interesting for us. Hungarian? well no one could locate that. they knew that it is behind the Iron Curtain, and that they are poor, and I dunno what. and for some time, in the first periods ehm gene- I kept in secret that thing- that I am Hungarian

Dénes and his mates said to a few people that they were Greek, but as their appearances were not convincing enough, they told somebody that they were Finnish. He later realized that "*aki a saját hazáját, saját gyökereit becsmérli, az saját magát becsmérli*" ('who despises his own homeland, his own roots, despises himself'), so this period did not last for a very long time for him.

The feedback conversation I conducted with Dénes, thus, was useful in two ways. First, he provided further verification of the findings, and it also made him happy that his question was answered. Second, he also added some further contributions with his story on the period of denial. Although this experience was not seen anywhere else in the data generated during the fieldwork, its uniqueness also sheds light on the feelings of loneliness diasporic subjects may face after the dispersion.

4.6. An autoethnographic reflection

Whenever I spoke in front of an academic audience about my work with Hungarians in Catalonia, let it be small talk or a research plan presentation, the most frequently asked question was: are there many Hungarians in Catalonia? Of course, there is an element of mystery in this anecdote for me: the inexplicable fascination for (large) numbers. The way I understand the diasporic is not connected to the number of a given population, but rather refers to a specific situation in which the diasporic subjects maintain and (re)establish connection with their original and new homeland(s) in myriad ways. For groups to become a diaspora, a diasporic call is also needed which is mostly realized by a political entity, e.g., the nation-state from which the diasporic subjects dispersed for some reason. In the polarized Hungarian political landscape, two main discourses circulate about diasporas. The first one hardly acknowledges contemporary transnational migration (see Kovács 2020), the other one over-generalizes it as a tragic and unidirectional process. The first ignores the number of migrants, the other overestimates its importance. Hungarians in Catalonia seem to be somewhat resilient to these discourses. They do not see themselves as a remarkable diaspora (neither compared to ethnic groups in Catalonia, nor compared to older Hungarian diasporas). Yet, such calls emerged spontaneously within themselves to organize any diasporic activities, as shown in Section 4.3.

The call sometimes comes from academia. For instance, when two scholars start to write about the diasporic Senegalese in Norway (see Androutsopoulos & Lexander 2021, Lexander & Androutsopoulos 2021), it creates (a representation of) the Senegalese diaspora despite the very small number of Senegalese living in Norway, even compared to the number of Hungarians in Catalonia. So, the fact that I was interested in diasporic Hungarians in Catalonia enough to spend years of my life writing a thesis about them is an important contribution to the diasporization of this population. Thus, the ways I represent them and make categorizations on the life experiences shared with me may have serious influence.

It is important here to also say something about where I came from (as Dénes put it) to this research. When I saw Dénes the second time in an online focus group discussion, he asked the interlocutors whether they identify as a *világpolgár* ('world citizen'). As his question also addressed me, I told him that I do not, but sometimes I feel I would like to be a *világpolgár*, because I am in awe of people who can make themselves at home anywhere in the world. I also added that one of my motivations in this research was to understand those people who can look

at the world in an easy way. I grew up in a family which has always been characterized by low mobility. Unlike others, in my childhood it never seemed to be an option for me to live abroad as I had not seen such a model – the only people I heard about were two cousins of my father who left the communist Hungary illegally and were not able to create contact with their relatives for a long time. In this sense, I lived in a bubble. However, as I also told the participants of that discussion, when I became a high school student, some of my older friends moved abroad for shorter or longer terms – my high school years coincided with the period when transnational flow became accessible for more people after Hungary's accession to the European Union and the Schengen Agreement. This topic – perhaps because of my own presumed immobility – was of interest to me later on, so I wrote my master thesis on Hungarian Americans. After that, I wanted to study a group which does not have such a long history as Hungarians in the US because I was more amazed by the contemporary developments. This is how I found Hungarians in Catalonia, whose short history is yet enormously complex, as shown in this chapter.

However, I knew that this research would only be able to describe the process of diasporization in a truly comprehensive way if it reflected the interests of other diasporic subjects as well. This is one of the reasons why I felt it was important to organize the analytical chapters around the questions of key participants. Ultimately, this had many similarities with the issues that I myself wanted to address in the dissertation. Still, I was delighted to find out that the topics I was interested in were more or less of interest to other Hungarians in Catalonia as well – or at least to the five key participants who decided to accompany me in the journey of this research with great commitment.

5. Boundaries in erosion

This chapter seeks access to the varying social imaginations of Hungarians in Catalonia on their relationship with the host society, focusing on cases when they try to erode boundaries to some extent. To address boundary-management from the perspective of the research participants, I begin with the question written on a card by one of the key participants during the *magyar tertúlia*. This question was the following: *Hogy megy a beilleszkedés?* ('How is [your] integration going?'). The way this question was articulated already implied some important assumptions in connection with the boundaries between the host society and the diasporic subjects. For instance, it assumed that integration was a desired state by everyone. But it also implied that integration was imagined as a long-term process that does not come easily and is not perceived as a singular event. To approach this question in line with the literature, I propose an understanding of integration as part of the boundary-management of the diasporic subjects as seen by Brubaker (2005).

When discussing the criteria set up for diaspora in previous theories, Brubaker defines boundary-maintenance as "the preservation of a distinctive identity vis-à-vis a host society (or societies)" (Brubaker 2005: 6), being among the defining criteria of diaspora. However, treating maintenance and preservation as yes-or-no questions might not be the most fruitful approach under the circumstances of late modernity as shown in the question formulated by the key participant above. These kinds of boundaries are prone to be more flexible and unsettled than ever before, as I will show in this chapter. On the one hand, resistance to assimilation does not necessarily lead to self-segregation. On the other hand, attempts to be accepted by the host society do not necessarily result in self-abandonment and loss of identity. Brubaker (2005) already pointed out this contradiction by showing that boundary-maintenance is regularly discussed in line with boundary-erosion in some of the literature (see Cohen 1997). Boundary-erosion refers to the fact that diasporic experiences are often replete with different forms of hybridity, fluidity, and heterogeneity (Hall 1991). Thus, diasporic individuals typically challenge seeing ethnic and other identity boundaries as fixed entities.

As this thesis applies a social constructivist approach to diasporization, the maintenance or erosion of pre-defined boundaries of ethnic and national identities in the context of languages are not the issue here. What matters more in this case is how these boundaries are understood, negotiated, reproduced, or transgressed, why, and how language figures in it. Late modern diasporic subjects do have visions on how to preserve their identity as stated above in the definition of boundary-maintenance, but they also have social imaginations on how they should or should not integrate into the receiving society. These social imaginations might differ from individual to individual, but as shown in the previous chapter, they might also alter in the course of time or on different scales.

To demonstrate the diverse nature of how diasporic subjects socially imagine boundaries, I draw on the words of Pál. He had been living in Catalonia for 20 years at the time of the *magyar tertúlia*, and he was the first one answering the question quoted above with a fairly ambiguous response.

(1)

Pál: *hát jól megy a beilleszkedés.* [...] *leginkább nem történt meg. tehát ö tehát továbbra is ilyen- ilyen* <work in progress>. *tehát nem miattam, tehát egyrészt mondjuk ö nyelvet azt így ö nyelvet, szokásokat, habitust ö gesztikulációt, mindent sikerült így izé- így idővel magamévá tenni.* [...] *ha arról van szó, én mikor éreztem magam így otthon, akkor az így nekem nagyon gyorsan ment.* [...] *az nagyon gyorsan ment, ö és ö ja és hát ö mit tudom én- azt hiszem, ilyen két éve után, vagy egy év után? második évben volt egy ilyen*

nehezebb időszak, amikor ilyen egyedül találtam magam hirtelen, mert így izé- nem voltak a barátok. akkor esett le, hogy nem vagyok itt. vagyis hogy nem vagyok ott. [...] *másrészt meg- tehát az is a beilleszkedéshez tartozik, hogy még a mai napig is így ö így kérdezik tőlem, hogy így- hogy én így kívülről hogy látom a dolgokat. és így nincs mit mondani, mer nem látom őket kívülről, mer nem vagyok kívül. de hogy így hiába, tudod. ha te migráns vagy, te mindig kívül vagy. tehát így sokak szemében*

English translation:

Pál: well integration goes well. [...] it mostly has not happened. so ehm so still like- like <work in progress>. so not because of me, so first let's say ehm language that like ehm language, customs, habitus ehm gesticulation, all of them I could like ehm- like I could make them my own by time. [...] if we speak about when I felt like at home that went very quickly for me. [...] that went very quickly, ehm and ehm yeah and well ehm I dunno- I think after two years, or after one year? in the second year I had a more difficult period when I found myself very lonely abruptly, because like ehm- there were no friends. then I realized that I am not here. or I am not there. [...] second that- so integration also includes that they still like- ehm like ask me up until today that like- how I see the things from outside. and there is nothing to say because I don't see the things from outside because I'm not outside. but like in vain, you know. if you are a migrant, you are always outside. so in the eye of a lot [of people]

Pál proposed several stages and possibilities of integration from which there were stages that he had not been able to achieve so far. By his admission he acquired swiftly the communicational resources that helped him see his new place of residence as home. However, he mentioned two breaches in the process as well. The first one was a personal one: after two years he had to recognize his situation as being "between" two locales (or as it was put in Subsection 4.2.4, being *gyökértelen* 'rootless'). The other one was a more societal one. He experienced that he was still treated as an outsider despite all his efforts to adjust.

The biographic narrative of Pál sheds light on several aspects of the lived experiences of integration. First of all, integration has different elements, and some of them are desired by most newcomers, some are not – i.e., some boundaries are wished to be eroded, some are not. These elements cover a wide range from a certain sense of homeliness to assimilation. Second, language, communication, and other cultural practices play a key role in the social imaginations of integration and boundaries. Third, despite the fact that integration is often understood as a set of endeavors to adjust that are actively done by the people, for some there are certain boundaries set by the host societies that they do not wish or are not able to overcome.

To give a thorough approach to boundary-erosion, in the next section, I provide a brief literature review on integration, a big 'D' Discourse as Gee (1990, 2015) put it, the set of discourses that has traditionally saturated debates on migration from academia to popular culture in mainly European contexts. Then, I turn precisely to the context of Catalonia in terms of how foreign populations experience the local language regimes drawing on the Woolardian distinction of authenticity and anonymity (Gal & Woolard 2001; Woolard 2008, 2016). Understanding the background of these discourses and ideologies is necessary to make sense of the ways Hungarian diasporic subjects imagine their social position and the boundaries amongst communities in Catalonia. Because it is not that these imaginations came out of nowhere. Of course, the need to belong somewhere is one of the most basic characteristics of human nature. But I argue that the way to achieve belonging is imagined according to discourses widely circulating in European societies that idealize a certain form of behavior – (linguistic) integration – that the participants understood as expected from them. I identify five stages of integration and boundary-erosion imagined by the participants and I connect these categories with the stances towards named languages as it will be shown in Section 5.3. Drawing on the findings, I argue that the Castilian language was prioritized among Hungarians in Catalonia in their endeavors towards boundary-erosion, but some of them found Catalan necessary in their lives for deeper integration. I end the chapter with Gyuri's written feedback explaining his own stance towards the Catalan language and my own autoethnographic reflection on how I endeavored to linguistically adjust to local people when residing in Catalonia.

5.1. Integration discourses in Europe

In this section, I delineate the ways integration is usually described as the responsibility of the newcomers and as a form of boundary-erosion realized by them – a mission that can actually seldom be fully accomplished. First, I show how decision-makers in European contexts deal with the issue of migration in their rhetoric, how the "us" and "them" distinction is established in relation to integration, and how imagined national languages play an important role in this. Then, I move to the sociological domains of integration and to the specificities of Hungarians in Catalonia who face fewer bureaucratic obstacles than non-EU citizens but have to find their own paths in Catalonia in terms of culture and language. At the end, I analyze a conversation between two diasporic subjects which demonstrates that integration is indeed an important discursive formation that makes the participants see themselves as foreigners. I argue that fractal recursivity and erasure (Irvine & Gal 2000) are two important semiotic processes in how the boundaries are imagined – and discursively recreated or eroded – by Hungarians in Catalonia. As the later sections of this chapter show, this is most evident in the different roles that Castilian and Catalan play in the imaginations of diasporic subjects.

While intense transnational mobility is not a brand-new phenomenon, and the diversity of European societies cannot be reduced to the corollaries of migrations, the integration rhetoric has been developed in the second part of the 20th century in order to explain the stance of the states, especially in the European Union, towards what they construct as a "problem", as Blommaert & Verschueren 1998 put it. In this rhetoric, this "problem" is a "threat" to national cohesion caused by the newcomers, and this threat is expected to be "managed" by nation-states and their integration policies. I concur with Horner (2009) that this conceptualization creates the "eternal Other" and sets up a *status quo* which defends the economic and ideological interests of certain privileged groups invested in local identities and economies. In Excerpt (1), for instance, Pál also mentioned some contradictions on still being seen as an outsider (to say, an eternal Other) despite living in Catalonia for two decades and taking part in many aspects of social life. Integration, from the point of view of the states, proposes the strengthening of national values in order to maintain social cohesion and eschew the formation of parallel societies within the nation, while it also guarantees the principles of liberal democracies. Integration as a discursive framework and as a paradigm of immigration policy in Europe draws simultaneously on the principles of tolerance, equality, human rights, and diversity (Flubacher & Yeung 2016).

Integration is usually described as embedded in the territorially imagined nation-state supported by the Herderian ideology of "one language – one nation" or, as Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) put it in their book, "the dogma of homogeneism". In this framework, integration is described as a process that outsiders and insider minorities have to carry out in order to be part of a stable and homogeneous host society. The discourses of integration and investment usually go hand in hand (Flubacher et al. 2016); newcomers are expected to make efforts and take responsibility for their own linguistic development. Moreover, official discourses assume that national languages are accepted, even desired by newcomers, because those languages are seen as the democratic means of reception and integration (Hogan-Brun et al. 2009). The participants of this research, as we shall see, share the same cultural-discursive background with their host society in this sense.

These sorts of ideological constructs are dominant and hegemonic in the whole European Union, and they easily (re)produce hierarchies and the social categories of "us" and "them", "here" and "there", "inside" and "outside", and also the categories of "desirable" or "undesirable" immigrant individuals and groups (see Rampton et al. 2018). These oppositions resulted

in several political developments by the advent of the new millennium. For instance, numerous member-states of the European Union started to amend their policies of application for citizenship by requiring language tests (Horner 2009); in the meantime, free movement was provided for EU passport holders in countries adhered to the Schengen Agreement (Gonçalves 2020). As members of the European Union, Hungarian citizenship holders in other member countries get simultaneously exposed to the ideals of the European multilingual citizen and to the discourse of integration on a personal and state level as well despite the model of free movement. This assemblage of discourses alludes to the fact that language is accorded the greatest constitutive element of integration, hence a marker of identity and a creator of boundaries in the homogenizing process (Hogan-Brun et al. 2009).

Integration, from another point of view, may also be understood in terms of three different domains in sociological terms (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas 2016): the political-legal domain (including residence, laws, status, citizenship, etc.), the economic-societal domain (housing, labor, education, health system, etc.), and the cultural (majority or minority society, local forms of sociability, cultural consumption, dress, etc.). Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas (2016) argue that if an immigrant gets integrated in one of these domains, it does not mean that she will be treated as integrated automatically in all three domains. In the case of Hungarians in Catalonia, not all domains are important to the same extent either. First, coming from a member-state of the European Union, most of them can easily benefit from access to political and economic participation. They do not have to apply for citizenship or any special status in order to be able to work or reside. Thus, they are not exposed to the fact that language is treated as a gatekeeper, or even as a *shibboleth* in the discourses on citizenship (McNamara 2012), say by requiring to pass exams (Khan 2019). Of course, they have to go through several bureaucratic and administrative processes (mostly provided in Castilian; see Fukuda 2016), but these are way more problematic for non-EU citizens. On the other hand, from the cultural perspective the routes to integration remain less defined in the Catalonian context. There is no script to help decide which culturally defined socio-political entity one should be loyal to or attempt to integrate into: the European Union, Spain as a member-state, or Catalonia as an autonomous community; maybe all of them. And there is no clear script on how this loyalty should be reflected in such social practices as speaking or learning language(s) either. For these reasons, Hungarians only mention the political-legal and the economic-societal domains in specific occasions, but they frequently address the cultural, as it is the one that requires complex exploration and negotiation. It is also important to report here that Hungarians are less likely to experience ethnic or racial slurs compared to other populations arriving from outside of Europe (when these themes came up in interviews, the participants mentioned Moroccans and Pakistanis in comparison; for such racist and raciolinguistic micro-aggressions in school contexts, see Corona & Block 2020). Thus, their discussions on the cultural domain are mostly restricted to the topics of communicational habits and language in general, but these turn up quite frequently. This is not just because of their individual experiences, but because of the fact that these are the factors that also appear most frequently in integration discourses.

Now, I move on to how these integration discourses played out amongst my participants. When I first conducted fieldwork in 2018 within Hungarians in Catalonia, one of my early impressions was that integration was discussed very frequently indeed. It appeared both in spontaneous conversations and in formal interview situations with me as a researcher. The discourse of integration was evoked as a mode of narrating one's own situation in the structure of a society, and as a mode of (re)creating boundaries between other groups.

The next short conversation in my fieldnotes may highlight the different layers of how dominant views of integration and other ideas are reproduced on a lower scale. The utterances in Excerpt (2) came at the table in a bar after a folk-dance rehearsal when the interlocutors were

discussing both the results of the Hungarian parliamentary elections in 2018 and the rhetoric of the winning party coalition, namely Fidesz–KDNP. Their rhetoric was clearly drawing on the topic of (non-European, Muslim) immigration in the party coalition's campaign that kicked off with a national consultation and a referendum in 2016 on compulsory resettlement (see Kiss 2016).

(2)
Dóra: *de Norbert, te is migráns vagy!*
Norbert: *de én integrálódtam és megtanultam a nyelvet*
English translation
Dóra: but Norbert, you are a migrant too!
Norbert: but I've managed to integrate and I've learnt the language

Both speakers espoused and reproduced dominant Hungarian political discourses in their dispute over the phenomenon of intensified migration in Europe. Engaging with politics in the home-country can also be understood as a diasporic practice (further explored in Chapter 7). However, here political issues were not just discussed by the two interlocutors, but political discourses circulating in Hungary were also recontextualized as well into describing their own situation as foreigners in another country. During the election campaign, the linguistic resource of the word *migráns* ('migrant') had been repurposed and reframed in common talk firstly by public figures (see Bocskor 2018). It replaced the traditional Hungarian term *bevándorló* ('immigrant') in political slogans. The (Latin-Romance) neologism *migráns* was more foreign-sounding in its phonological structure that entails value deprivation and this emphasized the "strangeness" of the referent. Thus, the word *migráns* activated imaginations of wild and uncivilized migrants from outside of Europe, and political advertisements at that time depicted throngs of non-White people waiting at the borders (see Bajomi-Lázár 2019). In this conversation, this imagination was opposed interactively to the interlocutors' understanding of their own migration.

Dóra's sentence above embodied at a lower scale the semiotic process which is called *fractal recursivity* by Irvine and Gal (2000). Fractal recursivity is the "projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level" (Irvine & Gal 2000: 38). Norbert's previous argument had been based on an "us" (Europeans) and "them" (migrants) distinction. Dóra translated this logic into their situation as a foreigner far away from their sending country, which effectively collapsed the us/them opposition in relation to their own position. For this act, she drew on the multi-faceted social meanings of *migráns* ('migrant'). As Milani puts it, "fractal recursivity creates a chain of *entwined* binary oppositions [...] in which the poles of each dyad are not mutually equal in terms of power and value" (Milani 2010: 120, italics in original). In his response, Norbert distanced himself by evoking the discourse of integration and its linguistic aspect. Although they took entirely different positions in their debate, none of the interlocutors challenged the hegemonic ideologies over migration and language: they saw themselves as migrants who should execute the duty of integration and language learning, so that the level of (linguistic) integration implicitly carried a moral evaluation as socially acceptable.

Nobert also employed an act that can similarly be related to one of the semiotic processes described by Irvine and Gal (2000), namely *erasure*. Erasure is the simplification of the ideological terrain. He did not clarify which was *the* language that he was referring to when the need of acquiring was explicated. As I alluded earlier, the discourse of integration always generalizes what counts as a legitimate way of speaking and ignores intra-lingual variation. However, Norbert's utterance also ignored the complex Catalonian sociolinguistic situation, with its different

languages and multilingual speakers whereby the notion of what constitutes integration may be disputed. The sentence simply assumed the existence of a single local speech mode that had to be acquired by migrants. According to my fieldwork experiences, when Hungarians discussed *a nyelv* ('the language') in Catalonia, they mostly referred to Castilian, which was definitely built on an ideological assumption of the nation-state's "dogma of homogeneity" (Blommaert & Verschueren 1998). To be able to further explore how the discourse of integration was echoed in the ways Hungarians in Catalonia constructed images of themselves throughout my fieldwork, the next section describes the ideologies of authority in Catalonia.

5.2. The ideologies of authority in Catalonia

Following the hints provided by Excerpt (2), the various imaginations of integration and boundary-erosion cannot be approached without addressing the classic question of which of the two (currently) official languages spoken in Catalonia (i.e., Castilian and Catalan) speakers prefer and why. To understand this duality, I draw on the concept of ideologies of authority first coined by Gal and Woolard (2001) in their model on language in public that may help understand the different boundaries already recognized by the speakers in Catalonia. First, I present the notions of anonymity and authenticity that explain the different roles Castilian and Catalan had in the autonomous community. Then, I show how these roles have changed in the 21th century. At the end of the section, I also provide a brief review of the literature on different ethnic communities in Catalonia and their stances towards the local languages. I argue that these stances may be connected to the social imaginations of the diaspora.

By authority, Woolard means that "by virtue of the language they use, speakers can command and convince an audience, whether that language has institutionally-recognized legitimacy or not" (Woolard 2008: 303). Authority is supported by two ideological complexes that she claims constitute "linguistic naturalism", namely authenticity and anonymity. The ideology of authenticity "locates the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community" (Woolard 2016: 22). In the case of Catalonia, speaking Catalan has long been a marker of the ethnic identity of the speaker; and Catalan has long been understood as the *llengua pròpia* ('own language'; in Castilian: *lengua propia*) of Catalonia, which is a term used for minority (and actually, minoritized) languages in Spain. By way of contrast, anonymity refers to the "voice from nowhere" which belongs to nobody; thus, anyone can utilize it. In this vein, anonymous languages are "positioned as universally open and available to all in a society" (Woolard 2016: 26). So Castilian has been treated as an anonymous language for a long time in Spain including Catalonia. To explain this distinction, Woolard also adds that "anonymous languages supposedly can be learned by anyone, but authentic languages can be learned by no one; speakers are supposed to come by them 'naturally' rather than working to acquire them" (Woolard 2016: 24). The promoters of minoritized languages, in this sense, are in a paradoxical situation: their goal is to transform the authentic language into an anonymous one, e.g., by encouraging outsiders to become new speakers of the language, but the new speakers are often seen as "inauthentic" speakers of the language as they do not share the same essential (ethnic, rational, or national) identity.

As a corollary of these complex ideological and historical aspects of authority, newcomers may interpret their situation as "being in Catalonia" (thus being exposed to Catalan culture, language, etc.) and/or as "being in Spain". These two formulations of placeness need not be intrinsically incompatible, but social actors have to deal with this duality. Catalonia is now one of the autonomous communities of Spain since the adoption of the Spanish Constitution in 1978 and the Statute of Autonomy in 1979. After decades of dismissal in the Franco era, Catalan is now recognized as a nationality, and the Catalan language is co-official in the territory. In the

early 1980s, an educational program was established, defined by the language policy called linguistic normalization (*normalització lingüística*), that aimed to balance the harms caused by the monolingual regimentation of the dictatorship. Today, one of the aims of linguistic normalization is to transform the Catalan language from a *llengua pròpia* to a *llengua comuna* ('common language'; see Pujolar 2020). Despite these measures, a conflict can still be observed between the disparate interests and the vying discourses on mono- and bilingualism, for instance in the contentions on who counts as a legitimate speaker of which language. Different forms of multilingualism can be framed as a threat to minority languages and its speakers on the one hand (Erdocia & Soler 2021), and they can be understood as a quality of cosmopolitanism on the other hand (Woolard 2020). A vision of the bilingual and tolerant Catalan nation, however, seems to gain dominance in recent years (Woolard 2016).

The region seems to have been characterized by a strict ethnolinguistic differentiation up until the 1980s. Some studies, drawing on both qualitative and quantitative data, suggest that the sociolinguistic situation of Catalonia has gone through a process of de-ethnicization (see the special issue of Woolard and Frekko 2013). For instance, Pujolar and Gonzàlez (2013) argue that the traditional ethnic boundaries of speakerhood, viz. speaking Catalan or Spanish indexes one's origin, have become vague in Catalonia in the post-Franco era due to the reformed Catalan schooling system. Other authors, when discussing migrants' experiences on local languages from a linguistic ethnographic perspective, draw a less optimistic picture about changing the ideological landscape (see Codó 2018, Patiño-Santos 2018, Sabaté-Dalmau 2018). Massaguer Comes (2017, 2022), drawing on 30 semi-structured interviews, argues that de-ethnicization applies to Spanish nationals, but in relation to non-Spanish nationals a re-ethnicization is taking place. She also concludes that two consequences of the 21st century demographic changes in Catalonia are the re-politicization of the Catalan language and the re-establishment of Catalan as a marker of social class.

There is also literature on specific ethnic and other immigrant communities in Catalonia. Torrens Gerrini, drawing on repeated interviews over the years with two Italians, finds that Catalan was still embedded into a useful–useless dichotomy in the sense that it was seen as not necessary for survival, but inevitable for cultural integration (Torrens Gerrini 2020). Fukuda argues in her mixed-method study on local Japanese families that sociolinguistic boundaries still existed between Catalans and outsiders despite the fact that Catalan was becoming more and more an anonymous language (Fukuda 2016). The reasons for learning Castilian were pragmatic ones, as it was understood as necessary for daily life. Thus, Catalan did not function as a host language, but as a second one. In Caglitutuncigil's longitudinal critical ethnography on language classrooms, one of the findings was that Moroccan Darija-speaking women in Barcelona preferred answering in Castilian to the questions of the teacher which somewhat demonstrates the primal role they associated to the Castilian language (Caglitutuncigil 2018). Vancea and Boso, in a comparative study of Moroccans, Bolivians and Romanians, claim that Romanian women found a knowledge of Catalan useful for job opportunities (Vancea & Boso 2015). In an attitudinal study on young Romanians, less positive attitudes are shown towards Catalan than Castilian, but the participants agreed on Catalan's importance in the access to university studies (Ianos et al. 2019). Another study on the descendants of migrants in Lleida, however, reports a balance between the two languages, and the authors argue that most of the informants were following a bilingual acculturation strategy (Lapresta-Rey et al. 2021). Ali also observes differences between the first and second generation in her study on Muslim women (Ali 2020): the first generation invests greater in Castilian than in Catalan. Ali's explanation is that "for first generation immigrants' tendency towards Spanish over Catalan is that many immigrant populations are positioned as being lower in social status, and so they are pushed towards the less socially prestigious language of Catalonia" (Ali 2020: 205).

Most of these studies do not specify how the stances towards Castilian and Catalan are associated with the social imagination of the diaspora. As an exception, Fukuda argues that Japanese expatriates are commonly described "as a 'closed community' with few relations with the local people" (Fukuda 2016: 20) which also explains the lower motivation to learn Catalan that is believed to be less important (see also Fukuda 2018). The opposite is said about Hungarians as shown in the next section. Nevertheless, the findings of this chapter and Fukuda's article reflect a similarity in terms of how the roles of Castilian and Catalan are understood by the migrants.

5.3. The imagined stages of integration

As demonstrated above, policy makers tend to construct integration discursively as the responsibility of the newcomers alone. In addition to that, integration is also understood as a one-way road that the newcomer is expected to walk, and the ones who do not walk it are accused of threatening the host nation. This discursive framework is often reproduced by the migrants themselves. However, as shown in this section, integration is imagined as a multi-directional and complex phenomenon for the diasporic Hungarians in Catalonia and boundaries themselves can be imagined in different ways, e.g., they are usually associated with the named local languages. First, I show how boundary-erosion characterized diasporic Hungarians by quoting an interview excerpt, then I turn to multifaceted ways boundaries were imagined and approached by the participants.

Norbert, who also interacted in Excerpt (2), was one of the first persons with whom I met during my fieldwork. He had been living in Barcelona for more than one and a half decade when I interviewed him (his life-story will be further explored in Subsection 6.2.1). At the end of the interview, I asked him whether he would like to add something. In his response, he started to speak about the Hungarian national character in (over)generalized terms. He also spoke harshly about others who did not intend to integrate (without explicitly naming them).

(3)

Norbert: *a magyar nagyon beilleszkedő nép. tehát azért mondtam, hogy mi nagyon | mert ha- ha nem vagy ö olyan migráns, aki- aki le sem | tojja az egészet, hanem azt csinálja, amit- tényleg, amit akar, és- és ö úgy jön ide, hogy ő az isten, de a magyar nem ilyen. nagyon-nagyon ritka, amikor ezt tapasztaltam. belül szeretnénk mi lenni a király, de- de alázkodunk, és- és tiszteljük a kultúrát, a nyelvet, beilleszkedünk, és- és nagyon megszokjuk szerintem, nagyon ö ö nem illeszkedő, hanem | ö szóval olyan nép, aki- aki tényleg ö ö el tudja fogadni a más kultúrát, és ö keveredik valamennyire, de azér nem teljesen. nem formálódik át teljesen*

English translation:

Norbert : the Hungarian is a very adjusting nation. so I said that we very | because if- if you are not ehm that kind of migrant who- who doesn't give a | shit, and does what- really whatever he wants and- ehm comes here like he would be the god, but the Hungarian is not like that. very-very rare when I experienced this. inside we want to be the king, but- but we humble ourselves, and- and we respect the culture, the language, we integrate, and- and get very used to I think, very ehm ehm not adjusting, but | ehm so a nation who- who really ehm ehm can accept the other culture, and ehm mixes to some extent, but not fully. doesn't get fully transformed

Norbert's narrative generalized the Hungarian diasporic experience and opposed it to other migrants' behavior. In these lines he did not construct a favorable image of just himself, but he extended this description to all Hungarians. He was not the only one who shared such an idea with me during the fieldwork; this was actually quite a frequent theme. So one of the salient discourses among Hungarians in Catalonia was a positive portrait of themselves being calm and quiet people who accept and accommodate to the social habits in the host society (especially in

comparison with other foreign people). Although this idea was not shared by everyone, it is clear that some form of integration was part of the social imagination of the ideal diasporic behavior. It might not be a surprise that one of the chronotopic self-ascribing identity categories described in Chapter 4 was the *integrálódott* ('integrated'). Nevertheless, Norbert pointed out that by integration he did not mean a complete transformation. Excerpt (3) also indicates that integration was seldom imagined in one possible way by the migrants.

Drawing on the data I have, I suggest another metaphor to describe this situation in this section that unites the chances and wills of the diasporic subjects: integration as a highway where all individuals travel in separate cars. This highway has several rest areas and exits. Some people decide to spend more time in rest areas than others, some exit the highway somewhere. They may exit because they do not want to go any further; or they just simply cannot afford the petrol or the highway fees (i.e., they face social boundaries that they cannot erode). In the next subsection, I show the five most salient 'rest areas' and 'exits' that symbolize integration and boundary-erosion in a wide range of forms and degrees. The first stage was named "*nyaralás*" ('holiday') when no local languages are treated as a requirement for the well-being of the diasporic subject. I called the second stage "Spanish first" to describe a widely accepted strategy by Hungarians in Catalonia to first acquire the Castilian language. The third stage is characterized by the "dilemma" of *illik* ('is proper', i.e., to learn Catalan) or *praktikus* ('practical', i.e., not to spend time with Catalan). I named the fourth stage "benefiting economically" referring to a switch when the diasporic subject realizes that a command of Catalan may result in financial advantage. The last stage was "being an *első osztályú polgár*" ('first-class citizen') when the diasporic subject starts to prefer speaking Catalan over other named languages.

5.3.1. *Nyaralás* and *kaland*

In this subsection, I delineate the first stage of integration which I named *nyaralás* ('[summer] holiday') drawing on the wording of the key participants. This stage refers to a period when no endeavor is made by the newcomers to erode the boundaries between them and the members of the host society. I argue that this stage characterizes the lives of life-style migrants and is permeated by the anonymity of the English language and partly of the Castilian language.

During the *magyar tertúlia* discussion, Rebeka described the first phase of living abroad with the linguistic resource *nyaralás*. By *nyaralás* she referred to a period when one does not engage with the local social or political issues, nor with the necessity of planning one's longer future, but enjoys all the benefits of exploring a new place without commitments and endeavors to erode any boundaries. In Barcelona, Rebeka first worked for an international company where she was expected to speak English and two other non-local languages, French and Italian. As most of the personnel were not Spanish, she was making acquaintances only with other foreigners for a long time.

When a person moves to a new country without any significant social capital, they often first fall into expatriate social circles (especially if they start working for international companies), where they make contacts with newcomers like themselves. This trend is characteristic of metropolitan cities such as Barcelona. The participants of the *magyar tertúlia* argued that the period of *nyaralás* was only temporary. It ended when the person realized that she had already spent significant time in the new place, just as Pál mentioned it in his confession in Excerpt (1). For others, however, the summer holiday never ended. It does not mean that they would not integrate at all, but that they were integrating into international expatriate groups that were mostly English-speaking. Throughout my fieldwork, the social figure of the foreigner (often called *guiri*; see Subsection 4.2.6.), who had spent years in Catalonia without local acquaintances and knowledge (including linguistic skills), was often criticized by Hungarians because of that (as

shown in Nobert's utterances in the second and the third excerpt of this chapter) – even in cases when that person was actually another fellow Hungarian.

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The interviews with returnees provide us some new insights on the phenomenon of *nyaralás* in connection with lifestyle migration or lifestyle mobilities (coined by Duncan et al. 2013; see also Codó 2018). The participant quoted in Excerpt (4) spent 7 years in Barcelona, and the way he reasoned his decision in the interview was that he was driven by *szimplán kalandvágy* ('simply desire for adventure') complemented with the feeling that he did not want to die without leaving Hungary for a significant period to collect experiences abroad. Miki moved to Barcelona in his early thirties and returned to Hungary when his child was born. Miki argued in the interview that the way he lived in Barcelona was motivated by two main factors: he was invited to work for an international company, and he moved there accompanied by his Hungarian partner. Although he was going to Spanish classes for some time, when I asked whether he had ever experienced disadvantage because of being a foreigner or lacking good command of local languages (in plural), he answered by alleging the needlessness of such skills.

(4)

Miki: *évek alatt rájö- vagy észrevettem, hogy mennyire nem kell az á- a normál élethez a helyi nyelv ismerete, mer hogy az angollal tökéletesen el lehet- el lehet lenni. mer igazából nincsen az a fórum, ahol mondjuk egy ilyen expat szerű külföldön- külföldi ö rá lenne szorulva egy- egy ö helyi nyelves beszélgetésre. nekem a boltba- kiválasztod a terméket, kifizeted a bankkártyáddal, ott nem kell beszélgetni, ö bizonyos helyeken tudnak angolul, ö mondjuk- mondjuk egy ilyen adóbevallás például az volt ügyintézés, és ott teljesen meglepődtem, hogy a- a helyi adó- hatóságnál volt olyan fogadóóra szerű- teljesen jól elmondta az a nő angolul, hogy mit kell csinálni*

English translation:

Miki: during years I rea- or noticed that how unnecessary for the ge- the normal life is to know the local language, cos you can get along with- get along with English. cos there is no such forum where let's say an expat-like abroad- foreigner ehm would be forced to- to a conversation in ehm local language. for me in the shop- you chose the product, pay for it with your debit card, you don't have to interact, ehm at some places they know English, ehm let's say- let's say a tax declaration for example was such administration, and I was totally surprised that the- the- local tax authorities had costumer hours like- the woman told [me] absolutely well what has to be done

Although Miki's experiences might be exceptional in getting access to such services as tax administration in English, what is important here is that he associated English with *el lehet lenni* ('able to get along'). This wording points to the fact that some participants did not long for any stronger form of integration than getting along despite any discursive coercion on the migrant's responsibility for integration. Miki, for instance, did not really attempt to erode the boundaries between him and the locals. He, however, succeeded in eroding other boundaries: he recalled

proudly the fact that at his first workplace in Barcelona he needed to speak English for eight hours a day. Miki had coveted international experience, moving to and employment in Barcelona fostered him to implement a linguistic *muda* (a transformation in one's linguistic biography; see Pujolar & Gonzàlez 2013, Pujolar 2019a), while he did not become a new speaker of Catalan or Castilian, but English. Drawing on the metaphor of the highway, Miki did not go too far, but he stopped at the first rest area which the key participants called *nyaralás*. On the one hand, this prevented him from immersing in all aspects of life in Catalonia. On the other hand, this made his return to and reintegration in Hungary easier as a person with international work experience and better command in business English.

In Miki's narrative, English operated as a language of anonymity, while Catalan and Castilian remained languages of authenticity. However, this claim cannot be generalized for all who remain in the rest area of *nyaralás*. Some arrive in Barcelona with prior knowledge in Castilian, or simply make acquaintances with other Spanish-speaking (e.g., Latin American) migrants. For them Castilian can also turn out to be a language of anonymity.

5.3.2. Spanish first

In this subsection, I discuss the second stage which I named "Spanish first". It refers to a strategy widely accepted among Hungarians in Catalonia that prioritizes Castilian language as the one worth studying first after the arrival in Catalonia. This strategy can be traced back to several different but connected ideological underpinnings: the anonymity of the language of the state, the ignorance towards the local sociolinguistic milieu, the real or alleged expectations towards foreigners.

Unlike Miki in the previous subsection, most participants were not lucky enough to get along with speaking English in Catalonia. Zsera, who has already been mentioned in Subsection 4.2.5, recalled this recognition as a shock.

(5)
Zsera: *az első sokk az az, hogy hát azt tudtuk, hogy nem tudunk spanyolul sem, de azt nem gondoltuk, hogy ö hogy ö az általunk ismert ö angol, német, francia és magyar nyelvtudásokkal sem tudunk ott boldogulni, úgyhogy azonnal el kellett kezdeni spanyolt tanulni*
English translation:
Zsera: the first shock is that well we knew that we don't speak Spanish either, but we did not think that ehm that we wouldn't be able to get along with the languages we had known ehm English, German, French and Hungarian language skills, so [I] had to start learning Spanish immediately

Zsera saw the lack of competences in Castilian as the first barrier she faced. It was a boundary that she wanted to erode for the wellbeing of her family. Of course, having a family (and getting to be in the chronotopic position of the *segítő* 'supporting person') made a big difference: Zsera, for instance, was not responsible only for herself but for her child and husband as well. In her view, providing the best possible opportunities for one's family (and especially meeting the needs of a toddler) in a new place required social connections with locals and their institutions. This is true for all diasporic individuals who continue their journey and leave the rest area of *nyaralás* 'summer holiday'.

Similarly to the findings of Patiño-Santos (2018: 61–62) with Latin American communities, most participants in this research lacked former and extensive knowledge on Catalonia's political and sociolinguistic situation before their first arrival. Therefore, the great majority of them followed a protocol in their lives which I call here "Spanish first". This refers to the fact that,

even if they became aware of Catalan language and culture, they decided to start or continue learning Castilian ahead.

A similar thread came up in the interviews with returnee migrants who, continuing the metaphor, left the highway after the period of *nyaralás* 'summer holiday'. The following excerpts include answers after I asked them if they would have had any advice for a person planning to move there. These excerpts demonstrate the way the anonymity of Castilian influenced the social imagination on the expected linguistic behavior of foreigners.

(6a)
Géza: *tanuljon meg spanyolul. legalább. tehát legalább spanyolul beszéljen kurva jól, de tényleg. tehát ez a- tehát ez mondjuk ez kábé ez a bárki, aki megy, kiköltözik valahova, ez a- befogadó ország nyelvét ismerje, és tényleg, és beszélje*
English translation:
Géza: acquire Spanish. at least. so speak Spanish fucking good at least, really. so this- so this is kinda true for everyone who goes, who moves out somewhere, this- to know the language of the host country, and really, and speak it

(6b)
Franciska: *ne legyen olyan vakmerő, mint én, és tanuljon először valamennyi spanyolt. és csak utána menjen ki*
English translation:
Franciska: don't be so reckless, as I was, and learn some Spanish first. and move after that

Both Géza and Franciska moved to Barcelona in the early 2010s. Géza was living there for 3 years, whereas Franciska was dwelling in the city for 5 years. Their experiences of mobility were embittered by loneliness and difficulties of creating bonds with local people despite both enjoying the atmosphere of the city and the Mediterranean lifestyle. Their desire of becoming a part of a community by eroding boundaries were clear, but their narrative was embedded in a nation-state logic of integration, which ideologically naturalizes Castilian as the adequate form of speaking. Linguistic adjustments to the anonymous language were seen as the expected and the normative behavior of a foreigner. The anonymity of Castilian can also be observed in Franciska's utterance: Spanish was understood as a language that can already be learnt in Hungary before moving, whereas in other interviews, Catalan in general was deemed to be only locally accessible and acquirable.

As discussed earlier, some negotiations between the participants and me as a researcher were always inevitably there in the air. These negotiations (or role alignments; see Goebel 2020) deserve some reflections as they also included questions and presumptions on my linguistic own competences. I have been frequently asked if my Spanish developed throughout my presence in the country, but once I was also asked by one of the key participants at our first encounter the following: "*nyilván jól tudsz spanyolul, nem?*" ('you obviously speak Spanish well, don't you?'). The ways I was alleged to arrive with a certain Castilian knowledge or to learn it more intensely during my stay in Catalonia both reassure the view of Castilian's anonymous prestige. These questions towards me almost always referred to Spanish; in one case, when it turned out in a conversation that I was going to a Catalan course, the interlocutor made it clear that he did not find it meaningful for my temporary stay when I could have focused on Spanish instead.

In the narratives of (6a) and (6b), the foreigner had the responsibility to do the most obvious symbolic act for eroding boundaries, namely, to acquire sets of resources and repertoires associated with a standardized form of a national language, which is obtainable through organized forms of language training. The way Géza articulated the quality of the required Spanish skills (*kurva jól* 'fucking good') in Excerpt (6a) corresponded with the observation that migrants often

feel that it is of crucial need to speak a local language correctly or of high standards. This claim for perfection is not important only because of the (alleged) expectation of the host society, but because of the self-expectations of the migrants as well. In the case of Hungarians, these migrants were socialized into a monolingual European culture and both influenced by the discourse of integration and the diasporic ideal of Hungarian as an adaptive nation.

5.3.3. The dilemma: *illik* versus *praktikus*

As mentioned earlier, transnational migrants usually face an unexpected sociolinguistic reality in Catalonia; for instance, a considerable number of my participants were surprised by the simultaneous presence of Catalan signs in their daily lives in Barcelona. This section discusses how Hungarians in Catalonia make sense of this complexity in connection with boundaries at the third stage in the imagined process of integration. I interpreted this stage as permeated by a dilemma in which the two key words are *illik* ('proper') and *praktikus* ('practical'). I argue that for most of them Castilian is understood as an inevitable, anonymous, and thus practical language in the process of integration, while Catalan is seen as authentically connected to boundaries that are not necessarily wished to be eroded, yet making such attempts would be proper. These two practices were narrated by the participants as mutually exclusive categories. To demonstrate this duality, I show two interview excerpts and one conversation from an online focus group that deal with this dilemma.

Fanni, the participant voiced in Excerpt (7), had already spoken Castilian prior to her mobility, and unlike others, she was prepared for the bilingualism of the autonomous community, but her initial plans of engaging with Catalan-speaking communities changed in the means of time. Fanni was also one of the returnee interview partners. She was living 7 years in a town north of Barcelona, and she worked in Barcelona as an economist for an international company specializing in payroll accounting. She estimated that half of her colleagues were Spaniards, and the other half were foreigners. Fanni easily made friendships in local, international expatriate, and Hungarian groups as well, but decided to return to Hungary due to some reasons in her private life. When I interviewed her in Budapest in 2019, she told me that she would love to share her life between the two localities, indeed, later we met in Barcelona as well, and it turned out that she tried to carry out visits frequently in order to maintain her contacts.

In her interview, she brought up the topic of the Catalan independence movement (as something she respected but did not engage with as a foreigner), so I asked her about her relation to the Catalan culture and language.

(7)

Fanni: *hát az az igazság, hogy én meg akartam tanulni katalánul. nem azé- nem szép nyelv vagy ilyesmi meg nem, csak gondoltam azér illik beszélni annak a régiónak a nyelvét, ahol az- él az ember, még ha itt úgymond a spa- tehát a spanyol is hivatalos nyelv. de aztán e- őszintén szólva időm se volt, mer rengeteg meló volt az elején, aztán meg úgy észrevettem, hogy kábé soha nem használnám, mer a k- a külföldi barátokkal angolul, magyarokkal magyarul, az összes többi ismerősömmel meg olya- nagyon sok olyan volt, aki betelepült ö mondjuk Andalúziából vagy Galíciából, tehát ők alapból spanyolul beszéltek, de az egyik legjobb barátnőm is katalán volt, az ő révén voltak katalán barátok, nem volt probléma, hogy spanyolra váltottak, meg egyébként megérteni egy idő után megértettem a katalánt. na mindegy, az a lényeg, hogy nem- végül úgy gondoltam, hogy nem ér- éri meg, vagy nekem igazából nincs szükségem, és aztán végül nem áldoztam rá időt, hogy megtanuljak, annyira nem érdekelt*

English translation

Fanni: well the truth is I wanted to learn Catalan. not because it's a beautiful language or something like that, but I thought it is proper to learn the language of the region where one lives, even if Spanish is like the official language here. but then frankly, I didn't have time, cos the work was too much at the beginning, then I realized that I would kinda never use it, because [I spoke] English with foreign friends,

Hungarian with Hungarians, and every other acquaintances- there were a lot who came from like Andalusia or Galicia, so they spoke Spanish mainly. but one of my best friends was a Catalan girl, and there were some Catalan friends too, who switched to Spanish without any problem. and by the way I started to understand Catalan after a while. never mind, the point is no- finally I thought it's just not worth it, or at least I do not need it, so I decided not to sacrifice time learning it, it didn't interest me that much

Fanni's narrative differed from the previous ones in the sense that she did not reproduce a discourse on the defaultness of speaking Spanish with local people. The way she articulated "propriety" (as some kind of inner moral expectation) was a frequent theme in the interviews as a means to express desire to belong to the dwelling place and bonding to its inhabitants by showing respect towards them this way. Properness, however, is often challenged by practicality. In this vein, Fanni also kept some kind of dichotomy between anonymity and authenticity. While the resource of speaking English was understood as socially neutral and universally available to all foreigners, Spanish was treated as accessible as a common tongue for all in Spain (Andalusian, Galicians, Catalans, and Fanni herself). On the contrary, Catalan was seen as an authentic marker of regionality, or to put it in other words, it was articulated as a *llengua pròpia* ('the own language' of the community) necessary only for the members of the community. Thus, Fanni started to see Catalan at one point that was not worth learning as a marker of an erodible boundary. Her last utterance brought up an economic-like cost-benefit calculation in which authenticity cannot compete in this case (this line of idea will be further explored in Chapter 6).

Whether it is really necessary is often a dilemma for those who have already spent some years in Catalonia. As Fanni's case shows, for some learning Catalan lies out of practicality. It is a general diasporic experience for Hungarians that they easily erode some boundaries with the "Spanish first" protocol, but they are not necessarily coerced to do the same with learning Catalan. For instance, Fanni clarified in the interview that she did not immerse into the "*tipikus katalán környezetbe*" ('typical Catalan environment'), and perhaps living in another town would have made a difference.

The same dilemma of balancing between the needs was also a topic in one of my online consecutive focus groups with key participants where we were discussing the questions of belonging and integration. Both Detti and Rebeka agreed on the need of making steps towards certain forms of integration, but they mobilized different stances to the linguistic aspect. In the quoted first line, Detti summarized what they had meant by integration collectively, but my clarifying question led them to disagree.

(8)
Detti: *igen. ö szóval így ja | de igen, a helyieket ismerni, meg megismerni a nyelvet, az elég jól összefoglalja. oké*
Gergely: *és mi az a nyelv? egyébként*
Detti: *hát ha katalán barátokat akarsz, akkor ö egy fokkal beljebb vagy, hogyha katalánul tudsz.* {*szerintem a spanyol is elég*}
Rebeka: {*én azt érzem, hogy mindkettő*}
Detti: *mind a kettő?*
Rebeka: *tehát hogy így az se lenne elég, ha csak katalánul tanulnék, meg az se, ha csak spanyolul, szóval így- így mindkettő nagyon kell*
Detti: *hm, mer a spanyol az mihez kell, hogyha integrálódni akarsz?*
Rebeka: *hát ahhoz, hogy mondjuk a nem tom- iksz tízezer latin-amerikaival tudj kommunikálni, aki itt él, meg- meg egy csomó emberrel, aki nem tud katalánul, és úgy él itt*
Detti: *hm, ja, valószínűleg mind a kettő jó, ha van, de hát azér azt lássuk be, hogy katalán nélkül el lehet lenni. hát azér/*
Rebeka: */el, hát igen, de az ellevés az nem egyenlő az integrációval*

Detti: *ja, de hát mondjuk ö én úgy gondolom, hogy azér ez a csoport már eléggé befogadott, akikhez- akikkel én járok össze, és most már azér valamennyire beszélek katalánul, az elején nem így volt*
Rebeka: *mhm*
Detti: *és ö én nem gondolom, hogy ö*
Rebeka: *hogy ne lennél integrálódva?*
Detti: *igen. vagy akkor ne lettem volna, amikor még nem beszéltem jól katalánul. vagy most se beszélek jól, de ö de hát ez nyilván egy ilyen plusz. azt nagyon szeretik. engem már tapsoltak meg házibuliban, mer bemutatkoztam katalánul, ez még a legelején volt*
English translation:
Detti: yes. ehm so yeah | but yes, to know locals and to get to know the language, that summarizes it pretty well. okay
Gergely: and what's that language? by the way
Detti: well if you want to have Catalan friends, then you are a step closer to it if you learn Catalan. {but I think Spanish is enough}
Rebeka: {I feel the need of both}
Dett: both?
Rebeka: so it wouldn't be enough if I just learnt Catalan, and neither would be Spanish, so like- like both are needed very much
Detti: hm, because you need Spanish for what if you would like to integrate?
Rebeka: well for being able to communicate with the let's say- don't know how many ten thousands of Latin-Americans who live here, and- and with the stacks of people who do not know Catalan and live here
Detti: hm, yeah, probably both are good to have, but let's admit that you can get along without Catalan. because/
Rebeka: /you can, but getting along is not equal to integration
Detti: yeah, but let's say ehm I think that this group has already admitted me, those- those who I usually meet, and now I kind of speak Catalan, but it was not the case at the beginning
Rebeka: mhm
Detti: and ehm I don't think that ehm
Rebeka: that you wouldn't be integrated?
Detti: yes. or I would not have been when I wasn't speaking Catalan well. well I don't speak well even now, but ehm but this is obviously a benefit. they like it very much. I was applauded in a house party because I introduced myself in Catalan, this happened at the very beginning

Detti, in her first utterance, argued that the two main components of integration were acquaintances with local people and the knowledge of a certain language. This argument was followed by my clarifying question; I wanted to find out what the participants mean by *the* language. As a reaction, two disparate discursive stances were constructed by the two interlocutors, thus an ideological negotiation started between them: Rebeka, who had just started to learn Spanish and Catalan at the time of the conversation, advocated for the need of both, while Detti, who went to Catalonia from Cádiz and started to learn Catalan almost immediately, claimed the only sufficiency of learning Spanish. However, both Detti and Rebeka, in their lines, attributed ethnic origin to the language preferences of the speakers; the social figure of a Catalan person is associated with the need to be addressed in Catalan, whereas the social figure of a Latin-American person is automatically dissociated from speaking Catalan.

As mentioned above, Pujolar and Gonzàlez (2013) suggested a de-ethnicization process in the Catalan sociolinguistic milieu, however, this only seems to be only partial among non-Spanish nationals (Massaguer Comes 2017, 2022). This works out for Hungarians in Catalonia the same way: communicating in Castilian or Catalan (or in both) was recognized as a symbolic act of expressing one's ethnic belonging or political affiliation. Detti, for instance, in her fifth utterance, admitted that learning both languages have benefits, but she disclaimed the real necessity of Catalan in terms of prosperity and social network.

During the negotiation between Detti and Rebeka, three separate categories came up: *ellenni* ('getting along'), being *befogadott* ('*admitted*') and being *integrálódva* ('integrated'). For these

participants, getting along was imagined by speaking Castilian, being admitted by also speaking some Catalan, and being integrated by being able to communicate with all kinds of people in Catalonia (for which both a good command of Catalan and Castilian are needed). These findings show a lot in common with the special issue edited by Patiño-Santos and Relaño-Pastor (2018) on the linguistic ethnographic perspective of storytelling, where the results demonstrated that the ethnolinguistic differentiation of the speakers of Catalan and Spanish are still vivid conceptualizations of the sociolinguistic situation of the autonomous community within newcomers. For the participants voiced in this section, *the* language of the first steps of integration remained anonymously the language associated with the nation-state. The discussion between Detti and Rebeka, however, demonstrated a dislocation from this stance, but their longing to belong somewhere and to some local people in line with eroding boundaries did not fundamentally challenge the ideological complex of authority.

The next excerpt comes from Tamás whose profile differs strongly from previous participants, yet we can find traces of the same ideological complex in his utterances. He had been together with a woman from Barcelona for almost three decades at the time of our interview and had been living in Catalonia for 15 years, but, according to his self-report, he felt remorse for not speaking Catalan. Tamás said he could read and write an email with the help of a dictionary, but he switched to Castilian in case his interlocutor addressed him in Catalan. As he put it, "*valószínűleg csak kéne valami kényszer, vagy erős kezdőlökés*" ('probably I just need some compulsion or a strong initial push/jump-start'). Tamás's job did not tie him to Barcelona, he was working for international projects, therefore, he was never immersed into a Catalan-speaking working environment. He explicitly said in the interview that he did not find this acceptable, so I asked him why.

(9)

Tamás: *a körülöttünk lévő ország ö az számomra egyre inkább katalán nyelvi közeg. és ö és óriási pofátlanságnak tartom* (#laugh) *azt, hogyha- hogyha valaki hosszabb ideje él, családi kötöttségek kötik egy- egy ö egy nyelvi közeghez, és nem beszéli azt a nyelvet. ö Budapesten voltak angol kollégáim, ö tíz- tizenkét év magyarországi, budapesti élet után sem tudtak magyarul például még egy taxit sem rendelni, és azt hiszem, vagy azt hittem akkoriban, hogy- hogy ez nagyon nincs rendjén, és most kezdek én is belesüllyedni ebbe a katalán kapcsán. bárhát ugye itt Katalóniába azér még mentegethetem magam, hogy ez mégis csak kétnyelvű terület, történelmileg is kétnyelvű satöbbi, míg Magyarország egy- egy effektíve egynyelvű nyelvi közeg, de azér a lelkem mélyén érzem, hogy ez- ez nincs rendjén, és nem szeretnék ahhoz az angol kollégáimhoz ö hasonulni, akik fáradtságot sem vettek arra, hogy- hogy legalább ö öt-tíz, harminc-negyven mondatot megtanuljanak magyarul. volt ebbe értelemszerűen ö mondjuk az angol birodalom- kulturális dominancia birodalmi szemlélete, a világ minden pontján értik a nyelvemet, mér tanuljam ö ö meg a helyi nyelvet? hát én nem szeretnék ebbe a ö ö ebbe a hibába esni. tudván azt, hogy az én nyelvem, a magyar nyelv az nem egy birodalmi nyelv, tehát nekünk célszerű megtanulni azt a- azt a nyelvet, ahol- ahol- ahol ö életünk hosszabb ö részét eltöltjük*

English translation:

Tamás: the country around us is more and more a Catalan linguistic environment. and ehm and I find it an enormous impertinence (#laugh) that if- if somebody lives for a long time in and family connects him to a- a ehm a linguistic environment then he doesn't speak that language. ehm in Budapest I had English colleagues [who] were not able to order a taxi after ehm ten-twelve years of living in Hungary, Budapest, and I think, or I thought back then that- that it is absolutely not okay, and now I'm starting to sink in the same with Catalan. although I can excuse myself here in Catalonia with [the fact] that this is still a bilingual territory, historically bilingual as well etcetera, whereby Hungary is an- an effectively monolingual linguistic environment, but deep in my soul I feel that this- this is not okay, and I wouldn't like to ehm resemble my English colleagues who did not even bother learning at least ehm five-ten, thirty-forty sentences in Hungarian. this was let's say sensibly the English empire's- the imperial view of cultural dominance, they understand my language in every part of the world, why would I study ehm ehm the local language? well I would not like to fall into this ehm ehm fall into this mistake. knowing that my language, Hungarian language is not an imperial language, so for us it is expedient to learn that- that language where- where- where ehm we spend the longer part of our lives

What made Tamás's thoughts noteworthy is the way he connected the urge to study local languages directly to expected diasporic behaviors and Hungarianness. First, he compared himself to his past experiences with English colleagues and uttered that their unwillingness to learn basic Hungarian expressions was improper – and he also argued that he should avoid doing the same with Catalan. Interestingly his expectations towards himself were even higher as he was able to speak some Catalan according to his report (but stuck at a certain level), whereby the mentioned English people lacked such knowledge in connection to the needs in Hungary. Second, he put this consideration into a wider societal context. He labeled English as a *birodalmi nyelv* ('imperial language') which allows its speakers to speak it all around the world, but the speakers of Hungarian language were not in the same privileged position in his view. Thus, for a Hungarian diasporic subject learning the language of the region was treated as a *célszerű* ('purposeful') decision (whereas other participants thought exactly the opposite, see Section 6.3). In these sentences, certain language learning activities were linked to the expected behavior of Hungarians that was an implication derived from the ideologies of authority: both Catalan and Hungarian were seen as languages of authenticity opposed to the anonymity of English on an international scale.

To sum up briefly, being at the rest area of propriety and practicality is replete with a dilemma on what is really necessary for the acceptance of the diasporic subject and for the erosion of boundaries. The conundrum itself is already determined by the ideologies of authority as the anonymity of Castilian was never questioned by Hungarians, whereas the inevitability of Catalan was challenged.

5.3.4. Benefiting economically

Getting interested in learning Catalan without any inevitable social pressure is sometimes a result of economic interests which then turns out to be some form of boundary-erosion: this is what I identified as the fourth stage for Hungarians in Catalonia in the diasporic imagination of integration. I argue that for those in the fourth stage, especially in the case of blue-collar workers, learning Catalan was also an attempt to erode boundaries and create bonds with Catalan people – however, speaking it was understood as not necessarily enough for eroding all boundaries. To support this argument, I show excerpts from interviews and fieldnotes in which the participants had already acquired a good command of Catalan.

Dénes, for instance, recalled starting to speak Catalan as a great change in his life in the interview. He was first socialized into a milieu in the early 1990s when others told him that "*ez a katalán ez egy hülyeség, ez van- van négy hülye, aki- aki ezt beszéli*" ('this Catalan [language] is a stupidity, this is- there are four idiots who- who speak it') and "*még csak szóra sem érdemes az egész*" ('it is not worth mentioning'). But then he realized that he might benefit from speaking some Catalan with the clientele in certain jobs, which later resulted in an even larger personal benefit.

(10)

Dénes: *lassan elkezdtem megismerni embereket is, az edzőteremben- az is egy nagyon nagy dolog, hogy ugye az edzőteremben mindenféle társadalmi réteggel kapcsolatba lépsz, és beszélgetsz, nagyon jó dolog, szintén nagyon jó ö volt, nagyon élveztem. és akkor ott beszél- találkoztam katalánokkal is, és elkezdtem egykét szót úgy mondani. az tetszett nekik. a- a zenés bárban elkezdtem egy kicsit többet beszélni katalánul, mert lá- mert amikor katalán- tudták, hogy külföldi vagyok, de mikor katalánul mondtam nekik a- az itallapot vagy valamit, akkor több borravalót kaptam. há mondom tök jó, akkor* (#laugh) *ráállunk erre egy kicsit, meg hát elkezdett érdekelni. és akkor lassanként. és amikor- mikor ugye a feleségemet is úgyvégülis az egyik- az egyik oka annak, hogy elcsábítottam* (#laugh)*, az az volt, hogy* […] *szóba jött ez, hát*

mondom, „igen, egy kicsit beszélek katalánul", meg hát és ők katalánok. és hát ez nagyon tetszett neki, hogy- hogy- hogy ö hogy hát igen- hogy lehet az, hogy valaki idejön Magyarországról, és hogy beszéli ezt a nyelvet, és végülis nem is egy nyelviskolából szedtem fel, hanem csak úgy az utcán, meg beszélgetvén emberekkel, és izé- és a tévéből

English translation:

Dénes: slowly I started to get to know people too, in the gym- that was also a very great thing that like in the gym you get into contact with multiple social layers, and you talk [to other people], very good thing, it was also ehm very good, I enjoyed it very much. and then I talk- met with Catalans as well, and I started to say some words that way. and they liked it. in the- the music pub I started to speak a bit more Catalan, because I s- because when Catalan- they knew that I'm from abroad, but when I told them the drink menu or something in Catalan, I received more tips. well I said so good then (#laugh) we will work on it a bit, and well it started to interest me. and then slowly. and when- when right my wife also- after all one of- one of the reasons for I [was able to] seduce her (#laugh) was that […] this came up, well I said, "yes, I speak Catalan a bit", and well and they are Catalans. and well she liked this very much that- that- hat ehm that yes- maybe that somebody comes here from Hungary, and that he speaks that language, and after all I did not pick it up from a language school, but on the street, and by talking with people, and like- and from the television

Before becoming a maintenance worker, Dénes took on various jobs that did not require special qualification, for instance, in gyms and bars. These jobs, accompanied by his openness, helped him to get access to some resources of the Catalan language. These resources later transformed into actual capital: Dénes started to earn more money by speaking Catalan instead of Castilian with the Catalan-speaking guests. This knowledge also impressed her future spouse. According to Dénes's self-reports (in the one-on-one interview, in his diary, and in group discussions), as a maintenance worker he always endeavored to express his respect towards local people by addressing them in their preferred language because he found this linguistic practice appropriate for somebody who came originally from abroad. For him, this was an attempt to erode certain boundaries.

Although Dénes's experiences on studying Catalan as a blue-collar worker was in the 1990s, I also heard similar stories by others during my fieldwork. The next excerpt is a translation from my fieldnotes of a visit at a Hungarian hairdresser.

(11)

After (*#delete*: name of a local co-worker of Márk) washed my hair with a new shampoo that contains natural ingredients, Márk told me how good I was at speaking Spanish. He asked whether I had spoken it before. When I mentioned to him that I liked Catalan more, because it was good to see how glad some of my Catalan friends were when I spoke to them in Catalan, he started to laugh and asked: "*Szerinted én miért kurvultam el?*" ['Why do you think I whored myself']. He told me that he also started to learn Catalan because of his few Catalan clients.

The way Márk worded jokingly his stance towards learning Catalan is very telling. The verb *elkurvul* is an extremely negative word that refers to some kind of immoral act that is only done for money. Of course, the hairdresser did not see it as immoral, but something that he would not have done had it not been economically beneficial. It is important to mention here that such data is always generated discursively throughout the interaction of the researcher and the research participants; the way Márk formulated his views would not have come up without me sharing my own preferences with him. Later I conducted an interview with Márk, in which he also told me that he had arrived without prior knowledge in either language, but he developed his professional vocabulary in Castilian in his previous workplace. According to his memories, it took him about 3 years to acquire a good command in Castilian, and he started learning Catalan after 7 years. At the end of the interview, when I asked if he had anything to add, he started

to speak about why Catalan was needed. In this response, he was not speaking only about himself, but in general terms.

(12)

Márk: *mindenképp szocializálódni kell. szocializálódás nélkül ez értelmetlen. amellett, hogy oké, megtanulsz spanyolul, de ha nagyon szocializálódni akarsz, meg kell tanulni katalánul. kinyílt a világ. és ezt nem azér, mer hogy az emberek rosszak, mer hogy nem beszélsz katalánul, hanem van, akinek az közelebb áll az énjéhez a katalán nyelv, mint a spanyol, és megszólalsz azon a nyelven, egy más kommunikáció indul el. és ez mindig van. ez olyan, mint Magyarországon magyar nyelv nélkül élni. hát lehet, de nem egyszerű, csak angollal. tehát nem úgy nyílik a kapu* (#laugh)*, nem úgy nyílik*

English translation:

Márk: one has to socialize in any case. without socialization it is meaningless. besides that, okay, you learn Spanish, but if you want to really socialize, you have to learn Catalan. the world has opened. and this is not because people are bad because you don't speak Catalan, but there are some for whose identity Catalan language is closer than Spanish, and [if] you speak that language, another type of communication starts. and this is always there. this is like you can live in Hungary without Hungarian language. well you can, but it's not easy only with English. so the gate doesn't open that way (#laugh), it doesn't open that way

Márk used another term so far not mentioned in this chapter, *szocializálódás* ('socialization'), by which he meant a better engagement with the Catalan society. Although Dénes and Márk experienced that speaking Catalan helped them to get familiar with newer layers of living in Catalonia and extending their social capital, others may experience it differently. Pál, for instance, pointed out that endeavors to learn (the authentic) language in itself was just not enough for him in order to feel included in the local community and eroding all boundaries between him and them.

Pál first moved to Catalonia in 2000 with an Erasmus scholarship to learn architecture in a city located northwest from Barcelona, but then he decided to continue studying in that university. While the Erasmus program was an internationalized program with Castilian courses, after switching between the institutions he had to realize that most of his classes were taught in Catalan in that university. He remembered this circumstance as a "wall" which he could not climb in his first semester. Later he took his exams in Castilian, which was allowed, so he could finish his studies. However, he felt that he could not get into a "familiar relation" in spite of his developing verbal skills in Catalan up until his last year at the university. His spouse had come from another part of Spain, whom he described as a very good Catalan speaker, but his views on Catalan as an authentic marker of origin did not change.

(13)

Pál: *sokszor hallottam azt, hogy ezt úgy definiá- definiálják, mint egy ilyen- mint egy ilyen családon át, hogyha családon át- egy családon keresztül hagyományozódó valamit. tehát hogy mindenki azt mondta, hogy hát izé, hogy egy- egy katalán barátnőre van szükségem azonnal, és akkor- akkor meg lesz oldva. ö ezzel együtt én belelendültem a katalánba, tehát érdekes módon akkor izé- akkor ö így a beszédkultúrám az akkor lett így ö így jónak nevezhető, amikor megnyitottuk a* (#delete: name of a shop)*t* (#delete: name of a district in Barcelona)*ban. ott volt egy ilyen izé- volt egy nyomás rajtunk, hogy ott az egy teljesen katalán környék, és- és hát egyszerűen nem tom- így illett, és akkor így belejöttem*

English translation

Pál: I heard a lot of times that it [viz. Catalan language] is defi- defined as a- as like through family- through family- something that is bequeathed through the family. so everybody told [me] that well, I urgently need a Catalan girlfriend and then- then everything will be solved. ehm along with this I got into the swing of Catalan, so interestingly well- then my speech culture became okay when we opened (#delete: name of a shop) in (#delete: name of a district in Barcelona). there we had this well- we had pressure because it is a completely Catalan neighborhood, and- and well I dunno- it was seemly, so I got into it

In this excerpt, Pál first reproduced a discourse on the assumed nature of Catalan as a resource that runs in families, so that it was not provided for him. But from the next utterance he positioned himself as an entrepreneur in his narrative both in an economic sense and as a language learner. The switch (could also be understood as a *muda*, see Pujolar 2019a) in his stance on the language and its speaker occurred when he started to run a shop with his co-workers in one of Barcelona's neighborhoods which is traditionally seen as a vibrant and Catalan part of the city. Though his narrative reported a positive change in his position as a new speaker, it still remained in the framework of authenticity: Catalan was indexically linked to certain speakers and spatial locations, and one has to find access to these authentic sources to be able to learn the language. But when it is learnt to a certain extent, it also entails the feeling of belonging to a new place. In this sense, the relationship between language and origin was reinterpreted in this narrative.

Pál, however, as it was quoted in Excerpt (1), did not feel integrated into the Catalan society even after 20 years spent in Catalonia. During the *magyar tertúlia*, after clarifying that the people in Catalonia were one of the most tolerant ones he had ever met, he explained Catalan society as a "*törzsi dolog*" ('tribal thing'), which does not mean that "*elutasítanak, hanem egyszerűen nem férsz hozzá*" ('you are rejected, it's simply that you don't have access'). Drawing consciously on feminist terminology, he called this phenomenon a "glass ceiling" that one cannot break. Rebeka, in order to make sense of what Pál told the others, translated this contradiction as a difference between *tolerancia* ('tolerance') and *befogadás* ('inclusion').

One of the findings of Sherman and Homoláč (2020) in their case study on the Vietnamese minority in the Czech Republic was that accommodating to life in the host country is not linked to learning a smaller European language (Czech in their case), but to other sorts of management strategies. In the case of Hungarians in Catalonia, however, linguistic resources associated with the named language of Catalan were understood as a key means for obtaining an economically beneficial life, but other management strategies were also seen as necessary in the project of boundary-erosion.

To put it in other words, participants who had been in Catalonia for a longer time experienced that they can also rely on the authentic characteristic of the Catalan language in order to make some extra income especially in the tertiary sector, which may somewhat paradoxically contribute to the transformation of Catalan into the voice of everyone. But these examples have also shown that acquiring a certain command of the language may just not be enough for eroding all undesired boundaries and becoming a member of the "tribe".

5.3.5. Being an *első osztályú polgár*

I identified a fifth stage of boundary-erosion that was not desired by all Hungarians in Catalonia that I called "being an *első osztályú polgár*" ('first-class citizen') drawing on the words of Gyuri. In this subsection, I show that this stage was in connection with the social status of those who acquired this status, and thus, unreachable for the majority of Hungarians in Catalonia. I argue that social capital and political commitment intersect at this stage – that is why I use here the word *being* instead of *becoming*. To show how boundaries can potentially work out differently for diasporic subjects with varying backgrounds, I first show how some key participants spoke about this stage, and then I move to the utterances of Gyuri and of another elderly participant on how they conceptualized integration and identification with the Catalan language and nation.

When the participants of the *magyar tertúlia* were discussing how they imagine integration, they also mentioned assimilation as a stage absolutely undesired, and perhaps unreachable.

(14)
János: *tehát úgy beilleszkedtél, hogy képes legyél itt élni. ne érezd magad börtönbe vagy nem tom hol magad*
Dénes: *igen, ne érezd magad egy ö igen- ne érezd magad mindig- mindig kívülállónak, teljesen kívülállónak* [...]
János: *igen, tehát vannak fokozatok. az asszimiláció @, igen. az nem. az valóban nem kívánatos szerintem se. tehát egy nagy nemzetközivé váló társadalomban ez- az nem egy hátrány, hogyha-*
Dénes: *megvan a saját ö hogy mondják ezt? a saját személyiséged, nem?*
János: *igen*
Dénes: *ja mhm*
English translation:
János: so you get integrated in order to be able to live here. in order not to feel like being in a prison or I don't know where
Dénes: yes, do not feel ehm yes- not to feel like always- always an outsider, completely outsider […]
János: yes, so there are levels. assimilation @, yes. that is not. that is not desired in my opinion. so in a society becoming international it- that is not a disadvantage if-
Dénes: one has its own ehm how to say that? your own personality, right?
János: yes
Dénes: yeah mhm

In this conversation, the interlocutors put the emphasis of integration on the well-being of the diasporic subject instead of the interest of the host society. In other words, János and Dénes understood integration as the erosion of some boundaries, but not all of them as that would lead to assimilation. Drawing on the data of this thesis, I did not have access to individuals whose situation might be described as assimilation. Some Hungarians, however, were able to realize an even higher level of integration – a level that could even be unpleasant for other Hungarian diasporic subjects, because it was often associated with political convictions as well.

As mentioned in earlier sections, the social capital of finding access to Catalan was usually understood in terms of belonging to certain groups and a given social class. The chronotopic identity of the *integrated* (see Subsection 4.2.1) was indexically linked to the connections with the Catalan middle class, or as one of the research participants said, the *burgesia catalana* ('Catalan bourgeoisie'; note that the term historically referred to the industrial upper class). The next excerpt is from an online focus groups discussion where Gyuri and Detti first met; there, Gyuri also expressed his feeling of being integrated. Gyuri also linked Catalan to certain class affiliation when he argued that speaking Spanish could be enough, but Catalan was required for adjustment.

(15)
Gyuri: *az a lényeg, hogy lehet itt élni spanyolul, de ahhoz, hogy beilleszkedj, és ahhoz, hogy első osztályú ö polgárnak tekinthesd magad, ahhoz kell a katalán*
Detti: *igen-igen*
Gyuri: *tehát ahhoz, hogy- hogy- hogy ugye- tehát például a színház gyakorlatilag csak katalánul van, szóval jó színház. például ha érdekel a színház, akkor ugye ö Shakespeare-t itt- hát van úgy, hogy jönnek ö Spanyolországból társulatok, és akkor egy-két napig vagy hétig ö itt vannak, de a- a- a különböző színházak katalánul működnek, meg- meg hát ugye egyáltalán tehát itt az én baráti körömben a- a cégnél gyakorlatilag ö katalánul beszélt mindenki. a* (#delete: name of a colleague)*vel ugye mindenki spanyolul beszélt, mer nem tudott akkor katalánul, meg ő egyébként nem- nem katalán nyelvi közegben él*
English translation:
Gyuri: the point is that one can live here in Spanish, but to integrate and to see yourself as a first-class ehm citizen, Catalan is needed for that
Detti: yes-yes

Gyuri: so for- for- for well- so for instance you can find theater only in Catalan practically, so good theater. so for instance, if you are interested in theatre, then well ehm Shakespeare- here- sometimes companies come from ehm Spain, and then they are here for one-two days or a week, but the- the- the most theaters work in Catalan, and- and well at all here in my circle of friends at the- the firm practically everyone spoke Catalan. with (#delete: name of a colleague) everyone spoke Spanish, because he didn't know Catalan, and he does not- not live in a Catalan ambience by the way

After Detti's feedback, Gyuri gave the example of theater, which was accessible only in Catalan. This was one of the few moments during the research when Catalan was understood in connection with the ideologies of anonymity. While it was here the voice for everyone, the social practice of going to theater was understood as a repeated performative act necessary for being part of *első osztályú polgárok* ('first-class citizens'), and this practice was also associated with Catalan linguistic resources. Thus, the imagination of *llengua pròpia* go hand in hand with the social practices traditionally connected to the middle or upper-middle class. In Gyuri's narrative, social capital also played a crucial part in becoming a new speaker. The economic role came up as well (namely to speak Catalan at the workplace), but he made it clear immediately that it is not imperative by referring to another Hungarian colleague of his who remained a part of the working community without speaking Catalan. A common experience among Hungarians in Catalonia was that getting into a Catalan family at the very beginning was one way of getting access to Catalan society also.

Gyuri had been previously residing in Catalonia for a very long time and had been married to a Catalan woman for 9 years before his arrival, and he was also following a "Spanish first" protocol. However, he later became fluent in Catalan thanks to the conversations with the family of his spouse. When I asked him about this in the individual interview, he answered by referring to practicalities.

(16)

Gyuri: *más világ volt, ö- ö katalán, de- de abba az időbe, ö a- a katalanizmusnak, mondjuk ezt ezzel a szóval, ugye* <catalanisme>, <catalanismo>. *mondjuk ezzel a szóval, nem volt ugyanez a- ez a súlya.* [...] *tehát ö azért kezdtem spanyolul tanulni, mer akkor ez az egész katalán ügy nem volt, és ugye kívülről nézve különösen akkor, ö hát a spanyol egy világnyelv, ugye? tehát- tehát ö hogy is mondjam csak? még katalán feleséggel is ö ugye a spanyol az hát ilyen szempontból, meg- meg hát a munka szempontjából is fontosabb, mondjuk így*

English translation:

Gyuri: it was a different world, ehm- ehm Catalan, but- but in those times, ehm the- the Catalanism, let's say it with this word, so like <catalanisme>, <catalanismo>. let's say it with this word, it didn't have the same- the same weight. [...] so ehm I started to study Spanish, because then this whole Catalan case was not, and like especially looking from outside then, ehm well Spanish is a world language, right? so- so ehm how to put it? even with a Catalan wife ehm like Spanish from this perspective and- and well from the perspective of work, [Spanish] is more important, let's put it this way

The reasons why he had already started to learn Castilian back in Hungary before moving to Catalonia were arguments usually heard in other contexts as well: Spanish is a world language, thus, it is more probably needed in the job market. What is more surprising, however, is that Gyuri linked his own later preference towards the Catalan language to the revival of a political-cultural movement. After this excerpt, he started a long reflection on the Catalan self-determination issue. In the group discussion, he often drew parallels between the suppression of Hungarians in the communist era and the struggles which the Catalan nation had to suffer especially in the last decade. He was also the only participant in my research who was regularly wearing a yellow ribbon on his clothes that symbolized the support of imprisoned politicians in Catalonia (which does not necessarily mean that others would have disagreed with the message, but they did not feel authorized as foreigners to share their opinion so directly). The level of

integration that Gyuri reached was also accompanied with a deep and profound commitment to the Catalan national cause.

A similar thought was expressed even more directly by another interview partner, Hilda, who was the same generation as Gyuri, and who also had a Catalan spouse.

(17)
Hilda: *mi katalánok vagyunk, én is katalán vagyok, és jó, hogy magyar vagyok, de az rég volt már, meg attól függetlenül, hogy évente o- évente hazajárok többször, de mi katalánok vagyunk, és ténylegesen függetlenségi ö politikát követjük. és nagyon kibasznak velünk nagyon sokszor* (#laugh)*, bocsánat*
English translation:
Hilda: we are Catalans, I am also Catalan, and fine, I'm Hungarian, but it was a long time ago, and despite going home yearly o- yearly, but we are Catalans, and we actually follow the politics of ehm independence. and we very often get very fucked by them (#laugh), I'm sorry

Hilda's commitment was so strong that she even voiced it by drawing on certain linguistic resources: she used first person conjugation (both plural and singular) to express her engagement with a Catalan national and pro-independence political identity. She also applied another linguistic resource, an obscene Hungarian expression, *kibasznak velünk* that usually refers to an act somebody does on purpose in order to cause harm to others. In her narrative, national politicians in the Spanish parliament were the ones who are "fucking" Catalans (the ones who are in a *we*-perspective). The form of integration that Hilda and Gyuri showed me in their interviews was not solely based on linguistic and social practices, but on their identification with the imagined community of the Catalan nation and its sufferings, and their political commitment to the cause of independence. This kind of diasporic behavior, however, might have been labeled as "assimilation" by other Hungarians. Yet this form of integration into the Catalan society was not desirable for all Hungarians, nor was it within the reach of all of them. One could not just become an *első osztály polgár* as it also required prior class affiliation.

5.4. Summary

In this chapter, I sought access to the social imaginations of Hungarians about their relationship to the host society in Catalonia, more precisely, to the ways they interpreted certain boundaries connected to named languages, where they put and how they defined them, and how these boundaries were planned to be eroded or maintained. To make sense of the practices and the social actions of the research participants, I further explored the concept of integration. Integration was most often presented by participants as the key issue to discuss in order to explore their diasporic situation. Thus, I first provided a brief literature review of the political understandings of integration as a big 'D' discourse, in politics and in the academic tradition, and then I moved on to explore how this concept has been adopted by migrants to evaluate their own roles in the host society and expectations towards themselves.

This was necessary for two reasons. On the one hand, the traditional imaginary of the Hungarian diasporic community implied that Hungarians could easily adapt to and blend in the social milieu of their new countries. On the other hand, unlike in political discourses, my participants discussed integration as something that was essential for their own well-being (instead of seeing it exclusively from the perspective of the receiving country). These two reasons led to the realizations that the from-below perspectives of diasporic individuals show a much more nuanced picture than it is envisaged in integration policies and public debates. By this I mean that certain forms of integration were desired by the research participants, but the pace and level of integration they could reach were a question of individual characteristics, just like the

resources this boundary-erosion required from them. The picture was made even more complex by the fact that there is no one linguistically homogeneous host society in Catalonia, therefore, companionships (and the languages spoken in them) the participants could join from the beginning of their stay in Catalonia very much determined their social positionality.

In this chapter, I proposed a metaphor in order to depict more efficiently the stages Hungarians may have gone through while residing in Catalonia. This metaphor conceptualized the process of integration (more precisely, the diasporic subject's relationship to the host society) as a highway in which the travelers have different preferred destinations. This highway has rest areas where the diasporic subjects may stay for shorter or longer periods, but they do not have to go further if they would not like to, and they can also get on the road in the other direction as well in order to move back.

The first rest area I identified in the data was the *nyaralás* ('summer holiday') which might only have been experienced by those whose main motivation for transnational mobility was *kalandvágy* ('desire for adventure'). Those who were on summer holiday did not engage in local issues, just enjoyed the life Catalonia (and more narrowly, Barcelona) could provide. For them, English functioned as an anonymous language, Castilian as a more accessible but still locally relevant language, and Catalan as an authentic and locally embedded one.

The second area was what I named "Spanish first" protocol by which I referred to the stance when somebody decided to learn Castilian (with or without any prior knowledge on the status of Catalan in the region). This protocol turned out to be pervasive in all generations of Hungarians in Catalonia. Similarly to the findings of Fukuda (2016) on the Japanese in Catalonia, most Hungarians decide to start with Castilian or study both Castilian and Catalan simultaneously, while it is rare for somebody to learn Catalan first. This might be explained by the linguistic-ideological socialization in the sending country. Hungarian culture, in general, is tied up with the Romantic view of the linguistically homogeneous, monoglossic nation, or to put it in other words, "a standard language culture" (Milroy 2001); adjustment to the nation-state's discourses on integration might be a result of the social imagination of Hungarian as an adaptive diaspora. This, however, cannot be the only reason as similar arguments came up in the study of Latin Americans (Patiño-Santos 2018). What can be unproblematically argued is that most Hungarians decided to learn Castilian as a practical choice in the first years in Catalonia because they perceived Castilian as a universally accessible language and Catalan an authentic, in-group one.

Many Hungarians in the study encountered difficulties in finding pragmatic reasons (and also: occasions) for learning and practicing Catalan despite thinking it *illik* ('is proper') to acquire the language perceived to be the one belonging to the territory. Thus, I named this rest area "the dilemma" when the diasporic subject grinds between what is morally right and what is practically useful. Language learning, in general, requires sacrificing time, energy, often money, and that is why many postponed learning Catalan because they did not find it as beneficial as the intellectual effort they should invest. They often did not see it as inevitable because they could still get into contact with local people by speaking Castilian (this argument will be further explored in the next chapter).

Those who reached the next rest area in the erosion of boundaries between them and the members of the host society decided to invest in learning Catalan because they realized that they could "economically benefit" from it. This stance was mostly characteristic of Hungarians working in the tertiary sector who found out that they could create a better atmosphere for their Catalan-speaking clientele by addressing them in Catalan instead of Castilian, which could also manifest in more money earned. For them, Catalan worked as a "second gateway" to the host society, as Fukuda (2016) put it in the context of the Japanese. Others, however, felt that even speaking Catalan could not contribute to their better inclusion into the Catalan part of the

society perceived as a "tribe". The last stage was only accessible for a narrow population with whom most Hungarians would not have been identified.

"Being an *első osztályú polgár* ('first class citizen')" was the wording I used (drawing on the phrase of one of the key participants) to describe this last destination on the highway of integration. I intentionally used *being* instead of *becoming* because reaching this destination required a certain class background and social capital. This does not mean that these people did not have to develop a new form of identity, but they were already members of the upper-middle class intelligentsia in Hungary, thus they could transfer their cultural capital into the Catalan society by relying on their local spouses. The defining feature of these "first class citizens" was that they did not see themselves only as passive observers of the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia but as active agents on the transformation of Catalan into an anonymous language (e.g., by their consumer habits). This stage of integration is not only about language and culture, but also about political commitment. These people gladly identified as Catalans who urged the issue of Catalan self-determination and independence.

Woolard (2016) argues that the earlier *status quo* of the linguistic hierarchy in Catalonia, which was based simultaneously on the anonymity and unmarkedness of Spanish and on the authenticity and markedness of Catalan, has transformed. Nevertheless, this transformation is a slow and ongoing process, and the changes in the discourse of the local public is quicker than the ways newcomers perceive these changes. Some kinds of shifts can also be observed among Hungarians in Catalonia who thought that the boundaries have become more porous than before, but the judgements on the language of integration hardly transgressed the ideologies of authority. The way they saw Catalan and its speakers correlates with the findings of Massaguer Comes (2017, 2022), who called these shifts the re-ethnicization and the re-politicization of the Catalan language. The process of re-politicization, however, is something that was deemed a negative trend by the participants. The next chapter will discuss, among others, the enregistered figure of the over-politicized Catalan persona, which was one reason for some forms of boundary-maintenance.

5.5. The feedback of Gyuri

Gyuri decided to send me his comments to the summary of the chapter in a Word document as he found it easier to jot his thoughts. He made substantive contributions to three themes.

What I called dilemma in this chapter, he offered to explain through the words *nyelvi imperializmus vagy kolonializmus* ('linguistic imperialism or colonialism'). In the next excerpt, we can see what kind of stance he meant by that.

(18)

[...] *más európai országokból vagy az USÁ-ból származó bevándorlókra* [gondolok], *akik tudnak spanyolul, de Katalóniában rájönnek arra, hogy hoppá, ez itt nem elég, mert van egy másik nyelv is, és annak a megléte többeket kifejezetten irritál. Én magam is ismertem ilyeneket, több magyart is, de a jelenség paradigmája egy* ***Sean Scully*** *nevű, egyébként elsőrendű és híres ír absztrakt festő, aki hosszabb ideje élt Katalóniában afféle kétlakiként, de tavaly berágott, mert egy megbeszélésen az emberek katalánul beszéltek, és mert a kisfiát és a feleségét a játszótéren katalánul „beszéltették". Idézet egy a Financial Timesban megjelent interjúból: "In Barcelona, you'd go to meetings and they'd speak entirely in Catalan — like saying 'Fuck you'," says Scully. In the playground with their young son, Tomasko was told they should be speaking Catalan, instead of Spanish. "There was too much of that, there — it made it impossible," she says quietly. Scully, in his more robust manner, adds, "In the end we couldn't stand Barcelona because of this shit." Az egész cikk:* https://www.ft.com/content/d039eda6-ddfa-43c7-8ca0-91d370c25017

English translation:

[...] I [refer to] immigrants from other European countries or the USA who speak Spanish but in Catalonia they realize that, oops, that is not enough here, because there is another language, and the existence of that language is really irritating for many people. I have known people like that myself, including several Hungarians, but the paradigm of the phenomenon is a first-class and famous Irish abstract painter called **Sean Scully**, who lived in Catalonia for a long time as a sort of snowbird, but last year he got angry because people were speaking Catalan at a meeting and because his son and his wife were "made to talk" in Catalan at the playground. Quote from an interview in the Financial Times: "In Barcelona, you'd go to meetings and they'd speak entirely in Catalan — like saying 'Fuck you'," says Scully. In the playground with their young son, Tomasko was told they should be speaking Catalan, instead of Spanish. "There was too much of that, there — it made it impossible," she says quietly. Scully, in his more robust manner, adds, "In the end we couldn't stand Barcelona because of this shit." The whole article: https://www.ft.com/content/d039eda6-ddfa-43c7-8ca0-91d370c25017

With his first remark on the summary, followed by the detailed description of a certain case, Gyuri expressed his disapproval of the people facing what I called the dilemma in this chapter and how Sean Scully, the mentioned painter, explained his decision to the press. At the same time, his comment confirmed that the dilemma I have described does exist for newcomers – one possible explanation for which is the discourse Gyuri referred to as linguistic imperialism.

His second comment was on the subsection dealing with the *első osztályú polgár*. Gyuri added that it should only be understood in cultural or socio-cultural terms. He brought up two examples in his comment. The first was theater, as it was also shown in Excerpt 15, and the second example was related to his experiences at the university. After his retirement, he earned another degree in order to remain active, and there he was taught by several Spanish, French, Italian and German teachers who taught in Castilian but conversed in Catalan after the classes. After describing these speech events, he claimed the following.

(19)
Tehát arról van itt szó, hogy ha valaki úgy gondolja, hogy Katalóniában akar élni és kulturálisan is be akar illeszkedni, a katalán elkerülhetetlen, politikai elkötelezettségtől függetlenül.
English translation:
So what I am saying is that if one wants to live in Catalonia and integrate culturally as well, Catalan is inevitable, regardless of political affiliation.

To some extent, this statement contradicted my findings as Gyuri argued that the phase of being an *első osztályú polgár* is independent of political commitment. It is possible that we mean something different by political commitment, however, it is not just me who argues that politics and language actively intersect in Catalonia (see e.g., Massaguer Comes 2017, 2022; Woolard 2013, 2016).

The third comment by Gyuri was made on the background of the re-ethnicization of Catalan. He assumed that one of the causes of re-ethnicization was ignorance. I would certainly not apply such a strong term as ignorant to my research participants, however, what Gyuri meant by that is definitely an important factor.

(20)
[...] *a „messziről jövő" emberek a katalánt valóban gyakran furcsa „patoisnak" gondolják, amit a katalánok afféle tolvajnyelvként azért használnak, hogy a spanyolok ne értsék meg őket (van egy ilyen spanyol felfogás is).*
English translation:
[...] people from "far away" often think of Catalan as a strange "patois", which Catalans use as a kind of thieves' cant to avoid being understood by Spaniards (there is a Spanish perception of this as well).

Gyuri, in this remark, provided one possible explanation for turning away from the Catalan language. This will be further explored in the next chapter.

To conclude, I found it extremely useful to share the findings with Gyuri whose response took the focus on the Catalan question. Although he did not necessarily agree with everything I wrote, my arguments were rather based on the personal opinions told by other participants and did not challenge the findings fundamentally.

5.6. An autoethnographic reflection

I started learning English in primary school in a Hungarian city called Székesfehérvár. Later at the age of 15 I had to choose a so-called "second foreign language" which was Castilian in my case. Despite obtaining a language certificate, I had not really benefited from the efforts I put into learning Castilian until I went to Barcelona in 2018 for the first time and I met actual speakers of this language. As I was lucky enough to be familiar with the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia, I immediately applied for a Catalan language course at the nearest *Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística* in Badalona, the town I lived in during my presence in Catalonia. Although I did not continue studying there, I applied for online Catalan courses later. Thus, I have never had the type of ruminations Gyuri felt important to emphasize at the end of his feedback: "*Nyilvánvaló azonban, hogy a katalán egy 'állam nélküli nemzet' magas kultúrát hordozó nyelve*" ('It is clear, however, that Catalan is the language of a "nation without a state" transmitting a high culture').

During the fieldwork, I was mostly communicating in Hungarian, whereas the majority of other research tasks from the literature review to the dissemination of findings was mostly done in English. After my arrival, I started training at a sports club in Badalona where I was exposed to a lot of Castilian and a bit of Catalan. At the informal circles of my university, I was exposed to a lot of Catalan and a bit of Castilian, and I was even asking my local colleagues to practice Catalan with me. This became particularly clear for some of the key participants when Rebeka and Detti also asked me to keep a diary of my communication habits. Rebeka said at the time that she found it very respectable that I was looking for opportunities to speak Catalan, and she also added that she hardly found any acquaintance with whom she could practice Castilian despite all her endeavors to acquire skills in both languages. This conversation gave me great impetus to better understand the situation of Hungarians in Catalonia. Despite spending most of my time in Catalonia under pandemic restrictions, I was still in a privileged position, as I was able to meet speakers willing to speak both Castilian and Catalan with me. For instance, with one of my colleagues, Ana, our very first conversation was delivered in English, then we switched to Castilian. For some reason, we started chatting in Catalan when we were in the quarantine, and it just felt natural to speak Catalan with each other when we next met in person. She and the other colleagues were always happy to help me learn new expressions. As it will be shown in the next chapter, getting into such a welcoming milieu and a Catalan-speaking environment was not given to every Hungarian in Catalonia.

Due to the above-mentioned factors, I think I was integrated well enough to be able to live in Catalonia in my 2 and a half years presence there without the feeling of being imprisoned – as János put it in a *magyar tertúlia*. Thanks to my endeavors in language learning, I often felt that I was able to erode some boundaries between me and my local communities. However, I also knew that if I would have wanted to stay for a longer time, I should have put even more effort into learning. I was particularly proud when I asked my supervisor in Barcelona to write me a letter of recommendation for a proposal, and he found it important to also note that "During his stay in Barcelona he has become conversant in Catalan and Spanish". I received similar remarks from other people (such as "*parles català super bé*" 'you speak Catalan very well') as

well, but I have always known that these compliments were more about my efforts than my actual language skills. Yet, I think this is mainly due to the groups I got into, both professionally and during leisure time. Recognizing this was necessary to be able to meaningfully explore the resources, practices, and discourses of the people I collaborated with during this research and distinguish the different possible stages of integration in their lives in Catalonia.

6. Boundaries maintained

When Hungarians in Catalonia are asked whether they like to live there, they mostly answer by referring to the imagination of an unstressed and joyful lifestyle accompanied by the closeness of the sea, the friendliness and easy-going nature of local people. This imagination is often compared to the pessimistic and depressing ambience in Hungary along with its people overwhelmed with their complaints. But if we dig deeper, we can also see that the same Hungarians in Catalonia often feel nostalgic about their homeland and realize that life in Catalonia does not only have a bright side. These kinds of feelings were reflected in two separate questions written by the key participants during one of the *magyar tertúlia* discussions: "*Miért érzi itt jól v. rosszul magát?*" ('Why does he/she feel good or bad here?'), "*Van-e valami itt, ami nem tetszik neki?*" ('Is there something that he/she doesn't like here?'). When these questions were discussed, some participants brought up a certain lack of understanding on the behalf of Catalans (including language policies and political issues, which were usually discussed together) as a strong reason for "feeling bad". I interpret these questions in line with boundary-management. More precisely, I focus on how Hungarians in Catalonia strive for some boundaries to be maintained.

As shown in the previous chapter, the social imagination of the Hungarian diasporic behavior implies an image of people endeavoring to erode the boundaries between them and the members of the host society. However, the interpretation of the host society varies from individual to individual: it can refer to Spanish nationals in general, Catalan people, expatriate communities, and a mixture of these as well. A great number of Hungarians rather adapt to the homogenizing nation-state integration discourse and see Castilian as the first language to acquire while delaying the search for bonds with Catalan. Sometimes this is due to the lack of access to Catalan-speaking communities, other times it is a conscious decision.

Next, I zoom into a theme already introduced in the previous chapter. I discuss specifically the cases when Hungarians sought to maintain certain boundaries, and I try to understand the reasons for that. More precisely, I take a closer look at the narratives in which people expressed resistance to the Catalan language and its speakers. As we will see, this is connected to a great extent to the re-politicization of the Catalan language, which was already mentioned in the previous chapter, as well as the neoliberal ideal of speakerhood in contemporary European societies. The chapter kicks off with the theory of enregisterment, mainly drawing on the works of Agha (2003, 2005, 2007) and Gal (2018, 2019) who worked out a new, speaker-centered approach to registers. Then, in order to better explain the ways the figure of a stereotypical Catalan speaker was imagined by the participants of my research, I argue that there is a form of multilingual othering performed by many Hungarians in relation to Catalans, an idea loosely inspired by Derrida's reflections (1998) on the "monolingualism of the Other", reworded here as "bilingualism of the Other". To demonstrate how strong the prejudice towards Catalans can be, I discuss two participants' life stories in detail who were raised in transborder kin-minority Hungarian communities and compared their experiences of minoritization to what they experienced in Catalonia. In the third section, my starting point will be the sociolinguistic approach to the contemporary situation of language and neoliberal governmentality (Martín Rojo & Del Percio eds. 2019), and I show examples of participants who narrated their lives in line with the ideal of the linguistic entrepreneurship and the "self-made speaker" (coined by Martín Rojo 2019). I end the chapter with the feedback of János on his own experiences as a non-Catalan speaker and my own autoethnographic reflection on my own possibilities to find access to Catalan-speaking acquaintances.

6.1. Enregisterment and characterological figures

Agha proposes the notion of "enregisterment" as one of the key processes at the intersections of language and social relations (Agha 2007b). He defines it as a process "whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users" (Agha 2005: 38). This process is metasemiotic by nature: co-occuring forms are not just linguistic, but multimodal, and are in a constant interdiscursive circulation (Gal 2018). Hence, the broader understanding of enregisterment includes not just named languages, speech modes and codes, but also ideologies, discourses, styles and commodities attributed to them (Johnstone 2013). In this vein, forming registers has a key role in contemporary politics as symbolic material is recruited in the creation and maintenance of power relations (Gal 2019). To put it in other words, the concept of enregisterment is used to understand the cultural models that link modes of speech to speakers. These models circulate from event to event until they are seen as "common sense" knowledge in some social domains, but not in others (see Bodó et al. 2022b). For instance, the excerpts shown in this chapter include unfavorable images of Catalan speakers. These images were accepted and reproduced by the majority of participants in connection to certain topics (such as local politics), but would not have been reproduced by the same participants in other social domains and would not have been accepted by other participants.

In this chapter, I focus on one aspect of enregisterment, the enregistered social personae who are widely accepted as authentic. Drawing on Agha (2003: 243.), I call them characterological figures. One of the observations of the study of enregisterment is that enregistered speech patterns, languages, language varieties, etc. are stereotypically associated with the speakers who speak them. Thus, enregisterment also requires characterological figures built up of images of personhood that serve as indexes of a stereotyped persona (Kiesling 2019). Rather than focusing on how the research participants perform and stylize characterological figures of the Other (Jonsson et al. 2020), I explore the reasons why these images have become socially recognized and linked with ways of speaking (Johnstone 2016), the values attributed to a certain speaker profile and different forms of multilingualism, and the consequences these processes had. Specifically, I turn to how Catalan speakers were enregistered in the metalinguistic narratives of Hungarians, how their linguistic behavior was imagined and typified, and also how their bilingualism was acknowledged and (de)valued. By explaining how the process of enregisterment worked out for Hungarians in Catalonia, I intend to show how boundaries were perceived (and thus, reconstructed) as desirable.

6.1.1. The figure of the *forrófejű* Catalan

An enregistered figure among Hungarians in Catalonia was the figure of the *forrófejű* ('hot-headed') Catalan which referred to local people who refuse to speak Castilian even with those who do not speak Catalan. I argue that the imagination of this figure contributed to the maintenance of boundaries. To demonstrate how the *forrófejű* Catalan was enregistered and utilized for the rationalization of boundary-maintenance, I first describe the social meaning of this expression, then I present excerpts from my fieldnotes and a blog-post that depicted this figure.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, Gyuri was one of the key participants who identified as integrated into the Catalan society. This manifested in the fact that when any criticism was articulated towards Catalan people by another participant during the *magyar terúlia* discussions, he became an advocate for them. However, he was the one who started to speak about *forrófejű katalánok* ('hot-headed Catalans') during an online focus group discussion. The Hungarian word *forrófejű* literally means 'hot-headed', but probably 'cranky' would be a better interpretation as the word generally refers to a person who gets easily upset, makes quick and

imprudent decisions, and is liable to go to the extremes. With *forrófejű katalánok*, Gyuri referred to those Catalan people who did not feel inclined to switch to Spanish when their interlocutor could not understand Catalan. While Gyuri was only referring to a small group of people, this behavior was widely recognized by other participants as applying to Catalans in general. The figure of the *forrófejű* Catalan points to a disdainful and quick-tempered person; therefore it represents the antithesis of the ideal, that of a tolerant nation for some (further discussed in the next section).

In the following example, we can see how speaking Catalan was associated with political acts and irrational behavior. Excerpt (1) is extracted from my ethnographic fieldnotes on an encounter with Detti, Dóra and her 1-year old child at a playground.

(1)
During the conversation, Dóra brought up how surprised she was that I spoke Spanish very well the last time when we met (*#delete*: the name of her husband). Detti added that I was able to speak Catalan as well. I told them that I was getting along but I could not deliver a serious conversation. Detti responded that "*nem is kell, elég, ha tudod, hogy felgyújtani egy kukát, meg hogy megdobálni a rendőröket*" ('you don't have to, it's enough if you know to set a garbage can on fire and throw [things] at policemen'). Dóra laughed a lot at this and said "*ezeket nem mondani, hanem csinálni kell*" ('you don't say but do these').

In this conversation, my own linguistic skills were discussed by the participants. First, I was praised for being able to communicate in both Castilian and Catalan, but then Detti and Dóra turned the conversation into a joke on the behavior of Catalans. Speaking Catalan was recontextualized into another semiotic tier (Milani 2010): from speaking to acting in a certain (unpleasant) way. The characterological figure of a Catalan speaker was, thus, enregistered as one who commits such acts, and the person who wants to become a Catalan speaker (in this case: me) should first learn this vocabulary and then do the same acts as a form of boundary-erosion. The way Dóra noted that it is not just saying but doing as well also implies that speaking Catalan, Catalan speakers, and certain forms of political acts were linked through the processes of enregisterment. In this sense the boundaries were defined in terms of engaging in such acts.

The following text also enregistered this figure of the *forrófejű* Catalan. It is an excerpt from a blog which was written by a Hungarian woman located in Barcelona. She published posts between March 15th and May 1st in 2020, the most tough and stressful period of the COVID-19 pandemic in Spain, when a general curfew was maintained, although it was first announced to last for only 15 days. The posts were written in Hungarian in order to inform compatriots about news in Catalonia. This was already a specific form of diasporic practice: her posts were shared in Facebook groups for Hungarians in Catalonia, but she chose the most popular Hungarian blog platform (instead of an international, a Spanish, or a Catalan one) suggesting that her audience consisted of both Hungarians in Hungary and in Catalonia.

The title of the blog, *mit keresek én itt?* ('what am I doing here?'), acknowledged her feeling of foreignness. The post I quote here was published on April 6th, when the state of alarm and the curfew were prolonged (https://mitkeresekenitt.blog.hu/2020/04/06/dimenziovaltas, last access: 15/10/2022). In this text, she was writing about her feelings, especially loneliness, but one of her paragraphs was concentrating on metalinguistic evaluations.

(2)
A másik furcsa tünet az érzelmi inkontinencia, mindenre túl érzékeny vagyok. A katalánokra ráförmedtem, hogy ne diszkrimináljanak katalán körüzenetekkel, mindenki beszél spanyolul, most az egyszer gondolkodjunk logikusan és praktikusan és ha valami az egész csoporttal akarunk közölni használjuk a közös nyelvet, amit mindenki megért, és legyen most elég a fizikai elszigetelődés, a karantén idejére függesszék

fel a nyelvi kirekesztést, mert nem bírom tovább. Gyorsan szerveztek is egy katalán tanfolyamot, javíthatatlanok.

English translation:

Another strange symptom is emotional incontinence, I am over-sensitive to everything. I scolded Catalans not to discriminate against me with Catalan chain messages. Everybody speaks Spanish, let us think practically and logically for once, and if we want to share something with the whole community, let us communicate in the common language that is understood by everyone. The physical isolation is enough now, linguistic exclusion should be ceased in the time of quarantine because I cannot stand it anymore. They organized a Catalan course quickly, they are incurable.

While she spoke explicitly about her sensitiveness in the first sentence, later she made it clear with several discourse markers (such as *most az egyszer* 'for once', *most* 'now', *a karantén idején* 'in the time of quarantine') that her feelings about the local sociolinguistic complexity were not singular in the pandemic. According to the narrative, these negative feelings were part of her daily life, but they were more intense in these times. The way she made sense of the local bilingualism was replete with strong ideologically loaded terms such as discrimination and linguistic exclusion. These were based on a discursive division on speakerhood: Catalans were connected to Catalan-Spanish bilingualism (especially what was used to be called balanced bilingualism by linguists), while everyone else was imagined through another form of multilingualism. The characterological figure of Catalan personhood was enregistered through this division in this excerpt; this figure was imagined as a bilingual person who spoke Catalan to everyone instead of the anonymous "common language", thus, the metalinguistic practices of discrimination and exclusion were indexically linked to this figure. The enregisterment of this figure did not draw on speech forms that are discernable on the phonetic or morphologic level; it rather drew on specific linguistic behaviors and attitudes to foreigners. The behavior of this figure was characterized by the opposite of practicality, logic, and willingness to change. In her narrative, she brought up the practice of organizing a Catalan language course, which was also going against rationality at the time of a pandemic in her point of view. This emotionally loaded excerpt from a diary-like personal blog sheds new light on the sort of discourses on bi- or multilingualism that circulate among migrants in Catalonia, and on the emotions, individual and collective experiences that shape the way this person (and many other migrants) makes sense of the boundaries in the surrounding new life-world.

This excerpt provides a hierarchical understanding of bilingualism. Interpreting Spanish as a "common language" puts it into the position of anonymity (further discussed in Chapter 5). Interestingly, at the beginning of the third sentence it was assumed that this language was spoken by everyone in the community. It was not questioned whether newcomers spoke, but it was taken for granted. By way of contrast, Catalan was deemed to be an authentic marker of Catalan identity spoken only by Catalans. The language policy, which endeavors to modify this ideological status quo and make newcomers learn Catalan, was harshly criticized by her: it was identified as a wrong way of promotion, and promoters should be "cured". Being addressed in this language was not understood as a way of being invited into the community. On the contrary, it reinforced the feelings of loneliness and foreignness, the sense of being discriminated against and excluded. In this sense, boundaries were imagined as maintained by local people through linguistic exclusion. During my research, this effect did not appear in just this blog post, but it was articulated by several interview partners as well. In these cases, the bilingualism of the locals was assumed to mean equal competencies in each language, which should have been followed by equal willingness to speak each of these languages. This figure of personhood, however, was socially recognized as a stubborn, cranky person who was not showing respect towards those who did not have the same knowledge or emotional involvement in speaking Catalan.

This form of enregisterment also contributed to the construction of the blogger's self-image as opposed to the local "Other". The process of enregistering the Other never stands alone, but it adds to the discursive creation of the "Self" (written in this chapter with capital 'S' intentionally in analogy with the term Other). Social relations and identities are always relational (Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 598), and the particularity of the Self is often imagined through the qualities of the Other (Evans 2012). In the cases shown in this chapter, the characterological figure of a Catalan speaker (the Other) was frequently depicted as somewhat strange and illogical, while the image of the diasporic individual (the Self) was understood as the logical person who does not react vehemently. In this vein, I argue that the images of the Self and Other were constructed in these narratives as a form of boundary-maintenance.

I, of course, do not argue that this means that Catalan speakers behave like described above. I do not argue either that all Hungarians think about Catalan speakers this way. What I argue, however, is that I identified a discursive and organized trope on a stereotypical Catalan speaker which was even recognized by those research participants who spoke Catalan or even self-ascribed as Catalan. For some other participants, this trope, or enregistered characterological figure, resulted in refusal against both the language and its speakers. This figure might not be Hungarian-specific in the sense that it could be a socially accessible characterization of Catalan speakers within the migrant population in general, but, as it will be shown in Section 6.2, Hungarian-specific experiences of minoritization can also be linked to it. To demonstrate this special link, let us first turn to Derrida's work on the monolingualism of the Other (1998) and its actualization.

6.2. Bilingualism of the Other

In this section, I explain one of the possible reasons boundary-maintenance towards Catalan speakers may have evolved among many Hungarians in Catalonia, that can be traced in the different views on bilingualism. I argue that certain forms of bilingualism still hold negative social meanings for most of them. They interpret bilingualism in Catalonia as somewhat strange, even illogical and inherently capable of excluding other people. Drawing on Derrida's phrase, I call this conceptualization the bilingualism of the Other, so I further explore how I reinterpreted his essay in this section as a form of experienced exclusion through the lack of access to linguistic resources. To highlight the different views on the forms of bilingualism, I give a detailed analysis of two interviews with persons who were raised outside of Hungary in minority Hungarian-speaking communities, and I argue that the bilingualism of the Self is always constructed as logical and practical, known also keywords of the neoliberal ideal of speakerhood.

Understandings on languages and different forms of mono-, bi- and multilingualism are socially and culturally embedded (see Heller ed. 2007). Hungarians (and probably all nationals in East-Central Europe) are socialized into a standard language culture (Milroy 2001) that influences very much how they treat bi- and multilingualism. On the one hand, there is a shift towards multilingual ideals (see Section 6.3); on the other hand, these ideals are still built up of parallel monolingualisms (Heller 1999: 25), a monoglossic view that treats languages as autonomous, distinguishable and distinguished entities. Among named bilingualisms, the Castilian–Catalan bilingualism consists of a *világnyelv* ('world language'; as some participants put it in the interviews) and another language without a nation-state behind it; for the casual observer from Hungary, this might seem somewhat strange, as it is demonstrated in the next excerpt.

Karolina, a woman who spent 4 years in Barcelona and returned to Hungary with her family after the end of her spouse's mandated job, brought up the topic of the Catalan independence movement in her interview. She unquestionably linked this topic to bilingualism.

(3)
Karolina: *ez egy elég tudathasadásos dolog egyébként ö önmagába szerintem ez a- ez a kétnyelvűség, ez egy picit tudathasadásos dolog*
English translation:
Karolina: this is a pretty split-conscious [viz. schizophrenic] thing by the way ehm in itself I think this- this bilingualism, this is a bit split-conscious thing

Karolina likened bilingualism to a mental disorder. Although this was a unique utterance in my fieldwork, it expresses well what was seen as default or normal by a lot of participants. Most of them did not describe bilingualism with such strong expressions, but they did not describe it in positive terms either. Some even found it disadvantageous and, what is more important now, extremely far from their own personality. To describe this assemblage of feelings, I now turn to Jacques Derrida's thoughts.

Derrida, in his book titled *Monolingualism of the Other; or, The Prosthesis of Origin* (1998), confesses about his own subjectivity constituted through language. He summarized his struggles in two contradictory statements: first, one speaks only one language (or idiom), and second, one never speaks only one language (so one pure idiom does not exist). The philosopher was a descendant of an Algerian Jewish family, and he only spoke French due to assimilation policies. His writing derives from his own experiences of a language that is concurrently forbidding and forbidden, French, which was his only language but alienated from him at the same time. He was not educated in Arabic, Hebrew or Berber, only in French, which was a symbol of orientation to metropolitan France. Still, his French citizenship was revoked during the Second World War, which created a collective feeling of isolation within French-Maghrebian Jews.

Drawing on Derrida's thread, I would posit that speakers are constrained to narrate their experiences in a language which is mediated in the sense that it is "half someone else's", as Bakhtin (1981: 293) puts it. This medium is always fraught with cultural and social discourses of what counts as normative or legitimate (McNamara 2012). While Derrida experienced oppression within a colonial monolingual regime in which a language was deemed to be the only legitimate way of speaking, such normativity continues to exist in neoliberal governmentality in ways that naturalize a certain form of elite multilingualism. To seize this discrepancy, I reutilized Derrida's phrase (for another attempt with the same wording in postcolonial literary studies, see Nagy-Zekmi 2011) in the title of this section because it depicts a typical stance amongst Hungarians in Catalonia toward the local sociolinguistic milieu. They portray the Catalan sociolinguistic situation through a perspective that I call *bilingualism of the Other*, a certain form of bilingualism that is not shared by the Self.

While this typical stance is clearly different from Derrida's own case, it draws on implications from their lived experience of language too. In postcolonial studies, the capitalized Other is most often understood as the colonized and the Self as the colonizer (cf. Loomba 1998, Said 1978). For Derrida, the Other also stands for the excluded, but here the relation is reversed. In this chapter, the Other refers to the one who is constructed as "excluding" according to these narratives. The bilingualism of the Other describes the way migrants experience some kind of rejection despite speaking a language also spoken by the Other. Thus, in this case, boundaries are understood as maintained by the local Other and not wished to be eroded by the Self either.

Busch (2012) argues that language is the sum of embodied and corporeal semiotic resources. Therefore, it is also linked to desires, thoughts and imaginations. The meanings attributed to distinct named linguistic codes and practices are always guided by the personal trajectories of speakers, and these meanings play a significant role in the discursive construction of national and ethnic belonging. Derrida's theme lies in an experience of the "own language" of a

monoglot person being someone else's; the theme delineated in this chapter lies in the experience of remaining an outsider despite the endeavors invested in language learning and integration, despite being able to communicate in theory through the resources associated with a named language, Castilian in this case, which is seen as the legitimate local language. Otherness is imagined and narratively created in opposition to the Self, thus, the subject as the Self and the local as the Other are compared to each other as through their bilingualism, which differs in the ways linguistic and communicative resources are accumulated and deployed.

Although, as mentioned above, Hungarian culture can be described as a standard (monolingual) language culture, it does not mean that all Hungarians are raised in a milieu where Hungarian is spoken as an anonymous language. Despite its current nation-state status, Hungarians also have historical and contemporary experiences of minoritization both within and beyond Hungary's borders. For instance, after the world wars, Hungarian-speaking enclaves were formed in the neighboring countries that still maintain their existence a century later regardless of the cultural policies of homogenization implemented by their new states. Besides these historical developments, the concurrent ideas of loneliness and uniqueness also stem from the fact that Hungarian is one of the very few non-Indo-European languages spoken on the continent. Therefore, there is no closeness or partial intelligibility with other languages in the region. As a corollary, the Hungarian language is widely understood as an authentic marker of ethnic-national belonging – such as in the case of Catalan in Catalonia.

Within particular immigrant communities in Catalonia, Lanz and colleagues (2020) envision a so-called "mirror effect". This mirror effect refers to identification with Catalan as a result of sympathy coming from being a speaker of a less valued or recognized language. This view suggests that Catalans and some people of foreign-origin in Catalonia could potentially see each other as cultural and political allies, which also correlates with one of the modern visions of Catalan as a transgressive language that erases ethnic labels (Woolard 2016). But similarity does not mean automatic sympathy. The next two excerpts in the following subsection are quoted from interviews with Hungarians who were born outside of Hungary. In these cases, the bilingualism of the local Other was imagined as a means of colonization and exclusion instead of liberation and inclusion – somewhat similar to what the participants experienced in other parts of Europe.

6.2.1. Opposed to the bilingualism of the Self

In this subsection, I demonstrate how Hungarians in Catalonia, who had shown unwillingness to learn Catalan, oppose themselves to the bilingualism of the local Other. They portrayed their own multilingualism in interviews as the universally acceptable and common sense mode of communicating with other people that is based on equality and sensitivity to the needs of the interlocutors. By way of contrast, the bilingualism of the Other was portrayed as leading to boundary-maintenance and potentially resulting in exclusion of the Self. In this subsection, I draw on the narratives of two participants, Robi and Norbert, who were raised in transborder Hungarian-speaking communities.

Robi was one of my first interview partners. At the time of our interview, he was a 45-years old taxi driver. He arrived in Catalonia in his mid-twenties from a city in the Transylvanian region of Romania which used to be a historically multicultural town with Hungarian, Romanian, and Saxon inhabitants. Thus, Robi received a bilingual (Hungarian and Romanian) education, and he also learnt German in his family. He was the only participant of my research, who used consistently the glottonym *castellano* to refer to Spanish even while speaking in Hungarian (he did not use the Hungarian word *kasztíliai* [IPA: kɒsti:liɒi]), which is somewhat

unusual in Hungarian speech. Drawing on these linguistic resources, Robi already marked his preferences in relation to the two local languages.

He started to learn the language through an organization of the Red Cross after his arrival in Catalonia. As he put it, they helped him to acquire "*a spanyol nyelvet, a* <castellano>*t, nem a* <catalan>*t*" ('Spanish language, the Castilian, not the Catalan'). This sentence at the early part of his life-story already expressed his stance towards local languages by drawing grammatically on an appositional construct. However, this clause was not just appositional, but translanguaging (García & Wei 2014) as well: he articulated the word *spanyol* ('Spanish') with the usual Hungarian pronunciation and explained this one with other words (*castellano*, *catalan*) which are parts of the Castilian vocabulary. A bit later in the interview, when I asked him to elaborate, he told stories about his feelings that were quite similar to those expressed in the previous excerpts, especially in the blog-post.

(4)

Robi: *az ö van sok helyen, ahol nek- ha nincs- nem is tudom a bé vagy a cé ö | típusú az a katalán, a-* <el nivel ce> *asszem, akkor nem is vesznek fel a mu- nem vesznek fel, tehát nem dolgozhatsz. de őszintén- tehát engem én- az én saját személyem engem nem érdekel, és nem is- tehát nem csak, hogy nem érdekel, hanem nem szeretem a nyelvet. és egyrészt megmagyarázom neked, miér.* […] *hogyha te beszéled a* <castellano>*t és a* <catalan>*t, és van egy- egy harmadik személy vagy negyedik vagy ötödik személy, amelyik töri a nyelvet, de a spanyolt, a* <castellano>*t, akkor mibe kerül neked, hogy beszéljenek mind a négyen vagy mind a hárman* <castellano>*t, hogy megértse a negyedik is vagy az ötödik, valahányadik személy? ők csak nyomják a lőrét a* <catalan>*ul, érted, mi van? s akkor egy kicsit úgy meg- megutáltam, érted, mi az? lehet, hogy a nyelvet is, és lehet, hogy személyeket is*

English translation:

Robi: in a lot of ehm places, where you- if you [don't have]- I dunno [if it's] the B or the C ehm | type Catalan, the- <el nivel ce> I think, then they don't hire- don't hire you, so you cannot work. but honestly- so- I don't- I don't care personally, and not- not just that I don't care, but I don't like the [Catalan] language. and I will explain to you why. […] if you speak the <castellano> and the <catalan>, and there is a- a third person or fourth or fifth person who struggles with the language, but Spanish, the <castellano>, then how much does it cost to you to speak <castellano> with all the four or all the three to let the fourth or fifth or whatever person understand you? and they just chitchat in <catalan>, you know? so it made me detest it, you know? maybe the language, maybe the people

In the first utterance of the excerpt, Robi claimed that he was aware of the benefits of having good command in Catalan on the job market, but he still refused to speak it because of an aversion to the language. A bit later, at the end of this excerpt, he mentioned that this aversion was partly to the speakers associated with this language. The figure of the Catalan speaker was construed and constructed in Robi's narrative as a bilingual speaker who was able to deliver a conversation in both Castilian and Catalan, but insensitive to the struggles of outsiders. This insensitivity manifested itself through the practice of speaking Catalan independently from the knowledge of other interlocutors. Robi wanted to practice "castellano" but felt excluded in such situations by the local Others who spoke Catalan with each other regardless of his needs. In his narrative, he drew on a Hungarian expression employed as a rhetorical question ("*mibe kerül neked?*") which is translated literally here to 'how much does it cost to you?', where the cost refers not to financial expenses, but efforts to make.

He also told an imaginary story in which switching to another named language would have cost him nothing.

(5)

Robi: *hát hogyha összegyűlünk a haverok, és mindenki beszél németül, tegyük fel, hát akkor mibe kerül nekem, hogy beszéljek németül? én mér kell nyomjam a szöveget románul? hogy a másik szarul érezze magát. hogy ne értse, hogy miről van szó. nem? tehát nem abszurd?*

English translation:

Robi: well if the friends have gathered, and everyone speaks [viz. can speak] German, let's say, then how much would it cost me to speak German? and why should I schmooze in Romanian? to make the other person feel like shit. to not to understand what [I'm talking] about. no? isn't it absurd?

In this situation he would have had the chance to close off somebody from the conversation, but he would not have wanted to make his interlocutor feel bad. His multilingualism, in this sense, was being understood as built up by distinct codes (here by the Romanian and German language) that could be employed with the same effort and emotional involvement in a conversation depending on the knowledge of the interlocutor and regardless of his own commitment to Hungarian identity. His experience of multilingualism was opposed to the bilingualism of the Other as embodied by the figure of the Catalan speaker. What is remarkable in these lines is the way the Self was constructed through this opposition: the way the Self uses bilingualism is equated and attentive, but the way the Other applies it is selfish and unequal. The way Robi constructs this narrative is based on an assumption that his own understanding of multilingualism is or should be universal and cannot accept that others may apply a different logic to it – a boundary is maintained this way here.

Robi expressed similar thoughts in connection with education which he called "*egy kicsit hányinger*" ('a little bit of nausea'). He was not obliged to be able to speak Catalan in his job, but he had two children from a marriage with a Latin American woman. Thus, most of his encounters with the Catalan language happened in connection with the school, which created an extremely bad image in him. Although he reported that he understood four fifths of what he was told in Catalan, he had to use Google Translate in order to be able to help his children with homework. He put these issues into a wider political discourse.

(6)

Robi: *ez egy nagy gond. mert hogyha ők azt mondják, hogy „nem, nem, nem", hogy „a katalán iskola el van nyomva", s nem tom mi. akkor mér van minden* <catalan>*ul? akkor hol a gond? mert a gyerekek* <catalan>*ul- mi- ott a* <catalan>*ul tanulnak mindent. hát ahogy belépsz az óvodába, ott csak* <catalan>*. gondold meg. tehát nem* <castellano>*,* <catalan>

English translation:

Robi: this is a great problem. because if they say that "no, no, no", that "the Catalan school is oppressed", and dunno what. then why is everything in <catalan>? then where is the problem? because the kids in <catalan>- ev- there they study everything in the <catalan>. well if you enter the kindergarden, there is only <catalan>. think it over. so not <castellano>, <catalan>

In Excerpt (6), Robi even voiced the figure of the Catalan speaker by quoting the way the figure would speak (Agha 2005). He depicted this figure here as one who put itself into the position of a victim while being the oppressor in reality. These examples also show that the speakerhood of Catalan was defined politically in the sense that language was tied with political stances and loyalty towards Catalans, meanwhile speaking Castilian was seen as a default setting.

In a later part of the interview, Robi argued that parents should be provided with the right to freely choose the language they want their child to be taught. His argument drew on the fact that in his childhood, he was able to acquire both Hungarian and Romanian in school in his hometown in Transylvania. Robi's experience with the Romanian educational system might

rather be the exception than the rule (as several reports show that the majority of the pupils in the Hungarian-speaking part of the country do not have equal access to both languages; see Horváth & Toró 2018, Rácz 2022). Still, his account is of a frequent diasporic practice: thinking back to the homeland with nostalgia (Ndhlovu 2017, Theodoropoulou 2021), in this case in comparison to the experience of an alleged negative characteristic of the host-land. It even happens with Robi who, according to other parts of the interview, did not identify with Romania as a state anymore. In this interview, however, he narrated good memories in connection with the past there-and-then.

When he elaborated his views on the free linguistic choice for parents, he also mentioned how he would have decided in case he had had the option.

(7)

Robi: *ha ö itt él a gyermek, s főleg, hogy a gyermek itt született, akkor egyrészt így gondolkozol, így- én gondolkozok, hogy jobb lenne, hogy a* <catalan>*t is megtanulja, mer normális körülmények között a gyermek kiskora- kiskora óta akkor megtanulja mind a két nyelvet. s akkor nem csak* <castellano>*, a* <catalan>*t is. s ezt- ezt így jónak látom. érted, mi az? de normális körülmények között én úgy látnám jónak- hogy úgy lenne korrekt, hogy először megtanulni a* <castellano>*t, és utána a* <catalan>*t. érted? na itt pont fordítva van*

English translation:

Robi: if ehm the child lives here, and especially, if he was born here, then you think it that way- that- I think that it would be better if he also acquires <catalan>, cos under normal circumstances since his early- early childhood he then acquires both languages. and then not just <castellano>, but <catalan> as well. and I see this- this good. you see what is that? but under normal circumstances I would see it good- it would be correct to first learn <castellano>, then <catalan>. you see? well here it's the other way round

This account of Robi was way more indulgent than his previous utterances as he accepted some kind of role for Catalan in the lives of his children. However, he would have preferred Castilian as the first language and Catalan as the second. On the one hand, his stance might not be surprising as Castilian and Hungarian were spoken in the family. On the other hand, his wording alludes to the fact that he saw the current situation as "not normal". This suggests that the bilingualism of the Other was constructed in Robi's narrative as somewhat abnormal and insensitive in the biographical present in Catalonia, while the bilingualism of the Self was treated as the norm in the biographic past in Transylvania. In the next section, another example is shown in which the biographical past and biographical present were both permeated by the experience of exclusion.

Now, I turn to the interview of another participant who was already mentioned in Chapter 5 as an advocate for the necessity of efforts made towards integration. Norbert was also raised in a transborder Hungarian village. He was living in Ukraine until the age of 14 when he went to study in a high school in Hungary. In this narrative, his early experiences of multilingualism were also compared to Catalonia.

(8)

Norbert: *ugyanezt csinálták az ukránok is, katalánok is nagyon- nagyon ezt csinálják, annyira erőltetik ezt a katalán nyelvet, ideológiát, hogy a katalán nyelv a legszebb, a katalán nép a legtisztább, satöbbi, satöbbi, satöbbi, hogy én mai napig nem beszélem a katalánt, és nem is fogom, nem szeretem. nem szeretem, és ezt tisztán kimondom, és én ba- leülünk négyen a barátaimmal, három- három katalánnal, és tudják, hogy én nem beszélek katalánul. elkezdünk spanyolul beszélni, válaszolnak spanyolul, egyszer csak az egyik véletlenül, úgymond reflexszerűen katalánul kérdez vagy valami, és elkezdenek katalánul beszélni végig, s akkor el- előveszem a telefont és telefonálgatok, s akkor egy ilyen tizenöt perc múlva valamennyire | el-hallgatnak, s akkor az egyik barátom így rájön, hogy „úha, hát kihagytunk valakit, merhogy ö ő nem", s akkor így spanyolul folytatjuk tovább, egy ideig, aztán ugyanúgy*

English translation:

Norbert: the same was done by Ukrainians. Catalans do this very- very much, they push Catalan language, ideology too much, that Catalan language is the most beautiful, Catalan nation is the purest, etcetera, etcetera, etcetera, that I don't speak Catalan up until today, and I won't either, I don't like it. I don't like it, and I say this- this clearly, and I fr- the four of us sit down with my friends, with three- three Catalans, and they know that I don't speak Catalan. we start to speak in Spanish, they respond in Spanish, and then one of them ask something in Catalan accidentally, let's say reflex-like, or something, and they start to speak Catalan throughout, and I take out my telephone and start to scroll [viz. to use it], and then after like 15 minutes, they somehow | fall silent, and then one of my friends realizes that "uh, well, we left somebody out because ehm he doesn't", and then like we continue in Spanish, for some time, and then again

Norbert found similarities between his bad experiences in Ukraine and Catalonia. The gist of this comparison lay in a top-down language policy that he saw aggressive and biased. The political situation in the two regions is unparalleled: while Ukrainian is the official language of the country and Hungarian-speaking minorities in southwestern Ukraine (called Zakarpatska Oblast; in Hungarian: *Kárpátalja*) still fight for equal treatment before the law up until today (see Csernicskó 2021, Csernicskó & Márku 2020), Catalan is not official on a nation-state level, but minoritized (Jiménez-Salcedo 2019). What Norbert deemed similar, however, was the ideology that indexically connects language to national aspirations which ignored (or rather, marginalized) inhabitants who did not possess the resources of that advantaged language.

Both Robi and Norbert were raised in places where the Hungarian language was in a minoritized and marginalized situation, but Robi's narrative relied on a nostalgia towards imagined speakers who were sympathetic enough for including everyone in a conversation., Norbert found the same pattern in Catalonia that he had experienced before. In both cases, the local linguistic-cultural situation was understood through a lens of parallel monolingualisms (Heller 1999), which has been extremely salient in the contexts of Hungary and the neighboring countries. From this point of view, every form of linguistically hybrid practices (by which I mean that they do not necessarily maintain boundaries between named languages) were seen as deviant and inappropriate. Norbert, for instance, mentioned a switch from Spanish to Catalan from one sentence to another that he saw "accidental", which then initiated a later conversation carried out in Catalan. He found this practice improper, so his response also breached other sorts of social norms: he started to browse on his smartphone until his interlocutors noticed that he was feeling left out of something. Excerpts (4) and (8) are also common in the enregisterment of the Catalan speaker who does not show respect to their interlocutors in their linguistic choices and who is expected to accommodate those interlocutors.

Norbert also mentioned others of his experiences about this type of speaker in a later part of the interview. When I asked him whether he had ever felt disadvantaged because of being a foreigner, he responded that he felt so precisely because of the Catalan language and shared stories about that. For instance, at the early stage of his presence in Barcelona, he once went to a stationery shop to buy some materials, and the saleswoman, instead of serving him, started to lecture him.

(9)

Norbert: *bementem és megkérdeztem, s a néni* (#gibberish). *mondtam, „ne haragudjon, de nem- nem beszélek katalánul", s ő katalánul tovább folytatta, s megkérdezte „<*a per qué no parles catalá? a per qué?*>" tovább katalánul fo- tovább, tovább és tovább mondta a magáét, hogy én mér nem tanulom a katalánt, hogy én itt vagyok Katalunyában, hogy mér nem tanulom, és blablabla. ott álltam egy ilyen két-három percig, és figyeltem, tényleg nem nagyon értettem a katalánt, s kimentem. és ez nagyon sok helyen*

English translation:

Norbert: I entered and asked, and the lady (#gibberish). I said "I'm sorry but I don't- don't speak Catalan", and she continued in Catalan, and asked "<a per què no parles catalá? a per què?>" co- continuing in Catalan, said for herself on and on that why I don't learn Catalan, that I'm here in Catalonia, that why I don't study and blah blah blah. I was standing there for like two-three minutes, and paid attention, I didn't really understand Catalan, and went out. and this [happened] in a lot of places

As Robi did in Excerpt (6), Norbert also voiced the figure of the Catalan here. However, he drew on other types of linguistic resources. While Robi only paraphrased what they usually say and quoted it in Hungarian, Norbert applied other methods as well. He first voiced the lady with non-canonical words in order to express that he did not understand what she had just said. Then, he said ungrammatical Catalan sentences, "*a* (!) *per qué no parles catalá? a* (!) *per qué?*", which means 'why don´t you speak Catalan? why?', but the usage of the proposition *a* is unconventional. He then summed up in Hungarian what he had understood and ended the quotation with "*blablabla*" referring to boredom. All these poetic means in the event of speaking helped to portray the Catalan speaker in a negative light. Nobert narrated that those experiences with such speakers created bad feelings in him towards the language itself, therefore, he decided to demonstrate refusal towards learning Catalan – the same way Robi narrated it.

Once his application for a prestigious job was also rejected because of the lack of competences in Catalan.

(10)

Norbert: *már föl is vettek volna, csak még előtte fölhívott a- az interjú után fölhívott az igazgató. aszongya hogy ne haragudjak, de el kell küldenem a- a- a- a részvény- társaságnak vagy nem tom kinek, nem tom hogy mit mondott, tehát az ilyen nagy- főnököknek az önéletrajzomat, hogy azér lássák, hogy kit veszünk föl, és „kihagytad a katalán nyelvet a nyelvekből". há mondom „nem hagytam ki, hanem egyszerűen nem- nem beszél". „micsoda? hát de már itt élsz nem tom mióta" kéteze- kétezertízben volt ez a tehát „itt élsz már majdnem tíz éve, és még nem?". há mondom „nem, mer nem volt rá szükség", nem akartam mondani, hogy nem szeretem, és nem akarom*

English translation:

Norbert: they would have already hired me, but before that the director called me after the- the interview. he tells me don't be angry, but I have to send my CV to the- the- the- the joint-stock- company, or I dunno to whom, I dunno what he said, so like the big- boss to let them see who we hire, and "you left Catalan language out of the languages". I say "I didn't leave it out, just simply don'-t don't speak". "what? but you have been living here for dunno what", this was in two thousand- two thousand ten, so "you have been living here for almost ten years, and you still don't?". I say "no, because there was no need", I didn't want to say I don't like it and I don't want to

According to this story of Norbert, he could have got the job in case he had shown some skills in Catalan, but he resisted. What is common in both stories is the way the Catalan speaker was depicted: the person expected foreigners to be able to speak Catalan despite all practicalities – another reason came up against learning Catalan in Norbert's interview. In this sense, the bilingualism of the Other turned up here as well as a form of exclusion and boundary-maintenance, and it was also opposed to the Self.

(11)

Nobert: *szükségtelen, hát mindenki tud spanyolul. hát ö ezt sokszor elmondom a barátaimnak is, bárhova megyek a világon, fogok találni olyat, aki tud spanyolul, most nem a* <castellano> *vagy a* <latino>, <Latin America> | *tehát az spanyol, minimum eltársalogni tudunk, legyen az kubai, argentin, vagy- vagy korzikai, vagy- vagy- vagy filippin, mer azért ott is azér vannak egy páran, akik besz-* | *de katalán?* [...] *bárhova megyek a világon, spanyolul fogok tudni társalogni. a fél világgal angolul, másik felével spanyolul, ez a minimum, kilencven százalékban* | *én bárhol el tudok* | *vagy le tudok telepedni vagy- vagy bármit kezdeni magammal, mert tudok majd angolul vagy spanyolul beszélni, és ahol nem, ott oroszul* (#laugh)

English translation:

Norbert: unnecessary, everyone knows Spanish. well ehm I tell this to my friends a lot of times, wherever I go in the world, I will find somebody who knows Spanish, now not the <castellano> or the <latino>, <Latin America> | so Spanish, minimally we will be able to speak, let it be Cuban, Argentine, or- or Corsican, or- or- or Filippin, because there are some there as well who spe- | but Catalan? [...] wherever I go in the world, I will be able to speak Spanish. in English with half of the world, in Spanish with the other half, this is the minimum, ninety percent | I can wherever | or I can settle down or- or do anything with myself, because I will be able to speak English or Spanish, where I won't, there in Russian (#laugh)

In the first line of Excerpt (11), Norbert treated Catalan as useless drawing on the image of the bilingualism of the Other, i.e., the Other can also speak Spanish. Norbert introduced himself in this part of the interview as a person who was able to move anywhere and integrate into the local society due to his linguistic skills. This phenomenon is further explored in the next section about how a certain form of the multilingual Self is created in interview contexts.

To sum up briefly, Otherness is understood in terms of a different form of bilingualism. From the point of view of these participants, the local Other represents an irrational figure of personhood who carries out linguistic exclusion (see also Frekko 2009). Derrida (1998) felt that he was treated as the Other regardless of being socialized into the same monolingual regime as his oppressors. The blogger, Robi, and Nobert expressed that they held possession of a socially constructed bilingualism that differed from the *forrófejű* ('hot-headed') Catalans' bilingualism; the bilingualism of the Other was admitted as unusual and thus different. By ways of contrast, their own bilingualism (let it be the bilingualism of an immigrant in Spain or the multilingualism of autochthonous people in Transylvania and Zakarpatska Oblast) was imagined to be built up of equally distributed codes. What is common in the cases of Derrida and these speakers is the way that the social institution of languages embodied by a characterological figure pushes them into a marginalized position and condemns them to discrimination and the feeling of exclusion. The bilingualism of the Other and the characterological figure of the cranky Catalan are two of the reasons that may discourage newcomer Hungarians to start learning Catalan.

6.3. The neoliberal Self

In this section, I explain another possible reason for the unwillingness of learning Catalan among Hungarians in Catalonia. I argue that, opposed to the bilingualism of the Other, the justification of learning or not learning a language was narrated as a rational decision prioritizing economic interests – thus, "common sense" includes the internalization of the economized thinking. To put it in other words, refusing to earn linguistic capital in Catalan might lie in the zeitgeist that has newly and frequently been framed as neoliberal rationale that leaks into all domains of social life (Martín Rojo & Del Percio eds. 2019). When participants self-reported their linguistic behavior, for instance in interviews, this rationale emerged in their justifications. This rationale sees the ideology of investment in learning languages for competing on the global job market as a common sense decision for all. What is seen as common sense already defines certain boundaries – boundaries that the diasporic subjects prefer to maintain. Before turning to the excerpts, I sum up briefly the history of the set of neoliberal ideologies on language and multilingualism.

As discussed in Chapter 2, group belonging seems to be less evident and more liquidly alterable among late modern circumstances (Bauman 2000). Thus, the individual entrepreneurial project of the self has become more salient and pertinent than ever before (Giddens 1991). The reflexive (re)creation of the self, that is a constant on-going process, embraces linguistic aspects and language identities as well. Late modernity, hand in hand with post-nationalism (Pujolar 2007), does not replace old discourses on language as political and cultural. Rather, it

intertwines the old and the new, which sees language also as economic. Heller and Duchêne (eds. 2012) explain these discursive tropes as the encounter of pride and profit. The prior is a product of the modern nation-state that simultaneously contributes to the construction of homogeneity and the creation of boundaries, while the latter refers to a shift in global political economy in connection with the expansion of capital and tertiarization (Heller & Duchêne 2012: 8–9). What is more important here is the latter. Seemingly, by turning away from modernist monolingual views that deemed any forms of multilingualism deviant, the globalized economy of the late modern era favors multilingual employees (Barakos & Selleck 2019). However, it cannot be argued that every version of multilingualism is valued to the same extent. Different forms of multilingualism are not equal, nor neutral; they are hierarchical and ideologically loaded. An elite and "pure" form of multilingualism is understood in terms of competences in two or more "internationally useful" languages among contemporary circumstances (Barakos & Selleck 2019, cf. Bourdieu 1977 on linguistic capital). Hungarians in Catalonia also often distinguish between languages and multilingualism on the basis of their "usefulness", primarily in terms of their international and Spanish labor market potential (as shown in Chapter 5) and secondarily in terms of the numbers of people they can reach out to in these languages.

The sociocultural developments of late modernity have led to the rise and global spread of a political philosophy usually termed as neoliberalism. So one of the key concepts of this chapter is also derived from the research of language and neoliberalism (Holborow 2015, Martín Rojo & Del Percio eds. 2019). Neoliberalism is associated by these sociolinguists with a preferred form of multilingualism. It is a set of ideas and practices that have become hegemonic in contemporary politics and economics (Block 2017, Piller & Cho 2013). This hegemonic mentality has been converted into other territories of life as well, and the market logic has been expanded to public and private spheres (Zimmermann 2020). The principles of this logic are free market, deregulation, quality, quantification, flexibility, and competition. Martín Rojo (2019) argues that the ideal of a "self-made" person, and linguistically a self-made speaker, is an outcome of the zeitgeist of a neoliberal era. This ideal is a taken-for-granted conceptualization of the expected behavior of a contemporary language learner who is eager to apply techniques of self-discipline in order to become a better and valuable employee on the globalized labor market which requires certain linguistic skills. A self-made speaker takes up the position of an entrepreneur (which is a "neoliberal keyword"; Holborrow 2015) who does cost-benefit calculations before existential choices, for example, deciding to start learning a named language or an accent (Blommaert 2009). Thus, language is also seen as an abstract, disembodied, and decontextualized professional skill, a quantifiable feature from the portfolio of the entrepreneurial self (Pujolar 2019b). Language learning in the neoliberal project of the individual is said to be a part of self-realization (that should be desired by the subject), but it could also be seen as a project of self-capitalization and self-colonization.

Martín Rojo (2019) does not argue that the self-made speaker is the only way people can look at themselves in the contemporary late modern settings. What she argues, however, is that there are many models of speakerhood (such as the model of the native speaker, the model of the decolonial speaker etc.), and the entrepreneurial would be one of these models, albeit an extremely powerful one in the present circumstances. In this section, I intend to shed light on the fact that espousing the ideal of the self-made speaker – which I call here the neoliberal Self – can also be a form of diasporic performance and a reason for boundary-maintenance. Drawing on Martín Rojo's words, self-made speakers "present themselves as socialised in multilingualism and globalisation, having internalised the discourse of languages as capital and the discourse of self entrepreneurship and mobility" and also mobilize "the aspiration of 'self-realisation', seeking self satisfaction and even pleasure" (Martín Rojo 2019: 183). Thus, one universal

trait of the model of this speakerhood is the acceptance of the high value of English as axiomatic.

Rebeka's language portrait (Image 6.1) is a good example for the presentation of the neoliberal Self. In this portrait, she drew a circular shape in blue and green to her feet. When she showed her portrait to the others, Detti first asked her what that was, and it turned out that she wanted to depict the Earth. János immediately asked what that meant.

Image 6.1: Rebeka's language portrait

(12)
János: *állsz rajta vagy rúgod?*
Rebeka: *nem, az a lényeg, hogy hát a kék az angol nyelv, nem tudom, miért*
János: *mhm*
Detti: *hm*
Rebeka: *de hogy azt érzem- nekem az adja a legnagyobb kapcsolatot a világhoz*
Detti: *hm*
Rebeka: *emiatt, hogy angolul- igazából angolul olvasok a legtöbbet híreket, meg könyveket is, meg mindent, és így- valahogy az angol az, amivel elég sok helyen az ember el tud lenni. s ez nekem sokat jelent, hogy jól tudok angolul. de azért a másik lábnál ott van az összes többi nyelv, mert az is nagyon hasznos*
Detti: *mhm*
Rebeka: *amikor járja az ember a világot, amikor még lehetett*
English translation:
János: are you standing on it or are you kicking it?
Rebeka: no, the point is that well the blue is English, I don't know why
János: mhm
Detti: hm
Rebeka: but I feel like- that gives me the largest connection to the world

Detti: hm
Rebeka: because of that in English- honestly I read most news in English, books as well, and everything, and like- somehow English is the one with which one can get along in quite a lot of places. and that means a lot to me that I know English well. but at the other feet there are the other languages, because they are very useful as well
Detti: mhm
Rebeka: when one travels the world, when it was still an option

In her narrative, Rebeka positioned herself as one who found home in a globalized English-speaking world, in which all her connections (let them be consumption of news or labor market activities) are maintained through the linguistic capital she accumulated in English. She interpreted this as an achievement which made her proud. She also extended this logic to pleasure and leisure activities as well: the importance of speaking any other languages was understood in terms of traveling around the world.

This narrative was co-constructed directly by Rebeka, Detti, János, and indirectly by the task I gave them which included the shape of the silhouette. It is of note that the first aspect discussed was the pervasiveness of globalism and English. This is in line with the ideal of the neoliberal Self which takes a coldly rational view on various domains of social life, including language learning. The ideal does not mean that this has become the only way of looking at the world; it is just one of them, but an extremely salient one. For instance, Rebeka positioned herself as a global citizen here. However, in another *magyar tertúlia*, she was the one who brought up the topic of feeling guilty because of leaving her homeland (see Chapter 7).

The neoliberal Self is one possible performance of the diasporic subject. It is one which has a great explanatory power for local languages. As shown elsewhere in this thesis, for example, in Section 5.3.3, Hungarians in Catalonia often treat language learning as a dilemma of choosing from what is practical and what is ethically proper. This argument of practicality fits into the framework of neoliberalism very well, and it even turned up in interviews with people very well embedded into the local Catalan society as well.

Rebeka drew a Spanish flag to the raised arm in order to symbolize that she did not yet speak Castilian well, but she wanted to show locals that she was there by starting to use it. When Detti asked if that referred to only Spanish, Rebeka answered that she would have felt self-deceptive to draw Catalan somewhere too.

6.3.1. The *racionálisan élő ember*

In this subsection, I demonstrate that the *racionálisan élő ember* ('rational person') is an internalized ideal that determines the preference of the global over the local in terms of language learning as well. I present excerpts from two life journey interviews in which the participants did not even try to engage with themselves about the Catalan language, but presented themselves fully in accordance with the neoliberal ideal of the rational Self. I argue that the way this ideal is ascribed to the narrative of the participants points to a trend that weakens the positions of minoritized languages among diasporic subjects.

In the next excerpt, there are explicit utterances on economic interests. Mónika is one of the participants who was already voiced in Chapter 4. Mónika grew up in a medium-size Hungarian city and became an engineering student in Budapest, then continued her studies in the United States of America and started to work there. In our encounter, she identified as a *digitális nomád* ('digital nomad') as she moved to Barcelona at the age of 34 from the United States after 10 years of residence there. She kept her American job and had been working from her flat in

Barcelona for 4 years when we met. After she mentioned that she was going to Spanish classes, I asked her what she knew about the Catalan language.

(13)

Mónika: *hát mármint hogy én meg fogok-e tanulni? nem. erre mindig az a válaszom viccesen, már beszélek egy használhatatlan nye- vagy értelme- nem értelmetlen, nem- tehát hogyha tudsz mondjuk franciául vagy- vagy spanyolul vagy valami, akkor ugye ez nemzetközileg téged segít, meg tudsz katalánul, tudsz magyarul, sze- örülök, hogy tudok magyarul, szerintem tök vicces is, hogy itt beszélünk egy ilyen nyelvet, amit nem sokan, tehát van egy titkos kódunk, érted, mennek el, azt se tudják, mi van. én ezt bírom, szerintem ez vicces, de mondjuk haszna- én ilyen racionálisan élő ember vagyok, én jól akarok élni, jókat enni, jó helyekre utazni, és én olyan dolgokat fogok csinálni, amik ezeket előre segítik, és hogyha már valamilyen nyelvet meg fogok tanulni, az mindig olyan lesz, ami- ami- mer azér nem könnyű megtanulni egy nyelvet. tehát akkor már nyilván olyat fogok megtanulni, hogy ne adj isten mondjuk vissza kell mennem Kaliforniába, és akkor ugye gyártástámogató mérnökként ugye a gyárba egy csomó spanyolajkú van, vagy kell menni Mexikóba, akkor előny, hogy tudsz spanyolul. tehát hogy ez mindig- mindig nézem az én- jól felfogott kapitalista érveket, hogy engem mi fog előre juttatni abba, amit én szeretnék az életemtől, és ez az, hogy olyan nyelveket beszéljek, amik hasznosak.*

English translation:

Mónika: well if I will learn it? no. my funny answer to this is always that I already speak a useless lang- or meaningless [language]. no. so if you let's say speak French or- or Spanish or something, then it helps you internationally, and you know Catalan, you know Hungarian, I thi- I'm glad that I know Hungarian, I think it's funny as well that we speak a language here that others don't, so we have a secret code, you get it, they walk away, they don't know what [we are talking about]. I enjoy this, I think it's funny, but [its] utility- I'm such a rational person, I want to live well, I want to eat good [food], to travel to good places, and I will do things that foster these, and I will learn some kind of language, it will always be one that- that- because it is not easy to learn a language. so I will obviously learn one that if for instance I have to go back to California, and then as a production manager engineer there are a lot of Hispanics, or if I have to go to Mexico, then it's an advantage to speak Spanish. so this is always- I always look at my- good old capitalist reasons about what will foster me towards what I want from my life, and it is to speak such languages that are useful

In this excerpt, Mónika positioned herself in a specific way that coincides with the "self-made speaker". It is the ideal of the self-made person who constantly strives to make herself better and more efficient by optimizing every single aspect of her life. In this sense, language learning is seen as an investment in the process of self-creation. The outcome of the investment would be the symbolic capital of language that obtains better work conditions (mentioning her opportunities as an engineer in case of returning to California), higher income ("*én jól akarok élni*" 'I want to live well'), and other sorts of satisfaction such as traveling ("*jó helyekre utazni*" 'travel to good places') or gastronomy ("*jókat enni*" 'to eat good [food]'). This investment in her narrative could only be linked to Spanish, not Catalan which was labeled "useless" and "meaningless". Hence, Catalan was juxtaposed to Hungarian; Mónika, the self-made speaker, could not afford to speak two useless languages. She showed a positive stance toward the "secret code", but questioned its "utility" in entrepreneurial terms.

The argument of Martín Rojo (2019) is that the pervasiveness of the neoliberal logic, that is, the transplantation of a cost-benefit analysis into more and more spheres of life, accounts for the propagation of the ideal of the self-made speaker. Mónika literally explained her views as based on "capitalist reasons" and that she was "a rational person". In the framework of this hegemonic mentality, individuals admit that ever-going self-development is the key for freedom, social mobility, and even leisure. These individuals are imagined as active, calculating persons who look for better opportunities in favor of an expected success that is obviously not guaranteed at all (Martín Rojo & Del Percio 2019). Rationality, thus, was being opposed here to learning Catalan similarly to previously quoted excerpts. And this did not only refer to the activity but can also be translated to the speakers themselves: their linguistic behavior was

labeled illogical in the excerpts of the previous sections. Therefore, the bilingualism of the Other was interpreted as subversive to common sense. And common sense includes the internalized zeitgeist of the neoliberal entrepreneurship.

When assessing Mónika's story, we have to also keep in mind that the genre of interview is always exposed to the possibility of participants giving an agentive self-representation (Pujolar 2019b). This does not mean that the interviews are a waste of time, but the circumstances have to be taken into account (see also Laihonen 2008 and Section 3.3). Mónika was telling her life story to a fellow Hungarian – as did Rebeka and others. Thus, her utterances can also be understood in terms of a diasporic project which had a global citizen and a Hungarian component. She put forward the neoliberal Self in this conversation which was also linked to her nationality. Being a Hungarian speaker in this narrative was one of the aspects of keeping distance from Catalan in order to impose her "good old capitalist" goals.

In the life story shown next, the same rationale was utilized for a project of de-diasporization. The entrepreneurial vision of the self usually starts already in childhood because parents consider language learning activities a form of investment and educational priority. In this sense, language is constructed as an individually accumulated value necessary for prosperity on the labor market as an adult, whereas its trait as a community resource is kept in shade. The next excerpt is from the interview with Miki, already mentioned in Subsection 5.3.1, a returnee man in his forties who decided to move back to Hungary with his wife after their child was born. In addition to the closeness of grandparents, he also mentioned languages among his reasons.

(14)
Miki: *én nem szeretném a gyerekemet egy- egy katalán nyelvű oviba vagy később alapfokú iskolába íratni, mert azt nem tartom annyira praktikusnak*
Gergely: *mhm a praktikus alatt mi- mire gondolsz?*
Miki: *hát arra, hogy meg lehet tanulni azt a nyelvet, amit beszél nem tudom az a pár millió ember, de annyira nincsen nagy haszna, aki tud katalánul, az tud spanyolul is*
Gergely: *aha, aha*
Miki: *tehát olyan haszna nincs, hogy- hogy valakivel csak katalán nyelven érteted meg magad. meg nyilván sokkal fontosabb, hogy ö ha már idegen nyelv, akkor persze az angol legyen neki inkább nagyon jó. meg- meg az is benne van, hogy nem csak a hasznosság, hanem hogy ö szeretném, hogyha mondjuk a gyerekem magyart nem csak tőlem hallana, ö tudna magyarul nem csak beszélni, hanem- nyilván beszélni fog, mer a feleségem is magyar és a családja is magyar, de hogy mondjuk tudjon helyesen írni, esetleg valamennyire ismerje a magyar irodalmat*
English translation:
Miki: I wouldn't like to enroll my child to a- a Catalan language kindergarten or primary school, because I don't find it practical
Gergely: mhm what- what do you mean by practical?
Miki: well that one can learn a language that is spoken by a few million people, but it doesn't have a great benefit because who knows Catalan, knows Spanish as well
Gergely: aha, aha
Miki: so it doesn't have an advantage that- that you would make somebody understand you only in Catalan. and it's obviously more important that ehm if a foreign language, then of course English rather be good. and- and it is also there that it is not just about usefulness but I would ehm like that my child for instance would not hear Hungarian just from me, ehm could not just speak Hungarian but- will speak obviously, cos my wife is also Hungarian, her family is Hungarian, but for instance to be able to write properly, and know Hungarian literature to an extent

Miki's utterances envisioned the elite multilingualism of the self-made speaker. He spoke in general terms, however, he transposed these ideologies onto the imagined needs of his child. His phrases about his expectations on the language learning activities of his child drew on a cost-benefit calculation of the competitiveness in the global labor market: among foreign

languages, the child should focus on English instead of Catalan. Practicality came up as a reason for refusing Catalan: the argument that people speaking Catalan can also speak Spanish (so there should not be any communication gap) was a widely spread discourse both in my data and in other studies as well (see Fukuda 2016).

In a later part of the interview, Miki said that the educational system in Catalonia was not sympathetic for him, but he admitted that it is "*nyilván nem egy külföldi emberre van optimalizálva*" ('of course not optimized to a foreign person"). An economized perspective also prevailed in his innocuous wording here by referring to public education that should have been optimized to the needs of learners or families. Practicality and optimization lied again in an assumption on the bilingualism of the Other, which should be balanced, and which was inaccessible for a migrant. His understanding was in line with the assumption of Catalan as an authentic language tied to a region and imagined as an in-group mode of speaking. The way Miki spoke about Hungarian was also an imagination of a language of authenticity (still differentiated between its spoken and 'properly written' forms) but replete with personal connections for him, similarly to Mónika, who interpreted it as a secret code. The 'utility' of Spanish and English was, however, never questioned due to their (alleged or real) role in the globalized economy.

The life journey narrated by Miki can also be seen as a de- and re-diasporic neoliberal project. He justified his existential choices by placing himself in the chronotope of the *nomád* (see Subsection 4.2.2). He acted as some kind of global citizen in Barcelona, which helped him to stay in the international labor market even when he returned to Hungary. On the one hand, being a diasporic subject was in a sense episodic for him. On the other hand, however, returning did not cease the pervasiveness of market logic for him, but took it to a new level in choosing the location for child-raising.

These two excerpts have shown that the way these Hungarians told their life stories and their lived experiences of languages was permeated by a neoliberal logic. Through these interviews an entrepreneurial Self was performed: a Self who is responsible for its own economic well-being which can be achieved by cost-benefit calculation and practical thinking. To put it in other words, through this rationale the Self was completely opposed to the Other and its bilingualism – which can potentially lead to boundary-maintenance and unwillingness to learn Catalan.

6.4. Summary

In this chapter, I departed from the key participants' questions about the aspects of life in Catalonia that they might not have liked. I have narrowed down the answers to this set of questions to the most frequently mentioned issue: the relationship to Catalan politics and at the same time to Catalan language and language policy. This has proven to be useful in two respects. First, this is the key issue that most clearly shows the boundaries that Hungarians in Catalonia wish to maintain. Second, it allowed a more detailed discussion of the problem that was already raised in Chapter 5, namely, the reasons formulated by them on why certain boundaries are maintained may be drawn around Catalan culture and language in a lot of cases – and, most importantly, around how this relates to different kinds of diasporic experience. This is also linked to the typical patterns of how participants constructed the local Other and the Self in their conversations with other Hungarians. Thus, meanwhile drawing on the life stories of very different profiles, I identified two main reasons for boundary-maintenance.

The first reason was the characterological figure of the Catalan speaker. This figure was described in these narratives as one who ignores the needs and linguistic choices of the other

interlocutor. To explain this phenomenon, I recycled Jacques Derrida's (1998) expression and named it "bilingualism of the Other" referring to a source of constraints that restricts speakers' navigation in social life. The narratives I quoted also treat Catalan as something that belongs to the Other along with the respective attributes and linguistic behavior. This figure was imagined as a rude person who is willing to speak only Catalan despite the bilingualism that was automatically attributed to her. This stance was understood as discriminative and irrational – and in some cases, compared to early experiences of oppression for members of kin-minorities outside of Hungary.

Second, the local Other was opposed to the Self in other narratives, and the motive of this opposition was argued to be the entrepreneurial zeitgeist which puts rationalization and economic interests on a pedestal. This ideal can be traced through the decisions in connection with language that the participants narrated in their interviews. Their positions as self-made people, and therefore speakers (Martín Rojo 2019), allowed them to learn only "useful" languages on the (global) job market, which would foster them to reach certain life goals, such as high income, travel and other forms of consumption. This linguistic entrepreneurship was also applied early in life: one of the returnee interviewees mentioned schooling among his reasons to move back to Hungary, as he did not want his newborn child to be socialized in an education system where the medium of instruction is Catalan, a "less practical" language. The enregistered figure of the *forrófejű* ('hot-headed') Catalan, just like the neoliberal motivations of language learning and the priority of mastering Castilian, were discourses which also circulated among the interactions of those who have also become Catalan speakers.

While the status of Catalan and the ethnolinguistic differentiation within Catalan and Castilian speakers are reported to be altered (see Woolard & Frekko eds. 2013), Hungarians do not seem to have noticed the fact that this differentiation was becoming more moderate at the time they came. It is beyond dispute that some of them have earned social and even financial capital by becoming new speakers of Catalan and identify as successfully integrated members of the society. However, others deny this path. They imagine Catalan speakerhood as unattractive because it indexically marks a linguistic behavior (bilingualism of the Other) and political position (the *forrófejű* Catalan) as well. From this point of view, the efforts by Catalan institutions to convert Catalan into an anonymous language (instead of serving as an authentic marker of belonging) have not been fully attained.

A mirror effect (Lanz et al. 2020) was not characteristic of these minority communities. That is, most Hungarians were not identifying with Catalan. In spite of a longstanding struggle for anonymity in both cases of cultural history, in spite of collective or personal experiences of minoritization, most participants of this study imagined mobility through investment in global languages that contradicted local interests.

According to Woolard (2016), linguistic competences were also markers of class belonging in Catalonia as Catalan both symbolized ethnolinguistic belonging and upward social mobility. A possible explanation for the trends shown in this chapter is that class aspiration is being blurred or even replaced by the pervasiveness of individualist and neoliberal ideals. According to Allan and McElhinny (2017: 84) a "neoliberal view of personhood as responsible, autonomous, self-sufficient, and entrepreneurial leads, simultaneously, to a celebration of choice and self-realization through the market". In the narratives analyzed in this chapter, anonymous languages were seen as means for the self-realization of the individual, and small(er) languages (tied to a specific territorial belonging) cannot compete with that. Especially in cases when newcomers show unwillingness or reluctance to take a side in political debates on Catalonia's status which has a significant linguistic dimension.

6.5. The feedback of János

As Detti was one of the key participants also voiced in this chapter, I sent her the summary first. She, however, preferred not to contribute to the research anymore at this stage. Therefore, instead of pushing her, I decided to share the results with János, who joined *magyar tertúlia* discussions a bit later, but has been an active member ever since. We met in a café in Budapest when he spent a few days in the city. We had quite a long conversation as he was interested in the findings of each chapter. He found the whole research interesting, and while reading the summary, he also recognized situations he knew very well. He also added that he was missing something as a result of the genre of the summary: he wanted to know the stories of other people. I reassured him that the final version of the dissertation would be available to him, and that he would be able to read the details as well.

János accepted the findings of the chapter but complemented the figure of the *forrófejű katalán* based on his own experiences.

(15)

János: *egyébként ez nagyon ritka így.* […] *olyan van- én egy katalán családban élek. ha én hozzájuk spanyolul fordulok, természetesen spanyolul beszélnek hozzám. de azonnal abbahagyják a spanyolt, és tovább folytatják katalánul, mintha én ott se lennék. tehát ezek sosem ilyen tiszta dolgok, tudod? tehát nem igaz, hogy nem beszél velem spanyolul, természetesen beszél velem spanyolul, de nem hajlandó a jelenlétemben átállni a spanyolra csak azér, mer én ott vagyok. hacsak nem hozzám szól, vagy hacsak nem én próbálom-de a beszélgetés abban a percbe, hogy engem megválaszolt, és én már ezzel kész vagyok, akkor innentől kezdve megy tovább a- tehát ö egy- magyarán egy katalán az nem fog spanyolul fordulni persze*

English translation:

János: by the way this is very rare. […] there is- I live in a Catalan family. if I speak to them in Spanish, they turn [viz. 'respond'] to me in Spanish. but they stop Spanish immediately and continue in Catalan as if I weren't there. so these are never clear things, you know? so it is not true that she doesn't speak Spanish to me, she of course speaks Spanish to me, but is not willing to switch to Spanish in my presence just because I am there. except when she addresses me or except when I try to- but in the minute she responds to me, I am [treated as] done with that, the conversation goes on since then- so ehm a- so a Catalan will not turn [to you] in Spanish of course

For me, the most important part of János's feedback was the part when he recognized that *ezek sosem ilyen tiszta dolgok* ('these are never clear things') which can also be detected in the fact that the topics discussed in this chapter sometimes intersect, sometimes they do not, but the rationalization of the bilingualism of the Other has a lot in common with the neoliberal Self.

János also gave an important hint to the wide topic. He added that boundary-maintenance and boundary-erosion sometimes happen simultaneously. This is another observation I would like to emphasize by this analysis. It is not the case that a diasporic subject decides whether she wants to maintain or erode boundaries between her and the host society. There are certain boundaries which are to be maintained and which are to be eroded, and there are others, as well, that cannot be eroded. In this chapter, I endeavored to shed light on some which were not intended (or in some cases: not possible) to be eroded. The quoted participants treated boundaries of Catalanness as one that is neither intended, nor possible to be eroded without certain linguistic resources.

6.6. An autoethnographic reflection

For me, the sixth chapter was the most difficult to write of all. The reason for that is the fact that my own experiences while spending significant time in Catalonia differed to a great extent from those of the participants. I found the figure of *forrófejű* Catalan not too useful to discuss

how I myself experienced contact with Catalans. Of course, being attentive to minority language issues and sympathy towards the speakers come from my profession. Thus, it is no wonder that I never reacted sensitively when, for instance, an information was written only in Catalan. But I have never experienced exclusion because of my poor skills in Catalan. On the contrary. For me personally it has always been difficult to make people use Catalan with me, and I was rarely able to achieve that with unacquainted people. Probably because of my physical appearance (i.e., ginger hair and light skin color), I was frequently addressed in English or in Castilian. This was actually something that I did not like in Catalonia – answering the question of one of the key participants. Once, I asked for a *tallat* in Catalan in a café in Girona, a stereotypically Catalan-speaking city, but I was then served in English. I have many stories like that, but this one was the most surprising. I could only practice Catalan when I had already known the person who was aware of the fact that it was not inconvenient for me, but my own wish to speak Catalan. For most local people, it was a surprise that I was able to speak some Catalan. Maybe because of that I was always praised for speaking Catalan *super bé* ('very well') by people who finally switched to Catalan while having a conversation with me. However, as already mentioned in Section 5.6, my chance of finding a welcoming Catalan-speaking environment was more like a privilege compared to the situation of other Hungarians. These experiences of mine do not necessarily contradict with the findings of this chapter. Catalan works as a *llengua pròpia* that creates boundaries, and these boundaries are wished to be maintained by some but desired to be eroded by others.

7. Homeland orientation

The card that I considered relevant to this chapter's theme had the following written on it: HAZASZERETET – HAZA ELHAGYÁS – BŰNTUDAT ('PATRIOTISM – LEAVING [THE] HOME[LAND] – REMORSE'). During the *magyar tertúlia*, when this text was read out loudly, it turned out that the author was Rebeka, who decided to explain first her feelings about these concepts.

(1)

Rebeka: *én ezen még így nem vagyok túl* (#laugh)*, hogy elhagytam a hazámat. biztos ez egy ilyen nem tom- ez ilyen nagyon romantikus része a lelkemnek, hogy így azt érzem, hogy tartozom valamivel a hazámnak, mer ott születtem, nem tom. de hogy ö például most Kovid alatt többször éreztem, hogy- hát én nem pont ugyanazokon megyek át, mint- valahogy a magyarokkal érzek sorsközösséget, és akkor azt érzem, hogy ö hogy ebből így akarattal kiszálltam, de hogy igazából nem tudok ö teljesen érzelmileg kiszállni, és néha meg szoktam- szoktam érezni bűntudatot, főleg mikor Orbán Viktor bármikor megszólal*

Dénes: (#laugh)

Rebeka: *és az én életemre annak nincs közvetlen befolyása most már, de hogy másoknak meg van, akiket szeretek, meg nem tudom. és ö és hát nem tom, ez biztos ilyen neveltetésen is múlik, de hogy én nagyon úgy nőttem fel, hogy- hogy tenni kell hát a hazáér is, de hogy általába az ember környezetéér- tenni kell, meg hogyha eleve hogyha olyan háttérből jössz, hogy megteheted, hogy segítesz, vagy megteheted, hogy jobbá teszel valamit, azt meg kell tenni, és akkor így ö azt érzem, hogy én erre nemet mondtam, amikor kijöttem ide. és ezzel még így birkózom*

English translation:

Rebeka: I'm not over this yet (#laugh) that I left my homeland. certainly this is like dunno- this is a very romantic part of my soul that I feel like I owe something to my homeland, cos I was born there, dunno. but ehm for example now during Covid I felt a lot of times that- I'm not going through the same as- somehow I feel a community of destiny [viz. communality] with Hungarians, and then I feel that ehm that I left it intentionally, but honestly I cannot ehm completely leave emotionally, and sometimes I tend- tend to feel remorse, especially anytime when Viktor Orbán starts to speak

Dénes: (#laugh)

Rebeka: and it doesn't have direct influence on my personal life, but it has on others' whom I love and dunno. and ehm and well dunno, this probably depends on upbringing, but I was grown up very much as- as you have to do something for your homeland as well, but in general for one's environment- you have to do, and if you come from such a background that you can afford to help, or you can afford to make something better, then you have to do it, and then I ehm feel like I said no to this when I came here. and I am still struggling with it

Rebeka expressed somewhat conservative views on her personal relation to the *haza* – a term which is translated here to 'homeland' but is rather used more broadly. *Haza* can refer to both the country where one was born, the images associated with the country and the nation, and also the actual place which one identifies as home. She saw doing something for her *haza* a moral obligation which was breached by moving to another country.

In this *magyar tertúlia*, every participant present told their personal views on these three concepts after Rebeka's introduction. Detti found patriotism an over-romanticized word. She said that she frequently felt *honvágy* ('homesickness') and that she loved Budapest, but was not sure that she could say the same about Hungary in general. János argued that he had never left his *haza*, because he had long worked as a foreign correspondent, but always for Hungarian media. He said he missed home, but also that he now had the opportunity to travel there frequently. Dénes claimed that he had always been a patriot and never thought that he would have lived the major part of his life abroad, because he had first considered his stay temporary. Although he had married a local woman, he tried to create a *magyar gyarmat* ('Hungarian colony'), as he put it, by which he referred to the fact that he always spoke to his children in Hungarian.

Pál said he did not feel remorse, but some type of regret because he would not have been able to build up the same life and feeling of completeness in Hungary that he did in Catalonia. He had once planned to move back, but he had finally decided to stay. A few times he wrote opinion articles for a Hungarian news portal, but he considered this a self-comforting activity. Dénes added that it was always an option to keep up some kind of bonds with the homeland, and those living abroad had a responsibility to transfer to Hungarians in Hungary what they had learnt in order to make the homeland a better place.

It was transparent in these accounts that all participants had different stances towards their *haza* and they focused on different aspects when they talked about it. Rebeka was initially interested in how others could overcome remorse for leaving the homeland, but it turned out that not everyone felt guilty at all for living in a foreign country. However, even those not able to identify with the linguistic resource *hazaszeretet* ('patriotism') expressed some form of lack. In this discussion, homesickness and missing home were conceptualized as symptoms for which remedy was needed. The remedy for these participants led to frequent trips to Hungary, to speaking Hungarian with family members and to the transmission of knowledge to those living in Hungary – but it could manifest in other kinds of social practices as well. In this chapter, I discuss such social practices and temporary assemblages of semiotic resources in line with the concept of homeland orientation.

Homeland orientation has been considered a major constitutive criterion for diasporas. This orientation refers to "a real or imagined 'homeland' as an authoritative source of value, identity and loyalty" (Brubaker 2005: 5). The criterion includes the maintenance of a collective memory about the homeland, the image of the ideal place to live in, the commitment to the prosperity of the homeland, and the personal relationship towards it (Safran 1991). Although this set of ideas might rather be characteristic for earlier ages of human mobility and only for a narrow range of the population (for an early critique, see Clifford 1994), the ways contemporary diasporic subjects organize their experiences are also frequently in connection with a real or imagined homeland, but in diverse forms (Karimzad & Catedral 2018b, 2021).

While migrants had few opportunities of keeping up the bonds with the homeland in previous eras of human history, it has recently become more feasible due to a wide range of technological developments from travel to online communication. To put it in Blommaert and colleague's words, migrants can simultaneously be in their homeland with one leg and in virtual space with the other while living a complete life in a different place (Blommaert et al. 2017). Although some scholars argue that the global interconnectedness of migrants and their homelands has always been the case in the modern age (see Cohen 1997), it is beyond dispute that the intensity has changed a lot (Sheller & Urry 2006).

In previous research on émigré communities, Kontra (1990: 24–27) mentions the following domains for using Hungarian language in the context of the 1970s and 1980s in a Hungarian American community: church, community events, radio, library, and home. Contemporary conditions are, however, entirely different. Brubaker (2020) calls "digital hyperconnectivity" the phenomenon that all people around the world can potentially be connected to each other through new technological devices – and this of course also affects the ways diasporic individuals can connect with their homeland. This can manifest, for instance, in constant messaging with those who remained in the home country, staying up-to-date about political actualities and many other things (Androutsopoulos & Lexander 2021).

In this chapter, I examine the ways Hungarians in Catalonia engage with their homeland in diverse forms of communicational and semiotic practices. Homeland here is intentionally understood in the widest sense. It does not only refer to the territory itself, but everything that might be associated with that territory, for example, the people left there, the people coming

from there, the politics, ideas, materials, experiences and sentiments. This consideration might contribute to a better understanding of diasporization in late modernity. Instead of putting emphasis on an eternal longing for the homeland, the examples of this chapter shed light on the myriad ways through which connections are created under contemporary circumstances. These many connections vary in many ways from durable to one-off assemblages. Thus, the next section deals with the theories of landscapes and semiotic assemblages. Then I give an overview of diasporic practices of bonding by showing examples about the landscapes of metalinguistic, political, media, and touristic practices. In the third section, I delineate the multisensory resources that play a key role in the production of Hungarianness in Catalonia through the assemblages of smell, cultural artifacts, tastes, sounds, and materials. I end the chapter with the feedback of Rebeka on her feelings towards diasporic Hungarianness and my own autoethnographic reflection on how this research in general contributed to the homeland orientation of the key participants.

7.1. From the study of landscapes to semiotic assemblages

As shown in Chapter 2, the focus of contemporary sociolinguistics has been widened to the whole process of semiosis (Pennycook & Otsuji 2015a). One of the first systematic attempts to include non-linguistic (visual, in this case) elements in sociolinguistic inquiry was the study of linguistic landscapes. According to Landry and Bourhis, the term "refers to the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region" (Landry & Bourhis 1997: 23). For these authors, the study of linguistic landscapes could provide important information on the ethnolinguistic vitality of a community. It is not surprising that such studies have been often implemented for the study of neighborhoods inhabited by diasporic groups (e.g., Woldermariam & Lanza 2015 on Little Ethiopia in Washington DC, Ben Rafael & Ben Rafael 2010 on French-speaking Jews in Natanya, Israel, Huebner eds. 2021 on Asian spaces around the world, Payne 2019 on the Slovakian Roma in Sheffield). It is, however, less likely these days that such ethnic quartiers emerge in metropolitan cities. It is more probable that different ethnic businesses next to each other become part of the daily operation and the landscape of cities (see Calvi & Uberti-Bona 2019). This is also the case with Hungarians in Barcelona. They own a few shops, but their signage melts into the landscape of the multicultural city. To approach such signages, I draw on an ethnographically informed qualitative approach that the study of linguistic landscapes developed to find access to the ways speakers attribute meanings to such sign constellations (Blommaert 2013). This was necessary in this study as well in order to find out how engagement with signs (from creation to sharing) may contribute to the practices and performances of diasporic Hungarian identities.

Another development of the subfield of linguistic landscapes has been its extension to semiotic landscapes (see Jaworski & Thurlow eds. 2011). Several other "scapes" (originated from Appadurai's notions of mediascapes, ethnoscapes, financescapes, technoscapes, and ideoscapes; defined in Appadurai 1996: 33–37) were eventually addressed. in the literature, such as scentscapes (Pennycook & Otsuji 2015b), linguascapes (Pennycook 2003), linguistic soundscapes (Backhaus 2015), schoolscapes (Laihonen & Tódor 2017), graffscapes (Pennycook 2011), semioscapes (Thurlow & Aiello 2007), semiofoodscapes (Järlehed & Moriarty 2018), cityscapes (Gorter 2006), skinscapes (Peck & Stroud 2015) and so on. This chapter, instead of distinguishing these kinds of scapes, shares a posthumanist understanding which acknowledges that anything can function as a semiotic resource that brings extra meaning and interpretation into the process of semiosis (Pennycook 2018a, 2018b). For instance, the way people perform, maintain, and reproduce belonging (to certain places, locations, communities or a nation) is carried out through semiotic practices (reiterated acts) that are understood through distributed

resources. These practices are only partially linguistic in the conventional sense, as other resources also engage in such as senses (smells, tastes, sounds, touches), colors, bodily gestures, and other sign constellations (Lane 2009).

Rather than dwelling on landscaping diasporas, the analysis focuses on semiotic assemblages because it lets us cover a wider scope. The notion of assemblage in philosophy and semiotics was first coined by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) referring to a view on the connectedness of entities lying in fluidity rather than stability and fixedness. For Pennycook, semiotic assemblages are the partially spontaneous and temporary arrangements of diverse resources (Pennycook 2017). He argues that the objective of analyzing landscapes is to discover how such semiotic assemblages work instead of finding out the correlation between languages and other forms (Pennycook 2018a). According to his approach, semiotic assemblages include multisensory, multimodal and multilingual resources as well. The starting point of Pennycook was Bennett, who defines assemblages as „ad hoc groupings of diverse elements, of vibrant materials of all sorts" (Bennett 2010: 23). This definition highlights that any semiotic resource can play a role in the meaning-making process and this chapter also includes a wide range of linguistic, cultural, and multisensory elements in the analysis. As Pennycook puts it, "it is important to move beyond the commonplace focus on multilingualism and multimodality to bring in the multisensory nature of our worlds, the vibrancy of objects and the ways these come together in particular and momentary constellations" (Pennycook 2017: 279). However, in my understanding, the groupings of these resources are rarely ad hoc. Prior knowledge is essential in order to collectively interpret them. Or to put it in another way, resources carry potentialities to be used in certain ways. But the focus is not only on what signs would mean but also on their evaluation because certain signs may evoke entirely different interpretations by the speakers who accumulated differing and complex histories of communicative experiences throughout their lifespan (Pietikäinen 2021). An object, a sense, or a linguistic element might become salient in a semiotic event, but might remain invisible in another one (Kusters 2021).

This chapter shows that a theory of diasporization has to deal with both temporary assemblages and more permanent ones (that are usually treated as stable landscapes). The relevance of such an approach lies in the fact that resources do not hold only one meaning. They rather hold some potentiality to invoke certain (sometimes different) meanings for the speakers. This is highly consequential for the study of diasporization: assemblage holds an explanatory power for the processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization.

The presences of some of these resources prove to be durable, e.g., on the logo of an ethnic business. The salience of other resources might turn out to be fleeting, such as smells, yet they tell us a lot about how diasporic speakers find communion through such meaning-making resources. I do not mean to suggest any binaries: although I am speaking about permanent and temporary presence, I rather imagine it as a scale in which semiotic events in connection with diasporicity and orientation towards the homeland can be located. In this chapter, I aim to move along this scale, i.e., from the general to the one-off occurrences. Thus, I kick off with diasporic practices in which landscape-like sign constellations also take place, and I end with unique perceptions and performances where multisensory resources play crucial roles.

7.2. Bonding through diasporic practices

The way diasporization is realized lies in certain acts that create new forms of bonding between the subjects and their homeland interactively. When these acts get reiterated or routinized, they become practices that can be said to be somehow encoded or conventionalized. These practices are the ones that make individuals and groups of people actually diasporic, and not the fact in itself they may share commonalities in, e.g., coming from the same country. Drawing on

Rebeka's words, these practices can certainly be understood as done in order to get the remorse remedied. Or to put it in a less emotional wording, they contribute to the discursive construction of an ethno-national belonging that can only be performed in contemporary transnational mobility. In this section, I categorize the "remedies" by the logic of engaging in linguistic, political, media and touristic practices.

Among linguistic practices, I enlist those which contribute to the creation of spaces with a Hungarian-only language policy, let them be typical diasporic events or encounters with other diasporic Hungarians. Among political practices, I show examples of a poster from the schoolscape of a weekend school and a photo of protest signage through which the diasporic subjects can disseminate political messages from the whole palette of homeland politics. Among media practices, I posit that the circulation of semiotic contents is also a form of diasporic practices that can potentially help the diasporic subjects to strengthen their social capital and even to maintain family relations translocally. Among touristic practices, the formation of semiotic landscapes that simultaneously utilize resources associated with the homeland and the host-land fosters those involved to create a sense of diasporic authenticity. I argue that all these are new developments in late modernity and they could not be done without the usage of more or less permanent landscapes and the temporary assemblages of semiotic resources.

7.2.1. Engaging in language

It does not come as a surprise that for Hungarians bonding with the homeland is partially realized through activities in connection with the social construct of a named language. This is not Hungarian-specific at all. There is rich literature on the study of heritage languages (see Montrul & Polinsky eds. 2021) and family language policy (Curdt-Christiansen 2018, Romanowski 2021) in contexts from all around the world. Instead of digging deeply into these (fairly static) concepts, let us see what participants thought was at stake with language in the imagination of the diaspora. I argue that Hungarians in Catalonia advocate for the need of creating speech events and spaces where a monolingual policy can be maintained as speaking "good" Hungarian is part of their diasporic imagination compared to other Hungarian emigrant communities.

At the end of the interview with András, who used to be a prominent organizer of Hungarian events in Barcelona when his children were smaller, I asked him whether he had anything to add to what was said previously.

(2)
András: az izgalmas egyébként, hogy így az itteni magyarok, így a régi magyarok között, akiket régről ismerek, a nyelvi kérdés az nagyon jól áll, tehát iszonyú jó egészségnek örvend szerintem az itteni magyar
Gergely: mit értesz ez alatt?
András: hát hogy így mindenki nagyon-nagyon jól beszél. tehát nincsen ez, ami régen volt. ugye hát nyilván az internet az így mindenen átsegíti az embert, de hogy így nem ismerek olyat, most így ezen gondolkoztam, aki így keresgéli a szavakat, vagy nehezen beszélne, vagy nem tudom micsoda. [...] ez izgalmas, hogy ez a kortárs emigráció az így teljesen más, mint ezek a régebbi- régebbi fajta
English translation:
András: it is exciting by the way that Hungarians here, like among the old Hungarians, whom I have known for a long time, the language question stands very well, so the Hungarian [language] here is in good health
Gergely: what do you mean by that?
András: well that like everybody speaks very-very well. so there is no [such things] as before. well of course the internet helps through all [viz. for everyone], but like I don't know anyone, I was thinking about that now, who searches for the words, or speaks heavily, or I dunno what. [...] this is exciting that this contemporary emigration is absolutely different from the previous- previous type

András in these lines identified as a specificity of Hungarians in Catalonia that they spoke Hungarian "very well". By ways of contrast, in a previous part of the interview, he recalled a memory of his relative who had been living in the United States of America and who spoke Hungarian in a way which he saw weird when he was a teenager. Based on such a comparison, at the end of the interview he proudly stated that he and others in his Hungarian social circle were able to avoid such difficulties in speaking Hungarian. While he saw this as a feature of migration in the 21st century, not all participants were as optimistic as him.

Mónika, whose views were described in detail in Subsection 6.3 in connection with the neoliberal ideal of speakerhood, confessed about her own way of correcting others' linguistic practices, or as Cameron (1995) put it, practicing "verbal hygiene".

(3)

Mónika: *nagyon is tud az egyik a másik rovására menni. tehát nagyon gyakori az a külföldieknél, és- és én figyelmeztetem a barátaimat, kedvesen, tehát nem kioktatóan, de mondom „ha így haladsz, el fogsz felejteni magyarul", tehát amikor nem jut eszébe, akkor bemondja angolul satöbbi, egymás rovására megy, ha sokat fogsz majd külföldön élni, akkor lett, hogy- tudod, vannak szavak, ami nem fog eszedbe jutni. akkor azt kell csinálni, hogy el kell gondolkodni rajta, hogy mi az a szó, mer ha bemondjuk angolul meg spanyolul- barátnőm is mondja, hogy „megyek egy* <cita>*ra", hát mondom „mész egy időpontra vagy egy megbeszélésre vagy egy orvosi időpontra vagy egy randira", de nem szita, magyarul a szita az, ami izé.* [...] *szerintem ez- valamilyen fajta igénytelenség, szerintem egy- egy kulturált, tanult ember az meg tudja különböztetni a nyelveket, amiket beszél*

English translation:

Mónika: one [language] can be at the expense of another [language]. it is very frequent with foreigners, and- and I warn my friends, kindly, so not in a lecturing way, but I say "if you continue that way, you are going to forget Hungarian", so when it doesn't come to their mind, they say it in English etcetera, they are at the expense of each, if you will be abroad for a long time, then- you know, there are words that won't come to your mind. then you have to think about what that words is, because if we say it in English or Spanish- my friend also says that "I go to a <cita>", well I say "you go to an appointment or to a meeting or to a medical appointment or to a date", but not to a *szita*, in Hungarian *szita* ['sieve'] is that thingy thing. [...] I think this is some kind of carelessness, I think a- a cultured, educated person can distinguish between the languages they speak

In these lines, Mónika claimed a moral need for distinguishing languages that is also necessary for constructing the image of an educated person. She supported her argument with the congruence of two (fairly) homophonic linguistic resources: *cita* ('appointment'; most frequently pronounced as [IPA: sita]) associated with the Castilian language and *szita* ('sieve'; most frequently pronounced as [IPA: sitɒ]) associated with the Hungarian language.

What is most noteworthy in both Excerpts (2) and (3) is not the ways András and Mónika treated the Hungarian language in themselves. What is more important is the context again: they were telling these insights to another Hungarian. I would emphasize that the imagined behavior of the diasporic subject was co-constructed by the interlocutors in these encounters; and it seems that ideologies of monolingual regimentation are part of such imagination (even if in other contexts hybrid linguistic practices were also seen as adequate; see Subsection 8.2.1).

Such striving for keeping up monolingual norms were also characteristic of focus groups discussions: the participants were trying to speak Hungarian only. Dénes, for instance, argued at the first encounter that he had learnt to *magyarnak lenni* ('be Hungarian') while living abroad, by which he referred to the following: "*kevesebb idegen szót teszek bele a beszédembe, mint régen* (#laugh: *mint amikor Magyarországon éltem*)" ('I put fewer foreign words into my talks than before when I lived in Hungary'). Of course, it should not remain hidden that I initiated the conversations in Hungarian, and not in any other languages I can speak to some extent because it would have felt contrived. Although I never prescribed linguistic expectations, most

participants adhered strictly to monolingual practices. Some may have done it because of my presence as a researcher, some because of individual conviction. Dénes may have been in the latter category. In Excerpt (4), he was describing the town where he lived.

(4)
Dénes: *itt volt egy nagyon nagy ö gyár, ami a- az Uralita, ami a izét öm gyártotta, a hogy mondják ezt magyarul? az- azbeszt? azbeszt*
Pál: *mhm*
Rebeka: *mhm*
Dénes: *azbesztgyár volt, hát hogy mondják ezt? a csöveket, amiket az azbesztből és izéből? a* <fibrocemento>
Pál: *az Uralita, az az*
Dénes: *Uralita, ez az, de- de magyarul van neve*
Pál: *hullámpala*
Dénes: *mit?*
Pál: *hullámpala*
Dénes: *hullá- igen, az az, ugyanaz az anyag, csak csöveket meg minden, igen, pontosan az*
English translation:
Dénes: there was a very big ehm factory here which the- the Uralita, which produced ehm that thing, the how do you say it in Hungarian? as- asbestos? asbestos
Pál: mhm
Rebeka: mhm
Dénes: it was an asbestos factory, well how do they say it? the pipes which are [produced] from asbestos and [that] thing? the <fibrocemento>
Pál: Uralita, that's it
Dénes: Uralita, that's it, but- but it has a name in Hungarian
Pál: *hullámpala* ['fiber cement sheet']
Dénes: what?
Pál: *hullámpala*
Dénes: *hullá-* yes, that's it, the same substance, but the pipes and all, yes, exactly that

In this excerpt, there was a negotiation between the interlocutors on the linguistic resources to deploy. This negotiation was initiated by Dénes: although he was able to describe what he wanted to say without using the linguistic resource of *hullámpala*, he asked for a Hungarian translation that did not come to his mind. The online focus group discussion, from which this excerpt comes from, can already be understood as a diasporic event. In this event, a monolingual norm emerged, constructed by the participants themselves, which fostered the meaning-making process together with the help of several linguistic resources describing the denoted objects (such as asbestos and fiber cement sheet). Or to put this norm into other terms, a diasporic event was imagined as a space filled with Hungarian-speaking people, thus, this space is produced in a way that it should only be filled with Hungarian words.

Another issue that emerged in connection to language throughout the fieldwork was parenting. Tamás proudly stated in his interview that he always spoke Hungarian to his children because he favored what had usually been called a one parent – one language strategy by linguists (or: OPOL; Barron-Hauwaert 2004). He decided to do it that way because he got to know that two of his friends, a couple, after moving to the United States of America, started to speak only English to their child despite both being raised in Hungary. Tamás disapproved of this linguistic practice.

(5)
Tamás: *a családban én azt tartom egészségesnek, hogy a család- a családon belül, a családi közösségbe, mindenki az anyanyelvén ö ö beszéljen a családtagjaival, ö és ezér volt- tehát ez egy tudatos választás volt, hogy- hogy ö a gyerekeimmel magyarul beszélek.* [...] *szülő-gyermek kapcsolatot ö szerintem ö*

megterhelünk, vagy ö szükségtelen feszültségekkel ruházunk föl akkor, hogyha- hogyha abban valaki alakoskodik. és ha neked olyan nyelvet kell használnod, amit tanultál, ami úgy száz százalékban nem kényelmes, illetve nagyon-nagyon árnyalt érzelmeket, gondolatokat nem is tudsz vele kifejezni, akkor jobb nem azt használni. s ezér mondom azt, hogyha többkultúrájú a család, akkor adjuk meg azt a luxust, adjuk meg azt a könnyebbséget mindenkinek, hogy mindenki az anyanyelvén beszél a gyerekekkel

English translation:

Tamás: in the family I found healthy that the family- inside the family, in the family community, everybody ehm ehm speaks their mother tongue with the family members, ehm and that's why it was- so it was a conscious decision that- that ehm I speak Hungarian with my child. [...] parent-child relationship [gets] loaded or ehm replete with unnecessary tensions if- if somebody pretends. and if you have to use a language that you studied, which is not hundred percent comfortable, or you cannot express very-very nuanced emotions, thoughts, then it's better not to use it. and that's why I say that if the family is multicultural, then let us give the luxury, let us give ease to everyone that everyone speaks their own mother tongue with the children

Although many Hungarian parents constructed this discourse in the interviews, they also reported on hybrid linguistic practices as well (see Subsection 8.2.1). Tamás and his fellows also engaged in the practice of organizing activities for children in the Hungarian language (mentioned earlier in Subsection 4.3.2). Tamás also spoke about why he found this important in connection with diasporic group formation.

(6)

Tamás: *így el tudtuk azt mélyíteni, hogy ez az egész magyar kultúra meg az, hogy magyarul beszélünk itthon, az nem csak a mi kitalációnk, hanem* (#laugh: *vannak más emberek, akik*) *magyarul beszélnek itt Barcelonában, és- és ez az egész működik, és itt Barcelonába is lehet másokkal is magyarul beszélni, nem csak Magyarországon*

English translation:

Tamás: this way we were able to deepen that his whole Hungarian culture and that we speak Hungarian at home is not only our invention, but (#laugh: there are other people who) speak Hungarian in Barcelona, and- and this whole [thing] works, and here in Barcelona one can speak Hungarian with others as well, not just in Hungary

Although organizing such diasporic events, and especially complementary schools, is usually understood in terms of direct connection with the homeland, it might be also embedded into more complex personal histories (Panagiotopoulou et al. 2016) such as in the case of Tamás. For him, it was important to show his children that speaking Hungarian is not only an isolated practice of their family, but it can be extended to a wider imagined diasporic community of Hungarians in Barcelona as well.

Other parents shared similar insights as Tamás: they felt that the Hungarian language and culture were the only ones they really owned, and they wanted to involve their children in that.

(7)

Ibolya: nekem az nyilván fontos lenne, hogy azér minél több magyar dolgot- magyar dolgot megtanuljanak a gyerekek

Gergely: ha már följött, akkor megkérdezem, hogy ez számodra miért fontos?

Ibolya: hát ö figyelj, tehát én magyar vagyok, én ezt tudom nekik átadni, erről tudok nekik mesélni, ezt ö végülis ez az, ami az enyém. ugye a nyelvvel is így vagyok például, tehát érted, magyarul beszélek jól, a spanyolba nyilván akcentusom van, nyilván vannak hibáim, tehát hogy nem tőlem kellene- kellett- tehát azt gondoltam, hogy nem tőlem kell, hogy tanuljanak spanyolul, tehát azt úgyis megtanulják, és hát nyilván nem lehet soha tudni, hogy hova sodorja az élet a- az embereket. a gyerekeim is mehetnek még Magyarországra is

English translation:

Ibolya: for me it would be important of course that the children learn [as] many Hungarian thing- Hungarian things [as possible]

Gergely: if this came up, I'm going to ask, why is this important for you?

Ibolya: well whm listen, so I am Hungarian, I can transmit this to them, I can tell them stories about this, this- ehm after all this this is what is mine. I'm this way with language as well for instance, so you understand, I speak Hungarian well, of course in Spanish I have an accent, of course I make mistakes, so it's not me- it's not- so of course I think it's not me from whom they study Spanish, so they study it anyway, and well of course you can never know where life will take the- the people. my children can also go to Hungary as well

András said that "contemporary emigration is absolutely different from the previous type" in Excerpt (2). Ibolya's utterances also pointed to a main difference: return became a real option that was not necessarily accessible for previous generations of emigrants – especially for those who had fled abroad to escape the oppression of previous political regimes. As these kinds of experiences of migration changed, the motivations for diasporic activities also shifted (further explored in Subsection 4.1.4 and 4.2.2). For Ibolya, for instance, the motivations for engaging in the practice of speaking and teaching Hungarian to her children was not just based on personal emotions, but also espoused the possibility that these children would move to Hungary in their adulthood.

To sum up, in this section I showed examples of cases when the social construct of the named Hungarian language and the social practices associated with it became salient parts of the diasporic imagination of the participants. This imagination is a complex merger of old and new. It was filled with the chronotopically organized image of the contemporary that is different from the past in linguistic practices – however, it maintained a monoglossic view on the expected practices that might also result in practices of verbal hygiene. The claim for supplementary educational activities for the second generation and the creation of Hungarian-speaking communities seemed quite similar to the "previous type" of emigration. Nevertheless, seeing the return of the next generation as one of the possible outcomes was novel. Thus, bonding with the language spoken at the homeland was imagined in a transformed way from nostalgic longing to actual belonging. I interpreted the creation of such spaces as an endeavor to maintain a monolingual policy. In the next section, I move away from Hungarian as a named language, and rather zoom into specific cases when resources were deployed in order to create bonds.

7.2.2. Engaging in homeland politics

For a diasporic individual, one form of engaging emotionally with the homeland is following its current politics. Hungarians in Catalonia can conveniently exercise their right to express political opinion, for instance, by participating in elections. As there is a general consulate in Barcelona, polling stations are always organized at the time of elections in their office. It is, however, not just voting that might be understood as a diasporic practice, but other forms of engaging in the dissemination of political messages. One of the participants of this research even asked me after the interview if my dissertation would include any *kikacsintás* ('wink' by which he meant criticism) to current Hungarian politics. As some kind of response to this "expectation", I show two examples from two poles of the Hungarian political palette in this section. The first semiotic landscape demonstrates the ways in which the current Hungarian government can reach out to diasporic activities, while the other shows how antipathy can be expressed against the very same government through the reterritorialization of political symbols.

The first landscape shown in this section was part of the schoolscape of a weekend school activity. Its history goes back to *Madách Egyesület*, founded in Madrid in 2014 with the

intention of becoming an umbrella organization of Hungarians in the whole of Spain. As mentioned in Subsection 4.3.3, this association collaborated with Hungarians in Catalonia with varying intensity between 2016 and 2019, as one of the main activities of the association was organizing weekend school activities. Previously, it had been *Aranyalma Kör* that arranged school-like gatherings where Hungarian language and cultural customs were transmitted for the children of first-generation immigrants (mentioned by Tamás in Excerpt (5) in this chapter), but these endeavors did not become officially registered. The union with the Madrid-centered association was, thus, mutually beneficial: the association could register new members, and the activities in Barcelona could become official, which they expected would be advantageous both in bureaucratic and financial terms. This collaboration was maintained for three academic years. The biweekly organized educational activity for children was run under the auspices of the Madách Association officially. This meant initial support of purchasing materials at the very beginning and administrative help in renting a classroom in Barcelona (as it was slightly cheaper if one rented it on behalf of an organization than as a private person).

As the classroom was rented, there had never been any permanent ornaments (such as posters, drawings, etc.) on the wall. However, Madách Egyesület requested to be depicted on the semiotic landscape of the activity. Therefore, the following poster had to be pasted up on the wall on every occasion. To put it another way, this was the only permanent schoolscape of the educational activity, but the usage of this poster was always temporary because it was not constantly part of the classroom. This schoolscape was, thus, a means for reterritorialization every second weekend: its application communicatively created a place connected to the Hungarian state in Barcelona.

Image 7.1: A poster in a weekend school in Barcelona

The upper (and larger) part of the poster is a non-official logo of the Madách Association. The bottom part, however, is constituted of signage independent from the association. The texts can be translated as 'Accomplished by the support of the Hungarian Government' ("*Megvalósult a Magyar Kormány támogatásával*"), 'Prime Minister's Office' ("*Miniszterelnökség*"), 'Secretary of State for National Policy' ("*Nemzetpolitikai Államtitkárság*"), 'Gábor Bethlen Foundation' ("*Bethlen Gábor Alap*"). These texts are accompanied by the coat of arms of Hungary in the middle, and all are in red, white and green which are the colors of the Hungarian flag. On a practical level, these signs served as fulfilling a commitment; Madách Association solicited for financial support from Hungary every year and that is how the organization could have also fostered purchasing materials in Barcelona in 2016. Gábor Bethlen Foundation is a state-mandated fund management organization whose aim is to foster the Hungarian government's national political strategy by providing support for ecclesiastical, minority, and trans-border associations. It is a matter of course that a supporter or a sponsor expects to be depicted on the semiotic landscape of the events they contribute financially. This triadic sign constellation can be found everywhere in the world where a program was endorsed from Hungary. In this sense, this poster is one example of the global flow of recognizable semiotic resources.

However, scaling down to the local level, there are other possible interpretations as well. As mentioned above, this poster was one of the few materials that became part of the semiotic landscape of the educational activity, which makes it even more salient. In the spring of 2018, when I volunteered as an assistant, the need for never forgetting the insertion of this poster became an insider joke between me and the head teacher of the activity. In this triadic signage, the first utterance ("Accomplished by the support of the Hungarian Government") is the most visible as it is written with larger fonts inside a red background. Though the national coat of arms is usually part of schoolscapes in Hungary (see Szabó 2015), this utterance can also be interpreted as a more direct dissemination of a political message. It was not addressed to the children, but to their parents who were also potential voters in parliamentary elections. The current Hungarian regime invested more money into ethnopolitics (including emigrant communities' weekend schools) than any other governments before (see Kováts 2020), and the dissemination of their endeavor was also depicted on this sign constellation.

The upper part of the poster also had political connotations. Employing two national flags in the logo of the association imply a double loyalty that marks their aspiration to build a bridge for its members between the two cultures. This poster, however, did not draw on the original and official logo of the association. The left half of the original logo depicts the colors of the Hungarian flag, but the right half shows the colors of the Spanish flag. On this poster, however, the Spanish flag was replaced with the stripes of the Catalan flag. The symbols of a logo are not usually repurposed this way, and this act results in contradictory interpretations in this case. On the one hand, it can symbolize inclusion by changing the flag of the whole Spain to the regional one, thus pointing to a conciliation between the conflicting political entities. On the other hand, the way the name of the association is written up can be understood in the opposite way. *MAD* is also the international abbreviation of the city of Madrid, which has the potential to symbolize Castilian oppression from a Catalan point of view. In this sense, putting MAD right up to the Catalan flag might seem extremely intimidating. It is not just Hungarians who encountered this poster, but local parents from mixed marriages might have also realized this discrepancy while picking up their child after the educational activity. I have no information on whether anybody had ever mentioned this, but the poster clearly had a potential to hurt some people's feelings who were emotionally involved in the current political debates on Catalan independence. The colors of Madách also might bring in other political dimensions as *ÁCH* is

written in orange, though it is not the best aesthetic decision on a red and yellow background. Once I interviewed a Madridian member of the association who shared her assumption with me that the orange symbolizes the leaders' political belonging as it is also the color of one of the parties, named Fidesz, which has governed Hungary since 2010. No matter whether this assumption was valid or not, it shows the usage of the color and the reference to the Hungarian government on the bottom of the poster potentially assemble on a semiotic level that creates such an interpretation.

The presence of this poster on the semiotic landscape of a weekend school activity was a communicative practice that connected the whole activity not just to the Madrid-center association, and not just to Hungary, but it also created a bond with a political community as well. It contributed to the political project of uniting the members of the nation all around a world in homogenized activities of reproducing national identity. The collaboration between the Catalonian-Hungarian community and Madách Association was discontinued in 2019 due to personal reasons. However, this did not lead to the interruption of educational activities in Barcelona. They were simply carried out without the poster analyzed here. For instance, weekend school activities restarted in 2020 after COVID-19 restrictions were lifted. These activities included 4 age-groups with more pupils than ever before without any official and financial dependency on Hungarian state-mandated organizations. In the next example, I show a landscape in which not government-friendly messages were spread; on the contrary, anti-governmental ones were shared on the main square of Barcelona.

Sociolinguists have lately shown interest in the semiotic landscapes of protests (see Martín Rojo eds. 2016), and such practices of Hungarians in Catalonia demonstrate that this type of semiotic activities can play an important role in diasporization as well. Organizing and participating in a protest abroad and then circulating it in the social media is a very specific form of diasporic practices that links the diasporic individuals to a virtual nation beyond the territorial boundaries of the state.

Martín Rojo (2014) argues that protest movements implement a permanent or transitory appropriation of space. The semiotic processes that foster this appropriation are deterritorialization and reterritorialization. In these processes protesters take the power over an already functioning space and repurpose it according to their own beliefs. This way the space starts to operate as a parallel city. In her case study on the Occupy movements (Martín Rojo 2014), she examined the role of linguistic practices in the occupation of Puerta del Sol, Madrid's main square. Puerta del Sol is simultaneously the city center, the geographic origo of the city, and a popular place for encounters and commemorations. However, during the anti-austerity protests, also named as 15-M, Puerta del Sol was reterritorialized into a self-governed urban space. What makes this case a particular one is not the transformation of the space in itself, but the ways in which communicative practices became spatial ones as well. During those days alternative road signs and maps helped the linguistic creation of the necessary places on the Puerta del Sol, such as a separate tent for medical treatment, a library, and a place for child care. Messages around the new places were also circulating on the Internet: they were replicated virally on social media platforms.

In another case study, Lou and Jaworski (2016) argue that protest signs mobilize resources that are able to index a common identity. The Umbrella Movement started in the autumn of 2014 in Hong Kong. It originally aimed at achieving genuine universal suffrage, and the umbrella became the symbol of the movement after the protesters tried to defend themselves against tear gas with umbrellas. The sign of an umbrella was peculiarly resemiotized: it was pushed from one context to another, from one practice to another, as it had been drawn and painted to several places, even sold in commodified forms. This process of resemiotization served to create the own mythology of the movement.

Similar semiotic processes were occurring in the case of Hungarian anti-government protests in 2018 and 2019. An act of overtime at work was passed by the Hungarian Parliament in December 2018 without any negotiation with trade unions. The implementation of this law, also referred to as "slave law" in the media, initiated protests all over (and beyond the borders of) the country. For some reason an extremely obscene sentence became the non-official slogan of the protests. This sentence, *Orbán egy geci* (literally: 'Orbán [the Prime Minister of the country] is a cum', it is an extremely offensive expression) was originally said by one of the Prime Minister's former allies after their clash in 2015. Later, these words were also converted into an acronym (O1G) and an easily replicable logo, however, it only became widely utilized at the end of 2018. It was not just graffiti that depicted this symbol on the urban semiotic landscape. People, in order to express their opposition against the regime, started to circulate this signage in social media as a meme. For instance, some people shared their Christmas gingerbread ornamented with this logo, others drew the symbol on the windscreens of cars covered in snow, etcetera (for an extensive analysis of the phenomena, see Lukács 2021).

Image 7.2: O1G logo

(source: https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/O1G; last access: 31/05/2022)

Demonstrations right before Christmas in Budapest did not lead to the withdrawal of the law, so they continued in January. A grassroots collective started to list the synchronous "sympathy demonstrations" all over the world. A Twitter page was created to serve this role (https://twitter.com/O1Gintl, last access: 15/10/2022). On January 19th, simultaneous protests were organized in the largest cities of the country by political parties and trade unions, but the event grew bigger virtually. A person in Barcelona also organized such a gathering on Plaça Catalunya, which is, such as the Puerta del Sol in Madrid, the main square of Barcelona, and also a usual place for social encounters. A Facebook event was created, information was distributed in Facebook groups, and finally a dozen people turned up on the square that Saturday afternoon at 4 o'clock. Protesters took a group photo in which they were lifting banners with the O1G symbol. The photo, along with others from Dublin to Vienna, was sent to and shared by the Twitter page and Hungarian (oppositional) media platforms. These distance protests were not really like protests usually are. Emphasis was not put on the actual on-stage impact of the protest, rather on the virtual circulation of the fact that people are unsatisfied even in Barcelona regardless of the number of the protesters.

Image 7.3: O1G protest signs in the Plaça Catalunya, Barcelona
(source: https://twitter.com/O1Gintl/status/1086668934294790144; last access: 15/10/2022)

The O1G symbol was resemiotized into a new geographic context. This way it constructed diasporic connectivity through its flow in the social media. People in larger European cities could, thus, simultaneously perform a specific form of national and political belonging. The de- and reterritorialization, however, was quite different from the one explained by Martín Rojo (2014). Frankly, no unusual thing happened that Saturday on Plaça Catalunya in the sense that the square was not transformed at all as it is usually done in the case of on-the-spot protests. Twelve persons could gather there without being conspicuous, even noticed. Their banners could not really change the temporary semiotic landscape. The square itself and the toponym of Barcelona, however, were semiotically displayed in order to construct a media narrative on the cohesion of the Hungarian diaspora that showed resistance against the regime.

The two semiotic landscapes in this section, the schoolscape and the protest sign, showed examples on how visual resources and certain geographical and historical contexts can constitute semiotic assemblages that contribute to the dissemination of political messages from the homeland. Such assemblages might have several layers. These assemblages contribute to the production of the homeland orientation of the diasporic community. In these cases, for instance, these messages were circulating back and forth. It was not just the governmental and the opposition political forces that showed themselves in the temporary semiotic landscape of Hungarians in Barcelona, but the diasporic groups could also demonstrate their engagement with the homeland happenings in both cases.

7.2.3. Engaging in media practices

The previous example on the circulation of protest signages already showed that an era of the "connected migrant" has arrived: an era in which "neither here nor there but here and there at

the same time" is a defining trait, as Diminescu put it in an earlier account (Diminescu 2008: 569). The rise of media technologies did not only make it possible to be in two places at the same time, but they also reconfigured our understanding of places (Tsagarousianou & Retis 2019). Therefore, diasporic individuals do not only look in one direction (backward, previously), but they inhabit complex areas where distant localities and shared experiences can connect. Policentricity plays a key role in the process in which the diasporic is constituted by communicative practices (Androustsopoulos & Lexander 2021). In this section, I draw on language diary data to show how media practices create assemblages translocally in the creation of diasporic selves. I argue that such practices, first ever in the history of human communication, can contribute to the maintenance of social capital and the translocal (re)creation of the family by the intentional circulation of semiotic contents connected to the homeland.

Although I did not record the social media practices of the participants due to ethical reasons, they shared information with me on their habits in interviews, focus groups and diaries. None of the participants reported that they had lost touch with Hungarians in Hungary. On the contrary, most of them reported daily, almost constant messaging with their close family and friends. Part of the fieldwork took place during the COVID-19 pandemic when this dynamic became even more intense, as some key participants accounted.

(8)
Dénes: *nem tudom, hogy veletek előfordult-e olyan, hogy ö ö én ö legalábbis többet beszéltem a családommal most egy- egy hónap alatt, mint az utóbbi harminc évben összesen* [...]
Rebeka: *igen, otthon mindenki nagyon izgul, hogy itt mi van* (#laugh)
Pál: *igen, nagyon rosszul néz ki, tehát így-* (#laugh)
Rebeka: (#laugh: *igen*)
Pál: *voltak, akik a falumból rám telefonáltak ilyen középiskolás osztálytársaim, hogy „nagyon aggódunk értetek"*
Dénes: (#laugh)
Rebeka: (#laugh: *igen, nekem is ez*)
Pál: *kilencvennyolcban beszéltünk utoljára*
Rebeka: (#laugh)
Pál: *ö de jól esett*
Rebeka: *„sokat gondolok rád"*
English translation:
Dénes: I don't know if it has happened to you as well that ehm ehm I ehm at least spoke more with my family now in- in one month than previously in the thirty years in sum [...]
Rebeka: yes, at home everybody's intrigued about what is going on here (#laugh)
Pál: yeah, it looks very bad, so like- (#laugh)
Rebeka: (#laugh: yes)
Pál: there were some from my village who called me like high school classmates that "we are very worried about you"
Dénes: (#laugh)
Rebeka: (#laugh: yes, same here)
Pál: last time we spoke in ninety-eight
Rebeka: (#laugh)
Pál: ehm but it felt good
Rebeka: "I think a lot about you"

There is a palpable disjuncture between the era of digital hyperconnectivity (Brubaker 2020) and previous phases of migration and diasporization. This can be seen in the mode Dénes spoke about the contact with his family (probably in an exaggerated way) the mode Pál jokingly told a story about his long-forgotten former classmates, and also the mode Rebeka stylized the way a relative or a friend would have approached them from Hungary.

In the following, I show excerpts from the table-format diary Gyuri created in which he noted his communicational habits for one week in 2021. Reading the first time, both Rebeka (with whom he also shared his diary) and I found impressive the amount of contact he maintained with Hungarians despite living in Catalonia for 37 years then.

Idő, napszak	***Helyszín***	***Tevékenység***	***Kivel?***	***Hogyan?***	***Megjegyzés***
II.1. 8:30	*Otthon*	*Sajtó főcímeinek átnézése*		*Internet*	*Általában naponta: elnacional.cat, vilaweb.cat, ara.cat, sport.es, hvg.hu,*
II. 2. 13:00	*Otthon*	*Üzenet küldése*	*Magyar barátok, volt gimnáziumi osztálytársak*	*E-mail*	*Kommentár egy otthonról kapott Matolcs*[y] *György eszmefuttatáshoz*
II. 4. 20:00	*Otthon*	*Üzenet*	*Magyarországra gimnáziumi osztálytársnak és*	*E-mail*	*Kommentár az FC Barcelona játékáról*
II. 5. 17:00-20:00	*Otthon*	*Üzenetváltás*	*Gimnáziumi osztálytársak*	*E-mail*	*Kommentárok, kapott cikkek Navalnijról és Orbánról*
II. 5. 20:00-21:00	*Otthon*	*Üzenetváltás*	*Magyarországon elő* [élő] *húgom*	*E-mail*	*Navalnij és családi témák*
II. 6. 9:30	*Otthon*	*Cikk küldése*	*Barátoknak, ismerősöknek*	*E-mail, whatsapp*	*Szilágyi Ákos humoros verse az „oltakozásról”*
English translation:					
Time, time of the day	**Location**	**Activity**	**With whom?**	**How?**	**Notes**
II.1. 8:30	At home	Scanning of press headlines		Internet	Usually on a daily basis: elnacional.cat, vilaweb.cat, ara.cat, sport.es, hvg.hu,
II. 2. 13:00	At home	Sending message	Hungarian friends, former high school classmates	E-mail	Comment on a speech of György Matolcsy received from home
II. 4. 20:00	At home	Message	To Hungary to a high school classmates and (culer)	E-mail	Comment on the game of FC Barcelona
II. 5. 17:00-20:00	At home	Exchanging message	High school classmates	E-mail	Comments, received articles on Navalny and Orbán

II. 5. 20:00-21:00	Otthon	Exchanging message	My sister who lives in Hungary	E-mail	Navalny and family matters
II. 6. 9:30	Otthon	Sending article	To friends, acquaintances	E-mail, whatsapp	Humorous poem of Ákos Szilágyi on *oltakozás* [‘vaccination’]

Table 7.1: Excerpts from the diary of Gyuri

Gyuri started all his days by reviewing all the press headlines on his favorite websites and picked a few of them to read. Among these websites in the second line, we can find Catalan ones (El Nacional, Diari ARA, VilaWeb), a Barcelona-based Spanish sport magazine (Sport.es), and Hungarian news portals (24.hu, HVG). In another document, he also listed all the press products he consumed where he also mentioned other ones, for instance Élet és Irodalom (‘Life and Literature’), which is a weekly released Hungarian magazine on literature and politics. Overall, Catalan and Hungarian language media dominate his news consumption habits besides Castilian, English and French articles.

As it can be read in the third, fifth and sixth line of the table, he exchanged emails on a daily basis with his former Hungarian colleagues, high school classmates and his sister mainly on political and public affairs. He even made comments on a speech given by György Matolcsy, the governor of the Hungarian National Bank and the former minister of economy. The circulation of such news and topics, however, is far from being unidirectional: Gyuri also shared information on issues in Catalonia. According to the fourth line, for instance, he discussed the performance of the football team FC Barcelona with a Hungarian *culer* (the way he referred to a former classmate of his is a humorous name for the supporters of the team meaning ‘those who show their bottoms’).

However, not just politics and sports interested Gyuri, but other cultural phenomena in Hungary as well. As seen in the last line, he shared a poem (titled *De szeretnék…* ‘How much I would like to…’) that was written on a new linguistic resource that had appeared in the media: *oltakozás*. The word’s literal meaning is ‘vaccination’ and it replaced the more usual *oltás* in the public discourse on the COVID-19 pandemic (note that *oltás* can also mean ‘vaccine’). Although Gyuri was not present in Hungary at that time, he was yet able to join the discussion on this linguistic change and he even joined the mockery by actively participating in the circulation of the content. For instance, he also shared this poem with us, the members of the *magyar tertúlia*, which can also be understood as a diasporic media practice.

When discussing his diary, I asked Gyuri how come he consumed so much news from Hungary.

(9)

Gyuri: *hát mer érdekel, nem- nem akarok elszakadni, én mondjuk hát ö de faktó* [=de facto] *itt élek, nagyon be vagyok illeszkedve, satöbbi satöbbi, de nem akarok elszakadni. továbbra is érdekel, szóval én továbbra is magyarnak tartom- egy olyan magyarnak tartom magam, aki kihelyezte az állomáshelyét, vagy az állomáshelye Barcelonában van. és ö és hát most, hogy nyugdíjas vagyok, ö szeretnék például- ebben az évben többször haza akartam menni*

English translation:

Gyuri: well cos it interests me, I don’t- don’t want to break away, I let’s say well ehm de facto live here, I’m very integrated, etcetera etcetera, but I don’t want to break away. it still interests me, so I still consider Hungarian- I still consider myself a Hungarian who displaced his station, or whose station is in

Barcelona. and ehm and well now I'm retired, ehm I would like to for instance- I wanted to go home several times this year

The way Gyuri expressed that he did not want to break away could also be found in other participants' accounts who were not able to tell that they fitted into the host society as much as Gyuri did. The maintenance of such bonds with the homeland by following the happenings in Hungary and by frequent visits also constituted an important element of the diasporic imaginations of Hungarians in Catalonia.

In the following, I show excerpts from the diary and the follow-up interview with Emma, a woman in her mid-30s. She came to Spain with her husband, who worked as a researcher in universities. Before moving to Barcelona, they previously lived in two cities in other parts of Spain. When I contacted her with the idea of the diary, she was already a mother of a 3-year-old and expecting their second child. For visualizing her communicational habits, she also chose a table format.

IDŐ/ NAPSZAK	***HELYSZÍN***	***TEVÉKENYSÉG***	***KIVEL?***	***MEGJEGYZÉS***
Nov. 6., PÉNTEK				
3. 11:00	*3. Otthon*	*3. Videóblog (kb.50 perc)*	*3. Barátok*	
5. Kb. 9:30-22:00	*5. Otthon, tömegközlekedés*	*5. Közösségi média, hírportálok, chat*	*5. Család, barátok, ismerősök*	*5. Napi többször rövid időkben (Instagram, Facebook, Telex, 444, Messenger, Whatsapp,*
Nov. 7. SZOMBAT				
1. 13:00	*1. Otthon*	*1. Facetime (kb.1 óra)*	*1. Család (Nagyszülők)*	
English translation:				
TIME/ TIME OF THE DAY	**LOCATION**	**ACTIVITY**	**WITH WHOM?**	**COMMENT**
Nov. 6., FRIDAY				
3. 11:00	3. At home	3. Videoblog (approx.50 minutes)	3. Friends	

5. Approx. 9:30-22:00	5. At home, public transportation	5. Social media, news portals, chat	5. Family, friends, acquaintances	5. Several times a day (Instagram, Facebook, Telex, 444, Messenger, Whatsapp, iCloud-
Nov. 7. SATURDAY				
1. 13:00	1. At home	1. Facetime (approx.1 hour)	1. Family (Grandparents)	

Table 7.2: Excerpts from the diary of Emma

As a full-time mother, Emma's activities were quite repetitive – just like those of the retired Gyuri. She depicted online communication in her diary as a whole-day process that started at 9:30 in the morning and ended at 10 o'clock in the evening. For her, this activity included many forms of web-based communication, such as social media usage (Facebook, Instagram), messaging devices (Messenger, Whatsapp), and reading Hungarian news portals (Telex, 444). When we were discussing the diary, I asked her why she found these Hungarian websites important.

(10)

Emma: *gondolkodtam, hogy ö mit írjak, mer- mer nem ilyen- tehát nem annyira jellemző, hogy én mondjuk végiggörgetem a helyi dolgokat, ami abszolút egy hiba, viszont a Facebook erre teljesen ö teljesen alkalmas a számomra. tehát hogy így arra már nincsen időm, energiám, kedvem, hogy minden hírportált végignézzek két nyelven, de- de- de a Facebook azér ad egy ilyen lenyomatot, vagy nem tom. tehát így tényleg végiggörgetem, és ott- ott megjelennek az ilyen főbb irányvonalak, mindenféle ö világbeli dolgokról, úgyhogy ö ilyen- nem írtam bele külön, mer asszem, hogy nem lett volna így ö valid. és ö egész egyszerűen azér a magyar oldalak, mert- mer sokkal egyszerűbb nekem ott elolvasni, kimazsolázni a dolgokat. tehát ez megin csak így az idegen nyelv dolog miatt vagy tudás miatt. egyszerűbb, sokkal könnyebben rá tudok keresni, sokkal könnyebben elérnek hozzám, az összes közösségi média vagy- igen, közösségi felületemen, vagy inkább ö magyar ismerőseim vannak, tehát hogy így sokkal könnyebben jutnak el hozzám azok a hírek, cikkek.* [...] *egyszerűbb elnavigálnom magyarul, mint- mint spanyolul*

English translation:

Emma: I was thinking about ehm what to write, cos- cos not like- so it's not so typical that I let's say scroll local things, which is absolutely a mistake, but Facebook is absolutely suitable for this purpose for me. so like I don't have time, energy, mood to go through all the news portals in two languages, but- but- but Facebook gives an imprint or dunno. so really like I scroll through, and there- there the main guidelines appear, every type of world things, so ehm like- I did not write separately, because I think it would not be ehm valid. and ehm simply the Hungarian pages, cos- cos way easier to read, sort out things there. so it's again because of like foreign language thing or knowledge. easier, I can search them more easily, they reach me way more easily, all the social media or- yes, social platforms, or more ehm Hungarian friends, so news reaches me way more easily that way. [...] it's easier [for me] to navigate in Hungarian than- than in Spanish

According to her narrative, the way she stayed informed was mediated by the algorithms of social media platforms, because it made it simpler for her to keep updated. Here, she considered the lack of immersion in local affairs to be a mistake, but she also mentioned language as a barrier to her. In this sense, drawing on the Hungarian-language sources was not only a "remedy" to mitigate homesickness, but also the easiest option.

But it is not just news consumption that appeared in her diary. She also clarified that she made great efforts to keep her family in Hungary informed about their small family, especially their child.

(11)

Emma: *már nem csak engem kell figyelembe venni, meg nem csak az én igényeimet, meg ö nem csak arra kell figyelni, hogy én- én mennyire tartom a kapcsolatot, hanem hogy mennyit adok magunkból így családilag a nagyobb családnak, vagy ö mennyire segítek a gyerekemnek így- így ilyen pici gyereknek távolból tartani a kapcsolatot. szóval hogy erre amióta ráadásul ilyen nagyobb, figyelni kell tudatosan. szóval hogy ö inkább azt mondanám, hogy amióta* (#DELETE: child's name) *nagyobb, azóta- azóta- biztos nem csinálnék például ennyi fotót és videót róla. elég sokat csinálunk, de hogy csom- ezér írtam föl ezt az iCloud Photos-t, mer igazából ez is egy olyan felület, nem tom, hogy mennyire ismered, ahova feltöltesz képeket, videókat, akármit, és aztán lehet kommentelni. tehát komplett beszélgetések zajlanak egy-egy fotó alapján- vagy egy-egy fotó vagy videó alatt a családdal. szóval hogy biztos ezt nem feltétlenül csinálnám meg, hogyha a gyerekem nem lenne külföldön, nem lenne ekkora, vagy ilyen életkorú a gyerekem*

English translation:

Emma: I am no longer the only one to be taken into account, and not only my needs, and ehm not just to what extent I- I keep in touch, but how much I give from use family-like to the bigger family, or ehm how much I help my child to like- like keep in touch for such a small child. so we have to take care about that consciously, especially since he got older. so ehm I would say that since (#DELETE: child's name) is older, since- since then it's sure that I would take so many pictures and videos of him. we take so much but a lot- that's why I wrote down this iCloud Photos, cos honestly this is also a platform, dunno if you know it, where you upload pictures, videos, whatever, and then you can communicate. so complete conversations are going on about each photo- or under each photo with the family. so I probably wouldn't do it that way if my child wouldn't be abroad, wouldn't be as old as now he is

What Emma described here is a practice of *doing* the family translocally, as Palviainen (2020) put it, with digital devices. It also includes multimodality: the connection between the grandparents and the grandchild was not just created by linguistic means, but visuals as well. And this whole process was – such as news consumption – fostered by a specific media platform and its technology where the users were both able to share photos privately and discuss them with other chosen users.

As seen in the table, Emma also used other platforms and multimodal communication to keep up bonds with others as well. She created "videoblogs", which she recorded with her phone, on a weekly basis for her two best friends in Hungary in which she told the most important news in her life. As these files were always too large, she privately uploaded these personal video narratives to her YouTube account and deleted them after her friends watched them.

With the examples of this chapter, I showed that the diasporic subjects in my research are "connected migrants" (Diminescu 2008) who have the possibility to create and keep up bonding with the homeland through myriad types of media practices. Among these types of practices, on the one hand, Gyuri's diary provided an insight on how the social capital in the homeland can be cultivated translocally even after decades by frequent written messages and commentaries on political issues. On the other hand, Emma's case was a translocal re-creation of the family and friendships by showing the recipients her and her family's personal life multimodally.

7.2.4. Engaging in tourism

Subsection 7.2.1 dealt with bonding with actual people from the homeland in the host country through language; Subsection 7.2.2 showed examples on bonding with or against political ideas

in the homeland; and Subsection 7.2.3. discussed translocal bonding with actual people in the homeland. This subsection, however, reviews the touristic practices of Hungarians in Catalonia that target visitors from the homeland, which is a special case of translocality that is not (only) based on distant communication with actual people, but the temporary change of location of these people to the host-land as well. I argue that those engaging in touristic practices among Hungarians in Catalonia intend to create an image of their diasporic selves which is simultaneously insider and distant from the local population. They construct this image through semiotic landscapes and the assemblage of semiotic resources.

Previously there have been professional travel agencies that organized group tours to Catalonia where all the services were provided in Hungarian. These were not necessarily connected to diasporic subjects who had long been living in the target place. Among Hungarians in Catalonia, however, a practice emerged in the 2010s of earning extra income by giving accommodation to tourists coming from Hungary in an empty room of their flats. As wholesale tourism started to skyrocket in this decade in Europe, there has always been a clientele for such services that proved to be competitive for two reasons: the tourists trusted their hosts because they were able to communicate with them easily, and the prices were lower than other forms of accommodation. Over time, a few people realized that they would like to take tourism from Hungary more seriously, so they started businesses specializing in either accommodation or tour guiding.

Sociolinguistics has been concerned with tourism in connection with late modernity, identity, and the commodification of language (Jaworski et al. eds. 2014). Such studies have examined the ways certain linguistic resources are displayed in order to construct the 'authentic' experiences for the tourists (see Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen 2014, Heller et al. 2014). The cases shown in this section are similar to those shown in these articles, however, somewhat special as well. Hungarian language is the one that is being commodified in the sense that the resources associated with this named language are being mobilized (recontextualized) in contexts where they have not been mobilized before for such purpose, but other kind of resources are utilized to perform an "authentic" identity of a local person.

SzoBarça, is a wordplay, in which the Hungarian word, *szoba* means 'room', and *Barça* is a colloquial abbreviation of the name of the city's football team, while the second part is a more direct reference: *Barcelonai Apartman Magyaroknak* ('Apartment for Hungarians in Barcelona'). In the figure above, the original logo is on the left side, and the modified one is on the right. The original one was shared on the Facebook page of the business on February 9, 2019, but it was changed to the second (and permanent) one on July 23 (see Image 7.4). The two versions are almost identical. They both include the silhouette of Barcelona's top attractions and the colors associated with Hungarianness: red, white and green. The only difference is in the way *c* is written: *c* has been replaced to a *ç*.

The original spelling, *Barca*, was an unconventional one, as *c* would be read as a velar plosive [k], while the *ç* is pronounced a voiceless palatal fricative. The application of this semiotic resource was, thus, a means for the construction of the host's identity as an authentic local one since the grapheme *ç* has the potential to be perceived as a letter of the Catalan alphabet or at least the way Barça is usually written. This assemblage of semiotic resources indexes both the Hungarianness and the local embeddedness of business that might be desired for a great quantity of clients.

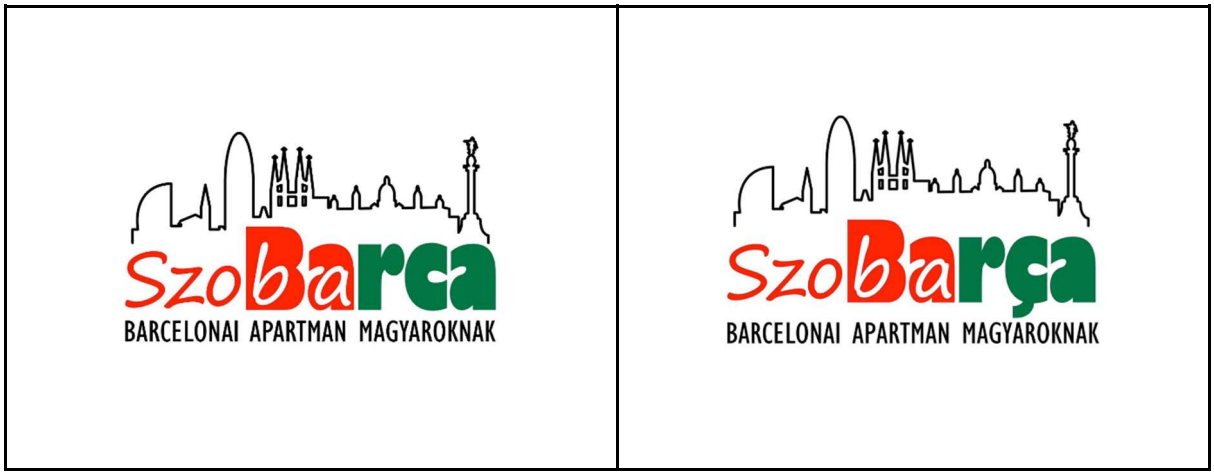

Image 7.4: The two logos of *SzoBarça*

(sources: https://www.facebook.com/szobarca/photos/a.404053617070387/404245263717889, https://www.facebook.com/szobarca/photos/a.404053617070387/498905260918555, last access: 15/10/2022)

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Other examples on the ways authenticity is constructed in touristic practices comes from my fieldnotes on a guided tour in Barcelona. In this case, it was not just linguistic resources that played an important role in that construction, but also the way knowledge on local circumstances was displayed through typifying local people.

(12)
I arrived at Plaça Catalunya at 10 o'clock. The tour guide (in the forthcoming: TG) was already there with his small Hungarian flag, surrounded by 6 well-off women in their forties. TG first introduced me as one of his local Hungarian friends for whom he used to offer to come to the tour. [...] The last to arrive were a couple, also in their late twenties or early thirties, and a man, who apologized to TG for being late. He replied that being half an hour late would have been perfectly normal in Spain, but as a Hungarian he used to be annoyed with that, and when a Catalan friend of his was an hour and a half late, he broached, to which the friend replied that he should have been glad that she had come at all. There was a big laugh from the people present, and then we set off towards the Rambla.

The way TG introduced me to his clients already contributed to his position as a person who was very well embedded into the local milieu. At first, I did not attach any importance to this act, but in later parts of the tour, he frequently mentioned friends of his when describing something in connection with Barcelona. It happened even in Excerpt (12) where he told an anecdote of a Catalan person who was late for an excessively long time. With this story, he was able to kick off the tour with the image that he is simultaneously an insider (who has Catalan friends) and an outsider (Hungarian enough to still be annoyed of somebody being late) in Barcelona.

(13)

As we walked to our next destination, I overheard the older women talking about that there is a lot of history in the tour-guiding, and TG tells these stories so well and he even has a sense of humor! At one point, for example, he said that Hungarians have jokes about Jews and Scots, but whoever made them up must never have met a Catalan, because they are very stingy; one friend, for example, is proud that he has never tipped a person in his life. Jokes on that money is what matters most to Catalans came up several times during the tour.

According to the reactions of the tourists, TG balanced very sensitively between the amount of information to provide about the sights of Barcelona and his own experiences in Catalonia. As seen in Excerpt (13), he made fun of Catalans through stereotypic images in a way that was recontextualized to a Hungarian audience.

(14)

At the town hall, he gave a detailed presentation of the current shape of the Catalan flag, what the blue triangle version means, why people wear yellow ribbons and what happened to the 9 imprisoned politicians. In front of the town hall there are statues of James the Conqueror and Violant of Hungary, so he said that Catalans believe that it is thanks to Violant that the Catalan language and culture survived while James was conquering the Mediterranean islands.

On other occasions, as shown in Excerpt (14), TG showed sympathy towards Catalans. His description of the current political situation, as well, served as a means to construct an image of himself as a person who had not just been living in Catalonia for a long time, but who understood it very well. He, besides explaining extensively the attractions of the historical center of Barcelona, also hinted at information on contemporary Catalonia and what it is like living there as a Hungarian. But he also connected this to the historical past: his last utterances in Excerpt (14) mashed this image with some kind of national pride for the Hungarian princess who became the queen of Aragon in the 13th century in the golden age of the kingdom. He made historical parallels on other aspects as well. For instance, he claimed that “as Bucharest would never let go of Szeklerland, Madrid would never let go of Catalonia”.

What is most remarkable in the presented examples in this section is the way Hungarian language and the figure of a Hungarian living in Barcelona became commodified. Tourism opens up possibilities to engage in the in-betweenness of the diaspora in ways that can also be economically exploited. In the case of TG, it was not just the Hungarian language that made his performance appreciated by the clients, but also the image he constructed of himself as a person who is simultaneously very well integrated into the host society and able to keep distance and make fun of local people. While TG used storytelling for creating such an image, in the other example, the owner of the business drew on visual resources.

The examples in Section 7.2 showed that contemporary diasporic subjects have way more possibilities to keep up the bonds with the homeland than ever before. In the cases shown, these bonds manifested in linguistic and metalinguistic practices, political activities, media practices and tourism practices. What is common in these examples is that bonding can be more intense than ever before. Independently from whether such practices are done for political interests, for family reunification or income, distances were experienced as somewhat shorter than ever before. It felt as if these participants could even take part in the life of their homeland.

7.3. Multisensory perceptions and performances

In this section, I turn to semiotic assemblages in which multisensory perceptions and performances drawing on sensory experiences play important roles. In this sense, from now on the emphasis is not put on practices, but on ephemeral co-occurrences of different semiotic resources that are being deployed, observed, interpreted, and accepted or denied by the interlocutors in the creation of bonds with the imagined homeland. Drawing on examples of tastes, smells, sounds, and touches, I argue that the ways diasporic subjects perceive and express their homeland orientation also require a posthumanist reading of semiotic assemblages.

7.3.1. The tastes mediated by *Horváth Ilona*

Any activities connected to specific food associated with national cuisine can easily contribute to the semiotic performance of ethnic and national belonging (Karrebaek & Maegaard 2017), especially in the context of transnational migration. That is no different in the lives of Hungarians in Catalonia. In my data, food itself was frequently discussed in community gatherings, private conversations, and in social media posts as well. More specifically, people sought information on the modes of how one specific ingredient could be purchased or how Hungarian meals could be ordered.

When I asked the participants in interviews whether they missed something from Hungary, they frequently answered with references to Hungarian cuisine in general or some specific products, such as *Túró Rudi* (a cylindrical-shaped sweet filled with curd covered in chocolate), *savanyított káposzta* ('Sauerkraut', fermented cabbage), or *tejföl* (a type of sour cream consumed in Central and Eastern Europe). As it turned out during the ethnographic fieldwork, although there is a shop specialized in Hungarian products in Barcelona (called Paprika Gourmet), some of the participants discovered that such ingredients can be found in Polish and Russian shops as well. As this observation shows, besides food being a commodity, it has the potential to function as a semiotic resource as well along with taste in the creation and the perception of certain identities (see also Cavanaugh et al. 2014). In the next example narratives on food, the memories of tastes, and a book as semiotic resources are assembled.

During one of our online encounters with the key participants, they spoke a lot about nationality, so I asked them to bring one object to our next online encounter that symbolizes being Hungarian for them. I expected that they would show tangible and very specific objects to the camera. However, in the next encounter they rather started to speak about more elusive concepts and ideas, and unsurprisingly, food came up in this conversation soon. Detti was the one who mentioned Hungarian meals as things that embodied Hungarianness for her in Catalonia. According to her narrative, she was not cooking such traditional meals in Hungary (*otthon* 'at home', as she put it), but started to do it frequently in Catalonia (*itt* 'here'). She articulated this habit not necessarily as an individual act but rather as a social practice that is to be done with others. This points to the fact that tastes can function as semiotic resources that are experienced individually, but they can also be directly connected to national belonging in a collective sense. In this excerpt, it also became salient what or who was the source of preparing such meals.

(15)
Detti: *ö ö hát nekem először ilyen kaják jutottak inkább eszembe. ö hogy így otthon soha nem főztem ilyen magyaros dolgokat, itt meg szoktam*
Dénes: *aha*
Detti: *sőt, így- így nem tom, így tanulom is, meg anyukámat ki szoktam kérdezni receptekről, és akkor ö ö*
Dénes: *pillanat* (#stands up from his desk and leaves)
Detti: *de mondjuk magamnak így nem- ezt se magamnak, hanem így ha másokkal együtt eszem*

Rebeka: *ez velem is tökre van*
Dénes: (#returns) *igazad van* (#shows a typical Hungarian cookbook to the camera)
Gyuri: {*Horváth Ilona!*}
Rebeka: {*Horváth Ilona!*}

English translation:
Detti: ehm ehm well some meals came to my mind. ehm that I have never cooked Hungarian stuff at home, but here I do
Dénes: aha
Detti: indeed, like- like I dunno, I'm like studying it as well that I usually ask my mom about recipes, and then ehm ehm
Dénes: a moment (#stands up from his desk and leaves)
Detti: but for myself no- it's not for myself, but I eat it with others
Rebeka: it's really the same for me too
Dénes: (#returns) you are right (#shows a typical Hungarian cookbook to the camera)
Gyuri: {Ilona Horváth!}
Rebeka: {Ilona Horváth!}

Detti experienced the preparation of Hungarian meals as a learning process that was initiated by her transnational mobility. In this sense, the authenticity of the food was not bound to certain territories, but to the medium that transmits linguistically how the preparation should be done. This linguistic medium is the recipe itself, but other interlocutors also mentioned different (written and spoken) modalities. Dénes proposed an interpretation that draws on a palpable semiotic resource that he first showed to the camera. This resource was an extremely famous cookbook. Ilona Horváth was a Hungarian teacher living in Transylvania (Romania) whose cookbook was first published in 1955, and since then it became so popular that it has been republished every couple of years. It contains most of the essential recipes and basic culinary actions associated with Hungarian cuisine. It has served as a manual of cooking for generations since the 1950s, so numerous households in Hungary own an edition of this book.

When Detti started to speak about food and recipes, Dénes stood up from his computer. He returned in a few seconds, said a few admitting words (*igazad van* 'you are right'), and he demonstrated his version of Ilona Horváth's cookbook to his interlocutors. Without saying any other words, everybody in the conversation recognized the book except Detti who did not have any prior knowledge on it. The others, however, started to smile immediately at the camera. Thus, Dénes accomplished a semiotic act that was based on an assemblage of visual signs and collective memories. His performance of diasporic Hungarianness lies in different layers: in holding possession of a print version of Ilona Horváth's cookbook, in having it so close to him in his home that he can quickly show it to other Hungarians in a videoconference, and in introducing this famous book without naming it explicitly. Rebeka and Gyuri did not question the cultural relevance of Ilona Horváth's cookbook, but they started to discuss other forms of the mediation of the content.

(16)
Detti: *de jó* (#laugh)
Rebeka: *kedvenc könyvem*
Gyuri: *különben az egész könyv rajta van pédéefen* [=PDF-en] *az interneten*
Rebeka: *ne viccelj velem*
Gyuri: *de, de-de*
Rebeka: *jézusom*
Detti: *mi a címe?*
Gyuri: *de-de*
Detti: *magyar?* […]
Dénes: *mutattam*

Detti: *ja, igen. nagyon kreatív címe van, szakácskönyv*
Dénes: *mhm*
Detti: *nehéz lehet rákeresni interneten*
Dénes: *de melyik- melyik szakácskönyved van?*
Detti: *én anyukámtól kérdezem a recepteket*
Dénes: *áh! ja*
Gyuri: *mhm*
Dénes: *értem*
English translation:
Detti: so good (#laughs)
Rebeka: my favorite book
Gyuri: by the way the whole book is on the Internet in PDF
Rebeka: don't joke with me
Gyuri: yeah, yeah-yeah
Rebeka: Jesus
Detti: what is the title?
Gyuri: yeah-yeah
Detti: Hungarian? […]
Dénes: I have shown you
Detti: okay, yes, it has a very creative title, cookbook
Dénes: mhm
Detti: it must be difficult to look for it on the internet
Dénes: but which- which cookbook do you have?
Detti: I ask my mom for recipes
Dénes: ah! yeah
Gyuri: mhm
Dénes: I see

Rebeka added comically to Dénes's invocation that Ilona Horváth's cookbook is her favorite book. It was obviously not a serious comment; but it points to the cultural relevance of the book and constitutes a common ground between the two participants. Gyuri neither questioned the way Dénes initiated a construction of diasporic belonging through a cookbook, but he reinterpreted it, and proposed another form of mediation, namely a digital and freely accessible version of the cookbook, and Rebeka received this information with sincere surprise. In the following lines, it turned out that Detti did not share the same cultural knowledge as the others. What she recognized from Dénes's semiotic act was that he showed a book to his interlocutors. Thanks to the book cover depicting a typical Hungarian dish, she realized that the book was a cookbook, but in the lack of prior knowledge she did not identify it as the special one. Besides the title, she even asked whether it is a collection of Hungarian recipes. As an answer to Dénes's feedback, she repeated that her "source" for these recipes was her own mother. Thus, she proposed another form of mediation, the verbal one, which in this case was carried out via messaging applications. The authentication and the gendering of tradition might also be important in the mediation: both Detti's mother and Ilona Horváth embody the figure of an older woman as the authentic source of traditions. None of their expertise were questioned, but in the latter case, this deep-seated gendered assumption was even reinforced by the fact that the book was metonymized with the name of its author.

A generational distinction can also be traced in this conversation. At the time of Gyuri's (1980s) and Dénes's (1990s) arrival such digital technologies were not yet available, so they needed a cookbook to be able to reproduce the tastes they associated with Hungarian cuisine. Rebeka, who is in the same age group as Detti, knew the specific cookbook shown by Dénes and acknowledged its importance, but she did not possess her own copy (note that the same happened to me who was present as a facilitator of this conversation, and a memory immediately came to my mind about the bookshelf on which I would find the book in my parents'

home, and I also recognized Ilona Horváth's name as a cultural reference, but I had never used the book in my daily life). Detti, however, admitted that she did not rely on written sources, but she was in regular connection with her mother through digital means who helped her acquire the techniques of preparing the meals – which is a peculiar combination of an oral (and again: gendered) tradition and diasporic connectivity.

What is common in all these people in the conversation is that they created sociability by the invocation of food labeled as Hungarian, and Hungarian cuisine's cultural importance in the production of the diasporic identity was not questioned by any of them. Gyuri, for instance, told a bit later of the quoted lines of this conversation that he had cooked *kelkáposzta főzelék fasírozottal* ('kale stew with meatballs') the week before with the help of Ilona Horváth's cookbook. The feeling and the memory of specific taste functioned as a semiotic resource that fostered practices associated with performing diasporic Hungarianness. What differed were the ways in which the interlocutors sought access to such feelings and memories. Despite the narration of all these different mediational solutions, Gyuri kindly emailed us his digital version of Ilona Horváth's cookbook after the online encounter.

7.3.2. The smell of *lángos*

As shown in the previous subsection, food can easily become an indicator of feelings and memories of the homeland for diasporic subjects. In the forthcoming, I show a moment from my fieldwork when it was the smell of the food which initiated such association as an assemblage of linguistic and multisensory resources. More precisely, the smell of bread fried in oil created an association with the speakers of the Hungarian language.

One of those Hungarian meals that do not have an equivalent in Iberian cuisine is *lángos*, which is very characteristic of Hungarian gastronomy. It is a deep fried flatbread usually topped with sour cream and cheese, it has a variant with garlic, but several other toppings are possible. It is a main dish in traditional cuisine prepared and consumed at home, but in a more commodified form it can also be found now on beaches and in the streets of the inner city of Budapest that are specialized for international tourism. A Hungarian restaurant in Barcelona, Hungaryto, which is run by a Hungarian-origin chef, also usually pins *lángos* on its menu. This is an indication that it is an important resource for Hungarians in Catalonia when they want to engage with the homeland gastronomically. The next excerpt, however, is from an individual interview in which the interlocutor told a story about another restaurant that is demonstrative of the ways semiotic resources can circulate.

(16)

Tamás: *februárba sétálgattunk itt a* <passeig san-> <san Juan>*on, ö és felfedeztünk egy ö helyet, amit úgy hívnak, hogy Lángos Háza. ö hát értelemszerűen kimondhatatlan nevű hely, tudtuk, hogy nem lehet más, ez csak magyar lehet, bementünk, valóban autentikus hagyományos, eredeti lán- olajban sülő lángosillat volt, nagyon jó, de a meglepetés az ö akkor jött elő, amikor ö beszédbe elegyedtünk a ö a hely tulajdonosával, és- és kiszolgáló- akik ott dolgoztak, ők a tulajdonosok, ők csinálják a lángost. egy teljesen helyi ö ö katalán-spanyol párosról, fiúról-lányról van szó, akik ö három hónapot töltöttek Magyarországon. és amikor visszajöttek, akkor a magyar kulináris kultúrából kiragadták a számukra ö ö leglegnépszerűbb, legjobb, legfinomabb, legszimbolikusabb elemet, és ez a lángos volt, és elhozták a- a lángost, és megkínálták Barcelonát a lángossal. számomra óriási meglepetés volt, mer meg voltam győződve, amikor beléptem, hogy ideszakadt ö hazánkfiai kísérleteznek itt a kürtőskalács után, azzal is megpróbálkozott egy magyar csapat korábban, most a lángossal, és legnagyobb meglepetésemre emögött nem magyarok állnak, hanem- hanem két spanyol, akikről még azt sem mondhatom el, hogy negyven évig éltek Magyarországon, és tökéletesen beszélik a nyelvet, és elhozták ide az autentikus lángost. abszolút semmit nem beszélnek magyar- magyarul, ezért volt szép gesztus a részükről, hogy magyarul van kiírva a-*

tehát magyarul nevezték el a boltjukat, magyarul írták le két meglehetősen nehéz szóval, anélkül, hogy beszélnének magyarul

English translation:

Tamás: in February we were walking on <passeig san-> <san Juan>on, ehm and we discovered a ehm place which is called Lángos Háza ['House of Lángos']. ehm well a place with an obviously unpronounceable name, we knew that it cannot be else but Hungarian, we entered, and there was the scent of real authentic traditional original lángos fried in oil, very good, but the surprise came when we started to speak with the owner of the place and- and the server- who worked there, they are the owners, they make lángos. a completely local ehm ehm Catalan-Spanish couple, a boy and a girl who spent 3 months in Hungary. when they returned, they picked the ehm ehm most- most popular, best, most delicious, most symbolic element of Hungarian cuisine, they brought the- the lángos, and offered Barcelona lángos. it was an enormous surprise for me, because I was convinced, when I entered, that some compatriots are experimenting after kürtőskalács, a Hungarian team tried that as well, now lángos, and a great surprise is that they are not Hungarians, but- but two Spanish, about whom I cannot even tell that they spent 40 years in Hungary and spoke the language perfectly, and they brought authentic lángos here. they absolutely don't speak any Hungar- Hungarian, that's why it was a nice gesture by them that it is written in Hungarian- so they named their business in Hungarian, they wrote it down with two fairly difficult words without speaking Hungarian

In this excerpt, Tamás provided a narrative of a semiotic assemblage he experienced as seemingly incongruent. His story set up strolling along with his family in one of Barcelona's major avenues to which he referred to in a linguistically hybrid way (the avenue's conventional name in Catalan is *Passeig de Sant Joan* and *Paseo de San Juan* in Castilian, but Tamás merged this two into *Passeig San Juan*). During this stroll a sign caught their eyes on the landscape of the avenue, which was made up of linguistic resources associated with Hungarian. Inside the place, however, the resources that Tamás associated with Hungarianness were not exclusively linguistic ones.

His narratives put a great stress on the scent that automatically reminded him of the original *lángos*. As Pennycook and Otsuji (2015b) shed light on that, smellscapes usually invoke memories and nostalgia. The linguistic signs on the front of the restaurant combined with the odor of *lángos* fried in oil made Tamás associate the restaurant with Hungarian-origin owners. His assumption drew on two prior experiences. The first is a "geographic" one: he evaluated *lángos* so indexical of Hungarian (and so: his own) culture that the creator of the food must have the same ethnic origin as him. The second is a "historic" one: he was aware that other Hungarians (by his words creating bond with them: *hazánkfiai* that I translated as 'compatriots', but literally means 'sons of our homeland') in Barcelona previously had been selling *kürtőskalács* which is another popular meal in Hungarian cuisine, a spit cake made from sweet, yeast dough. In his narrative, he deconstructed this association in two steps.

First, he modified it: if the owners of the place are not Hungarians they must be people who spent significant time in Hungary and mastered Hungarian language as well. The way *lángos* was written hand in hand with the scent of the food created this association in Tamás's mind. These two signs functioned for him as strong resources of a possible authentic performance of Hungarianness such as speaking Hungarian. The restaurant, which was mentioned in Tamás's story, drew on the original and "unpronounceable" (as Tamás suggested it) mode of writing which misled him. Tamás's presumption might be underpinned by the fact that on the streets of the inner city of Budapest, the capital of Hungary, a passenger can run into places called *Lángosh*. This mode of writing, however, is unconventional in Hungarian orthography (because *s* is pronounced [ʃ], while *sz* is pronounced [s]). and this may mean that these businesses address an imagined English-speaking international audience.

Second, when he found out the truth that the owners had spent only 3 months in Hungary, he evaluated the semiotic performance of the restaurant with pride and gratitude. Pennycook

(2018) accentuates that smell evokes memories, places and languages as well. The smell of oil and *lángos* immediately reminded Tamás of his national cuisine and their association with Hungarian speakers. Tamás's narrative illustrates how the deployment of special material and multisensory resources contribute to finding commonality between signs and groups of people, and how such semiotic assemblages have a role in the process of making meaning in connection with one's belonging. On another occasion, when Tamás joined the *magyar tertúlia*, he also told the same story about this restaurant to other participants as well who admitted his observation on the interconnectedness of the smell of *lángos* and the Hungarian language.

7.3.3. The sound of *Kossuth nóta*

After visuals, tastes, and smells, the following excerpt is an example of how a culturally recognized melody can also become a salient marker and a means of performing diasporic identity. The conversation took place at the very beginning of a face-to-face meeting with the key participants of the study when I had just started the voice recorder. Right after that Dénes was called by his wife in order to discuss when he would get home.

(18)
(#phone starts to ring)
Dénes: <digas>
Rebeka: *hallottátok a csengőhangot?*
Dénes: <dime>
Detti: *én hallottam* (#laugh). *Gergő, te hallottad?*
Dénes: <vale, perfecto, pues sobre a las nueve y cuarto estoy allí. ¿de acuerdo?>
Rebeka: *ez nekem most nagyon jó volt*
Dénes: *köszi.* <no puedo. vale> […]
Dénes: *a- a magán csengőhangom ez a Kossuth-nóta, a- a munkás csengőhangom pedig egy Rákóczi-nóta*
Rebeka: *ja, azt hittem, hogy az valami katalán izé* (#laugh)
Dénes: *nem, nem, nem. nem, mert a- hát végülis mind a kettő forradalmi*
Pál: @
Dénes: *igen*
Pál: *nem?*
Dénes: *nem, mert a- a munkám miatt nem- nem tehetem meg. tehát egy női sikoly, vagy mit tudom én, hát nagyon- nagyon jó, annak idején, mikor jöttek ezek a- a politonos meg mit tudom én, akkor a- akkor mindenféle hülyeség volt, de nem lehet, ezt nem lehet*
Detti: *aha*
Dénes: *mert ahol dolgozom, kicsit adnom kell magamra*
English translation:
(#phone starts to ring)
Dénes: <digas>
Rebeka: did you hear the ringtone?
Dénes: <dime>
Detti: I heard (#laugh). Gergő [viz. a common nickname for Gergely], did you hear?
Dénes: <vale, perfecto, pues sobre a las nueve y cuarto estoy allí. ¿de acuerdo?>
Rebeka: it was so good for me
Dénes: thanks. <no puedo. vale> [...]
Dénes: my- my personal ringtone is this Kossuth song, my- my labor ringtone is a Rákóczi song
Rebeka: oh, I thought it is some kind of Catalan stuff (#laugh)
Dénes: no, no, no, no, because well- both are revolutionary
Pál: @
Dénes: yes
Pál: no?
Dénes: no, because- because of my job I cannot- cannot do that. a female scream or anything is really- really great, back then, when these- these politonic and I don't know what, there were a lot of stuff, but I cannot, I cannot have that

Detti: aha
Dénes: because where I work I have to give to myself (meaning: look fine)

The notes of Dénes's ringtone were of a well-known and patriotic Hungarian folksong that is taught to schoolchildren in connection with the Hungarian Civic Revolution and War of Independence in 1848–1849 and one of its leaders, Lajos Kossuth. The ringtone surprised every interlocutor because it was so unusual to hear such a melody in Barcelona. Rebeka's amazement can be traced in her first utterance which made Detti give taunting feedback to her. Without giving any reaction to Detti's joke, Rebeka expressed her gratitude for hearing this melody. After Dénes finished the phone call with his wife, he promptly started to provide an explanation of his choice. While his personal ringtone was the instrumental version of this folk song, his other ringtone that he had on his work telephone was another historical Hungarian march which is traditionally connected to another freedom war, namely Rákóczi's War of Independence (in 1703–1711 led by Francis II Rákóczi).

Rebeka was the only one who did not recognize the tone (probably due to its instrumental version), so her comment made Dénes clarify that these are revolutionary songs. From his further explanation, it turned out that he found these two locally unknown songs appropriate for his work life compared to other sorts of ringtones, e.g., Catalan revolutionary songs or a female scream. For him, this was a means to perform diasporic Hungarianness in his daily life throughout a soundscape that is not going to be recognized by anyone. Other people, in his company for instance, would probably notice only that the ringtone is based on strange instrumental music. In Hungary, there is a chance that such a choice would be considered as inconveniently nationalistic. In this sense, the usage of this ringtone is a good example of the ways in which some cultural practices get redefined and recontextualized by diasporic populations. In this moment in Barcelona, the soundscape delivered other positive meanings as the resource was culturally accessible only to the present interlocutors. The positive meanings resulted in other acts as well, for instance, a bit later Pál started whistling spontaneously the tones of the Kossuth song while he was preparing pancakes for the others. These songs can imply positive and nostalgic feelings towards the homeland, however, there is another important layer that connects the participants of the *magyar tertúlia* with these two historical personalities celebrated in these songs. Both Rákóczi and Kossuth went into exile after the failed independence wars and attempted to reorganize them in emigration. Their aspirations remained unsuccessful, but they were surrounded by other Hungarians – such as the participants in this very moment.

Dénes's use of this ringtone is simultaneously a semiotic and a sensorial practice. Putting it with other words, he actively performed his diasporic belonging through such a repeated act. This practice was meaningful for him, but it remained remote for other people. In this moment, however, which I could document during my fieldwork, the resource got reinterpreted and mobilized by others as well. It is not only the origin of the resource that matters, but all the feelings and the memories the resource can evoke. This is common in all multisensory resources. Most of the people can smell oil, but only a few would associate it with *lángos* and Hungarianness in specific spatiotemporal contexts. Most of the people can recognize a book, but only a few of them would feel commonality immediately through recognizing a particular cookbook replete with Hungarian dishes. These meanings were co-constructed by the interlocutors in the wide phenomenon of semiosis that both required linguistic and non-linguistic resources.

7.3.4. The touch of *tárcsa*

During the online focus groups, when we were discussing with the participants what helped them feel homely in Catalonia, Pál, unlike others, started to speak about objects that originated

from Hungary. He first mentioned his high school pen holder made of metal depicting a Mediterranean landscape at its top, then a corkscrew that was purchased in Hungary.

(19)

Pál: *hát ez érdekes, ezek ilyen nagyon személyes dolgok, de így- hogy például van egy másik tárgy, amit én itt nagyon szeretek, de érdekes módon az Magyarországhoz kapcsolódik, van egy dugóhúzóm, amit egy barátomtól kaptam, egy ilyen nagyon régi dugóhúzó, még talán meg is tudom keresni, és ez ilyen nagy becsben van itt a- a házban, mindenki nagyon szereti, egy nagyon szép tárgy. és ö és nagyon sokat használjuk, mer ugye elég sokat itt szoktunk így borozni barátokkal meg nem tom, és mindig ezzel nyitjuk a bort, de hogy ez a izé- ez a dugóhúzó ez Magyarországról való, ezt a Lehel téri piacon vásárolta egy barátom, és egyszer sok évvel ezelőtt kaptam így ajándékba, és hogy itt a- érdekes módon és pont azér- azér így jelképezi számomra az otthonosságot, mert egyrészt ugye Magyarországról van, másrészt meg itt így használjuk* [...] (#shows corkscrew to the camera) *nagyon egyszerű, de hogy ez egy- ez itt egy kicsit ilyen fétisobjektum, és ez például nekem nagyon jelképezi az itteni életemet ez a- ez a dolog*

Gergely: *tök jó*

Pál: *azzal együtt, hogy Magyarországról van, tehát hogy így ö*

Gyuri: *igen*

Pál: *kicsit ez ilyen integrációs dolog, azt hiszem* (#laugh)

English translation:

Pál: these are very personal things, but like- for instance, there is another object that I really like, but interestingly it is connected to Hungary, I have a corkscrew that I received from a friend of mine, a very old corkscrew, I can search it, it is highly valued here in the- the house, everybody likes it, a very nice object. and ehm and we use it very frequently, cos right we drink wine frequently with friends and dunno, and we always open the wine with this, but that this thingy- this corkscrew is from Hungary, this was bought by a friend of mine in the Lehel square market, and I once received it as a gift long years ago, and that here the- interestingly and exactly because- because of that like it symbolizes homeliness for me, cos on the one hand it's from Hungary, on the other hand we use it here [...] (#shows corkscrew to the camera) very simple, but that this is a- this here is a bit like a fetish object, and this for example symbolizes very much my life here this- this thing

Gergely: so good

Pál: along with that it is from Hungary, so that like ehm

Gyuri: yes

Pál: a bit integrationish thing, I think (#laugh)

This corkscrew undoubtedly played an important role in Pál's private life in Catalonia, as is shown by the fact that a part of his diasporic performance was to show it to the camera – such as Dénes did with his cookbook. Methodologically, it is worth mentioning that the majority of my fieldwork was conducted during the restrictions on social gatherings due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Because of that, I was not able to visit the homes of the key participants as it would have been the case under usual circumstances. Yet, in such video calls they had the opportunity to show me and the other interlocutors parts of their lives that they found interesting – while performing diasporic identities as well that are in connection with certain objects or materials. During another conversation, Gyuri, for instance, took down his volume of the Hungarian poet Endre Ady poems from the shelf above his computer. This way the interlocutors were like gathering in the workroom of Gyuri (or in the kitchen of Pál in the case of the corkscrew) without being able to observe the objects according to their own claims, such as touching it.

After the lift of restrictions, this could have changed. To the last *magyar tertúlia* I participated in, Pál invited us for dinner to the collective where he worked. He prepared a special surprise for this event that I recorded in my fieldnotes.

(20)

We asked Peter where we were going to cook, and he took out a gas bottle and showed us that he had made a device modeled on the Hungarian *boronáló tárcsa* ('harrow disc'). It turned out that his clients ordered

lamps, and there were some leftover material, so he had worked out the cooking utensil from that, even added handles to make it easier to move. He told me that when he made it, the Argentines working in the workshop told him that they had a similar device back in Argentina.

Tárcsa was traditionally used in rural culture. It is the disc of plough used for cultivation (more precisely, moving the soil in order to sow seed in it). The disc is made of cast iron, so when it was worn out, it was refurbished and converted into an outdoor tool for cooking and roasting. Nowadays, the *tárcsa* can be bought as a cooking device, but the word and the utensil originated in agriculture. Pál was raised in a village, so for him, the reutilization of *tárcsa* itself was a memory from childhood that he reproduced the same experience in Barcelona. In this sense, the touch of the material invoked certain feelings of homeliness. This was a multisensory experience of diasporicity for Pál that he wanted to share with the participants of *magyar tertúlia* the way he shared it before with his Argentine colleagues. This way, the material itself, the touch, the shape, the experience of cooking and speaking Hungarian created together an assemblage that reminded the participants of their homeland.

Image 7.5: Rebeka's photo on Pál and I cooking in a *tárcsa*
(the silhouettes of the participants have been posterized for the sake of reserving their anonymity)

In this section, I showed that the performances and the perceptions of diasporic identities require a posthumanist reading of signs that include sensory experiences as well. These were momentary semiotic assemblages that relied on both ephemeral experiences and potential meanings and resemiotizations of the resources. These examples also demonstrated that food consumption as a social practice is a highly important element of diasporic collective memories. In addition, tastes, smells, sounds, and touches make a substantial contribution in the invocation of homeland orientation among diasporic subjects.

7.4. Summary

In this chapter, I analyzed the myriad ways Hungarians in Catalonia demonstrate orientation to their homeland. Homeland here was understood extensively: it does not necessarily mean a geographic territory, but a wide range of associations created with the homeland. The topic was motivated by one of the cards written by the key participants: HAZASZERETET – HAZA ELHAGYÁS – BŰNTUDAT ('PATRIOTISM – LEAVING [THE] HOME[LAND] – REMORSE'). Although the author of this card did not write this in the form of a question, she wanted to know how others dealt with the emotional discrepancies caused by living in a foreign country and how they tried to reduce guilt. As it turned out, not all participants felt guilty, but all of them engaged in maintaining some contacts with their homeland.

To capture the phenomena of remote bonding with the homeland, I drew on the concept of semiotic assemblage proposed by Pennycook (2017), who combined the literature of (linguistic, then semiotic) landscapes with the notion of assemblage (first coined by Deleuze & Guattari 1987). I found this particularly useful in order to understand the complex meaning-making acts diasporic individuals deliver in their daily lives to get in touch with their homelands – as some of these acts are reiterated practices, while others are only a meaningful and unique co-appearance of signs. Semiotic assemblage provides a framework which is, first, able to treat the potential meanings circulating in line with the resources, irrespectively of whether those resources assemble repeatedly or in a single occurrence. Second, it combines the multilingual, the multimodal and the multisensory. Third, what makes assemblage an especially useful tool is its explanatory power on the semiotic processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization which play crucial role in the diasporic imagination, i.e., how certain semiotic resources associated with the homeland can be reproduced in a meaningful way in a new place.

I categorized the practices done by Hungarians in Catalonia in connection to bonding with their homeland into four main domains. The first one was the engagement with linguistic and metalinguistic practices. Hungarians as a group in Catalonia was imagined as one that speaks Hungarian "*nagyon-nagyon jól*" ('very-very good') opposed to previous periods of emigration, and on an ideological level, they keep up the importance of monolingual norms and the transmission of language to next generations. The rationalization of such practices, however, was not due to nostalgic desire, but to the possibility of the return of future generations. The second domain was engagement with political practices. Hungarians in Catalonia showed great interest in contemporary Hungarian politics during my fieldwork. This can manifest in several ways; one of my examples was a schoolscape that depicted that the weekend school was supported by the Hungarian government, whereas the other example was a photo circulated in Hungarian online media of a dozen Hungarians protesting against the current regime. In both cases political messages were mediating back and forth between the diaspora and the homeland. This brings us to the third domain: due to the digital hyperconnectivity of contemporary technological devices, diasporic connectivity can be realized through constant messaging and consuming news from the homeland, as it was demonstrated in the language diaries of two participants. The fourth domain of bonding with the homeland is the engagement in touristic practices by

which I mean providing for the clientele coming from Hungary accommodation and tour guiding. In touristic practices, a certain diasporic figure was commodified. This figure was an insider of the local culture, but still distant from it, and this was manifested in the telling of stereotypical jokes about the local inhabitants and the comparison of Catalan and Hungarian history.

The second part of this chapter provided examples in which mundane, temporary assemblages of semiotic and multisensory resources got in connection with performances and perceptions of diasporicity. The sight of the book of *Horváth Ilona*, the tastes associated with traditional Hungarian cuisine, the smell of *lángos*, the sound of *Kossuth nóta* and *Rákóczi induló*, the material, shape and touch of *tárcsa* – the common feature of these sensory experiences is that they all evoked memories of the homeland at certain moments during my fieldwork. They were all based on some diasporic practices of the participants (e.g., cooking by the suggestions of the above-mentioned cookbook), but what made them especially salient is the way they were shared (and thus, negotiated, reproduced) by other diasporic individuals as well. This way, the co-occurence of resources and their understandings became semiotic assemblages of diasporization.

The analysis of this chapter was not autotelic. I argue that it has some serious theoretical consequences. In order to work out a sociolinguistically grounded theory of diasporization, we have to take into consideration all the issues listed in this chapter. The topics are, of course, worth studying, such as the linguistic homogenization of diasporic identities (Patiño-Santos 2021), diasporic connectivity (Androutsopoulos & Lexander 2021), diasporic engagement with homeland politics (Lukács 2021), etc. However, for a fuller picture that both depicts "diaspora from below" (Rosa & Trivedi 2017) and in top-down mechanisms in late modernity, we have to take into account all of them. And we also have to merge the temporary and the permanent, the ephemeral and the enduring, the reiterated and the unique – for this purpose the posthumanist understanding of the notion of semiotic assemblage that includes multilingual, multimodal and multisensory resources has proven to be useful in this chapter.

7.5. The feedback of Rebeka

After sending Rebeka the summary in Hungarian, I received three voice messages on WhatsApp Messenger from which all the three recordings contained an important remark from her. After politely thanking me for sending her the summary, she commented first on the subsection on (meta)linguistic practices.

(21)
Rebeka: *nekem az tök fontos volt ezekben, hogy egyáltalán gyakorolhassam élőben a magyar nyelvet ö Barcelonában, mármint nekem ez volt* (#laughing: *a fő motivációm*) *a több más dolog mellett, hogy ezekre eljárjak, hogy- hogy- hogy így magyarul beszélgethessek emberekkel, magyar emberekkel*
English translation:
Rebeka: for me it was very important in these [meetings] to be able to practice the Hungarian language in real life in ehm Barcelona, I mean for me this was (#laughing: the main motivation) besides other things in going to these [meetings] was to- to- to be able to speak Hungarian with people, Hungarian people

With this remark, she reinforced that engaging in linguistic practices is an important factor in displaying homeland orientation. She also confirmed that *magyar tertúlia* meetings were not encounters for research purposes only but served as a reflexive space where participants came voluntarily and for their own different motivations.

Her second voice message included a question to me. She asked whether I argue that people do these practices only to demonstrate their homeland orientation. In the following chat conversation, I wrote to her that of course I do not argue that. But a researcher like myself is not qualified to argue anything about the motivations of the speakers, I can only discuss the speech events themselves and their consequences. The theoretical underpinning of my discipline is that our speech is always (partly) performative, which means the way we communicate contributes to the image we display to others. I even gave her an example: if somebody argues in an interview that she always speaks to her children in Hungarian, we cannot know whether she really does or not – what we know, however, is that she felt it important to emphasize that on an ideological level. Rebeka, after reading my quite long answer, accepted it and found it interesting that, as a psychologist, she is more interested in the other side of the coin. In her third voice message, she underlined that for her, remorse was a real feeling.

(22)

Rebeka: ez tényleg egy óriási küzdelem szerintem így az ember elmegy otthonról, és akkor próbál úgy tenni, mintha még lehetne otthon vagy így kapcsolódhatna úgy haza, de hogy igazából nem, és hogy ez így nem csak a nosztalgiáról szól, hanem egy ilyen valós- valós hiányérzetről szól

English translation:

Rebeka: this is really an enormous struggle I think that one goes away from home, and then tries to act like she would be at home or could connect to the homeland, but not really, and this is like not only about nostalgia, but is about like real- real [feeling of] lack

At the end of our WhatsApp conversation, she added that she wanted me to know that these encounters had really meant a lot to her and thanked me again.

7.6. An autoethnographic reflection

As it can be captured in Rebeka's lines, I got into a peculiar situation as a researcher – or maybe not that peculiar but other researchers seem to be less keen on clarifying how they got close to the communities where they made observations (for a great exception in the context of diaspora see da Silva 2011: 161–163; see also Goebel eds. 2020). I was not only a researcher, but I was also an organizer of certain forms of homeland orientation, maybe an indicator and a source as well. This was especially true in the case of *magyar tertúlia*, but it is also worth mentioning that for some Hungarians in Catalonia, the first information about me was that I had earned a master's degree in teaching, thus I volunteered to help organize educational activities for the second generation in 2018. This certainly had an impact on how people tried to fit into a monolingual norm when first speaking to me despite the fact that I endeavored not to suggest any kind of expectations.

While for the majority of Hungarians in Catalonia I was only one person interested in doing research, for the key participants of the research I was one of them: somebody for whom they felt appreciation for organizing encounters with other Hungarians. I also encouraged them to keep on getting together after my return to Hungary. As *magyar tertúlia* meant a lot to me too, I did not want them to stop suddenly. When the findings of this chapter are read, this peculiar situation has to be acknowledged.

8. Homeland reorientation

The last question articulated by one of the key participants discussed in this dissertation is "*Tanult valamit, ami csak itt volt lehetséges?*" ('Did s/he learn something that was possible only here?'). As we can see, this question already prioritizes the experiences of Hungarians *itt* ('here') which I am going to treat as Catalonia for the sake of simplicity. Being a Hungarian in Catalonia is understood in this question as a unique experience that draws on both the "roots" and the "routes" (Friedmann 2002), origin and destination, Hungarianness and being present in Catalonia. Following the logic of this wording, these Hungarians became somewhat "better" by being in Catalonia and gaining knowledge that can only be gained here.

When discussing this question in a magyar tertúlia, the participants started to bring up ideas and social practices that made them feel satisfied and homely, and which they would also love to have in Hungary. For instance, when János and Dénes were arguing over a local political issue, Pál, who confessed earlier to be the writer of the question, immediately added that "*az emberek nem jönnek dühbe így a politika miatt*" ('people do not get like angry about politics') and "*képesek így röhögni magukon*" ('they can like laugh at themselves') which "*nekünk így kurvára meg kéne tanulni, mint így magyaroknak*" ('we like Hungarians should like fucking learn') – János described this with the term *seny* ('sense') usually associated with Catalans. Among others, Pál brought up *társadalmi tolerancia* ('social tolerance') and *multikulti* ('multiculturalism') and Detti was speaking about *színes társadalmi mozgalmak* ('diverse social movements') – concepts and ideas they all agreed that contributed to them feeling good in the new place of residence and would also have the same impact on the life of Hungarians who remained in Hungary. Similar ideas came up on another occasion as well. For instance, Pál mentioned *gregario*, a Castilian term which he translated as "*a csoportosság fontossága*" ('the importance of groupness') by which he meant prioritizing the interests of the group over individual interests, while Tamás was fascinated by the habit of asking "*qui és l'últim?*" ('who is the last one?' in Catalan) in a shop, something he had never experienced in Hungary but would lead to less tension in his opinion. Gyuri described the way local people let off stress together with the metaphor *vàlvula d'escapament* ('scape valve'). After he got used to that manner and started to practice it, his sister living in Hungary put it simply as "*tudtok élni*" ('you know how to live'). In this chapter, I will interpret these concepts in line with the extension of homeland orientation.

Homeland orientation is one of the three constitutive criteria defined by Brubaker (2005). This criterion was understood in connection with the endeavors of creating actual and virtual bonds with any aspects of the homeland in Chapter 7. The homeland, however, is not always necessarily understood as a static and bounded entity by the diasporic subjects, but one in constant flux and therefore changeable. By the expression "homeland *reorientation*", I refer to the individual and lived experiences of such changes and hybridization. Thus, in this chapter, instead of focusing on the discursive reconstruction of a nostalgic homeland, I look at the speakers' accounts on how their practices diversify the associations of the homeland with the associations of the host-land and how new hybridized practices emerge. I consider that diasporic experience is inherently hybrid on the ground that, as Stuart Hill put it, such experience is defined "not by essence or purity, but by recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with through, not despite, difference; by *hybridity*" (Hall 1990: 235, italics in original; also quoted by Brubaker 2005: 6). According to Drzewiecka, "diasporic migrants creatively redefine their identities", and these identities have the potential to "embrace more open, liminal and nomadic belonging" (Drzewiecka 2017: 2). Hungarians in Catalonia also tend to recognize that they (and their identities) have changed and reorient

towards their homeland in the sense that they start to discuss the new experiences they gained in the host-land and should also be brought back to Hungary – as bringing change to the homeland has also become an option for contemporary diasporas (Nedelcu 2018).

In this chapter, I take a closer look at how diasporic identities were redefined or reoriented by Hungarians in Catalonia. More specifically, I connect Pál's question to how Hungarians see themselves, their identities, and their localities in connection with their experiences in the homeland and in the host-land. I consider reading these narratives as rhizomatically organized because the concept of rhizome allows us to see social categories as not necessarily binary and hierarchical. Therefore, in the next section, I present the theory of rhizome originated from the philosophical work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987), also applied in sociolinguistics lately in order to address the nonlinearity of the discursive organization of social categories. Then, in Section 8.2, I show examples of how such rhizomatic reorientations work out for Hungarians in Catalonia in the context of language, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity. I argue that these are the categories in which the participants identified differences in the views experienced in their homeland and the host-land, and these are the categories in which they developed reoriented views and diasporic identities. After that, I explain one of the most extraordinary cases of this research, namely how the translation of a Catalan humorist's jokes became a common practice among a small group of Hungarians in Catalonia as they considered his humor "Hungarian". I end the chapter with the feedback of Pál on how such practices helped him identify what Hungarianness really means for him and my autoethnographic reflection on one of the "lessons" I have learnt while residing in Catalonia.

8.1. The concept of rhizome

In the previous chapter, I approached the diasporic as something that can be found in the assemblage of meaning-making resources. I draw on another Deleuzian concept, namely rhizome, to be able to deeply understand the hybridity, diversity, and heterogeneity established in previous research on diasporization. For Deleuze and Guattari, rhizome was a metaphor for explaining social phenomena "a more multiple, lateral, and circular system of ramification, rather than a dichotomous one" (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 5). Rhizome is a biological concept for radicle systems or fascicular roots that are, according to Deleuze and Guattari, more suitable for explaining how societies, languages, and cultures are organized than the tree metaphor (opposed to the grammatical trees of Chomsky, for instance, or the trees of the origins of language). In this sense, the rhizome metaphor challenges dichotomous thinking. Contextualizing this approach to the case of diasporization, the diasporic should not be understood merely through the binary or dichotomous categories of the host-land and the homeland, but also through the interconnectedness and reframing of such categories in social life.

In sociolinguistic inquiry, the concept of rhizome has been used in diverging contexts. For instance, Milani and Levon (2016) applied a rhizomatic view in the study of linguistic landscapes in the context of pink tourism and homonationalism in Israel in order to capture the connectivity of different meaning-making resources. Pietikäinen (2015) describes the dynamics of discourses with the rhizome metaphor in the context of Sami multilingualism. She claims that the discourses of language endangerment, commodification and carnivalization work interconnectedly in that context. Others utilized the concept in connection with translanguaging practices (see Canagarajah 2018, Prinsloo & Krause 2019), while Heltai (2019) also used it to describe the different layers by which translanguaging can simultaneously refer to multilingual practices and the areas of pedagogy and minority language maintenances (see also Heltai ms.). However, there is no example of sociolinguistic studies applying rhizome for explaining diaspora and the process of diasporization (for an exception in cultural studies, see Voicu 2013).

Despite that, I see it as remarkably useful to be able to capture how the diasporic can potentially turn out to be hybrid.

Deleuze and Guattari defined four characteristics for a rhizomatic understanding of social categorization (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 7–13). The first is the principles of connection and heterogeneity, which refers to the fact that "any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be" (ibid. p. 7). The diasporic always draws on the networked connection of people and the heterogeneity that they bring into their social life. The second is the principle of multiplicity. Multiplicity can be found in the "increase or decrease of density and intensity" (Milani & Levon 2016: 73). In addition, multiplicity is also "always defined by the outside" (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 9) such as diaspora which is always brought to life by one's (e.g., a nation-state's) claim (Brubaker 2005). But the diasporic as a rhizome of multiplicity is also always defined by deterritorialization, reterritorialization, and the unpredictable connection with other multiplicities. The assemblage and the de- and reterritorialization of semiotic resources play a crucial role in the process of diasporization, as shown in chapter 7. This brings us to the third characteristic which is the principle of asignifying rupture. This principle refers to the assumption that "movements of deterritorialization and processes of reterritorialization" are "relative, always connected, caught up in one another" (ibid p. 10). As shown in the examples of the previous section, the multiplicities experienced by the diasporic subjects can be found at the intersections of associations with territories such as the homeland and the host-land in ways that bring opposing categories to work together. The fourth is the principle of cartography and decalcomania. This principle says that rhizome is more like a map and less like a copy in the sense that it is "open and connectable in all of its dimensions; it is detachable, reversible, susceptible to constant modification" (ibid p. 12). The diasporic experiences and the diasporic identities are by definition non-hierarchical and exposed to ever-going modification, for instance, in the dimensions of time and space, as shown in Chapter 4. The analysis of this chapter endeavors to capture such rhizomatic characteristics of the diasporic in the accounts of the research participants.

8.2. Rhizomatic reorientations

In this section, I go through the most salient reorientations in the accounts the participants provided to me. These reorientations are understood here as rhizomatic because they challenge well-established hierarchies and binaries. The aim is to unfold how diasporic identities emerge in the interactions. Throughout the analysis, I found four important connections. These connections are reorientations in the views on linguistic, more precisely mixed multilingual practices, gender practices, sexual practices and ethnic practices.

To shed light on why these rhizomatic reorientations are decisive in the construction of diasporic identities, I draw on the words of András, who was already voiced in Chapter 4 as one who used to be prominent members in the organization of Hungarian diasporic events. When I asked András whether he would advise anything to newcomer Hungarians in the interview, he pointed to such cultural differences also mentioned by the *magyar tertúlia* participants.

(1)

András: *nagyon gyorsan felejtse el a magyarországi közlekedés szabályait, mármint hogy társadalmi közlekedés szabályait. s ne rökönyödjön meg, ne romantizáljon, hanem így nagyon figyelni kell, hogy mi hogy történik. ugye egy tipikus dolog az ugye az, hogy ö hogy nem értjük magyarok, akik idejövünk, vagy kelet-európaiak, ezt a pozitív szimpatikus, jófej hozzáállást az emberekben. tehát az, hogy azonnal mindenki nagyon-nagyon kedves valakivel. és ugye ez a mi koordinátarendszerünkbe ez azt jelenti, hogy itt valami személyes szimpátia alakult ki. és akkor így nagyon gyakran ezt a helyzetet félreérti az ember, mer*

ez nem személyesen neked szól. tehát ez nem azér szól, mer szépen fésülted a hajad, és nagyon jófej vagy, hanem- hanem azér szól, mer ugye embertársa vagy polgártársa vagy, és ö és jól akarom érezni magam, és- és ezér eszembe se jut a szennyesemet rögtön kiteregetni, panaszkodni a nem tom miről, hanem főleg arról van szó, hogy igyunk egy sört, nevessünk, találjuk meg, hogy mit szeretünk mind a ketten, kicsit felejtsük el, hogy mit utálunk mind a ketten. de ez egy- ez egy közlekedési szabály, tehát nem egy izé, nem egy mélyenszántó valami

English translation:

András: forget very quickly the Hungarian traffic rules, I mean social traffic rules. and do not be surprised, do not romanticize, but like you have to pay attention to what is happening. that is a typical thing right that ehm that we Hungarians don't understand who come here or Eastern Europeans this very positive, sympathetic, cool attitude of the people. that is, everyone is immediately very-very kind to somebody. and right this in our coordinate system means that a very personal sympathy developed. and one misunderstands this situation like very frequently, because this is not addressed to you personally. this is not addressed to that you combed your hair nicely or that you are very cool, but- but it is because you are like a fellow person or a fellow citizen, and ehm and I want to feel good, and- and because of that it does not come to my mind to get my laundry out immediately [viz. tell my problems], complain about dunno what, but it is mostly about drinking a beer, laughing, finding what we both like, forget a bit what we both hate. but this is a- this is a traffic rule, not a deep something

In his lengthy explanation, András generalized the experiences of Hungarians along with the experiences of Eastern Europeans in Catalonia (which is already a rhizomatic reorientation further discussed in Subsection 8.2.4). The experiences of confusing general kindness and personal sympathy was traced back to differences between the *közlekedési szabályok* ('traffic rules'), as he put it, here and there. András, such as the *magyar tertúlia* participants, introduced the behavior of the local people as enormously positive. In Excerpt (2), he also added that this should be learned by Hungarians.

(2)

András: ezt csak úgy lehet, hogyha így- így nyitva állunk, és nem elítéljük vagy rajongunk érte, hanem egyszerűen így megtanuljuk ezt a fajta közlekedést. és szerintem ez- ez egyébként a mentál higiénés szempontból nagyon-nagyon fontos lenne, hogy megtanuljuk mi is. tehát az, hogy nem kell rögtön a másikat egyrészt egy politikai állatfajnak tartani, vagy besorolni valahova, és ö semmilyen szempontból, hanem először így először csak így a felszínen el lehet röhögcsélni, meg sörözgetni, meg minden. ez szerintem egy- legalábbis az a Magyarország, amit én ismerek, abban nincs meg ez a- ez a tiszta lappal indulunkos izé, hanem- hanem előítéletekkel indulunk nagyon politikai, tehát ideológiai előítélet, szín, nyelvhasználat, minden ilyesmi, tehát én úgy érzem, hogy nagyon bennünk van ez

English translation:

András: this can only be done if like- like we are open and we don't judge or adore it, just simply learn like this kind of trafficking. and I think this- this by the way would be very-very important from a mental hygiene point of view for us to learn. so you don't have to immediately think of the other person as a political animal, or classify them as one or the other at all, but you can just have a laugh and a beer and everything, on the surface, for the first time. and I think this is a- at least the Hungary that I know doesn't have this- this blank slate thing, but- but we start with prejudices, very political, so ideological prejudices, color, language use, all that kind of thing, so I feel that we have this very much in us

Despite not being asked precisely about what he had learnt that was not possible in Hungary, András told this example as it would be an answer to the question discussed. In his opinion, acquiring this 'trafficking' would be essential for the psyche of Hungarians in Hungary, and it would make them less prejudicial. The common trait in the ways András and Pál told their stories was that they both treated their own experiences as somewhat superior to that of other Hungarians'. In this sense, they redefined their identities into a liminal but worthy one (Drzewiecka 2017). In the next subsections, I show examples on what lessons and "traffic rules" other participants learned and how they redefined their identities in the contexts of language, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity.

8.2.1. Reoriented linguistic practices

As shown in Subsection 7.2.1, language and linguistic practices play key roles in the expression of homeland orientation. More precisely, the metalinguistic practice of advocating for monolingual Hungarian regimentation (including practices of verbal hygiene) can be displayed as a form of performing diasporic Hungarianness. However, as already mentioned in that subsection, this is only one side of the coin, or to put it more fit to the context of this chapter, one stolon of the rhizome. Other stolons can also meet in the node of a rhizome. In the next example, great tension is shown around different linguistic practices. I argue that a rhizomatic reorientation among Hungarians in Catalonia was the acknowledgement of multilingual practices (here labeled as *kevert* 'mixed') that transgress the boundaries of named languages as contributing to the performance of diasporic identities. This acknowledgement is also in line with the principle of multiplicity as the views on linguistic practices are de- and reterritorialized. To support this argument, I show examples from various data sources: an online focus group discussion where the two interlocutors negotiate how one should speak Hungarian "correctly", excerpts from diaries, interviews, and ethnographic fieldnotes that demonstrate that mixed linguistic practices became understood as acceptable as a form of self-expression and as an integral part of family life in multilingual families.

The first example is derived from an online focus group discussion where Gyuri and Detti met for the first time. At the end of this discussion, they started to debate the way Hungarian should be spoken: Gyuri could only imagine speaking Hungarian in a monolingual manner, while Detti also utilized various linguistic resources in her performance as a diasporic subject who works something that is not possible the same way in the homeland.

This online focus group was an introductory encounter where the two participants got to know each other and touched upon several topics mostly in connection with their lives and activities during the quarantine. Participants were then less able to step outside the conventional research framework: they expected me, as a fieldworker, to ask the questions that interested me. The interaction I cite here took place at the end of an almost two hours long discussion. More precisely, at the end Gyuri asked me questions on what my research was exactly about and when I mentioned *nyelv* ('language'), he started a monologue on his diasporic imaginations.

(3)
Gyuri: *beilleszkedtem teljesen, beilleszkedtem, szóval integrálódtam az itteni világba, meg úgy a családon keresztül ez nem volt neh- nem volt könny-* (#shakes head) *nehéz, bocsánat. de- de mindig is egy olyan magyarnak ér- éreztem magam, aki itt él. tudod? s ezér megpróbálok például- például te ugye azt mondtad, hogy „én egy* <centro cívico>*ban ö dolgozom"*
Detti: *igen*
Gyuri: *mér?* (#laughing: *mér nem mondod magyarul?*) *ugye? ez egy- egy érdekes*/
Detti: /(#smiling: *szerintem erre nincs jó magyar szó, azér*)
Gyuri: *hát hogy egy ilyen* | {*kultúrházban*}
Detti: {*ha azt mondom*}, *hogy egy közösségi ház, az sem ugyanaz, meg a kultúrház sem* {*ugyanaz*}
Gyuri: {*de- de-*} *de az- pontosan a közösségi ház talán azt takarja, nem? az ez az ottani, mert* {*ugye*}
Detti: {*hát de pont*} *ilyen közösségi házak szerintem nincsenek otthon*
Gyuri: *úgy nevezik, hogy polgári központ, mer* {*ugye ez van*}
Detti: {*igen polgári*} *központ, jó*
English translation:
Gyuri: I have adjusted entirely, I have adjusted, so I have gotten integrated into the world here, and through my family it was not dif- it was not eas- (#shakes head) difficult, sorry. but- but I always identified a Hungarian who lives here. you know? that's why I try to for instance- for instance you said, right, that "I ehm work in a <centro cívico>"
Detti: yes

Gyuri: why? (#laughing: why don't you say it in Hungarian?) right? this is an- an interesting/
Detti: /(#smiling: I think there is no good Hungarian word [for that], that's why)
Gyuri: well in like a | {civic center}
Detti: {if I say} a community center, it's not the same, and civic center is either {the same}
Gyuri: {but- but} but yeah exactly community center means that, doesn't it? this is there, because {right}
Detti: {but} this kind of community centers are not there [viz. doesn't exist] at home [viz. in Hungary]
Gyuri: they are called *polgári központ* ['citizen center'] because they {are there}
Detti: {yes citizen} center, okay

In this excerpt, the interlocutors brought in several discursive formations through their utterances, such as the discourse of integration (discussed thoroughly in Chapter 5). After interactively taking up the position of the *integálódott* (see also Subsection 4.2.1), in contrast to that, Gyuri clarified that he still felt *magyar* ('Hungarian'), and he implicitly alluded to the fact that speaking Hungarian without loanwords is a way of performing it properly.

Despite being a first encounter, the conventional interactional roles associated with elicitation research techniques (i.e., the roles of the researcher or fieldworker and the interviewee) began to be eroded. This was, of course, my aim for the longer collaboration, but in a different way. It is rare that in such a situation research participants start to ask each other difficult questions or make comments. Documenting such ideological tensions are more typical of observational, mainly ethnographic research situations, which could not be conducted during this period because of the curfew. This online focus group, in this sense, provided a site for an ideological debate over what counts as a legitimate or morally acceptable way of speaking for a diasporic Hungarian. The great ideological tension can also be traced in the fact that most turns were precedent by simultaneous speaking.

Gyuri quoted one of Detti's previous utterances and judged it simply as not Hungarian, and laughingly scolded her for not speaking Hungarian. For him, the sentence "*Egy* <centro cívico>*ban dolgozom*" ('I work in a <centro cívico>') was marked. Detti first replied calmly pointing to the fact that the institute of *centro cívico* does not have an equivalent in Hungary (to which she referred to as *otthon* 'at home'): she offered two possible translations but claimed that the institution itself does not exist in the Hungarian system. Her sentences expanded the way language was treated: it was not just denotational, but referential and poetic, as well, in the sense that it was used to perform a certain diasporic identity. Detti set up a differentiation, and to underpin this differentiation she drew on a linguistic practice which we could label as translingual (see Canagarajah 2018, Heltai 2019), but – following the words of the participants – I will call mixed (*kevert* in Hungarian) from now on. As it turned out during our long-term collaboration, this practice was her way of expressing that she was doing something in Barcelona that she had not done before and could not have done in Budapest – namely, teaching English to active elderly people and in an environment that was not common in Hungary. In other words, by mixed ways of speaking, she was also communicating a hybrid social practice (i.e., teaching language in an unusual environment) that she did not consider narratable by relying on a "purely" Hungarian sentence. However, at the end of this excerpt, probably in order to avoid a debate, she accepted the translation that Gyuri offered even though it was only a loan translation that would not have really worked in the Hungarian context either.

After Detti's approval, Gyuri started an explanation on the potential meanings of the Hungarian word *polgári*.

(4)
Gyuri: *mer a polgári szónak, mer ugye a- a- polgári magyarul az a* <cívico>*t is jelenti meg a* <civil>*t is. ugye?*
Detti: *mhm*

Gyuri: *meg a burzsoát is*
Detti: *igen*
Gyuri: *tehát három jelentése van* (#laugh)*, de itt nem derül ki a- szóval érted magyarul nem- nem mondanák, hogy polgári központ, hanem- bár kitaláltak egy időben olyat, hogy polgári kör, ugye?*
Gergely: *na az egy más- másik {téma}*
Gyuri: {*tudom*}*, viccből mondom* (#laugh)
English translation:
Gyuri: cos the word *polgári* ['citizen'], cos right in Hungarian *polgári* ['citizen'] means both <cívico> ['civic'] and <civil> ['civil'], right?
Detti: mhm
Gyuri: and bourgeois as well
Detti: yes
Gyuri: so it has three meaning (#laugh), but it doesn't turn out to- so you see they wouldn't say *polgári központ* ['citizen center'] in Hungarian, but- once they devised *polgári kör* ['citizen circle'], right?
Gergely: well that's an- another {topic}
Gyuri: {I know}, it's a joke (#laugh)

When Gyuri was speaking about language and meanings, he always used general referents like *nem mondanák* ('[they] wouldn't say') and *úgy nevezik* ('it is called') even when he applied linguistic resources created by himself. The language ideology he reconstructed here treats languages separable from speakers and from each other (Blommaert & Rampton 2016). This impersonal wording is very much usual in everyday metalinguistic activity, but it became salient here in contrast with Detti's utterances who usually drew on hybrid linguistic practices with the purpose of self-expression during the whole fieldwork. This kind of hybridity was arguably serving as a mode of performing a diasporic identity beyond cultural and linguistic boundaries. Here, however, Detti did not react, and it was me who stopped him. When he mentioned *polgári kör*, I felt that it would not be the best idea to get into the topic current politics at this early stage. These 'citizen circles' constituted a part of a campaign initiated by one of the current Hungarian governing parties in 2002, and the topic was potentially divisive. My reaction turned out to be unnecessary because Gyuri went back to his original thread.

(5)
Gyuri: *na de én, aki nagyon régóta itt élek, megpróbálok mindig szóval ö tehát megtartani a- a magyar tudásomat, olvasok, levelezek, ímélezek ö magyarokkal, és ö és hát megpróbálom ezt megtartani ö annak ellenére, hogy- hogy itt élek, és- és hát de továbbra is ugye a- magyarnak tartom magam. persze itteninek is, tehát- tehát ilyen kétlaki, vagy két ö |*
Detti: *hát fogalmaztál úgy az előbb nem olyan rég, hogy- hogy „minket nem szeretnek-" vagy nem is tudom hogy, de hogy ö „minket katalánokat"*
Gyuri: *ja igen, igen, igen*
Detti: *hm*
Gyuri: *hát van egy katalán identitásom, persze, persze. sőt, sőt hát ö ha úgy vesszük, még spanyol is, ugye, mer ha az ember Indonéziában van, akkor* (#laugh) *a regionális ö ö csetepaték hátrébb kerülnek, és akkor- illetve hát* (#laugh) *attól függ. de akkor- akkor meg ugye spanyolnak vesznek, és spanyolul- én ott spanyolként működtem, ugye, spanyol céggel voltam egyébként*
Detti: *igen*
Gyuri: *egy spanyol cég- nak voltam ilyen* <free lance> *öm szakértője*
English translation:
Gyuri: so I, who has been living here for a very long time, always try to like ehm so maintain my- my Hungarian knowledge, I read, I write mails, I write emails with ehm Hungarians, and ehm and well I try to maintain this ehm despite- despite living here, and- and well but I still right- identify Hungarian. local as well of course, so- so like a dioecious [viz. 'living a snowbird lifestyle'] or two ehm |
Detti: well you phrased not a long ago that- hat „they don't like us-" or I don't know how [exactly] but ehm „us Catalans"
Gyuri: yeah yes, yes, yes
Detti: hm

Gyuri: well I have a Catalan identity of course, of course. indeed, if we put it that way, Spanish even, right, because when one is in Indonesia, then (#laugh) these regional ehm ehm skirmishes are overshadowed, and then- but well (#laugh) it depends. but then- then they see me Spanish and I- I operated in Spanish, right, I was there with a Spanish company
Detti: yes
Gyuri: I was a <freelance> ehm expert of a Spanish com- pany

When Gyuri returned to his thread on his Hungarianness, he reproduced a discourse that is called the metaphor of loss by Block (2008). Gyuri implicitly treated his endeavors to maintain bonds with other Hungarians in Hungarian monolingually as the morally acceptable way of being Hungarian. This behavior of his was juxtaposed with Detti's mixed utterance. However, if we look at this excerpt from the perspective of other identities, it should not be neglected that in this conversation an older man was talking to two young people, including a young woman, so the ideological expectations expressed by Gyuri can also be interpreted in terms of gender and age hierarchies. Although, as I alluded to above, the interlocutors had begun to step out of conventional (research-related) situational role expectations, macro-social role conceptions remain in play.

Detti, despite the hidden hierarchies, was able to defend herself by pointing to the alleged weakness of Gyuri's argument when he started to reflect on his peculiar situation of living a 'snowbird lifestyle'. She also repeated one of Gyuri's earlier utterances that was strange for her in which Gyuri metonymically referred to himself as a member of Catalans. Gyuri then admitted that he had several identities, including a Catalan and even a Spanish one. It is important to point out, however, that his narrative described the Hungarian and Catalan identities as self-chosen, while the Spanish identity was explained as something that is present in the perception of others. In a way, this thought reconstructs the ideological configuration which treats Castilian as anonymous, while Catalan as an authentic voice in the alternative terms of voluntary versus imposed identification (see Chapter 5 and 6).

My second example is on how the diasporic subjects can potentially make an influence on the linguistic practices of local people as a result of the performance of the diasporic by transmitting Hungarian-origin expressions in the local languages. This excerpt is a series of chat messages Detti shared with me in her diary. This shows that not only her way of living affected how she expressed herself, but it also affected her environment. Before the quoted lines, one of her local friends sent her an article in Castilian that discussed József Szájer, a Hungarian politician who resigned as a Member of the European Parliament after getting into trouble with the police in Brussels. According to that article, a plaque was placed where he was caught.

(6)
Detti: 😂😂😂
Se lo merece mucho
friend: Sii
Que fuerte
Detti: Yaa
Ya es otro nivel de hipocracia
Muy surreal todo
friend: Siii
Aqui tb somos muy hipocritss eh
Detti: Como incluir pasos super homofobos en la comstitucion y luego ir a orgias gays?
No tanto..
friend: Si
Bfff
Eso es demasiado

Hasta la polls de cavsllo tiene un fin
Xd
Hahahhaha

English translation:

Detti: 😂😂😂
He deserves it very much
friend: Yees
How strong
Detti: Yeah
It's another level of hypocrisy
All very surreal
friend: Yeees
We are very hypocrites as well here eh
Detti: Like including super homophobic steps in the constitution and then going to gay orgies?
Not that much
friend: Yes
Pfff
This is too much
Even the horse's cock has an end
Xd
Hahahhaha

It is already interesting that, because of Detti, the friend was checking Hungarian-related news, but what is more important linguistically is that Detti, in her diary, explained that she taught her friend the Castilian translation of the swearing *a lófasznak is van vége* ('even the horse's cock has an end', meaning 'I've had enough of this'), and she was happy that the friend remembered it and used it properly in a sentence. She even added that the friend would like to buy a T-shirt with the original Hungarian expression. The friend's engagement with Detti's utterance can be understood as an unlikely practice of conviviality (see Heil 2019). What Detti learned in Catalonia – drawing on the words of Pál in the initial question – was that monolingual hierarchies can be transgressed and that it is a mode of experiencing and expressing one's uniqueness as a diasporic subject.

While Detti did this overtly, other participants connected their mixed ways of speaking to their family life, so the next excerpts are examples on how new forms of convivial family languages may evolve. Tamás, for instance, argued in his interview that he and his local spouse (who had also spent some years living in Hungary) speak *egy teljesen magyar-spanyol kevéreknyelvet* ('a completely mixed language of Hungarian and Spanish') which might not be intelligible for an outsider. I asked him to elaborate on what he meant exactly.

(6)

Tamás: *hát ö megengedhetjük magunknak azt a luxust, hogy egymás között azokat a szavakat, vagy azokat a nyelvi fordulatokat használjuk, ami egy adott szituáció kapcsán először az eszünkbe jut. mer tudjuk, hogy a másik meg fogja érteni. másokkal külső, harmadik, vagy családon kívül, vagy párkapcsolaton kívüli emberekkel ö ezt inkább nem próbáljuk, és ha elakadunk, akkor inkább vesszük a fáradságot, és gondolkodunk, hogy ez azér hogy lehet ö az a- az ö ö hogy lehet megfogalmazni az adott nyelven, de egymás között ami előjön, ami először eszünkbe jut, akkor- akkor ö azon beszélünk, tehát például reggel „hol fogunk* <desayun>*álni?", ez teljesen ö ö bevett* (#laugh) *fordulata a reggeli- reggelizőhelyünk eldöntése ö kor, míg Magyarországon vagy párkapcsolaton kívül, akkor „hova megyünk reggelizni?" vagy* <¿a dónde vamos a desayunar?> *lenne a spanyol megfelelője, de egy- egymás között ö hogyha ez könnyebb, akkor- akkor így fogalmazzuk meg. tehát nagyjából ezt- ezt kell érteni a- a ö kevert nyelven*

Gergely: *mhm*

Tamás: *érdekes, hogy ahogy én visszatekintek, ö ö domináns a spanyol szavak ra- magyar ragozása, ami szerintem- most ezen soha nem gondolkodtam meg nem tudatosítottam, de valószínűleg ez a nehezebb, „hova megyünk* <desayun>*álni?". ö valószínűleg ez a- ez a nehezebb formája, tehát ö spanyol szókészlet*

illesztünk bele magyar nyelvtanba, valahogy asszem ez lehet az alapja a- a ö kettőnk közt használatos tolvajnyelvnek

English translation:

Tamás: well ehm we can afford the luxury that among us we use those words or those linguistic expressions that come to our mind first in a given situation. cos we know that the other will understand it. with others, outsider, third or outside of family, or outside of relationship people ehm we rather not try, and if we stall, we make the effort and think on this how can be ehm the- the- the ehm ehm how can be expressed in a given language, but among use what comes up, what comes to our mind first, then we tell that, so for example in the morning "*hol fogunk* <desayun>*álni?*" ['where we are going to have breakfast?'], this is an absolutely ehm ehm common (#laugh) twist for deciding ehm the place- place of our breakfast, while in Hungary or outside the relationship, then "*hova megyünk reggelizni*?" [in Hungarian] or "<¿a dónde vamos a desayunar?>" would be the Spanish equivalent, but am- among use ehm if it is easier, then- then we say it this way. so that's- that's how the- the ehm *kevert nyelv* [viz. 'mixed language'] should be understood

Gergely: mhm

Tamás: it is interesting that if I look back, ehm ehm the Hungarian conjugation of Spanish words is ehm ehm dominant, which is I think- I have never been thinking about that or acknowledging that, but probably this is the more difficult, "*hova megyünk*<desayun>*álni*?". ehm probably this- this is the more difficult form so we put Spanish vocabulary to Hungarian grammar, somehow I think this might be the base of the- the ehm thieves' cant used by the two of us

Tamás, in his detailed description of the way he and her spouse can communicate, treated the mixing of languages as *luxus* ('luxury'). His wording points to the uniqueness that he associated with such speech modes: luxury is only a privilege of few, and it is something that causes great pleasure but one can only seldom do it. He explicitly claimed that they do not speak this way outside of the family and in Hungary. Thus, this mixed linguistic practice can also be understood as a rhizomatic reorientation towards the homeland, because in these lines Hungary was imagined as a homeland with monolingual expectations, but the resources of the language associated with the homeland were fit to be repurposed in convenient ways in family communication in the host-land. This mixed linguistic practice is also rhizomatic in the sense that they were new hybridized practices in which there were resources associated with at least two named languages in new contexts and under new conditions. Tamás, when speaking about their linguistic practice, drew on binary and hierarchical categories of named languages. However, these binaries and hierarchies could be dissolved in the family context. This kind of dissolution can also be traced in his wording: besides luxury, he also called their way of speaking *tolvajnyelv* ('thieves' cant') which points simultaneously to that it only belongs to them and to that it is somewhat underground and anti-mainstream.

Other research participants also frequently made comments on such mixed practices. On one occasion, I had a video chat with a few of them (namely Klára, Ibolya, Dóra and Letti), when I got some insights on how they communicate with their families and made ethnographic fieldnotes of such insights. Klára, at that time, was in Germany, and brought up the topic of how she unintentionally created new expressions.

(7)

Klára said that she created the word *sprechemos* with the meaning 'we speak' from *sprechen* ['to speak' in German] and *hablamos* ['we speak' in Castilian]. Ibolya reacted that her daughters speak like that as well, for instance, they say things like *az amigám* ['my friend' from the Castilian word *amiga* surrounded by the Hungarian *az* definite article and *-m* possessive ending in first person singular], but she also speak like that to them if it is easier. This also happened during our conversation: when (#delete: name of Ibolya's older daughter) came to the computer, Ibolya asked her what they ate, and she answered *cerealest* ['cereals' followed by Hungarian *-t* accusative suffix]. The others laughed, and then Ibolya asked how is that in Hungarian – I said that I guess *müzli*, but then we agreed on *gabonapehely*, and a few minutes later (#delete: name of Ibolya's older daughter) brought the box there onto which *corn flakes* was written.

As mentioned in Subsection 7.2.1, looking for Hungarian equivalents is a frequent metalinguistic practice among the diasporic subjects in conversations, however, this excerpt moves a bit beyond that. Here several mixed expressions (such as *sprechemos*, *az amigám*, *cerealest*) are understood as legitimate utterances in a certain context. It is not just that linguistic practices of multilingual families are not tied merely to named languages (see Hiratsuka & Pennycook 2020), but these are acknowledged forms of self-expression. As mentioned above, this is not simply a question of ideology versus practice, rather that such practices are rhizomatically reoriented as Ibolya also admitted that she sometimes speaks the same way to her daughters. She, just as Tamás in Excerpt (6), connected such a way of speaking to the easier and more convenient communication within the family.

In the next excerpt, another mixed practice in the family came up when Dénes tried to complete a cultural translation of a Hungarian expression which was already known by his local spouse. This excerpt is from his diary.

(8)

Hajnalban forgolódik a feleségem az ágyban, akaratlanul felébreszt. Mozgásáról eszembe jut, amit édesanyám mondott amikor gyerekkorunkban megállás nélkül mozogtunk: „úgy mozogsz kisfiam, min a sajtkukac". Az igazság az, hogy mindig elég viccesnek találtam ezt a hasonlatot. A feleségem is ismeri, mert már mondtam és fordítottam neki, de azért újra mondom, mert a helyzetre találónak érzem.

Kapásból visszavág: „tú eres el sájtos kukác".

Nagyon tetszik a válasz, de a visszaalvás érdekében csak reggel mondóm el neki a különbséget a sajtkukac és a sajtos kukac között.

English translation:

At dawn, my wife is tossing and turning in the bed, she wakes me up unintentionally. About her motion, my mother's words come to my mind when we were moving non-stop: "*úgy mozogsz kisfiam, min*[t] *a sajtkukac*" ['you are moving, my son, as a cheese skipper']. The truth is that I have always found this analogy funny. My wife knows it as well because I had already told her and translated it, but I say it again because I find it fit to this situation.

She strikes back immediately: "*tú eres el sájtos kukác*" ['you are the *sájtos kukác*']

I like her answer very much but in order to fall asleep quickly I only tell her the difference between *sajtkukac* and *sajtos kukac* ['cheesy worm'] in the morning.

The expression mentioned by Dénes is truly used by parents referring to overly mobile, fidgety children whose movements are juxtaposed linguistically with the larvae of the cheese fly known for infesting foods. It is not surprising, therefore, that Dénes's wife – although she had known the expression from earlier – was not happy about the comparison. Unlike Detti's friend in Excerpt (5), the wife was not able to repeat the expression in its usual form. This can be traced in two aspects. First, Dénes reproduced her way of saying it in his diary with the letter *á* by which he probably referred to the phoneme [a] while *sajtkukac* is pronounced most frequently as [ʃɒjtkukɒt͡s]. Besides the phonetic level, she also renewed the word on the morphological level by putting the syllable *-os* into it. This addition made the whole sentence funny for Dénes as this formulation would mean 'cheesy'. When I interviewed Dénes about his diary, it turned out that his wife knows quite a lot of Hungarian expressions and uses them as recurrent phrases in family communication such as *nagyon finom* ('very delicious') and *nagyon aranyos* ('very cute'). She studied these during family visits in Hungary and started to cite them in ludicrous situations because these were repeated for her many times.

The excerpts of this subsection were different examples on how mixed speech modes were understood by the participants. Although for some participants such practices were understood as unacceptable (as transgressing the boundaries of the Hungarian named language), for most

of them one of the lessons learnt – echoing Pál's words – while residing in Catalonia was that in some situations mixing languages is a valid option. These situations were mostly associated with the informality of family communication, however, they can potentially reach far beyond that. Mixed linguistic practices can contribute to the image of uniqueness for the diasporic subjects, and connected to that, they can also be transmitted to the local people, such as in the case of *hasta la polla del caballo tiene un fin*.

8.2.2. Reorientations around genders

The views on gender (i.e., what does it mean to be a woman or a man in a given socio-cultural context) may change in diasporic situations, and new kinds of gendered practices may evolve from that change. I argue that, drawing on the principle of asignifying rupture, Hungarians in Catalonia reported that they faced differences in finding their place because of the gender roles in Catalonia, and these differences often led them to engaging in new social practices and orientations towards genders. In this subsection, I draw on three examples: the case of a Hungarian women group that was inspired by the Catalan family structure, the situation of newly arrived men, and the recognized visibility of transgender people in Catalonia.

The first example is the Hungarian women's group in Barcelona (already mentioned in Subsection 4.3.3) which was so special that it was mentioned by a great number of women interview partners, even by those who had been dwelling in the region for only a short period. According to the accounts of different participants, first a closed Facebook group was created which had around 400 members. The real-life meetings of the group were thematically diverse, but the core was always provided by a talk centered on one of the members' profession or area of interest. The number of participants differed depending on the subject, but it was mostly between 10 and 40. Klára, who was a regular participant, said about the events: "*sok női dolgokról* [szól]. *végülis megosztjuk egymás között a véleményünket, a munkakörbe én is, hogy segítsünk egymásnak, például ebbe a gyerekes témákba is*" ('it is [about] a lot of woman things. well, we share our opinions with each other, about work too, to help each other, for example about children as well').

The peculiarity of the group is also evident given the fact that an interview with one of the organizers was published in the second volume of the Hungarian-Spanish bilingual newsletter established in 2018 by the Madrid-centered *Madách Egyesület*. The organizer said about their events running since 2016 that "*havonta egyszer találkozunk és ilyenkor valaki bemutatkozik. Volt már HR-es kerekasztal, pszichológus-workshop, orvosi előadás, tartottam én is interkulturális kommunikációról beszélgetést, de volt téma a virágkötés és a jóga is*" ('we meet once a month and somebody introduces herself. We had a panel discussion on HR, a workshop in psychology, a talk by a doctor, I [myself] had a conversation on intercultural communication, but floristry and yoga were also discussed'; http://site-585602.mozfiles.com/files/585602/Magyar_Hirlevel_2018_06_06.pdf, last access: 15/10/2022). One of the administrators of the group, Zsera, had already moved back to Hungary.

When I had the chance to conduct an interview with her in Budapest, she volunteered additional information about the formation of the group:

(9)
Zsera: *jött a nagy ötlet, hogy hát akkor mér nem fogjuk mi össze ezeket a nőket? mért nem csinálunk egy olyan csoportot, ahol- ahol lennénk egymásnak a segítségei, ahol lenne egy olyan közeg, ahol egyszerűen együtt vagyunk, tehát hogy ahol az a hasonlóság, hogy magyarok vagyunk, de külföldön vagyunk, és nők vagyunk, ennyi a hasonlóság*

English translation:

Zsera: the great idea came that why don't we gather these women? why don't we create a group where-where we could give a hand to each other, where an environment would be created to be together, so where what we have in common is that we are Hungarians, but abroad, and we are women, that's in common

In Zsera's narrative, the discourse of national-ethnic belonging abroad was supplemented by the ideological desire for gendered solidarity which according to her account was not present in her life prior to her presence in Catalonia. At a later moment of the conversation, she made it clear that while the main goal was to give space for professional discussions, they also gave space for speaking about difficulties in childbirth and raising kids, to share ideas on the differences between local and back-home habits. This is what Klára was also referring to in her utterance quoted above. Zsera continued with clear reference to Catalonia.

(10)

Zsera: *gyakorlatilag Katalóniában az egy nagyon jellemző családi struktúra, hogy ö férfiak férfiakkal tartsanak össze, nők nőkkel tartsanak össze, tehát ezek az ágak családon belül nagyon ö erősek, ö így támogatják egymást. Ezt mi itthon talán nem érezzük annyira, én úgy gondolom, hogy itthon sokkal inkább egy családot is egy férfi vezet, és ahhoz kapcsolódnak a nők*

English translation:

Zsera: it is a very common family structure in Catalonia that ehm men solidarize with men, women solidarize with women, so these branches are very ehm strong within a family, and this is how they ehm support each other. we perhaps don't feel the same here at home, and I think here a family is more likely to be led by a man, and women are connected to that

Zsera explained their need for such encounters by referring to the local characteristics, especially by the putative differences in family structure between Hungarians and Catalans. She also spoke about her experiences that Hungarian women with a Catalan spouse often felt lonely due to the lack of women's network in the family. What we see here might be described with the rhizome's principle of asignifying rupture. Although the participants were unplugged from their well-known cultural and social capital due to their transnational mobility, they made an attempt to recreate that after the rupture drawing on ethnic and gender identities.

When I asked the other organizer of the events, who was actually the creator of the group, she provided similar references to the Catalan society.

(11)

Zsófi: *mivel mi individualista kultúrából jövünk, ez azt jelenti- illetve ez azzal is együtt jár, hogy- hogy azt gondoljuk, hogyha jók vagyunk valamiben, akkor- akkor ez elég ahhoz, hogy minket felvegyenek valahova, vagy megpályázzunk egy állást. most egy ilyen kollektivista kultúrában, mint a- mint a katalán, itt szükség van szociális kompetenciákra meg kapcsolatokra, mert hogy akkor tudsz belépni valahova, hogy ha valaki ajánlott téged személyesen, hogy te egy csoportnak a részét alkotod. és hogyha nagyon-nagyon jó szociális kompetenciáid vannak, mert hogy az is fontos. úgy gondoltam, hogy aki egy ilyen individualista kultúrából jön, annak egy jó kis tréning, hogyha ezeket a szociokulturális kompetenciákat esetleg nem rögtön a katalán térben, hanem egy magyarul beszélő térben tanulja meg, és ott mutatkozik be, ott beszél arról, hogy- hogy mit csinál, mert hogy ezt kell- tehát magát el kell majd adnia egy- egy másik kultúrában*

English translation:

Zsófi: as we come from an individualist culture, this means- or this also goes together with that- that we think if we are good in something, then- then it is enough to be hired or to apply for a job. now, in such a collectivist culture as the- as the Catalan, here social competences and connections are needed, because you can [only] enter somewhere if somebody offered you personally that you form part of a group. and if you have very-very good social competences, because it is also important. i thought that for somebody who comes from such an individualist culture this is a pretty good training if such socio-cultural

competences are not immediately learnt in the Catalan space, but in a Hungarian-speaking space, and she introduces herself there, she speaks there about what- what she does, because that's needed- so she will have to sell herself in- in another culture

Zsófi had been married to a Catalan man for over twenty years, and she confessed that she had had quite a lot of difficulties at the beginning of her presence in Catalonia. She traced back these difficulties to cultural differences which she generalized in Excerpt (11) as individualist and collectivist cultures. Her aim with the women's group was to help other Hungarian women avoiding such difficulties by getting prepared for such ordeals. Thus, a community of women was created that tried to respond to the claims that were not present in their lives before in Hungary.

When I was asking about the background of the group (and I precisely used the word *feminista* 'feminist'), Zsera responded as the following.

(12)
Zsera: *a feminizmus abszolút nem igaz erre a dologra, tehát hogy az nem, de ez az ilyen* <women power>*, ez abszolút, tehát az, hogy akkor legyünk együtt, hogy legyünk erősebbek, de nem a férfiak ellen*
English translation:
Zsera: feminism doesn't hold at all for this thing. so it is not feminist. but it is like <women power>, it is absolutely, so to be together, to be stronger, but not against men

Gal (2018) mentions that *feminista* ('feminist') self-identification is not widely used in contemporary Hungary, because it indexes foreign, principally Western influence (for a similar phenomenon with political correctness, see Bodó et al. 2022b). Zsera also showed distance from this category due to its anti-men connotations. This distance was narrated by *women power*, another resource that is associated with Anglo-Saxon culture. Whatever category is used to describe their activity, it is evident that the way the participants of this group saw themselves was in connection with a change in what it meant to be a woman for them. In a diasporic context, they realized that they needed to rely on each other for getting along and getting stronger together, but they always emphasized that their activity was not at the expense of men.

While the first example was on how women became empowered through diasporic activities, the second example is the opposite case: how some men saw themselves less valuable than before and why. During my whole fieldwork, I frequently heard thoughts on the lower number of Hungarian men coupled with local women than Hungarian women coupled with local men. I cannot justify (nor refute) this assumption with statistics, but such observation was accepted as truth among Hungarians in Catalonia. Although I do not have much data on the topic of masculinity, the thoughts in the next excerpt might be illuminating on the challenges Hungarian men might face. Excerpt (13) comes from an interview with Géza who was one of the returnee participants.

(13)
Géza: *egy kelet-közép-európai ö nő, már bocsánat, lehet, hogy ez nagyon-nagyon szexistának tűnik, úgyhogy elnézést, de ez egy kicsit olyan egzotikumnak számít, egy magyar nő, „ú, van egy magyar barátnőm, ú, van egy". én ne- nem tudom, valahogy így nem tom elképzelni azt, hogy egy ö nyugat-európai | csaj, hogy „fú, van egy magyar pasim, ó, mi- mi- milyen überfasza". nem tom, valahogy ez nekem sosem- gondoltam arra, hogy ez egy olyan- meg úgy nem is nagyon volt sikerélményem tényleg. aztán itthon hazajöttem, és akkor így hú, jé, itthon van sikerélményem, meg itt úgy könnyebb meg úgy jobb*
English translation:
Géza: an East-Central European ehm woman, excuse me, this might seem very-very sexist, so excuse me, but she is treated as exotic a bit, a Hungarian woman, "uh, I have a Hungarian girlfriend, uh, I have". I

no- dunno but somehow I cannot imagine that a ehm Western-European | girl [says] that "wow, I have a Hungarian boy[friend], oh, ho- ho- how super cool". dunno, somehow for me this- I have never thought that this is like a- I did not have an experience of success really. and then I came home, and like huh, wow, at home I have experience of success, and here it is easier and like better

Géza, of course, reported a completely different set of difficulties than the women above. He, according to his narrative, was successful in his career both when he lived in London and then in Barcelona but felt extremely lonely. His mindset might be overgeneralizing gender differences (as he also labeled it as *szexista* 'sexist'), but in his view a Hungarian man is less "valuable" than a Hungarian woman in a Western–Eastern comparison (on such ethnic categories, see Subsection 8.3.4). He mentioned that he experienced that East-Central European women are exoticized, but men are not, which might be one possible reason for his loneliness felt in Barcelona. The asignifying rupture can be traced here in the fact that the same characteristic (i.e., being a Hungarian man) was a source of failure while being a diasporic subject and then a source of success after the return.

The third example is about unconventional non-binary gendered practices. When speaking about Catalonia, Hungarians frequently mention that sexual and gender minorities are treated better there. The next excerpt is from an online focus group when the participants were discussing why it is good to live in Catalonia. One of the first expressions the participants mentioned was *tolerancia* ('tolerance'). A story immediately came to Dénes's mind which he shared with us in order to demonstrate the important difference between tolerance and *elfogadás* ('acceptance').

(14)

Dénes: *egy barátom egy jó néhány éve csodálkozva mesélte. azt mondja- azt mondja, mit tudom én, nem tudom, hogy egy boltban, vagy egy gyógyszertárban, vagy valahol volt, bement, utána bement egy- egy ö traveszti. és- és hát tisztán látszott, hogy nem nő, de a izé- az eladó, vagy eladónő, nem tudom, az pedig tök- teljesen természetesen úgy kezelte, mint- mint a izé,* <bona senyora>*, vagy mit tudom én, tehát* <buena chica, ¿qué quieres?>*, tehát valahogy és azt mondja, tehát ez valóban egy- egy eléggé olyan befogadókészség, meg a mások elfogadása, tehát nem eltűrése, tehát én ezér mondom, nem mások eltűrése, elfogadása*

English translation:

Dénes: a friend of mine told me in amazement a few years ago. he says- he says, dunno, I don't know if in a shop or in a pharmacy, he was somewhere, went in, and after him a- a- ehm cross-dresser went in. and- and well it was clearly visible that not a woman, but the- the sale- or saleswomen, I don't know, treated it absolutely naturally like- like <bona senyora> ['good [afternoon] miss'] or I don't know what, so <buena chica, ¿qué quieres?> ['good [afternoon] girl, what would you like?], so something like that and she says, this is really a- a- this is quite a kind of inclusiveness, and acceptance of others, so not tolerating, so that's why I say, not tolerating others, [but] accepting others

What Dénes wanted to express with the differentiation between *tolerancia* and *elfogadás* was that in Catalonia people do not only put up with others, such as the mentioned cross-dresser (who transgresses daily the binary boundaries between manhood and womanhood), but accept them as they are and as they want to be what is also expressed in linguistic practices, e.g., in the way they are addressed. Although his linguistic differentiation might be debated as the two resources are used somewhat interchangeably, the way he depicted how people in Catalonia treat "other people" was not disputed by other participants in comparison to Hungary. Gyuri, for instance, in the same discussion said "*Magyarországon rögtön rád szólnak, rögtön beleszólnak abba, hogy mit csinálsz, mért nem csinálod, mér így csinálod, mér úgy csinálod*" ('in Hungary they immediately tell you off, they meddle in what you are doing, why don't you do it, why you do it this way, why you do it that way'). While the very same participants

expressed their pride of being Hungarian many times during our encounters, here they were scathing about Hungarian society in connection with tolerance towards gender and other types of minorities.

In this subsection, I showed three examples on how the views of gender roles might be changed during transnational mobility. The first example was the case of Hungarian women who gathered into a community because they perceived as they could be better and stronger by sticking together which turned out to be necessary without their embeddedness into Catalan families. The second example was the case of a Hungarian man, who felt devalued compared to Hungarian or East-Central-European women while living in Barcelona and London. The third example was the acceptance shown towards gender minorities that is considered to be unusual in Hungary by the participants. What is common in these examples is that certain gender hierarchies and boundaries were reoriented in the narratives of the participants.

8.3.3. Reorientations by sexualities

This subsection supplements the previous one by references to sexualities and sexual minorities. Although here no participants reported any changes in their own practices, they reported shifts on how they look at other people's practices. I argue that, in line with the principles of connection and heterogeneity, Hungarians in Catalonia demonstrated a reorientation in the ways they experienced sexual freedom in Catalonia. In the first excerpt from an interview, the participant confessed that he became more tolerant while residing in Catalonia, whereas in the other two excerpts the participants claim that they found such tolerance an important factor in their positive emotions towards the host-land.

The first example is on how Dénes reoriented his views of sexual practices. Dénes, as already claimed in Chapter 4, imagined his life as a character arc through which he became a more mature person that also helped him integrate into the local society. During one of the *magyar tertúlia* discussions, he confessed that he held views back in 1990 that embarrassed him after living in Catalonia for over 30 years.

(15)

Dénes: *a napokban volt egy- volt ez a politikai kérdés, ugye ez a homoszexuálisokkal kapcsolatban, na most ezt otthon megvitattuk, mert persze én elmagyaráztam nekik. mondom „nem ismeritek a magyar társadalmat". tehát én olyan társadalomból jöttem el, tehát kilencvenben, amivel én teljesen egyetértettem, hogy az volt a vita, hogy most betegség vagy bűn. tehát ilyen szintről kezdtem én is. teljesen egyetértettem ezzel. most szégyellem. | hát nem szégyellem, elismerem, hogy így voltam, és fejlődtem. de- de mondom, hogy kicsit ugye ö ugye társadalmilag egész más*

English translation:

Dénes: the other day there was- there was a political issue, right in connection with homosexuals, well we discussed it at home, because of course I explained them [i.e., his young adult children]. I say "you don't know the Hungarian society". so I left a society, so in [nineteen-]ninety, with whom I totally agreed that the debate was whether it is an illness or a sin. I absolutely agreed. now I am ashamed. | well I am not ashamed, I acknowledge that I was like that, but I developed. but- but I say that a bit right ehm right socially completely different

Dénes, since then, saw consensual love between adults acceptable regardless of the sex of the people involved. Back then, however, before leaving Hungary, he was convinced that same-sex attraction should be regarded as illness or sin. Dénes imagined Hungary as unchanged in this regard in his narrative. He himself, however, was able to reorient towards a more inclusive society.

Géza typified the local society the same way in his interview and also defined how a diasporic subject should fit into that.

(16)
Géza: *azért Barcelonában az, hogy mondjuk két férfi ott ö csókolózik az utcán, pf, na bumm, tehát ez a kábé kutyát nem érdekel. ö és hogyha ezt nem tudja elfogadni, akkor meg ne menjen oda*
English translation:
Géza: in Barcelona that let's say two men ehm are kissing there on the street, pf, nah bumm, so this is like it doesn't interest a dog [viz. 'nobody cares']. ehm and if one cannot accept that, then do not move there

In this narrative, Géza associated the public sight of two kissing men directly with Barcelona, and even made comments on those who would not tolerate such an act. Here, the principles of connection and heterogeneity play a role as the participants showed some disconnections from their homeland and connection toward one of the assets of their host-land.

When I discussed the topic with Detti and Rebeka, they shared similar thoughts.

(17)
Detti: *hát ez tök jó. nem tudom, hogy mikor jutunk el ide. szerintem soha*
Rebeka: *én arra emlékszem, amikor először volt egy ilyen élményem, nagyon erős élményem, hogy a munkahelyemről, az első munkahelyemről jöttem vissza a metrón, még így nagyon az elején voltam, szerintem három hónapja éltem Barcelonába, vagy ilyesmi. és a metrón ö két fiatal lány ö így- hát így csókolózott, meg nem tom, mindent csináltak, és hogy ö ilyen iszonyúan emlékszem erre az érzésre, hogy így ilyen nagyon boldog voltam*
Detti: *mhm*
Rebeka: (#laughing: *hogy ez csak nekem fura*). *hogy így- hogy így Jézusom, én ezér vagyok itt, hogy ez- ez ilyen oké*
Detti: *mhm*
Rebeka: *és ilyen szabadság van, vagy nem tom, mindenki leszarja, hogy ki kivel csókolózik, és így pont ez a lényeg* (#laugh)*, hogy így mér nem lehet az emberek privát életéből így kiszállni?*
English translation:
Detti: well, this is so cool. I don't know when we will get here. I think never
Rebeka: I remember when I first had such an experience, very strong experience that I was coming back in the subway from my workplace, my first workplace, I was still at the very beginning, I think I had been living in Barcelona for 3 months or something like that. and in the subway ehm two young girls ehm like- well were kissing and dunno, they did everything, and that ehm I remember extremely the feeling that I was like very happy
Detti: mhm
Rebeka: (#laughing: that this is only strange for me) that like- that like Jesus, I'm here because of this that- that it is alright [to do]
Detti: mhm
Rebeka: and there is freedom or dunno, nobody gives a shit about who is kissing with whom, and like this is the point (#laugh) that why [they] cannot get out of other people's private lives?

Despite not being involved in the issue, Detti and Rebeka were proud to live in a place where same-sex attraction is treated the way it is treated in Catalonia, and both of them made incriminating remarks about how it is treated in Hungary. Detti, in the first line, even expressed her thoughts with an inclusive plural *we* instead of referring to Hungary per se. In the story Rebeka told I would emphasize the way she put that she was the only one who found it strange to see two women kissing publicly. In this situation it was still rare for her, but realized that it is absolutely common and accepted for the other travelers on the subway, and this was the moment that caused her felicity.

At this point, I should make it clear that I do not mean to imply that Hungary is a backward place with outdated social norms. What I argue, however, is that in the imagination of the Hungarian diasporic subjects Catalonia was presented as an idyllic place in terms of tolerance towards sexual minorities, and they also longed for a homeland which could have the same asset.

The lessons the participants learnt in this context is the way other people can be accepted and "getting out of their lives" – as Rebeka put it. Here, however, a distinction should be made. Sexual identities and practices were imagined in these excerpts as freely achievable; but they were imagined by those who were actually not engaging in non-conforming acts (at least publicly). By ways of contrast gendered identities in the previous subsection were less idealized by the participants who might have faced some challenges of being in Catalonia as a Hungarian woman or man.

8.2.4. Reoriented ethnicities

As shown in previous chapters, boundaries and social categories can potentially collapse, get redefined or negotiated by the speakers. In some cases, such categories are clear-cut, in other cases they are not. Ethnic (along with national and regional) categories in general can also be seen as rhizomatic discursive constructions in the sense that they sometimes exclude each other, they sometimes overlap, they sometimes get reoriented. For instance, a differentiation between Spaniards and Catalans is sometimes set definitely. In other cases, however, it is blurred. And a lot of other similar categories are at work such as local, Mediterranean and Western. What I argue in this subsection is that the categories Hungarians ascribed to themselves are often reoriented the same way when becoming a diasporic subject that is an example on the principle of cartography and decalcomania. To underline this argument, I show excerpts from a *magyar tertúlia* when this topic was discussed in detail by the participants.

This phenomenon was addressed when the key participants were talking the openness of local people. Gyuri asked the others *titeket nagyon kérdeztek arról, hogy magyarok vagytok, milyen is az?* ('have you been asked a lot about being Hungarian, [and] what is it like?'). Detti responded that she was constantly asked, and her local interlocutors frequently told her enthusiastically that they had been in Poland and Bulgaria which made her feeling bad and disappointed. The other participants also shared experiences of being mixed up with Poles and Bulgarians. According to their accounts, they were all stunned by being confused with other nationalities with whom they would have never identified with before. Then, Dénes tried to make sense of why that was a common experience for them.

(18)
Dénes: *nekik mindannyian ugyanolyanok vagyunk*
Detti: *hát igen*
Dénes: *ez igaz, például annyira ö hát jó, mondjuk ez ugyanúgy, mint otthon Spanyolország*
Detti: *hát nem tom, hogy ennyire így van-e*
Dénes: *mennyi nép van itt, hány népet ismerünk, csak úgy*
Detti: *ja az mondjuk igaz*
Dénes: *egy* <gallego> *az egész más, mint egy katalán vagy egy andalúz. teljesen más tészta*
Detti: *de ja, amúgy igaz. mer amúgy meg szerintem csak szerintük nagyon mások. tehát hogy- de lehet, hogy ugyanez vonatkozik kelet-európaiakra is*
Dénes: *igen-igen. ez igaz*
Detti: *tehát hogy én is éltem Andalúziában egy évet, meg itt, és akkor így ja, persze, másak, de az*
Gyuri: *de azér nem annyira, mi?*
Detti: *úgy írják le, hogy ég és föld, és azért nem*
English:
Dénes: for them we all are the same

Detti: well, yes
Dénes: that's true, for instance that much ehm well okay, let's say this [is] the same as Spain at home
Detti: I dunno if it's the same that much
Dénes: how many people [viz. ethnicities] there are here, how many people we know, just like
Detti: yeah that's true
Dénes: a <gallego> ['Galician'] is absolutely different than a Catalan or an Andalusian. absolutely other pasta [viz. 'completely different']
Detti: but yeah, true. because I think it's only their opinion that they are that different. so like- but maybe the same is with Eastern Europeans
Dénes: yes-yes, that's true
Detti: so I also lived a year in Andalusia, and here, and like yeah, of course, different, but that
Gyuri: but not that much, right?
Detti: they describe it as heaven and earth, but not that [much]

In this excerpt, the principle of cartography and decalcomania is very much at play. Following the metaphor of Deleuze and Guattari (1987), Detti (and the other participants as well) had a map in her head on what it is like to be Spanish, Andalusian, Polish, Hungarian and so on, and this map was changed during her presence in Catalonia. First of all, the participants realized that the ethnicities in Spain make up a complex issue which they had seen as simple without zooming into it. They realized that from a bird's eye view, they are as "similar" to Poles and Bulgarians as Andalusians can be seen similar to Catalans. Looking at it from a worm's eye view, however, such differences may seem *ég és föld* ('heaven and earth'), as Detti put it.

By being in Catalonia, however, these diasporic subjects became able to reorient their views on their ethnicity which can also be captured in the fact that they referred to themselves with the words Eastern-European and East-Central European despite the fact Hungary is most frequently defined as a Central European country in geographic terms. To put it in other words, they started to look at the rhizome from another node.

Rebeka, a bit later in the same discussion, said the following.

(19)
Rebeka: nekem kelet-európaiakkal nagyon könnyen van az az élményem, amit mondtál, hogy így rögtön. oroszokkal például annyira könnyen- [...] kelet-európaiakkal jobban megértem magam, mint mondjuk nem tom- olasz bevándorlókkal, vagy- nem tudom, angol bevándorlókkal
English translation:
Rebeka: with Eastern Europeans I easily have the experience, what you said, that like immediately. with Russians for example so easily- [...] I understand myself better with Eastern Europeans than with let's say I dunno- Italian immigrants or- dunno, English immigrants

While living far from Hungary, Rebeka "detached", "reversed" and "modified" her map (drawing on the words of Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 12), and realized that she can easily make bonds with other Eastern Europeans despite the fact that the same would be difficult to imagine back in the homeland. The lesson learnt for the participants here was that such categorization in connection with ethnicity, regions and nationality are exposed to constant negotiation.

To sum up briefly, while being in a diasporic situation, new understandings of identity categories and practices may emerge. As demonstrated in this section, besides the views on metalinguistic, gendered and sexual practices, views on ethnic categorizations may also be rhizomatically reoriented.

8.3. A special case of reorientation: Eugenio's Hungarian jokes

A rhizome, just as ethnographically informed research, "has multiple entry points and unforeseen connections" (Heller et al. 2018: 15). While in the previous section I endeavored to categorize these entry points and connections through identities and practices, it cannot be denied that there are unforeseen dis- and reconnections as well. In this section, I show one example of that which then turned out to be an important practice for the *magyar terúlia* participants. This was the translation of the jokes of a Catalan comedian called Eugenio. I argue that this practice of translation became an important community resource for the participants of *magyar tertúlia* and can be interpreted as a phenomenon of the new and rhizomatic transcultural reality diasporic subjects may face in late modernity.

To understand this practice, let me first quote János, who, during one of the *magyar tertúlia* discussions, shared his sorrow about the impossibilities of cultural translation between the local and the Hungarian (cinematographic and literary) traditions.

(20)
János: *ami tulajdonképpen alapvetően rossz, hogy totálisan nem értjük egymást- de most ezt kulturálisan. tehát fogalmuk sincs arról, ami Magyarországon szinte mindenkinek a vérében van, az abszurd. tehát a- ez az abszurd szemlélet. tehát nagyon- nagyon jópofák, tudnak röhögni, de- de az a fajta abszurd, ami a cseh filmekbe, a magyar fi- meg a magyar lírába, ez totál idegen tőlük*
English translation:
János: what is actually fundamentally bad [is] that we totally don't understand each other- but now that culturally. so they don't have an idea about what is like in the veins of everyone in Hungary, the absurdism. so like- this absurdist view. so very- very funny, they can laugh, but- but this kind of absurdism, which [is there] in Czech movies, Hungarian mo- and Hungarian poetry, this is totally alien to them

In these lines, János argued that a certain type of artistic genre called absurdism cannot be really understood in Catalonia. This absurdism would have been a source for János in his homeland orientation, but he found that absurdist art (including Czech and Hungarian artifacts) did not find an audience among the locals. Pál, in Excerpt (21), joined this line of thoughts by referring to Hungarian authors' books.

(21)
Pál: *évekig ajándékoztam magyar könyveket spanyolul, és aztán egyszer nekiálltam olvasni, és „jézus mária"*
János: *nem lehet?*
Pál: *nem. egyszerűen-*
János: *nem jön át?*
Pál: *nem. tehát nem ugyanaz a könyv. hiába nagyon jók a fordítások*
English translation:
Pál: I had been giving Hungarian books in Spanish as gifts, but once I started to read [one of them], and "Jesus Mary" ['oh my God']
János: you cannot?
Pál: no. simply-
János: it cannot be understood?
Pál: no. so it's like not the same book. in vain the translations are very good

Both interlocutors claimed that despite a great amount of Hungarian literary works having been translated to Castilian, these translations could not show their local families and friends why these works are so important to them.

It turned out, however, that Pál found a local source in which he could express the in-betweenness within two cultures. He started to translate the jokes of Eugenio, a Catalan comedian

to Hungarian with his daughter as a *l'art pour l'art* activity. As he said "*elkezdtük magyarra fordítani a vicceket, mer egy csomó működik magyarul*" ('we started to translate the jokes to Hungarian cos a lot of them do work in Hungarian'). Besides making his daughter involved with the Hungarian language, he himself could also engage in an entertaining activity by which he could create new cultural connections.

When he first told us about this activity, János was still reluctant.

(22)
János: *a vicc az nagyon országspecifikus*
Pál: *de ezek jók, ezek ilyen magyar viccek. tök ilyen abszurdok*
English translation:
János: the joke is very country specific
Pál: but these are good, these are Hungarian jokes. [these] are absurds

While János was initially skeptical about the translatability of jokes, Pál tried to assure him that Eugenio's jokes are actually Hungarian jokes in the sense that absurdist humor manifests in them. So Pál gave Eugenio's work an ethno-cultural adjective, which here meant that it contained a kind of humor that could be potentially received in the Hungarian cultural milieu. Therefore, after that one of the rituals of the *magyar tertúlia* was that each session was finished by Pál telling us one of Eugenio's jokes in Hungarian.

Interestingly, he was not the only one who mentioned Eugenio during my presence in Catalonia. Dénes also mentioned Eugenio in his diary.

(23)
Csütörtök, 2021. március 11.
Ma van az egyik legnagyobb katalán humorista halálának a huszadik évfordulója.
Eugeni Jofra Bofalluy, művésznevén Eugenio. A nyolcvanas és a kilencvenes években lenyűgözött emberek százezreit a nagyon egyszerű, mégis agyafúrt vicceivel, amelyeket fapofával mesélt kasztíliaiul, tele katalán kifejezésekkel.
Megjelent róla egy dokumentumfilm, amelyet most láttam először. A mai napig vannak utánzói, akik fellépéseikkel sokakat odavonzanak.
English translation:
Thursday, 11 March 2021.
Today is the 20th anniversary of the death of one of Catalonia's greatest comedians.
Eugeni Jofra Bofalluy, known artistically as Eugenio. In the eighties and nineties, he fascinated hundreds of thousands of people with his very simple yet clever jokes, told in Castilian with a wooden wit [viz. 'poker face'], full of Catalan expressions.
A documentary about him has been released, which I have just seen for the first time. Up until today, he has imitators who attract many people with their performances.

At the end of the diary, Dénes also attached a joke in the original and in his own Hungarian translation.

The original joke recorded in Dénes's diary	**Dénes's Hungarian translation**	**English translation**
El 6x6 Saben aquel que diu: En un manicomio entrevistan a 3 locos por si	Hatszor hat Egy bolondokházában megvizsgálnak három beteget, hogy felmérjék a gyógyulásukat.	Six times six In a mental asylum, three patients are examined to assess their recovery.

pueden darles de alta. Les pregunta cánto hacen 6 por 6. El primero responde febrero. El siquiatra murmura con desaprobación. El segundo responde mil. El siquiqtra vulve a murmurar : otro que está com un llum. El tercero responde 36. El siquiatra: ¿cómo has llegado a esta conclusión? - Muy fácil. Febrero dividido por mil.	A Pszichiátra megkérdezi tőlük mennyit tesz hatszor hat. Az első azt válaszolja, hogy február. A doktor elégedetlenül dörmög. A második válasza sem jobb: ezer. A doktor most is elégedetlen. A harmadik válasza: harminchat. A doktor reménykedve kérdi tőle hogyan jutott erre a válaszra. - Egyszerű: február osztva ezerrel.	The psychiatrist asks them how much six times six will do. The first replies that it is February. The doctor grunts in dissatisfaction. The second answer is not better: a thousand. The doctor is still dissatisfied. The third answers: thirty-six. The doctor asks him hopefully how he arrived at this answer. - Simple: February divided by a thousand.

Table 8.1: One of Eugenio's jokes

An ethnographically informed study is always full of unforeseen happenings and connections. For me, the practice of translating Eugenio's jokes to Hungarian (and understanding them as Hungarian jokes) as a form of homeland reorientation was such a connection that I did not see coming. The juxtaposition of two (or more) cultural spaces and sets of resources creates a context in which there are no set rules of combination or hybridization. People then can somehow build and develop practices or ideas on the basis of juxtapositions that cannot be predicted, and even make up their own rules of acceptability. However, this does not mean that such practices come out of nowhere. They are the results of the new transcultural reality of the diasporic subjects who tend to rhizomatically reorient their views on social life and social categories.

8.4. Summary

Homeland orientation, as one of the main criteria of diaspora, refers to the activities in which diasporic subjects keep on looking back to the imagined homeland and engage in practices of the nostalgic reconstruction of the homeland. In the previous chapter, I enlisted several practices of homeland orientation in which certain elements (let them be resources, practices, or discourses) associated with the homeland were somehow brought to the new place. The examples of this chapter have shown that the elaboration of ideas, practices and interpretations were often built on the basis of comparison, juxtaposition, and separation of the homeland and the host-land. When calling these elaborations homeland reorientation, I was referring to reverse flows, i.e., when the diasporic subjects were fantasizing on elements associated with the host-land that should be brought back to the homeland. This approach was supported by the question formulated by Pál ("*Tanult valamit, ami csak itt volt lehetséges?*" 'Did s/he learn something that was possible only here?'), and the following *magyar tertúlia* in which the participants discussed characteristics that would fundamentally change how Hungarians live in Hungary.

To explore this topic fully, I drew on the theory of rhizome (coined by Deleuze & Guattari 1987) arguing that a rhizomatic approach to identities would be especially fruitful in the case of diasporic identities and diasporic practices. Of course, the rhizomatic is only one way of looking at the accounts of diasporic subjects, but what makes it useful here is that the diasporic experience is always located between enormous centers of power, but often forgotten to be observed in its complexity. The rhizomatic approach can shed light on non-binary, anti-mainstream, and non-hierarchical categorizations which do not reject the existence and relevance of binary, mainstream, and hierarchical categories, but supplement them. In the context of Hungarians in Catalonia, the categories of, for instance, Spanish, Catalan, and Hungarian are

important in their lives, but are not sole categories used to describe their social lives, as categories of in-betweenness are also present.

In this chapter, after enlisting the abstract ideas of the key participants on what should be learnt by Hungarians (e.g., *gregario*, social tolerance, *vàlvula d'escapament*, etc.), I have distinguished four main fields of identity work in which such reoriented connections could have been traced. These four fields were the views on linguistic practices, the views on gendered practices, the views on sexual practices, and the views on ethnic practices.

Among linguistic practices, a rhizomatic reorientation was the recognition that while the conventional boundaries of named languages can be important in many sites of social life, in other sites they can be transgressed for the sake of self-expression or convenience. The *kevert* ('mixed') linguistic practices could serve as a way of performing diasporic identities that are characterized by in-betweenness, used, for example, to describe activities that are not usual in one or another culture. But the *kevert* practices could also be a way of living a family life where different linguistic resources might amalgamate (as they would not in other places exposed to certain real or alleged social norms).

The second topic was that of gendered practices and identities. Here, a reorientation could be observed in the way Hungarian women organized themselves into a community following the ways local women were organizing themselves in their families. Hungarian men in Catalonia did not form such groups, however, I tracked some remarks in the data on the perception of the devaluation of Eastern European men, which can also be understood as some kind of rhizomatic reorientation. Some participants also argued that gender and sexual minorities are better treated in Catalonia than in Hungary, however, this was rather argued from an outsider point of view. This brings us to the third theme, the views on sexual practices. In connection with this topic, a reorientation can be touched upon both in the ways the participants accounted for a change in their own views (i.e., they became way more tolerant than before during their presence in Catalonia), and in the ways they valued the freedom they experienced in Catalonia in this regard. In both cases, the participants expressed that they would like Hungary to be able to change in this respect.

The fourth topic was a reorientation in the views on ethnicities. In this subsection, examples were provided where ethnic identities that were previously treated as taken-for-granted by the participants became blurred and subject to discussion. This was observed in the ways they started to look at ethnic (and also: national and regional) identities both in the Iberian Peninsula (or more broadly: in the Western word perceived by them) and in the more Eastern parts of Europe. The recognition here was that by zooming into the categories of the Iberian world, it becomes evident that ethnicity is way more complex than seen before, but the categories of the Eastern European region can also be treated as more homogeneous. Drawing on the metaphors of Deleuze and Guattari (1987), the map of ethnicities can be looked at from different angles and entry points.

The last section of this chapter provided a special case in which such an unforeseen reorientation became important for a group of speakers. This was the translation of the jokes of a Catalan comedian called Eugenio. Eugenio's jokes were understood as *magyar viccek* ('Hungarian jokes') by the participants of *magyar tertúlia*. Therefore, telling one of Eugenio's jokes in Hungarian became a ritual for the members of this group at the end of our sessions. This practice can be understood as a way of expressing diasporic identities that does not only mean integration to the host society or orientation towards the homeland, but can also achieve a productive mix of the two, resulting in something new and valuable.

8.5. The feedback of Pál

After sending him the summary, Pál and I had a WhatsApp call on a lazy Sunday. He basically agreed with the findings and found them interesting. He only had two other comments to make to provide more insights to his own life according to the lessons he had learnt in Catalonia. First, in relation to the gendered practices, he added that he was a member of a group that gathers Hungarians in a given district of Barcelona. In this group, he was the only man, and he was surrounded only by Hungarian moms. The main role of this group was also to support each other by creating networks.

Pál said that he accepts that some people experience that the ways family life is organized in Catalonia differs, however, in his view, this is characteristic of family models to the same extent as of gender roles. Pál, just like the others in various contexts, wanted to highlight that the difference might not be substantial, but can be found on the level of social discussion around such topics. He did not wish to argue that Catalonia would be an idyllic place in terms of freedom, he rather put the focus on the possibility of speaking publicly about these issues which is less the case back in the homeland. A reorientation, thus, can be traced in the perceived lack of conversations about the changing gender roles and family models.

(24)

Pál: ennek nyilván sokféle olvasata lehet, de így ö de mondjuk például én- nekem mondjuk erről férfiként meg így az az olvasatom meg a meglátásom, hogy ez tényleg egy ilyen nagyon izé, nagyon ö tehát elég itt is ilyen- ilyen ö tehát a nemi szerepek azok nagyon elválnak, viszont sokkal inkább hogy is mondjam? szem előtt vannak, mint otthon. tehát otthon ezt senki nem, még az ilyen ö hogy is mondjam így ilyen egyetemet végzett barátaim között sem találok sokszor olyat, hogy így valaki megkérdőjelezné azt a szerepet, amit így ráoszt így a társadalom a családdal kapcsolatban. […] itt egyre inkább megkérdőjeleződik, aminek ugye az első állomása, hogy így ö hogy így ezekről többet beszélnek, és ezért talán azért láthatóbb, de hogy ö de hogy ö egyébként- itt nagyon sokszor előjön már az, hogy így a nők hogy tudnak karriert építeni így a- a gyereknevelés mellett, és hogy ezt ö egyrészt ezt felerősíti a- a tradicionális modellt, másrészt meg így felerősíti azt, hogy legyenek- legyenek erre ö tehát hogy erről beszéljenek, és hogy legyenek erre alternatívák. […] sokkal több- több ö olyan családot ismerek, ahol ez ellen tesznek vagy ahol ezt máshogy szervezik. például a mienk is ilyen

English translation:

Pál: of course there are many ways to read this, but like ehm but let's say for example I- as a man the way I read and interpret this is really a like very you know very ehm so here as well like- like ehm so the gender roles are distinguished very much, but very much how to say? [more] in front of our eyes than at home. so at home nobody, even like how to say- like my [circle of] friends with university degree do not include anyone who would question these roles that are given by the society related to the family. […] here it is questioned more and more which has a first stage right like ehm like speak more about it, and maybe more visible because of that, but that ehm but that like- here it comes up frequently that women can have a career like besides child raising, and like on the one hand this ehm reinforces the- the traditional model, on the other hand it reinforces to have- to have ehm so conversations about this, and there would be alternatives. […] I know way more- more ehm families where they do something about this and organize it differently. for instance, ours is alike

After speaking about gendered practices, Pál secondly provided further insights to the question of ethnic practices. He added that for him the diasporic is also about what it means to him to be Hungarian.

(25)

Pál: sok esetbe szerintem ezek a különbségek, amiket így- tehát ezeknek a különbségeknek a megélése, amikről itt szó van, és ö ezeknek a tudatossá válása, ezek ö nagyon erősítik azt a tudást vagy érzelmet, hogy mit is jelent pontosan magyarnak lenni vagy akár más nemzetiségűnek ott, ahol az ember született. és ö és ö csomó olyasmire figyel fel az ember, amire talán- talán a saját közösségében nem lenne

lehetősége, vagy egyáltalán nem tudatosulna benne a szavak szintjén. […] tehát azt akarom mondani, hogy van egy csomó olyan aspektus, amit szerintem az ember így addig, amíg nem megy külföldre, addig ö addig nem látja. és amikor meg ö amiker meglátja, akkor meglepi

English translation:

Pál: in a lot of cases these differences which like- so experiencing these differences which is about here, making them acknowledged, these ehm reinforce the knowledge or the feeling of what being Hungarian means exactly or of another ethnicity from where one was born. and ehm and ehm one starts to notice things that maybe- maybe were not possible in their own community, or would not be acknowledged on the level of words. […] so what I would like to say is that there are a lot of aspects that one does not see until moving abroad. and when one sees it, it is surprising

At the end of our conversation, we agreed on the fact that the diasporic can be understood as something both newly emerged, and as something that has not been previously visible to the diasporic subject. To put it another way, the diasporic experience is also about looking at a map from another rhizomatic point of view.

8.6. An autoethnographic reflection

While residing in Catalonia, I had a great amount of very similar experiences that the research participants shared with me. Due to my own life situation characterized by temporary stays in Catalonia, I had frequently taken into consideration what I would like to take back home with me from my experiences in Catalonia. Now I would like to highlight one such important lesson I have learnt during one of the *magyar tertúlia* discussions. Thanks to that experience, I can now take a look at my own Hungarianness from a different point of view I have not considered before, drawing on Pál's words.

Pál once had a reflection that Hungarians always apologize because they do not want to disturb others. He gave the example of inviting a friend for dinner who refuses the invitation in order not to be a burden for the inviter. While living in Barcelona, he observed in himself that this manner is more like an *erőltetett udvariasság* ('forced courtesy') and a *szociális diszfunkció* ('social dysfunction') to some extent because that invitation would not have been made in case the invited person had not been welcome. The other participants found Pál's reflection apt.

Right after this *magyar tertúlia*, some of us did not go home directly, but shared a beer at a nearby bar. A person came to us to ask for light in Castilian. I instinctively reacted "*perdona, no fumamos*" ('excuse me, we do not smoke'). The others burst into laughter and asked me why on earth would I ask forgiveness for not smoking. Since my return to Hungary, I try to avoid such forced (and false) courtesies. I also endeavor to acknowledge that if someone made an invitation or a favor, I should not worry about whether it was such a big deal or not. I would not have necessarily linked this attitude to being Hungarian because it sounds too stereotypical for me. However, it is sure that my diasporic presence in Catalonia and the *magyar tertúlia* conversations helped me to recognize it and initiate a rhizomatic reorientation in my life. The research participants do not "teach" only things about their own life-world, but the researcher herself also learns things about herself during the fieldwork.

9. Conclusions

In this thesis, I intended to find access to how diasporization proceeds under the conditions of the contemporary social world. By writing *diasporization* instead of *diaspora*, I sought to emphasize that I did not wish to treat any diaspora as a bounded entity or as sharing common conditions. Rather, I wished to present diasporization as an emerging process that creates commonalities and social practices among people who share similar experiences of dispersion. To study the processes of diasporization, I chose Hungarian newcomers in Catalonia. By newcomers, I refer to the fact that all the participants were first generation migrants, which is consistent with how the Hungarian presence in the whole of Spain has been a fairly new phenomenon with a steep rise after the country's accession to the European Union and the Schengen agreement (Csányi 2018). Therefore, the participants of this study provided a great opportunity to identify contemporary and novel aspects of mobility in late modernity in which language plays a key role. I applied a critical sociolinguistic lens (Blommaert 2010, Heller et al. 2018) that also allowed me to see language as broadly as possible: simultaneously as a set of discourses, a series of practices, and an accumulation of resources (see Chapter 2). Therefore, the research questions dealt with the discourses that circulated among Hungarian diasporic subjects in Catalonia, the practices they engaged in, and the resources that were deployed in their specific processes of diasporization (see also Márquez Reiter & Martín Rojo eds. 2015). To truly address these questions by "thinking diaspora from below" (Rosa & Trivedi 2017), the research was an ethnographically informed one (Heller 2011, Heller et al. 2018) that also drew on collaborative methodologies (Hodge & Jones 2000, Lexander & Androutsopoulos 2021) in order to include both the emic perspectives and social agendas of the participants.

For that purpose, as a part of the collaborative agenda of this project, I asked the key participants to formulate their own questions, i.e., elaborate what they would like to discuss with other Hungarians in Catalonia. I treated these questions as traces of the multiple foci of interests and concerns of the participants. After exploring these questions together in our space of reflexivity, the monthly gatherings that we called *magyar tertúlia*, I brought them into dialogue with the three conventional criteria of diasporas in the literature summed up by Brubaker (2005): dispersion, boundary-maintenance, and homeland orientation. However, I sought to address these principles and the ways the participants dealt with social categorization in a more dynamic manner than in previous descriptions drawing on sociolinguistic concepts and theories as well. I argue that dispersion, boundary-maintenance, and homeland orientation do help to understand the contemporary diasporic experiences of Hungarians in Catalonia, but these experiences are lived in individually fluid and extremely complex modes – just as all experiences in late modernity (Bauman 2000). These phenomena may be better captured by focusing on sociolinguistic phenomena which the literature on diaspora does not usually address (for an exception, see Cohen 2019).

In the introduction, I anticipated two potential contributions of the thesis. Thus, the next sections discuss the following two contributions. The first contribution is a theoretical one, so in Section 9.1, I present the conceptual underpinnings necessary for further sociolinguistic exploration of late modern diasporas and diasporization. In this same section I also list the four possible dimensions of diaspora that emerged from the analysis: a chronotopic, a boundary-management, a posthumanist and a rhizomatic dimension. I discuss these dimensions in line with the main findings of the ethnographic description on the diasporization of Hungarians in Catalonia. The other contribution is a methodological one. In Section 9.2, I outline the lessons learnt throughout the course of this research about the applicability of collaborative techniques for sociolinguistic inquiry that aim to involve the interested parties in the knowledge production

process. Therefore, I also cover the input of collaborative techniques for a better understanding of diasporization, the means of reflexivity for both the researcher and the key participants, and the need to find a language of dissemination that is available for all interested parties.

9.1. Towards a sociolinguistic theory of diasporization

As critical sociolinguistic research deals with the social constructedness of discursive categories, such as diaspora, I do not treat diasporic groups as bounded entities with fixed linguistic repertoires (see also Androutsopoulos & Lexander 2021). I believe that sociolinguists should rather raise questions about how such diasporas and diasporic identities are constructed and negotiated in the process that I call diasporization (Canagarajah & Silberstein 2012). This also means that there is not only one possible and proper understanding of what the diasporic is, just as the participants who enact these discursive categories do not interpret it in the same way either. Thus, drawing on both the perspectives that the key participants brought into the *magyar tertúlia* and the perspectives that sociolinguistic literature has already brought into the scholarly discussions, I discerned four dimensions of the diasporic that was salient among Hungarians in Catalonia: a chronotopic, a boundary-management, a post-humanist, and a rhizomatic dimension. All these four dimensions play a crucial role in the process of diasporization and the diasporic imaginations in late modernity.

The first possible dimension of the diasporic I drew on in Chapter 4 was the chronotopic one. The chronotopic dimension of diasporization, in connection with the collective experiences of dispersion, emphasizes that the diasporic is a historically emerging experience that simultaneously draws on the concepts of space, time, personhood and moralities (Cohen 2019). This chronotopic dimension has lately been applied in sociolinguistics for the study of diasporization (Catedral 2021; Creese & Blackledge 2020; Márquez Reiter & Martin Rojo 2015; Karimzad & Catedral 2018a, 2018b, 2021). These studies point to the narratives of the diasporic subjects, creating images in which they link time-space configurations to social types and behaviors, e.g., the behaviors that are expected from the diasporic subjects. The way my thesis contributed to these studies is my observation that invoking such social types as self-ascribed categories, or chronotopic figures as I put it, are means for the diasporic subjects to position themselves relative to times, spaces, and other diasporic Hungarians. Discerning various chronotopic figures allows us to differentiate amongst different diasporic experiences. Despite the fact that participants of my research were all first-generation migrants that are often treated as a coherent category associated with a specific form of experience, the chronotopic analysis has shown that they have differing interpretations of how a diasporic subject should behave in relation to the host society, the homeland, the whole world, etc. These different ways of narrating the diasporic can only become visible if we attend to the ways in which different people structure their stories, with the notion of chronotope providing a valuable means for identifying the relevant features.

Chapter 4 on dispersion started off from the question "*Honnan indult, mi a célja?*" by one of the participants ('Where is he/she from, what is his/her aim?'). In this chapter, I intended to explore the imagination of the diasporic subjects' relation to the host-land and the ways these imaginations contributed to the diasporic group formation of Hungarians in Catalonia, because the key participants discussed origin and aims in connection with these topics too, as spatiality and temporality. By drawing on a chronotopic analysis (Creese & Blackledge 2020, Karimzad & Catedral 2021), I discerned certain figures of personhood (Agha 2007b) as self-ascribed categories of the participants. These chronotopic figures do not directly correspond to biographical characters, but rather to the moral positions the participants constructed in the conversations delivered during the fieldwork. These figures were the following: the *integrálódott* ('integrálódott'), the *nomád* ('nomad', both as *digitális nomád* 'digital nomad' and *clandestino*

'clandestine'), the *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* ('Hungarian who lives a bit further'), the *gyökértelen* ('rootless'), the *segítő* ('supporting person'). As it can be seen in these namings, these figures depict entirely different experiences of diasporization in their relation to how the diasporic is constructed in terms of time-space configurations, as I specify below. Other categories also emerged that were treated as undesirable by participants, such as the *emigráns* ('emigrant'), the *világpolgár* ('cosmopolitan') and the *guiri* ('tourist'), from whom the participants tried to distance themselves.

The ways the *integrálódott* was imagined coincided with the conventional ideas on (im)migration in which the subject migrates from one space to another and is expected to assimilate or integrate into the host society. In the case of the *integrálódott*, the host society referred specifically to the Catalan society, therefore, as one of the features of the commitment to the Catalan language. This view of imagining the diasporic subject as one who decided to resettle permanently was dominant for a long time, especially in the second half of the 20th century, but the presence of other categories show that the perspectives of the diasporic subjects have become more complex. The *nomád* experience, for instance, was a 21st century phenomenon in which the diasporic subject was unbounded in terms of space by the capacity of being virtually connected to other spaces simultaneously. This way, the *nomád* did not necessarily have to decide how long she wanted to stay in the same place. Therefore, the *nomád* did not engage in local affairs (because of the potential to move to another place), so she favored languages that she can use for distant work or in other locations (English and Castilian in this case) over locally relevant forms of speaking (e.g., Catalan, Hungarian). The figure of the *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* was connected to the ideas of free movement within Europe, and for them both Castilian and Catalan might function as language of daily life in Catalonia. The *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* presented a different sense of space than the *integrálódott* by having the sensation of being close to the homeland. The figure of *gyökértelen* was somewhere in between: for her, neither the homeland, nor the host-land was homely anymore, but this sense of space may change with time. Due to this, the figure of *gyökértelen* embodied a multilingual ideal in the sense that it would be easy for her to change places thanks to her knowledge of multiple languages which did not necessarily lead to homeliness. In contrast to that, the "task" of the *segítő* was to create connections between the two spaces. These connections were imagined through the rapid acquisition of the local languages in order to establish local links as soon as possible just as she had in the homeland. Among the disapproved figures, the *világpolgár* was imagined as being an example of a(n alleged) contemporary trend of not engaging with neither the homeland, nor the host-land emotionally. The *guiri* was the one who was located in Catalonia lacking essential local knowledge, languages included. The *guiri* was imaginged independently from nationality, but the figure of *emigráns* was conceptualized as a typically Hungarian one. The *emigráns* had learnt neither Catalan, nor Castilian because of preferring speaking Hungarian and maintaining bonds with Hungarian-speaking people. The figures of *guiri* and *világpolgár* were imagined as contemporary phenomena, whereas *emigráns* was one stuck in the timeframe of the past.

These chronotopic figures can also be captured in the narratives on how certain groups emerged in the brief history of Hungarian presence in Catalonia. For instance, the figure of the *integrálódott* played a key role in the life of the *Katalán-Magyar Kulturális Egyesület* ('Catalan-Hungarian Cultural Association'), which had set as its flagship the cultural mediation between the Catalan and Hungarian nations. Therefore, the members of this association did not prioritize organizing events for only Hungarians and educational activities for the second generation either. In contrast, the figure of the *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* could be traced in the activities of the *Aranyalma Kör*, which focused on organizing basic educational activities in Hungarian for kids. These activities were aimed at families with children who traveled regularly to Hungary and even entertained the idea of moving back later. An aversion for the figure of

the *emigráns* could have been found in the community, Hungarians in Catalonia kept distance from the Madrid-located *Madách Egyesület* which held a more traditional, border-maintaining idea of the diaspora, and had close links with the current ethnopolitics of the Hungarian state. Other accounts have also shown that the practices, in which diasporic subjects have engaged since the rise of social media, were various. Thus, many activities emerged that had not been present or visible before. The objective of these was to create and maintain contacts with other Hungarians in Catalonia – often with the purpose of helping each other, or finding clientele for the services provided by diasporic subjects who have set up businesses locally. For the figure of the *gyökértelen*, it became important after a few years to find Hungarian-speaking companionship in order to maintain bonds with the homeland virtually this way – without the aim of moving back to Hungary. The same characterized the figure of the *segítő* for whom it was easier to support the family in creating spaces of in-betweenness in their new place of residence by finding Hungarian-speaking events and communities – often with the aim of keeping up the possibility of returning to Hungary.

The second dimension I applied in Chapter 5 and 6 is seeing the diasporic as constant boundary-management and negotiation of boundaries. The reason why Márquez Reiter and Martín Rojo consider boundary-management as an important theme in researching diasporas was linked to "the need to take stock of the type of barriers migrants face to participating in prestigious social fields, constraints to gaining social mobility, integrating in the receiving society, and attaining general well-being" (Márquez Reiter & Martín Rojo 2015: 7). Such boundaries are frequently negotiated by diasporic subjects, and they often link boundaries to named languages as well. Although Hungarians in Catalonia imagined "integration" as drawing on a one-way road metaphor, a detailed analysis has shown the existence of endeavors to erode boundaries that pointed to differing directions, for example, Catalans, Castilian-speaking population of any kind, English-speaking expatriate communities, and so on. Endeavors to maintain boundaries might also have various targets. An understanding of the diasporic linked to boundary-management points to the fact that there can be multiple boundaries with some of them being visible and perceptible for diasporic subjects, while others are not, some are created by themselves, while others are created by locals. As each boundary has its own dynamics, migration and diaspora should not assume the existence of a single boundary between immigrant and host that is equally experienced by everyone. What is permanent is that they describe their diasporic lives as constant negotiations over these boundaries, because integration is not something that people simply have to adjust to, but it requires active and creative interpretation and negotiation. When Hungarians in Catalonia met each other during my fieldwork, I observed that they often initiated discussions on how other Hungarians perceived such boundaries and what their relationship to local people looked like. These discussions included conversations on their stances towards local languages and different forms of multilingualism. Therefore, in Chapter 5 on boundary-erosion and in Chapter 6 on boundary-maintenance, I intended to discover how language categories intersect with the diasporic imaginations on boundary-management.

Chapter 5 on boundaries in erosion reflected the question "*Hogy megy a beilleszkedés?*" ('How is [your] integration going?'). Drawing on the perspective of the participants, I understood integration as an imagined form of boundary-erosion. Thus, I mapped the "stages" different participants mentioned they wanted to reach during their presence in Catalonia. Throughout the analysis, I connected these stages to how boundaries were imagined in their accounts and to certain language ideologies defining boundaries, such as the ideologies of authority, namely anonymity and authenticity (Gal & Woolard 2001, Woolard 2008, 2016). The first stage was *nyaralás* ('holiday') and *kaland* ('adventure'); these wordings were mostly used by those who could be labeled as *nomád* ('nomad') or "lifestyle migrants" (Codó 2018), but the figure of *guiri* mentioned in Chapter 4 also coincides with this stage. For them, English was imagined

as a language for all, and they showed little interest in studying local languages as they hardly saw any boundaries that they wished to erode. The second stage was what I named 'Spanish first'. This referred to those who started to learn Castilian led by the imagination of the monolingual nation-state and the imagination of Castilian as an anonymous language in Spain and Catalan as a language of authenticity. In this stage, the important boundary was identified between the borders of states. The same ideology could have been identified in the third stage too: the dilemma between what *illik* ('is proper') and what is *praktikus* ('practical'). For those in this stage, other boundaries also became visible within the different populations of the host-land. Such a dilemma might be defining for both the figures of *gyökértelen* ('rootless') and *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* ('Hungarian who lives a bit further') who did not necessarily know whether they would stay for long in Catalonia or not. The reasoning of the people struggling with this dilemma to give up learning Catalan was that they finally did not find any perceptible advantages for the effort of learning it. Unlike those in the fourth stage who benefited economically from starting to speak some Catalan, for them, Catalan started to function as a "second gateway", as Fukuda 2016 put it. These people were able to take advantage of their effort to erode multiple boundaries. The last stage I identified was being an *első osztályú polgár* ('first-class citizen') referring to people who described themselves as entirely integrated in the local Catalan society, and thus, started to treat Catalan as an anonymous language to which their consumer habits have also contributed. The idea of being an *első osztályú polgár* was in parallel with the imagination of the figure of *integrálódott* ('integrated') – for whom integration actually meant the erosion of boundaries and integration into the Catalan-speaking part of the society.

The main finding of the chapters on boundary-erosion and boundary-maintenance is that although there is a discourse circulating on the Hungarian nation as an adaptive one as part of a diasporic project, discourses and practices on local languages play out differently for Castilian and Catalan. While there is no dispute on the necessary anonymity of Castilian, there is some resistance or simply unwillingness towards making efforts to acquire Catalan.

Chapter 6 kicked off from questions like "*Van-e valami itt, ami nem tetszik nekik?*" ('Is there something they do not like here?'). When discussing such questions, Hungarians in Catalonia often referred to their unwillingness to learn Catalan. Therefore, drawing on the perspective of these participants, I understood unwillingness as a form of boundary-maintenance. In this sense, this chapter served a longer exposition of the ideas behind the stages of what we called "Spanish first" and the "dilemma" between practicality and properness in Chapter 5. One of the possible discourses was what I named *bilingualism of the Other* (inspired by Derrida 1998), in connection with the enregisterment of the *forrófejű katalán* ('hot-headed Catalan'). Some participants experienced that Catalan was used by the local Other to exclude them from conversations, and such experiences made them enregister Catalan speakers as *forrófejű* ('hot-headed, cranky') and maintain boundaries between them. These considerations were so strong that I found them even in interviews with people who did not come to Catalonia from Hungary, but from one of the neighboring countries of Hungary where they lived as minority speakers of Hungarian. Another possible reason for not acquiring Catalan was the *neoliberal Self*, a model of speakerhood, whose decisions on language are permeated by the zeitgeist labeled as neoliberalism (Martín Rojo 2019). In their argument that I identified this way, speakers refuse to learn Catalan because they find it useless (similarly to Hungarian) on the international job market, thus, investing in learning it is irrational. Compared to other studies, this research on Hungarians has also shown that Catalan is being re-ethnicized and re-politicized (Massaguer Comes 2017, 2022) in the eyes of foreigners dwelling in Catalonia. However, the capital accumulable through speaking Catalan was only recognized by a few. Thus, in the specific processes of diasporization among Hungarians in Catalonia, learning Castilian was mostly understood as an act of eroding boundaries, but unwillingness shown towards learning Catalan was potentially a form of boundary-

maintenance. These considerations also coincide with the multiple forms of mobilities available for the diasporic subjects. As a great number of Hungarians in Catalonia did not necessarily plan to stay in Catalonia (as former arrivals did), their endeavors in boundary-management also point to keeping up distance between them and the speakers of Catalan.

The third dimension of the diasporic I offered is a posthumanist approach to its perception and production, as discussed in Chapter 7. This chapter addressed the multiple meanings and experiences associated with the homeland, a constant presence in (im)migrant and diasporic subjects. I chose to explore this through a posthumanist approach that focuses on assemblages of semiotic and multisensory resources that invoke orientation the participants experienced, produced or invoked in relation to the homeland. According to a posthumanist approach, it is not just language and the human that play a role in the process of meaning-making, but other non-human and material actors as well (Pennycook 2018a). In this sense, the diasporic is produced and perceived through a wide arena of multilingual, multimodal and multisensory resources, and certain forms of homeland orientation can be expressed through such production and perception. The linguistic landscapes of diasporic communities have already been addressed by scholars in the field of sociolinguistics (Ben Rafael & Ben Rafael 2010; Calvi & Uberti-Bona 2019; Huebner eds. 2021; Payne 2019; Woldermariam & Lanza 2015), but the ways different resources become meaningful and set up meaning-making assemblages in the perception of the diasporic and in the production of diasporic spaces have rarely been studied (for an exception, see Zhu et al. 2017). The reason for approaching homeland orientation through the lens of assemblage lies in its potential to capture both the permanent and temporary sign constellations which can contribute to the production and perception of the diasporic. In this way, resources carry potentialities in the invocation of certain meanings in the here-and-now of a semiotic event (Pennycook 2017), but these potentialities remain invisible without assembling them with other meaning-making resources in other events. As diasporization is based on the flow of people, I found the concepts of deterritorialization and reterritorialization useful because they explain the ways meanings circulate through not just linguistic means, but material ones as well.

Chapter 7 on homeland orientation drew on the card "*HAZASZERETET – HAZA ELHAGYÁS – BŰNTUDAT*" ('PATRIOTISM – LEAVING HOME – REMORSE'). Following the thread of the *magyar tertúlia*, I put the focus of this chapter on the practices participants do in order to engage with their homeland. I discussed the topic drawing on the afore-mentioned posthumanist approach in connection with the Deleuzian term of assemblage (Deleuze & Guattari 1980) to capture the ways certain semiotic resources appear simultaneously (Pennycook 2017) in making the diasporic meaningful. The first practice was language-related: maintaining institutions for transmitting the Hungarian language for the next generation and keeping up monolingual habits in encounters with other Hungarians. Such practices assembled linguistic resources with language-related monolingual discourses that were deterritorialized from the homeland and reterritorialized in the host-land. The second instance was related to political practices demonstrated by examples when Hungarian political messages were disseminated and negotiated through the deterritorialization and reterritorialization of semiotic resources in Catalonia. In these examples, the diasporic subjects expressed their political opinion and engaged with other diasporic Hungarians all around Europe, for example, by organizing a demonstration simultaneously with the ones in Hungarian cities and sending photos and messages to the Hungarian press that is a semiotic assemblage of different sorts of multimodal resources. The third were media practices in the contemporary technological circumstances, where diasporic subjects were capable of maintaining family bonds through technological devices and remaining updated in the happenings in Hungary. Touristic practices aimed at the intense touristic interest of Hungarians living in Hungary were the fourth type of practice. In these practices, the diasporic subjects were

constructing the image of both being informed about local affairs and keeping distance from local people. This could manifest, for instance, in the usage of the grapheme *ç* in the name of one's business or in tour-guiding services in which the tour guide made sarcastic comments on how local people behave. The last section of this chapter collected examples in which the multisensory experiences created a bond with the homeland, for instance, food, taste, smell, materials. In these examples, the book of *Horváth Ilona*, the tastes associated with traditional Hungarian cuisine, the smell of *lángos*, the sound of *Kossuth nóta* and *Rákóczi induló*, the material, the shape and the touch of *tárcsa* all evoked memories of the homeland and associations with the Hungarian language. In this chapter, I have shown that the diasporic might be grasped in both repeated and momentary assemblages of meaning-making resources, and the posthumanist approach has proven to be useful in capturing the temporary and the permanent, the ephemeral and the enduring, the reiterated and the unique. Named languages are usually seen as one of the most important factors in the self-definition of communities; the posthumanist approach has also shown that there are many language-related factors combined with other meaning-making resources that take part in the construction of the diasporic.

The last possible dimension of the diasporic is seeing it as a series of rhizomatic reorientations as shown in Chapter 8. A rhizomatic approach enables us to see the diasporic independently from binary and hierarchical oppositions (such as homeland vs. host-land or locals vs. immigrants) by addressing the nonlinearity of the discursive organization of social categories. The term was proposed by Deleuze & Guattari (1987) vis-à-vis the tree metaphor that reinforces dichotomies. The rhizome metaphor, however, points to the interconnectedness of categories, such as homeland and host-land in the case of diasporic identities. A rhizomatic dimension has been applied to the sociolinguistic study of sexuality and tourism (Milani & Levon 2016), minority language and multilingualism (Pietikäinen 2015), and translanguaging (Canargarajah 2018, Heltai 2019, Prinsloo & Krause 2019), but it has not yet appeared in the study of diasporization. A rhizomatic approach to diasporization challenges the privileged status of the homeland in the description of the diasporic (Solomon 2015). The rhizomatic way of looking at the diasporic acknowledges that it is not necessarily a constant looking back or a nostalgic reconstruction of the homeland, but it can also embody reorientations and redefinitions of the identity. In this vein, the rhizomatic dimension can potentially add to the understanding of the diasporic as inherently hybrid (offered by Hall 1990). A diasporic subject may simultaneously benefit from the impetus of the homeland, the host-land, and many other entities in her life. By drawing on the concept of rhizome, we can better understand the ways the diasporic subject may engage in developing a new transnational or transcultural lifestyle. Chapter 7 and 8 have also shown that homeland is a relational category (Vigouroux & Mufwene 2021) as the diasporic subjects do not orient themselves to an abstract homeland, but to social, cultural and political practices that they associate with an imagined homeland and national identity.

Chapter 8, which I named homeland reorientation, followed the lead of the question "*Tanult valamit, ami csak itt volt lehetséges?*" ('Did s/he learn something that was possible only here?'). Unlike in Chapter 7, I did not focus on an attempt at a nostalgic reconstruction of the homeland, but on the imaginations the participants shared on bringing back the characteristics of the host society to the homeland. To discuss the 'lessons learnt', I drew on the afore-mentioned Deleuzian term, rhizome, that helped to approach the ways practices and identities might dynamically evolve and change. I enlisted four types of rhizomatic reorientations in connection with language, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity. The first is the acknowledgement of linguistic practices that transgress the boundaries of named languages as legitimate forms of expressing hybrid diasporic identities. I gave examples where mixed ways of speaking became integral part of the shared linguistic repertoire between Hungarians or between a diasporic subject and a local person, for example, when the husband asked his spouse "*hol fogunk* <desayun>*álni?*" ('where are

we going to have breakfast?') drawing on both Hungarian and Castilian words. The second is the recognition of differences in gender role expectations and positionalities, which led to the formation of certain diasporic gendered groups: Hungarian women started to engage in Hungarian-speaking diasporic events, while men did not. The third is related to the perception of gendered and sexual minorities being given more freedom in Catalonia (compared to Hungary), which was celebrated by most participants. In this sense, they constructed a diasporic Hungarianness as reoriented from the imagined homeland in becoming a more egalitarian and tolerant person. The fourth reorientation referred to the myriad ways one can look at their own ethnic belonging depending on their positionality: some participants started to identify as Eastern-European and acknowledge the diversity that can be experienced in Spain. In sum, these examples show that the diasporic can also be captured in the constant (rhizomatic) re-evaluation of what counts as, for instance, Hungarian, local, Spanish, homeland, and so on.

These four dimensions, in general, have shown that the diasporic is not constructed in one well-established way, but through multiple and complex meaning-making activities. The chronotopic analysis of the narratives of the participants on dispersion showed that participants with a longer history in Catalonia displayed more loyalty to Catalonia or Spain in general, while the newcomers tended to treat the space and time around their transnational mobility as more flexible than before. The analysis on boundary-management has shown that the Catalan language was still seen as an authentic language of Catalan people that cannot become the voice of a Hungarian diasporic subject without political commitment and the accumulation of cultural capital, whereas the Castilian language functioned as an anonymous language. The posthumanist approach to diasporization has shown that the diasporic orientation towards the homeland is produced and perceived through language and semiosis, but not necessarily in a way that is connected to the named Hungarian language, but through other language-related meaning-making resources such as the smell of a *lángos* or the touch of a *tárcsa*. The rhizomatic way of looking at the diasporic acknowledged that it is not not necessarily to be captured in the nostalgic reconstruction of the homeland, but it can also embody reorientations and redefinitions of the identity, for example, for Hungarians in Catalonia, who start to identify more generally as Eastern Europeans.

9.2. Towards a collaborative methodological approach to sociolinguistic inquiry

Although socially relevant research that is conducted *on*, *for* and *with* the participants has long been a concern in sociolinguistics (see Cameron et al. 1992, 1993), there has not been a widely expressed claim for the application of participatory methods in the field until recently (see Bucholtz et al. 2016; Svendsen 2018, SturzSreetharan et al. 2019; Szabó & Troyer 2017). If we understand participation "broadly as the involvement and engagement of all interested parties" (Bodó et al. 2022a: 2), applying such an approach would be a concomitant development of a sociolinguistics that endeavors to critically examine "language issues that matter" (Heller et al. 2018). Among different forms of participatory research, I labeled a part of my research as *collaborative* by which I referred to the long-term collaboration and the collaborative interpretation I implemented with the key participants of the research who volunteered to be committed and permanent participants of the study (Hodge & Jones 2000). They were involved in the definition of relevant questions (that I connected to the existing literature then) in our monthly gatherings and in the post-fieldwork activities. Both of these served as a means to contribute to my efforts to democratize the academic knowledge production process. I found collaboration important at two levels: it helped me see the processes of diasporization better in terms of methodology, and it was important in terms of ethics and responsibilities towards the research participants.

Not all forms of collaboration necessarily lead to better research, but it may be productive with certain research topics (Jones et al. 2000). I argue that diasporization is one of these topics. Diasporization is a somewhat self-defining term: it refers to the processes in which the claimed members of a diaspora, who share similar experiences of dispersion, start to engage with diasporic practices and to identify as diasporic. Therefore, in the case of diasporization, it is self-evident that research could potentially benefit from the inclusion of the individual experiences of diasporic subjects because by participating in the research on diasporization they become both subjects and agents of diasporization. From that point, it is only one step further to include them in the whole academic knowledge production process. I argue that some level of collaboration is necessary in case we take "thinking diaspora from below" (Rosa & Trivedi 2017) seriously, because it fosters us to find access to emic perspectives. There are other methods to capture the emic perspectives as well in ethnographically informed studies (also applied in this research), but the long-term collaboration with the key participants made the topics discussed in the thesis more relevant to what they were interested in related to other Hungarians (thus, the topics were not restricted to my own presumptions) and made the results more justified in general.

As mentioned in the methodological chapter, the fieldwork was not collaborative from the outset. However, collaboration eventually gained relevance at one point when the pandemic situation required a higher level of responsibility from the researchers in all research areas towards the research participants. In my case, this manifested in, among many other aspects, the invitation of interested and committed participants to other research activities. The fieldwork has shown that it is always possible to make steps towards collaboration in the course of research in ways that involve research participants in roles that go beyond mere informants. Such involvements happened at different stages of my research to different extents. A relative freedom was even given to the participants in the data generation, for example, in the case of the language diaries (see also Hodge & Jones 2000). The research went even further with the key participants as they were involved in the definition of questions and the collaborative interpretation of preliminary findings. By collaborative interpretation, I refer to the space of reflexivity with the key participants, which we called *magyar tertúlia*. At these encounters, the key participants were first asked to write questions to cards that they would like to discuss with other Hungarians in Catalonia which I then adapted as the starting questions of the chapters of this thesis. Of course, these questions formulated by the key participants did not directly become research questions in the sense that I was the one who shaped them into scholarly discussions and brought them into dialogue with the literature. Still, this was a way of merging the interests and the perspectives of both the researcher and research participants. In the *magyar tertúlia* discussions, all participants could share their thoughts on the topics, and I myself also shared my own thoughts with them when they asked me. I believe that such spaces of reflexivity can be created in every research for the participants interested in immersing in the research and it can fruitfully contribute to the number of ways scholars can look at the data.

The key participants were also asked to participate in post-fieldwork activities. Although the principle of 'linguistic gratuity' (Wolfram 1993) was introduced in sociolinguistics a long time ago, there is scant literature on the ways research findings were brought back to the participants (see Lexander & Androutsopoulos 2021). In my research, summaries of each chapter were written in Hungarian and were sent to the key participants. I argue that this gesture was important for them, and by having the chance to provide feedback to me, even criticize my claims, they could give even more insights to the findings as these feedbacks were then included in the thesis. At the end of the journey, I also traveled to Barcelona, and I initiated another *magyar tertúlia* discussion in order to explain the findings of the whole research to the key participants.

It felt proper to do this as a form of appreciation for the time they sacrificed in our long-term collaboration.

But collaboration, of course, is not a one-way road; the thesis could only have been complete by including my own autoethnographic reflections. As mentioned in the theoretical chapter, I saw the research as an amalgamation of *becoming*, *monitoring*, and *affirming the diasporic*. In these auto-ethnographic reflections, I tried to include these perspectives as well. Therefore, I wrote about what I monitored in myself while being a diasporic subject in Catalonia according to the questions of the key participants, for example, what I learnt during my stay. I also made notes on how I became the diasporic while trying to adjust to the local milieu by endeavors in learning the Castilian and Catalan language, and the kind of access I earned to the speakers of these languages. Finally, I also addressed the fact that writing a thesis on a diasporic population already contributes to the diasporization process and affirms the diasporic.

With all these methodological solutions, I aimed at contributing to the democratization of academic knowledge production (Appadurai 2006). By democratization I mean that, instead of exploiting the information from the participants without ever looking back, I gave the opportunity to share the joy and benefits of the research with all who wished to collaborate with me for shorter or longer periods by somewhat shaping the research, for instance, by formulating questions or revising the summaries of the research findings. Collaboration in this research was not extended to all the phases of the process, but democratization manifested in other acts as well. For instance, it manifested in how my own experiences as a diasporic subject were also shared with the key participants when they showed interest in it; that is also a reason for my decision to write these thoughts to the end of the chapters in the form of autoethnographic reflection.

The greatest efforts I made for democratization was in connection with the language of this research. Finding the forms of dissemination in a language that is available for the participants is an important consideration in any kinds of collaborative research, but it is particularly important in the case of critical sociolinguistic studies. All sociolinguists, in theory, celebrate linguistic diversity so it would have been controversial to deliver all research tasks with an English-only policy. First, I followed the established sociolinguistic practice in providing the original transcripts of the interactions, but I went against the concept of named language by not specifically indicating where the participants spoke English, Catalan, Spanish, Hungarian, or any other named language. Second, I tried to somewhat challenge monolingual academic English regimentation by putting the participants' own words into the categories of the analysis and the titles of the sections in a mixed way when possible. Third, I also gave summaries to the key participants in (non-academic style) Hungarian that is available for all of them. I think these are the least a sociolinguist can do.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview guide for individual biographical interviews

Original:

Nyelvi életrajz

Elmesélnéd, hogy gyerekkorodtól fogva milyen nyelvi élményeid voltak azzal kapcsolatban, hogy mennyiféleképpen lehet beszélni?

Migráció

Éltél korábban külföldön?
Mikor költöztél ide? Miért?
Mivel foglalkozol itt? Magyarországon is ilyen jellegű munkát végeztél?
Volt valaki, aki segített neked az itteni munkavállalásban?
Szeretsz itt élni?
Szerinted mit gondolnak a helyiek a Magyarországról érkezőkről? És a magyarországiak azokról, akik külföldre költöznek?

Nyelv

A munkahelyeden milyen nyelven beszélsz? Milyen nyelvtudással érkeztél az országba/a régióba?
Érezted valaha, hogy hátrányban vagy azért, mert külföldi vagy, vagy mert kevésbé érted a helyiek nyelvét? (Vannak olyan részei Spanyolországnak, ahol gondot jelent a megértés? Ez változott az idő során?)
Milyen nyelven érdemes tanulnia annak, aki ide tervez költözni?
(Tanultál korábban spanyolul? Tanultál valaha katalánul? Mit tudsz a katalán nyelv helyzetéről? Hogyan működnek a katalóniai iskolák? Tudtál arról, hogy több helyen is biztosítanak ingyenes katalán kezdő nyelvkurzust?)

Otthon

Mit mondanál, mik a legnagyobb különbségek az itteni és a magyarországi életben?
Hiányzik valami Magyarországból?
Tartod a kapcsolatot magyarországiakkal? Hogyan, milyen gyakran? Változott ez mióta itt élsz?
Mit tanácsolnál annak, aki Magyarországról ide jön dolgozni?

Magyarok

Kikkel élsz egy háztartásban, ők magyarok? Milyen nyelven beszéltek otthon? Élnek itt más rokonaid is? (A gyerekeid milyen iskolába járnak, milyen nyelven tanulnak?)
Jársz magyar társaságokba, magyar programokra? Milyen gyakran? Kik vesznek részt ezeken a programokon? Milyen nyelven szoktatok beszélgetni? Mit jelent ez a számodra, miért tartod fontosnak? Tudsz más programokról?

(Honnan származol? Hol élsz most? Hány éves vagy? Milyen végzettséged van?)

English translation:

Linguistic biography

Could you tell me about your experiences from childhood onwards about how diversely one can speak?

Migration

Have you lived abroad before?
When did you move here? Why?
What do you do here? Did you do this kind of work in Hungary?
Was there anyone who helped you to work here?
Do you like living here?
What do you think the locals think of people from Hungary? And what do people in Hungary think about those who moved abroad?

Language

What language do you speak at work? What language skills did you bring to the country/region?
Have you ever felt disadvantaged because you are a foreigner or because you understand less the language of local people? (Are there parts of Spain where you have problems understanding? Has this changed over time?)
What language should you learn if you are planning to move here?
(Have you studied Spanish before? Have you ever studied Catalan? What do you know about the situation of Catalan? How do schools work in Catalonia? Did you know that there are several places that offer free beginners' courses in Catalan?)

Homeland

What would you say as the biggest differences between life here and life in Hungary?
Do you miss anything about Hungary?
Do you keep in touch with people in Hungary? How, how often? Has that changed since you've been living here?
What advice would you give to someone coming from Hungary to work here?

Hungarians

Who do you live in a household with, are they Hungarians? What language do you speak at home? Do you have any other relatives living here? (What school do your children go to, what language do they learn?)
Do you go to Hungarian programs? How often? Who attends these programs? What language do you speak there? What does this mean to you, why do you think it is important? Do you know about other programs?

(Where are you from? Where do you live now? How old are you? What is your highest level of education?)

Appendix B: Guide for the first online focus groups

Original:
Bemutatkozásként elmondanátok, hogy kik vagytok, mit érdemes rólatok tudni?
Hogyan élitek meg a kijárási tilalmat? (Tudtok dolgozni? Hogyan?)
Honnan tájékozódtok? (Milyen nyelven?)
Kivel tartjátok kapcsolatot? (Hogyan? Milyen nyelven?)
Hogyan látjátok a jövőtöket?

English translation:
As an introduction, can you tell us who you are and what is worth knowing about you?
How do you live in the quarantine? (Can you work? How?)
Where do you get your information? (In what language?)
Who do you keep in touch with? (How? In what language?)
How do you see your future?

Appendix C: Instructions for language diaries

Original:

A tevékenység:

> Arra kérlek, hogy válassz ki hét egymást követő napot, amikor naplót fogsz vezetni azokról a beszéd és a kommunikáció különböző formáihoz kapcsolódó szokásaidról (ideértve társalgást, csetelést, levelezést, hírolvasást stb.), amelyek fontosak vagy érdekesek a számodra. A naplóban olyan információkat érdemes feltüntetni, mint hogy mi volt a tevékenység, mikor és hol történt, kivel végezted, és hogyan folytattátok (pl. hogyan beszéltetek). Ha van valamilyen megjegyzésed, azt mindenképp jegyezd fel, miképpen szó szerint is rögzítheted a naplóban, ha számodra különlegesen érdekes volt valamilyen megnyilvánulás, mint például egy mondat, egy szó, egy jel, egy gesztus és így tovább.

A forma:

> A napló formájával kapcsolatban nincsen semmilyen elvárásom. Olyat válassz, amely számodra a legkényelmesebb és a legtesthezállóbb. Írhatod kézzel, számítógéppel, vezetheted hagyományos naplóként és táblázatos formában, de írás helyett rögzítheted hang- vagy videófelvételen is. Azt is rád bízom, hogy a naplót naponta küldöd el nekem, vagy a hét napot követően egyben. Ha a táblázatos formát választod, akkor találsz a mellékletben egy sémát, amit nyugodtan változtass meg a saját ízlésednek megfelelően.

Megbeszélés:

> A hét napot megelőzően érdemes egyeztetnünk a részletekről, azt követően pedig meg fogjuk beszélni mind a naplóban foglaltak, mind a naplóírás folyamatának tanulságait. Ha kíváncsi vagy másnak a tapasztalataira is, akkor a megbeszélést megtarthatjuk csoportos formában is, de akkor nem csak én fogom látni a naplódat, hanem a beszélgetés más résztvevője is.

English translation:

The activity:

You are asked to choose seven consecutive days on which you will keep a diary of your habits related to different forms of speech and communication (including conversation, chatting, correspondence, reading the news, etc.) that are important or interesting to you. In the diary, you can include information such as what the activity was, when and where it took place, with whom you did it and how you did it (e.g., how you talked). If you have any comments, be sure to make a note of them, and you can also record them verbatim in the diary if you found a particular expression particularly interesting, such as a sentence, a word, a sign, a gesture, and so on.

The form:

I have no expectations about the form of the diary. Choose the form that is most convenient and comfortable for you. You can write it by hand, on a computer, keep it as a traditional diary or in a spreadsheet format, or record it on audio or video instead of writing. It is also up to you whether you send the diary to me daily or in one piece after the seven days. If you choose the spreadsheet format, you will find a template in the appendix, which you are free to change to your own taste.

Discussion:

It is a good idea to discuss the details before the seven days, and afterwards what will discuss both what you have written in the diary and what you have learned from the diary writing process. If you are interested in hearing about someone else's experience, we can have the meeting in a group format, but then I will not be the only person who will see your diary, but also the other participants in the discussion.

Appendix D: Summaries for the key participants

A kutatásról általánosan

A készülő disszertáció azt a kérdést járja körül, hogy milyen közös és egyéni tapasztalatokkal bírnak a Katalóniában élő magyarok. A kutatásom során szakszóval élve a diaszporizáció folyamatát és különösen annak nyelvi vonatkozásait vizsgáltam. Kiindulópontként az érdekelt elsősorban, hogy miért és hogyan jönnek létre külföldi magyar csoportok, valamint, hogy a tagok élményei mennyiben kapcsolódnak a kétnyelvű autonóm közösséghez, Katalóniához. A vizsgálathoz összesen két és fél évet töltöttem Katalóniában, amelyből azonban a másfél évesre tervezett lényegi terepmunka-időszak szinte teljesen egybeesett a koronavírus-járvány okozta lezárásokkal. Ezért a hagyományosnak tekinthető és bevett módszerek (életút-interjúk felvétele, résztvevői megfigyelések) mellett újakat is ki kellett próbálnom, ilyen volt például az online fókuszcsoportos beszélgetés vagy a nyelvi naplók készítése. Ezek során öt állandó résztvevője lett a kutatásnak, akikkel rendszeres találkozókat is szerveztünk. Ezeknek az összejöveteleknek a magyar tertúlia nevet adtuk, amelyre a járványügyi korlátozások lazulásával újabb embereket is meghívtunk.

Feltett szándékom volt, hogy a kutatás olyan kérdésekre keressen válaszokat, amely magukat a Katalóniában élő magyarokat is érdeklik. Ezért a terepmunka egy pontján arra kértem az állandó résztvevőket, hogy kis lapokra írjanak föl olyan kérdéseket vagy témákat, amelyeket szívesen megvitatnának más katalóniai magyarokkal. A lapokra felírtak egyfelől a saját csoportos beszélgetéseinknek is témát adtak hosszú időre, másfelől pedig a disszertáció egyes elemző fejezeteinek a témáit is ezek határozták meg. Jelen dokumentum egyben egy módszertani kísérlet is. Kevés kutató törekszik arra, hogy az eredményeit megossza az érdekelt felekkel még a publikálás előtt. Én azonban ezt így tartom helyénvalónak egyfajta viszonzásként az állandó résztvevők hosszú távú elköteleződése miatt, de emellett visszacsatolásokat is várok ezen keresztül. Arra kérem e sorok olvasóját tehát, hogy adjon majd visszajelzést, ha pedig kell, őszinte kritikát az olvasottakkal kapcsolatban, hiszen ezek is szerves részét fogják képezni a disszertációnak.

A szétszóródás című fejezet összefoglalója

Az első elemző fejezet kiindulópontját az a lap adta, amelyen a „*Honnan indult, mi a célja?*” kérdés szerepelt. Ez a kérdésfelvetés szorosan kapcsolódik a diaszporizáció szakirodalmában előforduló egyik kritériumához, a szétszóródáshoz, vagyis ahhoz, hogy milyen okok vezetnek ahhoz, hogy egy népességcsoport nagy számban költözzön egy új helyre.

A teljes kutatási anyagot átfésülve arra lettem figyelmes, hogy ahogyan a kutatás résztvevői a saját életükről és azon belül a Magyarországról külföldre, szorosabban véve Katalóniába költözésükről beszéltek, gyakran összefonódik annak az elbeszélésével is, hogy honnan indultak és milyen céllal érkeztek, miképpen azzal is, hogy milyen elvárásaik vannak saját maguk, de akár mások felé is. Az elemzés során összegyűjtöttem azokat a kategóriákat, amelyekkel a résztvevők a leggyakrabban és a legkifejezőbb módon utaltak önmagukra. Ezek a következők voltak: az *integrálódott*, a *clandestino*, a *digitális nomád*, a *kicsit távolabb élő magyar*, a *gyökértelen* és a *segítő*.

Fontos leszögezni, hogy ezek a kategóriák nem összeegyeztethetők konkrét személyekkel. Ezek sokkal inkább olyan elképzelt, de széles körben felismerhetővé vált karakterek, amelyekkel a beszélők egy adott időpillanatban és egy adott helyszínen azonosulni tudtak, a karakterek vélt tulajdonságait pedig igaznak gondolták önmagukra is. Például aki **integrálódott**ként (vagy az anyagban kevésbé gyakran előforduló megfogalmazással: beilleszkedettként) utal magára, általában már hosszabb, évtizedekben mérhető időt töltött el az új lakhelyén, és a más magyarokkal való társalgás során is azt a képet kívánja kialakítani magáról, hogy a befogadó társadalom teljes értékű tagjaként tekinthet önmagára, amelynek egyik velejárója, hogy a helyi ügyekben is úgy foglalhat állást, mintha mindig is Katalóniában élt volna.

A **clandestino** és a **digitális nomád** karakterei e tekintetben szöges ellentétben állnak az integrálódottal. Ők nem tekintenek a beilleszkedésre sem kitűzött célként, sem önmaguk vagy mások felé támasztott elvárásként, mert a saját életüket nem helyhez vagy helyekhez kötöttként írják le. Ezek a

karakterek minden térben ugyanolyannak mutatják magukat, és pont emiatt elutasítóak a helyben nagy jelentőséggel bíró gondolatokkal, így például a nacionalizmusokkal szemben. A clandestino és a digitális nomád bárhol lehetnének, de megkülönbözteti őket egymástól az, hogy miért váltak ezekké a karakterekké. A clandestino életmódjának része a gyakori helyváltoztatás, ez azonban nincs időhöz kötve. Ezzel szemben a digitális nomád egy szűk és kiváltságos réteg tagjaként gondol magára, aki azért választhat magának szabadon lakhelyet most, mert az utóbbi évtizedben bekövetkezett információtechnológiai fejlődés miatt már lehetővé vált, hogy a világ bármely pontján elvégezze a munkáját.

A **kicsit távolabb élő magyar** karaktere a tapasztalatait hasonlóképp időben behatárolhatónak mutatja be, hiszen úgy gondolja, hogy az a fajta nemzetközi mobilitás, amelynek ő is a része, elsősorban a vasfüggöny lehullása óta jellemző. Így az ő élményei időben elkülönülnek a korábban külföldre költözöttekétől, de térben tekintve még mindig lát egy választóvonalat az Európában és az Európán kívül élők között. A szabad mozgás miatt úgy gondolja, hogy csak a távolságban van különbség ahhoz képest, mintha Magyarországon belül költözött volna egyik településről a másikra.

A következő karakter életútjában szintén nagy szerepet játszik az Európai Unión belüli szabad mozgás, a külföldre költözést általában valamilyen kalandvággyal magyarázza. A **gyökértelen** hosszabb ideje él külföldön, amelynek az az eredménye, hogy Magyarországra utazva már nem tudja magát igazán otthon érezni, mert megváltoztak az ottani viszonyok, viszont ezt az űrt az új lakhely sem tudja valamiért betölteni a számára. Szeretne valahova jobban kötődni, de mind a két helyen látja az előnyöket és a hátrányokat is, emiatt nem tudja eldönteni, mi lenne a számára igazán jó: visszamenni vagy maradni.

A **segítő** az egyetlen olyan karakter, amelynek fontos a neme is: a segítők olyan nők, akik a házastársuk oldalán érkeztek az új lakhelyre, és céljuk főként a családi egység megteremtésében rejlik. A segítő feladatának érzi, hogy becsatornázza a családját helyi közösségekbe, emiatt nagy energiákat fektet a kapcsolattartásba és a nyelvtanulásba egyaránt. Helyzetének sajátosságát sokszor az is adja, hogy határozott időre érkeznek csak, vagy legalábbis nem terveznek örökre letelepedni Katalóniában.

Ezek a karakterek önleírások, amelyek a kutatás résztvevői magukra alkalmaztak, de ez nem jelenti azt, hogy ezek lefednék az összes migrációs tapasztalatot, és azt sem, hogy ne változhatna meg az életút során, hogy valaki hogyan tekint magára és hogyan mutatja be önmagát másoknak. Olyan esetek is akadtak a terepmunka során, amikor bizonyos résztvevők valaki mással szemben határozták meg önmagukat. Tehát az elemzésem olyan karakterekre is kitért, amelyekkel bár senki sem vállalt közösséget, mégis megjelentek olyanként, amilyenné nem szerettek volna válni a résztvevők. Ilyenek voltak az *emigráns*, a *világpolgár* és a *guiri* kategóriái.

Az **emigráns** olyan karakter, aki bár nem Magyarországon él, túlhangsúlyozza magyarságát, és nem próbál azonosulni a helyi szokásokkal. A **világpolgár** olyan személyként jelent meg az elbeszélésekben, aki sehol sincs igazán otthon. A **guiri** pedig arra vonatkozott, aki akár hosszabb idő után is úgy viselkedik, mintha egy olyan turista lenne, aki egyáltalán nincs tisztában Katalónia sajátosságaival. Ennek a három kategóriának az elutasításában az a közös, hogy elvárásként értelmez bizonyos fokú érzékenységet a helyi ügyek irányában anélkül, hogy az önfeladást eredményezne.

Bár ahogy azt feljebb jeleztem, ezek a karakterek nem egyeztethetők össze valós személyekkel, a katalóniai magyar közösségek történetének áttekintésekor arra lettem figyelmes, hogy ezek a karakterek és elsősorban a hozzájuk kapcsolódó elvárások áthatották azt, ahogyan és amilyen céllal az egyes csoportok létrejöttek. Az első katalóniai magyar szervezet alapítására 1987-ben került sor. Ez volt a Katalán-Magyar Kulturális Egyesület, amely elsődlegesen azt tűzte ki célul, hogy a katalán és a magyar magaskultúra között közvetítő szerepet töltsön be. Az egyesület számára az integrálódott karakter nevezhető meg ideálképnek: az a követendő, aki képes volt beilleszkedni a katalán felső-középosztály miliőjébe. A következő csoportosulás a 2000-es években jött létre Aranyalma Kör néven, és itt már inkább a kicsit távolabb élő magyar karaktere határozta meg a programokat: az általuk szervezett események elsősorban magyar családoknak szóltak azzal a céllal, hogy a gyerekeknek megmutassák a kortárs magyar kultúrát és helyszínt teremtsenek a magyar nyelv gyakorlására kortársakkal, mivel a két hely közötti távolságot átjárhatónak találták.

Mikor a 2010-es évek második felében az Aranyalma Kör alapítóinak lendülete alábbhagyott, történt egy kísérlet arra, hogy a katalóniai magyar családok betagozódjanak a madridi székhelyű, de magát spanyolországi magyar ernyőszervezetként meghatározó Madách Egyesület alá. Mára úgy tűnik azonban, hogy ez az együttműködés nem tudott működni, és ez főleg arra vezethető vissza, hogy a katalóniai magyarok szemében ez az egyesület az emigráns karaktert testesíti meg, vagyis egy olyan magyarságképet közvetített, amely elutasításra talált Katalóniában. Ez azonban nem jelenti azt, hogy ne lennének

magyar nyelvű gyerekes programok azóta: a járványügyi korlátozások feloldása óta újra zajlik magyaroktatás gyerekeknek Barcelonában több korosztályban is, vagyis olyan intenzitással, amely korábban sosem volt jellemző.

Ugyanakkor a 2010-es évektől kezdve nemcsak gyerekprogramok érhetők el, és ez egybefügg azzal is, hogy Magyarország schengeni övezethez való csatlakozása után többszörösére nőtt a magyarok száma egész Spanyolországban, így Katalóniában is, de ezzel együtt a migrációs céljaik is sokszínűbbekké váltak. Ekkorra tehető az is, hogy elkezdtek különböző csoportok szerveződni közösségimédia-felületeken is, így a gyökértelen, a segítő, de még a digitális nomád és a clandestino önjellemzéssel bíró személyek is találhattak maguknak közös programot más magyarokkal, amennyiben volt rá igényük. Ezek sokszor spontán baráti társaságok létrejöttében merült ki, de olykor más, hosszú ideig futó programsorozat is megvalósult például egy néptáncos csapat próbái vagy a barcelonai nők csoportjának előadássorozata által. Ebben az időszakban váltak láthatóvá különböző etnikai üzletek is: magyar étterem, bár, szállás, fodrász, magyar nyelvű idegenvezetés és így tovább.

A programok és a különböző személyes találkozási lehetőségek elé akadályt gördített a koronavírus-járvány, így azt egyelőre nem lehet tudni, hogy milyen sajátosságokat fognak mutatni a 2020-as évek. Az azonban biztosnak tűnik, hogy továbbra is mutatkozik igény olyan terekre, ahol magyarok vitathatnak meg különböző kérdéseket egymással – nem különbséget téve egymás között aszerint, hogy ki honnan indult, és mi a célja, de mégis társalgás témájává emelve akár ezeket a kérdéseket is.

A határfelszámolás című fejezet összefoglalója

A második elemző fejezet kiindulópontját az a lap adta, amelyen a „*Hogy megy a beilleszkedés?*” kérdés szerepelt. Ez a kérdésfelvetés szorosan kapcsolódik a diaszporizáció szakirodalmában előforduló egyik kritériumához, a határfelszámoláshoz, vagyis ahhoz, hogy a közösség tagjai mennyiben kísérlik meg a köztük és a befogadó társadalom tagjai között fennálló különbségeket csökkenteni. A teljes kutatási anyagot átfésülve arra lettem figyelmes, hogy abban, ahogyan a kutatás résztvevői a külföldre költöző magyarokról általánosságban beszélnek, megjelenik egy olyan képzet, amely a magyar populációt természetéből fakadóan csendesnek és beilleszkedőnek írja le más népcsoportokkal szemben. Ez némiképp magyarázatot ad a kiinduló kérdésre is, amely magától értetődőnek vette azt, hogy a beilleszkedés, avagy a befogadó társadalom és az újonnan érkezők közötti határok felszámolása mindenkinek közös igénye és érdeke.

A bevándorlásról európai politikai diskurzusokról a szakirodalom azt állítja, hogy az integrációt folyamatként tételezik, amely során a kívülről érkezők arra törekszenek, hogy a társadalom elfogadott részévé váljanak, és hogy ennek a folyamatnak a végrehajtásában az egyedüli felelősség a bevándorlókat terheli. Az ehhez szükséges követelmények azonban sosincsenek kellő pontossággal meghatározva – így e kutatás résztvevői is egyszerre érezték magukat megszólítva és korlátozva az integrációról szóló politikai retorika által. A fent említett könnyen alkalmazkodó népre vonatkozó idea mellet az ő esetüket az is egyedivé teszi, hogy a beilleszkedésről folyó helyi viták nem egy, hanem két nyelvvel is összekapcsolják az integráció megvalósítását.

A kutatásom résztvevői által elbeszélt történeteket egy metafora alkalmazásával igyekeztem megragadni. Mivel legtöbben útként írták le, ezért magam egyfajta autópályaként gondoltam tovább a befogadói társadalomba való beilleszkedés folyamatát ahhoz, hogy a résztvevők beszélői élményeit kategorizálni tudjam. Természetesen, mint minden analógia, ez sem állja meg teljes mértékben a helyét, de azért találtam ezt megfelelő képnek, mert az autópályákon is vannak pihenőhelyek, ahol hosszabb-rövidebb időt el lehet tölteni, ahogyan az integrációnak is voltak főbb állomásai a résztvevők számára. Egy autópályán vannak lehajtók is, amelyekről egyfelől el lehet jutni egy olyan pontra, ahonnan már nem szeretnénk tovább haladni, másfelől pedig vissza is lehet fordulni, miképpen többen a kutatás résztvevői közül is életük egy pontján úgy döntöttek, hogy visszaköltöznek Magyarországra vagy akár tovább egy harmadik helyszínre. Sőt, az is lehetséges, hogy valaki megállók nélkül eljut az autópálya legtávolabbi pontjára.

A fejezetben azt vázoltam föl tehát, hogy a résztvevők milyen főbb állomásokat írtak le a beilleszkedés folyamatában, és ezekhez az állomásokhoz milyen nyelvi és társas viselkedésformákat társítottak. Az állomások megnevezésekor törekedtem arra, hogy megtartsam az ő jellegzetes leíró terminusaikat.

Az öt állomás a következő: *nyaralás*, *először spanyolul*, *a dilemma*, *a haszon* és *első osztályú polgárnak lenni*.

Az első állomás a **nyaralás**, amelyben főként azok érintettek, akik a külföldre költözésben főleg a kalandot keresték, motivációjukat a kalandvágy szóval írták le. A nyaralás sajátossága, hogy az újonnan érkező ekkor még nem merül el a helyi ügyekben, legyenek azok politikaiak vagy éppen nyelvtanulással kapcsolatosak, csupán élvezik azt, amit a katalóniai (és elsősorban barcelonai) élet nyújtani tud. A „nyaralók" számára az elsődleges nyelv az angol, a spanyol valamelyest értékessé válhat a nyaralás során, a katalánra viszont nem kívánatosként tekintenek, mivel az ahhoz való hozzáférésük korlátozott. A nyaralás élménye főként a kortárs vándorláshoz kapcsolódik, hiszen olyan aspektusról van szó, amely egyfelől a jelen fogyasztói kultúrájához kapcsolódik, másfelől pedig a magyarok esetében csak a schengeni egyezményhez való csatlakozást követően jelent meg valós opcióként.

Az **először spanyolul** állomása arra a résztvevők által racionálisnak leírt döntésre vonatkozik, mely szerint először a spanyol nyelvet érdemes elsajátítani. Egyes résztvevők úgy emlékeztek vissza, hogy azért hozták ezt a döntést – akár már a kiköltözés előtt –, mert nem voltak tisztában a katalóniai nyelvi viszonyokkal és Katalónia Spanyolországon belül betöltött szerepével, de többségük inkább a nemzetközi és a Spanyolország más részeire vonatkozó munkaerőpiaci kívánalmakra hivatkozott. E mögött a döntés mögött az a képzet húzódott meg, amely a spanyolra univerzálisan hozzáférhető nyelvként, a katalánra pedig egy szűkebb etnikai csoport nyelveként tekint.

Ez az elgondolás vezet a következő állomáshoz is, a **dilemmá**hoz. Ennek a dilemmának a tárgya, hogy megfogalmazói bár úgy látják, illendő volna megtanulni a régiónak a nyelvét, ahol élnek, nem találnak praktikus okokat arra, hogy belefogjanak a nyelvtanulás időt és energiát igénylő, bizonyos esetekben még a pénztárcát is megterhelő tevékenységébe. A dilemma tehát aközött húzódik, hogy mi az, ami morálisan helyes, és mi az, ami a gyakorlatban is hasznos. A résztvevők közül többen arról is vallottak, hogy a katalán nyelvtanulásba való befektetést azért halasztották el, mert nem tartották elengedhetetlennek a mindennapi élethez. Ezek a résztvevők ezzel arra utaltak, hogy a helyiekkel spanyolul is kapcsolatba lehet lépni – ezt a fajta érvelést a disszertáció következő, határfenntartásról szóló fejezetében tárgyalom részletesebben. A helyi nyelvek vonatkozásában még megjegyzendő, hogy a résztvevők túlnyomó többsége először spanyolul kezdett tanulni, páran egyszerre vágtak bele a két nyelv elsajátításába, olyan személy azonban nem volt e mintában, aki először katalántanulásba fogott volna.

A **haszon** nevet viselő következő pihenőhelyen állomásozók azt ismerték föl, hogy munkakörükben anyagi előnyökkel is járhat a katalán nyelvnek bizonyos szinten való ismerete – ezek a résztvevők főleg olyan személyek, akik a szolgáltatási szektorban dolgoznak, és arra lettek figyelmesek, hogy a jobb atmoszférát tudtak teremteni a katalánt előnyben részesítő vendégkörük számára akkor, amikor katalánul szólították meg és szolgálták ki őket, és ezzel akár többletjövedelemhez is juthattak. Bár az a képzet az ő körükben sem oldódott föl, amely a spanyolt nyilvános, mindenki által használatos nyelvként, a katalánt pedig egy etnikai csoport saját nyelveként kezeli, ők már a helyi társadalomra nyíló „második kapuként" tudtak utóbbira tekinteni.

Az utolsó, **első osztályú polgárnak lenni** nevet viselő állomásra csak kevés résztvevő tudott eljutni. Az állomás megnevezésében szándékosan szerepel a *lenni* főnévi igenév a polgárrá *válni* kifejezés helyett, mert az ide való eljutás igényelt bizonyos előzetes osztályhovatartozást és kapcsolati hálót is. Másként fogalmazva, aki Katalóniában is első osztályú polgár lett, korábbi lakhelyén is a felső középosztály vagy az értelmiség tagja volt, és ezt a kulturális tőkét a helyi társadalomba való beilleszkedés során is sikerült kiaknáznia. Az integrációnak ezen állomása már kifejezetten a katalán társadalomra vonatkozik, és nem csak nyelvről és kultúráról, hanem politikai elkötelezettségről is szól. Mivel azon kutatási résztvevők, akik magukra első osztályú polgárokként tekintettek, katalánként (is) azonosították magukat, ezért a többi résztvevő számára ez már egy nem kívánt szintje volt a beilleszkedésnek, mivel ebben már az asszimiláció lehetséges megvalósulását látták.

A kutatás ebben a fejezetben tárgyalt eredményeit tágabb kontextusba helyezve az is elmondható, hogy a vizsgált populációra is igaz az, amelyet a szakirodalom a katalán nyelv reetnicizálódásaként ír le. Ez a szakszó arra a kortárs jelenségre vonatkozik, hogy bizonyos csoportok, így jelen esetben a Magyarországról Katalóniába költözők körében újraképződik az az elgondolás, amely a katalán nyelvet kizárólag egy etnikumhoz kapcsolja, míg a spanyol nyelvet mindenki közös nyelveként kezeli. Ebben pedig nem mutatkozik különbség abban, hogy a Katalóniában élő magyarok önmagukra beilleszkedő, határokat felszámoló, míg egyes más csoportok képviselői a saját magukra épphogy határfenntartó népként tekintenek.

A határfenntartás című fejezet összefoglalója

Ez a fejezet a párja az előző, határfelszámolásról szóló fejezetnek, amely a „*Hogy megy a beilleszkedés?*” résztvevői kérdésből indult ki. Ebben a résztvevők elbeszélései alapján 5 különböző állomását különítettem el a beilleszkedésnek, vagy másképp a befogadó társadalmak és a résztvevők között húzódó határok felszámolására tett kísérletnek. Az egyik megállapításom az volt, hogy mindegyik állomáshoz eltérő nyelvi elvárások és nyelvi képességek kapcsolódnak. Ezzel szemben itt azt igyekeztem feltérképezni, hogy milyen határokat tartanak fenn a beszélők vagy éppen tartanak felszámolhatatlannak, és miért. Ehhez több résztvevői kérdést is fölhasználtam, például, hogy „*Miért érzi itt jól v. rosszul magát?*” vagy „*Van-e itt valami, ami nem tetszik neki?*”. A teljes kutatási anyag többszöri átfésülése után figyeltem meg, hogy az életutak egy bizonyos pontján a nemtetszés vagy a rossz érzés gyakran a katalán társadalomhoz és ezzel összefüggésben a katalán nyelvhez kapcsolódik, amit megerősít egy másik résztvevői kérdés is, amelynek a szerzője arra volt kíváncsi, hogy „*Mit gondolnak az itt élő magyarok a katalán függetlenségi törekvésekről?*”. A határfenntartásról szóló fejezetben tehát azt igyekeztem feltárni, hogy milyen képzetek kapcsolódnak ahhoz, amikor valaki kifejezetten elutasítást tanúsít a katalán nyelv megtanulásával kapcsolatban. Mindez azért fontos, mert a határfelszámolás és a határfenntartás problémaköre központi kérdése a diaszporizáció szakirodalmának, itt viszont azt figyeltem meg, hogy az ezekre a témákra adott válaszok másképp jelennek meg a katalán és másképp a spanyol vagy más nyelvek vonatkozásában.

A katalóniai magyarok elbeszéléseiben erre a kérdésre vonatkozóan két jellemző motívumot találtam – megjegyzendő, hogy más is szerepet játszhat, de ebben a fejezetben nem tárgyaltam olyan nem nyelvspecifikus tényezőket, mint például amikor valaki nem szívesen szólal meg egy nyelven, mert tart tőle, hogy nem elég „helyesen” fejezi ki magát, hanem azokat vettem figyelembe, amelyek kifejezetten a katalánsághoz kapcsolódnak. Az egyik ilyen motívumot Jacques Derrida híres esszéje nyomán (de annak tartalmát kifordítva) a Másik kétnyelvűségének neveztem el, a másik motívumot pedig más szakirodalmi tételekre támaszkodva a neoliberális Énnek.

Előbbi a *forrófejű katalán* képzetén alapul, amely egy olyan elképzelt, de széles körben felismert karakter, aki csak katalánul hajlandó beszélni a beszélgetőpartner igényeitől vagy képességeitől függetlenül. A forrófejű katalán karakterére az is jellemző, hogy politikailag aktív, a különböző demonstrációk és azok esetleges túlkapásainak állandó résztvevője – ezt természetesen nem azt jelenti, hogy minden katalán ilyen volna, vagy hogy minden katalóniai magyar így tekint általánosan a katalán emberekre, csupán azt, hogy van egy ilyen vissza-visszaköszönő képzet a katalóniai magyarok körében, amely sokszor csak vicc tárgya, más esetekben viszont sokaknak a különböző döntéseire is hatással van. Az viszont egyértelműen kirajzolódott – ahogyan erre a határfelszámolásról szóló fejezetben is kitértem –, hogy a katalóniai magyarok a spanyol nyelvet egy általánosan hozzáférhető nyelvként, „a közös nyelv”-ként értelmezik, amelynek a beszélője így bárki lehet, addig a katalán nyelvet egy regionálisan értelmezhető és szűk csoport nyelveként látják, egy reetnicizálódott és repolitizálódott nyelvként. Ezek a szakirodalomból átemelt kifejezések arra vonatkoznak, hogy a katalán nyelvet a legutóbbi időszakokban újból egy etnikai és egy politikai csoport sajátjaként ismerik föl. Amiben eltérnek az általam végzett vizsgálat eredményei, az az, hogy a résztvevők közül csak kevesen tekintenek a katalán nyelvre a felső közép- vagy középosztályhoz való tartozás jelölőjeként, így ez csak keveseket tesz motiválttá az elsajátításában.

A **Másik kétnyelvűsége** című alfejezetben kifejezetten határon túli származású magyarok elbeszéléseit használtam föl példaanyagként. Ennek oka az, hogy a beszélők itt alkalmaztak összehasonlításokat a saját korábbi, kisebbségi helyzetben megélt élettapasztalataikra, amelyeket párhuzamba állítottak a katalóniaival. Az egyik esetben például a katalán nyelvpolitikát és az ahhoz kapcsolódó ideológiákat a Kárpátalján megéltekhez hasonlították. Egy másikban ezzel szemben az erdélyi gyermekkorhoz kapcsolódó magyar–román–német idealizált többnyelvűségként jelent meg a katalóniai kiegyensúlyozatlannak tartott kétnyelvűséghez képest. Ezekben a narratívákban az volt a közös, hogy a helyi vagy katalán Másik logikátlannak, rugalmatlannak, kirekesztőnek, és ezek miatt visszataszítónak tételeződött egy általánosan elvárható emberi normához és az Énhez képest. E beszélők saját, szinte traumatikusként leírt társalgásokat idéztek föl katalán emberekkel, akik nem voltak tekintettel arra, hogy ők

beszélgetőtársként nem értették őket katalánul vagy éppen a spanyol nyelvet szerették volna gyakorolni. Ez pedig azt eredményezte, hogy ezek a beszélők e tapasztalatok miatt nem kívánatosnak ítélték a problémás csoportnak sajátjaként kezelt katalán nyelvet is.

A **neoliberális Én** című alfejezetben egy olyan motívumot fejtettem ki, amely nem a Másik valamilyen vélt tulajdonságát vagy viselkedésmódját emeli ki – noha vannak összefüggések –, hanem az Én saját egyéni törekvéseit. A neoliberális jelzőt itt is a már létező szakirodalomból kölcsönöztem. Az olyan elbeszélések neveződnek meg e jelzővel, amelyek egyrészt a globális kapitalizmus érvrendszereire támaszkodó motivációkról számolnak be, másrészt pedig amelyeket gazdasági kifejezések hatják át. Az idézett társalgásrészletekben ilyen kifejezések voltak például a *racionálisan élő ember*, a *jól felfogott* (ti. érdek), az *előny*, az *optimalizál*, a nyelvekre vonatkozóan pedig, hogy *hasznos*, *praktikus*, vagy épp *használhatatlan*. Természetesen ez sem azt jelenti, hogy minden katalóniai magyar neoliberális gazdasági és nyelvi ideológiák mentén gondolkozna, csupán azt, hogy markánsan él a körükben az az elképzelés, amely a nyelveket azok vélt valós gazdasági hasznuk és a nemzetközi vagy a teljes Spanyolországra vonatkozó munkaerőpiaci szerepük szerint osztályozza. Ez az elképzelés egyeseknek az elbeszéléseiben nincs jelen, vagy csak másodlagos, míg sokaknak ez az elsődleges érv, amikor a nyelvtanulási motivációikról beszélnek. Ez az érvrendszer a katalán nyelvet egy szintre helyezi a magyar nyelvvel, mint olyan nyelvek, amelyek nem szolgálják az egyén boldogulását, míg a spanyol egy magasabb szinten van abból fakadóan, hogy több helyszínen tud hasznot felhajtani, az angol pedig a legmagasabb szinten, amely bárhol a gazdasági érdekek kiszolgálójává tehető. Ebben a költség–haszon-becslésen alapuló megközelítésben más szempontok (mint például az érzelmi vagy a kulturális kötelék) nem játszanak szerepet. Kiemelendő, hogy ez a fajta érvelés leginkább azon résztvevőknél volt megfigyelhető befolyásoló tényezőként, akik nem töltöttek pár évnél többet Katalóniában vagy nem terveztek tovább, de azoknak az elbeszéléseiben is nagyon gyakran megjelent (a sok más tényező mellett), akik hosszabb ideje tartózkodtak már Katalóniában vagy saját bevallásuk szerint jól beszéltek katalánul, mikor amellett érveltek, hogy miért spanyolul érdemes előbb megtanulni.

Összességében tehát ebben a fejezetben azt állítottam, hogy a katalóniai magyarok elbeszéléseit vizsgálva két fő motívum jelent meg azzal kapcsolatban, hogy milyen határokat nem tudnak vagy nem kívánnak áthatolni, vagy másképp, hogy mi az, ami nem tetszik nekik, ami miatt rosszul érzik magukat. Ezek a motívumok sztereotipizált karakterekre vezethetők vissza. Az egyik a helyi Másik karaktere, amely forrófejűnek, logikátlannak és kirekesztőnek tételeződik, ami abban is testet ölt, hogy nem hajlandó kihasználni azt a képességét, hogy kétnyelvű, vagyis nem beszél spanyolul még akkor sem, ha az a beszélgetőtárs kényelmét szolgálná. A katalóniai magyarok elbeszéléseiben megjelenő másik karakter ezzel szemben a neoliberális Én, aki a helyi Másikkal ellentétben racionálisan gondolkozik és jól felfogott érdekek mentén cselekszik, vagyis csak olyan nyelvek tanulására fordítja az idejét és energiáját, amelyek segítik a globális munkaerőpiacon és az azáltal felhalmozott tőke okozta boldogság elérésében.

A hazai irányultság című fejezet összefoglalója

A negyedik elemző fejezet kiindulópontját az a lap adta, amelyre a „HAZASZERETET – HAZAELHAGYÁS – BŰNTUDAT” szavak kerültek föl. Ez a témafelvetés szorosan kapcsolódik a diaszporizáció szakirodalmában előforduló egyik kritériumhoz, az anyaország felé történő orientációhoz, vagyis ahhoz, hogy a közösség tagjai valamilyen módon kapcsolatokat ápolnak vagy próbálnak kialakítani akár az anyaországi élet nosztalgiájával, akár ennél megfoghatóbb kapcsolódási pontokkal. Mikor e szavakat az egyik magyar tertúlia alkalmával közösen is megtárgyaltuk, az derült ki, hogy bár kevesen írnák le az érzéseiket a bűntudat kifejezéssel (sőt, volt olyan is, aki azt se feltétlenül állítaná magáról, hogy elhagyta a hazáját), mindenki fontosnak tartotta, hogy valamilyen formában érintkezzen a hazájával akár az otthon maradottakkal való rendszeres kapcsolattartás formájában, akár ennél elvontabb tevékenységek folytatásával. E fejezetben tehát azt igyekeztem feltárni és valamilyen módon rendszerezni a teljes kutatási anyag többszöri átfésülése során, hogy az egyes résztvevők milyen rendszeres vagy egyedi tevékenységek végrehajtásával igyekeznek fenntartani a haza felé mutatott orientációjukat.

Az ismétlődő tevékenységeket, amelyeket a fejezetben én a diaszpórikus gyakorlat terminussal írtam le, négy kategóriába soroltam: nyelvi vagy nyelvről szóló gyakorlatok, politikai gyakorlatok, médiagyakorlatok és turisztikai gyakorlatok. A **nyelvi gyakorlatok** között elsőként a „kevert” beszédmódok vagy

több nyelv elemeire is építő mondatok helytelenítése említendő. Ez egyfelől megfigyelhető volt az egyéni interjúkban, amelyek módszertanáról általánosan kijelenthető, hogy a résztvevők törekednek arra, hogy jó színben tüntessék fel magukat, de a társalgásokban is, ahol gyakran előfordult, hogy a résztvevők együtt keresték meg valamilyen helyi kifejezésnek a magyar nyelvű változatát. Egyik esetben sem zárható ki az, hogy nem a kutató jelenléte váltotta volna ki ezeket a reakciókat a kutatás résztvevőiből, arra azonban ezek a példák rámutatnak, hogy az egynyelvű megnyilatkozásokra való törekvés úgy értelmeződik a katalóniai magyarok körében, mint egy egyértelműen pozitív módja annak, hogy valaki kifejezze a haza iránti elköteleződését. Egy másik fontos nyelvi gyakorlat elsősorban a családosok körében jellemző, mégpedig a magyar nyelv átadását szolgáló intézményrendszer, vagyis a hétvégi iskolák vagy egyéb gyerekeknek szóló kulturális programok megszervezése és fenntartása. Az ebben érintett emberek beszámolói alapján ez nem valamilyen elvont hazaszereteten alapul, hanem belső motivációkon, mert érzésük szerint így, a magyar nyelven és kultúrán keresztül tudnak adni magukból a legtöbbet a gyermekeik számára.

A **politikai gyakorlatok** alatt azt értem, amikor valaki aktív cselekvéssel is bevonódik a magyarországi politikai történésekbe valamilyen formában. A polarizált magyarországi közéletet demonstrálandó ezt két példával illusztráltam, egy a jelenlegi rezsimet támogatóval és egy azt elítélővel. Az első példa egy olyan poszter volt, amely az egyik magyar nyelvű oktatási programban jelent meg. A kéthetente tartott foglalkozásokon e plakátnak minden egyes alkalommal ki kellett kerülnie a falra; a plakát fő részét a madridi székhelyű diaszpóraszervezet logója adta, az alján viszont szerepelt a "Magyar Kormány támogatásával" felirat. Ezzel kapcsolatban azt állapítottam meg, hogy a politikai elköteleződés ilyen kifejezése az elvárt ellenszolgáltatás azért cserébe, hogy a magyar állam időről időre támogatásokat folyósít a velük partner intézményeknek. A másik példa ezzel szemben egy tüntetés volt, amely során Barcelona főterén gyűlt össze maroknyi magyar a túlóratörvénnyel kapcsolatos budapesti megmozdulások iránti szimpátia kifejezéséből. Ennek érdekességét az adja, hogy ezzel egy időben több európai nagyvárosban is szerveztek hasonló demonstrációkat, ahol a tüntetők O1G feliratú papírokat mutattak föl legalább egy közös fénykép erejéig, amelyet utána mind feltöltöttek egy közös Twitter-oldalra. Így e példa érdekességét az adja, hogy a hatását nem Barcelonában fejtette ki, hanem Magyarországon és a virtuális térben teremtette meg valamilyen közös politikai véleménynyilvánítás imázsát. Mindkét példával arra mutattam rá, hogy a részben nyelvi, részben pedig vizuális jelek áramoltatásával is kifejezhetők az egyes politikai oldalak üzenetei a diaszporizáció folyamatának részeként.

Ebből következnek a **médiagyakorlatok**, vagyis azok a tevékenységek, amelyek során a beszélők virtuálisan kapcsolódnak a hazájukhoz vagy konkrétan az ott élőkhöz valamilyen formában. Előbbihez az olyan eseteket soroltam, amikor valaki tudatosan és következetesen követi a magyarországi híreket. Sokan ezeket a híreket rendszeresen megvitatják Magyarországon élő családtagjaikkal vagy ismerőseikkel, netán más katalóniai magyarokkal ímélek vagy egyéb üzenetküldő szolgáltatások formájában, így bekapcsolódva virtuálisan a magyarországi történések sodrásába. Ez pedig átvezet a médiagyakorlatok másik formájához. A magyarországiakkal való rendszeres üzenetváltások a karantén alatt még azon katalóniai magyarok körében is állandóvá váltak, akik korábban csak ritkán éltek ezekkel a technológia adta lehetőségekkel. Vannak azonban olyanok is, akik már előtte is ekképp élték a családi életüket. Itt olyan példákat hoztam, ahol a résztvevők arról számoltak be, hogy rengeteg képet osztanak meg gyermekükről a nagyszülőknek akár napi rendszerességgel, vagy éppen azóta váltak csak gyakorivá a videóhívások, hogy gyermekük született, mert ekképp igyekeznek megteremteni a jó unoka–nagyszülő-kapcsolatot.

Utolsóként a **turisztikai gyakorlatok**at említettem. Abból a felismerésből fakadóan, hogy egyre intenzívebb turisztikai tevékenység történik Magyarországról Barcelonába, több katalóniai magyar is erre a jelenségre reflektáló üzleti tevékenységbe fogott a 2010-es években, mint például a szállásadás vagy a magyar nyelvű idegenvezetés. Ezeknek a kommunikációs vetülete az, hogy ezek a piaci szereplők akkor tudnak igazán sikeresek lenni, ha ki tudják magukról alakítani a helyi ügyekben kompetens, mégis azokat kívülről szemlélni képes Katalóniában élő magyar imázsát. Ennek pedig számos eszköze lehet. Ilyen az, ha például megjelenik a logójukban a Ç karakter vagy a legfontosabb barcelonai látványosságok sziluettje. Az idegenvezetőknek még ennél is szélesebbek a lehetőségeik, az általam megfigyeltek között voltak például a katalán emberek késésre való hajlamára és fösvénységére építő sztereotip viccek vagy éppen a magyar és a katalán történelem közötti párhuzamok megvonása az idegenvezetői mondandóba szőve.

A fejezet végén még arra is kitértem, hogy hazai irányultság sokszor **érzékszervi tapasztalatok**ban is megnyilvánul. Ezek főként egyszeri eseményeken vagy azok elbeszélésein alapultak. A közös bennük az volt, hogy valamilyen érzékeléshez kapcsolódóan elevenítették föl a hazával kapcsolatos emlékeket, okoztak nosztalgiát. Ezek a tapasztalatokhoz leggyakrabban valamilyen magyarosnak tartott ételhez kapcsolódtak. A fejezetben részletesen elemzett példák a következők voltak: Horváth Ilona szakácskönyve, a lángos illata, a Kossuth-nóta dallama és a tárcsa tapintása, valamint az azon való sütés.

A fejezetben tehát azt állítottam, hogy a Katalóniában élő magyarok rendszeresen folytatnak olyan tevékenységeket, amelyekkel valamilyen módon a haza iránti elkötelezettségüket, a haza felé mutatott orientációjukat kívánják bemutatni. Ezek az én csoportosításom szerint a nyelvi gyakorlatok, a politikai gyakorlatok, a médiagyakorlat, a turisztikai gyakorlatok és az érzékszervi tapasztalatok kategóriái mentén osztályozhatók.

A reorientáció című fejezet összefoglalója

Ez a fejezet a párja az előzőnek, amely a hazai irányultság címet viseli. A hazai irányultság a diaszporizáció szakirodalma szerint a diaszpórák egyik hagyományos kritériuma. A fogalom azokra a tevékenységekre vonatkozik, amelyek során a diaszpórában élő egyének vissza-vissza tekintenek a szülőföldjükre és kísérleteket tesznek annak nosztalgikus rekonstruálására az új lakhelyen. Reorientáció alatt ellenkező „irányú" tevékenységeket értek, vagyis olyanokat, amelyek nem arra irányulnak, hogy a szülőföld sajátosságait vigyék el magukkal az új helyszínre, hanem arra, hogy az új lakhelyhez kapcsolódó sajátosságokban merüljenek el, és a reorientáció során az azon való gondolkozás is felmerülhet, hogy azokat a sajátosságokat hogyan lehetne visszavinni a szülőföldre. A reorientáció jelenségének fontos szerepét támasztotta alá számomra az a résztvevői kérdés is, hogy „Tanult valamit, ami csak itt volt lehetséges?", valamint az ezt követő magyar tertúlia, amely során a résztvevők olyan jellemzőket vitattak meg, amelyek szerintük alapvetően megváltoztatták az ő életüket, és megváltoztatnák a magyarországi magyarság életét is. Utóbbiak között olyan sajátosságokat említettek, mint a *gregario* (a csoportosság fontossága), a *társadalmi tolerancia*, a *békeszeretet*, a *vàlvula d'escapament* (a biztonsági szelepek kiengedése, vagyis a stressz levezetése) és hasonlók. Ezekből is látszik, hogy míg a hazai orientációhoz kapcsolódó tevékenységek leggyakrabban szilárd és stabil identitáskategóriák (mint például a *magyar* vagy a *spanyol*) mentén működik, addig a reorientáció inkább ezen kategóriák átjárhatóságán és többrétegűségén alapul.

A fejezetben négy különböző területet különítettem el, ahol különösen tetten érhető a reorientációra való igény – abban azonban változatosság mutatkozott, hogy a reorientáció pontosan mire is vonatkozik: a beszélők gyakorlataira (tehát ismétlődő tevékenységeire) vagy inkább a gyakorlatokról alkotott nézetek megváltozására. A négy terület a következő volt: a nyelvi gyakorlatok és az azokra vonatkozó nézetek, a nemi gyakorlatok és az azokra vonatkozó nézetek, a szexuális gyakorlatokra vonatkozó nézetek és az etnikai gyakorlatokra vonatkozó nézetek.

A **nyelvi gyakorlatok** között a reorientáció annak felismerése volt, hogy míg a nyelvek közötti hagyományos határvonalak fenntartása a társadalmi élet számos helyszínén fontosak lehetnek, más helyszíneken az önkifejezés vagy a kényelem érdekében ezek a határok átléphetők. Ezek a határátlépések főként többnyelvű gyakorlatokban érhetők tetten, amelyekre a résztvevők egyszerűbben *kevert*-ként vagy *keveréknyelv*-ként utaltak. Ezt azért fontos kiemelni, mert – ahogyan arról az előző fejezetben részletesebben szólok – egy olyan nézet is él ezzel párhuzamosan, amely a magyar nyelv egynyelvű gyakorlatok mentén történő fenntartásának fontosságát hangsúlyozza. A kevert nyelvi gyakorlatok egyfelől olyan tevékenységek leírására utaltak, amelyek nem szokványosak az egyik vagy a másik kultúrában, és ahhoz járultak hozzá, hogy a beszélők saját egyéniségüket fejezzék ki ezen gyakorlatokon keresztül is. Ugyanakkor a kevert gyakorlatok a családi élet megélésének olyan módját is jelenthetik, ahol a különböző nyelvekből származó elemek összekeveredhetnek – az ezekről szóló beszámolókban a családi tér olyan biztonságos helyként jelent meg, amelyben a beszélők megengedhetik maguknak, hogy bizonyos valós vagy vélt társadalmi normákat figyelmen kívül hagyjanak, amelyeket máskor vagy máshol nem hagynának figyelmen kívül

A reorientáció második területe a **nemi gyakorlatok** voltak, amelyre három példát hoztam. Az első a barcelonai magyar nők közösségé szerveződése volt, amelynek a szervezői azt a célt tűzték ki célul,

hogy az általuk megismert katalán családi modell szerint alakítsanak egy egymást segítő csoportot. Ezt az a közös női tapasztalat motiválta, amely során Katalóniába érkezve egyedül találták magukat mindenféle mentőöv vagy társadalmi beágyazottság nélkül. A második példa egy olyan vélekedés volt, amely szerint a magyar (tágabban: kelet-európai) férfiak általánosan vége Nyugat-Európában „kevésbé értékesek" az egzotikusként kezelt magyar nőkhöz képest, ezért a szakmai sikeresség esetében is nehezebb megvetniük a lábukat még Katalóniában is. A harmadik példa pedig számos résztvevő azon állítása volt, hogy a nemi és szexuális kisebbségekkel jobban bánnak Katalóniában, mint Magyarországon. Fontos azonban azt megemlíteni, hogy míg az első két példa saját tapasztalatokból származott, addig utóbbi külső szempontú leírás volt – vagyis e kutatás során nem volt lehetőségem beszélni olyan magyarral, aki maga is érintett lett volna e kérdésben, és beszámolt volna mindezekről.

A harmadik terület a **szexuális gyakorlatok** voltak, amelyekről szintén elmondható, hogy elsősorban a külső nézőpont jelent meg a kutatás résztvevői körében. Ugyanakkor volt közöttük olyan, aki saját nézeteinek változásáról számolt be e kérdésben, vagyis nyitottabbá és elfogadóvá vált a szexuális kisebbségekkel szemben. Általános vélekedésnek tekinthető, hogy e kérdéskörben Katalóniát egy Magyarországnál szabadabb helynek tartják – sőt, olyan résztvevő is akadt, akinek bevallása szerint ez a fajta szabadság adta az otthonosság érzését. E kérdésben ugyancsak általános volt az, hogy a résztvevők kifejezték azirányú igényüket, hogy szeretnék, ha a magyarországi közvélekedés képes lenne változni ebben a kérdésben.

A negyedik terület az **etnikai gyakorlatok** voltak, pontosabban az etnikai hovatartozásról alkotott nézetek átrendeződése. Ebben az alfejezetben olyan példák jelentek meg, ahol a résztvevők által korábban magától értetődőnek tekintett etnikai identitások elmosódtak és vita tárgyává váltak. Ez abban volt megfigyelhető, ahogyan az etnikai (és egyben: nemzeti és regionális) identitásokat kezdték kezelni mind az Ibériai-félszigeten (vagy tágabban: Nyugat-Európában), mind Európa keleti részein. A felismerés itt az volt, hogy az ibériai világ kategóriáira ráközelítve az etnicitás kérdésköre sokkal összetettebb, mint korábban látták, a kelet-európai régió kategóriái pedig akár homogénebbként is kezelhetők. Pontosabban fogalmazva egyfelől azt figyelték meg, hogy a Spanyolországban élő különböző népcsoportok is változatosak – még ha Magyarországról ugyanolyannak vagy hasonlónak látszanak –, másfelől pedig azt, hogy onnan szemlélve a Kelet-Európában élők nagyon is hasonlítanak egymáshoz. Egy konkrét példán megragadva míg elsőre sértőnek tűnhet, ha valakit lengyelnek vagy bolgárnak gondolnak, addig később érthetővé válhat ez az összehasonlítás megismerve a spanyolországi nézőpontot.

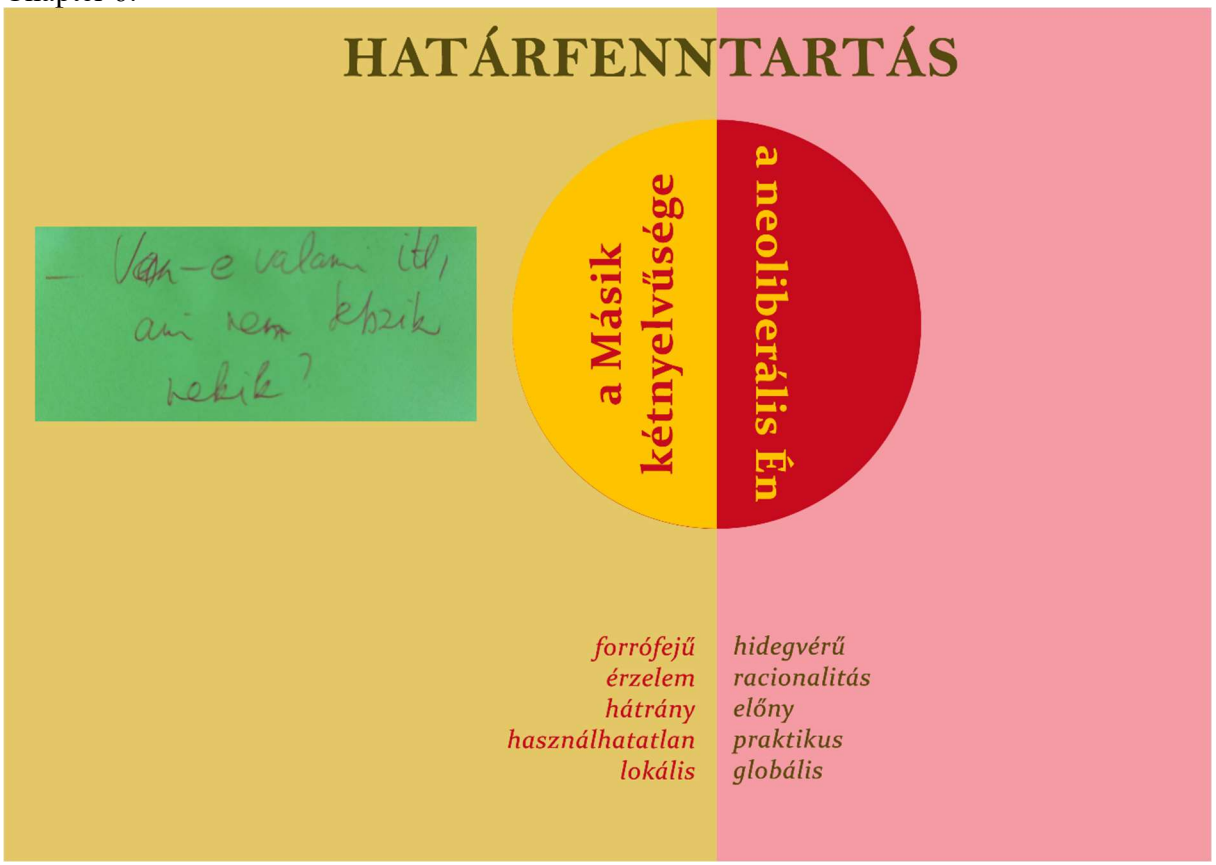
A fent említett négy terület mellett a fejezet végén még kitértem a *magyar tertúlia* résztvevőivel való hosszú távú együttműködés egyik sajátos gyakorlatára is, amely szintén példája lehet a reorientációnak. Ez a gyakorlat a katalán humorista, Eugenio vicceinek magyarra fordítása és magyarul történő elmondása volt a találkozóink során. Ezt a gyakorlatot azért tartom jó példának, mert ugyancsak a határok átjárhatóságára és a hibriditásra mutat rá. Ez a gyakorlat a diaszpórikus identitás kifejezésének olyan módjaként értelmezhető, amely nem csupán a befogadó társadalomba való beilleszkedést vagy a szülőföld felé történő irányultságot jeleníti meg, hanem a kettő termékeny keveredésével valami újat és értékeset eredményez.

Appendix E: Visualizations of the summaries

Chapter 4:

Chapter 5:

Chapter 6:



Chapter 7:

Chapter 8:


REORIENTÁCIÓ
nyelvi gyakorlatok
keveréknyelv
nemi gyakorlatok
eltérő szerepek
szexuális gyakorlatok
szabadság
etnikai gyakorlatok
mi is magyarnak lenni?
Tanulhat valaki ... nélkül boldog lehetséges?
vàlvula d'escapament
békeszeretet
társadalmi tolerenacia
Eugenio viccei
gregario

Appendix F: Consent forms

INFORMATION DOCUMENT FOR GRANTING CONSENT AND COLLECTING AND PROCESSING PERSONAL DATA

I, Gergely Szabó hereby inform …… of the project's objectives and the methodology that will be used to carry out the project.

In particular, you are informed of the following:

PROJECT OBJECTIVE

The doctoral project is a qualitative analysis of Hungarian migrants' metalinguistic narratives and practices in Catalonia. The general aim of the research is to get an accurate picture of particular individuals' self-understanding in their transnational life journey in the late modern or post-national societies. In this research, we seek access to how people construct their understanding of belonging.

WHO TAKES PART IN THE PROJECT AND HOW

Participants are mainly recruited from the Hungarian population in Catalonia. Others are also invited who lived in the autonomous community before. Participation consists of giving an interview about the participant's life story and linguistic experiences.

PARTICIPATION IS VOLUNTARY

Participation in the project is voluntary. You have the right to not take part. If you decide to take part, you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. If you decide to not take part or withdraw from the project before completion, your decision will not affect your relationship with the research group nor will you be subject to any manner of penalty. The researchers are required to inform you of any change in the project's purpose or in the manner of participation so that you can indicate whether or not you wish to continue to take part in the project.

RIGHTS OF THE STUDY'S RESEARCHERS

The researchers have the right to stop your participation in the project if they decide that your continued participation is not appropriate, if it may be dangerous for you to continue taking part or if you do not follow the instructions given by researchers to enable you to take part in the project.

CONFIDENTIALITY AND PERSONAL DATA PROTECTION

Your personal data will be treated in accordance with the UOC's privacy policy, which you can access from the University's website www.uoc.edu.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ABOUT DATA PROTECTION

DATA CONTROLLER

The controller of the data subjects' data is the Fundació per a la Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (UOC). The UOC's contact details are the following:

- Postal address: Avinguda del Tibidabo, 39-43, Barcelona
- fuoc_pd@uoc.edu

Data subjects are informed that the UOC Group has appointed a Data Protection Officer to whom they may address any query concerning processing of their personal data. Data subjects may contact the Data Protection Officer by means of the following contact details:

- Postal address: Avinguda del Tibidabo, 39-43, Barcelona
- Email: dpd@uoc.edu

AIM

The data subjects' personal data are collected and will be processed for the purpose of linguistic analysis. The transcriptions will be pseudonymized. The data will be stored on devices protected by password.

The data will be kept for a period of 4 years, which is the duration of the project “The metalinguistic narratives of Hungarians in Catalonia”. After this period, the data will be blocked until the applicable expiry period has elapsed.

Should any data subject decide to leave the project before it ends, they may request erasure of their data, in which case they will be blocked until the applicable expiry period has elapsed.

LEGITIMIZATION

The legal basis for processing the personal data that are collected on the data subjects, and those that may be generated during performance of this project, is the data subjects' consent. Data subjects may choose to leave the project at any time and, if applicable, request erasure of the data provided and, if applicable, those other data that have been generated until such time.

RECIPIENTS

Data subjects' personal data may be transferred by the UOC to the following recipients:

[•] Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

RIGHTS

Data subjects have the right to obtain confirmation as to whether we are processing personal data that concern them at the UOC.

Data subjects have the right to access their personal data, and to request rectification of inaccurate data or, if applicable, request their erasure when, among other reasons, they are no longer necessary for the purpose for which they were collected.

In certain situations, data subjects will have the right to request restriction of their data, in which case we will only keep them for the exercise or defence of legal claims.

In certain circumstances and for reasons related with their personal situation, data subjects may object to processing of their data. In this case, the UOC will cease to process them, unless there are compelling legitimate grounds or for the exercise or defence of possible legal claims.

In any case, the UOC will notify any claim or erasure of personal data, and any restriction of the processing performed, to each of the recipients to whom they have been transferred, unless this should involve or require a disproportionate effort. If the data subjects should so request, the UOC will inform them who these recipients are.

In addition, data subjects have the right to receive the personal data concerning them and which they have provided to the UOC, in a structured, commonly used, machine-readable format, and to transmit them to another controller when the processing is based on consent or a contract, and is performed by automated means.

Data subjects will have the right to object at any time, for reasons related with their personal situation, to processing of the personal data concerning them, based on the public or legitimate interest pursued by the UOC or a third party, including profiling, with the effect that the UOC or any other member of the UOC Group will cease to process the personal data, unless it can demonstrate compelling legitimate interests in the processing that override the data subjects' interests, rights and freedoms, or for the establishment, exercise or defence of legal claims.

Furthermore, data subjects will have the right not to be subject to a decision based solely on automated processing, including profiling, which produces legal effects concerning them or similarly significantly

affects them, unless this decision is necessary for entering into or performing a contract between the data subjects and the UOC or another member of the UOC Group, is authorised by European Union or Member State law or is based on the data subjects' explicit consent.

The above-stated rights of access, rectification, erasure and objection, and the other rights recognized by current legislation, may be exercised by means of the section for exercising ARCO+ rights in the privacy policy published on the University's website, www.uoc.edu, or by writing to: **FUNDACIÓ PER A LA UNIVERSITAT OBERTA DE CATALUNYA** – Legal Office – Av. Tibidabo, number 39-41, 08035 Barcelona, or to the following email address: fuoc_pd@uoc.edu
Furthermore, data subjects have the right to submit a claim to the Spanish Data Protection Agency.

WHO TO CONTACT IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS

If you have any questions about this project, please contact Gergely Szabó, at the telephone number +36203545031 or +34690010068 or email gszabog@uoc.edu.

Therefore,
I, …….. declare that;
I have read the information sheet, I have been able to ask questions and I have received sufficient information about the project.
I understand that my participation is voluntary.
I understand that I can withdraw from the project at any time without having to give any justification and without this having any manner of negative effect for me.
I have read carefully the following basic information about data protection:
DATA CONTROLLER: Fundació per a la Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (UOC)
PURPOSE: PhD project titled “The metalinguistic narratives of Hungarians in Catalonia”
LEGITIMIZATION: The data subject's consent
RECIPIENTS: Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
RIGHTS: Access, rectification and erasure of the data, and also other rights, as indicated in the additional information.

I freely give my consent to taking part in the project.

If the participant is a minor or unable to give consent, I, ..., aged ..... and bearing National Identity Document no. ....., in my capacity as ..... of the participant, and considering the impossibility acknowledged by me of the participant giving his/her consent, freely and voluntarily authorize participation in the project.

Date: _____ Participant's signature: _____
(To be completed by the participant)

Date: _____ Researcher's signature: _____
(To be completed by the researcher)

DOCUMENTO DE INFORMACIÓN PARA EL OTORGAMIENTO DEL CONSENTIMIENTO Y DE LA RECOGIDA Y TRATAMIENTO DE DATOS DE CARÁCTER PERSONAL

El Gergely Szabó informa a …… de los objetivos del proyecto y de la metodología que se seguirá para su elaboración.

En concreto le informa de lo siguiente:

OBJETIVO DEL PROYECTO

El proyecto doctoral es un análisis cualitativo de las narrativas y prácticas metalingüísticas de los migrantes húngaros en Cataluña. El objetivo general de la recerca es obtener una imagen precisa de la autocomprensión de los individuales en sus viajes de la vida en la era de modernidad tardía o en las sociedades postnacionales. En esta recerca buscamos acceso para entender como se construye el pertenecer y la identidad.

QUIÉN PARTICIPA EN EL PROYECTO Y CÓMO PARTICIPA

Los participantes son reclutados de la población húngara en Cataluña. Otras personas son invitados también quienes vivían en la comunidad autónoma antes. La participación incluye una entrevista sobre la vida y experiencias lingüísticas del participante.

LA PARTICIPACIÓN ES VOLUNTARIA

La participación en el proyecto es voluntaria. Tiene el derecho de decidir no participar. Si elige participar tiene el derecho de abandonar el estudio en cualquier momento. Si decide no participar o abandonar el proyecto antes de que este finalice, su decisión no afectará a su relación con el grupo de investigación ni se le aplicará ningún tipo de penalización. Los investigadores tienen el deber de informarle de cualquier cambio en el objeto del proyecto donde la forma de participar, para que usted pueda expresar su voluntad de continuar o no participando en el proyecto.

DERECHOS DE LOS INVESTIGADORES DEL ESTUDIO

Los investigadores tienen el derecho de interrumpir su participación en el proyecto si determinan que no es adecuado que usted continúe participando en él, si puede ser peligroso para usted continuar participando en él o si no sigue sus indicaciones para participar en él.

CONFIDENCIALIDAD Y PROTECCIÓN DE LOS DATOS DE CARÁCTER PERSONAL

Sus datos de carácter personal se tratarán conforme a la política de privacidad de la UOC, a la que puede tener acceso desde el web de la universidad www.uoc.edu

INFORMACIÓN ADICIONAL SOBRE PROTECCIÓN DE DATOS

RESPONSABLE

La responsabilidad del tratamiento de los datos de la persona interesada recae en la Fundació per a la Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (UOC). Los datos de contacto de la UOC son los siguientes:

- Dirección postal: Avenida del Tibidabo, 39-43, Barcelona
- fuoc_pd@uoc.edu

Se informa a la persona interesada que el Grupo UOC ha nombrado a un/una delegado/delegada de protección de datos, ante quien podrá poner de manifiesto cualquier cuestión relativa al tratamiento de sus datos personales. La persona interesada podrá contactar con el/la delegado/delegada de protección de datos mediante los siguientes datos de contacto:

- Dirección postal: Avenida del Tibidabo, 39-43, Barcelona
- Dirección electrónica: dpd@uoc.edu

FINALIDAD

Los datos de la persona interesada se recogerán y serán tratados con el objeto de análisis lingüística. Las transcripciones serán seudonimizadas. Los datos se almacenarán en dispositivos protegidos con contraseña.

Los datos se conservarán durante un plazo de 4 años, que es el tiempo de duración del proyecto "The metalinguistic narratives of Hungarians in Catalonia". Pasado este tiempo, los datos serán bloqueados hasta que transcurran los plazos de prescripción aplicables.

En el supuesto de que la persona interesada decidiera abandonar el proyecto antes de que finalice, podrá solicitar la supresión de sus datos. En dicho caso, estos quedarán bloqueados hasta que, si procede, transcurran los plazos de prescripción aplicables.

LEGITIMACIÓN

La base legal del tratamiento de los datos de la persona interesada que se recogen, así como aquellos que puedan generarse de la ejecución de este proyecto, es el consentimiento de dicha persona. En cualquier momento esta podrá optar por abandonar el proyecto y, de darse el caso, solicitar la supresión de los datos facilitados y, también, la de aquellos que se hayan generado hasta el momento.

DESTINATARIOS

Los datos de la persona interesada podrán ser cedidos por la UOC a los siguientes destinatarios:

[•] Universidad de Eötvös Loránd en Budapest

DERECHOS

La persona interesada tendrá derecho a obtener confirmación sobre si en la UOC estamos tratando o no datos personales que le incumben.

Las personas interesadas tendrán derecho a acceder a sus datos personales, así como a solicitar la rectificación de los datos inexactos o, si se da el caso, solicitar su supresión cuando, entre otros motivos, ya no sean necesarios para los fines para los que fueron recogidos.

En determinados supuestos, el interesado tendrá derecho a solicitar la limitación del tratamiento de sus datos, caso en el que únicamente los conservaremos para el ejercicio o defensa de reclamaciones.

En determinadas circunstancias y por motivos relacionados con su situación particular, la persona interesada podrá oponerse al tratamiento de sus datos. En tales circunstancias, la UOC dejará de tratarlos, a menos que existan motivos legítimos imperiosos o para el ejercicio o para la defensa de posibles reclamaciones.

En cualquier caso, la UOC comunicará cualquier reclamación o supresión de datos personales, así como cualquier limitación del tratamiento efectuado, a cada una de las personas destinatarias a las que hayan sido comunicados, a menos que ello suponga o exija un esfuerzo desproporcionado. Si así lo solicitara la persona interesada, la UOC le informaría sobre a quién están destinados sus datos.

Asimismo, la persona interesada tendrá derecho a recibir los datos que le incumban, que haya facilitado a la UOC, en un formato estructurado, de uso común y lectura mecánica, y a transmitirlos a otro/otra responsable cuando el tratamiento se base en el consentimiento o en un contrato, y se efectúe por medios automatizados.

La persona interesada tendrá derecho a oponerse en cualquier momento, por motivos relacionados con su situación particular, a que datos que le conciernan sean objeto de un tratamiento basado en el interés público o legítimo perseguidos por la UOC o un tercero, incluida la elaboración de perfiles. Con ello se persigue que la UOC u otra entidad del Grupo UOC deje de tratar los datos personales, a menos que puedan acreditar motivos legítimos imperiosos para el tratamiento que prevalezcan sobre los intereses,

derechos y libertades de la persona interesada, o para la formulación, ejercicio o defensa de reclamaciones.

Asimismo, la persona interesada tendrá derecho a no ser objeto de una decisión basada únicamente en el tratamiento automatizado, incluida la elaboración de perfiles, que produzca efectos jurídicos en ella o le afecte significativamente, a menos que esta decisión sea necesaria para la celebración o ejecución de un contrato entre la UOC u otra entidad del Grupo UOC y que dicha persona esté autorizada por la legalidad europea o estatal vigente o se base en el consentimiento explícito de la persona interesada.

Los referidos derechos de acceso, rectificación, supresión y oposición, así como los demás derechos reconocidos por la normativa vigente, podrán ser ejercidos mediante el espacio para el ejercicio de los derechos ARCO+ de la política de privacidad publicada en la web de esta universidad www.uoc.edu, o bien dirigiéndose a: **FUNDACIÓ PER A LA UNIVERSITAT OBERTA DE CATALUNYA** - Área de Asesoría Jurídica - Av. Tibidabo, número 39-41, 08035 de Barcelona, o a la siguiente dirección electrónica: fuoc_pd@uoc.edu
Asimismo, la persona interesada tendrá derecho a presentar una reclamación ante la Agencia Española de Protección de Datos.

CON QUIÉN CONTACTAR EN CASO DE DUDA

Si tiene alguna duda sobre este proyecto debe contactar con Gergely Szabó, en el teléfono +36203545031 o +34690010068 o la dirección electrónica gszabog@uoc.edu.

En consecuencia,
Yo, ……, *declaro que;*
He leído la hoja de información, he podido hacer preguntas y he recibido suficiente información sobre el proyecto.
Entiendo que mi participación es voluntaria.
Entiendo que puedo retirarme del proyecto cuando quiera sin tener que dar explicaciones y sin que ello tenga ninguna consecuencia negativa para mí.
He leído detenidamente la siguiente información básica sobre protección de datos:
RESPONSABLE: Fundació per a la Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (UOC)
FINALIDAD: Proyecto doctoral del titulo “The metalinguistic narratives of Hungarians in Catalonia”
LEGITIMACIÓN: El consentimiento del participante
DESTINATARIOS: Universidad de Eötvös Loránd en Budapest
DERECHOS: Acceder, rectificar y suprimir los datos, así como otros derechos, tal como consta en la información adicional.
Doy libremente mi consentimiento para participar en el proyecto.

Si el/la participante es menor de edad o incapaz de dar consentimiento
....., de .... años de edad, con DNI núm....., en calidad de ..... del participante, y dada la imposibilidad por mí reconocida de que el participante dé su consentimiento, autorizo libre y voluntariamente su participación en el proyecto.

Fecha: _____ Firma del participante:_____
(Para rellenar por el/la participante)

Fecha: _____ Firma del investigador:_____
(Para rellenar por el investigador)