

The importance of Hungarian language education in the preservation of identity of Hungarians living in Diaspora

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Abstract

The study aims to give a comprehensive image about the Hungarian language education of those living in the Hungarian Diaspora. By the review of the relating literature the authors study the situation and position of Hungarians living abroad as well as the questions of identity preservation by highlighting the history and trends in the language education of Hungarian Diaspora. As a case study we introduce the community organizing activities, with special regard to the Hungarian language education – highlighting its advantages and problems – of colonies living in different continents. Besides these, we compare and analyse the language education and identity preserving activities of three Hungarian schools, one from Australian, one from North-American and one from Latin-American.

Introduction

The aim of the study is to analyse the Hungarian identity preserving activities, helped by Hungarian language learning. The study of this topic was formulated during a research trip and was analysed with the help of primer data collected during that trip and with the help of international literature. During the study the authors selected three Hungarian schools by geographical sampling and analysed their Hungarian language education along with the motivation and attitude of students. We compared the identity preserving activities, education methodologies, and the requirements of fulfilment of the schools as well as the motivation of students. Through these the readers will get a comprehensive view on the identity preserving activities, through the education of Hungarian language, and characteristics of three schools located in three continents.

Political geographical importance of language and culture

Language is the element of the explicit culture (Jarjabka 2012). Culture is a cluster of deep-rooted values and suppositions shared by a certain group of people, which defines the relationship between the members of the group and between the humans and the natural environment (Maznevski – Peterson 1998:65 in. Jarjabka 2012:15). The common language, history, the values of a certain group, the common creation myth, heroes, great tragedies, great achievements, symbolic buildings and places are the bases of national identity, which is the prerequisite of national consciousness as an ideology connecting the nation (group of people) with the geographical space (home/homeland) (Taylor et. al, 2000). Thus, culture, identity and space are interconnected in this context and culture has got an important geographical role in connecting the nation to space (homeland). At the same time, some outstanding, important elements, points of the space also influences identity, and they can be its very important building blocks (Nora, 2003.). After the Peace Treaty of Trianon, in a political geographical sense, the Hungarian Nation was split into many different groups. Thus we distinguish majority and minority relations, according to which nation and culture has their position in Hungary and in countries with Hungarian minority. In the case of the latter one we can distinguish Hungarians living in blocks, dispersed communities or in Diaspora. In a minority situation, the survival of identity is characterised by dichotomy because it is under the influence of two factors acting upon each other. The cross-border Hungarian culture is part of the Hungarian National Culture, at the same time it is a coexisting culture being in a constant interaction with the local cultures (Vers et.

al., 2017). Our world becomes a global melting-pot through migration (Csapó et. al., 2007). The connection with the homeland does not cease to exist with relocations and border changes, but a various, complex system of connections develops. Dual citizenship, dual cultural bond, multiple identities, multiple loyalties and a network of community life become common. Thus the importance of organizations with stable structure and base (mainly the Churches, religious organizations) is strengthened (Keményfi, 2011).

The vulnerability of Hungarian language and the process of language shift among Hungarians living in diaspora

Language shift is a global phenomenon, we know several examples from history, when a nation or smaller group leave their original language and switch to another language (eg. the Bulgarian language shift from the 9th century) (Gal, 1991). Most of the world's population live in bilingual or multilingual communities (Borbély, 2001), which can evolve from unilingualism or multilingualism, „bilingual situation can develop into unilingual, trilingual or stable bilingual” (Tabouret–Keller 1968:108; Borbély, 2001). “Language shift is an existing language phenomenon since languages got in contact with each other” (Grosjean 1982:102). The local and even the global social, economic and political processes, the wider and tighter context of language environment in all ages have a great impact both on the languages and on the language communities (Bartha, 2003). The globalization, the continuous migrations, the dissolution of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the appearance of new or newly formed national identities and national languages and the expansion of European Union radically changed the scientific and ordinary thinking about the future and role of majority and minority languages, multilingualism and cultural diversity and had an effect on the development of the new forms of socio-lingual relations of different language groups living in one country (Bartha, 2003). Countries like these are trying to compensate the weakening capacity to check the economic, social and cultural institutions due the processes of globalization and at the same time they would like to answer the requirements of international law according to which and in terms of multiculturalism the state recognizes the identity of all language groups and at the same time guarantees their participation in a common platform (König 1999; Bartha, 2003; Androutsopoulos, 2014).

By analysing today's tendencies, we can observe that the use of minority languages are declining in a faster rate than at any time in the history of mankind (Maffi, 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas 1999; Krauss, 1998; Bartha, 2003; Fenyvesi, 2005). Some languages become more represented (world languages) at the expense of endangered languages. Minorities living in a bilingual space, resulting from socio-economic and political pressure, experience language shift: they are going to use the language of the majority in a shorter or longer period of time (Gal, 1979; Bartha, 1999 és 2003; Androutsopoulos, 2014). From a linguistic point of view the most endangered bilingual communities are those in which the generation of parents do not pass their own mother tongue to their children (Grenoble-Whaley, 1998; Bartha, 2003; Henry et al, 2017). There are many degrees and causes of the vulnerability of languages and these causes are not really linguistic ones but rather such external, historical, social, economic or cultural factors which shape the life and language environment of a given group (Kloss, 1966; Haugen, 1972; Bartha, 1999 and 2003; Borbély, 2001; Fenyvesi, 2005; Androutsopoulos, 2014; Henry et al, 2017). A language become really endangered when the demographic, social, political environment of it changes in such an extent, that by losing its real communicational value the roles and values attached to the language become only symbolic (Bartha, 2003:1). Researches of recent decades pointed out that the loyalty of a community to their minority language exists only until the economic and political circumstances make it possible (Dorian, 1981; Edwards, 1985; Bartha, 2003). To keep or leave a language and the socio-economic characteristics are closely related, though it would be a mere simplification to directly relate them. These processes act together or against other affective factors and their „sense” can also be altered (Bartha, 2003:1). As a result of globalisation the English language use become general in more and more

geographical and professional areas, thus its symbolic and actual value decreases, meanwhile the appreciation of other languages (not world languages) and bilingualism, multilingualism will increase (Grin 1999; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000; Bartha, 2003).

According to the UNESCO and researches of other organizations, the Hungarian language does not belong to the endangered languages. But, if we consider it on a local (country or region) level a completely different conclusion can be drawn. In the case of Hungarian minority there can be considerable differences by landscape to landscape, settlement to settlement or group to group. These differences are in a close relation with the geographical distribution of the language community, its dispersed, sporadic or diasporic characteristics, the ratio of two contacting language groups and other factors too (Bartha, 2003:2). The researches cannot agree in this question (Szépe, 1999; Lanstyák et. al., 1999), but they do agree that the Hungarian language, as a result of different factors, are endangered in the countries neighbouring Hungary because the bilingual characteristic of the Hungarian communities in the Carpathian Basin is stable and the we can observe one of the phases of language shift (Bartha, 2003). This result in the narrowing of the dynamic and symbolic aspects of Hungarian language, thus the number of Hungarian language speakers decreases and the majority language gains ground. These processes can be observed among the Hungarians living in ethnically diverse regions (Szépe, 1999; Péntek, 2000; Lanstyák, 2000; Sándor 2000, Bartha 2003). The counterpoint of language shift is language preservation which come into the limelight of researches at the beginning of the 1960's (Fishman, 1966:424), together with the efforts to preserve the culture and language of bilingual communities (Borbély, 2001). Language shift and language preservation are two different processes but both are present within a community at the same time as they are in a close relation with the social and cultural changes as well as with the relations between the groups (Fishmann, 1966; Amastae, 1982; Borbély, 2001).

Preserving Hungarian identity in Australia: Hungarian Community School, Adelaide

The number of Hungarians living in Australia is considerable reaching 67-68 000 persons. They mostly live in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and in the agglomeration of these cities (Gazsó, 2016). The emigration of Hungarians to the fifth continent started later than to the American continent. Until the 1950's the emigration of Hungarians to Australia was negligible but after that more and more Hungarians arrived to the country (Kuncz 1997). After the II. World War, Hungarian refugees in Australia had the intention and possibility to teach their children in their mother tongue. The Hungarian Community School in Adelaide is a so called ethnic school, which are non-profit language and cultural centres attainable for everyone. In South-Australia there are almost 100 ethnic schools, where there are activities, courses available on 49 languages after school on weekends or evenings. These schools are expected to hold at least a two-hour activity in a week to educate language, to preserve the different cultures of Australian communities and to initiate cultural understanding and harmony. Most of the students are of school age, but many ethnic schools teach kindergarteners and adults as well (Department of the Premier and Cabinet, 2017). The Hungarian Community School was established by Mrs. Dr. Ákos Nagy in 1958. Her aim was to preserve the Hungarian identity of the 1956' refugees through the teaching of Hungarian language, culture and folk dance. At that time most of the students were the children of the refugees, thus they were between the ages of 6 and 15 and their number was about 30-35. The head of the school was János Herendi in the 1990's who was followed by Mária Nagy, Annamária Bánházi and Ilona Lelkes. At this time the Australian educational regulations allowed school-leavers to study in this type of school. They were helped to prepare for their final exams by Sebestyén Maglai and Annamária Bánházi (Szabó, 2017; Palotai-Szabó-Jarjabka, 2017). The present number of students is shown in Table 1.

Year	Kindergarten	Preparatory School student	Primary School student	Secondary School student	Adult	Total

2001	0	0	21	4	1	26
2002	0	0	18	4	0	22
2003	0	0	13	10	10	33
2004	1	0	9	6	7	23
2005	1	0	15	11	3	30
2006	4	1	15	8	0	28
2007	3	2	9	0	0	14
2008	0	2	5	5	0	12
2009	0	4	5	1	0	10
2010	0	5	5	3	0	13
2011	3	0	12	5	0	20
2012	3	2	21	1	15	42
2013	5	2	12	2	10	31
2014	5	3	13	4	15	40
2015	3	0	10	7	0	20
2016	0	0	2	15	3	20
Total	28	21	185	80	64	384
Ratio	7,3 %	5,5 %	48,2 %	20,8 %	16,7 %	100 %

Table 1. Number of students of the Hungarian Community School, Adelaide between 2001 and 20016 (person)

Palotai J. – Szabó Á. – Jarjabka Á. (2017): The identity preserving efforts of the Hungarian diaspora in Australia through the example of the Hungarian Community School in Adelaide, *Civil Szemle* vol. 14. no. 3. pp.96.

The number of primary school pupils is the highest; they made up almost 50% of school attendants during the period showed in the table. This may refer to that the parents start to introduce their origin to their children in this age. The ratio of kindergarteners (7.3%) and pre-school pupils (5.5%) was lower. The causes could be assimilation and mixed marriages. It is worth to analyse the number of Hungarian language students, who started in 2011 as on the 26th of May, 2010 the Government of Hungary accepted the Amendment of the 1993 LV. Law and thus introducing the simplified naturalization, according to which Hungarians living outside of the borders do not have to settle down in Hungary or to gain the exam of citizenship, but a language exam is required (Embassy of Hungary, 2014). Following this legal action the number of Hungarian language students has risen from 2011. 67% of the adult students started the school after 2011 (see the relating rows in Table 1.). Such an increase was observed among kindergarteners as 65% of them started to learn Hungarian after the introduction of the Amendment in 2010. Thus, it is clear that the Amendment had a positive impact on the Hungarian language learning habits of the Hungarian diaspora within the region of South-Australia (Palotai-Szabó-Jarjabka, 2017). Four schools have got the accreditation required by the Government of Australia, the National Language Schools of Canberra, Melbourne and Sydney and the Hungarian Community School of Adelaide, the only school where 100% of the teachers work as a volunteer.

Students of Hungarian origin or those learning Hungarian cannot prepare for their final exams nor apply for the exams, except the town of Perth where the students are able to apply as private students. According to the Australian regulations at least 15 students should apply for the final exams across the country to preserve this opportunity. This is a serious challenge for the Hungarian schools. Ágnes Szabó analyses this problem and made the following statements: The local, weekend schools have enough pupils but by the time they get to the final exam they do not apply for the language exam. Another problem is that the morning programs of the weekend schools are often coincide with the sport events of middle schools or the common student programs. In the big cities where there is a higher ratio of Hungarians the students barely apply for Hungarian language exam. The Hungarian Community School of Adelaide also had to face with these problems. In 2010 they had to find Hungarians who were able to successfully finish their final exams, thus the existence of the school was not in danger. In that year (2010) they managed to find five students, but it was not enough to have 15 students state-wide, who would make their final exams (Palotai-Szabó-Jarjabka, 2017:98). In 2011 five adult students applied for the final exam in Adelaide as a result of advertising in the Hungarian radio, newspapers and clubs, thus the number of final examiners increased to 27. According to this it is obvious that not the disinterest causes the problem and that many adults would like to try their language knowledge. Unfortunately, the adults would be able to utilize this opportunity for a short period of time because the Government of South-Australia maximized the age limit of examiners at 21. As a result, in 2012 and 2013 only 1 student made the final exam in each year in Adelaide (Palotai-Szabó-Jarjabka, 2017). In 2013 the AMPE (Ausztráliai Magyar PedagógusokEgyesülete), Organisation of Hungarian Teachers in Australia was established and it was represented in the Hungarian Diaspora Council in 2015. The Council agreed that it would be worth to introduce the method of e-learning besides the classical didactic and pedagogic methods. In 2014 the Hungarian Community School of Adelaide tested the e-learning method of which introduction in 2015 contributed to the rise in the number of students in the next year. This is shown in Table 2. (Palotai-Szabó-Jarjabka, 2017).

	States	2015	2016	2017	2018¹	Total
Enrolling	South Australia	4	5	6	2	17
	Queensland	2	2	2	2	8
	Western Australia	1	1	1	2	5
	Victoria	0	1	1	0	2
	Northern Territory	0	1	1	0	2
	New South Wales	0	5	5	4	14
Total:		7	15	16	10	48
Number of graduating students:		0	1	3	7	11

¹The number of students enrolled will probably increase in January

Table 2. Spatial distribution of the students of Hungarian Community School of Adelaide, who are preparing or accomplished the final exams (person)

(Palotai J. – Szabó Á. – Jarjabka Á. (2017): The identity preserving efforts of the Hungarian diaspora in Australia through the example of the Hungarian Community School in Adelaide, Civil Szemle vol. 14. no. 3. pp. 99.)

The school had 7 middle school students from 2015, who were prepared to do their final exam. Two of the enrolled students were from Queensland and one from Western-Australia, where, with the help of skype, they have taught the students in cooperation with the Rainbow School at Gold Coast. In the coming years the scholarship students of the Alexander Csoma de Kőrös Program, who have been accredited to Adelaide, joined in the education too. In 2016 the school had 15 students preparing for the final exam and 10 out of the 15 were from other regions and had participated in the online education. In 2016 the students of Hungarian as foreign

language at the Károli Gáspár Reformed University have taught the students of the Community School once in a week (besides their one class/week) through skype and with the guidance of Dr. Orsolya Nádor. In 2017 10 more students were enrolled for the online education from another regions and there were 6 students from Adelaide as well. Thus, it turned out that adequate communication and education method can be fruitful. Another driving force can be the initiation of the Community School, according to which the students who applied for the final exam can study as exchange students at the Áron Szilády Reformed Gymnasium in Kiskunhalas from 2014 and at the István Bibó Gymnasium from the fall of 2017. As a result of this program, in 2014 three students from Melbourne, in 2015 one from Melbourne and one from Adelaide, in 2016 one from Adelaide and in 2017 one student from Adelaide and two from Melbourne had arrived to Kiskunhalas to develop their Hungarian language knowledge (Szabó, 2017). It is a challenge for the school to secure the financial conditions of the infrastructure, to apply volunteers with proper competencies in online education and to create a virtual environment of native language. Thus the mentioned networked collaboration provides a partial support for this. The online language education results in the formation of virtual communities, which greatly contributes to the identity preservation in a diaspora life, even in an isolated situation as well. With the help of online “smart” devices the maintenance of these relationships become a continuous activity. Adult education as well as new educational methods, like e-learning have their role in preserving dual identity (Australian-Hungarian) and Hungarian identity. The latter one is especially important because of the great distances within Australia, though the different educational regulations of the regions and the own orders of the schools make e-learning more difficult. But to learn Hungarian language itself is less motivating, thus in the case of adult education the possibility to gain Hungarian citizenship is a very important factor, while in the case of the youth, besides building a community (scouts), motivational factors can be the greater appreciation of final exam by replacing middle school subjects and extra points for it in the entrance exams at university (Palotai-Szabó-Jarjabka, 2017).

The attitude of newly emigrated Hungarians towards their identity is greatly differs from the attitude of the second and third generation of Hungarian emigrants and in some cases it is even totally the opposite. The reason behind is that now people emigrated as a result of existential reasons, thus they would like to integrate, assimilate, to have financial security and would like to improve their English knowledge. Often they do these at the expense of the energy needed to preserve identity. Thus, time and opportunity should be given to these families to return to their Hungarian roots and community. Therefore, the children of the newly emigrated families are needed a completely different educational program, as long as most of them can speak Hungarian, so that they only need vocabulary building and to practice writing and reading (Palotai-Szabó-Jarjabka, 2017).

Preserving Hungarian Identity in the United States of America: Language education on Cleveland

The Hungarian community in North-America had a different route. The first Hungarian school in Cleveland was opened in 1893 and was operated by the Saint Elisabeth Hungarian Catholic Church founded in 1892. In the first year there was only one class with one teacher. The school was gradually extended and in 1900 there were more than 350 students studying there. The language of the education was English and the classes were held by two Ursuline nuns, while the Hungarian language and the Bible class were held by the priest (Fejós, 1991:7). The number of students continuously increased as at least 2,000,000 Hungarians left the country because of economic and existential reasons between 1871 and 1913 (Gazsó, 2016:14). Thus the number of students enrolled rose up to 1114 (Papp, 1981:188). The Saint Emeric church was opened in the western part of the town in 1905 and joined in the education of Hungarian Diaspora, thus the priest and nuns, sent from Hungary, were educating Hungarian language, history and geography to about 150 minor pupils (Gárdosi, 2014.). The Reformed Church had built its church on the East Side in 1894 and held Hungarian language and Bible classes on Saturdays and during

summer holidays which were visited by about 600 minor pupils in 1919. Besides these several other religious communities (Greek Catholic Church, Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Hungary, Jewish Church) provided Hungarian education in the town (Papp, 1981., Fejős 1991., Gárdosi 2014.). There was a claim to have another school equal with the governmental schools and independent from any Churches, but there had no possibility to maintain any for a longer period of time. So they applied another solution, viz. the members of the Hungarian diaspora organized the weekend and holiday education with the help of Churches. The Government of Hungary also supported this type of education as well as the Churches to establish adequate school rooms when they built new churches (Fejős 1991., Gárdosi 2014.). To improve education the Government of Hungary ordered a uniform curriculum, which was developed by the Julian Association (it was established in 1904, and was initiated by Count BélaSzéchenyi). The curriculum included the required materials and provided a detailed pedagogic guideline. The requested materials, subjects were: Hungarian language (speech and interpretation practices, reading, writing, and grammar), history of the Hungarian nation, constitutional law, geography of Hungary and singing (folk songs, chorales). The teachers had to use the Hungarian course books, textbooks and reference books of the Hungarian primary education (Fejős 1991:12., Gárdosi 2014.). Though the members of the Hungarian Diaspora gave voice to the need of their own books as the second and third generations have a completely different connection to their Hungarian origin and to Hungary (Fejős 1991.,Gárdosi 2014.). In the 1940's the Hungarian migration was intensified and hundreds of thousands people had left Hungary in three emigrational waves differing both in time and characteristics. The first wave consisted of soldiers, prisoners of war and deportees, who got there during the war and did not want to come back, as well as of those escaping from the Soviet army. The second wave consisted of the representatives and advocates of the democratic aspirations prior the years of state socialism, while the third wave of migration was triggered by the crush of the Revolution of 1956 (Gazsó, 2016:19).

Many of the migrants to the United States of America were the so called „dipi” (this was the status of stateless people deriving from the English words 'displaced person'). Hungary, together with Italy, Romania and Bulgaria (exenemyDPs), belonged to the countries suffering from discrimination and was treated as an enemy, thus more than 360 000 people flew to the United States of America (Gazsó, 2016.).

After the Revolution of 1956 more then 200 000 people (who were called The 56's by those already living in the diaspora) left Hungary. Most of these people left the country between 1956 and 1957 and settled down in the USA, their number was about 40 000 (Gazsó, 2016.).Aa large number of Hungarians arrived to Ohio, to the town of Cleveland, so the need for Hungarian education and its expansion was without any doubt. Therefore, in 1958 the Hungarian Central Textbook Commission was founded, which maintained two Hungarian schools in Cleveland. The adult education was held in two different parts of the town, in the Eastern part with the leadership of JánosPalasics, while in the Western part of the town by Fréda B. Kovács. They also organized Hungarian language courses every week for the second and third generation of Hungarian youth hardly speaking the language (Somogyi, 1989.).In 1962 in the Eastern part of the town the SándorReményik Hungarian Language School of the Cleveland Freedom Fighter Club, where an average of 60-70 students studied Hungarian for 7 years. In 1969 they reorganized the school of the Buckeye neighbourhood (the Hungarian quarter of Cleveland at the beginning of the 1900's), and got the name of GézaGárdonyi Hungarian School. The centre of education at the beginning was the scout's home, later the Harvey Rice Library and the Evangelical Church. Besides these, after the initiation of the Hungarian Saint Margaret Catholic community another Hungarian school was organized, where the language education took place during Sundays and later it was completed with the Hungarology presentations of Ferenc Somogyi, university teacher (Szentkirályi, 2013., Gárdosi, 2014.). In 1958 the Cleveland Hungarian School was founded under the leadership of Dr. Gábor Papp. The main aim of the school was to teach English language to the Hungarian immigrants who arrived after 1945 and to the 56's and Hungarian language of their children. The foundation of the school is closely tied to the scout movement. The main aim of its foundation was to integrate the Hungarian Diaspora living in Cleveland to

the scout works and to pass on Christian national consciousness, to preserve Hungarian language and culture for the second, third and fourth generations of Hungarians (Szentkirályi, 2008.). When the school was established they mainly educated children who arrived from Hungary, thus they do not have language problems. All of the students spoke the Hungarian as their mother tongue, therefore they learned mostly the materials of the scout master course. As the years passed the Hungarian language background of the Hungarian living there had changed which induced a change in the curriculum (Németh, 2008., Gárdosi, 2014.). The school started its operation in 1958 in a private house with 36 students who studied Hungarian basics and Hungarology. Later it was placed to the scout's home, then to the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church and finally to the Evangelical church and Reformed Church on the West side. In the first 20 years of the school more than 600 students studied there in Hungarian (Somogyi 1989: 10-11., Gárdosi 2014.). The educational method of the school was reformed by Ödön Szentkirályi, who became the director in 1988. He revised and systematized the curriculum and the method of education. The education system included the scoutmaster and junior clerk courses, which helped the students in the progress as a scout. They also aim to teach the Geography and history of Hungary from a global aspect (Tálas, 2015.). Now the classes for adults and children are held in the classrooms of Saint Emeric Church and the Scouts house on Monday evenings, under the leadership of Judit Szentkirályi. The curriculum is completed with scout's meetings on Friday evenings and Regös folk dance courses on Tuesday evenings (Gárdosi, 2014.). The school is maintained by the donations of parents, all the teachers are volunteers, who include scouts, local residents of the Diaspora, scholarship students (Alexander Csoma de Kőrös and Fullbright Programs) and the priest of Saint Emeric Catholic Church. Teacher's degree is not necessary to teach (Gárdosi, 2014.).

In this school year (2017-2018) the Hungarian School has 12 groups, three kindergarten groups, seven school groups, the scoutmaster course and one adult group, all of which have their own teacher. The three kindergarten groups are the A. B and the Basic. In the A group there are 4-5 year children who are studying games, nursery rhymes, song in Hungarian, watch Hungarian cartoons and also use colouring books. The B group with 5-6-year-old children works in the same way but here they also learn the ABC. At the end of the year all the children get an evaluation sheet. Sometimes there is a need for English explanations, but the teachers try to use only the Hungarian language. The Basic kindergarten teaches those children who do not speak Hungarian at all, thus eliminating the problem deriving from the different levels of language knowledge (Gárdosi 2014., Magyar Iskola Cleveland, 2017.). After finishing the 7th grade the students are allowed to attend the scoutmaster course, which is organized together with scouting. 13-14 year old students have literature, history and geography subjects as well and they use the textbooks and books published by the Hungarian Scouts in Exeteris. They have to learn and recite poems within the frames of scoutmaster course as well, like *Hitvallás* by Mrs. Elemér Papp Váry, *Az ige* by Sándor Reményik or *Pisztrángok példája* by Mécs László. The students have an exam at the end of the year, organized by the Hungarian Scouts in Exeteris. Following a successful exam the students will get the title of Scout Master (Szentkirályi 2008., Gárdosi 2014.).

From 2002, the Hungarian, as foreign language subject is also available at the Cleveland Hungarian School. This subject is mostly visited by adult of Hungarian origin. At the beginning they tried to use the book, titled „Hello, its Hungary!”, but it was too difficult for the students as it is monolingual, thus the students barely understand it without English descriptions. Therefore the teachers use their own materials for educational purposes. The pronunciation and spelling are the hardest for the beginners (Gárdosi 2014.). Besides the courses of the School there is an opportunity for summer camp holidays, which are play vital a part in the spread of Hungarian culture and language within the USA. The first school camp was organized in 1968 in the Sándor Sík Scouts Park in Fillmore. Most of the campers are from Cleveland and the students of the Hungarian School. The camp is based on scout basics but scout past is no needed to participate. During the mornings the campers study Hungarian literature, grammar, history and geography according to their age and language knowledge, then in the afternoon they do handicrafts, sing

folksongs, do sports and folkdance. The camps are usually based on a thematic topic chosen from the classics of Hungarian literature or history (Gárdosi 2014.).

Preserving Hungarian identity in Brazil: Hungarian School in São Paulo

The number of those living in the Hungarian Diaspora in Latin-America is high, about 125 00. Most of them live in Brazil (75 000) and Argentina (40 000). Hungarian cultural life is concentrated mostly in São Paulo and Buenos Aires (Gazsó, 2016). The development of Hungarian language education in São Paulo had a different motivation and started later in time. The institutional foundation of Hungarian language education together with the Hungarian language and culture course was taken place in 2015 at the University of São Paulo. The demand for Hungarian language education and the appearance of the Hungarian education itself are closely bond to the introduction of the Law of simplified naturalization in 2010. The condition of submitting the application is an interview at the Consulate which demands fluent communication. At the beginning the level of Hungarian language knowledge required for the interview was easily achievable after 10-15 language lessons. In 2014 the requirements had changed and the applicant had to attend a language course for at least six month, then in 2015 a minimum of one and a half year was needed to apply for the interview. The Hungarians living in Diaspora in Brazilia had a demand on the institutionalised Hungarian language learning which brought Hungarian language and culture course into being. The students will be informed in the first lesson that the aim of the course is not to quickly prepare them to the interview at the consulate, but to learn the Hungarian language and the extensive knowledge of Hungarian culture by which the course would help the integration in Hungary. The curriculum teaches proper language use, reading and writing, its vocabulary includes many topics, much more than what the consular interview requires. The topics of the latter one only include a short introduction, introduction of the family and the Hungarian roots and a minimal knowledge about Hungarian culture. The number of students is shown in Table 3.

	2015	2016	2017
Enrolment	254	266	247
Successful examinee	171	207	196
Ratio of successful examinee	67,3%	77,8%	79,3%

Table 3. Number of enrolled students and successful examinees at the University of São Paulo 2015-17

(own edition on the bases of USP data)

The number of students stagnates, but the number of successful examinees increasing. The students were split into three groups according to the level of their Hungarian language knowledge, beginners, intermediate and advanced groups. Most students attend the beginners group, thus there was a need to split further he group. The aim of the curriculum is to educate the Hungarian language and to give an extensive knowledge about Hungarian culture, which would help the integration in Hungary.

They use the MagyarOk textbook, edited by Szilvia Szita and Katalin Pelcz (leader of the Hungarian Program of the International Educational Centre of the University of Pécs, Medical School) as well as the books provided by the Library of the University of Pécs (own data, 2017).

The Hungarian course of the University of Sao Paulo helps students to acquire the knowledge really needed to succeed in Hungary. The Hungarian students are not only motivated to get the citizenship but they are inquired in the different scholarship and application opportunities of higher education. Thus the motivation to get a scholarship to Hungary greatly contributes to the desire to get citizenship. All in all the Hungarian language and culture course

of the University of Sao Paulo has two main aims. First it helps to acquire the knowledge of Hungarian language and culture, which than contribute to the development of the motivation to gain citizenship, which gives the other aim of the course, viz. to prepare students to acquire citizenship (own data, 2017).

Comparison of the Hungarian language education in Adelaide, Cleveland and Sao Paulo

All three Hungarian language education and learning have a common aim, viz. to preserve the Hungarian language and the identity and culture of the generations. But their methods are greatly differing both in the case of educational materials and the didactic methods.

	Hungarian Community School, Adelaide	Cleveland Hungarian School	University of São Paulo
Teachers	volunteers	volunteers	university teachers
Age groups attending school	All age groups are present	From 5 to 14-15 years, adult teaching	adult teaching
Motivation	preserving identity, gaining Hungarian citizenship	preserving identity	preserving identity, gaining Hungarian citizenship, studies in Hungary
Methodology of teaching	Own materials, books for Hungarian final exams, Skype education	books of the Balassi Institute and Scout, learning of poems	MagyarOk book, Hungarian books provided by the Library of the University of Pécs
Partner Institutions	University of Pécs, Alexander Csoma de Kőrös Program of the Government of Hungary, Rákóczi Association, Gáspár Károli University, Alexander Csoma de Kőrös Cultural Circle, , Ethnic School Association	Hungarian Scouts in Cleveland, Hungarian Churches, RegösFolk-dance Group, Foreign Hungarian Scout, Balassi Institute	University of Pécs, Pallas Athene Domus Animae Foundation, Hungarian House
Activities preserving traditions	Tradition preserving activities during holidays, teaching of Hungarian culture	Regular tradition preserving with scouting, Church and folk-dance groups	Education of Hungarian cultural knowledge, Tradition preserving activities during holidays

Table 4. Comparison of the Hungarian Schools of Adelaide, Cleveland and São Paulo (Palotai J. – Szabó Á. – Jarjabka Á. (2017): The identity preserving efforts of the Hungarian diaspora in Australia through the example of the Hungarian Community School in Adelaide, Civil Szemle vol. 14. no. 3. 99 p., Data of the Hungarian School in Cleveland, USP data)

The beginnings of Hungarian education of the three centres are different, as to North- and South-America the Hungarian community had arrived earlier than to Australia, thus the primary conditions of the system of language education has been formed earlier as well. The Hungarian language education in Cleveland was founded and is operating with the help of the Churches, in Sao Paulo it is run by the local university with the support of the Pallas Athene Domus Animae Foundation and the University of Pécs, while in Adelaide it was initiated by private persons. The schools in Adelaide and Cleveland were both established in 1958, but the city on Ohio has a 65-year-old tradition in Hungarian language education which means a great advantage in educational materials, infrastructure and experience as well. In contrast, the language course of the University of Sao Paulo is quite new as it has been started in 2015. Today, most of the Hungarians of the

Diaspora live in America (Gazsó, 2016), thus Cleveland is able to take from a larger base than the School in Adelaide. To eliminate the disadvantages deriving from the distances and the smaller numbers the School in Adelaide successfully introduced online education, thus it was able to increase the number of its students. In Cleveland the education takes place within the school building. They also tried to introduce the online education but it has failed. The reason behind is probably that in those US towns where there are Hungarian community there is Hungarian language education too. The education in Sao Paolo takes place at the University of Sao Paolo, but their motivation a bit differs from the others as their main motivation is to gain Hungarian citizenship, which is possible after a successful audition at the consulate, and to prepare to study in Hungary. The educational structure of the three schools is also different. In the Hungarian Community School of Adelaide all the age groups (kindergartener, primary school students, middle school students and adults) can be found, in the Cleveland Hungarian School mainly kindergarteners, primary school students (13-14 year-olds) and adults can be found, while in Sao Paolo the adult age group (mainly university students) attend the courses at the University. It is important to note that in Cleveland there are several Hungarian organizations (Hungarian Scouts in Cleveland, Hungarian Churches, Regös Folk-Group etc.) attended by the adult age group as well and where the knowledge of Hungarian language is a criterion so that they can build and practice their language knowledge. The outcomes are also different, in Adelaide the main aim (besides teaching Hungarian language) is to get the students gain the Hungarian final exam ensured by the Government of Australia, in Cleveland the main motivation is to successfully finish and gain the scoutmaster course of the Hungarian Scouts in Exeteris, while in Sao Paolo the main motivation of the students is to gain Hungarian citizenship.

So we can conclude that the main aim is to educate the Hungarian Language to several generations of Hungarians living in the Diaspora, thus strengthening Hungarian identity, but they do it in a bit different way. There are differences between the student base of the three schools, which can be the result of the difference in the number of those living in the Hungarian Diaspora, but it is common that all three schools struggle to maintain Hungarian language education, thus giving off the language, identity and culture to the next generations of Hungarian in Adelaide, Cleveland and Sao Paolo. According to our opinion there would be a need to develop a kind of knowledge transfer through a common network between the Hungarian schools outside the borders. The Organization of the Diaspora Project Network, operating at the University of Pécs, would be appropriate to join together these activities. Such workshops could be organised under the aegis of the University, where the best practices of the methodologies could be presented and where there would be an opportunity to find a solution to the operational problems by review the possible tender and governmental cooperations.

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