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Family Language Policy and Heritage Language Maintenance among Hungarian Families in the United Kingdom

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates Family Language Policy (FLP) and heritage language maintenance among Hungarian-speaking families living in the United Kingdom. Building on Spolsky's tripartite model of language policy and more recent developments in FLP research, the study examines the interplay between language ideologies, practices, and management and the internal and external factors associated with bilingual family life. The dissertation focuses on child agency, literacy practices, transnational ties, digital communication, and community support as key factors in Family Language Policy and heritage language maintenance.

The research employed an explanatory sequential mixed-methods design. Quantitative data were collected through an online questionnaire, which received 224 responses; after data cleaning, the final analytical sample comprised 211 Hungarian parents residing in the UK, followed by semi-structured interviews with 22 parents to provide deeper insight into everyday language practices and parental experiences. The quantitative data were analysed using descriptive statistics, exploratory factor analysis, correlation analyses, and multiple regression models, while the qualitative data were subjected to thematic analysis.

The findings indicate that Hungarian families maintain bilingual language practices, although English becomes increasingly dominant in educational, literacy-related, and digital domains. Heritage language maintenance is most strongly associated with child agency and meaningful Hungarian-language activities, while complementary education, family contact, and other management practices form part of the broader ecology of heritage language maintenance. The qualitative findings further reveal that identity, family relationships, and future aspirations play an important role in shaping parental language decisions and everyday language use.

The dissertation contributes to FLP research by providing one of the first comprehensive mixed-methods investigations of Hungarian transnational families in the United Kingdom. It also proposes an extended FLP framework that integrates Spolsky's model with contemporary perspectives emphasising agency, sociocultural influences, and transnational family life, offering both theoretical and practical implications for heritage language maintenance in multilingual migrant contexts.

Keywords: FLP; heritage language maintenance; child agency; bilingualism; Hungarian diaspora; United Kingdom

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FLP – Family Language Policy

HL – Heritage Language

ONS – Office for National Statistics

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Multilingualism has transitioned from a perceived exception or disadvantage to a recognised global norm that fundamentally reshapes human cognition (Kroll & Dussias, 2017). Digital communication, migration, transnational mobility, and intercultural relationships transformed not only our everyday lives but how languages are used and negotiated across generations globally. Within this context, families are living and raising children in multilingual environments and therefore often face complex decisions involving language use, identity, education, and cultural belonging. These decisions are particularly significant in migrant families, where the maintenance of the heritage language (HL) may become closely connected to emotional relationships, intergenerational communication, cultural continuity, and future opportunities. As a result, family has increasingly been recognised as one of the most important domains of language policy and language transmission (Fishman, 1991).

Over the past two decades, Family Language Policy (FLP) has emerged as a rapidly expanding field of research that examines how families manage, negotiate, and experience multilingualism in everyday life. Rooted in Spolsky's (2004, 2008, 2012) tripartite model of language policy, FLP research generally focuses on three interconnected dimensions: language ideologies, language management, and language practices. Language ideologies refer to beliefs, attitudes, and values associated with multilingualism and language use; language management concerns conscious attempts to influence language behaviour; whereas language practices describe the actual patterns of language use within the family. Although early FLP studies often focused primarily on parental decision-making and top-down language transmission, more recent research has increasingly highlighted the dynamic and fluid nature of bilingual family life. These studies emphasise the role of child agency, emotional dimensions, sociocultural environments, institutional influences, and digital communication in shaping language maintenance and bilingual upbringing (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Smith-Christmas, 2019; Hollebeke et al., 2022).

The maintenance of heritage languages in migrant contexts has become a crucial area within FLP research. While migration may create opportunities for multilingualism and intercultural development, it may also place pressure on minority languages due to the prevalence of majority language(s) in educational, professional, and public domains. In

English-dominant environments such as the United Kingdom, heritage languages often become restricted to family-centred interactions and may gradually decline across generations if active maintenance strategies are not implemented (Fishman, 1972; 1980). Previous studies have shown that heritage language maintenance is associated with multiple interacting factors, including parental language ideologies, literacy practices, family relationships, community support, socioeconomic background, institutional opportunities, and children's own linguistic preferences (De Houwer, 2013; Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022; King & Lanza, 2019).

Despite the growing body of international FLP research, Hungarian families living abroad remain relatively underrepresented in the literature, particularly within the United Kingdom context. Existing studies focusing on Hungarian migrant communities have often concentrated on migration experiences, identity, or educational integration (Kontra, 1990; Fenyvesi, 1995; Kovács, 2004; Bartha, 2005; Kováts & Papp, 2016; Papp et al., 2019; Papp et al., 2020; Deli, 2021), while fewer studies have explored the everyday mechanisms through which bilingual family life and heritage language transmission are negotiated within the home environment (Siklósi, 2019; Laihonen et al., 2025; Vajnai et al., 2025; Szabó T., 2024). At the same time, the Hungarian diaspora in the UK provides a particularly valuable context for investigating FLP due to the increasing visibility of Hungarian migration following the expansion of the European Union and the subsequent sociopolitical changes associated with Brexit. These developments have reshaped migration trajectories, settlement intentions, educational experiences, and long-term family planning among Hungarian families residing in the UK.

The present study investigates Family Language Policy among Hungarian-speaking families living in the United Kingdom, with a particular focus on the relationships between language ideologies, language practices, language management strategies, and the broader internal and external factors influencing heritage language maintenance. Based on the FLP framework and extending Spolsky's tripartite model, the dissertation integrates more recent theoretical developments that emphasise child agency, sociocultural influences, digital communication, transnational ties, and neoliberal language ideologies. Rather than treating FLP as a static or linear system, the study approaches bilingual family life as a dynamic and constantly negotiated process shaped by interactions between family members, institutions, and broader societal structures.

The research adopts a mixed-methods design combining quantitative and qualitative approaches to provide a more comprehensive understanding of bilingual family life. The

quantitative phase consists of a large-scale questionnaire distributed among Hungarian-speaking families in the United Kingdom. The questionnaire examines demographic variables, language proficiency, language practices, language ideologies, management strategies, literacy practices, digital exposure, and community involvement. The qualitative phase builds on the questionnaire findings through ethnographic narrative interviews that provide deeper insight into parental experiences, emotional dimensions, and the everyday realities of raising multilingual children in transnational contexts. By combining macro-level statistical tendencies with micro-level narratives, the study aims to capture both the measurable and lived dimensions of FLP.

The dissertation addresses the following research questions:

- What are the patterns of language practices, ideologies, and management strategies in Hungarian families in the UK?
- Which internal and external factors are associated with variation in children's Hungarian language proficiency and Family Language Policy?

Based on previous FLP research (King et al., 2008; King & Fogle, 2013; Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; Lanza & Lomeu Gomes, 2020), the study hypothesises that Hungarian families in the UK will display predominantly bilingual language practices in which Hungarian remains particularly important in emotionally embedded and intergenerational family interactions, while English becomes increasingly dominant in literacy-related, educational, and digital domains. Furthermore, it is hypothesised that variation in heritage language maintenance will be associated with multiple interacting internal and external factors, including parental language ideologies, child agency, literacy practices, community involvement, digital exposure, and institutional support (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Porter et al., 2018; Piller & Gerber, 2018; Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017; Smith-Christmas, 2019; Hollebeke et al., 2022).

The study aims to contribute to FLP research in several ways. First, it addresses an important research gap, as Hungarian transnational families remain underrepresented in FLP research, both in the United Kingdom and in broader global context. Secondly, it develops an integrated analytical framework that combines Spolsky's tripartite model with more recent FLP approaches emphasising dynamic, relational, and sociocultural dimensions of language policy. Third, by combining quantitative and qualitative methods, the dissertation contributes to ongoing methodological discussions within FLP research concerning the importance of mixed-methods and context-sensitive approaches. Finally, the study seeks to provide a deeper understanding of how multilingual families negotiate

language transmission within increasingly globalised and digitally mediated environments.

The dissertation is organised into six chapters. Following the introduction, Chapter 2 reviews the theoretical and empirical literature on bilingualism, heritage language maintenance, multilingual parenting, and Family Language Policy, and introduces the integrated conceptual framework used in the study. Chapter 3 outlines the research questions and hypotheses, describes the methodological design, including participant recruitment, research instruments, data collection procedures, and analytical methods, along with the demographic profile of the participants and descriptive findings related to proficiency and socioeconomic characteristics. Chapter 4 presents the results by analysing the relationships between language ideologies, practices, management strategies, and internal and external factors associated with heritage language maintenance. Finally, Chapter 5 discusses the findings in relation to previous FLP research, outlines the theoretical and practical implications of the study, addresses limitations, and then Chapter 6 draws the conclusions of the study and offers suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Hungarians in the UK

Hungarian migration to the United Kingdom has developed in response to broader political and socioeconomic transformations in Europe. These historical and demographic developments provide important context for understanding contemporary family language practices and heritage language maintenance among Hungarian families in the UK. Different migration waves have shaped the wider sociolinguistic context in which Hungarian is used and transmitted across generations.

The first significant wave took place before the First World War, when Hungarian labourers arrived in the United Kingdom as part of larger Eastern European migration movements. These early migrants were often men seeking temporary employment, particularly in industrial or agricultural sectors. Although limited in number, their presence laid the groundwork for subsequent ideologically and politically motivated migration.

A second period of movement occurred between the two World Wars, driven by ongoing economic hardship and political instability in Central Europe. The third substantial emigration wave unfolded after the Second World War and during the era of state socialism in Hungary. Most notably, following the failed 1956 Hungarian Revolution, a large number of political refugees sought asylum in the United Kingdom. These immigrants often formed cohesive cultural communities and established enduring institutional structures such as Hungarian churches, cultural societies, and scout associations. Their commitment to language maintenance and cultural continuity laid the ideological foundation for later efforts to sustain Hungarian heritage abroad. Finally, a fourth and ongoing wave started in the 1970s, characterised by new forms of mobility shaped by globalisation, EU enlargement, and transnational migration opportunities (Gazsó, 2016). This wave gained momentum after Hungary's admission to the European Union in 2004, which granted Hungarian citizens the right to free movement at least in EU Member States. The resulting sharp increase in migration to Western Europe — especially to the United Kingdom — marked one of the most transformative phases in the history of Hungarian migration. Between 2004 and 2016, the Hungarian community in Britain grew from a marginal group to one of the twenty most populous minority

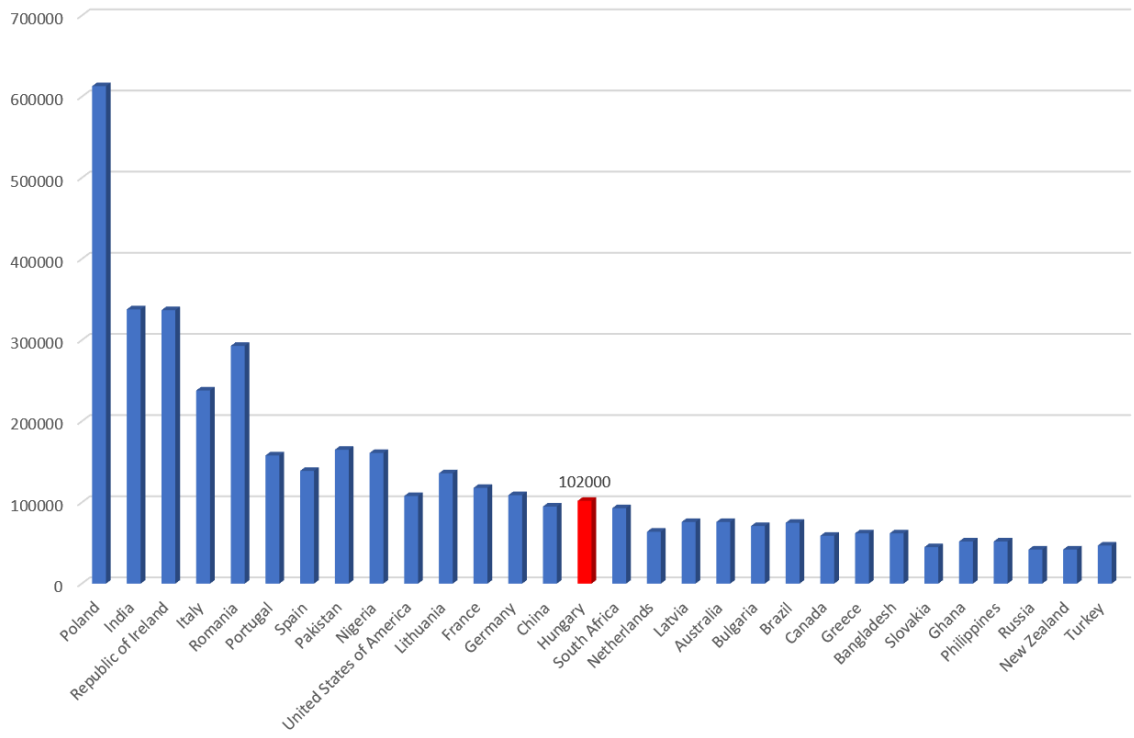
communities.

The recent wave has also given rise to new questions. Unlike previous migration waves, Gazsó (2016) and Papp et al. (2019) note, the demographic profile of Hungarian migrants shifted from male-dominated labour migration toward long-term settlement patterns with increasing numbers of women and children, from predominantly young, single workers to thriving families with children. The emergence of second-generation Hungarian children born in the UK brought a pressing need for heritage language maintenance and identity reinforcement. These demographic shifts have not only transformed the composition of the Hungarian diaspora in Britain but have also created new conditions for language transmission and cultural adaptation—issues that have increasingly drawn scholarly attention in recent years.

According to the Office for National Statistics (ONS), approximately 102,000 Hungarian-born individuals were residing in the United Kingdom in 2021 (Figure 1). This number reflects the scale and settlement patterns of recent migration. However, only 17,000 residents have obtained British citizenship. Nonetheless, due to the dynamics of emigration and return migration, it is difficult to provide an exact figure. Thus, the available statistical estimates vary considerably, and the actual number may be either over- or underestimated depending on the data source. At the same time, relevant analyses consistently suggest that migration to the UK from Hungary increased significantly in the years after 2008, peaking around 2014 and remaining strong thereafter. Moreh (2014) similarly emphasises the difficulty of estimating the number of Hungarians in the UK, noting that official sources do not provide a fully reliable or up-to-date picture of Hungarian migration. His own estimate placed the number of first-generation Hungarian migrant workers in the UK at around 86,000 in 2015, while also showing that Hungarian migrants were relatively young, geographically concentrated, and highly mobile. Moreh found that more than one third of Hungarian migrants lived in London, although Hungarian settlement was not limited to the capital and showed increasing geographical dispersion. It is important to note, however, that Brexit has had a more significant impact on the intensity of emigration and immigration than the coronavirus pandemic: the former appears to be declining, while the latter is on the rise (Ligeti, 2023). These trends in population size and settlement patterns provide a vital context for understanding how Hungarian migrants integrate into the host society, both structurally and linguistically.

Figure 1. The Number of Hungarian Immigrants Originally Born in Hungary

(Own figure, based on Office for National Statistics (2021)
https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/datasets/populationoftheunitedkingdombycountryofbirthandnationality)



Moreh's (2014) analysis of post-2000 Hungarian migration mainly focuses on demographic questions but also mentions how language proficiency and institutional navigation shape integration experiences. His findings show that Hungarian migration to the UK after EU accession was not only a demographic phenomenon, but also a complex form of mobility shaped by economic, institutional, and linguistic factors. He argues that Hungarian migration remained relatively low in the first years after EU accession but increased after the 2008 economic crisis and became particularly visible from around 2011 onwards. His analysis also highlights the fact that Hungarian migrants were often characterised by mobility and uncertain settlement trajectories, with many newcomers leaving the UK again within a relatively short period. In addition, Moreh emphasises the role of English language proficiency in migrants' labour-market integration and everyday navigation of UK institutions. Although his study does not directly address Family Language Policy, these findings provide an important background for understanding the conditions under which Hungarian families establish their lives in the UK and make decisions about language use, heritage language transmission, and children's bilingual

development. Meanwhile, survey-based research by Kováts and Papp (2016) shows that many Hungarian migrants consider their migration successful, often linking it to upward mobility and improved life circumstances.

In a more recent study, Deli (2020) investigates how contact with English affects the Hungarian spoken by immigrants in the UK and Ireland, focusing on the shift from synthetic to analytical constructions. While his findings confirm that English exerts some influence, the effects appear more moderate than in other diasporic contexts. This suggests that the linguistic environment in the UK may moderate the extent of language shift. However, Deli's focus on grammatical structures leaves open the question of how such shifts are negotiated within families.

Intergenerational heritage language practices are a crucial part of how migrant families create a sense of 'home' in Britain. However, despite their importance, these practices have received limited scholarly attention, with Tyrrell et al. (2014) representing one of the few notable studies in this area. Their study shows that Spanish parents use Spanish as a core anchor for identity, belonging, and connection to their transnational roots. While previous research has addressed various aspects of migration, identity, and language contact, less is known about the factors shaping language practices within Hungarian families in the UK.

Recent work on diasporisation processes also emphasises that Hungarian diaspora communities cannot be treated as a homogeneous formation, as different migration waves resulted in distinct institutional and identity configurations (Gazsó, 2024). Similarly, Szabó (2022), in his critical sociolinguistic study of first-generation Hungarians in Catalonia, conceptualises diasporisation as a dynamic process rather than treating the diaspora as a bounded and homogeneous entity. From this perspective, diasporic belonging emerges through social practices associated with migrants' national or ethnic origins, their relationship with an imagined homeland, and the negotiation of boundaries within the host society. Taken together, these perspectives conceptualise diasporisation as a complex and evolving phenomenon shaped by sociocultural, linguistic, and economic factors. The growing academic interest in issues such as language shift, diaspora identity, and integration processes offers valuable insight into the lived experiences of Hungarian families abroad—particularly those navigating the challenges of raising bilingual children in a transnational context.

As a result, language policymakers face increasing pressure to address heritage language maintenance, and a central question in recent diaspora policy research is

whether children raised in predominantly English-speaking environments can be successfully socialised into the Hungarian linguistic, cultural, and even political domain (Papp et al., 2020). This concern is especially pronounced among the so-called non-diasporised groups, which make up approximately 80% of the Hungarian migrant population. Kovács (2022) identifies three distinct pathways of diasporisation among recent Hungarian migrants in the UK: forced, voluntary, and transnational diasporisation. These categories capture the diverse ways in which migrants negotiate identity, belonging, and community ties, often maintaining simultaneous connections with both the host society and Hungarian heritage networks. In their recent study, Papp et al. (2025) identify three categories of Hungarian migrants in terms of their relationship to diaspora engagement and transnational ties: diasporised, transnationally active, and indifferent. The study distinguishes between *diasporised* migrants, who actively maintain their Hungarian identity abroad, *transnationally active* migrants, who are strongly connected to both Hungary and the host country, and *indifferent* migrants, who display relatively weak engagement with both diaspora and transnational networks. The latter group consists of individuals and families who are largely disengaged from institutionalised diaspora initiatives and show limited interest in maintaining heritage ties through formal structures. This distinction is particularly useful for understanding why Hungarian migrants differ in their involvement in heritage-language-related institutions and practices, such as Hungarian weekend schools, cultural events, and other community-based activities.

While Kovács's (2022) typology is valuable for understanding different pathways of diasporisation and their relationship to integration in the host society, the categorisation proposed by Papp et al. (2025) is more closely aligned with the present study's focus on Family Language Policy, heritage language maintenance, and children's bilingual development. Their findings suggest that only a minority of recent Hungarian migrants become actively involved in diasporic institutions, while many remain weakly connected to organised Hungarian community life. These findings are particularly relevant to Family Language Policy, as families differ considerably in the extent to which they participate in transnational and diasporic networks, which may in turn shape opportunities for heritage-language use and transmission.

Research on Hungarian-speaking communities has addressed both minority populations in neighbouring countries and overseas diaspora communities. Fenyvesi's (2005) edited volume provides a comprehensive sociolinguistic overview of Hungarian

language contact in a wide range of settings, including the United States and Australia. Huber (2014) examined the intergenerational transmission of Hungarian in the Canadian Hungarian community, highlighting the importance of family practices, community institutions, and wider sociolinguistic conditions in supporting heritage language maintenance.

Within the European context, Straszer's (2012) comparative study of Hungarian communities in Finland and Sweden demonstrates that heritage-language maintenance and language choice are shaped by a combination of demographic and sociocultural conditions, including settlement patterns and participation in Hungarian associations. Her findings also highlight the internal heterogeneity of Hungarian communities abroad and the role of community networks in providing domains for Hungarian language use beyond the family. More recently, Szabó T. (2025) demonstrates the heterogeneity of family language management and identity construction across Western European Hungarian diaspora families. Based on questionnaire data from 128 families in 14 countries, the study shows that families employ both deliberate and flexible language-management strategies, while language, identity, and cultural transmission do not necessarily overlap in uniform ways. The findings also suggest that Hungarian may function both as an identity resource and as a pragmatically valued linguistic asset, highlighting the complex relationship between heritage-language use, family strategies, and diasporic identity.

The relevance of community institutions as external contexts of heritage-language maintenance is also evident in research on other Western European Hungarian communities. In her study of the Hungarian diaspora in Austria, Szoták (2024) notes that Hungarian is largely restricted to the family domain, while opportunities for its use beyond the home are provided by a limited range of community settings, including civil organisations, scouting activities, religious services, and weekend schools. Such institutional and community networks can therefore provide important public domains for heritage-language use beyond everyday family interaction. In the present study, these institutions are treated primarily as part of the broader sociolinguistic environment in which family language policies operate rather than as an independent object of institutional analysis.

Together, these studies illustrate the diversity of Hungarian-speaking communities outside Hungary and show how heritage-language maintenance is embedded in family practices as well as wider community and sociolinguistic contexts.

Despite these valuable contributions, research on the Hungarian diaspora has

predominantly focused on language use, identity, migration, and broader sociolinguistic issues (Kontra, 1990; Fenyvesi, 1995; Kovács, 2004; Bartha, 2005; Kováts & Papp, 2016; Papp et al., 2019, 2020; Deli, 2021). With the exception of a few recent studies (Siklósi, 2019; Szabó T., 2024, 2025a; Laihonen et al., 2025; Vajnai et al., 2025), Family Language Policy among Hungarian-speaking families has received relatively little scholarly attention, particularly in the context of recent migration to the United Kingdom.

The present study addresses this gap by examining the language ideologies, language practices, and language management strategies of families living in England with at least one Hungarian-speaking parent. More specifically, it explores how Hungarian is transmitted across generations and how Family Language Policy operates in the everyday lives of Hungarian-speaking families in the United Kingdom.

2.1.1. Hungarian Weekend Schools

As the Hungarian diaspora in the UK continues to evolve demographically and socially, the need for institutional and informal mechanisms to support linguistic and cultural continuity has become increasingly urgent. One of the most significant features of the current migration wave is that a growing number of Hungarian migrants have established families in the UK, with thousands of children now growing up in Hungarian households. This demographic transformation has brought issues of language maintenance and cultural identity to the forefront.

As discussed in the previous section, approximately 80% of Hungarian migrants in the UK fall into what Papp et al. (2019) term the non-diasporised category. These families lack inherited diaspora traditions and must (re)construct their cultural and linguistic identity within the host society. In response to these evolving needs, Hungarian weekend schools have gained increasing prominence in the educational landscape of the Hungarian community. Weekend schools serve both symbolic and practical functions in this context. They act as sites of linguistic transmission, cultural continuity, and community resistance to assimilation. This is reflected, for example, in the celebration of national holidays, the teaching of Hungarian literature and history, and the reinforcement of language-based identity. Such activities provide children with cultural reference points that may be absent from mainstream British education, and they create a sense of belonging to a wider Hungarian-speaking community. As discussed in relation to Spolsky's tripartite model

(see Section 2.3), Hungarian weekend schools engage in deliberate language management through structured curricula, educational programmes, assessment systems, and language-use expectations shaped and communicated by teachers and parents. These practices represent explicit attempts to promote and preserve the heritage language within a community framework.

Most of these Hungarian Weekend Schools were founded between 2010 and 2012 and primarily play a critical role in maintaining linguistic and cultural continuity among Hungarian families in the UK. The initial guiding principles of these institutions include the transmission of the Hungarian mother tongue and culture, the reinforcement of cultural identity, and the facilitation of community building and social networking, particularly among parents (Papp et al., 2024). The schools are typically organised by parents, volunteers with prior pedagogical experience, or diaspora organisations (e.g., Kőrösi Csoma Sándor Program, Mikes Kelemen Program). Weekend schools support literacy development through language and grammar instruction while also promoting cultural knowledge through activities such as singing traditional folk songs and celebrating national holidays. Despite limited financial and institutional support, the commitment of these communities to heritage language education remains strong. The schools operate outside the official British educational system but often draw on bilingual education frameworks and are loosely modelled on the long-standing traditions of complementary schooling in the UK.

In addition, these schools illustrate the multidimensional nature of Family Language Policy. They reflect not only language management decisions by parents but also broader ideological stances towards bilingualism, identity, and cultural transmission. As such, weekend schools exemplify how FLP extends beyond the household, overlapping with institutional practices, government policies, and community mobilisation.

Hungarian parents in the UK often carry a dual burden: ensuring their children's integration into British society while simultaneously resisting linguistic and cultural assimilation. This dual challenge puts parents in a complex position, as they must navigate multiple and often conflicting expectations. On the one hand, there is pressure to support their children's successful integration into the host society by prioritising English; on the other hand, there is a simultaneous desire, if not obligation, to maintain Hungarian as a heritage language. This tension emerges in various language policy dilemmas, such as choosing the language of early education, negotiating the dominant language of home communication, or responding to societal expectations about language use in public and

institutional contexts. Moreh (2014) and Papp et al. (2019) describe how these parents navigate this tension through weekend school participation. For some families, participation in these schools is linked to hopes of a future return to Hungary, extended family expectations, or the desire to maintain prestige within the diaspora.

2.2. Family Language Policy: Conceptualisations, Approaches, Definitions

Heritage language maintenance is a central concern for families raising bilingual or multilingual children, particularly in contexts where the heritage language has minority status. Language maintenance and language shift are closely connected to broader processes of language contact, migration, and multilingualism (Pauwels, 2016). Pauwels (2016) defines language shift as the gradual replacement of one language by another across an increasing number of domains or spheres of use, while language maintenance refers to the continued use or retention of an L1, minority, or heritage language in one or more domains. Importantly, both processes are gradual and may develop differently across generations and sociolinguistic settings. In migrant contexts, this distinction is particularly relevant, as the minority/heritage language exists alongside the dominant language of the wider society, and patterns of use may change considerably across generations.

Rather than being determined by a single factor, the maintenance of a minority or heritage language is shaped by the interaction of individual, family, community, and wider societal conditions. Pauwels (2016) reviews a wide range of factors associated with language maintenance and shift, including age and generation, family and marital circumstances, social and ethnolinguistic networks, institutional and societal support, language attitudes, and the domains in which the heritage language continues to be used. At the same time, the effects of these factors are not uniform across communities. As Pauwels notes, factors that support maintenance in one setting may have a weaker or even different effect in another, which makes language maintenance and shift difficult to explain through a single predictive model. This perspective is particularly relevant to the present study, which similarly approaches heritage language maintenance in relation to interacting internal and external factors rather than as the result of one isolated variable.

Within this broader set of influences, the family and home domain occupies a

particularly important position in the acquisition, continued use, and intergenerational transmission of the heritage language, especially in migrant contexts (Pauwels, 2016). The continued use of the heritage language within the family may be supported by early exposure, consistent use, positive attitudes, a language-rich home environment, and contact with grandparents and other heritage-language-speaking relatives. At the same time, opportunities outside the family may also contribute to language maintenance. Community schools, religious institutions, cultural organisations, media, digital resources, and transnational contact can extend the domains in which the heritage language is used and may provide additional opportunities for maintaining it across generations (Pauwels, 2016).

Sociolinguistic research has similarly demonstrated strong tendencies towards language shift across immigrant generations, while highlighting the importance of the family in determining whether the heritage language continues to be transmitted to children (Li, 1994; Tuominen, 1999; Luykx, 2005). In his seminal work *Reversing Language Shift*, Fishman (1991) underscored the pivotal role of the intimate family sphere in shaping language outcomes, arguing that intergenerational transmission within the home is fundamental to language maintenance. This focus on the family provided an important foundation for the subsequent development of Family Language Policy as an interdisciplinary field concerned with how language is negotiated, managed, and transmitted within family life (Lomeu Gomes, 2019). FLP bridges the domains of child language acquisition, early second language learning, bilingualism, and language policy (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; King & Fogle, 2006; Tannenbaum, 2012). The FLP framework provides researchers with conceptual tools to examine intergenerational communication patterns and to explore how parents and children co-construct language practices and linguistic ideologies within the home. The term *Family Language Policy* was originally coined by Luykx (2003) in her study of bilingual Aymara households.

Early conceptualisations of FLP focused primarily on explicit and overt planning related to language use within the home, particularly among family members. As King, Fogle and Logan-Terry (2008, p. 907) defined it, FLP was initially understood as "*explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members*." The emphasis was placed on the decision-making processes in which families engage and their relationship to children's language-learning outcomes. These early models were heavily grounded in Spolsky's tripartite model of language policy (see section 2.3.).

As empirical studies uncovered the limitations of focusing solely on explicit planning,

researchers increasingly turned their attention to covert mechanisms, identity performances, and the lived experiences of multilingual families. More recent conceptualisations of FLP have therefore moved beyond overt planning to encompass implicit and covert language practices, including literacy practices (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013). Contemporary perspectives highlight the importance of meaning-making, lived experiences, individual agency, and identity constructions, particularly in the context of transnational families (Zhu & Li, 2016; King & Lanza, 2019; Li & Zhu, 2019; Purkarthofer & Steien, 2019; Smith-Christmas, 2019). As King and Fogle (2013, p. 172) note, "FLP addresses child language learning and use as functions of parental ideologies, decision-making and strategies concerning languages and literacies, as well as the broader social and cultural context of family life."

Given the relatively short history of the field and the diversity of approaches adopted in FLP research, it is important to clarify the working definitions that guide the present study. In this dissertation, **family** is seen "as a social institution governed by rigid moral conventions to an idea of family and wider personal life as diverse sets of practices" (Chambers, 2012, p. 33). Furthermore, the study defines **FLP** as the combination of language management, language practices, and language ideologies within the broader social and cultural context of family life, with particular emphasis on internal and external family factors. The main conceptual framework of the study is based on Spolsky's tripartite model, complemented by internal and external factors identified in subsequent empirical research that has extended and refined the original model.

The following subsections further clarify two concepts that are particularly relevant to the present study: heritage languages and their maintenance, and language ideologies in Family Language Policy.

2.2.1. Heritage Languages and Heritage Language Maintenance

Heritage language (HL) is the family or community language of speakers from ethnolinguistic minority backgrounds (Montrul, 2010). Although the term is widely used, its meaning is not entirely uniform across the literature. Little (2018) approaches heritage language primarily from the perspective of intergenerational transmission within the family and defines it as a language that is passed through the family across generations. In this respect, heritage language is closely linked not only to communication but also to

identity, belonging, emotional attachment, and cultural continuity. Little (2018) also emphasises that the meaning attached to the heritage language may differ between parents and children, and that the language may therefore become a site of negotiation within the family rather than a straightforward inheritance.

Polinsky (2018) adopts a more specifically linguistic definition and describes heritage speakers as simultaneous or sequential bilinguals whose weaker language corresponds to the minority language of the society, while their stronger language is typically the dominant societal language. Heritage speakers typically acquire the heritage language naturally in childhood, most often in the home, but may later become more dominant in the majority language as their exposure to schooling, peers, and wider society increases. Their proficiency in the heritage language may therefore vary considerably, both across individuals and across different stages of life. Polinsky (2018) stresses that heritage language development should not be understood in terms of deficiency. Heritage grammars may differ from the language of first-generation speakers or homeland speakers, but they remain internally systematic linguistic systems.

A central issue in heritage language maintenance concerns the amount and quality of exposure as well as opportunities for language use. Polinsky (2018) emphasises that continued input in the home language is especially important once children enter schooling in the dominant societal language. However, input alone is not sufficient: opportunities for children to actively use the heritage language are also important, and the balance between input and output may influence later proficiency. Heritage language development is therefore shaped by both family language practices and the broader sociolinguistic environment in which children grow up.

Little (2018) similarly shows that families draw on a wide range of resources to support heritage language development, including books, digital media, community schools, playgroups, contact with relatives, and visits to the country where the heritage language is spoken. At the same time, heritage language maintenance may be affected by competing pressures from the majority language, particularly through schooling and peer interaction. Her study also demonstrates that families may differ considerably in the meanings they attach to heritage language maintenance: for some, it is closely tied to identity and emotional well-being, while for others it is valued for pragmatic reasons such as family communication, education, mobility, or future employment.

These perspectives are particularly relevant to the present study, which examines Hungarian as a heritage language in an English-dominant environment. The present study

approaches heritage language maintenance as a dynamic process involving family language practices, parental ideologies and management strategies, child agency, language-related activities, transnational ties, schooling, and wider societal influences. Accordingly, the Hungarian families examined in this dissertation can be understood as operating within the same tension identified by Little (2018) and Polinsky (2018): the heritage language is maintained primarily through family and community practices, while English becomes increasingly dominant through schooling and participation in the wider society.

2.2.2. Language Ideologies in Family Language Policy

Language ideologies are not simply beliefs or attitudes about language but socially situated representations of languages and their use. Woolard (2020) describes language ideologies as morally and politically loaded representations of the nature, structure, and use of languages in the social world. These ideologies may be expressed explicitly through beliefs and evaluations, but they may also be reflected implicitly in everyday practices and institutional arrangements. Importantly, language ideologies have consequences for language use, as they assign different values to languages and language varieties and connect them to wider social meanings, including identity, education, and social and economic opportunities.

Within Family Language Policy, language ideologies are particularly important because they influence how parents view different languages, which languages they consider important for their children, and what forms of language use and language maintenance they attempt to promote within the family. Language ideologies therefore provide an important link between broader social expectations and everyday family language decisions.

Curdt-Christiansen (2009) places language ideology at the centre of Family Language Policy and conceptualises parental beliefs, aspirations, and expectations as forms of invisible language planning that may subsequently be translated into visible language interventions and practices. In her study of Chinese immigrant families in Quebec, these ideological orientations shaped decisions concerning the maintenance and development of Chinese, English, and French. These ideologies were closely related to the perceived social, political, cultural, and economic value of the different languages and to parents'

expectations concerning their children's future education and social mobility.

Importantly, Curdt-Christiansen (2009) argues that language ideologies are not formed independently of the wider social context. They are shaped by macro-level political, sociocultural, economic, and sociolinguistic conditions, as well as by micro-level factors such as parental education, migration and language experiences, home literacy environments, expectations, and knowledge of bilingualism. These factors interact with language intervention and everyday language practices, meaning that parental beliefs do not necessarily translate directly into actual language use. This distinction is particularly important in FLP research, where positive attitudes towards a heritage language may coexist with limited opportunities or inconsistent practices in everyday family life. A similar distinction is evident in Flih's (2024) study of Algerian-Arabic speakers in France, where positive attitudes towards the heritage language coexisted with generational shifts towards greater use and proficiency in the dominant societal language, highlighting that favourable attitudes alone do not necessarily ensure heritage language maintenance.

In the present study, language ideologies are treated as one of the core elements of FLP, alongside practices and management strategies and in interaction with broader internal and external factors.

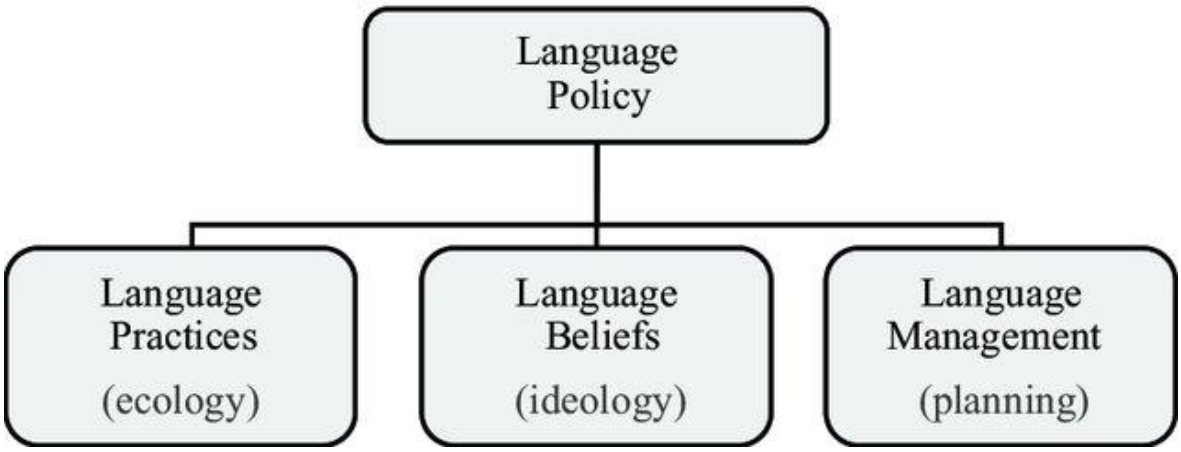
The following section presents the theoretical framework of the study, first outlining the elements of Spolsky's model and their applications in FLP, followed by a discussion of subsequent research that has extended and modified the model. These elements are then integrated into the conceptual framework used in the present study, drawing on Curdt-Christiansen's (2009) work on language ideologies and Family Language Policy as well as later developments in FLP research.

2.3. Spolsky's Tripartite Model

Spolsky's tripartite model (2004) has become one of the most influential frameworks in sociolinguistics and language policy research, partly because of its conceptual flexibility and applicability across different levels and domains of social life. Its interdisciplinary scope makes it particularly valuable for examining perceived, experienced, negotiated, and often contradictory language use in multilingual and transnational settings. Spolsky's initial model provided a relatively general framework. However, in 2021, he refined it into a multi-level framework that explains beliefs, practices, and management across the

family, community, institutional, and state levels, and how these levels relate to one another. At the core of Spolsky's conceptualisation of language policy are three interconnected elements: language practices, language ideologies, and language management (Spolsky, 2004, 2012) (see Figure 2). These three components are in constant interplay, shaping how languages are used, maintained, and shifted within communities in ways that are recursive and context-dependent (Fülöp et al., 2025), with each component shaping and being shaped by the others over time. For example, ideological beliefs can be the driving force behind management efforts, which may then affect language practices; however, shifts in actual practices can, in turn, challenge or reshape existing ideologies or planned management strategies, particularly in multilingual and transnational contexts. The model was not designed to prescribe specific language policy measures; the initial aim was to provide a descriptive framework that is suitable to capture the complex interaction of language practices (i.e., actual language use), language ideologies (i.e., ideological beliefs), and language management (i.e., planning processes) across various social domains.

Figure 2. Spolsky's Tripartite Model of Language Policy



Within the tripartite model, language **ideologies** represent the beliefs, values, and attitudes individuals and communities hold about language(s). These ideologies influence perceptions of linguistic prestige, utility, or identity, and they often shape how languages are used or maintained in specific contexts (Spolsky 2004, 2012). For instance, ideologies may be instrumental, emphasising perceived economic or educational benefits; identity-based, grounded in cultural or ethnic affiliation; or affective, linked to emotional or

familial attachment (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; King & Fogle, 2013; Piller, 2001). Ideologies do not always translate into practices; for example, minority groups may hold very positive attitudes towards their heritage languages while their actual language use within the family and community remains limited (Flih, 2024). As Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020) argue, ideologies serve as fundamental forces that influence language transmission, policy formation, and strategic choices in both private and institutional spheres.

Language **management** refers to explicit efforts to influence or regulate language use through planning, intervention, or instruction (Spolsky, 2004; Johnson, 2013). The language manager may be the state, through constitutions or language laws; institutions making decisions about the official working language or medium of instruction; or parents attempting to persuade their children to use the heritage language. Such efforts may include establishing language-use rules, designing curricula, or providing guidance aimed at promoting or restricting particular languages (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014). The effectiveness of such management efforts often depends on how they align with prevailing ideologies and on the availability of supportive resources. Moreover, management strategies may vary in rigidity or flexibility and are often shaped by emotional, temporal, or institutional constraints (Lanza & Lomeu Gomes, 2020; Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020).

Language **practices** are understood in Spolsky's model as the actual, observable use of language(s) in everyday interactions. These practices reflect both intentional and habitual choices influenced by factors such as identity, environment, and socialisation (Spolsky, 2004; De Houwer, 2013). While practices may align with ideological beliefs or management planning, they often evolve independently and can therefore diverge considerably from institutional intentions. For example, speakers might adopt a dominant societal language in peer interactions and in institutional settings, even though home management efforts promote the use of a heritage language. Such patterns reveal the dynamic nature of language practices, which are shaped by factors such as institutional exposure, emotional context, and individual agency, especially among children (Smith-Christmas, 2017).

Originally developed to describe state-level language policy, Spolsky's tripartite model has proved adaptable across different domains and scales. At the macro level, it has been used to examine the relationship between national language policy, sociolinguistic composition, and state–community dynamics (Lambert, 1999; Spolsky,

2004), including in contexts such as Iceland and Malaysia (Albury, 2015; Habuan, 2018), as well as in community and minority settings (Laihonen et al., 2025). At the family and individual levels, FLP studies have operationalised the three components to examine parental management, language ideologies, home language practices, and speaker agency (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; Li & Zhu, 2019; Flih, 2024).

In his later work, Spolsky (2021) acknowledges the model's applicability to a wider range of settings, from supranational institutions to families, while placing greater emphasis on the individual as a key site of language policy. As a broad conceptual framework, the model is useful, but at the family level it remains too general to capture how language decisions and routines unfold in everyday interaction. FLP research therefore builds on Spolsky's model by incorporating more fine-grained conceptual tools for analysing everyday language management, family roles, and interactions within the home.

This reconceptualisation strengthens the model's relevance to Family Language Policy research, a rapidly developing field at the intersection of sociolinguistics, migration studies, and language policy. The model can be applied at different levels: the micro level (individual and family), the meso level (institutional), and the macro level (societal and state), which is particularly useful when the family as a primary social domain is examined in relation to multiple levels of influence. Moreover, its interdisciplinary openness makes it an effective framework for exploring the complexity of linguistic decisions, strategies, and ideologies within the family.

As reviews (e.g., Soler, 2023) suggest, this shift represents a significant development from earlier versions of the model, aligning with recent sociolinguistic trends that also highlight speaker agency and subjectivity. Spolsky's inclusion of new domains, such as neighbourhoods, workplaces, health care, military institutions, and even economic pressures such as neoliberalism, further demonstrates the model's capacity to capture the multilayered and dynamic nature of language policy processes. This broader perspective also informs the present study, in which Family Language Policy is examined in relation to multiple levels and sources of influence.

2.4. Shortcomings of the Model

Following theoretical critiques and advances in empirical and methodological research, recent studies have increasingly focused on the intimate domain in which language policy

is enacted in everyday life. As a dynamic space where language ideologies, practices, and management strategies intersect, the family household offers a particularly insightful context for understanding how language policy is lived, negotiated, and enacted in social practice. With this more focused analytical perspective, FLP can be examined through Spolsky's core dimensions (ideologies, practices, and management) together with later extensions identified in the literature (e.g., children's agency, institutional pressures, emotional attitudes, neoliberal thinking).

Critical and discursive approaches emphasise lived experience, ideology, and power, complementing and challenging more structural or descriptive models (Johnson, 2013; Heller, 2007; Barakos & Unger, 2016). These approaches also draw attention to the complex interplay between internal and external factors. In this context, internal factors typically refer to families' ideologies, cross-border ties, and home culture, while external factors encompass institutional policies, societal ideologies, and economic constraints (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022). Scholars have increasingly argued that, to fully capture the complexity of language policy, models must integrate critical perspectives that account for agency (Kheirkhah, 2016; Smith-Christmas, 2019), resistance (Paugh, 2005; Rindstedt & Aronsson, 2002; Gafaranga, 2010), and institutional power dynamics (Johnson, 2013; Heller, 2007; Barakos & Unger, 2016).

In addition to methodological limitations, Schwartz (2010) identifies conceptual gaps in the model's ability to account for how various planning processes are shaped by and interact with different internal and external factors. The model does not provide a satisfactory explanation of the mechanisms through which these forces interact or how they influence language management efforts, ideologies, or language use in everyday life. This limitation is particularly significant in complex multilingual settings, such as migrant contexts, where ideologies, emotional factors, institutional expectations, and sociopolitical pressures are in constant negotiation. Building on this point, Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020) show that Family Language Policy emerges at the intersection of internal factors (emotion, identity, family culture and tradition, parental impact belief, and child agency) and external factors (policy regimes, sociocultural norms, economic constraints, and the sociolinguistic market). They criticise broad models for underspecifying *how* these layers interact in practice. Lomeu Gomes (2019) argues that FLP should adopt a critical lens that foregrounds power, race, class, gender, and material conditions; otherwise, structurally or descriptively oriented models risk naturalising inequality by leaving institutional and political-economic dimensions

implicit.

Building on these critical voices and the findings of empirical research, several factors have been proposed to account for the mechanisms of FLP. Section 2.5 discusses this new development, while Section 2.6 proposes an integrated model that serves as the main framework of the present study.

2.5. Extensions in FLP Research

2.5.1. From Spolsky's Tripartite Model to Expanded FLP Frameworks

Building on these limitations, subsequent FLP research has developed more fine-grained approaches to the relationship between language ideologies, practices, and management. Schwartz (2010) and Ren and Hu (2013), for example, argue that parental ideologies do not always translate straightforwardly into actual practices, while Curdt-Christiansen (2014) highlights the need for greater clarity in the analysis of language management strategies within households. In response to these gaps, literacy practices have been increasingly integrated into language management (Curdt-Christiansen & La Morgia, 2018; Stavans, 2012), positioning literacy as a bridge between ideology and practice. Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020) add that day-to-day management is contingent and negotiated through family roles, routines, and opportunities across domains and therefore requires more fine-grained analytical tools than the tripartite model alone can provide. Echoing this, Lomeu Gomes (2019) calls for approaches that capture agency and resistance in interaction, including children's agency; account for mobility and translanguaging practices; and extend beyond self-report to include discursive analyses and the digital ecologies that mediate family life.

Empirical FLP research has further demonstrated that the relationship between ideologies, practices, and management is often fragmented, dynamic, and non-linear. Hollebeke et al. (2022), for example, found strong correlations between language ideologies and practices but considerably weaker connections between ideologies and management strategies, suggesting that positive beliefs about bilingualism do not necessarily translate into consistent language management or actual language use. Building on this, Hollebeke (2023) further demonstrated through longitudinal analysis that the three components may function relatively independently over time, challenging the assumption of a stable and internally coherent language policy system. These findings

suggest that FLP should be understood as fluid, context-sensitive, and continuously negotiated rather than as a fixed or unified structure.

Another important development concerns the growing emphasis on child agency within FLP research. Early FLP studies often conceptualised language transmission as largely parent-driven; however, more recent research has shown that children actively participate in shaping family language practices. Studies on child agency demonstrate that children may resist, negotiate, or reshape parental language policies through their own linguistic preferences, peer interactions, and everyday communicative choices (Gafaranga, 2010; Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2015; Smith-Christmas, 2019). Children are therefore not passive recipients of language socialisation but influential actors whose decisions may reinforce or undermine heritage language maintenance efforts. This shift towards recognising child agency has also drawn attention to the emotional and relational dimensions of FLP. Hatoss (2024), for instance, argues that Family Language Policy is closely connected to parental wellbeing, emotional bonds, anxieties, and intergenerational relationships. From this perspective, language policy is not merely a rational or strategic process but also an affective one shaped by emotional investments and relational dynamics within the family.

In addition to agency and emotionality, scholars have increasingly emphasised the importance of external and institutional influences that extend beyond the household. While Spolsky's model was originally designed to be applicable across multiple domains, FLP research has often focused predominantly on internal family processes. More recent studies, however, stress that family language practices are deeply embedded in broader sociopolitical and institutional contexts. Educational institutions, peer networks, migration policies, and digital media environments all shape the possibilities and constraints of heritage language maintenance (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022; Fülöp et al., 2025). External pressures may either support or weaken parental management strategies, particularly in contexts where the societal language dominates schooling, media consumption, and social integration. These findings highlight that FLP cannot be fully understood without considering the interaction between family-level practices and wider societal structures.

Further ideological reconceptualisations within FLP research have increasingly foregrounded the role of neoliberal discourse and the commodification of languages. Contemporary studies argue that languages are often evaluated not only in terms of identity or emotional attachment, but also according to their perceived economic value

and social utility (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Stavans & Jessner, 2023). Within this neoliberal framework, languages become forms of symbolic and economic capital that may provide educational, professional, or transnational advantages. As a result, global languages such as English often gain prestige at the expense of heritage languages, influencing parental language choices and children's attitudes towards bilingualism. This shift highlights how FLP may also function as a strategic investment in future mobility and marketability, alongside its role in cultural and linguistic continuity.

Overall, these developments demonstrate that although Spolsky's tripartite model remains foundational within FLP research, multilingual family life requires a more dynamic and multidimensional framework. Research has shown that FLP is shaped not only by ideologies, practices, and management but also by agency, emotional relationships, institutional pressures, sociopolitical conditions, and neoliberal value systems. Consequently, recent FLP scholarship increasingly conceptualises language policy as fluid, relational, and embedded within wider social, political, and economic structures.

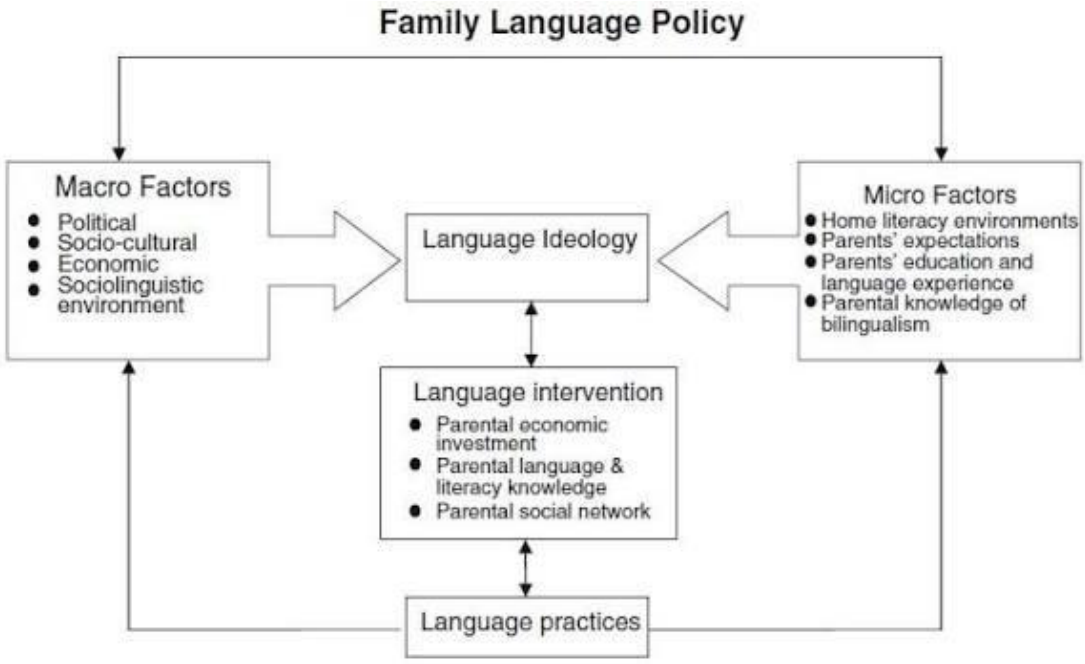
2.5.2. Internal and External Factors in FLP Research

While earlier studies have examined individual aspects influencing parental beliefs and practices—ranging from the commodification of languages (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Stavans & Jessner, 2023; Berardi-Wiltshire, 2017) to the divergence between positive ideologies and actual language practices due to practical challenges or children's resistance (Kopeliovich, 2010; Schwartz, 2008, 2010)—these investigations were often conducted in isolation. Research by De Houwer (1999) further highlights the gap between overt and covert beliefs, suggesting that language maintenance behaviours are frequently shaped by subconscious attitudes rather than explicitly stated beliefs. Additional contributions, including Curdt-Christiansen and Huang's (2020) theorisation of language commodification within neoliberal frameworks and Lanza's (2020) analysis of media influence, have expanded the scope of inquiry.

However, it was Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020) who synthesised these strands of research into a coherent analytical framework, categorising the influences on FLP into internal and external factors (see Figure 3). Thus, this section draws on their model, which identifies a range of internal and external factors that influence language management,

ideologies, and practices. In the present study, this fundamental model is extended to incorporate additional internal and external factors identified in more recent research, providing a more comprehensive and updated understanding of the complexities associated with FLP in transnational families.

Figure 3. Curdt-Christiansen's Family Language Policy model



Internal factors

Internal factors play a central role in shaping FLP, as they reflect the beliefs, identities, routines, and interactions within multilingual families. These internal dynamics are often influenced by emotional attachments, cultural practices, parental beliefs, and children's active involvement in family language processes, as noted by Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020). Based on this framework, this section explores the internal factors that shape FLP within multilingual families.

Emotional connections to language reinforce intergenerational bonding. Pavlenko (2004, 2012) highlights how language is linked to emotional development through two key processes: perceptual-emotional development and linguistic affective conditioning. Words and expressions in a child's primary language acquire deep personal meanings

associated with love, fear, or comfort. Home language use can foster emotional intimacy and enable meaningful communication across generations, as also noted by De Houwer (1999, 2013) and Tannenbaum (2012). A similar affective dimension emerges in Szabó-Törpényi's (2013) study of Hungarian speakers in France, where Hungarian is associated not only with communication but also with emotional and relational functions within the family. Thus, the use or loss of the HL can have profound emotional consequences for both parents and children, as echoed in the work of Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020).

Identity construction is another internal factor, with the HL often serving as a symbolic anchor for family heritage and ethnolinguistic roots, as noted by Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020). Parents often regard HL as the key to transmitting cultural identity, while children may negotiate their identities based on personal and social contexts. Language use within the family may indicate loyalty, differentiation, or inclusion.

The **cultural** factor refers to the norms, values, and traditions that parents hope to preserve through HL use. Language is seen as the medium through which cultural knowledge, rituals, storytelling, and moral codes are passed down (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014). However, differences in cultural interpretations between parents and children, or between generations, can lead to conflicts and potentially weaken HL use over time (Little, 2022). These intergenerational dynamics highlight that bilingualism is not only a linguistic phenomenon (Eisenchlas & Schalley, 2020 p. 20) but also a deeply cultural one (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020).

Parental impact beliefs refer to parents' perceptions of their capability to raise bilingual children. These beliefs are influenced by personal experiences, migration history, and awareness of bilingual development (De Houwer, 1999; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). Parents who believe strongly in their ability to make a difference are more likely to actively engage in HL promotion, whereas those who doubt their efficacy may adopt a more passive approach, as highlighted by Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020).

Language transmission used to be seen as unidirectional, yet **children** are not passive recipients of language; rather, they are active participants in shaping FLP. They may resist or negotiate parental language practices based on peer influence, school culture, and their own linguistic preferences (Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2015; Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022). Their language preferences and social interactions, particularly with peers and institutions, can either reinforce or challenge parental strategies. For example, children may deliberately respond in English to Hungarian-speaking parents, resisting HL norms

at home (Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2015), or use code-mixing to establish hybrid identities (Zhu & Li, 2016).

External factors

This section explores the external factors that shape FLP, building on the framework proposed by Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020). As with the internal factors, their model identifies four main external domains—sociocultural, political, economic, and sociolinguistic—which influence ideologies, practices, and management. These domains are often closely interconnected and show how family-level decisions are shaped by wider societal structures, expectations, and pressures.

Sociocultural factors refer to cultural, religious, and community-based domains that shape family perceptions and practices around HL maintenance. These are often rooted in collective rituals, ethnic affiliations, and participation in cultural or religious life. On the one hand, families may reinforce HL use through engagement in religious events, community celebrations, and cultural traditions that transmit values across generations. As Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020) argue, sustaining sociocultural continuity is a central motivation behind HL maintenance, especially when language is viewed as an integral element in preserving traditions and values. On the other hand, supportive structures at the community levels, such as weekend schools, further enhance HL use by fostering peer interaction, shared cultural learning spaces, and community involvement (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022; Tamleh et al., 2022). In multicultural contexts, families may feel supported in their HL practices, whereas assimilationist environments may discourage HL use through subtle or overt pressure (Kheirkhah, 2016; King & Lanza, 2019). These messages are internalised by both parents and children and influence their language behaviour and sense of linguistic legitimacy.

The **political** factors refer to macro-level policy environments, including educational, migratory, and citizenship structures, that shape the options and constraints for HL maintenance. National language policies and institutional attitudes toward multilingualism have a profound impact on how families experience linguistic inclusion or marginalisation. In countries with monolingual education systems, families may find it challenging to maintain HLs due to the lack of institutional recognition or resources (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Hollebeke et al., 2022; Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022). National ideologies and dominant discourses about language hierarchies also influence family decisions. Parents may be reluctant to promote HLs if they are socially positioned as less valuable in the public sphere (Li et al., 2022). Migration-related

developments—such as Brexit or changes to residency requirements—may also alter families' long-term planning and the perceived importance of HL transmission (Hirsch & Lee, 2018; Hatoss, 2024). Although Brexit is mentioned as a factor shaping migration decisions, its specific consequences for language use or Family Language Policy remain underexplored in the literature. Nonetheless, it is plausible that the uncertainty following the UK's departure from the EU may have affected families' motivations regarding long-term planning and heritage language maintenance. These dynamics highlight how political structures intersect with language ideologies and shape both access and motivation for HL investment.

Economic circumstances influence both material access to HL resources and the symbolic value attributed to languages. A family's socioeconomic status (SES)—including their education level, income, and employment—shapes how easily they can support their children's heritage language (HL) learning, for example by providing them with books, private lessons, or extracurricular activities (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Lomeu Gomes, 2019). Higher SES may provide families with greater access to resources that support deliberate language planning and HL-related activities. Conversely, lower SES families (e.g., working-class families) may lack time or financial capacity for HL-related activities. Work-related time constraints and financial limitations can reduce language input and opportunities for HL engagement.

Sociolinguistic factors refer to the position of HLs within the host society's linguistic environment. Language prestige, opportunities for public use, and the dominance of the societal language all shape FLP. In English-dominant contexts, HLs may be perceived as less useful or prestigious (King & Lanza, 2019; Kheirkhah, 2016). This perception affects both parental motivation and children's language choices. Children and adolescents may adopt the societal language in peer settings, school, or media consumption, even when HLs are spoken at home.

While the distinction between internal and external factors in Family Language Policy (FLP), as outlined by Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020), provides a clear and systematic framework, it is important to recognise that these categories are closely connected and often overlap in real life. The same scholars also highlight that language practices within the home are influenced by different layers of social context: the micro level of family choices and relationships, the meso level of community support, and the macro level of societal norms and policies. Internal elements are shaped and sometimes challenged by broader social and political environments. At the same time, families

respond to external pressures through their own strategies, emotions, and everyday decisions. Emotional aspects such as motivation, well-being, and relationships between generations play a key role in supporting what De Houwer (2020) calls *harmonious bilingualism*. This suggests that maintaining the HL is not just about communication, but also about preserving identity and family unity.

As migration patterns diversify and family life becomes increasingly shaped by globalisation, digital media, and transnational mobility, scholars have begun to identify factors that go beyond the original model. Recent research has highlighted issues such as the timing of migration, digital communication, and neoliberal linguistic ideologies as important influences not fully captured in earlier frameworks.

Building on this dynamic and interdependent model, the present study integrates not only the core domains originally proposed but also several additional factors that have gained relevance in recent FLP research. The original framework did not fully address dimensions such as families' transnational migration goals or the influence of digital media, both of which are relevant to contemporary transnational family contexts. Their inclusion reflects the growing complexity of multilingual parenting in increasingly globalised, digitally mediated, and ideologically diverse environments. The following section explores these emerging factors in detail, offering a more comprehensive understanding of the influences that shape language management, ideologies, and practices in transnational Hungarian families in the UK.

Additional internal and external factors

Additional internal factors not originally included in the model but shown to be significant in recent research include **sibling dynamics and birth order**. Older siblings tend to receive more HL input and act as mediators between parents and younger siblings who may be more exposed to the dominant societal language (Tamleh et al., 2022; Lomeu Gomes, 2019). However, the increasing influence of the dominant societal language among younger children may reduce HL use over time. The complex interplay between siblings' language preferences and parental language strategies can significantly alter FLP trajectories (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020).

Parental language input—the quantity, consistency, and quality of HL exposure—refers to the actual use and frequency of HL in daily routines. Language use in daily routines, conversations, and rituals, together with language-use strategies (e.g., one-parent-one-language), influences children's linguistic development and identity. As De

Houwer (1999) and Lanza (1997/2004) suggest, these practices are crucial to successful HL transmission. This is echoed in the work of Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020), who also emphasise the decisive role of input as a primary linguistic resource available to children.

Family interaction patterns—such as turn-taking, code-switching, and digital communication—further influence how language is used and maintained (Kheirkhah, 2016). These conversational dynamics structure children's daily language experiences and reflect the linguistic norms of the household. Families that foster rich and diverse HL interactions through storytelling, shared activities, and emotional conversations are more likely to maintain HL use across generations (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). From a Digital Family Language Policy (Digital FLP) perspective, **digital platforms** have further expanded the domains in which the HL can be practised, extending family language practices beyond the physical boundaries of the home. Palviainen (2020a), for example, shows how video-mediated communication can create virtual spaces for multilingual family interaction, allowing geographically dispersed family members to participate in everyday linguistic and emotional practices. Such digitally mediated communication may therefore provide opportunities not only for HL exposure but also for active language use and the maintenance of transnational family relationships. Lanza (2020) similarly draws attention to digital spaces as important sites of contemporary FLP, where language ideologies, identities, and language-management practices may be negotiated.

Finally, within FLP research, **neoliberal linguistic ideologies** have increasingly positioned languages as commodities. This perspective foregrounds economic rationalism in family language practices and influences both parental educational choices and everyday language use at home (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). As a result, languages may be viewed as 'currencies' with different 'exchange rates' in the linguistic market, shaping how families prioritise different linguistic resources (Stavans & Jessner, 2023). Parents may prioritise languages like English due to their global market value, often at the expense of HL like Hungarian. This trend reframes FLP as a strategic, future-oriented investment rather than a culturally or emotionally motivated practice (Li et al., 2022). Parents may reduce HL input if they perceive it as lacking symbolic or economic value (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020).

In neoliberal contexts, identity can become strategic, shaped by global mobility and economic rationales (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Stavans & Jessner, 2023). This

can create tensions when family members hold differing views on the value and relevance of HLs (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Zhu, 2008). As Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020) argue, children may internalise dominant societal discourses, viewing global languages like English as more desirable, thereby resisting HL use even in emotionally close family contexts. Families may invest in languages perceived to yield economic returns and deprioritise HLs that are seen as symbolically rich but economically less useful (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Hollebeke et al., 2022). These patterns reflect a cost–benefit approach, in which families weigh the potential advantages of maintaining a language against the effort, time, and resources required to do so. In other words, such considerations may lead parents to evaluate which language or languages are most likely to provide their children with future educational and economic advantages.

In summary, the internal factors that shape FLP are complex and closely interrelated. They demonstrate how emotions, culture, beliefs, and family relationships influence language use at home. A detailed examination of these factors helps us understand how families manage bilingual upbringing in everyday life.

In addition to the four domains outlined above by Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020), further factors have emerged in recent research that may provide a more nuanced perspective on the external influences shaping FLP.

Another underlying factor, closely connected to sociocultural influences yet having a distinct impact, is **transnational ties**, which can either reinforce or complicate FLP depending on families' migration objectives. Those who are planning to return to their country of origin may invest more heavily in HL learning, while others settling long-term may shift focus (Hirsch & Kayam, 2021). In this way, language becomes a central tool for expressing belonging and maintaining cultural identity (Stavans, 2012; Hollebeke et al., 2022).

Another relevant factor is **the timing of migration**, which may play an important role in HL maintenance. Families who migrate before or shortly after the birth of their children often face greater challenges in sustaining HL use, especially when early language socialisation occurs in the societal language. In contrast, children who migrate at older ages may already possess stronger HL foundations and emotional bonds with the language (Hirsch & Lee, 2018). The relevance of migration timing may also be shaped by political developments such as Brexit, which can introduce uncertainty into families' longer-term migration and language-related plans (Hollebeke et al., 2022).

Furthermore, **digital communication** introduces both opportunities and challenges.

Online platforms such as YouTube or messaging apps may offer HL exposure, but often within hybrid or code-switched forms that blur linguistic boundaries (Pride, Prejudice and Pragmatism Project, 2023; Hollebeke et al., 2022). These shifting norms affect both the visibility of HLs and users' emotional attachment to them. Through apps, YouTube, and online classes, children can connect with HL communities and maintain linguistic contact beyond the home (Tamleh et al., 2022). However, the dominance of English-language media can reduce exposure to the HL unless families intentionally provide access to content that is rich in HL use.

Still within the realm of social media, studies by Porter et al. (2018) and Piller and Gerber (2018) have highlighted how social media platforms create new domains of language use and influence parents' perceptions of linguistic norms and aspirations. The phenomenon of **sharenting**—parents publicly sharing their children's linguistic performances online—has also been shown to affect how language is performed and valued in the family context (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017).

To sum up, the internal and external factors that shape Family Language Policy are closely interconnected and in constant interplay with one another. Both the original framework and the newly integrated factors provide a nuanced lens for understanding the complexity of FLP. Together, the original and additional factors form a robust analytical framework through which the forthcoming analysis of Hungarian transnational families' language practices will be interpreted.

The framework developed by Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020) provides a useful basis for understanding the main areas that affect how families conceptualise and manage language use at the micro level. However, this chapter has shown that multilingual family life is also shaped by additional influences identified in more recent FLP research. These include sibling relationships, migration timing, patterns of digital media use, long-term family goals, and perceptions of the social and economic value of different languages. By adding these recent factors to the original model, the present study provides a more nuanced understanding of how families negotiate heritage language maintenance in the context of everyday challenges. This extended framework is therefore particularly suited to examining how Hungarian transnational families in the UK navigate bilingual upbringing and heritage language maintenance within the complex interplay of family-level and wider contextual influences.

2.6. Towards an Integrated and Modified Model of FLP

This section proposes an integrated, revised FLP framework based on Spolsky's tripartite model of ideologies, practices, and management. These three dimensions remain at the core of the present study and provide the principal analytical structure through which bilingual family life is examined. However, rather than treating ideologies, management, and practices as separate or static components, the framework conceptualises them as dynamically interconnected and continuously shaped by a range of internal and external influences. Building on the framework proposed by Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020), the present study incorporates internal and external factors that have been associated with Family Language Policy processes. From this perspective, language ideologies, management strategies, and language practices emerge through the continuous interaction between family-level dynamics and broader social environments.

Although Section 2.5 reviewed a wider range of influences on Family Language Policy, not all of these are represented as independent dimensions within the proposed framework. The purpose of the model is not to reproduce every factor discussed in the literature, but to identify those constructs that are both theoretically relevant and operationalised within the present study. Several broader dimensions, including emotional attachment, language commodification, neoliberal language ideologies, and transnational belonging, are therefore treated as contextual influences that contribute to the interpretation of language ideologies, management, and practices. These dimensions are also explored through the qualitative interview component, allowing the study to capture aspects of Family Language Policy that are difficult to measure through survey instruments alone.

The resulting framework is organised around three interconnected sets of dimensions and influences.

At the centre of the framework are Spolsky's three core dimensions. Language ideologies refer to parental beliefs, values, and perceptions regarding multilingualism, bilingual upbringing, and the role of the heritage language in children's development and future opportunities (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; King & Fogle, 2013; Piller, 2001). Language management refers to explicit or implicit attempts to influence language use and language development, including language-related rules, organised activities, literacy practices, and participation in heritage language education (King et al., 2008; Curdt-

Christiansen, 2014). Language practices refer to the actual patterns of language use in everyday family interactions, including parent–child communication, language choice across domains, and routine language behaviours (Spolsky, 2004; De Houwer, 2014).

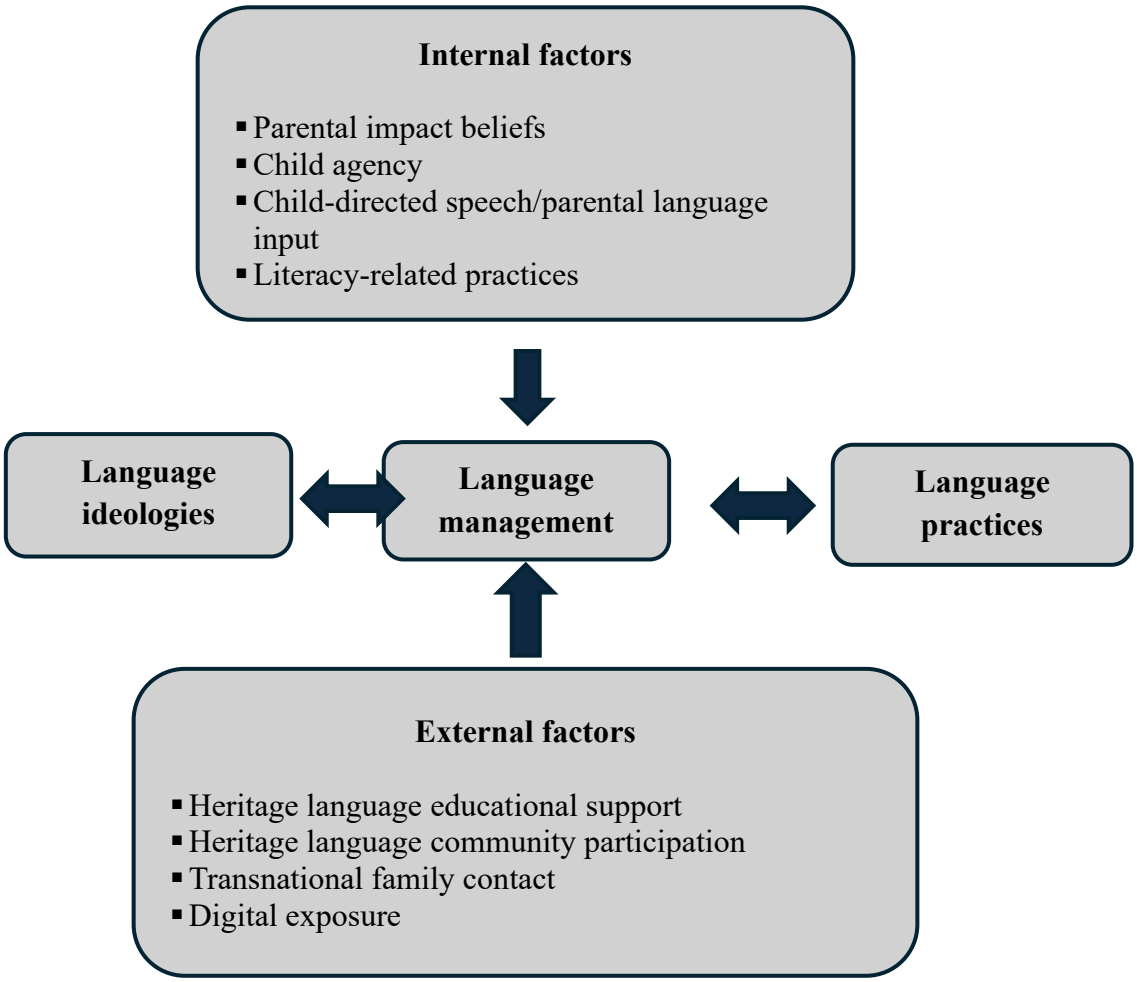
The framework further incorporates a set of **internal factors** associated with Family Language Policy processes. These include parental impact beliefs, child agency, child-directed speech, parental language input, and literacy-related practices. Previous research has shown that these factors are associated with how parents and children negotiate language use within the family and with patterns of heritage language transmission across generations (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2015; Smith-Christmas, 2019).

In addition, the framework includes several external influences that shape the broader context of Family Language Policy. These comprise heritage language educational support, heritage language community participation, transnational family contact, and digital exposure. Such factors may either support or constrain heritage language maintenance by influencing language-related opportunities, resources, and social expectations (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022; Hollebeke et al., 2022; Tamleh et al., 2022).

Demographic and migration-related variables (e.g., child age, parental education, length of residence in the UK, and family composition) were collected as background variables and examined as potential correlates of Family Language Policy and heritage language maintenance; however, they are not conceptualised as core dimensions of the proposed FLP framework.

The resulting framework conceptualises Family Language Policy as a dynamic process emerging from the interaction between language ideologies, language management, and language practices, all of which are shaped by internal family dynamics and broader social influences. Figure 4 summarises the proposed model and illustrates the relationships among the dimensions examined in the present study.

Figure 4. Proposed Extended Family Language Policy Framework for the Present Study



Overall, the integrated framework serves as the analytical lens of the present study. Combining Spolsky's tripartite structure with internal and external factors allows for a more comprehensive understanding of how Hungarian transnational families in the United Kingdom negotiate bilingual upbringing and heritage language maintenance.

CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Questions and Hypotheses

The study draws on the broader FLP framework and previous research on Family Language Policy and multilingual language socialisation (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; King & Fogle, 2006). More specifically, the research examines how family language use is negotiated within bilingual Hungarian–English households in the United Kingdom, focusing on the interaction between parental ideologies, everyday language practices, language management strategies, and the wider sociocultural environment. Drawing on the theoretical considerations and previous research outlined above, the following research questions guide the present study.

- What are the patterns of language practices, ideologies, and management strategies in Hungarian families in the UK?
- Which internal and external factors are associated with variation in children's Hungarian language proficiency and Family Language Policy?

Based on previous research findings, the dissertation proposes the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Hungarian families living in the United Kingdom are expected to display predominantly bilingual family language practices, with both Hungarian and English present in everyday communication. At the same time, Hungarian is expected to remain dominant in emotionally embedded family interactions (e.g. dinnertime conversations, parent-child interactions), intergenerational communication, and heritage language maintenance practices, while English is likely to appear more frequently in literacy-related activities, schooling, peer interaction, and digital media use (De Houwer, 2013; Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; King & Lanza, 2019; Lanza & Lomeu Gomes, 2020).

Hypothesis 2: Variation in children's Hungarian language proficiency and Family Language Policy will be associated with both internal and external FLP-related factors. More specifically, internal factors such as parental Hungarian language proficiency, parents' own language practices, child-directed speech, child agency, and literacy practices are expected to be positively related to children's Hungarian proficiency. In

addition, heritage language maintenance is expected to vary in relation to external factors, including extracurricular activities, community events, church participation, and digital exposure. At the same time, negative beliefs about bilingualism are expected to show a negative association with children's Hungarian proficiency, whereas positive academic and literacy-related language ideologies are expected to be associated with stronger heritage language outcomes (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2015; Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022; Hollebeke et al., 2022; Stavans & Jessner, 2023).

By addressing these questions through a mixed-methods design, the research aims to provide a context-sensitive and theoretically grounded contribution to the study of FLP.

This chapter presents the methodology of the dissertation, including the research design, participant characteristics, research instruments, and data collection and analysis procedures. The study aimed to explore how Family Language Policy is negotiated and maintained among Hungarian-speaking families living in the United Kingdom, with particular attention to language ideologies, language practices, management strategies, and the internal and external factors associated with heritage language maintenance. To address the research questions, the study adopted a mixed-methods approach (Creswell & Creswell, 2018), which is outlined in Section 3.2.

3.2. Research Design

The present study employed an explanatory sequential mixed-methods design to examine Family Language Policy among Hungarian-speaking families living in the United Kingdom. This design was selected because it allows broad quantitative patterns identified through survey data to be explored in greater depth through qualitative follow-up interviews. The quantitative phase constituted the first stage of the research and provided an overview of participants' language practices, language ideologies, management strategies, language proficiency, and selected internal and external factors related to heritage language maintenance. The qualitative phase followed the questionnaire analysis and was designed to clarify, elaborate on, and contextualise patterns that required further interpretation.

The quantitative and qualitative components were integrated at key stages of the research process. First, integration occurred at the sampling stage, as participants for the

qualitative phase were recruited from questionnaire respondents who indicated their willingness to take part in a follow-up interview. Second, the quantitative findings informed the development of the interview questions, allowing the qualitative phase to focus on patterns and issues that required further clarification or contextualisation. Third, integration took place during the interpretation of the findings, with the interview data being used to explain, illustrate, and nuance the statistical patterns identified in the questionnaire analysis. This design was particularly appropriate for the present research because Family Language Policy involves both measurable behavioural and attitudinal tendencies and more context-dependent processes of negotiation, interpretation, and lived experience within families. By combining the two approaches, the study aimed to provide a more comprehensive account of heritage language maintenance than either method could offer independently.

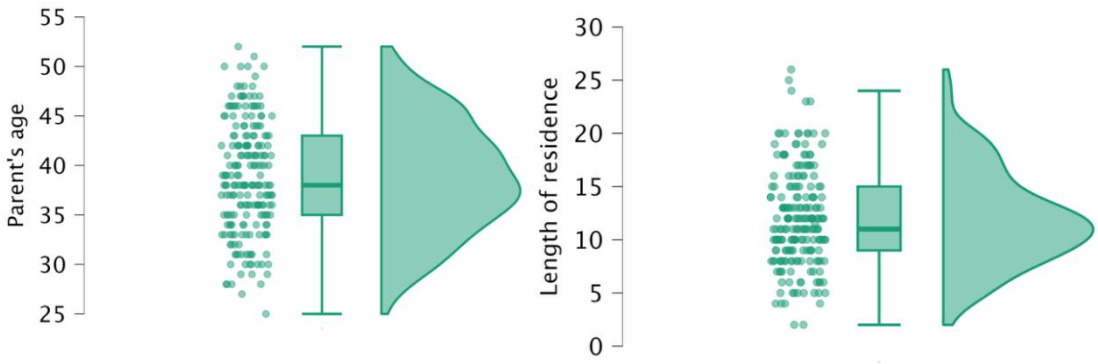
3.3. Participants

The sample ($N = 211$) comprised 197 women and 14 men, with a mean age of 38.75 years (range = 25–52). Participants had lived in the United Kingdom for an average of 11.92 years (range = 2–26), and all respondents reported Hungarian as their first language. Table 1 and Figure 5 present descriptive statistics for participants' age and length of residence in the United Kingdom. The distribution plots indicate relatively normal distributions for both variables. Most participants in the sample were between 35 and 43 years of age, while the majority reported a length of residence between 9 and 15 years in the UK.

Table 1. Participants' Characteristics

	Mean	**SD**	**Min**	**Max**
Age (years)	38.75	5.61	25	52
LOR (years)	11.92	4.49	2	26

Figure 5. Distribution of Participants' Age and Length of Residence in the United Kingdom



Postcode prefixes indicate a geographically dispersed sample across the United Kingdom: 70 distinct postcode areas were represented. Concentrations are visible in the South East and South (e.g., GU, SO, RG, PO), alongside representation from the South West (BS), Greater London (N), and the North West/East Midlands corridors (M, WA, NN), suggesting broad geographical dispersion rather than a single-city sample. Figure 6 illustrates the ten most frequently reported postcode areas, which together account for 42.4% of responses; circle size is proportional to the number of respondents in each area.

Figure 6. Areal Distribution of the Ten Most Common Areas Accounting for 42.4% of Responses



In terms of educational attainment, 150 participants (71.1%) were classified in the high-education group and 61 participants (28.9%) in the low-education group.

The employment status of the participants indicates strong labour-market attachment: most respondents were in paid work, either full-time (41.7%) or part-time (29.9%), with a further 11.4% self-employed and 15.2% engaged in home duties/childcare. Only 1% reported volunteering as their main status and none reported unemployment at the time of the survey, while 1% were full-time students/trainees.

In terms of household composition, most participants lived in parent/guardian, child(ren) households (82.5%), with smaller shares living in multigenerational homes—parent(s), grandparent(s), child(ren) (7.1%)—and single-parent households (7.6%); parent, adopted child(ren) and other arrangements were rare (1.4% each).

Family size ranged from small to medium. Nearly half of the households had one child (49.8%), while 85 households had two children (40.3%). A further 21 households reported three or more children (10.0%), including 18 households with three children (8.5%) and 3 households with four children (1.4%).

The qualitative interview sample ($N = 22$) was recruited through two routes. During a research visit, 12 interviews were conducted in person with parents connected to Hungarian weekend schools in the UK, either through their children's attendance or through their own involvement as teachers. The remaining ten participants were recruited from among questionnaire respondents who had indicated their willingness to participate in a follow-up interview, and their interviews were conducted online.

The qualitative sample consisted of 22 interview participants, including 17 mothers and 5 fathers. Twelve participants were from endogamous Hungarian families, six from exogamous families, and four were single parents. Table 2 provides an overview of the interview participants, including their role in the family, interview date and duration, mode of interview, and family type.

Table 2. Characteristics of the Interview Participants

Interview ID	Role in the family	Date of the interview	Duration	Mode	Family type
INT01	mother	09 Nov 2024	6:39	In person	endogamous
INT02	father	09 Nov 2024	6:04	In person	endogamous
INT03	mother	09 Nov 2024	5:18	In person	single
INT04	father	09 Nov 2024	7:45	In person	endogamous
INT05	mother	10 Nov 2024	5:46	In person	exogamous
INT06	father	09 Nov 2024	10:52	In person	endogamous
INT07	mother	09 Nov 2024	4:29	In person	endogamous
INT08	mother	10 Nov 2024	12:41	In person	single
INT09	mother	10 Nov 2024	9:56	In person	endogamous
INT10	mother	10 Nov 2024	7:43	In person	endogamous
INT11	mother	10 Nov 2024	6:19	In person	endogamous
INT12	mother	09 Nov 2024	9:18	In person	endogamous
INT13	mother	12 Dec 2024	9:20	online	exogamous
INT14	mother	12 Dec 2024	6:54	online	exogamous
INT15	mother	12 Dec 2024	8:09	online	single
INT16	mother	16 Dec 2024	9:23	online	exogamous
INT17	mother	16 Dec 2024	8:51	online	endogamous
INT18	mother	17 Dec 2024	7:13	online	single
INT19	father	18 Dec 2024	12:51	online	exogamous
INT20	mother	20 Dec 2024	12:56	online	endogamous
INT21	mother	20 Dec 2024	8:28	online	endogamous
INT22	father	20 Dec 2024	14:37	online	exogamous

3.4. Instruments

To address the research questions outlined in Section 3.1, a detailed questionnaire and a semi-structured interview protocol were developed to explore the various dimensions of Family Language Policy among Hungarian-speaking families living in the United Kingdom.

3.4.1. The Questionnaire

The questionnaire for this research was designed based on the integrated Family Language Policy (FLP) model proposed in section 2.6. This model builds upon Spolsky's tripartite framework and integrates internal and external factors as previously presented in Chapter 2. The aim of the questionnaire is to investigate how these explicit internal and external dimensions shape Family Language Policy among Hungarian-speaking families

in the United Kingdom. The development of the questionnaire drew substantially on the instrument used in the *Pride, Prejudice and Pragmatism* project (Curdt-Christiansen et al., 2023), which examined how mobility and changing sociocultural contexts shape Family Language Policy in the United Kingdom. As the instrument was closely aligned with the conceptual framework of the present study, it provided both an important methodological foundation and an initial item pool for the development of the questionnaire. The authors of the questionnaire organised workshops with experts and parents to support the validity of the instrument and finalised it after two rounds of piloting. The resulting questionnaire was subsequently used to study FLP among minority families in the UK.

For the present study, the items were adapted and fine-tuned to fit the specific research context. The adapted questionnaire was then piloted with a small number of members of the target community (N=9) to identify potential ambiguities. The pilot phase also led to minor refinements in item wording and sequencing, ensuring that the final instrument was both linguistically and culturally appropriate for the target population.

The final questionnaire comprises 107 questions (see Appendix 2), with additional items for families with multiple children. It is divided into five main sections, as summarised in Table 3:

Demographic data (14 items)

This section includes multiple choice and short answer questions about the respondent's age, gender, family type, role within the family, educational background, employment status, length of residence in the UK, postal code, number and age of children, as well as the native language(s) of both the respondent and their partners. These variables provide insight into the social and economic status of the families, which may be associated with language ideologies, families' access to resources, and the feasibility of certain language management strategies. These data also contribute to the interpretation of how external sociocultural and economic factors interact with internal language policy decisions in transnational family contexts.

Parents' self-reported language proficiency (8 items)

This section of the questionnaire asks parents to report on their perceived proficiency in both Hungarian and English across the four key language skills: speaking, listening, reading, and writing.

Parent-reported child(ren)'s language proficiency (8 items)

This section of the questionnaire asks parents to report on their children's perceived proficiency in both Hungarian and English across the four key language skills: speaking, listening, reading, and writing.

Language Practices (46 items)

The questionnaire includes six subsections (42 items were included in the analyses presented in this dissertation) that explore language practices from different angles within the family context.

- **Parents' own language use** (7 items) in various everyday activities, such as reading the news, watching TV, listening to music, writing shopping lists, and interacting with their partner and extended family members.
- **Child-directed speech** (6 items), assessing the language(s) used by parents, partners, and grandparents when interacting with the child in typical family scenarios, such as mealtime conversations or schoolwork support.
- **Child agency** (5 items), examining which languages children choose when initiating interactions with family members. The questions aim to provide insight into children's spontaneous and self-directed language use, allowing the research to assess how their choices align with or diverge from parental ideologies and practices.
- **Language use for different activities (activities/hours)** (8 items), asking parents to estimate the average number of hours their child spends weekly on specific activities in English and/or Hungarian at home (from less than one hour to more than three hours). These include watching television, playing electronic games, viewing online videos, and using digital devices for language practice.
- **Language use by frequency** (8 items), covering language-related practices within a typical week (ranging from never to every day), such as parents reading in English or Hungarian, reading to or with their child(ren), children's independent reading habits, and their participation in extracurricular or community-based learning activities (e.g., library use, weekend schools, church services, and cultural events).
- **Digital exposure** (8 items), serving as indicators of the linguistic opportunities present in the family home that may influence children's language development,

reading habits, and motivation.

Ideologies (25 items)

This section investigates the beliefs and attitudes that parents hold about bilingualism, language maintenance, and language education. It consists of 25 statements addressing beliefs about the perceived advantages or disadvantages of using Hungarian or other non-English languages at home, the value of bilingualism for academic and career outcomes, and the role of literacy, identity, community engagement, and government support. The items were measured on a Likert scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

Language management – Heritage language maintenance (5 items)

This section investigates parental language management strategies by presenting a series of concrete, action-oriented statements about supporting children's language development. The items capture a variety of approaches, such as facilitating language exposure through family visits or virtual contact, enrolling children in summer camps or tuition classes, and involving grandparents in caregiving. Participants were expected to tick all applicable options in this section, making it possible to assess several types of deliberate efforts parents were willing to make to promote bilingualism or support the heritage language. These management strategies are key components of Spolsky's FLP model, providing insight into how parental ideologies and goals are applied in everyday life.

Comments and follow-up

The last section of the questionnaire serves a dual purpose: it provides an open space for respondents to contribute any additional thoughts, experiences, or contextual information that may not have been captured by the structured items, and it also functions as a recruitment tool for the qualitative follow-up phase of the research. The aim was to identify a smaller group of participants whose insights could provide narrative depth to the study's findings and offer a more comprehensive and nuanced view of bilingual family life and language management in transnational settings.

Table 3. Main Sections of the Questionnaire

Section	Sub-section	Focus	Response type
Demographic data	Parent(s) demographic data		Multiple choice and open-ended questions
	Child(ren) demographic data		Multiple choice and open-ended questions
Language proficiency (HU + ENG)	Parent	Speaking Comprehension Reading Writing	Likert scale
	Child	Speaking Comprehension Reading Writing	Likert scale
Language practices	Parents' own language practices		Likert scale (from only Hungarian to not relevant)
	Child-directed speech		Likert scale (from only Hungarian to not relevant)
	Child agency		Likert scale (from only Hungarian to not relevant)
	Language use for different activities		frequency (activity/hour)
	Language use by frequency		Likert scale (from never to every day)
Ideologies			Likert scale (from strongly agree to strongly disagree)
Management and HL maintenance			Multiple choice
Comments and follow-up			free answer

3.4.2. The Interviews

Following the questionnaire analysis, certain areas were identified as requiring further elaboration, including emotional attachment, sibling interaction, language commodification, neoliberal language ideologies, family dynamics, ideological tensions, and institutional experiences. Therefore, a follow-up qualitative phase involving semi-structured interviews was developed to explore these areas in greater depth.

The first group of interview questions explored everyday **language practices** within the home: "What language(s) do you use at home?", "When your children talk to each other, or when they talk to you, do they initiate conversations in Hungarian or in English?", and "If your child switches to English, do you stop them and ask them to say it in Hungarian, or do you allow them to continue in English?" While the questionnaire captured general patterns of language use and child agency through scaled items, the interviews provided further insight into how implicit rules, conversational hierarchies, and spontaneous switching shape language use in everyday family life.

To understand **language transmission across generations** better, participants were asked: "How difficult do you think it is to maintain Hungarian across generations, and to whom is maintaining the language important?" While the questionnaire addressed the role of grandparents and included items on heritage language practices, the interviews provided further insight into the emotional investments, perceived responsibilities, and internal family dynamics surrounding language maintenance, including who in the family takes responsibility for maintaining Hungarian, how this responsibility is shared or negotiated, and the emotional weight parents associate with this task.

The next group of questions explored parents' **language ideologies and future-oriented beliefs**: "Do you think bilingualism supports or rather hinders a child's development?" and "What advantages or disadvantages do you think Hungarian and English may have for your child's future? What might your child gain from Hungarian, and what might they gain from English?" While the questionnaire's 25-item Likert-scale section offered a broad attitudinal overview, the interviews allowed participants to articulate the reasoning behind their views, including ambivalence, perceived trade-offs, and internal conflicts. These qualitative responses helped illuminate how ideologies are shaped by broader socio-political contexts, personal experiences, and aspirations, offering a more nuanced understanding of how parents position bilingualism within their

children's academic and social futures.

Finally, participants were asked about **changes in their own language use and perceived language proficiency**: "Did your language use change after your children were born? In particular, did you notice any changes in your own language use after the birth of your first child and, where applicable, after the birth of your second child?" and "How confident do you feel about your own language proficiency in English and in Hungarian?" These questions complemented the questionnaire measures of self-reported language proficiency by providing insight into how parents perceived changes in their own language use over time and in relation to parenthood.

The following section outlines the research procedure in detail, describing how the data were gathered and prepared for analysis. The full semi-structured interview guide, including all questions used during the interviews, is provided in Appendix 7.

3.5. Procedure

3.5.1. The Questionnaire

The questionnaire link was initially shared online through Hungarian diaspora networks, schools, and Facebook groups; participants were encouraged to forward the survey to friends and acquaintances (snowball sampling). In total, 224 responses were received.

The initial sectioning and the item pool were based on a nationwide FLP questionnaire reported by Curdt-Christiansen, Wei, and Hua (2023), which uses Spolsky's tripartite model and was iteratively piloted in multilingual UK contexts. The sequencing of the questions followed the structure of the original questionnaire, while several items were adapted to the present population and research context. The items were translated and back-translated between Hungarian and English to ensure semantic equivalence, and the final Hungarian-language version of the questionnaire was administered to participants. Content validity was reviewed by three experts in multilingual education, who assessed item relevance, clarity, and cultural appropriateness; in accordance with their reviews, minor wording changes were made. The instrument was then pilot-tested with 9 Hungarian parents residing in the UK to check comprehensibility and survey flow. Feedback from the pilot phase led to small edits (e.g., simplifying phrasing, adding examples).

Following a December 2023 pilot, formal online recruitment ran from 6 February 2024 to 6 May 2025. To be eligible, participants had to reside in the UK and be the parent of at least one child aged 3–18. Following data cleaning and eligibility checks, the final sample comprised N = 211.

In the data cleaning process, raw survey data were prepared in Microsoft Excel to ensure an analysis-ready structure. Variables were labelled consistently, and records with missing consent or unintelligible or inconsistent responses (e.g., inconsistencies in the reported birth order in families with multiple children) were excluded. Duplicate responses were identified using timestamps and IP hashes, while clearly invalid entries were removed based on consistency checks. Obvious typographical errors in open-ended "other" fields were standardised. Records not meeting the inclusion criteria (e.g., child age, consent, or UK residency) were excluded prior to analysis.

The annotated analysis file and a brief variable codebook are archived with the anonymised dataset to support transparency and reproducibility.

Prior to analysis, the dataset underwent a systematic coding and reverse coding procedure to ensure internal consistency across variables. Reverse coding was applied to selected items in the sections measuring **parents' self-reported language proficiency** (8 items), **language practices** (7 items), **child-directed speech** (6 items), **child agency** (5 items), **changes in language practices** (7 items), and **language ideologies**. Given the relatively large number of items included in the ideology scale (25 items), the construct was further examined through exploratory factor analysis (EFA), following which 16 items were retained for the final model, as discussed in the Results chapter (Section 4.2.1). Selected items were recoded so that higher numerical values consistently represented a stronger presence, higher frequency, or greater intensity of the respective construct. This adjustment was necessary because some items were negatively phrased or oriented in the opposite evaluative direction to other items within the same construct.

Following the reverse coding procedure, composite variables were created by averaging items that represented the same theoretical construct. This step reduced the number of individual variables and narrowed the range of examined factors, allowing the analysis to focus on broader, conceptually coherent dimensions of Family Language Policy rather than isolated questionnaire items.

Statistical analyses were conducted in JASP. Descriptive statistics were first used to summarise participant characteristics and the distribution of the main study variables. Internal consistency was assessed for the multi-item scales, while exploratory factor

analysis with oblimin rotation was conducted to identify the underlying structure of the language ideology items. Pearson correlation analyses were then used to examine bivariate relationships between children's Hungarian proficiency and the internal and external factors specified in the conceptual framework, including parental proficiency, language practices, child-directed speech, child agency, language ideologies, heritage language management, digital exposure, and Hungarian literacy and community activities. Multiple linear regression models were subsequently employed to examine which factors remained significant predictors of children's Hungarian proficiency and child agency when the effects of other variables were controlled.

Finally, a theoretically motivated hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted to examine the incremental contribution of selected predictors to children's Hungarian proficiency. Child age and parental Hungarian proficiency were entered in the first block as background and family linguistic factors. Hungarian language-related activities were added in the second block to assess whether they explained additional variance beyond these background factors. Child agency was entered in the final block to determine whether it contributed further explanatory power after controlling for child age, parental Hungarian proficiency, and Hungarian language-related activities. Statistical significance was evaluated at $p < .05$.

For analyses of family language practices and management, the target child was defined as a child under the age of 18 currently living at home. Families in which all children were adults were excluded from analyses focusing on language practices and management but were retained for analyses of parental language ideologies.

3.5.2. The Interviews

The interviews were conducted by the researcher using the same semi-structured interview guide for each participant to ensure consistency and comparability. As a Hungarian-speaking researcher familiar with the UK context, the interviewer shared a cultural background with participants, which may have facilitated openness but also required reflexive awareness to mitigate interpretive bias. The semi-structured interview guide consisted of open-ended questions covering four core areas: parental language strategies, children's language preferences, perceived societal influences, and institutional support (e.g., supplementary schools). The questions were designed to elicit reflective

and experience-based narratives. All interviews were conducted in Hungarian. Twelve interviews were carried out in person with parents residing in England, while an additional ten were conducted online with Hungarian parents residing in the UK. Participants were all first-generation Hungarian parents residing in the UK, with children aged between 3 and 18 years. The sample included both families actively engaged in heritage language maintenance and those experiencing language shift.

Prior to each interview, participants were informed about the purpose of the recording and were asked for their consent to audio-record the session. Participants received no compensation. The study received ethical clearance from the University of Pannonia's Research Ethics Committee in 2024 (KEB_HTK_MDS_2024_04). In accordance with the approved ethical and data-protection procedures, research data were handled in a manner designed to protect participants' anonymity and minimise the possibility of identification. Data were stored on encrypted institutional drives with access restricted to the researcher. In accordance with the data-retention policy, they will be retained for seven years before secure deletion. All interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed using the Speechnotes application. The transcripts were then manually checked and lightly edited for readability without altering their substantive content. The interviews had a mean duration of approximately 8.7 minutes (M = 8:42), with a median duration of 8:19 and a range of 4:29–14:37 (N = 22). During the interviews, participants were given time to reflect on the questions without interruption; they were not prompted or led towards specific answers, allowing their responses to emerge naturally and authentically. It is acknowledged that some interviews were shorter in duration, which may have limited the depth of individual responses. Nevertheless, the thematic consistency and richness of the collected data were sufficient to support meaningful analysis. While the coding was carried out solely by the researcher, recurring themes were continuously revisited and cross-checked against the raw data to ensure consistency and mitigate researcher bias.

The transcripts were read and re-read, and initial codes were manually generated to identify recurring ideas related to family language practices, intergenerational transmission, ideological positioning, and institutional experiences. These codes were then clustered into broader themes that either supported, nuanced, or contradicted the patterns emerging from the quantitative data. Attention was paid to contradictions, emotional undercurrents, and implicit negotiations—elements that the questionnaire could not fully capture. Full statements and extended quotations were selected from the interviews to be used in the Findings chapter to provide narrative depth, contextualisation,

and interpretive contrast. Quotations from Hungarian-language interviews were translated into English by the researcher. Meticulous care was taken to preserve both semantic content and cultural nuances.

The study employed an explanatory sequential mixed-methods design: the findings from the questionnaire guided the targeted interview prompts; integration occurred at sampling (follow-up volunteers), analysis (theme development informed by quantitative patterns), and interpretation (displayed in the Results section). The goal of this mixed-methods approach was not only to triangulate findings but also to capture the complexity of Family Language Policy by integrating participants' accounts with the quantitative findings.

Taken together, the procedures outlined in this chapter provided the methodological basis for addressing the research questions through the integration of quantitative and qualitative data. The following chapter presents the results of the study.

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

This chapter presents the findings of the study in relation to the two research questions outlined earlier. First, it explores the main patterns of language ideologies, language practices, and language management related to HL maintenance strategies among Hungarian-speaking families living in the United Kingdom. Second, it examines the internal and external factors associated with variation in HL maintenance, with a particular focus on parental language practices, child agency, literacy-related activities, language ideologies, and broader sociocultural influences. The results are presented through a combination of descriptive statistics, correlation analyses, regression models, and qualitative interview data.

4.1. Language Practices

Participants were asked about their partner's first language (Questionnaire Item 12). Among participants who reported having a partner (n = 191), 128 (67.0%) had a Hungarian-speaking partner, representing endogamous family configurations, while 63 (33.0%) had an English- or other-language-speaking partner, representing exogamous family configurations. The remaining 20 participants did not report a partner and were therefore excluded from analyses based on partner language. Within the exogamous group, the partner's language was most frequently English (n = 45), followed by smaller clusters of Romanian (n = 5), Spanish (n = 4), and Arabic (n = 3). Additional low-frequency categories (n = 2 each) included Italian, Polish, Greek, Serbian, Albanian, Yoruba, and Portuguese; single-case entries (n = 1 each) occurred for Russian, Japanese, Lithuanian, Iranian/Persian, Latvian, Punjabi, Akan, and Urdu.

Participants were also asked which languages were used in the family (Questionnaire Item 13). Most households reported Hungarian–English use at home (see Table 4), while a small subset used Hungarian with other non-English languages (n = 5), and only three households reported English-only use. Overall, Hungarian was present in 208 of the 211 family language constellations (98.6%), although in most cases it co-occurred with English and/or another language rather than being used exclusively.

Table 4. Languages Used in the Families

Languages used in the family	**n**
Hungarian	49
English and Hungarian	126
English, Hungarian, and Other	28
English	3
Hungarian and Other	5

Note. n = number of participating families.

Despite 128 participants reporting a Hungarian-speaking partner, only 23.2% of households (*n* = 49) reported using Hungarian exclusively at home. Instead, the most common language-use pattern was a combination of Hungarian and English (*n* = 126, 59.7%), followed by Hungarian, English, and another language (*n* = 28, 13.3%). English-only (*n* = 3, 1.4%) and Hungarian–other language combinations (*n* = 5, 2.4%) were rare.

The contrast between the high proportion of Hungarian-speaking partners among partnered participants and the much lower proportion of Hungarian-only households suggests that family language practices are shaped not simply by parental linguistic background but by the wider bilingual environment in which the families live. Rather than indicating a shift away from Hungarian, the predominance of Hungarian–English combinations points to a flexible bilingual family ecology in which Hungarian remains present while English is incorporated into everyday interaction.

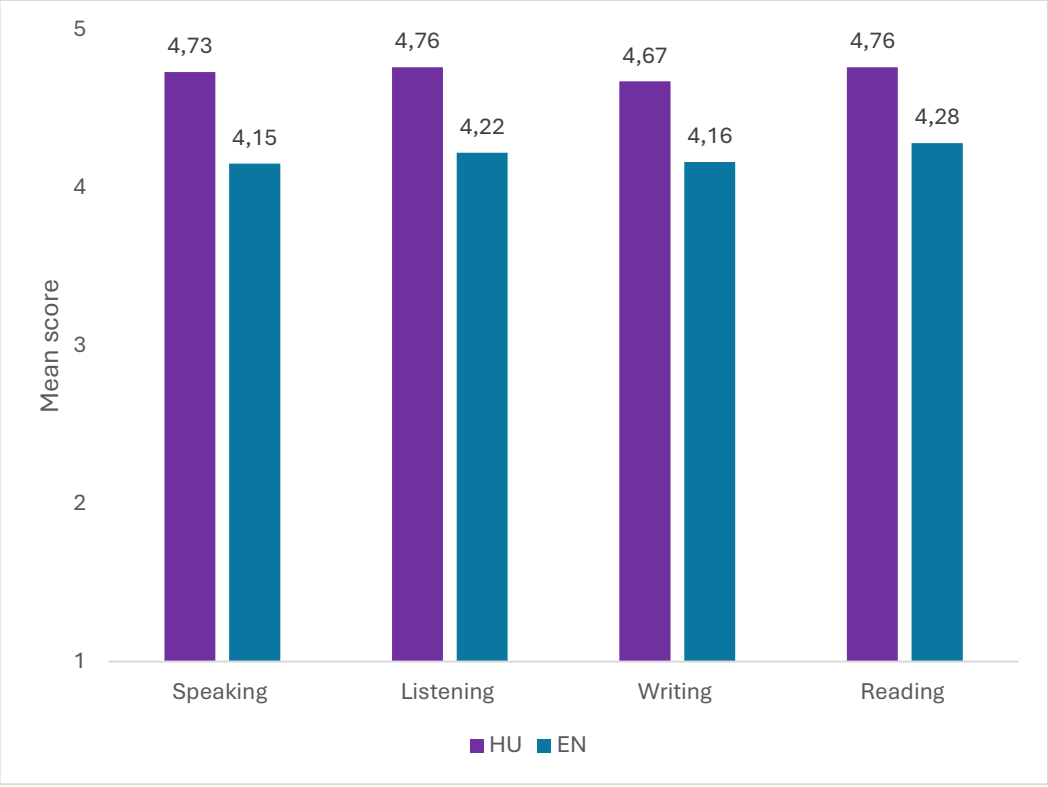
This pattern of predominantly Hungarian interaction combined with the spontaneous use of English is also reflected in the interview data, *"When we're with Hungarian people living in England, we always speak exclusively in Hungarian, but every now and then a little Hungarian slips into sorry, English, into our Hungarian, when …" (father, married to a Hungarian wife).* This account illustrates how English may enter otherwise Hungarian-dominant interaction spontaneously, even when speakers explicitly identify Hungarian as the preferred language of the group.

4.1.1. Parents' and Children's Proficiency

4.1.1.1. Parents' Proficiency[1]

Parents were asked to self-assess their proficiency in Hungarian and English across four language skills (Questionnaire Items 15–22): speaking, listening, writing, and reading. Across all assessed domains, parents reported higher proficiency in Hungarian than in English. This pattern is evident in productive skills, with higher mean scores in speaking (M (HU) = 4.73 vs. M (EN) = 4.15) and writing (M (HU) = 4.67 vs. M (EN) = 4.16), as well as in receptive skills, including listening (M (HU) = 4.76 vs. M (EN) = 4.22) and reading (M (HU) = 4.76 vs. M (EN) = 4.28). Overall proficiency was likewise higher in Hungarian (M = 4.73) than in English (M = 4.20), and according to the paired-samples *t*-test, this difference was statistically significant, $t(210) = 11.21$, $p < .001$. The descriptive plot further illustrates this pattern, showing a consistent positive difference in favour of Hungarian across participants (see Figure 7).

Figure 7. Parents' Self-Reported Language Proficiency in Hungarian and English



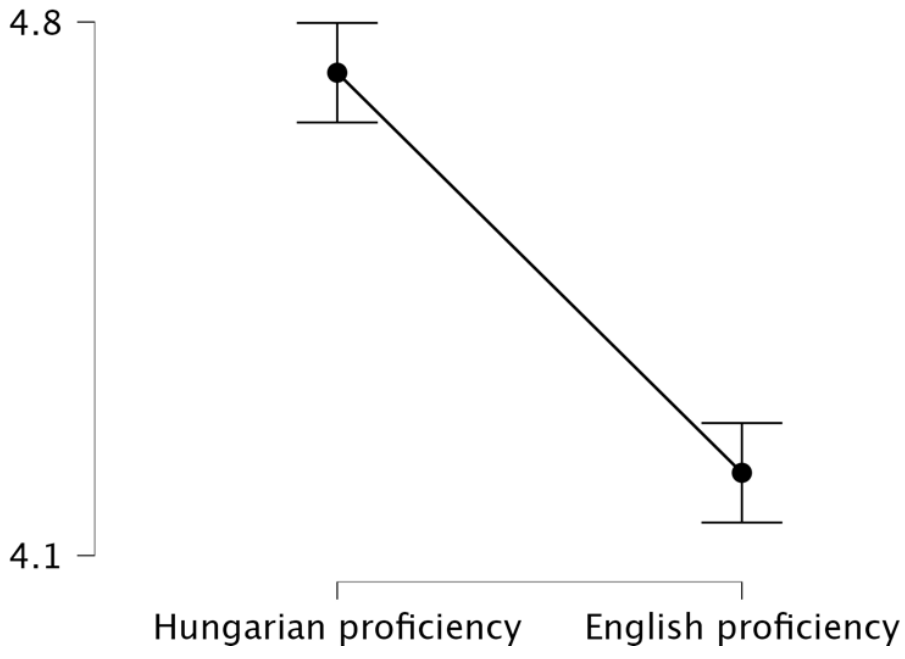
Note. Higher values indicate higher self-reported proficiency levels.

[1] Detailed table presenting mean Hungarian and English proficiency scores are provided in Appendix 3.

The interview data provide further insight into the importance participants attached to maintaining their own Hungarian proficiency and language use. Some interviewees described this as a conscious effort connected to the transmission of Hungarian to their children, "*I must pay attention so that I can teach appropriate Hungarian*." (father, married to a Japanese wife). The excerpt highlights that maintaining Hungarian was not understood solely as preserving the parent's own language competence, but also as a parental responsibility connected to intergenerational transmission. The parent positions their own language use as a linguistic model for the child, illustrating how parental proficiency and language practices may form part of family language management. "*I'm obsessed with proper spelling and refined Hungarian speech*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). The emphasis on "proper" spelling and "refined" speech further indicates that heritage language maintenance may involve not only continued use of Hungarian but also beliefs about the valued forms of the language to be transmitted. This is consistent with Curdt-Christiansen's (2009) account of language ideologies as underlying parental expectations and decisions concerning language transmission within the family.

Overall, Hungarian remained the parents' stronger self-reported language despite their long-term residence in the United Kingdom (see Figure 8).

Figure 8. The Difference between Parents' Self-Reported Hungarian and English Proficiency



Pearson correlation analyses were conducted to examine the relationship between length of residence in the UK and parental self-reported language proficiency. No significant association was found between length of residency and Hungarian proficiency, $r = .07$, $p = .322$, indicating that time spent in the UK was unrelated to parents' Hungarian language skills. In contrast, years of residency showed a statistically significant, moderate positive correlation with English proficiency, $r = .29$, $p < .001$, suggesting that longer residence in the UK was associated with higher levels of English proficiency. Additionally, Hungarian and English proficiency were moderately correlated with each other, $r = .44$, $p < .001$ (Table 5).

Table 5. Correlation Between Length of Residence and Self-Reported Language Proficiency

	Length of residence	**Parents' HU proficiency (*M*)**	**Parents' EN proficiency (*M*)**
Length of residence	—		
Parents' HU proficiency (*M*)	0.069	—	
Parents' EN proficiency (*M*)	0.289***	0.440***	—

Note. HU = Hungarian; EN = English.
$p < .05$*, $p < .01$**, $p < .001$***.

Although length of residence was not significantly associated with Hungarian proficiency, the interview data provide further insight into the different ways in which participants experienced the linguistic effects of living in the United Kingdom. *"(those) who come here later in life also undergo a huge transformation… they find it easier to communicate in English than in Hungarian"* (mother, married to an English husband). The excerpt reflects a perception that prolonged immersion in an English-dominant environment may gradually influence language use even among adult Hungarian speakers. However, this experience was not shared uniformly across participants, *"When I first came to England, I didn't seek out the company of other Hungarians; I came to learn English, and that's why I've forgotten quite a few words*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). The contrast between these accounts suggests that length of residence alone may not adequately capture changes in heritage language proficiency. Rather, the linguistic consequences of migration may depend on how individuals engage with the majority and heritage languages during their time in the UK, including their

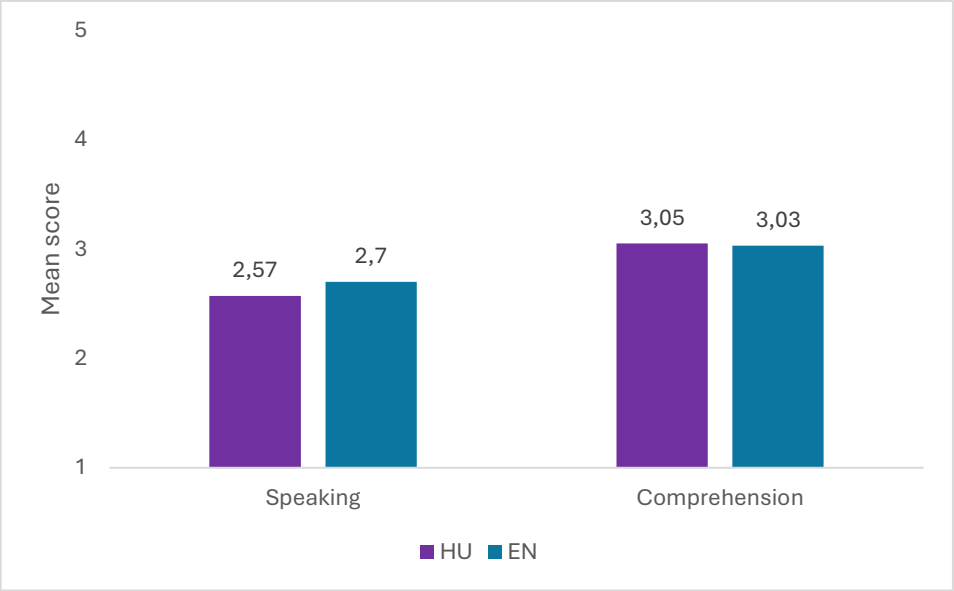
social networks and opportunities for Hungarian use. This interpretation is consistent with Pauwels (2016), who emphasises that language maintenance and shift are shaped by the interaction of multiple individual, family, and social factors rather than by a single variable such as duration of residence.

4.1.1.2. Children's Proficiency[2]

Parents were asked to assess their children's Hungarian and English proficiency in speaking, comprehension, reading, and writing (Questionnaire Items 30–37). Across the three age groups (0–5, 6–11, and 12–18 years), the reported proficiency scores in both Hungarian and English show a generally increasing pattern across the four language domains. Reading and writing skills were not examined in the youngest age group (0–5), as literacy development is still emerging during this stage. In both languages, reported proficiency generally increases across age groups, with particularly marked development in literacy skills among the older children (see Figures 9, 10 and 11).

As Figure 9 shows, among children aged 0–5, reported English proficiency was slightly higher than Hungarian proficiency in speaking (M = 2.70 vs. 2.57), whereas comprehension scores were virtually identical (M = 3.03 for English and M = 3.05 for Hungarian).

Figure 9. Children's Proficiency (0–5 age group, *n* = 182)



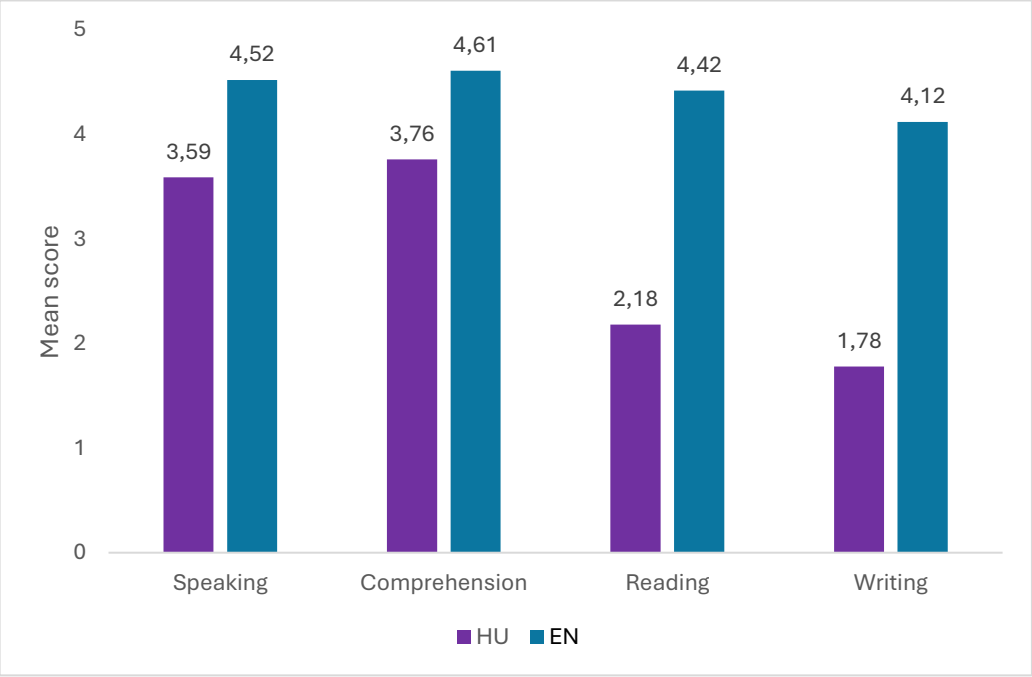
Note. Higher values indicate higher parent-reported proficiency levels.

[2] Detailed tables presenting mean Hungarian and English proficiency scores by age group and birth order (first-born, second-born, and third-born children) are provided in Appendix 4.

In the youngest age group (0-5) interviewees reported high level of Hungarian proficiency, "*By the way, his Hungarian vocabulary is very extensive.*" (single mother of a 5-year-old). But others also commented on the reluctance of the child at the same age, "*understands Hungarian … but absolutely refuses to speak it*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband), however some reported on frequent language preferences in the very same context, *„whichever language she watched it in (*the film*), that's the language she'll use to come up with the rest of the story in her head*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). These accounts illustrate that receptive competence in Hungarian does not necessarily result in active use of the language, even at an early age. The distinction between understanding Hungarian and choosing to speak it points to the emerging role of child agency in shaping family language practices. The reported tendency to reproduce a story in the language in which it was viewed also suggests that children's language choices may be sensitive to immediate linguistic input and context rather than being determined solely by parental language use.

Children aged 6–11 demonstrated consistently higher proficiency in English than in Hungarian across all language skills, with the largest differences observed in literacy-related skills (reading and writing), while the gap was smaller in speaking and comprehension (Figure 10).

Figure 10. Children's Proficiency (6–11 age group, *n* = 99)



Note. Higher values indicate higher parent-reported proficiency levels.

Children in the 6–11 age group are in or entering formal education, which may contribute to the larger gaps observed in reading and writing skills. This pattern is echoed in the interview data, where one mother explained that

> *I've been speaking Hungarian with him since he was very little, but school has a big influence, of course, and I can still say that his English is better than his Hungarian, even though we always speak Hungarian. I think it's going to get harder and harder (mother, married to a Hungarian husband).*

Another mother similarly described the role of the wider linguistic environment:

> *When he wasn't at preschool, he tried to speak Hungarian, so it was working for him then, but as soon as he spent a few days at preschool, that's when we started to forget Hungarian, so it was gone completely (single mother).*

The interview data provide a possible contextual explanation for the widening difference between Hungarian and English proficiency in this age group. Formal schooling provides substantially greater exposure to English, particularly in literacy-related domains, while opportunities for Hungarian literacy remain more closely connected to the family and heritage-language activities. The accounts also suggest that this shift may begin before formal schooling, as preschool introduces sustained English-language interaction outside the home. This pattern is consistent with Pauwels' (2016) emphasis on schooling as an important domain in language maintenance and shift, as increased participation in majority-language institutions can extend the domains in which the dominant language is used and reduce the relative space available to the heritage language.

Another notable pattern in this age group concerns children's language preferences and sibling interactions. Several parents reported that siblings increasingly used English when interacting with one another, as one participant noted that "*the children use Hungarian with us, but only English among themselves*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). At the same time, other interviewees emphasised that Hungarian continued to function as the family's emotional language, with one parent explaining that the children "*have become so accustomed to Hungarian as an emotional language*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). The use of Hungarian in parent–child interaction alongside

English between siblings suggests that children actively differentiate their language choices according to relationship and communicative context. At the same time, the description of Hungarian as an "emotional language" indicates that the heritage language may retain an affective and identity-related function even where English becomes increasingly dominant in other domains.

As Figure 11 shows, children aged 12–18 were also reported higher proficiency in English than in Hungarian across all language skills; however, the gap was relatively small in speaking and comprehension, while substantially larger differences remained in reading and writing, indicating stronger literacy development in English than in the heritage language.

Figure 11. Children's Proficiency (12–18 age group, *n* = 58)



Note. Higher values indicate higher parent-reported proficiency levels.

High proficiency in both languages is also evident at this age group, *'Both are medical students… they're discussing professional matters, so they're talking to each other in English. So, Lilla just had her entrance exam… Zita helped her practice for it, since the exam is in English.' (mother, married to a Hungarian husband).* This example illustrates that strong English proficiency does not necessarily exclude high levels of Hungarian

proficiency. Continued family use of Hungarian alongside the high levels of English required for education may therefore allow both languages to fulfil different functions, rather than reflecting a simple replacement of one language by the other.

Overall, English proficiency scores tend to be higher than Hungarian scores, especially in the older age groups and in literacy-related domains. In addition, variation in scores appears to be greater among younger children, whereas older age groups display more consistent proficiency patterns. Taken together, these age-related patterns suggest that the relationship between Hungarian and English proficiency changes as children move into wider educational and social environments. Hungarian remains an important language of family interaction and emotional connection, while English increasingly occupies schooling, literacy, peer, and sibling domains. The findings therefore point not simply to an age-related decline in the relative position of Hungarian, but to an increasing functional differentiation between the two languages across childhood and adolescence. This supports Pauwels' (2016) view that heritage language maintenance and shift develop differently across domains and generations and are closely related to the changing opportunities for language use available to speakers.

4.1.2. Language Use for Different Activities

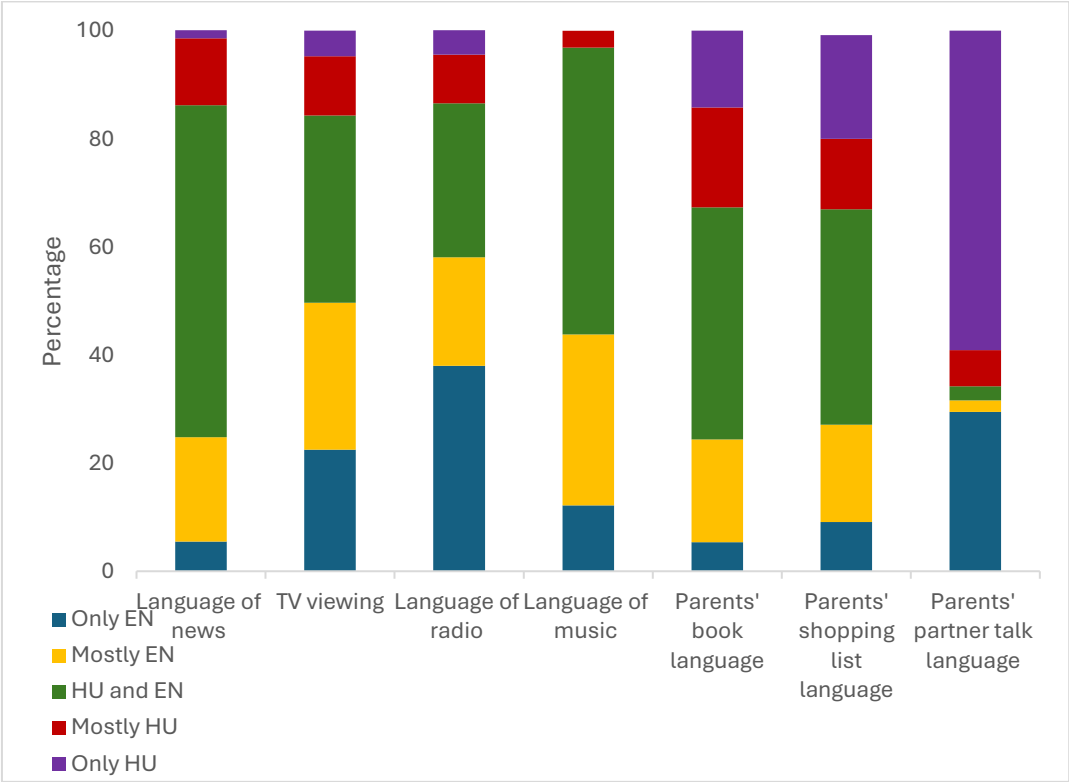
Participants were asked about the languages they used across a range of everyday activities and family interactions (Questionnaire Items 179–186). Figure 12 indicates variation in families' language practices across activities, with the largest proportions often reported in the mixed-language (Hungarian and English) category, particularly for news (61.4%) and music (53.1%). TV viewing and radio listening show more varied patterns, with notable percentages in the English-dominant categories (e.g., radio: 38% only English; TV: 27.2% mostly English). Book reading and shopping list writing display relatively balanced distributions across mixed and Hungarian-dominant categories, with Hungarian–English use reported by 42.9% for books and 39.9% for shopping lists. In contrast, partner-to-partner communication is predominantly Hungarian-only (59.1%), with smaller proportions reporting English-only (29.5%) or mixed use. The detailed distribution of language use across these activities is presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Families' language practices in different activities (in percentages)

	Only EN	Mostly EN	HU and EN	Mostly HU	Only HU	N
Language of news	5.5	19.3	61.4	12.4	1.5	202
TV viewing	22.5	27.2	34.6	11	4.7	191
Language of radio	38	20.1	28.5	9	4.5	179
Language of music	12.2	31.6	53.1	3.1	—	196
Parents' book language	5.4	19	42.9	18.5	14.2	205
Parents' shopping list language	9.1	18.8	39.9	13	19.2	208
Parents' partner talk language	29.5	2.1	2.6	6.7	59.1	193

Figure 12 provides a visual comparison of these language-use patterns across everyday activities and family interactions.

Figure 12. Parents' Language Use Across Everyday Activities and Family Interactions



Note. EN = English; HU = Hungarian. The figure presents the percentage distribution of language use across different everyday activities and family interaction domains.

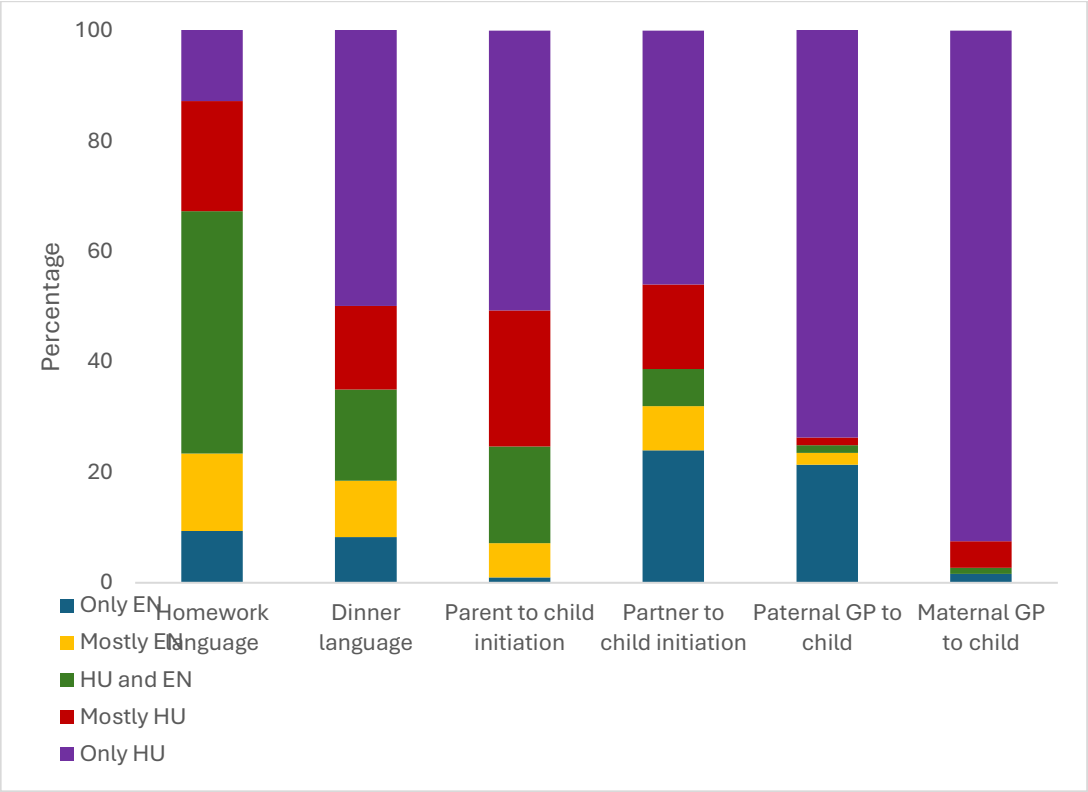
Hungarian partners also reported using exclusively Hungarian among themselves, *„since my partner is Hungarian and I am Hungarian too, therefore we speak Hungarian*" (mother, married to Hungarian husband). Another interview participant described a strategy for combining heritage language literacy practices with digital media exposure, "*Fine, let's read Harry Potter, but let's watch the movie in Hungarian"* (mother, married to Hungarian husband). These examples illustrate that language choice within families varies considerably according to activity and interactional context. The particularly strong concentration of Hungarian in partner-to-partner communication, compared with the more mixed patterns observed in media and literacy-related activities, further suggests that language choice is closely tied to interactional relationships as well as to activity type. While Hungarian may remain the established language of communication between Hungarian-speaking partners, other everyday activities provide greater opportunities for flexible use of both languages. The second example further shows that families may actively combine different language domains, in this case literacy and digital media, to create additional opportunities for Hungarian use. Rather than following a uniform language pattern across activities, these practices suggest a domain-specific organisation of family language use in which Hungarian and English fulfil different functions. This interpretation is consistent with FLP research showing that family language practices are dynamic and context-dependent rather than fixed across all domains of family life (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). It also reflects Pauwels' (2016) emphasis on domains of language use in understanding heritage language maintenance and shift, as the continued use of a heritage language may vary considerably across different areas of everyday life.

4.1.3. Child-Directed Speech

Participants were asked about the language used in different child-directed family interactions, including homework, dinner conversations, parent-to-child communication, and communication between grandparents and children (Questionnaire Items 167,168, 170, 171, 177, 178). Figure 13 shows that Hungarian is the dominant language in most child-directed interactions. Hungarian-only use is particularly high in dinner conversations (50%), parent-to-child initiation (50.7%), partner-to-child initiation (46%), and especially in communication from grandparents to the child (73.8% for paternal

grandparents and 92.5% for maternal grandparents). Homework language displays a more balanced pattern, with the largest proportion reported in the mixed Hungarian–English category (43.9%). English-only or mostly English use appears in smaller proportions across most contexts, while Hungarian predominates in direct communication with the child. (Detailed table is in Appendix 5.1.)

Figure 13. Language Use in Child-Directed Family Interactions and Communication Contexts



Note. EN = English; HU = Hungarian. The figure presents the percentage distribution of language use across different everyday activities and family interaction domains.

The interview data largely support the quantitative findings, indicating that Hungarian remains the dominant language in most child-directed interactions. Several parents described Hungarian-only communication as a conscious family strategy, with one participant stating that "*we only speak Hungarian*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband) and another explaining that "*we only speak Hungarian, since both my partner and I are Hungarian*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). Communication with grandparents was also reported to take place mainly in Hungarian, as one parent noted: "*I cannot even imagine them speaking English to their grandparents*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). The particularly strong predominance of Hungarian in

grandparent–child communication suggests that intergenerational relationships constitute an especially stable domain for heritage language use, potentially reinforcing Hungarian as a language of family continuity across generations. At the same time, the interviews reflected the more balanced language use observed in homework-related contexts, where English was often linked to school activities and literacy practices mixed with Hungarian, "*when we learn math in English, we also practice the multiplication table in Hungarian*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband).

Overall, these findings suggest that child-directed language use is strongly differentiated according to interactional context. Hungarian appears to be particularly firmly established in direct family communication and in interactions with grandparents, while homework represents a domain in which English enters family communication more strongly. The interview data indicate that this pattern is partly related to conscious parental language choices, but also to the different linguistic demands associated with particular activities. In this sense, Hungarian-only communication may function as a family language management strategy in everyday interaction, while the use of English in homework reflects the influence of the wider educational environment on language practices within the home. This pattern is consistent with FLP research emphasising the interaction between parental language management, everyday language practices, and wider social and institutional contexts (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). This pattern also reflects Pauwels' (2016) observation that the relative use of heritage and majority languages may differ considerably across domains, with educational contexts often increasing opportunities for majority-language use.

4.1.4. Child Agency

Participants were asked about their children's language choices when communicating with different family members (Questionnaire Items 172–176). Figure 14 shows that children's language choices vary depending on the interlocutor, with Hungarian generally predominating in family interactions. Communication with grandparents is most strongly Hungarian-dominant, with 60.4% reporting Hungarian-only use with paternal grandparents and 70.3% with maternal grandparents. Interactions with parents and partners show more balanced distributions across language categories, including mixed use and Hungarian-dominant patterns, while sibling interactions display relatively even

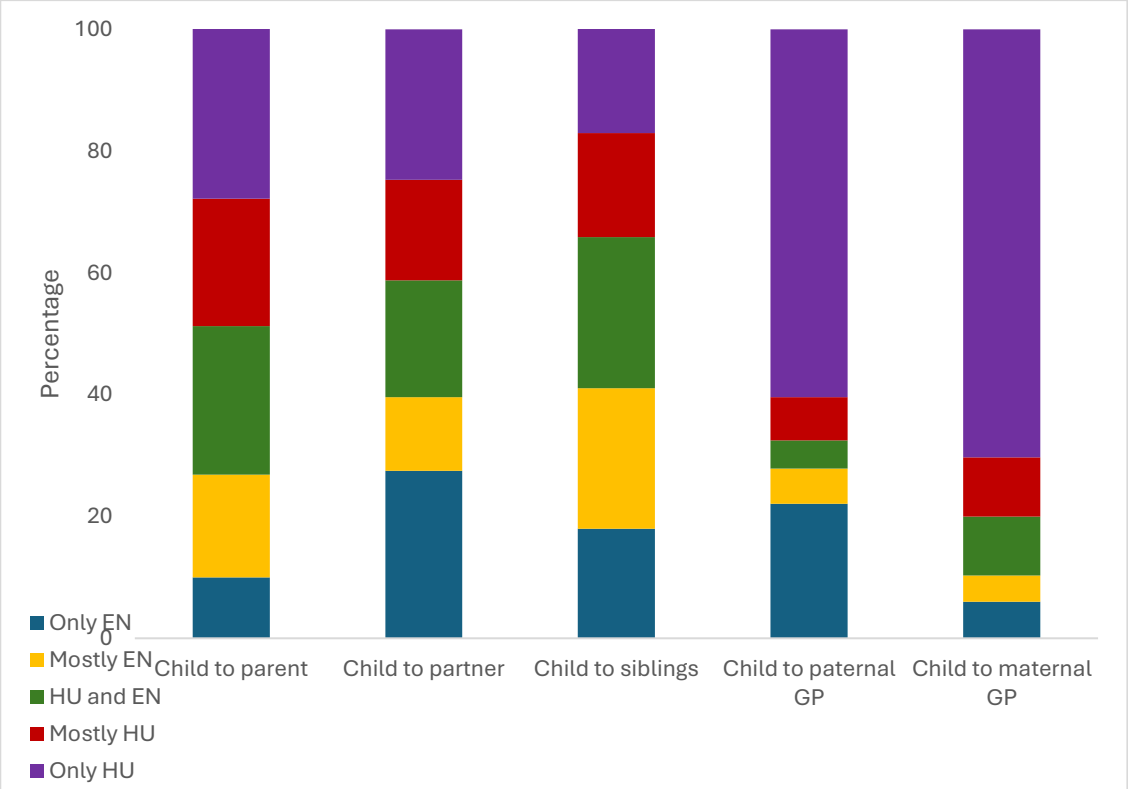
proportions across Hungarian-only, mixed, and English-dominant categories. Overall, Hungarian-only use represents the largest single category in most interaction types. The detailed distribution of children's language choices across family interaction partners is presented in Table 7. The marked contrast between children's language choices with grandparents and with parents, partners, and siblings suggests that child agency is strongly interlocutor-dependent rather than reflecting a single, stable language preference across family interactions.

Table 7. Children's Language Choices Across Family Interaction Partners (in Percentages)

Variable	Only EN	Mostly EN	HU and EN	Mostly HU	Only HU	N
Child to parent	10	16.9	24.4	20.9	27.9	201
Child to partner	27.5	12.1	19.2	16.5	24.7	182
Child to siblings	18	23.1	24.8	17.1	17.1	117
Child to paternal GP	22.1	5.8	4.6	7.1	60.4	154
Child to maternal GP	6	4.3	9.7	9.7	70.3	185

Figure 14 provides a visual comparison of these child-initiated language-use patterns across different family interaction partners.

Figure 14. Children's Language Choices Across Family Interaction Domains



Note. EN = English; HU = Hungarian. The figure presents the percentage distribution of children's language choices across different family interaction partners.

A notable example of child agency can be observed in cases where parents allow children greater flexibility in language choice and adapt their own responses accordingly. As one parent explained, "*If he speaks to me in English, I reply in English. However, if he speaks to me in Hungarian, I reply in Hungarian*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). Similar accommodative strategies were reported by other participants, with one parent noting that "*If there was something they couldn't explain in Hungarian, they could do so in English, and then we discussed it in Hungarian*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). However, there are situations when the child must use Hungarian, as one parent reported, "*My dad doesn't know any English, so they have to communicate in Hungarian to some extent there*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). Other accounts showed that children may also use their bilingual repertoire increasingly strategically as they grow older. One parent in an exogamous family described how Hungarian use increases temporarily following extended visits to Hungary, but gradually shifts back towards English after returning to the UK. The same parent also observed a change in the child's own language choices with age, "*Now that [the child] is eight, he uses the languages*

much more consciously. If he wants to tell me something that he does not want others to understand, he immediately switches to Hungarian" (mother, married to an English husband). The strategic use of Hungarian to exclude unintended listeners further suggests that, with increasing age, children may develop an awareness of the social and communicative functions of their linguistic repertoire and use language choice deliberately to manage participation and privacy.

These examples show that children are not simply recipients of parental language choices but active participants in shaping family language practices, consistent with research demonstrating that children may negotiate and reshape parental language policies through their own linguistic choices (Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2015). A similar pattern is reported by Little (2018), whose findings suggest that heritage language maintenance is partly negotiated between parents and children, with children's own preferences and willingness to use the heritage language becoming increasingly important in shaping family language practices. Their language choices may lead parents to accommodate their own language use, while children themselves adapt their linguistic behaviour according to communicative needs and the linguistic repertoire of different family members. Child agency therefore appears to operate relationally rather than independently: children may influence the language of an interaction, but their choices are also shaped by interlocutor, context, and available linguistic resources. The particularly high use of Hungarian with grandparents illustrates this interaction clearly, as Hungarian may become the necessary rather than merely preferred language where grandparents have limited English proficiency. This relational understanding of child agency is also consistent with Smith-Christmas (2019), who emphasises children's active role in negotiating family language practices rather than simply following parental language policies. The descriptive and qualitative findings therefore point to child agency as an important component of the family language ecology, a relationship that is examined further in the subsequent statistical analyses.

4.1.5. Digital Exposure

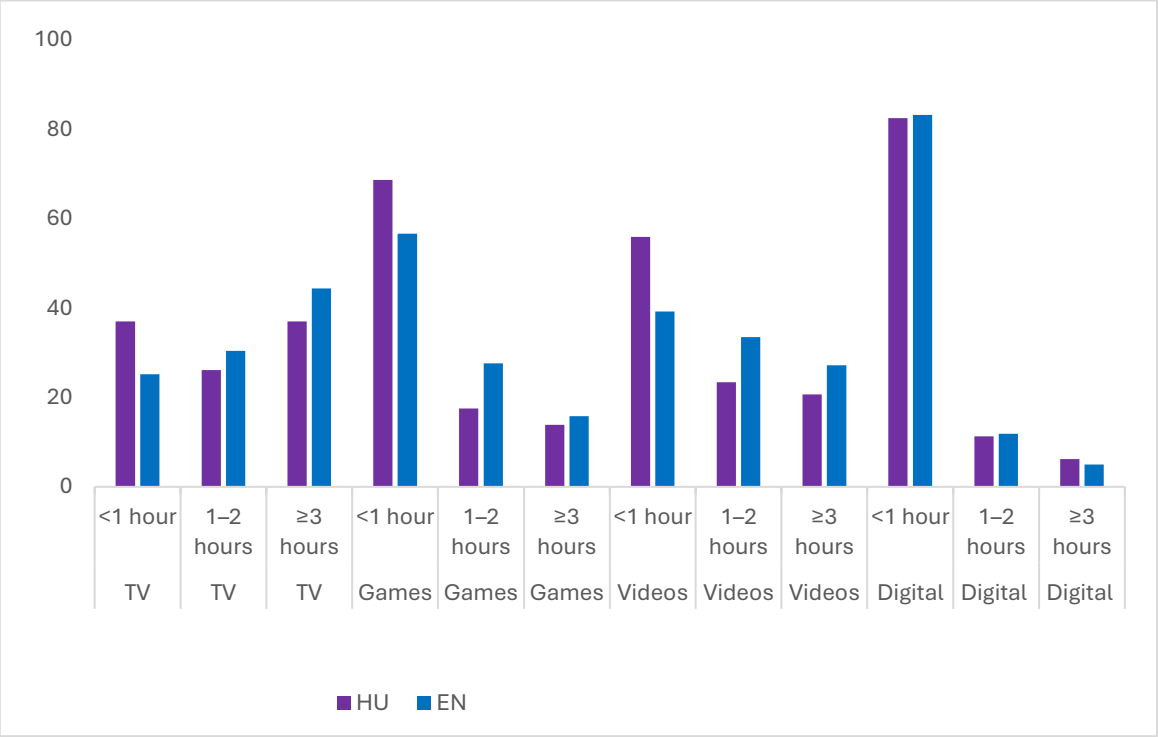
Participants were asked about the amount of time their children spent on Hungarian- and English-language digital activities, including television, games, videos, and digital practice (Questionnaire Items 179–186).

Regarding Hungarian digital exposure, most parents reported that their children spent less than one hour per day on most activities. Specifically, 68.6% spent less than one hour on Hungarian games, 55.9% on Hungarian videos, and 82.5% on Hungarian digital practice, while Hungarian TV viewing showed a more even distribution, with 37% reporting less than one hour and the same proportion reporting three or more hours. The proportion of children engaging for three or more hours was highest for Hungarian TV (37%) and lowest for digital practice (6.2%). The number of responses ranged from 97 (digital practice) to 165 (TV hours).

For English digital exposure, as shown in Figure 15, the amount of time spent varied across activities. The largest proportion of parents reported (about their children) three or more hours of English TV viewing (44.4%), while English games were most played for less than one hour per day (56.6%). English video watching showed a more even distribution across time categories, with 39.24% reporting less than one hour and 27.2% reporting three or more hours. Like the Hungarian data, English digital practice was predominantly reported at less than one hour per day (83.2%), with only 5% indicating three or more hours. The number of responses ranged from 101 (digital practice) to 171 (TV hours).

Across the two languages, English exposure appears higher than Hungarian exposure in screen-based activities, particularly in TV viewing, where a larger proportion of children reported three or more hours in English (44.4%) than in Hungarian (37%). At the same time, both languages show similarly low levels of extended engagement in digital practice, with most children reportedly spending less than one hour per day on digital practice in both Hungarian (82.5%) and English (83.2%). (Detailed table is in Appendix 5.2.1. and 5.2.2.)

Figure 15. Distribution of Time Spent on Hungarian- and English-Language Digital Activities



Note. HU = Hungarian; EN = English. Percentages indicate the reported distribution of time spent on Hungarian- and English-language digital activities.

The interview data also highlighted the role of digital exposure in shaping children's linguistic environment. Several parents described English as the dominant language of digital media, with one participant noting that "*when we turn on the television, everything is only in English*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). At the same time, some families reported consciously regulating screen-related language exposure in order to support heritage language maintenance. As one parent explained, "*if there was any screen time, then it was in Hungarian*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). In summary, these examples illustrate that digital media constitute an important domain in which the wider English-dominant environment enters the family language ecology, while also providing parents with opportunities for deliberate heritage language management. The predominance of English in some forms of screen-based activity suggests that children's digital language exposure is shaped partly by the availability and accessibility of majority-language content, reflecting the increasing influence of digital environments on family language practices (Lanza, 2020). At the same time, the deliberate use of Hungarian-language screen content demonstrates how parents may actively manage digital exposure to create additional opportunities for heritage language contact. This

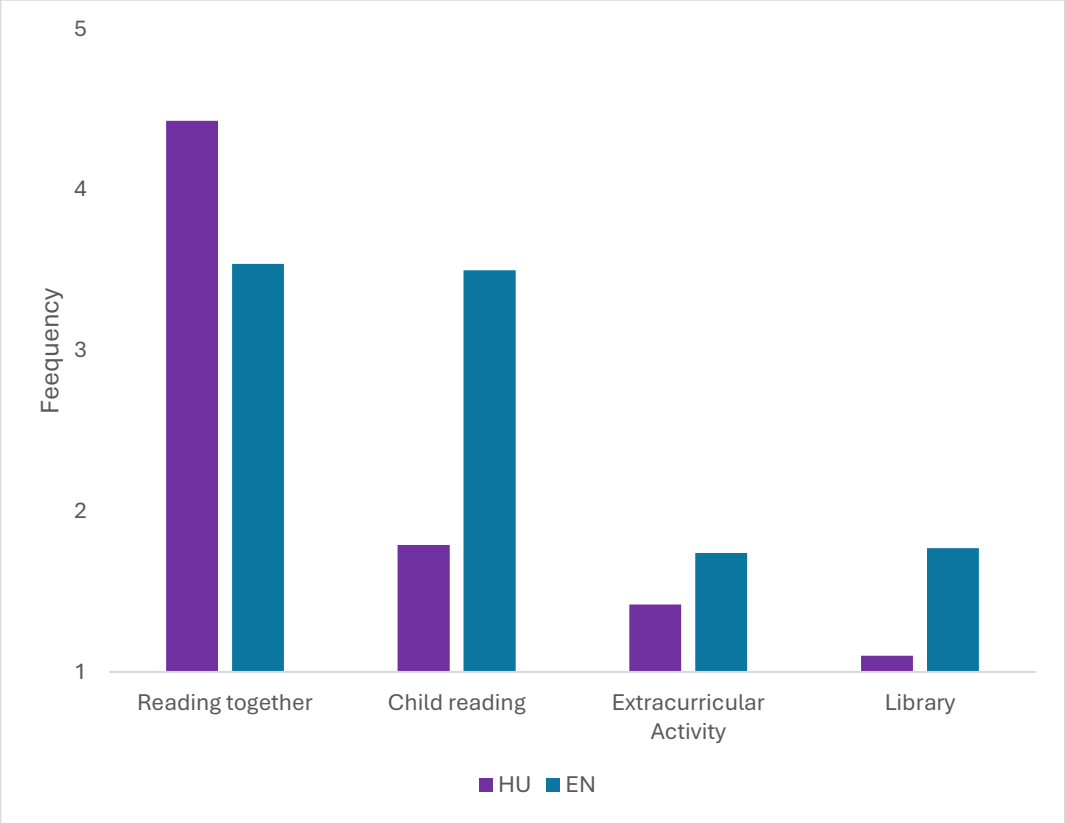
illustrates how digital resources can expand the domains in which heritage languages are encountered and used within family life (Palviainen, 2020a). From a broader language-maintenance perspective, this is also consistent with Pauwels (2016), who emphasises the importance of extending the domains and opportunities in which a heritage language remains available and relevant. Digital media may therefore function both as a source of increased English exposure and as a resource that families can strategically use to support Hungarian language maintenance. This dual role is also consistent with Hollebeke et al. (2022), who highlight the importance of parental mediation in shaping children's language exposure through media and digital activities.

4.1.6. Literacy-Related and Extracurricular Activities

Participants were asked about the frequency of their children's Hungarian- and English-language literacy-related and extracurricular activities, including shared reading, independent reading, extracurricular activities, and library use (Questionnaire Items 189–196). Figure 16 shows considerable differences between Hungarian and English literacy-related activities and extracurricular engagement. Shared reading activities are reported more frequently in Hungarian (M = 4.43, SD = 1.68) than in English (M = 3.54, SD = 1.79), suggesting that Hungarian remains more prominent in parent–child literacy interactions within the home.

In contrast, children's independent reading appears more common in English (M = 3.50, SD = 2.32) than in Hungarian (M = 1.79, SD = 1.35), indicating stronger literacy engagement in English outside parent-supported activities. Participation in extracurricular and library-related activities is relatively low in both languages, although English-language activities show slightly higher mean scores than Hungarian ones. (Detailed table is in Appendix 5.3.)

Figure 16. Frequency of Hungarian and English Literacy-Related and Extracurricular Activities



Note. Response options ranged from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*). EN = English; HU = Hungarian; *M* = mean; *SD* = standard deviation.

The interviews also support the quantitative findings regarding literacy practices and extracurricular activities. Several parents reported that children's independent reading occurred mainly in English, with one parent explaining that her son "*really loves reading … he reads in English*" and "*keeps books right next to his bed*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). Similarly, another parent noted that her son "*learned very quickly in English*" and "*read a lot*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband), while another mentioned that the teacher recommended "*books intended for 12-year-olds in English*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband) because he was so good at reading. At the same time, some families consciously attempted to balance literacy activities across both languages. As a mother explained, "*we had a rule: read one in English and then one in Hungarian as well*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). Heritage-language extracurricular activities were also mentioned in the interviews, although less frequently, with one parent noting that "*we only went to puppet theatre in Hungary*" (mother, married

to a Hungarian husband).

Overall, the examples suggest that literacy-related language use varies according to the degree of parental involvement and the wider linguistic environment in which the activity takes place. Shared reading appears to provide parents with greater opportunities to actively support Hungarian literacy, whereas children's independent reading is more strongly oriented towards English, reflecting the greater availability and relevance of English-language materials in their educational and everyday environment. This pattern is also consistent with Polinsky's (2018) emphasis on the quantity and type of heritage-language input and on the broader sociolinguistic environment in which children's language development takes place. The deliberate alternation between English- and Hungarian-language reading further illustrates how parents may actively manage literacy practices in order to maintain opportunities for heritage-language development, which is consistent with research treating literacy practices as an important component of family language management (Curdt-Christiansen & La Morgia, 2018). This also resonates with Little's (2018) findings, which show that families draw on books, community-based activities, and other literacy-related resources to support heritage-language development, while children's engagement with such resources may vary considerably across family and educational contexts. Extracurricular and library-related activities, by contrast, appear to provide fewer opportunities for Hungarian-language engagement, suggesting that heritage-language literacy support remains more strongly located within the family than in the wider institutional environment. Organised heritage-language activities and educational support may nevertheless provide meaningful contexts for maintaining and developing the heritage language beyond the home (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022). More broadly, the contrast between shared and independent reading highlights the importance of active, family-supported literacy engagement in creating opportunities for heritage language development (Stavans & Jessner, 2023).

4.2. Language Ideologies

4.2.1. Exploratory Factor Analysis

Participants responded to a series of statements concerning language ideologies and beliefs about bilingualism (Questionnaire Items 199-208, 212-215, 217-218). An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted to examine the latent structure of the

Ideologies Scale. The extraction was performed using exploratory factor analysis with oblimin rotation, allowing the factors to correlate.

The chi-square test of model fit was significant, $\chi^2(100) = 213.63$, $p < .001$, indicating rejection of the exact-fit hypothesis. Based on parallel analysis and the interpretability of the solution, a five-factor solution was retained. The rotated solution explained 51% of the total variance.

Table 8. Chi-Square Test of Model Fit for the Ideologies Scale

Test	χ^2	df	p
Model	213.63	100	< .001

Note. χ^2 = chi-square statistic.

Factor structure (Table 9)

Factor 1 (Questionnaire Items 205-208) showed high loadings for items related to the academic importance of Hungarian literacy (e.g., Hungarian writing important, Hungarian reading important), with loadings ranging from .42 to .94.

Factor 2 (Questionnaire Items 212-214) reflected home and family contact in non-English languages, with strong loadings (.40–.88).

Factor 3 (Questionnaire Items 215, 217, 218) represented complementary school language ideology, including support for school-based heritage language development (.53–.83).

Factor 4 (Questionnaire Items 199-202) captured deficit-oriented or subtractive beliefs about bilingualism (negatively worded items), with loadings between .49 and .76.

Factor 5 (Questionnaire Items 203, 204) reflected positive beliefs about bilingual academic and career benefits (.83–.89).

Loadings below .40 were suppressed in Table 9. Communalities ranged from .33 to .88, indicating acceptable shared variance across items.

Reliability

Internal consistency reliability was calculated for each factor using Cronbach's alpha. The reliability coefficients ranged from acceptable to good:

- Factor 1: α = .83
- Factor 2: α = .75
- Factor 3: α = .76
- Factor 4: α = .70
- Factor 5: α = .88

These results indicate satisfactory internal consistency for all subscales, with particularly strong reliability for Factor 5.

Based on the analysis, the factors were named as the following:

Factor 1 Heritage/Hungarian literacy value

Factor 2 Home language use

Factor 3 School Language Support

Factor 4 Negative Beliefs about Bilingualism

Factor 5 Academic and Career Benefits

Of the 20 ideology items entered into the final EFA following preliminary item screening, 16 showed primary factor loadings of at least .40 on one of the five factors.

Table 9. Exploratory Factor Analysis

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Uniqueness
HL writing literacy positive	0.941					0.117
HL reading literacy positive	0.924					0.151
Bilingual literacy positive	0.512					0.624
Multilingual literacy positive	0.417					0.608
Family contact HL positive		0.876				0.230
Child contact HL positive		0.860				0.266
Bilingual identity positive		0.402				0.667
Complementary school to learn languages positive			0.828			0.254
Following language advice			0.699			0.518
HL identity in school positive			0.525			0.622
HL negative influence on EN				0.761		0.417
HL at home negative				0.669		0.551
English priority				0.582		0.626
Bilingual confusion				0.493		0.639
Bilingual academic advantage					0.894	0.197
Bilingual career advantage					0.830	0.322
HL privacy negative						0.760
Complementary school value						0.758
Grandparents' key role						0.732
Languages future career						0.747

Note. Applied rotation method is oblimin.

Descriptive statistics for the five ideology factors are presented in Table 10. The highest mean was observed for Factor 5 (Academic and Career Benefits; $M = 4.65$, $SD = 0.82$), followed by Factor 2 (Home language use; $M = 4.58$, $SD = 0.59$) and Factor 1 (Heritage/Hungarian literacy value; $M = 4.40$, $SD = 0.64$). Factor 3 (School Language Support) showed a mid-range mean ($M = 3.06$, $SD = 1.04$), while Factor 4 (Negative beliefs about bilingualism) had the lowest mean ($M = 1.49$, $SD = 0.64$). The largest variability was observed for Factor 3, whereas Factor 2 showed the smallest standard deviation.

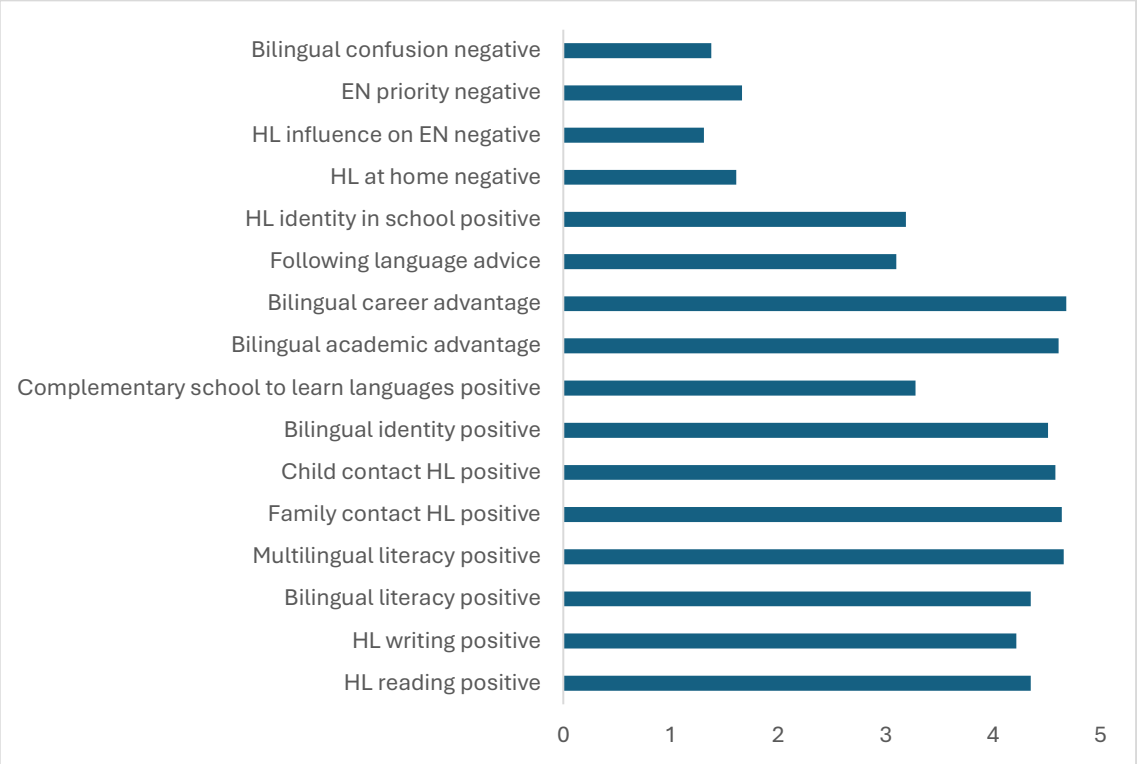
Table 10. Ideologies Descriptive Analysis

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Factor 1	4.395	0.637
Factor 2	4.578	0.591
Factor 3	3.063	1.041
Factor 4	1.491	0.635
Factor 5	4.647	0.815

The factor-level results indicate a predominantly positive orientation towards bilingualism and heritage language maintenance. The particularly high scores for Academic and Career Benefits suggest that participants strongly associated bilingualism with future educational and professional opportunities. Similarly, the high scores for Home Language Use and Heritage/Hungarian Literacy Value indicate that Hungarian was assigned substantial value within the family and as a language to be transmitted to children. In contrast, the low mean for Negative Beliefs about Bilingualism suggests limited endorsement of concerns about the potentially detrimental effects of bilingualism. This combination reflects the coexistence of heritage-oriented and future-oriented language ideologies: Hungarian is valued for its role within the family and its transmission across generations, while bilingualism is simultaneously perceived as a resource for children's future opportunities.

Item-level descriptive statistics are presented in Figure 17. Mean values ranged from 2.81 (Hungarian identity in school) to 4.69 (Hungarian not disadvantageous in English context; reversed item), indicating generally high agreement with positively framed statements and low endorsement of negatively worded items after reverse coding. Detailed item-level descriptive statistics are provided in Appendix 6.

Figure 17. Mean Scores of Parental Language Ideology Statements



Note. HL = heritage language; EN = English. Higher mean scores indicate stronger agreement with the statements. Negative items reflect beliefs associated with potential disadvantages of bilingualism or heritage language maintenance.

The interview findings also strongly reflected the five language ideology factors identified in the quantitative analysis. Heritage literacy values frequently appeared in parental narratives, with a mother explaining that *"there was reading aloud every evening for a very long time"* (mother, married to a Hungarian husband), while another noted that her son *"taught himself to read in Hungarian at the age of five"* (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). These examples suggest that Hungarian literacy was valued not merely as a linguistic skill but as part of the intergenerational transmission of the heritage language. This reflects the role of parental beliefs about the cultural and educational value of a language in shaping family language choices and practices (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009).

Home language use ideology was similarly prominent, as several parents emphasised consistent Hungarian use within the household, for example: *"we only speak Hungarian"* (mother, married to a Hungarian husband) and *"I listen to him, but I reply back in Hungarian"* (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). These statements illustrate how

ideological preferences may be translated into everyday interactional practices. At the same time, the second example shows that such practices do not necessarily require children to follow the same language choice, suggesting that parental language ideology and children's actual language behaviour may coexist without being identical.

School language support ideology also emerged in the interviews, particularly in relation to parental involvement in children's education, with a parent stating that she *"talked a lot to the teacher"* about the difficulties the child might have had because of being bilingual (mother, married to a Hungarian husband), and a mother noting that she *"knew how to help children maintain their mother tongue"* because she used to be a teacher herself (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). These examples indicate that language ideologies extend beyond choices made within the home and may shape how parents engage with educational institutions and seek support for heritage-language development.

At the same time, several participants expressed negative beliefs or anxieties related to bilingualism and English dominance. One parent explicitly described how many parents wonder *"whether it is good if I only speak Hungarian"* and worry that the child *"will not understand English in nursery"* (mother, married to a Hungarian husband), while another remarked that *"English flows from every tap"* (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). The first account reflects concerns about possible disadvantages of heritage-language use for children's majority-language development, whereas the second situates such concerns within an environment in which English is perceived as pervasive. Together, these examples illustrate how family language ideologies may be shaped by wider social and educational conditions rather than arising solely from preferences within the family.

Finally, academic and career-related ideologies were also strongly present. A mother explained that they moved to the UK partly so that *"the children would acquire English at a native level"* and because *"English gives them more opportunities later in life"* (mother, married to a Hungarian husband), while another similarly stated that *"English will make things easier for him later"* (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). Here, English is assigned an instrumental value that extends beyond immediate communicative needs to anticipate educational and professional opportunities. This closely reflects Curdt-Christiansen's (2009) account of language ideology as being connected to parents' aspirations for their children's education, future social mobility, and the perceived social and economic value of different languages.

Taken together, the quantitative and qualitative findings suggest that parental language ideologies are multidimensional rather than uniformly heritage-oriented or majority-language-oriented, combining commitments to Hungarian language transmission with pragmatic orientations towards English and bilingualism as resources for children's educational and future opportunities.

4.3. Management and HL Maintenance

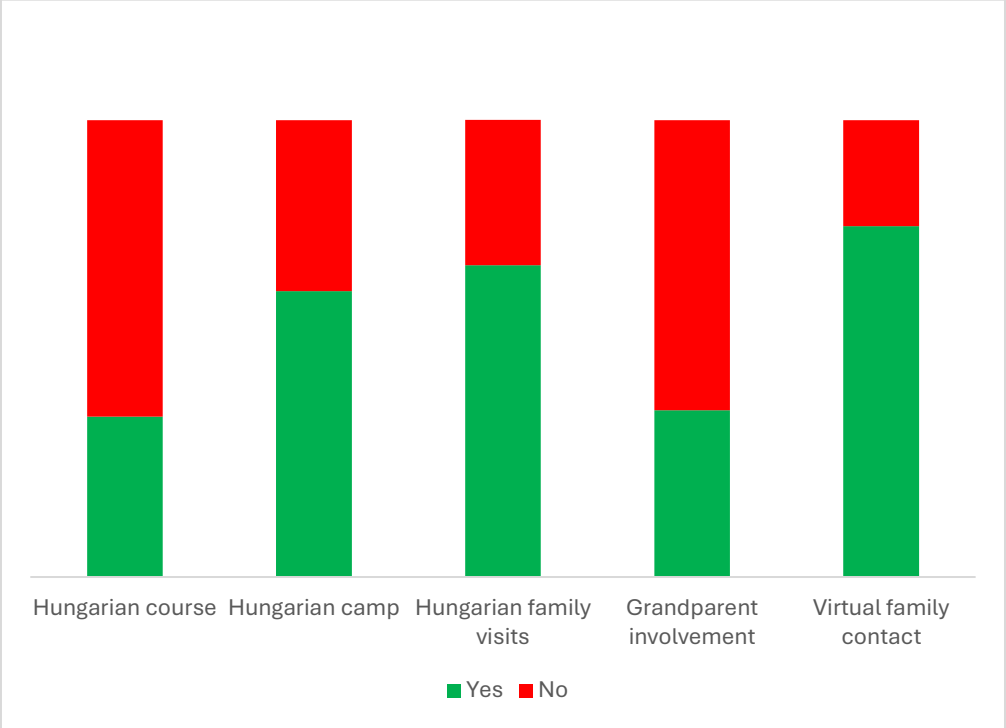
Participants were asked what steps they would take to support heritage language maintenance and bilingual development within the family context. These items aimed to explore the extent to which parents actively engage in language management practices designed to increase children's exposure to Hungarian and strengthen intergenerational language transmission. Figure 18 presents the distribution of family language management. Participation in Hungarian courses was reported by 35.1% of respondents, while 64.9% indicated no participation. In contrast, attendance at Hungarian camps was more common, with 62.6% reporting participation. Hungarian family visits were reported by 68.3% of the sample. Grandparent involvement was less frequent, with 36.5% indicating involvement and 63.5% reporting none. The highest proportion of affirmative responses was observed for virtual family contact, with 76.8% reporting online communication with family members. The distribution of responses across the five management items is presented in Table 11.

Table 11. Management items

Variable	Response	Valid	%	Total
Hungarian course	No	137	64.9	211
	Yes	74	35.1	211
Hungarian camp	No	79	37.4	211
	Yes	132	62.6	211
Hungarian family visits	No	67	31.8	211
	Yes	144	68.3	211
Grandparent involvement	No	134	63.5	211
	Yes	77	36.5	211
Virtual family contact	No	49	23.2	211
	Yes	162	76.8	211

Figure 18 provides a visual comparison of these management strategies, highlighting the considerable variation in their reported use.

Figure 18. Distribution of Heritage Language Management Strategies



Note. Percentages represent respondents reporting "Yes" and "No" participation in each heritage language management activity. Higher "Yes" percentages indicate more frequent use of the given language management strategy.

The interview findings provided further insight into several heritage language

management strategies aimed at maintaining Hungarian through transnational ties and organised activities. Many parents emphasised the importance of regular contact with relatives in Hungary, with one mother explaining that "*the grandparents are constantly visiting, and we also go home very often*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband), while a father similarly noted that they "we *often travel back home*" (father, married to a Hungarian wife). Other families described more structured heritage-language-related activities, such as enrolment in camps and planned visits to Hungary. As one explicitly explained, "*I enrolled them in camps in Hungary*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband).

Considered together, these findings suggest that heritage language management in the participating families is strongly embedded in transnational family relationships and everyday opportunities for language use rather than relying primarily on formal educational provision. The particularly high proportion of virtual family contact, together with frequent visits to Hungary and participation in Hungarian camps, indicates that families extend the domains of Hungarian beyond the immediate household by maintaining regular linguistic and cultural connections with relatives and communities in Hungary. This emphasis on transnational ties aligns with Little (2018) and Pauwels (2016), who highlight the role of extended family relationships, contact with heritage-language communities, and visits to the country of origin in supporting children's connection to the heritage language and its maintenance across generations.

Regular grandparent contact, travel to Hungary, and participation in Hungarian camps create situations in which children have a practical reason to use the heritage language, reflecting the importance of sustained opportunities for meaningful language use in family and transnational contexts (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020).

At the same time, the lower participation in Hungarian courses and the relatively limited everyday involvement of grandparents suggest that management strategies vary considerably according to families' circumstances and available resources. This variation reflects the dynamic and context-dependent nature of FLP, in which parental intentions are implemented through different combinations of informal, transnational, and organised practices rather than through a single uniform strategy (Curdt-Christiansen & La Morgia, 2018).

4.4. Internal and External Factors

4.4.1. Correlations between Children's Hungarian Proficiency and Internal and External Factors

To gain a more nuanced understanding of how Family Language Policy operates in Hungarian migrant families in the UK, the following analyses examine the relationships between the main internal and external variables identified in the conceptual framework. These analyses were conducted because they directly address the study's second research question and hypotheses and help to identify relationships among parental beliefs, language management strategies, child-related factors, and broader social influences within the family context. Rather than considering these variables in isolation, the analyses aim to identify broader patterns associated with variation in children's heritage language proficiency and language use practices.

To examine the relationships between parents' and children's Hungarian proficiency, selected internal family-related factors, and background variables, Pearson correlation analyses were conducted. Table 12 presents the correlations between parents' and children's Hungarian proficiency, parental language practices, child-directed speech, child agency, years spent in the UK, and the child's age. Children's Hungarian proficiency showed significant positive correlations with parental Hungarian proficiency ($r = .218$, $p < .01$), parents' own language practices ($r = .357$, $p < .001$), child-directed speech ($r = .408$, $p < .001$), child agency ($r = .510$, $p < .001$), and child age ($r = .431$, $p < .001$).

Strong positive correlations were also observed between parents' own language practices and child-directed speech ($r = .715$, $p < .001$), as well as between child-directed speech and child agency ($r = .841$, $p < .001$). Years spent in the UK showed weak negative correlations with parents' own language practices ($r = –.216$, $p < .05$) and child-directed speech ($r = –.164$, $p < .05$). In addition, child age was positively correlated with years spent in the UK ($r = .317$, $p < .001$).

Table 12. Correlations Between Hungarian Proficiency, Family Language Practices, Child Agency, Length of Residence, and Child Age

Variable	Parent HU proficiency	Child HU proficiency	Parent own language practice	Child-directed speech	Child agency	Years in UK	Child age
1. Parent HU proficiency	—						
2. Child HU proficiency	.218**	—					
3. Parent own language practice	−.111	.357***	—				
4. Child-directed speech	.003	.408***	.715***	—			
5. Child agency	.032	.510***	.639***	.841***	—		
6. Years in UK	.069	.097	−.216*	−.164*	−.083	—	
7. Child age	.112	.431***	.164	−.008	.070	.317***	—

Note. HU = Hungarian; LoR = length of residence in the United Kingdom. Pearson correlation coefficients are reported. $p < .05$, **p** < .01, ***p*** < .001.

The positive association between child Hungarian proficiency and child-directed speech ($r = .408$, $p < .001$) was also reflected in the interview data. One mother explained that "*although I prefer expressing complex and emotionally significant ideas in Hungarian, I often switch to English because he appears to understand these discussions more easily in English*" (mother, married to an English husband). This suggests that child-directed speech is not simply determined by parental language preferences but may respond to children's perceived competence and communicative needs. The parent's decision to switch to English when discussing more complex topics illustrates how children's comprehension may shape parental language practices, making language choice a reciprocal rather than exclusively parent-driven process. This interactional pattern is consistent with research showing that children actively participate in negotiating family language practices and may influence the language choices of other family members (Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2015; Smith-Christmas, 2019).

Pearson correlation analysis was used to explore the relationship between Hungarian language proficiency and the different language ideology factors included in the study. Table 13 presents the correlations between children's and parents' Hungarian proficiency and the different language ideology factors. Children's Hungarian proficiency showed

significant positive correlations with heritage literacy ideology (r = .293, p < .001), heritage language use ideology (r = .153, p < .05), and academic language beliefs (r = .166, p < .05). In contrast, negative language beliefs were negatively correlated with children's Hungarian proficiency (r = –.310, p < .001). Parents' Hungarian proficiency showed a weak negative correlation with negative language beliefs (r = –.146, p < .05).

Significant positive correlations were also observed among several ideology-related factors. Heritage literacy ideology was positively associated with heritage language use ideology (r = .406, p < .001) and school language support ideology (r = .401, p < .001). In addition, heritage language use ideology was positively correlated with school language support ideology (r = .367, p < .001). Negative language beliefs showed a significant negative correlation with academic language beliefs (r = –.221, p < .01). Overall, the findings indicate that positive heritage language-related ideologies tend to co-occur, whereas negative beliefs about bilingualism are associated with lower Hungarian language proficiency levels. The pattern suggests that language ideologies are not equally related to heritage language outcomes. Heritage literacy ideology showed the clearest positive relationship with children's Hungarian proficiency, whereas negative beliefs about bilingualism were associated with lower proficiency. This supports Curdt-Christiansen's (2009) argument that parental beliefs about the value and consequences of different languages may influence family language decisions and transmission practices. At the same time, the varying relationships across ideology factors are consistent with Woolard's (2020) view of language ideologies as socially situated and potentially varied rather than forming a single uniform orientation towards language.

Table 13. Correlations Between Hungarian Proficiency and Language Ideology Factors

Variable	Child HU proficiency	Parent HU proficiency	Heritage literacy ideology	Heritage language use ideology	School language support ideology	Negative language beliefs	Academic language beliefs
1. Child HU proficiency	—						
2. Parent HU proficiency	.218**	—					
3. Heritage literacy ideology	.293***	.032	—				
4. Heritage language use ideology	.153*	.039	.406***	—			
5. School language support ideology	.101	−.008	.401***	.367***	—		
6. Negative language beliefs	−.310***	−.146*	−.176*	−.121	−.003	—	
7. Academic language beliefs	.166*	.049	.133	.060	.023	−.221**	—

Note. HU = Hungarian. Pearson correlation coefficients are reported. $p < .05$, **p** < .01, ***p*** < .001.

The following analysis examined whether heritage language management strategies and child-related variables were related to children's Hungarian language proficiency. Table 14 presents the correlations between children's Hungarian proficiency, heritage language management, child agency, and child age. Children's Hungarian proficiency showed a strong positive correlation with child agency ($r = .510$, $p < .001$) and a moderate positive correlation with child age ($r = .431$, $p < .001$). In contrast, heritage language management did not show a significant correlation with children's Hungarian proficiency ($r = –.038$, $p > .05$), child agency ($r = –.111$, $p > .05$), or child age ($r = –.031$, $p > .05$). In addition, no significant association was observed between child agency and child age ($r = .070$, $p > .05$). Overall, the findings indicate that children's Hungarian proficiency is more strongly associated with child agency and age than with reported heritage language

management strategies. This distinction suggests that the presence of language management strategies alone may not be sufficient to account for stronger heritage language outcomes. Their relevance may depend on whether they create opportunities in which children actively participate and use Hungarian, reinforcing the view that FLP emerges through the interaction of parental management and children's own linguistic agency (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020).

Table 14. Correlations Between Children's Hungarian Proficiency, Heritage Language Management, Child Agency, and Child Age

Variable	Child Hungarian proficiency	Heritage language management	Child agency	Child age
1. Child Hungarian proficiency	—			
2. Heritage language management	−0.038	—		
3. Child agency	0.510***	−0.111	—	
4. Child age	0.431***	−0.031	0.070	—

Note. HU = Hungarian. Pearson correlation coefficients are reported. $p < .05$, $\mathbf{p < .01}$, $\boldsymbol{p < .001}$.

To further explore the relationship between digital exposure and heritage language maintenance, correlation analyses were conducted between children's Hungarian proficiency and Hungarian-related digital activities. Children's Hungarian proficiency was not significantly associated with digital exposure (see Table 15). The absence of significant associations suggests that the amount of Hungarian-language digital exposure alone may not be sufficient to account for differences in heritage language proficiency. This contrasts with the stronger relationships observed for interactional and literacy-related activities and raises the possibility that the quality and communicative use of digital input may be more relevant than exposure time alone. This interpretation is consistent with research suggesting that digital environments can provide additional opportunities for heritage language contact, but their contribution depends on how actively and meaningfully they are incorporated into family language practices (Lanza, 2020; Palviainen, 2020b).

Table 15. Correlations Between Children's Hungarian Proficiency and Hungarian Digital Exposure Activities

Variable	Child HU proficiency	HU TV exposure/hours	HU Games exposure/hours	HU Videos exposure/hours	HU Digital practice
1. Child HU proficiency	—				
2. HU TV exposure/hours	-0.03	—			
3. HU Games exposure/hours	0.00	0.474***	—		
4. HU Videos exposure/hours	0.13	0.454***	0.107	—	
5. HU Digital practice	0.136	0.283**	0.245*	0.628***	—

Note. HU = Hungarian. Pearson correlation coefficients are reported. Digital practice refers to language-related digital activities conducted in Hungarian. $p < .05$, $p < .01$, $p < .001$.

Finally, the following analysis explored whether participation in Hungarian-related literacy, extracurricular, and community activities was associated with children's Hungarian language proficiency. Table 16 presents the correlations between children's Hungarian proficiency and Hungarian-related literacy, extracurricular, and community activities. Children's Hungarian proficiency showed significant positive correlations with shared Hungarian reading activities ($r = .275$, $p < .001$), children's independent Hungarian reading ($r = .532$, $p < .001$), Hungarian extracurricular activities ($r = .311$, $p < .001$), church-related activities ($r = .170$, $p < .05$), and Hungarian community events ($r = .235$, $p < .01$). No significant correlation was observed between children's Hungarian proficiency and Hungarian library activities ($r = .114$, $p > .05$).

Additional positive correlations were identified among several activity-related variables. Shared Hungarian reading was positively associated with children's independent Hungarian reading ($r = .239$, $p < .01$). Hungarian extracurricular activities were positively correlated with Hungarian community events ($r = .541$, $p < .001$). Hungarian library activities also showed positive correlations with church participation ($r = .318$, $p < .001$) and Hungarian community events ($r = .322$, $p < .001$), while church participation was positively associated with Hungarian community events ($r = .266$, $p < .001$). Overall, the findings indicate that several literacy-related and community-based Hungarian activities tend to co-occur, while shared and independent reading, extracurricular activities, church-related activities, and community events were positively

associated with children’s Hungarian proficiency.

Table 16. Correlations Between Children's Hungarian Proficiency and Hungarian Literacy, Extracurricular, and Community Activities

Variable	M Child HU proficiency	HU reading together	HU child reading	HU extracurricular activities	HU library	HU church	HU community events
M Child HU proficiency	—						
HU reading together	0.275***	—					
HU child reading	0.532***	0.239**	—				
HU extracurricular activities	0.311***	0.095	0.152*	—			
HU library	0.114	0.075	-0.015	0.021	—		
HU church	0.170*	-0.034	0.102	0.112	0.318***	—	
HU community events	0.235**	0.157	0.132	0.541***	0.322***	0.266***	—

Note. HU = Hungarian. Pearson correlation coefficients are reported. Shared reading refers to parent–child reading activities conducted in Hungarian. $p < .05$, $\mathbf{p} < .01$, $\boldsymbol{p} < .001$.

The quantitative findings indicated that both shared reading activities and children's independent reading in Hungarian were positively associated with Hungarian language proficiency. The interview data further illustrated the role of literacy practices in family language maintenance. Several parents described "*reading has always been a long-standing family routine*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). As another explained, "*for a very long time there was reading every evening; it became a ritual, and my husband read The Lord of the Rings to them.*" Similarly, it was confirmed that shared storybook reading remained part of family life over time "*storybook reading ... continues to this day*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). Independent reading also emerged as an important practice, with one mother noting that "*my little son loves reading in Hungarian, although he reads in English as well*" (single mother). This pattern also complements the earlier ideology findings, in which heritage literacy values showed the clearest positive association with children's Hungarian proficiency, suggesting convergence between parents' literacy-related beliefs and children's actual literacy practices. Together, these examples suggest that regular literacy-related activities may provide children with continuous opportunities to engage with Hungarian beyond everyday conversation and contribute to heritage language development. Shared and independent Hungarian reading may therefore function as repeated forms of active language engagement rather than passive exposure, which is consistent with research treating literacy practices as an important component of family language management (Curdt-Christiansen & La Morgia, 2018). The positive associations with extracurricular and community activities further suggest that opportunities for Hungarian use beyond the immediate household may also contribute to heritage language development by extending the contexts in which children encounter and actively use the language (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022).

4.4.2. Predictors of Heritage Language Maintenance: Regression Models of Child Proficiency and Child Agency[3]

To examine the combined predictive contributions of the previously identified internal and external factors, a series of multiple regression analyses were conducted. While the correlation analyses explored relationships between individual variables, the regression models aimed to identify which factors remained significant predictors when considered simultaneously within the broader FLP framework. In these models, children's Hungarian language proficiency and child agency were treated as the main dependent variables, as both were conceptualised as indicators of heritage language maintenance: proficiency reflects children's linguistic competence in Hungarian, while agency captures their active participation in using and sustaining the heritage language in everyday family interactions.

Table 17 presents the multiple linear regression model predicting children's Hungarian proficiency. Among the predictors included in the model, child agency emerged as the strongest significant predictor of children's Hungarian proficiency ($B = 0.432$, $\beta = .683$, $p < .001$). Child age also showed a significant positive association with Hungarian proficiency ($B = 0.094$, $\beta = .425$, $p < .001$). In addition, participation in Hungarian extracurricular activities showed a significant positive association with Hungarian proficiency ($B = 0.208$, $\beta = .242$, $p = .012$).

Shared Hungarian reading activities were at the threshold of statistical significance (B = 0.082, β = .169, p = .050), whereas children's independent Hungarian reading did not emerge as a significant predictor within the model (p = .170). Similarly, parental Hungarian proficiency, parents' own language practices, child-directed speech, community events, and family language composition variables did not emerge as significant predictors. Complementary-school status was also significantly associated with children's Hungarian proficiency ($B = 0.489$, $p = .007$), with children who did not attend a Hungarian complementary school showing higher predicted proficiency than those who attended, after controlling for the other predictors in the model.

[3] Due to missing data across variables included in the models, the number of cases varies across analyses.

Table 17. Multiple Linear Regression Predicting Children's Hungarian Proficiency

Predictor	B	SE	β	p
Parent HU proficiency	0.138	0.147	.072	.353
Child agency	0.432	0.083	.683	<.001
Child age	0.094	0.019	.425	<.001
Parent own language practice	−0.090	0.105	−.092	.392
HU reading together	0.082	0.041	.169	.050
Child HU reading	0.076	0.055	.110	.170
HU extracurricular activities	0.208	0.081	.242	.012
HU community events	−0.086	0.095	−.073	.371
Child-directed speech	−0.090	0.114	−.117	.432
Family language (HU & ENG)	0.118	0.160	—	.463
Family language (HU, ENG, Other)	0.143	0.226	—	.529
Family language (ENG)	−0.333	0.545	—	.543
Family language (Other & HU)	−0.567	0.570	—	.323
HU complementary school (No)	0.489	0.177	—	.007

Note. HU = Hungarian; EN = English; *B* = unstandardised regression coefficient; *SE* = standard error; *β* = standardised beta coefficient. Reference categories for categorical predictors were Hungarian-only family language use and attendance at a Hungarian weekend/complementary school (Yes). *N* = 83. Significant predictors are indicated by *p* < .05.

Overall, the findings suggest that child-related factors, particularly child agency and age, together with Hungarian extracurricular activities, were more strongly associated with children's Hungarian proficiency than several family-level language practice variables included in the model. The strong association of child agency was echoed in the interview data, where parents described children's own initiative as central to Hungarian language use and development. For example, one parent explained that the child "*decided that she wanted to speak Hungarian*" and even "*taught herself to read in Hungarian at the age of five*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband), illustrating the importance of children's active engagement in heritage language use and development. The particularly strong predictive contribution of child agency is consistent with research conceptualising children as active participants in FLP who may influence, negotiate, and reshape family

language practices rather than simply responding to parental language choices (Kheirkhah & Cekaite, 2015; Smith-Christmas, 2019). The interview data also illustrated domain-based language preferences, as one parent noted that, "*when they fight over something, they immediately switch to English*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband).

At the same time, the effect of age was reflected in parents' accounts of increasing English dominance as children grew older and became more embedded in English-speaking peer and school environments. As one parent noted, "*now that they are older, it happens more often that they speak English at home*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband), while another similarly observed that "*now that they are older, English also comes in*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). Together, these qualitative accounts complement the regression findings by illustrating the importance of children's own agency and age-related changes in their wider linguistic environment alongside parental input. The positive association with child age should be interpreted alongside these accounts, which suggest that children's linguistic behaviour changes as their communicative environments expand with age. This is consistent with research showing that schooling, peer interaction, and wider societal exposure increasingly shape language practices as children grow older (Pauwels, 2016).

The positive association between Hungarian extracurricular activities and children's proficiency further suggests that opportunities for active heritage-language use beyond the immediate household may contribute to children's Hungarian proficiency. This is consistent with research emphasising the role of organised heritage-language activities in creating meaningful contexts for heritage-language use and maintenance (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022).

The next regression model examined whether language ideology factors and selected background variables predicted children's Hungarian language proficiency (Table 18). Child age emerged as a significant positive predictor of Hungarian proficiency ($B = 0.095$, $\beta = .403$, $p < .001$). Heritage literacy ideology also showed a significant positive association with children's Hungarian proficiency ($B = 0.410$, $\beta = .280$, $p < .001$), while negative language beliefs were significantly negatively associated with Hungarian proficiency ($B = -0.221$, $\beta = -.150$, $p = .011$).

Parental Hungarian proficiency also showed a significant positive association with children's Hungarian proficiency ($B = 0.294$, $\beta = .155$, $p = .007$). In addition, complementary-school status was significantly associated with children's Hungarian

proficiency (B = −0.346, p = .007), with the "No" category showing a negative coefficient relative to the "Yes" reference category. In contrast, heritage language use ideology and school language support ideology did not emerge as significant predictors.

Overall, the model indicates that children's Hungarian proficiency was associated with child age, heritage literacy ideology, negative language beliefs, parental Hungarian proficiency, and complementary-school status. Notably, the direction of this association differed from that observed in the broader model presented in Table 18, suggesting that the complementary-school effect was sensitive to model specification.

Table 18. Multiple Linear Regression Predicting Children's Hungarian Proficiency from Language Ideologies and Background Variables

Predictor	B	SE	β	p
Child age	0.095	0.014	.403	< .001
Heritage literacy ideology	0.410	0.095	.280	< .001
Heritage language use ideology	0.060	0.098	.038	.545
School language support ideology	−0.082	0.059	−.092	.164
Negative language beliefs	−0.221	0.086	−.150	.011
HU complementary school (No)	−0.346	0.126	—	.007
Parent HU proficiency	0.294	0.107	.155	.007

Note. HU = Hungarian; *B* = unstandardised regression coefficient; *SE* = standard error; *β* = standardised beta coefficient. The reference category for complementary school attendance was Yes (attendance at a Hungarian weekend/complementary school). *N* = 211. Significant predictors are indicated by $p < .05$.

The interview data further illustrate the ideological dimensions identified in the regression model. While some parents strongly emphasised the importance of maintaining Hungarian, as reflected in the following statement that "*it is important that they can speak Hungarian*" (father, married to a Hungarian husband), others expressed concerns about the potential consequences of prioritising the heritage language. One participant noted that many parents wonder "*whether it is good if I only speak Hungarian*" and worry about "*what will happen when the child starts nursery and does not understand English*" (single mother). Similarly, another reported that some parents "*were afraid that the child would fall behind* (if their Hungarian proficiency is higher than the English)" (mother, married to an English husband). These contrasting perspectives reflect the coexistence of strong heritage language maintenance ideologies and concerns about bilingualism identified in the quantitative findings, where heritage literacy beliefs

positively predicted children's Hungarian proficiency, whereas negative language beliefs were associated with lower proficiency levels. This pattern is consistent with Curdt-Christiansen's (2009) conceptualisation of language ideology as connected to parents' aspirations for their children's education and future opportunities, suggesting that parental beliefs about the value and perceived consequences of different languages may be associated with heritage-language outcomes.

The following regression analysis examined which Family Language Policy factors were associated with variation in child agency (Table 19). Among the predictors included in the model, child-directed speech emerged as the strongest significant predictor of child agency (B = 0.958, β = .771, p < .001). In addition, school language support ideology showed a small but significant positive association with child agency (B = 0.128, β = .116, p = .027).

In contrast, parents' own language practices, heritage literacy ideology, heritage language use ideology, negative language beliefs, heritage language management, family language use, and child age did not emerge as significant predictors within the model.

Table 19. Multiple Linear Regression Predicting Child Agency

Predictor	B	SE	β	p
Parent own language practice	0.072	0.099	0.049	.467
Child-directed speech	0.958	0.091	0.771	< .001
Heritage literacy ideology	0.099	0.095	0.053	.301
Heritage language use ideology	0.154	0.124	0.063	.218
School language support ideology	0.128	0.057	0.116	.027
Negative language beliefs	−0.007	0.085	−0.004	.937
Heritage language management	−0.058	0.049	−0.060	.241
Family language use	−0.004	0.087	−0.002	.964
Child age	0.017	0.014	0.055	.233

Note. B = unstandardised regression coefficient; SE = standard error; β = standardised beta coefficient. Heritage language management refers to parental strategies supporting Hungarian language maintenance. Family language use refers to the dominant language configuration used within the household. N = 134. Significant predictors are indicated by $p < .05$.

Overall, the findings indicate that child agency was most strongly associated with child-directed speech practices, while most of the broader ideology- and management-related variables did not emerge as significant predictors in the model. This pattern was also reflected in the interview data, where parents described everyday interactional

strategies that positioned Hungarian as the expected language of parent–child communication. For example, one parent explained that "*when he uses Hungarian incorrectly, I do not correct him; instead, I repeat it correctly in Hungarian*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). Similarly, another parent described a consistent response strategy, "*if she speaks to me in Hungarian, I reply in Hungarian*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). These interview excerpts suggest that child agency is supported not only by explicit management efforts, but also by repeated, responsive child-directed speech practices that maintain Hungarian as a meaningful interactional resource within the family. The strong association between child-directed speech and child agency reinforces an interactional understanding of FLP: children's linguistic agency appears to operate within everyday communicative exchanges rather than independently of parental language practices. This is consistent with Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2015), who conceptualise children as active participants in the negotiation of family language practices. The reciprocal nature of these interactions also reflects Smith-Christmas's (2019) emphasis on children's capacity to influence and reshape family language practices through their own linguistic behaviour.

To examine how theoretically selected predictors contributed to children's Hungarian language proficiency across successive models, a hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted (Table 20). In Model 1, parent Hungarian proficiency and child age accounted for 19.7% of the variance in children's Hungarian proficiency ($R^2 = .197$, $p < .001$). The addition of Hungarian language activities in Model 2 explained a further 19.8% of the variance ($\Delta R^2 = .198$, $p < .001$), increasing the total explained variance to 39.5%. In Model 3, the addition of child agency explained a further 14.8% of the variance ($\Delta R^2 = .148$, $p < .001$), resulting in a final model that explained 54.3% of the variance in children's Hungarian proficiency ($R^2 = .543$, adjusted $R^2 = .534$). Importantly, the incremental contribution of child agency remained substantial even after accounting for parental Hungarian proficiency, child age, and Hungarian-language activities, indicating that its association with proficiency cannot be reduced to differences in family linguistic resources or opportunities for Hungarian-language engagement alone. In the final model, all four variables were significant positive predictors. Child agency showed the largest standardised coefficient in the final model ($\beta = .397$, $p < .001$), followed by Hungarian language activities ($\beta = .352$, $p < .001$), child age ($\beta = .325$, $p < .001$), and parent Hungarian proficiency ($\beta = .182$, $p < .001$). Collinearity diagnostics indicated no evidence of problematic multicollinearity in the final model, with VIF values ranging from 1.021

to 1.064 and tolerance values from .940 to .979.

Table 20. Hierarchical Regression Predicting Children's Hungarian Language Proficiency

Model / Predictor	B	SE	β	p
Model 1				
Parent Hungarian proficiency	0.365	0.117	.199	.002
Child age	0.086	0.015	.370	< .001
Model 2				
Parent Hungarian proficiency	0.346	0.102	.188	< .001
Child age	0.081	0.013	.346	< .001
Hungarian language activities	0.586	0.072	.446	< .001
Model 3				
Parent Hungarian proficiency	0.333	0.089	.182	< .001
Child age	0.076	0.011	.325	< .001
Hungarian language activities	0.464	0.065	.352	< .001
Child agency	0.302	0.038	.397	< .001

Note. B = unstandardised regression coefficient; SE = standard error; β = standardised beta coefficient. Model 1: $R^2 = .197$, adjusted $R^2 = .189$, $F(2, 201) = 24.70$, $p < .001$. Model 2: $R^2 = .395$, adjusted $R^2 = .386$, $\Delta R^2 = .198$, Fchange$(1, 200) = 65.40$, $p < .001$. Model 3: $R^2 = .543$, adjusted $R^2 = .534$, $\Delta R^2 = .148$, Fchange$(1, 199) = 64.66$, $p < .001$. $N = 204$.

Overall, the hierarchical model indicates that children's Hungarian proficiency is associated with several interrelated factors rather than with parental linguistic background alone. While parental Hungarian proficiency and child age provided an initial explanatory basis, the substantial increase in explained variance following the addition of Hungarian-language activities highlights the importance of opportunities for active heritage-language engagement. Most notably, the addition of child agency accounted for a further significant proportion of variance, and child agency emerged as the strongest predictor in the final model. This suggests that heritage-language proficiency is associated not only with the linguistic resources and opportunities available to children, but also with the extent to which children themselves actively participate in using the heritage language.

The interview data provided further insight into these patterns. Child agency was reflected in parents' descriptions of children actively choosing to use Hungarian, while the role of parental Hungarian proficiency was illustrated by a mother, who explained: "*I always say it in Hungarian because I feel much more confident expressing myself in Hungarian and can do so more vividly*" (mother, married to an English husband). At the same time, another mother also acknowledged that „*I can also tell from her eyes that in*

many cases it is much easier for her to understand me in English" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband), suggesting that children's own proficiency shapes the language of family interaction. Hungarian language activities also appeared as important forms of support, including regular contact with grandparents and culturally embedded activities in Hungary; for example, as a mother noted, „*I always took them to the theatre in Hungary*" (mother, married to a Hungarian husband). Together, these examples provide qualitative context for the relationships identified in the hierarchical model. Rather than functioning as passive recipients of parental language policies, children may actively create, negotiate, or resist opportunities for heritage-language use through their own linguistic choices. This is consistent with Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2015), who emphasise children's active participation in shaping family language practices, and with Smith-Christmas (2019), who similarly highlights children's capacity to influence the implementation and outcomes of Family Language Policy.

The additional explanatory contribution of Hungarian-language activities further suggests that opportunities for active engagement with the heritage language constitute an important component of children's language environment. This finding is consistent with Curdt-Christiansen and Sun (2022), who emphasise the role of organised heritage-language activities and educational support in extending opportunities for heritage-language use beyond everyday interaction within the home.

4.5. Family Type: Endogamous and Exogamous Families

To examine differences according to family type, participants who reported having a partner were grouped according to the partner's language background into Hungarian-partner and English/Other-partner groups, corresponding to endogamous and exogamous family configurations, respectively. Participants who did not report a partner were not included in this comparison. Mann–Whitney U tests were used to compare the two groups across language ideologies, child proficiency, language practices, language-related activities, digital exposure, and heritage language management. Table 21 presents the results of the group comparisons, while Table 22 provides the corresponding descriptive statistics.

Table 21. Mann–Whitney U Tests Comparing Endogamous and Exogamous Families

Variable	U	p
Heritage / Hungarian literacy value	4083	.885
Home language use	3733	.371
School Language Support	3616	.244
Negative Beliefs about Bilingualism	3828	.547
Academic and Career Benefits	3804	.405
Child EN proficiency (M)	4323	.412
Child HU proficiency (M)	5486	< .001
Child-directed speech (M)	1406	< .001
Child agency (M)	1243	< .001
HU language activities (M)	1925	.111
HU digital exposure (M)	798.5	.885
EN digital exposure (M)	798.5	.885
Heritage language management (M)	2687	< .001

Note. HU = Hungarian; EN = English. Mann–Whitney U test.

Table 22. Descriptive Statistics for Endogamous and Exogamous Families

Variable	Group	N	M	SD
Heritage / Hungarian literacy value	Endogamous	128	4.379	0.637
	Exogamous	63	4.353	0.683
Home language use	Endogamous	128	4.581	0.502
	Exogamous	63	4.577	0.699
School Language Support	Endogamous	128	2.984	1.025
	Exogamous	63	3.138	1.119
Negative Beliefs about Bilingualism	Endogamous	128	1.463	0.604
	Exogamous	63	1.571	0.734
Academic and Career Benefits	Endogamous	128	4.637	0.788
	Exogamous	63	4.627	0.955
Child EN proficiency (M)	Endogamous	128	3.629	1.362
	Exogamous	63	3.464	1.211
Child HU proficiency (M)	Endogamous	128	2.891	0.926
	Exogamous	63	2.317	0.852
Child-directed speech (M)	Endogamous	65	4.431	0.496
	Exogamous	22	2.636	0.664
Child agency (M)	Endogamous	59	4.108	0.837
	Exogamous	22	2.000	0.733
HU language activities (M)	Endogamous	78	1.880	0.467
	Exogamous	42	1.750	0.512
HU digital exposure (M)	Endogamous	58	1.599	0.421
	Exogamous	27	1.593	0.456
EN digital exposure (M)	Endogamous	58	1.599	0.421
	Exogamous	27	1.593	0.456
Heritage language management (M)	Endogamous	128	3.516	1.298
	Exogamous	63	4.270	1.247

The results showed no significant differences between endogamous and exogamous families across any of the five language ideology factors: Heritage / Hungarian literacy value (p = .885), Home language use (p = .371), School Language Support (p = .244), Negative Beliefs about Bilingualism (p = .547), and Academic and Career Benefits (p = .405). Child English proficiency (p = .412), HU language activities (p = .111), and both HU and EN digital exposure (p = .885) also did not differ significantly between the two groups.

Significant group differences were found for child Hungarian proficiency (U = 5486, p < .001), child-directed speech (U = 1406, p < .001), child agency (U = 1243, p < .001), and heritage language management (U = 2687, p < .001). Children in endogamous families had higher reported Hungarian proficiency (M = 2.891, SD = 0.926) than those in exogamous families (M = 2.317, SD = 0.852). Endogamous families also showed higher levels of child-directed speech (M = 4.431, SD = 0.496 vs. M = 2.636, SD = 0.664) and child agency (M = 4.108, SD = 0.837 vs. M = 2.000, SD = 0.733). Heritage language management scores, by contrast, were higher among exogamous families (M = 4.270, SD = 1.247) than among endogamous families (M = 3.516, SD = 1.298).

These findings suggest that family type was associated primarily with language practices and children's Hungarian proficiency rather than with parental language ideologies. The absence of significant differences across the five ideology factors indicates that parents in endogamous and exogamous families expressed broadly similar orientations towards Hungarian and bilingualism. However, the significant differences in child-directed speech and child agency suggest that the linguistic composition of the family may shape the opportunities available for using Hungarian in everyday interaction. This distinction between parental beliefs and actual family language practices is consistent with FLP research showing that language ideologies, practices, and management are related but do not necessarily correspond directly (Spolsky, 2004; Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020).

The interview accounts help contextualise these patterns. In one endogamous family, the parent described how the children frequently shifted to English and had to be actively guided back to Hungarian, "*Then I remind them [to use Hungarian]. But then the situation changes, dinner comes, we sit down again, and everyone is speaking Hungarian again*" (father, married to a Hungarian wife). This illustrates how Hungarian may remain the shared family language despite frequent shifts to English and children's own language choices.

The interviews also revealed variation within exogamous families. In one family with an English-speaking partner, the mother reported that the children "*automatically speak English to him [their father], and unfortunately to me as well, although they understand everything in Hungarian. Among themselves, they speak only English, exclusively*" (mother, married to an English husband). In another exogamous family, however, language use was explicitly managed. The Hungarian father explained, "*My wife is Japanese and the two of us speak English to each other, but with the child we each speak our own language, and we follow this very strictly. I speak Hungarian to the child, and my wife speaks Japanese*" (father, married to a Japanese wife). These contrasting accounts illustrate the variation within exogamous families and show how different interactional patterns and language-management strategies may create different opportunities for Hungarian use. The latter example also provides a qualitative illustration of the more explicit language management found in some exogamous families, although the interview data do not suggest that such strategies were uniform across this group.

The higher reported Hungarian proficiency among children in endogamous families may therefore be understood in relation to the greater opportunities for Hungarian interaction indicated by the child-directed speech and child-agency measures. However, family type should not be treated as a direct explanation of proficiency, as the present comparison does not establish causality and other factors identified in the study, including child agency, Hungarian-language activities, child age, and parental Hungarian proficiency, were also associated with children's Hungarian proficiency.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

The present study set out to examine how Family Language Policy is negotiated in Hungarian and Hungarian-paired families living in the United Kingdom, with particular attention to the intergenerational transmission of Hungarian as a heritage language. Its primary aim was to address a clear research gap in FLP scholarship. Although previous studies have examined Hungarian diaspora communities, language maintenance, language shift, identity, and language contact in various transnational contexts (Kontra, 1990; Fenyvesi, 1995; Kovács, 2004; Bartha, 2005; Kováts & Papp, 2016; Papp et al., 2019; Papp et al., 2020; Deli, 2021), Hungarian families in the UK have received comparatively limited attention in relation to the framework of FLP (Siklósi, 2019; Laihonen et al., 2025; Vajnai et al., 2025; Szabó T., 2024). Addressing this gap is particularly relevant because Hungarian families in the United Kingdom represent a complex case of heritage language transmission: they are embedded in a strongly English-dominant environment, often live in linguistically mixed households, and must define the role of Hungarian across everyday family interaction, schooling, digital media, and transnational relationships.

The study aimed to move beyond a general description of language use by investigating how Hungarian is maintained and negotiated within the family domain, with particular attention to patterns of language practices, language ideologies, and language management strategies (Spolsky, 2004, 2008, 2012), and by exploring how these dimensions interact in everyday family life. In line with Spolsky's tripartite model, the dissertation treated FLP not simply as a set of explicit parental decisions (King et al., 2008), but as a dynamic process shaped by what family members believe about language (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Smith-Christmas, 2019; Hollebeke et al., 2022), what they do with language, and what efforts they make to maintain or negotiate language use. At the same time, the study extended this framework by incorporating more recent FLP perspectives (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020) that focus on which internal and external factors are associated with variation in family language practices, language management, child agency, and children's Hungarian language proficiency. Internal factors included parental language proficiency, parental ideologies, child agency, family language constellations, and language-related activities within the home. External factors included the wider English-speaking environment, schooling, complementary Hungarian

education, extracurricular participation, and digital exposure (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Porter et al., 2018; Piller & Gerber, 2018; Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017; Smith-Christmas, 2019; Hollebeke et al., 2022). By examining these factors together, the study sought to understand not only whether Hungarian is maintained, but also what conditions and mechanisms influence heritage language transmission outcomes.

Methodologically, the dissertation aimed to capture both the measurable and lived dimensions of FLP. For this reason, it adopted a mixed-methods design combining quantitative analyses with qualitative interview data. The quantitative component made it possible to identify broader patterns and predictors across the sample, while the interviews provided insight into how families understand, experience, and negotiate language transmission in their daily lives. This combination was central to the study's contribution, as FLP is not only reflected in measurable outcomes such as children's proficiency, but also in family routines, parental decisions, children's language choices, and everyday acts of negotiation.

Overall, the study aimed to provide a context-sensitive and theoretically grounded contribution to FLP research by showing how Hungarian heritage language maintenance is shaped through the interaction of ideology, practice, management, and child agency. The dissertation examined how different family constellations, language backgrounds, and levels of engagement were associated with different FLP outcomes, rather than simply treating Hungarian families in the UK as a homogeneous diaspora group. It contributes to a deeper understanding of how multilingual families attempt to sustain a minority heritage language within an English-dominant, globally connected, and increasingly digitally mediated environment.

The first research question examined the patterns of language practices, language ideologies, and language management strategies in Hungarian-speaking families living in the United Kingdom. Overall, the findings support the first hypothesis and indicate that Hungarian continues to play a central role in family life despite the dominance of English in the wider society. Hungarian remained the preferred language in most parent–child and grandparent–child interactions, with Hungarian-only communication reported in approximately half of parent–child exchanges, including dinner conversations (50.0%), parent-initiated interactions (50.7%), and partner-to-child communication (46.0%). The predominance of Hungarian was even more pronounced in grandparent–grandchild communication, reaching 73.8% for paternal grandparents and 92.5% for maternal grandparents. At the same time, language use varied across domains. School-related

interactions, particularly homework, displayed the greatest degree of bilingualism, with Hungarian–English mixed use representing the largest category (43.9%). English also appeared more frequently in sibling communication and children's independent literacy practices, where English reading was reported considerably more often than Hungarian reading (M = 3.50 vs. M = 1.79). Together, these findings indicate that language use within Hungarian families in the UK is characterised by functional bilingualism rather than strict language separation. Hungarian remains the dominant language of family relationships and intergenerational communication, whereas English increasingly occupies domains associated with schooling, sibling interaction, and independent literacy. This domain-specific distribution is consistent with the complementary bilingual practices described by Lanza (2004), King, Fogle, and Logan-Terry (2008), and Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020). This pattern also reflects Pauwels' (2016) observation that the family and home domain represents a particularly important setting for heritage language use and intergenerational transmission in migrant contexts. The strong use of Hungarian in parent–child and especially grandparent–child communication therefore suggests that the family continues to function as a central domain of heritage language maintenance, even when English becomes increasingly dominant in other areas of children's lives. The findings can also be interpreted in light of Szabó-Törpényi's (2013) study of Hungarian speakers in France, which draws attention to the affective and relational functions of Hungarian within the family. The particularly strong maintenance of Hungarian in intergenerational communication in the present study may therefore reflect not only language-maintenance practices but also the role of Hungarian in sustaining family relationships and emotional connections across generations.

The findings further revealed consistently positive heritage language ideologies, whereas heritage language management strategies showed considerably greater variation across families.

The ideology results demonstrated strong endorsement of *Heritage/Hungarian Literacy Value* (M = 4.40, SD = 0.64), indicating broad parental agreement regarding the importance of maintaining Hungarian language and literacy across generations. *Home language use* also received high levels of agreement (M = 4.58, SD = 0.59), suggesting that parents considered Hungarian the appropriate language of family interaction. In contrast, *Negative beliefs about bilingualism* showed the weakest endorsement (M = 1.49, SD = 0.64), indicating that concerns about bilingualism were generally limited. At the same time, parents strongly endorsed *Academic and career benefits* (M = 4.65, SD =

0.82), reflecting widespread recognition of English as a valuable resource for children's educational attainment and future employment. These findings suggest that, overall, parents tended to view Hungarian and English not as competing languages but as languages with complementary roles within family life and children's long-term development. This interpretation aligns with the work of Curdt-Christiansen et al. (2023), who argue that migrant families typically attribute different but complementary functions to the heritage and majority languages, a perspective further developed by Yu and Curdt-Christiansen (2026).

The descriptive findings further demonstrated that the most frequently reported heritage language management strategies involved maintaining transnational family connections, while formal educational provision was reported less frequently. The most common management strategy was regular virtual contact with family members in Hungary, reported by 76.8% of the participating families, followed by frequent family visits to Hungary (68.3%) and participation in Hungarian camps (62.6%). In contrast, only 35.1% of the children attended a Hungarian complementary school, and regular grandparent involvement in everyday childcare was reported by 36.5% of families. These findings suggest that Hungarian families in the UK predominantly support heritage language maintenance through everyday transnational relationships and informal opportunities for language use, while organised educational initiatives play a complementary rather than central role. This emphasis on transnational and informal forms of language support aligns with Pauwels (2016), who emphasises that heritage language maintenance may be supported not only through language use within the immediate family but also through contact with extended family, visits to the country of origin, community networks, and complementary educational settings. From this perspective, virtual family contact and visits to Hungary can be understood as ways of extending the domains in which Hungarian remains relevant and communicatively meaningful beyond the immediate household. The interview findings further illustrated that parents continuously adjusted these strategies to children's developmental needs, language preferences, and changing family circumstances, reflecting the dynamic and negotiated nature of Family Language Policy described by Curdt-Christiansen and La Morgia (2018) and Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020).

Overall, the findings concerning the first research question indicate that Hungarian-speaking families in the UK maintain the heritage language through flexible and context-dependent combinations of language practices, ideologies, and management strategies

rather than through a single, uniform Family Language Policy.

While the first research question identified clear patterns in family language practices, parental ideologies, and management strategies, the extent to which these dimensions were associated with heritage language maintenance varied considerably. Their role in relation to children's Hungarian proficiency is examined in greater detail in the discussion of the second research question.

The second research question examined which internal and external factors were associated with variation in Family Language Policy and children's Hungarian language proficiency. Overall, the findings provided partial support for the second hypothesis. While several of the hypothesised internal and external factors were significantly associated with children's Hungarian proficiency, their contribution differed considerably. Internal family-related factors showed stronger associations than broader background characteristics or general management strategies, suggesting that everyday family interaction may be more closely related to heritage language maintenance than parental intentions alone.

Among the internal factors, **child agency** emerged as the strongest predictor of children's Hungarian proficiency. Child agency showed a strong positive correlation with Hungarian proficiency ($r = .510$, $p < .001$) and remained the strongest predictor in both the multiple regression ($\beta = .683$, $p < .001$) and the hierarchical multiple regression model ($\beta = .397$, $p < .001$). These findings reinforce recent FLP research arguing that children should not be viewed as passive recipients of parental language policy but as active participants who influence language choice and reshape family interaction, consistent with the findings of Gafaranga (2010), Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2015), Smith-Christmas (2019), and Curdt-Christiansen and Sun (2022).

At the same time, the findings indicate that child agency is closely associated with meaningful opportunities to use Hungarian. Hungarian language-related activities were consistently associated with higher proficiency. Children's independent Hungarian reading showed the strongest correlation among activity-related variables ($r = .532$, $p < .001$), followed by Hungarian extracurricular activities ($r = .311$, $p < .001$), shared reading ($r = .275$, $p < .001$), and Hungarian community events ($r = .235$, $p < .01$). In the regression analyses, Hungarian extracurricular activities remained a significant predictor ($\beta = .242$, $p = .012$), while in the final hierarchical regression model the combined Hungarian language activities variable emerged as the second strongest predictor ($\beta = .352$, $p < .001$). These findings support previous studies emphasising that literacy practices and organised

heritage-language activities provide meaningful contexts in which children can actively use and develop the heritage language (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022; Stavans & Jessner, 2023). Rather than exposure alone, it is active participation in Hungarian that appears to strengthen language maintenance. This interpretation is also consistent with Pauwels' (2016) discussion of heritage language maintenance, which emphasises the importance of sustained opportunities for language use across family, community, and educational domains. In this sense, Hungarian reading, extracurricular activities, and community participation may be effective not simply because they increase exposure, but because they create repeated contexts in which children can actively use and develop Hungarian.

Child age also contributed significantly to Hungarian proficiency across all regression models (β = .325–.425, $p < .001$). The descriptive findings showed that proficiency continues to develop with age in both Hungarian and English; however, the increase was considerably steeper in English literacy skills, reflecting children's growing engagement with English-medium schooling. These findings suggest that although older children showed higher Hungarian proficiency, the stronger age-related pattern in English literacy was associated with a more balanced or English-dominant bilingual profile, a pattern frequently reported in heritage language research by King and Lanza (2019) and Hollebeke et al. (2022).

The role of **parental Hungarian proficiency** received more nuanced support. Although it was not significant in the first regression model, it significantly predicted children's Hungarian proficiency in the ideology model (β = .155, $p = .007$) and remained significant in the final hierarchical regression model (β = .182, $p < .001$). Parents also reported substantially higher proficiency in Hungarian (M = 4.73) than in English (M = 4.20). These findings suggest that parental language competence provides an important foundation for heritage language maintenance, but its effect appears to depend on whether it is translated into rich and sustained interaction with children. This supports previous FLP research led by De Houwer (1999, 2013), King, Fogle and Logan-Terry (2008) and Curdt-Christiansen (2009) emphasising that parental competence alone is insufficient unless it results in meaningful language practices.

The findings regarding **child-directed speech** further support this interpretation. Although child-directed speech did not directly predict Hungarian proficiency in the regression model, it emerged as the strongest predictor of child agency (β = .771, $p < .001$). This suggests that parents influence heritage language maintenance indirectly by

creating interactional routines that encourage children to use Hungarian. Rather than explicit language management alone, consistent Hungarian input during everyday conversations appears to foster children's willingness to participate in Hungarian interactions, supporting the interactional perspective proposed by Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2015) and Smith-Christmas (2019).

The hypothesis regarding **language ideologies** was also partially supported. Heritage literacy ideology positively predicted children's Hungarian proficiency (β = .280, p < .001), while negative beliefs about bilingualism showed a significant negative association (β = –.150, p = .011). In contrast, home language use ideology and school language support ideology did not remain significant once other variables were considered simultaneously. These findings suggest that positive beliefs alone may not be uniformly associated with heritage language maintenance, with heritage literacy ideology showing a clearer relationship with children's Hungarian proficiency than the other ideology factors. Similarly, concerns that bilingualism may hinder children's English development may discourage consistent heritage language use, as also reported by Curdt-Christiansen (2009), Schwartz (2010), and Hollebeke et al. (2022).

The findings for **heritage language management** were more mixed. The descriptive results showed that most families maintained regular virtual contact with relatives in Hungary (76.8%) and frequently visited Hungary (68.3%), while participation in Hungarian camps was also common (62.6%). In contrast, only 35.1% of children attended Hungarian complementary schools. Although the overall management variable was not significantly associated with children's Hungarian proficiency, complementary school participation emerged as a significant predictor in two regression models (p = .007), although the direction of the association differed across model specifications. This suggests that the relationship between complementary education and children's Hungarian proficiency may be more complex than a straightforward positive effect and may depend on the other family- and child-level factors included in the model. Complementary schools nevertheless provide structured opportunities for heritage-language learning and use beyond the home, a role emphasised in previous research (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022; Papp et al., 2025). The present findings support this more differentiated interpretation: complementary schooling provides structured opportunities for Hungarian language learning and use, while participation in heritage language management activities more generally does not automatically translate into stronger language outcomes. This finding can also be interpreted in light of Pauwels

(2016), who identifies community language schools as an important source of support for heritage language learning, particularly by providing opportunities for literacy development, interaction with other heritage language speakers, and language use beyond the home. At the same time, Pauwels cautions that participation in such programmes does not necessarily guarantee long-term language maintenance. The present findings support this more differentiated interpretation: complementary schooling appears to provide valuable support for Hungarian proficiency, while participation in heritage language management activities more generally does not automatically translate into stronger language outcomes.

Contrary to expectations, **digital exposure** showed no significant association with children's Hungarian proficiency. No significant correlations were found between Hungarian proficiency and Hungarian television viewing ($r = -.03$, $p = .702$), game use ($r = .00$, $p = .993$), video watching ($r = .13$, $p = .164$), or digital language practice ($r = .14$, $p = .185$). These findings contrast with the much stronger associations observed for active literacy-related and extracurricular activities, suggesting that passive digital exposure alone may be insufficient to support heritage language development in an English-dominant environment. Instead, digital resources may be more likely to contribute to language maintenance when embedded in active interaction and meaningful language use, as suggested by Porter et al. (2018), Lanza (2020). Pauwels (2016) similarly identifies media and digital resources as potential means of extending access to the heritage language, particularly where opportunities for face-to-face interaction are limited. This distinction is particularly relevant from a Digital Family Language Policy perspective. Palviainen (2020a) demonstrates that digital media can function not simply as a source of language exposure, but as a space for multilingual family interaction, for example through video-mediated communication with geographically distant family members. Such digitally mediated practices may provide opportunities for both heritage-language input and active language production, extending the family's linguistic space beyond the immediate household. Similarly, Lanza (2020) highlights digital spaces as sites in which family language ideologies, identities and management practices are negotiated, suggesting that the role of digital media in FLP extends beyond the amount of screen-based exposure. However, such resources should be understood as additional domains of language contact rather than as guarantees of language maintenance. The present findings support this distinction: digital exposure may increase access to Hungarian, but exposure alone does not necessarily correspond to higher language

proficiency.

Altogether, these findings suggest that heritage language maintenance is best understood in relation to interacting internal and external factors rather than any single influence. This interpretation is consistent with Pauwels (2016), who emphasises that language maintenance and shift cannot be explained by a single factor, as the influence of individual, family, community, and wider societal conditions is context-dependent and these factors interact with one another. Internal factors, particularly child agency, literacy-related practices, child age, and parental Hungarian proficiency, showed some of the strongest and most consistent associations with children's Hungarian proficiency, while child-directed speech was strongly associated with child agency. External factors, such as Hungarian extracurricular activities and complementary education, also formed part of the broader ecology of heritage language maintenance by providing additional opportunities for Hungarian language use. By contrast, general management strategies and passive digital exposure showed weaker or no significant associations with children's Hungarian proficiency. Overall, the findings support an ecological understanding of Family Language Policy (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020), while also suggesting that the relationship between parental beliefs and children's heritage language proficiency is closely connected to children's own participation in meaningful Hungarian-language practices.

These findings can now be reconsidered in relation to the integrated FLP framework developed earlier in the dissertation. The study was based on an integrated FLP framework (Chapter 2.6) that retained Spolsky's tripartite model of language ideologies, language practices, and language management as its core structure, but extended it with internal and external factors identified in more recent FLP research (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017; Hollebeke et al., 2022). The model proposed that these dimensions interact with child-related factors, such as child agency and age, as well as with broader contextual influences, including literacy practices, complementary education, community participation, transnational family contact, and digital exposure. It assumed that heritage language transmission in Hungarian families in the UK cannot be explained by parental beliefs, everyday language use, or explicit management strategies in isolation. In this way, the model positioned FLP as a dynamic and negotiated process shaped by both family-internal relationships and the wider English-dominant environment. The following discussion therefore evaluates not only whether Hungarian is maintained in these families, but also which parts of the proposed

model were empirically supported, which factors appeared to play a weaker role, and how the model may need to be refined in light of the findings.

The findings presented in this study relate directly to the proposed integrated FLP model by indicating that heritage language maintenance is associated with language ideologies, language practices, language management, and a range of internal and external factors. However, the results also suggest that these dimensions do not contribute equally to children's Hungarian proficiency. The proposed model assumed that Family Language Policy emerges from the combined influence of parental beliefs, language use, management strategies, child-related factors, and broader sociocultural conditions. The empirical findings support this general assumption, but they also refine the model by identifying **child agency** and **Hungarian language activities** as particularly strong factors associated with heritage language maintenance. In this sense, the general assumptions of the model are supported, but the results indicate that child-related and activity-based factors should be placed closer to the centre of the revised empirical framework.

Altogether, the findings allow the integrated model to be empirically refined. While the original model included a broad range of internal and external factors, the results suggest that not all of these factors contributed equally to heritage language maintenance. The strongest empirically supported factors were child agency, Hungarian language activities, child age, and parental Hungarian proficiency. In contrast, general heritage language management strategies and Hungarian digital exposure showed weaker or non-significant associations with children's Hungarian proficiency. The empirical model therefore places child agency and meaningful Hungarian-language activities closer to the centre of heritage language maintenance, while ideologies, management, and digital exposure are interpreted as background or indirect influences rather than direct predictors. Similarly, Hungarian digital exposure was not significantly associated with children's Hungarian proficiency, suggesting that screen-based exposure alone may not be sufficient for heritage language maintenance. Some family-level language practice variables, including parents' own language practices and child-directed speech, were important in the correlation analyses, but they did not consistently remain significant predictors of children's Hungarian proficiency in the regression models. This suggests that their influence may operate indirectly, particularly through child agency and continuous interactional routines. Overall, the findings support the need for an integrated FLP model, but they also show that the model should distinguish between weak factors, background

factors, and strong direct factors of heritage language maintenance and may therefore be reconceptualised in a hierarchical order.

The findings extend FLP theory in three main ways. First, they strengthen the view that children should be understood as **active agents** in Family Language Policy, rather than as passive recipients of parental language planning, in line with previous studies by Gafaranga (2010), Kheirkhah and Cekaite (2015), and Smith-Christmas (2019). In this study, child agency emerged as the strongest quantitative predictor of children's Hungarian proficiency and was also a dominant factor in the interview narratives. This suggests that children's own language choices, willingness to use Hungarian, and participation in family interaction play a central role in heritage language maintenance. Therefore, FLP models need to give child agency a more central position, particularly in migrant families where the societal language becomes increasingly dominant through schooling, peers, and digital media.

Second, the findings suggest that FLP theory should distinguish more clearly between parental intentions, management strategies, and meaningful language practices. Positive ideologies and management efforts were present in many families, but they did not automatically result in stronger Hungarian proficiency. What mattered more were **concrete, repeated, and interactional activities**, especially Hungarian literacy practices, extracurricular activities, and culturally embedded family practices, alongside opportunities provided by complementary education. This refines the ideology–management–practice model proposed by Spolsky (2004, 2008) by suggesting that the relationship between beliefs, management efforts, and language outcomes is not linear but dynamic and dependent on the practices through which language policy is enacted. This interpretation is consistent with Curdt-Christiansen (2009, 2018) and Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020), who similarly emphasise the dynamic relationship between language ideologies, management, and everyday family language practices. Heritage language maintenance depends on whether parental beliefs and management strategies are transformed into continuous practices that children can actively engage with, a pattern also reflected in previous FLP research (King et al., 2008; Schwartz, 2010; Curdt-Christiansen and La Morgia 2018).

Third, the findings add nuance to previous research emphasising the role of **digital media** in contemporary family language practices. Although digital media is increasingly recognised as part of contemporary family language ecologies, the present study found that Hungarian digital exposure alone was not significantly associated with children's

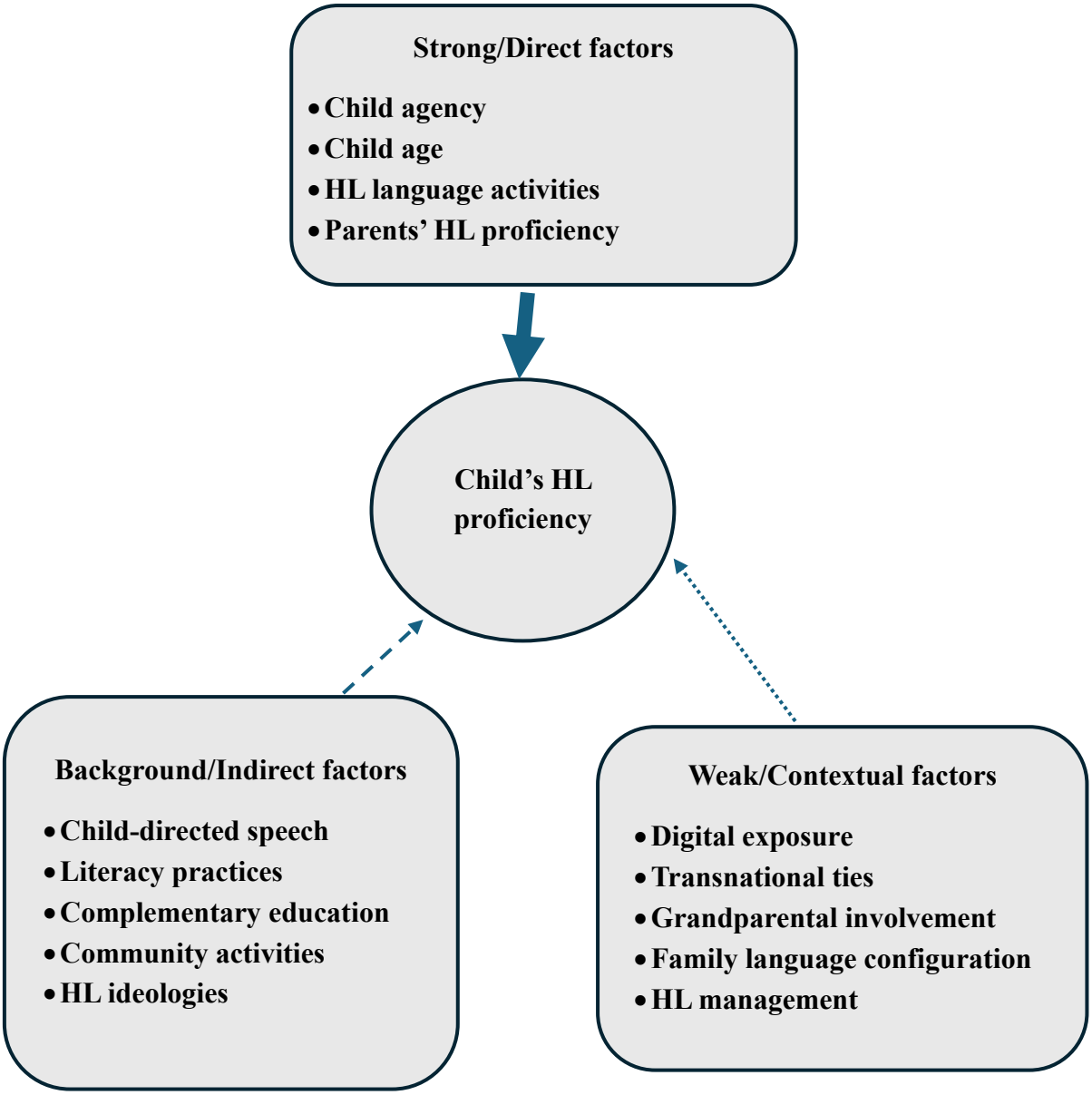
Hungarian proficiency. This finding qualifies previous research highlighting the role of digital media in family language practices (Porter et al., 2018; Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017; Lanza, 2020; Palviainen, 2020b). This does not mean that digital media is irrelevant, but it suggests that passive exposure should be distinguished from active, interactional, and socially meaningful language use.

Considering these findings, the study extends FLP theory by suggesting that, in English-dominant migrant contexts, heritage language maintenance may be associated less with exposure alone and more with agency-rich, socially embedded practices. The distinction between active and passive forms of heritage-language engagement should therefore be more explicitly incorporated into FLP research on digital environments.

The original model included a broad range of internal and external factors relevant to FLP (see Figure 3); however, the results suggest that these factors differ in the strength and directness of their relationship with heritage language maintenance. The revised model therefore distinguishes between strong/direct factors, background/indirect factors, and weak/contextual factors. This does not replace Spolsky's tripartite framework but rather reweights its components by showing that language practices, particularly child agency and meaningful Hungarian-language activities, occupy a central position in the maintenance of Hungarian as a heritage language.

Figure 19 presents the empirically refined model of heritage language maintenance emerging from the findings of this study. The model suggests that the factors included in the original theoretical framework do not operate with equal strength or directness. Child agency, child age, Hungarian-language activities, and parental Hungarian proficiency are positioned as strong/direct factors, while child-directed speech, literacy practices, complementary education, community activities, and HL ideologies function as background/indirect factors. Digital exposure, general management strategies, transnational ties, grandparental involvement, and family language configuration remain relevant, yet weak/contextual factors. Overall, the model suggests that Hungarian heritage language maintenance in the UK is most strongly associated with continuous, interactional practices in which children actively participate, alongside parental beliefs and management efforts.

Figure 19. Empirically Refined FLP Model of Heritage Language Maintenance



Note. Factors are grouped according to the strength and directness of empirical support in the present study.

The following section turns to the limitations of the study and outlines directions for future research.

Limitations

Although the mixed-methods design of the study allowed for a broad and context-sensitive examination of Family Language Policy among Hungarian families in the UK, several limitations should be acknowledged. First, the sample was recruited through

online Hungarian diaspora networks, schools, and social media groups, using snowball sampling. As a result, the participants may represent families who are more engaged with Hungarian language maintenance than the wider population of Hungarian families in the UK. The sample was also strongly female, with women accounting for 93.4% of respondents. This overrepresentation is noteworthy in light of previous research highlighting the important role of mothers in heritage-language socialisation and Family Language Policy (e.g., Bartha, 1999). However, the gender distribution of the present sample should not itself be interpreted as evidence that mothers are necessarily the primary agents of heritage-language maintenance. The strong imbalance also prevented a meaningful statistical comparison between Hungarian mothers and fathers. Therefore, the findings should not be interpreted as fully representative of all Hungarian-speaking families in the United Kingdom.

Second, the study heavily relies on self-reported and parent-reported data. Parents reported both their own and their children's language proficiency, language practices, digital exposure, and language-related activities. Although this approach made it possible to collect data from a relatively large number of families, it may also have introduced social desirability bias or inaccuracies in recall. In particular, children's Hungarian proficiency was not independently assessed through language testing, and children's own perspectives were not directly collected through interviews.

Third, the study was cross-sectional, which means that it captures FLP at one point in time rather than across developmental stages. As a result, the analyses can identify associations between child agency, language activities, parental proficiency, and children's Hungarian proficiency, but they cannot establish causal relationships. Future longitudinal research would be needed to examine how children's language practices, proficiency, and agency change over time, especially as children enter preschool, school, and adolescence.

Fourth, the qualitative component provided important contextual and interpretive depth, but the interviews were relatively brief and were designed to clarify and illustrate the questionnaire findings rather than to produce extended life-history narratives. The presence of the interviewer may also have influenced participants' responses. To reduce this risk, a semi-structured interview guide and standardised prompts were used, and the qualitative findings were interpreted cautiously alongside the quantitative results.

Fifth, some constructs were necessarily measured in a simplified way. For example, digital exposure was measured mainly in terms of time spent on screen-based activities,

which may not fully capture the quality or linguistic richness of digital engagement. Consequently, the measure may not have captured the interactional and relational dimensions of digital family language practices emphasised by Palviainen (2020a) and Lanza (2020). Similarly, heritage language management was measured through selected management strategies, but families may use many informal or implicit strategies that were not fully investigated by the questionnaire. Despite these limitations, the mixed-methods design allowed the study to identify broad empirical patterns while also providing insight into how families themselves experience and negotiate heritage language maintenance in everyday life.

A further limitation concerns migration-related factors that were not systematically operationalised in the present study. In particular, migration motives and families' intended permanence of residence in the United Kingdom may be relevant to Family Language Policy, as different migration trajectories and settlement intentions may shape parents' orientations towards heritage-language maintenance. Similarly, the global status and perceived utility of English may influence parental language ideologies and decisions concerning the relative value of English and Hungarian. As these dimensions were not measured systematically in the present study, their relationship with FLP cannot be established from the current data.

Future research could build on these findings by adopting longitudinal designs and incorporating children's own perspectives alongside parental reports. Following families across different stages of children's development would make it possible to examine how child agency, language practices, and heritage language proficiency change over time, while more direct measures of language use and proficiency could complement self-reported data. Future studies could also explicitly examine migration trajectories, settlement intentions, and perceptions of the global role of English as potential contextual factors shaping Family Language Policy. Such research could further explore how the relationships identified in the present study develop across different family configurations and educational contexts.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

This dissertation examined Family Language Policy among Hungarian and Hungarian-paired families living in the United Kingdom, with particular attention to the intergenerational transmission of Hungarian as a heritage language. By focusing on language ideologies, practices, management strategies, and internal and external factors, the study aimed to contribute to the still limited body of FLP research on Hungarian transnational families.

The first research question asked, ***"What are the patterns of language practices, ideologies, and management strategies in Hungarian families in the UK?"*** The findings revealed that Hungarian and English were both present in families' everyday lives, but fulfilled partly different functions across domains. Hungarian remained particularly prominent in parent–child and grandparent–child communication and in emotionally embedded and intergenerational family interactions. English, in contrast, was more prominent in schooling, sibling interaction, digital media, and children's independent literacy practices. These patterns indicate that families did not generally follow rigid language separation but instead developed flexible bilingual practices in which Hungarian and English served different and complementary functions.

Language ideologies and management reflected a similarly complex orientation towards bilingualism. Parents generally attached considerable value to Hungarian maintenance while also recognising English and bilingualism as important resources for their children's educational and professional futures. Language management strategies were diverse and included transnational family contact, visits to Hungary, participation in Hungarian camps, and complementary education. Overall, the findings largely support **Hypothesis 1**, while demonstrating substantial variation in how individual families negotiated bilingualism and heritage language maintenance.

The second research question asked, ***"Which internal and external factors are associated with variation in children's Hungarian language proficiency and Family Language Policy?"*** The findings showed that children's Hungarian proficiency was associated with multiple internal and external factors, although their contributions differed considerably. Child agency emerged as particularly important, alongside Hungarian language-related activities, child age, and parental Hungarian proficiency. Literacy practices and opportunities for Hungarian language use were also relevant, while

language ideologies showed differentiated relationships with children's proficiency. In contrast, general heritage language management and digital exposure showed weaker or non-significant relationships with Hungarian proficiency. **Hypothesis 2** was therefore partially supported, as the expected relationships were evident for some but not all the factors examined.

Considered jointly, the findings point to an important distinction between the intention to maintain a heritage language and the everyday processes through which maintenance is realised. Parents may value Hungarian and deliberately create opportunities for its use, but these efforts do not necessarily translate directly into stronger heritage language outcomes. Instead, the findings highlight the importance of sustained and meaningful opportunities for language use in which children themselves actively participate. Child agency is particularly important in this respect because children are not simply recipients of parental language choices or language management strategies. Through their own linguistic preferences and choices, they participate in shaping when, where, and with whom Hungarian is used within family life.

The dissertation consequently refines the proposed FLP framework by demonstrating that the dimensions and factors involved in Family Language Policy do not appear to operate with equal strength. The findings place child agency and meaningful Hungarian-language engagement closer to the centre of heritage language maintenance while retaining the interconnected roles of language ideologies, practices, management, and wider contextual influences. This supports a dynamic and relational understanding of FLP rather than one in which parental beliefs or management strategies translate straightforwardly into children's language outcomes.

Methodologically, the mixed-methods design enabled broader quantitative patterns to be combined with qualitative insights into how bilingualism and language choices are negotiated in everyday family life. At the same time, the findings point towards several important directions for future research. Most importantly, longitudinal research is needed to examine how heritage language proficiency, language practices, and child agency change over time. The cross-sectional design of the present study identifies relationships between these factors but cannot show how they develop within the same children and families. Following families across different stages of children's lives could provide a clearer understanding of how changing educational, social, and family contexts influence heritage language maintenance.

Future studies should also complement parental reports with direct measures of

children's Hungarian proficiency. Direct assessment of speaking, comprehension, reading, and writing could provide a more detailed picture of heritage language competence and allow researchers to examine more precisely how different dimensions of proficiency relate to family language practices and child agency.

Equally important is greater attention to children's actual language use and their own perspectives on Family Language Policy. The prominence of child agency in the present study suggests that future research should move beyond examining what parents intend children to do or report that they do. Observational, interactional, or child-centred methods could investigate when children use Hungarian or English, with whom they use each language, how they respond to parental language choices, and how their own preferences change across contexts and over time. Combining these approaches with longitudinal and direct proficiency measures could provide a fuller account of the relationship between what children can do in the heritage language, how they actually use it, and how actively they participate in shaping family language practices.

Overall, the dissertation contributes empirical evidence from an underresearched Hungarian transnational context and supports a more dynamic and child-inclusive understanding of Family Language Policy. It also identifies directions through which future research can further explain how heritage languages are maintained, negotiated, and transmitted across generations.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. The ten most frequently reported postcode areas were:

1. GU (Guildford/Surrey): 23 (10.3%)
2. SO (Southampton/Hampshire): 18 (8.0%)
3. M (Manchester): 9 (4.0%)
4. RG (Reading/Thames Valley): 8 (3.6%)
5. BS (Bristol/Southwest): 8 (3.6%)
6. N (North London): 7 (3.1%)
7. NN (Northamptonshire): 6 (2.7%)
8. PO (Portsmouth/Hampshire): 6 (2.7%)
9. WA (Warrington/Cheshire): 5 (2.2%)
10. AL (St Albans/Herts): 5 (2.2%)

Appendix 2. The questionnaire

1. Your age
2. Your gender
3. Your length of your residence in the UK (e.g. 7 years or 6 months)
4. The type of family in which you live now
5. Your role in the family
6. Your highest educational qualification
7. Your current employment status
8. The first part of your UK address postcode (e.g. BA2, WC1A)
9. Your first language
10. Your religion
11. Country of birth
12. Your partner's first language
13. Languages used in the family
14. If you chose 'Other' in the previous question, please, specify
15. Please, rate your language proficiency in Hungarian and in English. [Speaking English]
16. Please, rate your language proficiency in Hungarian and in English. [Speaking Hungarian]
17. Please, rate your language proficiency in Hungarian and in English. [Understanding spoken English]
18. Please, rate your language proficiency in Hungarian and in English. [Understanding spoken Hungarian]
19. Please, rate your language proficiency in Hungarian and in English. [Reading in English]
20. Please, rate your language proficiency in Hungarian and in English. [Reading in Hungarian]
21. Please, rate your language proficiency in Hungarian and in English. [Writing in English]
22. Please, rate your language proficiency in Hungarian and in English. [Writing in Hungarian]
23. Number of children

24. The age of the child
25. The gender of the child
26. Was the child born in the UK?
27. If the child was NOT born in the UK, how old was s/he when moving to the UK?
28. What type of educational institution does the child attend (e.g. pre-school, secondary school)?
29. Does the child attend a complementary school (e.g. a Saturday School or weekend school)?
30. How would you describe the child's language skills... [speaking in English]
31. How would you describe the child's language skills... [listening in English]
32. How would you describe the child's language skills... [reading in English]
33. How would you describe the child's language skills... [writing in English]
34. How would you describe the child's language skills... [speaking in Hungarian]
35. How would you describe the child's language skills... [listening in Hungarian]
36. How would you describe the child's language skills... [reading in Hungarian]
37. How would you describe the child's language skills... [writing in Hungarian]
38. The age of Child 1
39. The age of Child 2
40. The gender of Child 1
41. The gender of Child 2
42. Was Child 1 born in the UK?
43. If Child 1 was NOT born in the UK, how old was s/he when moving to the UK?
44. Was Child 2 born in the UK?
45. If Child 2 was NOT born in the UK, how old was s/he when moving to the UK?
46. What type of educational institution does Child 1 attend (e.g. pre-school, secondary school)?
47. Does Child 1 attend a Hungarian complementary school (e.g. a Saturday School or a weekend school)?
48. What type of educational institution does Child 2 attend (e.g. pre-school, secondary school)?
49. Does Child 2 attend a Hungarian complementary school (e.g. a Saturday School or a weekend school)?
50. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [speaking in English]
51. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [listening in English]
52. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [reading in English]
53. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [writing in in English]
54. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [speaking in Hungarian]
55. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [listening in Hungarian]
56. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [reading in Hungarian]
57. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [writing in Hungarian]
58. How would you describe Child 2's language skills... [speaking in English]
59. How would you describe Child 2's language skills... [listening in English]
60. How would you describe Child 2's language skills... [reading in English]
61. How would you describe Child 2's language skills... [writing in in English]
62. How would you describe Child 2's language skills... [speaking in Hungarian]
63. How would you describe Child 2's language skills... [listening in Hungarian]
64. How would you describe Child 2's language skills... [reading in Hungarian]
65. How would you describe Child 2's language skills... [writing in Hungarian]
66. The age of Child 1
67. The age of Child 2

68. The age of Child 3
69. The gender of Child 1
70. The gender of Child 2
71. The gender of Child 3
72. Was Child 1 born in the UK?
73. If Child 1 was NOT born in the UK, how old was s/he when moving to the UK?
74. Was Child 2 born in the UK?
75. If Child 2 was NOT born in the UK, how old was s/he when moving to the UK?
76. Does Child 2 attend a complementary school (e.g. a Saturday School or a weekend school)?
77. Was Child 3 born in the UK?
78. If Child 3 was NOT born in the UK, how old was s/he when moving to the UK?
79. What type of educational institution does Child 1 attend (e.g. pre-school, secondary school)?
80. Does Child 1 attend a Hungarian complementary school (e.g. a Saturday School or weekend school)?
81. What type of educational institution does Child 2 attend (e.g. pre-school, secondary school)?
82. Does Child 2 attend a Hungarian complementary school (e.g. a Saturday School or weekend school)?
83. What type of educational institution does Child 3 attend (e.g. pre-school, secondary school)?
84. Does Child 3 attend a Hungarian complementary school (e.g. a Saturday School or weekend school)?
85. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [speaking in English]
86. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [listening in English]
87. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [reading in English]
88. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [writing in in English]
89. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [speaking in Hungarian]
90. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [listening in Hungarian]
91. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [reading in Hungarian]
92. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [writing in Hungarian]
93. How would you describe Child 2's language skills ... [speaking in English]
94. How would you describe Child 2's language skills ... [listening in English]
95. How would you describe Child 2's language skills ... [reading in English]
96. How would you describe Child 2's language skills ... [writing in in English]
97. How would you describe Child 2's language skills ... [speaking in Hungarian]
98. How would you describe Child 2's language skills ... [listening in Hungarian]
99. How would you describe Child 2's language skills ... [reading in Hungarian]
100. How would you describe Child 2's language skills ... [writing in Hungarian]
101. How would you describe Child 3's language skills... [speaking in English]
102. How would you describe Child 3's language skills... [listening in English]
103. How would you describe Child 3's language skills... [reading in English]
104. How would you describe Child 3's language skills... [writing in in English]
105. How would you describe Child 3's language skills... [speaking in Hungarian]
106. How would you describe Child 3's language skills... [listening in Hungarian]
107. How would you describe Child 3's language skills... [reading in Hungarian]
108. How would you describe Child 3's language skills... [writing in Hungarian]
109. The age of Child 1
110. The age of Child 2

111. The age of Child 3
112. The age of Child 4
113. The gender of Child 1
114. The gender of Child 2
115. The gender of Child 3
116. The gender of Child 4
117. Was Child 1 born in the UK?
118. If Child 1 was NOT born in the UK, how old was s/he when moving to the UK?
119. Was Child 2 born in the UK?
120. If Child 2 was NOT born in the UK, how old was s/he when moving to the UK?
121. Was Child 3 born in the UK?
122. If Child 3 was NOT born in the UK, how old was s/he when moving to the UK?
123. Was Child 4 born in the UK?
124. If Child 4 was NOT born in the UK, how old was s/he when moving to the UK?
125. What type of educational institution does Child 1 attend (e.g. pre-school, secondary school)?
126. Does Child 1 attend a Hungarian complementary school (e.g. a Saturday School or a weekend school)?
127. What type of educational institution does Child 2 attend?
128. Does Child 2 attend a Hungarian complementary school (e.g. a Saturday School or a weekend school)?
129. What type of educational institution does Child 3 attend (e.g. pre-school, secondary school)?
130. Does Child 3 attend a Hungarian complementary school (e.g. a Saturday School or a weekend school)?
131. What type of educational institution does Child 4 attend (e.g. pre-school, secondary school)?
132. Does Child 4 attend a Hungarian complementary school (e.g. a Saturday School or a weekend school)?
133. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [writing in in English]
134. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [speaking in Hungarian]
135. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [listening in Hungarian]
136. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [reading in Hungarian]
137. How would you describe Child 1's language skills... [writing in Hungarian]
138. How would you describe Child 2's language skills... [listening in English]
139. How would you describe Child 2's language skills... [reading in English]
140. How would you describe Child 2's language skills... [writing in in English]
141. How would you describe Child 2's language skills... [speaking in Hungarian]
142. How would you describe Child 2's language skills... [listening in Hungarian]
143. How would you describe Child 2's language skills... [reading in Hungarian]
144. How would you describe Child 2's language skills... [writing in Hungarian]
145. How would you describe Child 3's language skills... [speaking in English]
146. How would you describe Child 3's language skills... [listening in English]
147. How would you describe Child 3's language skills... [reading in English]
148. How would you describe Child 3's language skills... [writing in in English]
149. How would you describe Child 3's language skills... [speaking in Hungarian]
150. How would you describe Child 3's language skills... [listening in Hungarian]
151. How would you describe Child 3's language skills... [reading in Hungarian]
152. How would you describe Child 3's language skills... [writing in Hungarian]
153. How would you describe Child 4's language skills... [speaking in English]

154. How would you describe Child 4's language skills... [listening in English]
155. How would you describe Child 4's language skills... [reading in English]
156. How would you describe Child 4's language skills... [writing in in English]
157. How would you describe Child 4's language skills... [speaking in Hungarian]
158. How would you describe Child 4's language skills... [listening in Hungarian]
159. How would you describe Child 4's language skills... [reading in Hungarian]
160. How would you describe Child 4's language skills... [writing in Hungarian]
161. What language do you use at home when you read news online? Please choose one from the following options.
162. What language do you use when you watch TV/ streamed content? Please choose one from the following options.
163. What language do you use when you listen to the radio? Please choose one from the following options
164. What language do you use when you listen to songs? Please choose one from the following options.
165. What language do you use when you read books? Please choose one from the following options.
166. What language do you use when you write a shopping list? Please choose one from the following options.
167. What language do you use when you help your child do homework? Please choose one from the following options.
168. What language do you use during mealtime? Please choose one from the following options.
169. What language is used between you and your partner when you initiate the conversation?
170. What language is used between you and your child(ren) when you initiate the conversation?
171. In what language does your partner initiate a conversation with your child(ren)?
172. In what language does your child / do your children initiate a conversation with you?
173. In what language does your child / do your children initiate a conversation with your partner?
174. What languages are used between / among your children?
175. What languages are used between your child(ren) and paternal grandparents when the child(ren) initiate(s) the conversation?
176. What languages are used between your child(ren) and maternal grandparents when the child(ren) initiate(s) the conversation?
177. What languages are used between paternal grandparents and child(ren) when the grandparents initiate the conversation?
178. What languages are used between maternal grandparents and child(ren) when the grandparents initiate the conversation?
179. On average, how many hours PER WEEK does your child spend on the following activities at home? [Watch TV programmes in English]
180. On average, how many hours PER WEEK does your child spend on the following activities at home? [Watch TV programmes in Hungarian]
181. On average, how many hours PER WEEK does your child spend on the following activities at home? [Play games in English on electronic devices (e.g. a smartphone or tablet)]
182. On average, how many hours PER WEEK does your child spend on the following activities at home? [Play games in Hungarian on electronic devices (e.g. a

smartphone or tablet)]

183. On average, how many hours PER WEEK does your child spend on the following activities at home? [Watch videos in English on YouTube or other video streaming sites]

184. On average, how many hours PER WEEK does your child spend on the following activities at home? [Watch videos in Hungarian on YouTube or other video streaming sites]

185. On average, how many hours PER WEEK does your child spend on the following activities at home? [Use electronic devices (e.g. a smartphone or tablet) for English literacy practices]

186. On average, how many hours PER WEEK does your child spend on the following activities at home? [Use electronic devices (e.g. a smartphone or tablet) for Hungarian literacy practices]

187. How frequently IN A TYPICAL WEEK do the following language activities take place in your family? [You read in English]

188. How frequently IN A TYPICAL WEEK do the following language activities take place in your family? [You read in Hungarian]

189. How frequently IN A TYPICAL WEEK do the following language activities take place in your family? [You read to (or together with) your child in English]

190. How frequently IN A TYPICAL WEEK do the following language activities take place in your family? [You read to (or together with) your child in your Hungarian]

191. How frequently IN A TYPICAL WEEK do the following language activities take place in your family? [Your child reads by her/himself in English]

192. How frequently IN A TYPICAL WEEK do the following language activities take place in your family? [Your child reads by her/himself in Hungarian]

193. How frequently IN A TYPICAL WEEK do the following language activities take place in your family? [Your child attends English tuition outside school]

194. How frequently IN A TYPICAL WEEK do the following language activities take place in your family? [Your child attends tuition to learn Hungarian]

195. How frequently IN A TYPICAL WEEK do the following language activities take place in your family? [Your child uses the local library services for learning English]

196. How frequently IN A TYPICAL WEEK do the following language activities take place in your family? [Your child uses the local library services for learning Hungarian]

197. How frequently IN A TYPICAL WEEK do the following language activities take place in your family? [Your child attends religious services to learn/practise Hungarian]

198. How frequently IN A TYPICAL WEEK do the following language activities take place in your family? [Your child attends community events to learn/practice Hungarian]

199. What do you think about the following statements? [It is disadvantageous for a child if only Hungarian is used at home.]

200. What do you think about the following statements? [Speaking Hungarian may play a negative role in a child's ability to master English.]

201. What do you think about the following statements? [Speaking two or more languages confuses a child.]

202. What do you think about the following statements? [It is important to speak mostly English with a child from a young age when living in the UK.]

203. What do you think about the following statements? [Being bi/multilingual is beneficial a child's academic performance.]
204. What do you think about the following statements? [Being bi/multilingual is beneficial for the future of a child's career.]
205. What do you think about the following statements? [Reading and writing in two or more languages at home is essential for a bi/multilingual child.]
206. What do you think about the following statements? [It is important that my child(ren) can read in Hungarian.]
207. What do you think about the following statements? [It is important that my child(ren) can write in Hungarian.]
208. What do you think about the following statements? [A child's ability to read and write in two or more languages plays a positive role in his/her academic development.]
209. What do you think about the following statements? [Learning Hungarian is a private matter that should be done only at home.]
210. What do you think about the following statements? [It is beneficial for a child to attend a community/heritage language/complementary school to learn Hungarian.]
211. What do you think about the following statements? [The grandparents' involvement is key to a child's home language development.]
212. What do you think about the following statements? [Being multilingual is an important part of my child/children's personal identity.]
213. What do you think about the following statements? [Keeping in regular contact with members of our family who do not speak English is important to me.]
214. What do you think about the following statements? [Keeping in regular contact with members of our family who do not speak English is important to my child/children.]
215. What do you think about the following statements? [My child/children's Hungarian is important for doing well at school.]
216. What do you think about the following statements? [Speaking other language(s) is important for my child/children's career options.]
217. What do you think about the following statements? [Attending a complementary school (e.g. a Saturday School) is important for my child/children's other language(s).]
218. What do you think about the following statements? [It is important for me to follow websites/pages where language related advice is shared.]
219. How many books (including E-books) does your child own? [In English]
220. How many books (including E-books) does your child own? [In Hungarian]
221. How many books (including E-books) does your child own? [Bi/multilingual books]
222. Do these statements describe your language practices after the first child was born in the UK/ when you moved to the UK with your child? [My own language practices changed.]
223. Do these statements describe your language practices after the first child was born in the UK/ when you moved to the UK with your child? [My mixed use of languages increased.]
224. Do these statements describe your language practices after the first child was born in the UK/ when you moved to the UK with your child? [I started to use different languages with different people at home.]
225. Do these statements describe your language practices after the first child was born

in the UK/ when you moved to the UK with your child? [I started to use more English.]

226. Do these statements describe your language practices after the first child was born in the UK/ when you moved to the UK with your child? [I started to use more of my Hungarian.]

227. Do these statements describe your language practices after the first child was born in the UK/ when you moved to the UK with your child? [After my child started nursery or primary school, my own use of English increased.]

228. Do these statements describe your language practices after the first child was born in the UK/ when you moved to the UK with your child? [After my child started nursery or primary school, my own use of Hungarian increased.]

229. Please list up to three people in your family who influence your child's/children's Hungarian language ability the most.

230. Actions you would take for your child's/children's language development (please tick all applicable options)

231. Your perspectives on the following [I'm happy that many people speak other languages than English in Britain.]

232. Your perspectives on the following [It is unacceptable for people living in the UK to speak languages other than English.]

233. Your perspectives on the following [Generally, I feel comfortable using my home language in public.]

234. Your perspectives on the following [More governmental support is needed for maintaining home languages for minority groups in Britain.]

235. If you have any further information to share on this topic, please do so here.

236. Please leave your name and an email address here, if you don't mind being contacted for further involvement in the project (e.g. a short interview).

Appendix 3. Parents' Self-reported Language Proficiency

Table 23. Parents' Self-reported Language Proficiency

Skill	Language	Mean	SD
Speaking	**HU**	4.73	0.52
	EN	4.15	0.80
Listening	**HU**	4.76	0.46
	EN	4.22	0.77
Writing	**HU**	4.67	0.59
	EN	4.16	0.80
Reading	**HU**	4.76	0.49
	EN	4.28	0.77
Mean	**HU**	4.73	0.49
	EN	4.20	0.73

Appendix 4. Children's Language Proficiency by Age Group

Appendix 4.1. First child's proficiency

The tables present the proficiency scores of first-born children, grouped into three age categories (0–5, 6–11, and 12–18 years) based on their form of education, across four skill domains (speaking, comprehension, reading, and writing) in Hungarian and English. In both languages, mean scores increased consistently across age groups in all domains. In Hungarian, speaking (3.25 → 3.71) and comprehension (3.76 → 3.94) showed gradual growth, while literacy skills displayed lower overall means but steady increases in reading (1.22 → 2.82) and writing (1.21 → 2.38). In English, age-related increases were observed across all domains, with higher overall mean scores, particularly in literacy: reading rose from 1.68 in the youngest group to 4.56 in the oldest and writing from 1.60 to 4.50. Speaking (3.32 → 4.65) and comprehension (3.58 → 4.62) also increased markedly across age groups. Standard deviations were generally larger in the youngest cohort and tended to decrease with age, especially in English literacy skills.

Table 24. First child's HU language proficiency

	Speaking HU			Comprehension HU			Reading HU			Writing HU		
	0-5	6-11	12-18	0-5	6-11	12-18	0-5	6-11	12-18	0-5	6-11	12-18
Valid	95	77	34	95	77	34	95	77	34	95	77	34
Mean	3.25	3.46	3.71	3.76	3.71	3.94	1.22	2.31	2.82	1.21	2.00	2.38
Std. Deviation	1.29	1.20	1.14	1.164	1.1	0.95	0.62	1.17	1.22	0.56	1.1	1.10

Table 25. First child's EN language proficiency

	Speaking EN			Comprehension EN			Reading EN			Writing EN		
	0-5	6-11	12-18	0-5	6-11	12-18	0-5	6-11	12-18	0-5	6-11	12-18
Valid	95	77	34	95	77	34	95	77	34	95	77	34
Mean	3.31	4.48	4.65	3.58	4.49	4.62	1.68	4.29	4.56	1.60	4.12	4.50
Std. Deviation	1.36	0.81	0.65	1.26	0.81	0.7	1.26	0.94	0.71	1.1	0.96	0.75

Appendix 4.2. Second Child's Proficiency

In the case of second-born children, proficiency scores, grouped into the 0–5, 6–11, and 12–18 age categories, increased across speaking, comprehension, reading, and writing in Hungarian, with mean scores rising from 2.60 to 3.81 in speaking, from 3.23 to 3.94 in comprehension, from 1.11 to 3.44 in reading, and from 1.08 to 3.00 in writing. Literacy skills showed particularly marked growth between the youngest and oldest groups. In English, a similar age-related increase was observed. Speaking increased from 2.65 in the youngest group to 4.56 in the oldest, while comprehension rose from 2.96 to 4.56. Reading (1.55 → 4.63) and writing (1.54 → 4.44) also demonstrated substantial growth across age groups.

Standard deviations were generally larger in the youngest cohort and tended to decrease in the older groups, especially in English speaking and comprehension.

Table 26. Second child's HU language proficiency

	Speaking HU			Comprehension HU			Reading HU			Writing HU		
	0–5	6–11	12–18	0–5	6–11	12–18	0–5	6–11	12–18	0–5	6–11	12–18
Valid	74	18	16	74	18	16	74	18	16	74	18	16
Mean	2.6	3.56	3.81	3.23	3.56	3.94	1.11	2.22	3.44	1.08	1.83	3.0
Std. Deviation	1.46	1.25	1.11	1.38	1.04	1.06	0.46	1.22	1.03	0.36	0.86	1.03

Table 27. Second child's EN language proficiency

	Speaking EN			Comprehension EN			Reading EN			Writing EN		
	0-5	6-11	12-18	0-5	6-11	12-18	0-5	6-11	12-18	0-5	6-11	12-18
Valid	74	18	16	74	18	16	74	18	16	74	18	16
Mean	2.65	4.83	4.56	2.96	4.83	4.56	1.55	4.72	4.63	1.54	4.5	4.44
Std. Deviation	1.57	0.38	0.73	1.52	0.38	0.89	1.18	0.46	0.72	1.17	0.62	0.81

Appendix 4.3. Third Child's Language Proficiency

In the case of third-born children, proficiency scores, grouped into the 0–5, 6–11, and 12–18 age categories, increased across speaking, comprehension, reading, and writing in both Hungarian and English, with Hungarian means rising from 1.85 to 4.38 in speaking, from 2.15 to 4.38 in comprehension, from 1.00 to 3.25 in reading, and from 1.00 to 3.00 in writing, while English scores showed a similar upward pattern, particularly in literacy (e.g., reading 1.62 → 4.88; writing 1.62 → 4.88), alongside generally smaller variability in the oldest group.

Table 28. Third child HU language proficiency

	Speaking HU			**Comprehension HU**			**Reading HU**			**Writing HU**		
	0-5	6-11	12-18	0-5	6-11	12-18	0-5	6-11	12-18	0-5	6-11	12-18
Valid	13	4	8	13	4	8	13	4	8	13	4	8
Mean	1.85	3.75	4.38	2.15	4.0	4.38	1.0	2.0	3.25	1.0	1.5	3.0
Std. Deviation	1.07	1.26	1.06	1.35	1.41	1.06	0.0	1.16	0.88	0.0	0.58	0.93

Table 29. Third child EN language proficiency

	Speaking EN			**Comprehension EN**			**Reading EN**			**Writing EN**		
	0-5	6-11	3	0-5	6-11	3	0-5	6-11	3	0-5	6-11	3
Valid	13	4	8	13	4	8	13	4	8	13	4	8
Mean	2.15	4.25	4.88	2.54	4.5	5.0	1.62	4.25	4.88	1.62	3.75	4.88
Std. Deviation	1.73	1.50	0.35	1.81	1.0	0.0	1.50	1.5	0.35	1.50	1.5	0.35

Appendix 5. Language practices

Appendix 5.1. Child Directed Speech

Table 30. Child directed speech in percentages

	Only EN	Mostly EN	HU and EN	Mostly HU	Only HU	N
Homework language	9.4	14	43.9	19.9	12.9	171
Dinner language	8.3	10.2	16.5	15.1	50	206
Parent to child initiation	1	6.2	17.5	24.6	50.7	211
Partner to child initiation	24	8	6.7	15.3	46	150
Paternal GP to child	21.4	2.1	1.4	1.4	73.8	145
Maternal GP to child	1.6	—	1.1	4.8	92.5	186

Appendix 5.2. Digital Exposure

Appendix 5.2.1. Digital Exposure HU

Table 31. Digital exposure HU

Variable	< 1 hour	1–2 hours	≥ 3 hours	N
HU TV hours	37	26.1	37	165
HU games hours	68.6	17.5	13.9	137
HU videos hours	55.9	23.4	20.7	111
HU digital practice	82.5	11.3	6.2	97

Appendix 5.2.2. Digital Exposure EN

Table 32. Digital exposure EN

Variable	< 1 hour	1–2 hours	≥ 3 hours	N
EN TV hours	25.2	30.4	44.4	171
EN games hours	56.6	27.6	15.8	152
EN videos hours	39.2	33.5	27.2	158
EN digital practice	83.2	11.9	5	101

Appendix 5.3. Activities per hour

Table 33. Activities per hour (1 – never 5 – very often)

Variable	Valid	Missing	M	SD
EN reading together	171	60	3.54	1.79
EN child reading	175	56	3.50	2.32
EN extracurricular	186	45	1.74	1.49
EN library	180	51	1.77	1.27
HU reading together	168	63	4.43	1.68
HU child reading	202	29	1.79	1.35
HU extracurricular	179	52	1.42	0.91
HU library	210	21	1.10	0.52

Appendix 6. Ideologies

Table 34. Ideology items

	Valid	Mean	Std. Deviation
HL reading positive	211	4.351	0.817
HL writing positive	211	4.218	0.889
Bilingual literacy positive	211	4.351	0.799
Multilingual literacy positive	211	4.659	0.615
Family contact HL positive	211	4.640	0.664
Child contact HL positive	211	4.583	0.728
Bilingual identity positive	211	4.512	0.771
Complementary school to learn languages positive	211	3.280	1.299
Following language advice	211	3.100	1.244
HL identity in school positive	211	3.190	1.266
Bilingual academic advantage	211	4.611	0.884
Bilingual career advantage	211	4.682	0.844
HL home negative	211	1.611	0.991
HL negative influence on EN	211	1.308	0.629
EN priority negative	211	1.664	1.080
Bilingual confusion negative	211	1.379	0.729

Appendix 7. Semi-Structured Interview Guide

The interviews were conducted in Hungarian. The table below presents the original Hungarian interview questions alongside their English translations.

Table 35. Questions to interviewees in Hungarian with translation

1	Milyen nyelvet használtok otthon?	What language(s) do you use at home?
2	A gyerekek egymás között, illetve amikor veletek beszélnek, akkor magyarul kezdeményezik a beszélgetést, vagy angolul?	When your children talk to each other, or when they talk to you, do they initiate conversations in Hungarian or in English?
3	Ha ő vált angolra, akkor ezt megállítod és kéred, hogy magyarázza el magyarul, vagy nem állítod meg?	If your child switches to English, do you stop them and ask them to say it in Hungarian, or do you allow them to continue in English?
4	Hogy látod, mennyire nehéz fenntartani a magyar nyelvet generációkon keresztül, és hogy ez kinek fontos egyáltalán?	How difficult do you think it is to maintain Hungarian across generations, and to whom is maintaining the language important?
5	Mit gondolsz a kétnyelvűségről, hogy az segíti, vagy inkább gátolja a gyerek fejlődését?	Do you think bilingualism supports or rather hinders a child's development?
6	Mit gondolsz, milyen előnyöket vagy hátrányokat jelent a magyar és az angol nyelv a gyerek jövőjét illetően? Mit fog profitálni a magyar nyelvből és mit fog profitálni az angol nyelvből?	What advantages or disadvantages do you think Hungarian and English may have for your child's future? What might your child gain from Hungarian, and what might they gain from English?
7	Változott a nyelvhasználatod a gyerekek születése után, illetve az 1. gyerek születése után és a 2. gyerek születése után saját magadon észrevettél változást a nyelvhasználatodat illetően?	Did your language use change after your children were born? Did you notice any changes in your own language use after the birth of your first child and, where applicable, after the birth of your second child?

8	Mennyire érzed magabiztosnak vagy mennyire vagy magabiztos a saját nyelvtudásodat illetően akár angolul akár magyarul?	How confident do you feel about your own language proficiency in English and in Hungarian?