Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

Language Ideologies, Language Practices, and Identity Construction among Turkish People Living in Hungary

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STATEMENT

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of Humanities in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The content and research methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents a comprehensive analysis of language ideologies, language practices, and identity construction among first-generation Turkish immigrants in Hungary which is a small, low-density, and under-researched diaspora community that, unlike larger Turkish communities in Western Europe, is distinguished by a much higher rate of exogamous marriages and very limited institutional support for heritage language and culture. The study is based primarily on in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 50 Turkish adults from diverse demographic backgrounds, supported by a structured language orientation and acculturation scale to complement the qualitative findings. The research examines how Turkish migrants understand and apply their language beliefs, the factors that influence language maintenance or shift, and how identity develops across family, social, and professional settings. The findings show that Turkish remains a central symbol of emotional connection, heritage, and cultural continuity, especially within families and private life. Hungarian is mainly used for public life, integration, and work. English serves as a practical resource in business and international settings but is rarely tied to identity. Family structure, particularly whether marriages are within the Turkish community or with Hungarian partners, strongly affects language use. Endogamous families are more likely to use Turkish at home, while exogamous families, especially those with Hungarian spouses, often use Hungarian in daily life and with their children. Despite the lack of institutional support and the small size of the community, participants use both Turkish and Hungarian in their lives, and code-switching is a normal part of communication, not a sign of language loss even though some participants report language attrition, such as reduced proficiency or frequency of use. Acculturation patterns are complex and vary by context, but most participants integrate into Hungarian society while still maintaining strong connections to Turkish language and culture through family, media, and transnational ties. Language shift and loss are generally accepted as normal outcomes of migration, and participants commonly anticipate that both language use and identity will shift further in the next generation, viewing this change pragmatically and without significant conflict. Nevertheless, a strong sense of Turkish identity remains. The study shows the importance of individual choice, family language practices, and digital communication in maintaining heritage language in small diaspora communities. By focusing on Turkish immigrants in Hungary, this dissertation adds to our understanding of language maintenance, identity, and adaptation in contemporary migration,

and highlights the need for policies and research that address the specific realities of small and emerging, underestimated migrant groups in Europe.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AOI	Age of immigration
FLP	Family Language Policy
LOR	Length of residence
LMLS	Language Maintenance and Language Shift

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem statement

According to the Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the total number of Turkish people living abroad exceeds 7.5 million, with approximately 6 million residing in Western European countries. When considering the estimated 3 million individuals who have previously returned to Türkiye, the Turkish international migration phenomenon encompasses a population of roughly 10.5 million worldwide (Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.).

The Turkish diaspora represents one of the largest and most established migrant communities in Western Europe, originating largely from post-war bilateral recruitment agreements (Abadan-Unat, 2011; Extra & Yağmur, 2004; see Section 2.5, "Language Maintenance and Shift in Turkish Communities in Europe," for a detailed discussion). Unlike many other immigrant groups, Turkish migration to Western European countries was shaped by bilateral agreements that facilitated recruitment, family reunification, and, over time, increasing integration and institutional support (Abadan-Unat, 2011; Akgündüz, 2008). As a result, the language practices, maintenance, and identity formation of Turkish communities in countries such as Germany, the Netherlands, and France have been extensively studied within the context of large, concentrated populations and well-established community infrastructures (Akıncı, 1996; Extra & Yağmur, 2004; Yağmur & Akıncı, 2003; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2022)

In sharp contrast, the Turkish community in Hungary presents a markedly different migration trajectory and contemporary profile. Turkish migration to Hungary has not been driven by large-scale recruitment or coordinated state policies, but rather by smaller-scale, individually-timed migration events (Labancz, 2015; Gürses & Bátyi, 2022). This has resulted in a relatively small, scattered population with no defined neighborhoods or institutional frameworks for cultural or linguistic support, either from the host country or Turkey itself (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 2026; Gürses & Bátyi, 2022). Unlike the concentrated Turkish communities of Western Europe, Turks in Hungary are geographically dispersed, most commonly residing in Budapest, and do not benefit from official minority status or dedicated community institutions (Dobos, 2025).

A further distinguishing feature is the high rate of exogamous (mixed) marriages with Hungarians found among Turks in Hungary, which is a pattern not typically observed in larger Turkish diaspora populations (Gürses & Bátyi, 2022). In Western European countries, such as

France and the Netherlands, research has shown that Turkish migrants tend to marry within their own community, with low rates of intermarriage. For example, based on 2002 data from the Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), the majority of first-generation Turkish men and women in the Netherlands marry partners from the same ethnic background, a pattern that also holds for the second generation (Huschek, de Valk, & Liefbroer, 2012). This trend is closely linked to the size and cohesion of the Turkish population, as larger ethnic communities provide more opportunities and social reinforcement for endogamous unions (Blau, 1994; Lieberson & Waters, 1988). In contrast, the small and dispersed nature of the Turkish community in Hungary, combined with the prevalence of mixed marriages, raises important questions about language transmission, cultural continuity, and the negotiation of identity and belonging within this unique context.

The historical relationship between Hungary and the Turkish-speaking world, shaped by 150 years of Ottoman rule in the immediate region of historical Hungary (Bartha & Borbély, 2006), adds further complexity to questions of language, identity, and cultural orientation among Turkish migrants today. Despite sharing linguistic roots with their counterparts in Western Europe, the scattered settlement, lack of community institutions, and absence of official minority status in Hungary create conditions that may foster different language ideologies and outcomes regarding language maintenance and shift (Yagmur, 2016; Extra & Yagmur, 2004). Existing scholarship on Turkish diaspora communities often overlooking smaller and more recent communities in Central and Eastern Europe. While a few recent studies have begun to document these smaller cohorts (see, e.g., Andrejuk, 2019, on Poland; Uysal et al., 2025, on the Czech Republic), the Turkish presence in Hungary remains markedly underrepresented in the sociolinguistic literature (Örkény & Székelyi, 2010; Várhalmi, 2013). As such, there is a significant gap in understanding how first-generation Turkish migrants in Hungary negotiate language use, cultural orientation, and identity construction in the absence of collective infrastructure and amidst high levels of integration with the majority society.

This study seeks to address this gap by investigating the language ideologies underpinning language practices, the processes of identity construction, and the acculturation orientations among first-generation Turkish migrants in Hungary. By situating the Hungarian Turkish community within both the broader European context and the unique historical relationship between Hungary and Turkey, this research aims to provide insights into the dynamics of language and identity in small, dispersed migrant communities

1.2. Research aims and questions

The aim of this study is to provide an in-depth understanding of language ideologies, practices, and identity construction among first-generation Turkish migrants in Hungary. Specifically, the research seeks to explore the language ideologies held by Turkish speakers, examine how these ideologies are reflected in their everyday language practices, investigate the linguistic and cultural dimensions of their identity construction, and reveal the ways in which language maintenance is enacted within the community.To address these aims, the following research questions guide the study:

1. What are the language ideologies of first-generation Turkish speakers living in Hungary?
2. What extralinguistic factors shape their language ideologies?
3. What are the underlying language beliefs and ideologies behind different types of language socialization practices in families with a Turkish background?
4. To what extent does marital status (exogamous or endogamous) contribute to language maintenance or shift?
5. How do Turkish speakers in Hungary put their language ideologies into practice ?
6. Which acculturation strategies (assimilation, integration, separation, marginalization) characterize first-generation Turkish immigrants in Hungary at a global level?
7. How do acculturation orientations vary across different life domains?

1.3. Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation is organized into six chapters, each designed to build a comprehensive understanding of language ideologies, practices, identity construction, and acculturation among first-generation Turkish immigrants in Hungary. Chapter 1 introduces the research problem, outlines the aims and research questions, and situates the study within the broader context of Turkish migration, focusing on the distinct characteristics of the Hungarian setting. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on language maintenance and shift, family language policy, identity construction, and acculturation theory, with particular attention to Spolsky's tripartite model and comparative insights from Turkish communities across Europe. Chapter 3 details the methodology, describing the qualitative research design complemented by quantitative measures, participant recruitment, data collection through semi-structured interviews and questionnaires, and the combined approach to data analysis**.** Chapter 4 presents the empirical results, organized thematically and by domain; it explores participants' perceptions of life in

Hungary, their language ideologies, home and social language practices, emotional and multimodal language use, code-switching, and language attrition, as well as the influence of family structure, marital configuration, and social networks on language use, identity, and acculturation. Chapter 5 discusses the findings in relation to relevant theories and previous research, highlighting how language ideologies, family dynamics, and social context shape linguistic maintenance, identity, and adaptation in the Hungarian Turkish community. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation by summarizing key findings, offering implications for language policy and integration, acknowledging the study's limitations, and suggesting directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the theoretical, sociolinguistic, and contextual literature framing this study. It begins by examining foundational models of language maintenance and language shift (Section 2.1) and outlines Spolsky's tripartite model of language policy, detailing language ideologies, language management, and domain-specific language practices (Section 2.2). The discussion then explores sociological and psychological perspectives on identity construction (Section 2.3) and evaluates Berry's bidimensional acculturation framework in relation to migrant adaptation (Section 2.4). Building on these theoretical foundations, Section 2.5 reviews empirical scholarship on language maintenance and shift within Turkish diaspora communities across Europe. Finally, Section 2.6 contextualizes the contemporary Turkish presence in Hungary by examining its demographic profile and the host country's language political environment, concluding with a summary of the study's research questions (Section 2.7).

2.1. Language maintenance and language shift

Language maintenance and loss are central concerns in the study of migration, particularly in an increasingly globalized world. As of mid-2024, United Nations (2025) estimates indicate that approximately 304 million people live outside their country of birth, accounting for roughly 3.7% of the global population. Migration brings individuals into new linguistic environments, often requiring the acquisition of a dominant language for participation in social and economic life. This process, however, frequently reduces the use of the mother tongue and may lead to its gradual loss. It is therefore important to distinguish between language shift, a group-level process, and language loss, which refers to individual decline in linguistic proficiency (Fase, Jaspaert, & Kroon, 1992).

Understanding these processes requires attention to both macro- and micro-level influences. At the macro level, language policies, institutional support, and broader sociolinguistic ideologies shape the conditions under which languages are maintained or lost. In a world where thousands of languages coexist within a limited number of nation-states (Ricento, 2006a), dominant languages, associated with greater political and economic power, tend to expand at the expense of minority languages. At the micro level, individual characteristics such as age, gender, education, and motivation for migration further influence linguistic outcomes (Kipp et al., 1995; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012). Together, these macro- and micro-level factors shape how language shift unfolds across generations. First-generation migrants are generally more likely to maintain their mother tongue, whereas subsequent generations tend to shift toward the

dominant language, particularly through formal education and increased societal integration (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). At the same time, extensive exposure to the dominant language, combined with limited opportunities to use the heritage language, leads to a gradual reduction in both use and proficiency (Allard & Landry, 1992). These changes occur not only in interactions with the wider society but also within migrant communities themselves, where shifting norms, intermarriage, and reduced group cohesion can weaken intergenerational transmission of the minority language (Fase, Jaspaert, & Kroon, 1992). Crucially, these processes do not lead to a single outcome but result in different forms of bilingual development, which can be understood through Lambert's (1975) distinction between additive and subtractive bilingualism. Additive bilingualism occurs when a second language is acquired without undermining the first, enabling individuals to develop proficiency in both languages while maintaining a strong cultural and linguistic identity. In contrast, subtractive bilingualism arises when the dominant language gradually replaces the heritage language.

Whether bilingualism becomes additive or subtractive depends largely on the social context: supportive attitudes, community practices, and institutional resources foster additive bilingualism, while lack of recognition or opportunities for the minority language tends to result in subtractive bilingualism and, potentially, broader language shift. In more extreme circumstances, sustained institutional neglect and restricted exposure can foster subtractive bilingual outcomes or heritage language attrition, where development in the societal language occurs at the direct expense of proficiency in the heritage tongue (Montrul, 2016). Thus, additive and subtractive bilingualism are best understood as outcomes along a continuum shaped by the same sociolinguistic processes that influence language maintenance and loss, reflecting the degree to which individuals and communities can sustain their linguistic resources in changing social environments.

To systematically investigate these maintenance and shift dynamics, sociolinguistic research relies heavily on Fishman's foundational Language Maintenance and Language Shift (LMLS) framework. Originating in the early 1960s (Fishman, 1966), LMLS emerged as sociolinguistics sought to move beyond structural, descriptive linguistics toward an understanding of language as situated social practice.

Fishman (1972) demonstrated that language choice is neither random nor entirely idiosyncratic. Instead, speech varieties are allocated to institutionalized social spheres or domains, such as family, neighborhood, religion, workplace, and education, where specific and socially regulated patterns of language use emerge. Maintenance depends on preserving distinct boundaries where the heritage language remains the habitual, normative choice (Fishman,

1972). As Fishman explains, “Proper usage dictates that only one of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties will be chosen by particular classes of interlocutors, on particular kinds of occasions, to discuss particular topics” (Fishman, 1972, p. 437).

Over the years, Fishman’s work on LMLS evolved from simply describing language shift to offering practical strategies for minority language revival. In Reversing Language Shift (1991), he introduced the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), which uses eight stages to assess how well a language is surviving. Fishman and others later emphasized that while support from institutions like the media or government is helpful, maintaining a language over time depends most on passing it down within families and local communities (Fishman, 1991). Although Fishman’s LMLS framework remains influential in establishing domain-based language use, contemporary sociolinguists note that everyday domains are rarely separate or fixed. In contexts shaped by digital media and migration, linguistic boundaries are fluid and overlapping. Scholars suggest that Fishman’s model assumes a degree of community concentration and stable language separation that does not fully capture the dynamic multilingual practices of today’s migrants (Heller, 2007; Pauwels, 2016).

Furthermore, while Fishman’s macro-societal approach provides an indispensable structural foundation for mapping language use across societal domains, critical sociolinguists point out that it underemphasizes individual agency and subjective language ideologies (Kroskrity, 2000). A community does not maintain or shift away from a language solely through external institutional pressures; outcomes are actively shaped by individuals' personal language practices, beliefs, and acculturative orientations. To capture this micro-level base, this study integrates Fishman’s framework with Spolsky’s (2004) language policy model and Berry’s (1997) bidimensional acculturation model, while adopting a domain-specific perspective (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006). Rather than treating acculturation attitudes and language practices as static or uniform across an individual’s entire life, this synthesis recognizes that adaptation processes and language choices vary substantially across distinct spheres of daily life, such as family, literacy, media, social networks, and identity. In this way, Fishman delineates where communicative varieties are functionally distributed; Spolsky accounts for individual practices, beliefs, and management; and the domain-specific acculturation model captures how personal attitudes toward heritage retention versus host-society participation unfold within specific, everyday contexts.

This integrated framework is particularly well-suited for investigating the sociolinguistic realities of Turkish migrants in Hungary. Because Turkish does not hold recognized minority status under Hungarian law, institutional provisions for its public use and formal education are

largely absent. Consequently, the burden of language maintenance shifts away from institutional mechanisms and onto micro-level spheres such as daily practices within the home domain, self-directed language management, and informal peer networks. Under these conditions, where the structural pull toward subtractive bilingualism is strong, examining how individuals negotiate language practices and acculturative orientations across specific domains provides a nuanced explanation of both individual adaptation and broader community vitality.

2.2. Spolsky's tripartite model

While Fishman's LMLS framework provides the structural taxonomy for mapping language distribution across societal domains, explaining how and why these configurations persist or change requires examining the underlying mechanisms of language policy. Moving beyond early scholarship that equated language policy primarily with state legislation and centralized planning (Lambert, 1999), contemporary sociolinguistics views policy as dynamic processes negotiated across multiple societal tiers. To capture this multi-layered reality, this study applies Spolsky's (2004) tripartite model of language policy. Spolsky argues that language policy does not exist solely in statutory documents; rather, it is constituted by three interrelated components: language beliefs or ideologies, language practices, and language management. In immigrant contexts, these three components are continually shaped by power relations and sociolinguistic hierarchies (Ricento, 2006). Societal host policies often privilege the dominant national language while marginalizing non-standard or minority varieties. Consequently, minority language maintenance is not purely determined by demographic group size or geographic concentration (Clyne, as cited in Leuner, 2007), but is socially and politically mediated. Crucially, Spolsky's three components do not always operate in harmony. For instance, speakers may maintain strong positive attitudes and emotional attachments toward their heritage language while simultaneously shifting away from it in their actual daily interactions (Fülöp et al., 2025). Conversely, bottom-up community practices can actively resist assimilationist pressures even in the absence of institutional endorsement, as demonstrated in historical cases of grassroots language revival (Cenoz, 2003). To operationalize this framework, the following subsections examine each of Spolsky's three pillars as ideologies, practices within domains, and management, and their analytical application to the Turkish migrant experience

2.2.1. Language ideologies and attitudes

In an era of global migration, multilingualism is widespread, yet it remains remains deeply contested on ideological grounds. Managing this linguistic diversity requires language policies negotiated across both societal and individual levels. Far from being neutral frameworks, these policies are inherently ideologically situated, shaped by culturally embedded belief systems that legitimize linguistic hierarchies and reinforce existing power relations (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p.2) The concept of language ideology gained analytical prominence in linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics during the late 20th century, sparked by Silverstein's (1979, pp. 193) critique of purely structuralist linguistics and formalized by scholars such as Kroskrity (2000).

In Spolsky's (2004, 2007) model, language ideology is conceptualized as the "beliefs" component of policy. These beliefs represent cultural systems of ideas loaded with political, social, and moral investments (Irvine, 2012), encompassing metalinguistic evaluations of language quality, purity, communicative utility, and ownership (Silverstein, 1976; Kroskrity, 2001;Blommaert, 2006). Closely intertwined with ideologies are language attitudes, individual psychological predispositions toward specific languages and their speakers (Vandermeeren, 2006). While classic sociolinguistic paradigms treated attitudes as individual affective traits and ideologies as collective macro-structures, contemporary critical research demonstrates that both dimensions converge in everyday discourse and practice (Blommaert, 2007; Spitzmüller, 2022).

At the macro level, governments enact language policies that reflect ideologies of nation-building and shape the status and future of minority languages (Spolsky, 2004; Ricento, 2006). These policies frequently privilege dominant languages while marginalizing others, thereby reinforcing linguistic hierarchies and broader socio-political inequalities (Philipson, 1992). In this sense, language policy becomes a manifestation of asymmetrical power relations, positioning languages, and their speakers, within stratified social structures (Ricento, 2006).

In contrast, at the micro level, language policy is continually negotiated and enacted within communities, social networks, and the home domain. In these intimate settings, language ideologies and attitudes cease to be abstract constructs; rather, they become lived realities that are reproduced, challenged, and reshaped through everyday communicative practices. Because formal minority provisions are absent in contexts like Hungary, the home domain and informal diaspora networks become the primary sites where language values are actively negotiated. Within these spaces, speakers balance heritage preservation against the instrumental demands of the host society, developing both explicit and implicit norms regarding language choice, transmission, and identity. Through this lens, everyday linguistic choices within the private

sphere are best understood not as isolated behaviors, but as active micro-level negotiations embedded in, and responsive to, the wider ideological and structural forces that govern society (Fishman, 1966; Roberts, 2021; Spolsky, 2007).

2.2.2. Language practices and the concept of domains

The second pillar of Spolsky's framework, language practices, refers to the actual, observable communicative choices and linguistic varieties that speakers deploy in everyday life (Spolsky, 2004). Rather than being uniform or static, migrant communicative repertoires are flexible and situational, encompassing code-switching, translanguaging, and style-shifting across diverse communicative contexts (Farr & Song, 2011). To analyze where and how different language practices occur, Spolsky (2004, 2009) directly incorporates Fishman's (1972) concept of domains into his model. Domains function as structured social arenas, such as the home, the workplace, higher education institutions, peer networks, and digital media environments, defined by specific social relationships, spatial settings, and communicative norms (Fishman, 1972; see also Genemo, 2022).Fishman formulated domains as an analytical instrument to demonstrate that multilingual choices are socially patterned rather than accidental, emphasizing that *"proper usage dictates that only one of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties will be chosen by particular classes of interlocutors, on particular kinds of occasions, to discuss particular topics"* (Fishman, 1972, p. 437).

While Fishman identified core institutionalized spheres such as the family, friendship networks, religion, education, and employment, recent scholarship highlights that models of domain specificity vary in their analytical scope. As Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2006) observe, domains can be conceptualized across different levels of abstraction: at the macro level, they divide into public (functional, utilitarian) and private (social-emotional, affective) spheres; at the micro level, they capture situation-specific encounters where an individual's adherence to heritage practices versus host-society norms shifts according to immediate interactional demands.

Building on this structural foundation, Spolsky (2009) conceptualizes domains as the crucial sociolinguistic arenas where language practices are enacted, where language ideologies are projected, and where language management takes place. These domain-specific practices do not operate in an ideological vacuum. They are directly influenced by the value, status, and legitimacy attributed to each variety in a speaker's repertoire (Blommaert, 2006; Gal & Irvine, 2019). For instance, positive ideological orientations toward Turkish may sustain its routine use

within the home domain and informal peer networks, even as instrumental pressures necessitate the use of Hungarian or English in academic and professional spaces.

However, simply relying on routine language use and personal beliefs does not explain how people actively defend or change their language practices when there is little support from institutions. To understand these intentional efforts, it is important to consider the third part of Spolsky's model which is language management.

2.2.3. Language Management

Language management constitutes the third, action-oriented pillar of Spolsky's (2004) framework. While language practices describe habitual communicative behavior and ideologies encompass normative beliefs, language management represents any deliberate, conscious effort to manipulate, regulate, or modify linguistic behavior (Spolsky, 2004, 2009). Spolsky's conceptualization extends beyond traditional language planning by demonstrating that management operates across both formal, top-down structures and informal, bottom-up interactions (Johnson, 2013). To systematically account for these different levels of intervention, Spolsky (2021) aligns his model with Language Management Theory (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2015; Neustupný & Nekvapil, 2003), which distinguishes between organized management and simple management.Organized management refers to explicit, institutionalized activities undertaken by formal governing bodies, educational institutions, or legal authorities with the power to formulate and enforce language policies. This includes statutory language laws, educational mediums of instruction, and official institutional requirements. Simple management, by contrast, encompasses micro-level linguistic interventions occurring in immediate communicative situations. This includes on-the-spot corrections, conscious language choices, conversational adjustments, and self-directed language learning strategies, which Spolsky (2021) terms individual self-management. This distinction is crucial for analyzing the sociolinguistic situation of Turkish migrants in Hungary. Because Turkish lacks official minority recognition under Hungarian law, organized management supporting the community is practically non-existent in state institutions. Consequently, heritage language maintenance depends almost exclusively on simple management and individual self-management, specifically, conscious personal commitments to sustain mother-tongue communication within the home domain, deliberate decisions to engage with Turkish digital media and literature, and active participation in informal diaspora networks. By synthesizing language ideologies, domain-specific practices, and deliberate

management strategies, Spolsky's tripartite model provides the explanatory mechanism needed to understand how macro-level pressures intersect with micro-level agency. In turn, these linguistic dynamics connect directly to broader questions of socio-cultural adaptation, which are explored through the acculturation framework in Section 2.4.

2.3. Identity construction

It is possible for individuals to develop a sense of belonging in more than one cultural context without compromising their cultural identity. According to Clément and Noels (1992), ethnolinguistic identity is dynamic and contextually dependent. The ability to develop competence in both cultures and to shift between them depending on situational demands is crucial for psychological well-being. This is particularly relevant for immigrant populations, where individuals often navigate between heritage and host cultures. Ethnic identity can be understood as a multifaceted and evolving concept, referring to an individual's sense of self as a member of a group typically associated with shared ancestry, language, origin, and sometimes religion (Fishman, 1989). Importantly, ethnic identity is not fixed. The ascribed dimension (how others perceive an individual) and the subscribed dimension (how individuals perceive themselves) do not always overlap. In this study, identity is approached through a bidimensional model, where identification with one's ethnic group and with the host society constitute two key dimensions. Within migration contexts, identity development is shaped not only by individual choices but also by broader social dynamics. As Yağmur and van de Vijver (2022) argue, immigrants' ethnic and national identities, as well as their adaptation processes, emerge through the interaction between personal attitudes and the responses of the receiving society. When immigrants perceive exclusion or lack of recognition, integration becomes more complex and potentially problematic. This highlights that identity formation cannot be understood solely at the individual level.

Building on this, identity should be conceptualized as dynamic and context-dependent rather than static. During acculturation, individuals may renegotiate their self-identification, including decisions about whether to adopt the host-country label, retain their ethnic label, or combine both (Liebkind, 2006). While self-identification alone does not fully capture the strength of ethnic attachment, it remains an important indicator of acculturative orientation. While these perspectives emphasize belonging and group membership, they do not fully explain how identity is enacted in everyday life. Language plays a central role in this process, serving as a key resource through which identities are constructed and negotiated. A useful starting point is

the concept of language ideologies, defined as socially shared beliefs about language that shape how speakers interpret and justify language use (Silverstein, 1979). These ideologies are embedded in broader systems of social values and power relations, influencing which languages or varieties are considered legitimate or desirable. From this perspective, both language and ethnicity can be understood as social and cultural constructions. Speakers actively use linguistic resources to define themselves and others in interaction (Lytra, 2016). Contemporary research in language and identity has therefore moved away from essentialist views of identity as fixed and internally determined. Instead, social constructionist approaches conceptualize identity as relational, dynamic, and context-dependent. As De Fina (2006) notes, identities are not pre-existing entities but are discursively mediated and emerge through social interaction. Discursive approaches such as Discursive Psychology (Wetherell, 2007) and Linguistic Ethnography (Rampton, Maybin & Roberts, 2003; Creese & Blackledge, 2010) further develop this understanding by focusing on how identity is enacted in situated interactions. Discursive Psychology treats discourse as social action, examining how talk and text are sites where psychological phenomena, including identity, are constructed. Linguistic Ethnography, in turn, analyzes how linguistic practices are embedded within broader social and cultural contexts, linking micro-level interaction with macro-level structures. Sociolinguistic research provides an important bridge between these levels of analysis. Studies on language attitudes, community norms, and bilingual repertoires demonstrate how social structures shape identity construction. Language ideologies influence patterns of language choice, maintenance, and shift, particularly among migrant communities navigating between majority and heritage languages (Piller, 2002). In this way, individual linguistic practices are closely connected to broader systems of power and ideology.

From a poststructuralist perspective, identities and language ideologies are sociohistorically shaped, contested, and embedded in relations of power (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). While individuals exercise agency in negotiating their identities, this agency is constrained by social, political, and economic structures (Block, 2007; Kroskrity, 2001). Ethnographic research has shown that access to socially valued linguistic resources is unevenly distributed, and that such access can function as a mechanism of inclusion or exclusion (Heller, 1992, 1999). These perspectives highlight the tension between agency and constraint in identity construction. Individuals may emphasize, downplay, or negotiate different aspects of their identity depending on the context, while dominant social groups influence which identities are recognized or valued. At the same time, individuals can resist these constraints and construct hybrid or "third-space" identities by combining elements from different cultural and linguistic systems (Bhabha,

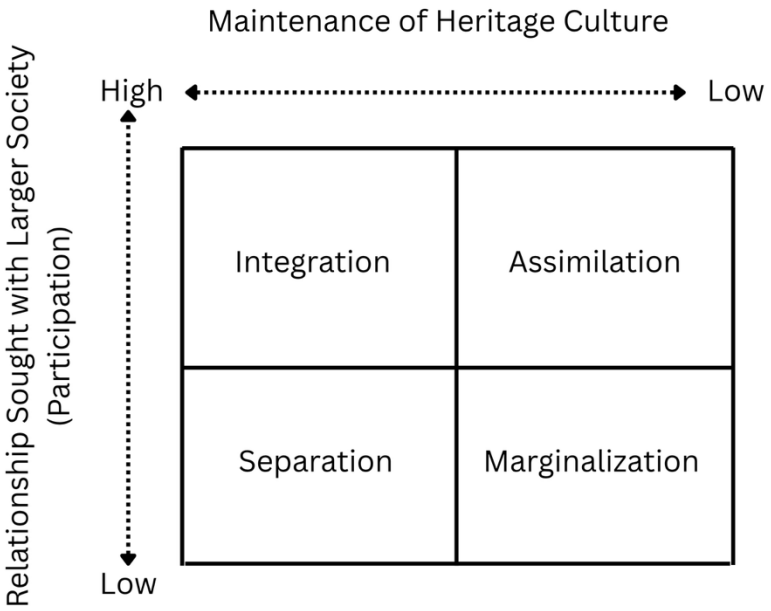
1994). Identity is also shaped by intersectional factors such as ethnicity, gender, age, class, and religion (Block & Corona, 2016). For example, Doran (2004) demonstrates how youth in suburban Paris used Verlan to construct hybrid identities that reflect ethnicity, social class, and affiliation with youth culture. Finally, ethnic identity is supported and reproduced through social and cultural institutions such as heritage language schools, religious organizations, and community networks. These institutions provide spaces where individuals can practice language, engage with cultural traditions, and maintain a sense of belonging (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Lytra & Martin, 2010) In contexts where such resources are limited, expressions of ethnic identity may vary significantly across individuals. This study builds on these theoretical perspectives by examining how Turkish immigrants in Hungary perceive their own ethnicity, how they believe they are perceived by others, and how these perspectives interact. Particular attention is paid to self-identification, feelings of belonging, commitment to the group, and attitudes toward one's ethnic group. By integrating psychological, sociolinguistic, and discursive approaches, the study conceptualizes identity as a dynamic, interactionally constructed process shaped by both individual agency and broader social structures.

2.4. Acculturation theory

To understand how migrants' language choices relate to their adjustment in a new society, sociolinguists often draw on acculturation theory. In formulating the theoretical approach for this study, established sociolinguistic frameworks such as Fishman's (1991) language maintenance and shift and Spolsky's (2004, 2009) tripartite language policy model were initially considered as sole analytical lenses. While these models effectively capture macro-level institutional forces, language management, and communicative domains, they do not inherently provide a dedicated social-psychological apparatus to analyze the individual speaker's internal emotional orientations, feelings of belonging, and subjective identity negotiations. Because factors such as ethnic identity directly influence how migrants perceive and maintain their heritage language (Koenig, 1999), and because the semi-structured interviews in this study supplied detailed qualitative narratives regarding participants' daily struggles, attitudes, and affective ties, integrating an acculturation framework proved essential. Rather than viewing acculturation as a unidimensional where adopting a host culture necessitates abandoning one's heritage language and culture, Berry (1990, 1997, 2005) conceptualized it as a bidimensional process. When distinct cultural groups interact over time,

adaptation occurs across two independent dimensions: cultural maintenance and host-society participation.

Figure 1: The two-dimensional acculturation model of Berry



Berry established that cultural adaptation is shaped by two conceptually independent orientations: the extent to which an individual values maintaining their heritage culture and identity, and the extent to which they seek relationships with the larger host society. The intersection of these two orthogonal dimensions produces four distinct acculturation strategies. *Integration* occurs when heritage language and culture are maintained while the new culture and language are also adopted, representing a bicultural adaptation. *Assimilation* involves fully adopting the host culture and language while abandoning the heritage language and cultural practices. *Separation* is observed when individuals preserve their heritage language and culture but avoid or minimize contact with the host society. Finally, *marginalization* describes a situation in which immigrants disengage from both their heritage culture and the mainstream culture, resulting in limited participation in either. While Berry's four-quadrant typology established a foundational baseline, scholars have noted that these categories do not capture the full complexity of migrant experiences. For instance, migrants who do not strongly identify with either their heritage culture or the host culture are not necessarily alienated; rather, they may actively engage with their new community and maintain openness toward diverse social groups without defining themselves strictly through ethnic or national affiliation. Acculturation

is therefore not a uniform process, and individuals from similar origins within the same receiving context can experience adaptation in markedly different ways (Nauck, 2008). This complexity is further evident when considering changes across generations. The children and grandchildren of the low-skilled labor migrants in the 1960s and 1970s in western Europe, for instance, experience different pathways of social mobility, shaped by factors like neighborhood environment, parental resources, and educational opportunities (Crul, 2016). This divergence is further supported by research showing that the cultural orientations and acculturation processes of first- and second-generation Turkish origin migrants differ considerably (Yagmur, 2016). Second-generation immigrants typically acquire the societal language more easily than their parents and are more exposed to mainstream norms and values through schooling and peer interactions, which often makes their cultural orientation more similar to that of the host society (Birman, 2006).

Building on Berry's work, later researchers have emphasized that acculturation is influenced not only by individual preferences but also by the ongoing interactions and mutual expectations between immigrants and members of the host society and situational demands of daily life. First, Bourhis et al. (1997) developed the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM), demonstrating that acculturation outcomes are inherently relational. Successful adaptation does not depend solely on an immigrant's preferred strategy, but on how that orientation aligns with the host society's acculturation expectations. When receiving communities demand complete linguistic and cultural assimilation while minority individuals seek integration or separation, the resulting dynamics can become problematic or conflictual (Bourhis, 2001; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2022). Complementing this relational perspective, Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2006) supported a domain-specific approach, recognizing that migrants rarely adopt a single acculturation stance across all areas of daily life. By analyzing acculturation across different levels of abstraction, they showed that individuals often favor adaptation to the mainstream culture in public, functional, and utilitarian spheres (such as education and employment), while sustaining heritage language and cultural adherence within private, affective domains.

Building further on this contextual view, van der Zee and van Oudenhoven (2022) argue that acculturation should also be understood through concrete, situational interactions, as individuals may orient themselves differently depending on the social context and the people with whom they interact. This perspective highlights the importance of examining acculturation not only as a general orientation but also as a context-dependent process. The relevance of this approach to language use is illustrated by the domain-specific patterns identified in the present study, discussed in Section 4.3, where participants' use of Turkish, Hungarian, and English

varied according to the social, professional, familial, and other contexts in which interaction took place.

Thus, migrants' multilingual practices may shift across contexts and functions, reflecting different social relationships and communicative demands. As this example depicts, most migrants are bilingual to some degree, and their language use shifts according to context and function. Speakers typically display language dominance across distinct domains and strategically use code-switching or deliberate language choices. Instead, speakers often display language dominance in certain domains and strategically employ code-switching or deliberate language choices. In a series of interactions, varying strategies, such as code-switching or adapting language use, can be more effective depending on specific situational factors (Euwema et al., 2003). In terms of acculturation, a general preference for integration does not necessarily determine the most effective approach in every situation; the optimal strategy varies depending on context (van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2022). Taken together, these perspectives suggest that fully understanding migrant acculturation requires considering both broad patterns of societal contact and the domain-specific application of acculturation strategies. This is best achieved by investigating how migrants adopt different acculturation strategies in each area of their daily lives.

In this study, my approach to acculturation is grounded in Berry's bidimensional model (1990, 1997), which conceptualizes adaptation as comprising independent heritage-culture and host-culture orientations. To operationalize this framework for Turkish migrants in Hungary, I adopt Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver's (2006) domain-specific perspective, recognizing that acculturation attitudes and behaviors are not uniform across all areas of life, but vary across distinct spheres such as the home domain, literacy and media, social networks, and identity (see also Fishman, 1972). This approach acknowledges that cultural adaptation is shaped by situational and functional factors within specific social contexts. Building on this theoretical foundation, the methodology translates these concepts into a systematic analytic approach, enabling both structured and interpretive assessments of acculturation processes among the participants.

2.5. Language maintenance and shift in Turkish communities in Europe

As of 2013, Turkey was ranked among major emigration countries, and by 2024, over 7.5 million Turkish nationals lived abroad, with approximately 6 million residing in Western Europe (World Bank, 2016; Republic of Türkiye, Ministry of Foreign Affairs).These

substantial Turkish communities in Europe are rooted in post-war labor migration, driven by European economic growth and industrial labor shortages (Akgündüz, 2012). West Germany's guest worker program (*Gastarbeiterprogramm*) established bilateral agreements with several nations, including Italy, Greece, Spain, and Yugoslavia, as well as a 1961 agreement with Turkey, which eventually led to Germany hosting the world's largest Turkish diaspora community. Followed by similar agreements with other Western European nations throughout the 1960s, hundreds of thousands of Turkish workers migrated to Europe (Abadan-Unat, 2011). While laborers from Southern European countries frequently returned to their home nations due to geographical proximity, return incentives, and subsequent European Community integration, Turkish workers remained and settled in substantial numbers. Following the 1973 recruitment moratorium (*Anwerbestopp*), family reunification policies, ongoing secondary migration, and family formation transformed this population from temporary labor migrants into multi-generational settled communities, reaching nearly two million in the 1980s and 2.9 million by the mid-1990s (Abadan-Unat, 2011).

In Germany alone, 1,544,480 Turkish nationals were recorded at the end of 2024 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2024). Within this population, 360,415 persons (approximately 23.3%) were born in Germany, while 1,184,065 individuals (approximately 76.7%) were born abroad, primarily in Turkey. The relationship between the high population and the maintenance of the Turkish language has been a matter of research for a long time. Turkish is a strong minority language in Germany spoken in the country. Not only is it frequently heard in urban centres but it can also be seen displayed in the linguistic landscape on shop signs, posters, and announcements whereas domains of the use of Turkish in Germany are predominantly noticed in informal settings (Schroeder, et al, 2015). Since the first wave of Turkish migration to Germany, Turkish language education has been offered to preserve migrants' native language, initially aiming to support their eventual return to Turkey, with teachers sent by the Turkish Ministry of National Education (Islam & Bozdağ, 2021). As guest workers became permanent residents, regional authorities, such as in North Rhine-Westphalia, introduced full Turkish language programs at secondary and tertiary levels and began training teachers in German universities rather than relying solely on teachers from Turkey. Alongside formal education, Turkish-language media has been widely accessible, including radio programs like Radio Köln, major newspapers such as Hürriyet, Milliyet, Sabah, and Cumhuriyet, and 10-15 TV channels available via cable or satellite (Bozdağ, 2014; Yağmur, 2004). These resources have supported not only language maintenance but also the development of a strong Turkish-language ideology, where maintaining Turkish is closely tied to cultural and ethnic identity (Extra &

Yağmur, 2004). Under these conditions, studies show that Turkish immigrants in Germany generally maintain strong attachment to their mother tongue, viewing Turkish as a core element of cultural and ethnic identity (Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012; Yağmur & Akıncı, 2003). However, language practices display generational shift patterns. While first-generation immigrants predominantly use Turkish, younger generations increasingly favor German in educational and social contexts (Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012). Similarly, the study by Yazıcı Demirci and Yaman (2024) highlights the complex relationship between language ideologies and practices among first- and second-generation Turkish families in Germany. While both generations view Turkish as an essential part of their cultural identity and seek to maintain it within the family, their practices often diverge from these beliefs due to social, educational, and economic pressures. First-generation parents tend to prioritize Turkish use at home, believing that children will naturally acquire German once they start school. In contrast, second-generation parents emphasize early exposure to German to prevent academic difficulties, leading to a more bilingual household dynamic (Yazıcı Demirci & Yaman, 2024).

France, which has the second-largest Turkish population in the EU after Germany, hosts approximately 246,000 Turkish-born immigrants and 348,000 descendants, though the total is likely higher as statistics do not account for third-generation immigrants (Denizeau, 2024; INSEE, 2020). Similar to Germany, Turkish-language media is widely available through newspapers, cultural events, bookshops, and satellite or online broadcasting, supporting continued use of the language (Yağmur & Akıncı, 2003). At the same time, France's language policy strongly promotes French as a marker of national unity, historically suppressing linguistic diversity and regulating public language use (Laroussi & Marcellesi, 1993). Within this sociopolitical context, Turkish families regard Turkish as cultural identity and belonging, while French is associated with education and social mobility (Akinci, 1996). Parents initially maintain Turkish at home, but gradually incorporate French as children begin school, often ending with code-mixing and flexible family language policies that balance identity maintenance with institutional expectations (Süverdem, 2022). Comparative research indicates that linguistic assimilation is strongest in France, where national ideology emphasizes assimilation in public life, compared to Germany and the Netherlands (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2009). Second-generation Turkish immigrants tend to use French more frequently than Turkish in everyday interactions, while the first generation continues to use Turkish across most domains (Yagmur & Akıncı, 2003). Despite this high linguistic assimilation, Turkish-French immigrants maintain a strong Turkish identity and are highly in-group oriented, with social networks largely composed of other Turks (Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2022). Interestingly,

while Turkish language loses centrality as a cultural marker, religion emerges as the primary core value sustaining group identity, as discussed by Yağmur and van de Vijver (2022) with reference to Smolicz's (1981) core values theory. Turkish identity and following Turkish norms remain highly valued, while the societal status of Turkish is relatively low (Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2022). After Germany and France, the third largest group of Turkish immigrants reside in the Netherlands. As of January 1, 2022, the Turkish-origin population in the Netherlands numbered 431,000 (2.4% of the total population), of whom 52.4% were born in the Netherlands. Based on 2002 data from the Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), the majority of first-generation Turkish men and women in the Netherlands marry partners from the same ethnic background, a pattern that also applies to the second generation. The Turkish community in the Netherlands shows a strong commitment to maintaining their native language (Eversteijn, 2011; Extra & Yağmur, 2010). Research by Yağmur and Jacobs (2015) indicates that Turkish is primarily maintained in the home and neighborhood domains, supported by community organizations, Turkish media, and language instruction in schools. Before starting school, children are mainly raised in a Turkish-language environment (Leseman, 2000). Education is found to play a significant role. Better-educated Turkish immigrants have higher proficiency in both Dutch and Turkish, while less-educated individuals often hold more positive attitudes toward Turkish and rate its vitality higher. Dutch-born second-generation informants display strong Turkish orientation, reflecting sustained in-group identity and ethnolinguistic vitality despite high L2 competence. Although not all second-generation families actively manage Turkish, most use it consistently until children begin school, and for third-generation children, Turkish maintenance is further supported by access to Turkish media and spouses from Turkey (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yağmur, 2018). In comparative research on these three contexts regarding language maintenance, second-generation individuals of Turkish origin show divergent patterns that reflect national language and integration policies. Dutch Turks retain Turkish most strongly, German Turks use Turkish and the host language equally, and French Turks adopt the host language most (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2007). Language maintenance and language shift (LMLS) are central concerns for migrant communities, reflecting both the challenges and strategies of preserving heritage languages in new sociocultural environments. For first-generation Turkish migrants in Hungary, the question of maintaining Turkish is shaped by a unique constellation of factors: the community's small size, lack of recognized minority status, limited institutional support, high intermarriage rates, and relatively weak communal ties (Gürses & Bátyi, 2022). In such a context, individual-level influences, including personal

ideologies, migration histories, and everyday social interactions, become particularly salient (Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012).

2.6. Turks in Hungary: demography and language political environment

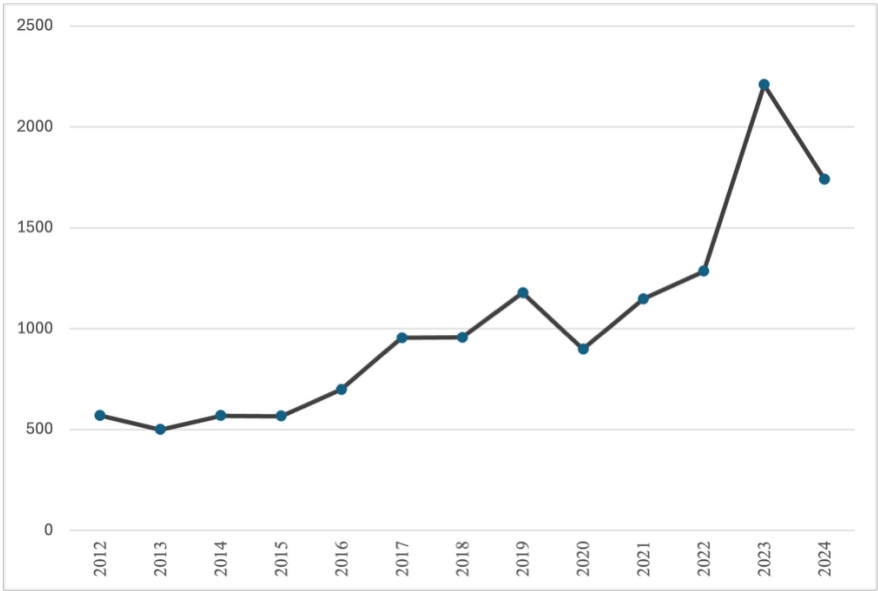
In addition to being constitutionally monolingual, Hungary is widely characterized in sociolinguistic scholarship as linguistically homogeneous, largely as a result of key historical events (Kontra, 1999; Fenyvesi, 2005) which are examined in detail below in this section. The presence of Turkish people is not without precedent. The Ottomans ruled the central parts of the Hungarian Kingdom between 1541 and 1699 when it underwent significant demographic change due to migration and organised resettlement. By the late nineteenth century, non-Hungarian nationalities constituted over half of the population within the country's borders (Bartha & Borbély, 2006). This situation changed substantially after the redrawing of Hungary's borders following World War I: within the post-1920 state boundaries, more than 90% of the population was ethnically Hungarian, while approximately one third of ethnic Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin -around 3.3 million people- came to reside outside Hungary's borders (in present-day Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine, Slovenia, Croatia) (Bátyi & Ferenc, 2020; Bunta et al. 2024). During the socialist period following World War II, immigration into Hungary remained very limited and mainly Hungarian speaking people migrated from the neighbouring countries. From the mid-2000s onward, immigration patterns shifted, with increasing numbers of non-Hungarian-speaking immigrants arriving from more distant regions, particularly East and Southeast Asia. These included migrants from countries such as China, Vietnam, and, to a lesser extent, Turkey, many of whom migrated primarily for economic reasons or family reunification (Labancz, 2015; Nguyen Luu, 2020). Subsequent migration waves further contributed to Hungary's growing linguistic diversity, notably through the arrival of asylum seekers between 2013 and 2015 from countries such as Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan, as well as refugees fleeing the war in Ukraine since 2022 (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 2026; UNHCR, 2023).

The language policy of the country mainly protects the rights of officially recognised minorities. After the fall of the iron curtain, as a democratic country Hungary passed the *Act LXXVII of 1993 on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities* to protect their rights and defined minorities as groups with a history of at least 100 years in Hungary, possessing distinct language, culture, and traditions, and declaring themselves as such. As a result, Hungary has

13 national minorities (Bulgarian, Greek, Croatian, Polish, German, Armenian, Roma, Romanian, Ruthenian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovene, Ukrainian) and the Act CLXXIX of 2011 on the Rights of Nationalities tightened the criteria of the recognition of new minorities (Dobos, 2025). According to the 2022 Census, these minorities make up 5.13% of the total population (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 2022).

In practice, this legislative framework translates into three primary institutional applications for recognized groups: cultural self-governance, minority-language education, and public media representation although official reports note that these rights are rarely fully used in daily life (ACFC, 2026; ECRML, 2026). The Turkish population in Hungary constitutes a small but socio-economically visible migrant community and is not recognised as a national minority under Hungarian minority legislation. The number of immigrants from Turkey has been increasing between 2012 and 2024 (see Figure 2) (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 2026).

Figure 2. The number of immigrants from Turkey between 2012 and 2024 (own figure, based on KSH, 2026)



According to the 2022 Census, the Turkish national population in Hungary totalled 2,452 individuals, exhibiting a pronounced gender asymmetry, with 66% identifying as male and 34% as female. The group is characterised by a relatively young age structure, as 70% of its members were under forty years of age. Marital and socioeconomic indicators also reflect a diverse community profile: only 40% reported being married, while the remainder identified as single or divorced. Furthermore, 42% of respondents had completed higher education, 91% reported speaking Turkish, and 55% were employed (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 2026). Unlike the 13 officially recognised national minorities, whose linguistic and cultural rights are protected

through dedicated legal frameworks and minority self-governments, the Turkish community falls under general migration and integration policies, which do not provide institutionalised support for heritage language maintenance. Overall, support from both the host society and the sending country remains structurally limited, especially when contrasted with the established diaspora infrastructures found in Western European contexts such as Germany, Austria, or the Netherlands. In Hungary, institutional initiatives supporting Turkish language, culture, and identity are comparatively recent, fragmented, and often temporary. The Turkish Ministry of National Education (MEB) operates through diplomatic channels, such as the Budapest Education Counsellor's Office (Budapeşte Eğitim Müşavirliği); however, its language offerings have been irregular. For instance, while the Counsellor's Office organized weekend Turkish language and culture courses for school-age children in 2023, these initiatives are observed to be lack of multi-year continuity and sustained institutionalization. The most prominent educational initiative to date is the Turkish Maarif Foundation Hungarian-English Bilingual Primary and Secondary School (Budapeşte Maarif Okulları), which was established in 2019 and resumed full operations in 2024 following building renovations and pandemic-related interruptions. Although authorized by the Turkish state to deliver schooling abroad, the institution operates primarily as a bilingual Hungarian-English school following the local national curriculum. Rather than providing immersion or full-medium instruction in Turkish, the school offers Turkish only as a supplementary subject-delivered in a playful club format at the primary level and as a second foreign language option in secondary school (Maarif Foundation, 2023). Beyond schooling, cultural and linguistic diplomacy is maintained through bodies such as the Yunus Emre Institute in Budapest, which offers adult Turkish language courses and cultural events, alongside occasional activities by small bilateral business associations and diaspora-led civil society groups. Consequently, while civil and diplomatic initiatives exist, Hungary lacks a comprehensive, permanent institutional infrastructure for heritage language preservation, leaving intergenerational transmission largely reliant on private family language management.

This limited support is reflected in empirical findings. Empirical research indicates that Hungarian language competence among Turkish migrants is comparatively limited.According to the *Bevándorlók Magyarországon* (Migrants in Hungary) survey, only around 28-29% of Turkish respondents reported speaking Hungarian at a fluent or native-like level, with some variation across age groups (Örkény & Székelyi, 2010). Hungarian proficiency is particularly low among entrepreneurs and self-employed migrants (74% of the participants): survey data show that only around 16% of Turkish entrepreneurs reported fluent Hungarian skills

(Várhalmi, 2013). This pattern aligns with broader findings in Hungarian migration research, which suggest that participation in ethnic economies and self-employment reduces the functional necessity of acquiring high-level proficiency in the host-country language (Nyíri, 2010). At the same time, language learning orientations among Turkish migrants are not uniformly negative. Among those who did not speak Hungarian fluently, approximately 57% reported that improving their Hungarian language skills was at least somewhat important, although this proportion remained lower than among several other migrant groups, such as Ukrainians or Vietnamese (Örkény & Székelyi, 2010). Research further suggests that the perceived value of Hungarian language acquisition is closely linked to long-term settlement intentions, naturalisation strategies, and engagement with Hungarian-language institutions, especially education. The study of language is particularly significant for Turks in Hungary, who, as a migrant community outside the framework of officially recognized minorities, receive little institutional support for maintaining their native language, both from the host country and from their country of origin. In this context, language functions not only as a means of communication but also as a vital marker of cultural identity, social belonging, and integration. Equally important is the exploration of language ideologies, the beliefs and values that guide attitudes and decisions about language use. These ideologies influence whether Turkish continues to be used within the community, how much importance is given to learning Hungarian, and how individuals position themselves between their country of origin and the host society. Investigating identity construction among Turkish migrants reveals how people negotiate a sense of self and group belonging in a predominantly monolingual environment. Finally, understanding acculturation orientations, which are the ways individuals balance maintaining their linguistic and cultural background with adaptation to Hungarian society, provides deeper insight into the integration process.

2.7. Research questions

Despite extensive research on Turkish diaspora communities in Western Europe, smaller and dispersed populations such as the Turkish community in Hungary remain under-researched. In order to gain a broader understanding of language maintenance and shift within this unique and underestimated context, and to address the gaps identified in the literature, this study focuses on first-generation Turkish migrants in Hungary. The research is guided by the following questions:

1. What are the language ideologies of first-generation Turkish speakers living in Hungary?
2. What extralinguistic factors shape their language ideologies?
3. What are the underlying language beliefs and ideologies behind different types of language socialization practices in families with a Turkish background?
4. To what extent does marital status (exogamous or endogamous) contribute to language maintenance or shift?
5. How do Turkish speakers in Hungary put their language ideologies into practice as they navigate their bilingual repertoires and interact both within their migrant community and the majority society?
6. Which acculturation strategies (assimilation, integration, separation, marginalization) characterize first-generation Turkish immigrants in Hungary at a global level?
7. How do acculturation orientations vary across different life domains?

Drawing on previous research on Turkish migrant communities in Western Europe, several expectations were formulated for the Hungarian context. Earlier studies consistently show that first-generation Turkish migrants maintain a strong emotional and symbolic attachment to Turkish as a core element of cultural and ethnic identity (Yağmur & Akıncı 2003; Yağmur & van de Vijver 2012, 2022; Extra & Yağmur 2010). They also tend to prioritise Turkish in the home domain, assuming that children will naturally acquire the host-country language through schooling (Leseman 2000; Yazıcı Demirci & Yaman 2024). Research further indicates that endogamous families sustain Turkish more robustly due to shared linguistic backgrounds and dense intra-ethnic networks (Extra & Yağmur 2010; Eversteijn 2011; Yağmur & Jacobs 2015), while exogamous families often develop more bilingual or shifting practices shaped by everyday communicative needs and parental language repertoires (Yağmur & van de Vijver 2012; Süverdem 2022). In line with these patterns, and given the comparatively high rate of exogamous marriages reported among Turks in Hungary, more differentiated and flexible family language practices were anticipated. Finally, based on previous findings showing that first-generation Turkish migrants typically adopt integration- or separation-oriented acculturation strategies (Ersanilli & Koopmans 2007; Yağmur 2014), it was expected that migrants in Hungary would similarly seek to balance heritage-language preservation with engagement in the host society, albeit within a context of more limited institutional support

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter details the methodological framework adopted in this study. Section 3.1 describes the overall research design, outlining the qualitative and quantitative components. Section 3.2 provides information about the participants, including recruitment strategies and demographic characteristics. Section 3.3 introduces the data collection instruments used in the research. Finally, Section 3.4 explains the data analysis procedures, detailing how the collected data were processed and interpreted. Together, these sections offer a clear and systematic overview of the research process.

3.1 Research design

This study employed a qualitative research design, complemented by quantitative analysis of language use and acculturation orientation, to examine language ideology, language practices, and identity construction among Turks in Hungary.

The qualitative approach was selected to capture participants' subjective experiences, beliefs, and identity constructions, particularly in relation to language ideology and attitudes. At the same time, a supplementary quantitative component was incorporated through the development of a language dominance scale and an acculturation orientation scale. These instruments enabled the identification of systematic patterns in language use across domains, thereby supporting and enriching the qualitative analysis.

This mixed analytical approach allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between language ideology, practice, and identity by combining in-depth interpretive insights with structured measurement.

3.2. Participants

Table 1 presents the demographic characteristics of the 50 participants included in the study (31 men and 19 women). All participants are first-generation migrants, born in Turkey migrated to Hungary as adults, with a mean age of immigration (AOI) of 26.22 years. Participants were recruited from diverse educational, marital, and occupational backgrounds in order to reflect the heterogeneity of the Turkish migrant community in Hungary. The majority of participants were recruited in Budapest, particularly in social spaces such as teahouses, restaurants, and small businesses where members of the Turkish community regularly gather. Initial recruitment was carried out through direct workplace visits conducted by the researcher. Snowball sampling was also employed to expand the participant pool; however, care was taken to maintain

diversity within the sample and to avoid overrepresentation of specific social networks. It is noteworthy that recruitment through workplace visits and online platforms, such as Facebook groups, was more effective in reaching male participants. This imbalance reflects broader demographic patterns, as indicated by the latest available data from the Hungarian census (2022), which shows that the number of Turkish men significantly exceeds that of Turkish women in Hungary.

Reaching female participants required alternative strategies. Turkish women in Hungary are more likely to be engaged in domestic roles or employed in more private or corporate settings, making them less visible in public community spaces. As a result, female participants were primarily recruited through women-specific WhatsApp groups, including subgroups for Turkish mothers that function as platforms for information sharing and community support. This approach proved more effective in accessing female participants and ensuring their inclusion in the study.

Overall, the final sample reflects a diverse range of migration trajectories and social backgrounds. Their mean length of residence (LOR) in Hungary was 21.32 years. However, it is important to note that there is a large variability in both AOI and LOR. Regarding marital status, exogamous relationships were markedly more common than endogamous ones. Twenty-nine participants (58%) were in exogamous marriages or partnerships, including 20 of the 31 men. 28 of these exogamous relationships were with Hungarian spouses. Fourteen participants (28%) were in endogamous relationships with Turkish partners, and seven (14%) were single at the time of data collection. Among the male participants, some had children from previous marriages, two with Hungarian spouses and one with a Turkish spouse. Four participants were unmarried, three of whom were men. Overall, the data suggest that exogamy is notably more prevalent among first-generation Turkish migrants in this sample. Most participants (33 individuals, 66%) had at least one child.

Educational background was classified according to the ISCED-2011 framework. Two participants (4%) had completed primary education (ISCED 1), and nineteen (38%) had completed lower or upper secondary schooling (ISCED 2-3). The majority held tertiary qualifications (ISCED 6-8): fourteen (28%) had a bachelor's degree, thirteen (26%) a master's degree, and one participant (2%) had completed a doctorate. An additional participant (2%) had begun but not completed tertiary studies. Overall, more than half of the sample possessed higher-education qualifications, particularly among women, indicating a comparatively well-educated group. In order to make quantitative data analyses more reliable, the education level

was classified as lower (primary, secondary and tertiary qualification), and higher (BA. MA and PhD levels) education.

The sample in this study aligns with the latest official data from the 2022 Hungarian census, particularly in terms of gender distribution and the generally high levels of educational attainment observed among individuals of Turkish background. However, the study intentionally focuses on participants with a longer length of residence in Hungary in order to examine patterns of language use, cultural engagement, and acculturation among earlier migrant cohorts. As a result, the sample differs from the census profile in age, which includes a younger and more recently arrived population. These differences are expected and consistent with the study's aims, while still situating the sample within the broader demographic trends reflected in national statistics.

Table 1. Participant demographics

	Mean	**SD**	**Min**	**Max**
Age (years)	46.27	11.85	28	78
Age at immigration (years)	26.22	8.05	6	50
Length of residence (years)	21.32	9.38	7	44

Note: SD = standard deviation.

3.3. Data collection instrument

Data were collected through semi-structured interviews, which served as the primary research instrument (see Appendix 1). In addition, a short demographic questionnaire was administered prior to the interviews in order to gather background information about the participants, including age, gender, length of residence, educational background, and marital status (see Appendix 2).

The interviews were conducted primarily in Turkish, allowing participants to engage in code-switching and to draw on other languages where necessary in order to express themselves naturally. The interview protocol was developed in alignment with the research questions and was refined through expert review before pilotting. A pilot study was subsequently conducted with five members of the target community to ensure clarity, cultural appropriateness, and relevance to participants' linguistic experiences.

Following the approach suggested by Rubin and Rubin (2012), Each interview began with an informal warm-up phase designed to establish rapport and reduce any feelings of evaluative anxiety. Prior to turning on the audio recorder, I engaged participants in casual conversation regarding everyday life, reiterated ethical assurances of anonymity, and emphasized that there were no "correct" or "incorrect" answers. Once recording started, the interviews began with broad “tour questions” designed to encourage participants to guide the conversation. These initial questions focused on participants’ migration histories and general experiences in Hungary, establishing a comfortable, narrative-driven environment before moving toward more specific topics related to language use, beliefs, and identity. The semi-structured format allowed flexibility, enabling me to adapt the questions to each participant’s multilingual repertoire and lived experience while maintaining consistency across key themes. The interview questions were organized in relation to the research questions of the study. Core questions included participants’ migration trajectories (e.g., when, how, and why they moved to Hungary) and their general perceptions of life in the host country. While theoretical constructs such as *language ideology* and *language beliefs* framed the overarching analytical design (see Appendix 1), these technical terms were deliberately avoided in the interviews themselves. Instead, they were operationalized through accessible, lay descriptors and open-ended prompts grounded in everyday experience such as the perceived importance of learning Hungarian, the meanings attributed to Turkish, Hungarian, and English, attitudes toward code-switching, and beliefs about language use among children growing up in Hungary. Participants were also asked about perceived differences between Turkish used in Hungary and in Turkey, as well as their experiences of inclusion, exclusion, or discrimination related to language use.

To explore language practices and the beliefs underlying them, participants were asked about their language use across different domains, including family interactions, workplace communication, friendships, literacy practices, and media consumption. Questions addressed language preferences in everyday communication, emotional expression, reading habits, and social media use, as well as patterns of media consumption (e.g., television, films, and online content). These questions enabled an examination of how language ideologies are reflected in daily practices.

In relation to language maintenance and shift, particular attention was given to the role of marital status (exogamous vs. endogamous relationships) and its influence on language use within the family. Participants were also asked about their experiences learning and using Hungarian, including the timing, motivations, and perceived challenges of language acquisition. Further questions explored participation in social and cultural activities, both within

the Turkish community and in the wider Hungarian society, and how these experiences shaped language use and identity.

For participants with children, additional questions were included to examine intergenerational language transmission. These questions addressed children's language use in different contexts (e.g., at home, with siblings, and with peers), parental strategies for supporting Turkish language development, and perceived changes in parents' own language use following the birth of their children. Participants were also asked about language use within the extended family, including the roles of partners and grandparents. In line with the flexible nature of semi-structured interviews, these questions were introduced organically, depending on the relevance to each participant's situation.

Each interview lasted 45-60 minutes, was audio-recorded with informed consent, or documented with detailed notes when recording was declined, following the ethical guidelines of the University of Pannonia Ethical Committee with ethical approval granted under reference number KEB 13/2026 (03.16.). Observational notes were also taken to capture relevant contextual information. Prior to participation, all individuals were provided with comprehensive information about the study's aims and procedures and gave informed consent. They were assured that participation was voluntary, withdrawal was possible at any time, and all responses would be anonymous and confidential, used solely for academic research.

Reflexivity was treated as an important component of the qualitative research process (Lindlof & Taylor, 2017). As the researcher, I occupied an insider position, sharing the participants' Turkish heritage and linguistic background, which facilitated rapport, trust, and an emic understanding of cultural and emotional nuances. To mitigate potential over-identification and uncritical assumptions, field notes were used during and after interviews to document personal reflections, situational dynamics, and emerging interpretations. This reflexive practice helped maintain critical distance and attend to generational and intra-group diversity in the analysis.

3.4. Data analyses procedure

Data analysis proceeded in three interrelated stages: data preparation, qualitative thematic coding, and the integration of structured acculturation orientations.

First, the interview data were prepared through systematic transcription and translation. The audio recordings were transcribed using noScribe (Dröge, 2023), an open-source, offline speech-to-text tool. Because noScribe runs locally on the computer without sending data to

external cloud servers, participant confidentiality and data security were strictly protected. The automated transcription served as a starting point. Because participants frequently switched between languages, I listened through every recording to check the text against the original audio, correct speaker labels, and ensure all language switches were accurately transcribed. I translated all interview excerpts from Turkish into English myself to preserve the participants' intended meaning, conversational tone, and cultural references without the errors common in automated translation tools. To ensure accuracy, I cross-checked each translated excerpt against the original audio. Translations of code-switched words or phrases are provided in square brackets and italicised, while brief contextual explanations are provided in square brackets when necessary.

Following transcription, transcripts and field notes were imported into MAXQDA for data management and coding, guided by the study's sociolinguistic and acculturation frameworks. Thematic analysis served as the primary method of qualitative analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), enabling inductive coding and openness to emergent patterns in participants' narratives. Coding began with initial and focused coding, using a constant comparative approach informed by grounded theory principles (Charmaz, 2006), alongside analytic memos maintained to capture significant moments and shifts across migration trajectories. In addition to identifying themes related to ideology, belonging, and identity, the coding scheme systematically captured multiple domains of cultural and linguistic engagement, including language use, social networks, cultural practices, and identity positioning. To enhance qualitative reliability, intercoder agreement (ICR) was calculated to ensure consistency in the application of the coding frame across transcripts (O'Connor & Joffe, 2020).

Building on this qualitative analysis, and to apply a quantitative analytic approach, a structured coding scheme was developed to systematically operationalise acculturation domains. A domain-specific language-use scale was developed to capture reported linguistic practices across contexts. Participants indicated the frequency of Turkish and Hungarian use in various contexts, with higher scores reflecting more frequent use of Turkish. The scale was structured as follows: 0 = Mostly Hungarian or no use of Turkish, 1 = More Hungarian than Turkish, 2 = Turkish and Hungarian used equally, 3 = More Turkish than Hungarian, and 4 = Mostly Turkish. Higher scores indicate greater use of Turkish in daily communication, whereas lower scores reflect greater use of Hungarian. As English also emerged as a relevant language in participants' responses, an analogous scale was developed to capture the relative use of English and Hungarian. A broader coding framework was extended into a multidimensional acculturation orientation measure. This allowed for the quantification of participants'

engagement with both heritage and host cultures across several domains, including language use, cultural participation, social networks, and identity. This approach was informed by the bidimensional model of acculturation proposed by John W. Berry (1990, 1997), distinguishing between heritage-culture (Turkish) and host-culture (Hungarian) orientations. In addition, English/global orientation was included as a complementary communicative resource. Each dimension was assessed across multiple domains (e.g., family language use, literacy practices, community participation, social networks, and identity) using a structured 0-4 scale, where higher scores indicated greater engagement. This quantification enabled descriptive statistical analysis (means, standard deviations, and frequency distributions) to summarise patterns of acculturation. Multiple regression analysis examined demographic predictors of heritage orientation, while chi-square tests assessed associations between categorical variables such as partner nationality and acculturation strategy (Jasp, 2026).

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

The presentation of the findings in this chapter is structured in accordance with the research questions guiding this study, thereby ensuring a coherent and systematic analysis. The chapter begins with a general overview of participants' perceptions of life in Hungary, providing important contextual background for the subsequent analysis (Section 4.1). Building on this foundation, Section 4.2 explores participants' language ideologies, focusing on their beliefs, attitudes, and evaluations regarding Turkish, Hungarian, and, where relevant, English. Following this, Section 4.3 examines language practices in everyday life, how these ideologies illustrating expressed through participants' linguistic choices across different domains. The analysis then moves to Section 4.4, which considers the extralinguistic factors influencing both language ideologies and practices, thereby situating individual experiences within broader social, cultural, and contextual frameworks. Section 4.5 focuses on family dynamics, with particular attention to marital configurations and processes of intergenerational language transmission, highlighting their role in language maintenance and shift. In Section 4.6, the discussion turns to identity construction, exploring how participants construct and express their linguistic and cultural identities. Finally, Section 4.7 addresses acculturation orientations, examining how participants position themselves in relation to both their heritage community and the wider Hungarian society. In the results chapter, relevant participant quotes are accompanied by demographic information to provide contextual depth and enhance the interpretation of the findings.

4.1. Perceived life in Hungary

Because societal factors strongly influence individual and family language ideologies, the life experiences of immigrant groups provide important context for understanding participants' beliefs and leading their language practices.

In the analysis, three key areas of participants' experiences in Hungary were identified: (1) experiences of Turkish immigrants, (2) processes of integration and associated challenges, and (3) community connections alongside perceived attitudes of Hungarians toward them. Across these categories, participants reflected on their migration histories and daily lives, often drawing comparisons between Hungary and other European contexts. While many acknowledged certain structural disadvantages, particularly Hungary's relatively weaker economic position and its less multilingual and international environment, which were frequently framed as trade-offs rather than decisive drawbacks. As one participant noted:

[1] “Life in Hungary, when you look at it from European standards, might be a bit lacking… on the financial side. But I think Hungary is a very nice, livable country” (male, 50, married to a Hungarian wife).

This view was repeated by another participant, who described Hungary as:

[2] “I think this country is underdeveloped compared to western Europe and even Turkey.” (female, 42, married to a Turkish husband).

Participants frequently contrasted these economic concerns with positive evaluations of the social and cultural environment. Participants articulated this dual perspective clearly, emphasizing that

[3] “We need to divide life in Hungary into two parts. The first is the spiritual life: peace, that calmness, culture, politeness, sophistication, hospitality, talking with people, daily life. This is one part, I love that part. When it comes to the economic side, unfortunately, Hungary is a European country, but it is not as strong as the founding countries like Germany, England, or France; its economy is not strong. I consider it a second-tier country, like Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania. Since these are poor countries, I don’t believe Hungary is a very bright country [in terms of economy]” (male, 46, married to a Turkish wife)”

Overall, participants shared a broadly positive evaluation of life in Hungary, with perceptions of safety and tranquility emerging as a central, unifying theme across accounts. Lexical choices such as calm, peaceful, satisfying, pleasant, and livable were recurrent in their descriptions, indicating a collectively constructed discourse that frames Hungary as a secure and comfortable sociocultural environment. As seen in the following example:

[4] “Peace, absolutely peace. There’s incredible easy and comfortable, we go around freely. People aren’t that aggressive, or maybe I don’t deal with them. It feels more peaceful to me. But in Turkey I saw people are extremely aggressive” (female, 48, married to a Turkish husband).

In addition, when discussing their experiences in Hungary, several participants drew upon perceived historical narratives to highlight a sense of closeness to the host society. One participant exemplified this perception, noting that:

[5]" Hungarians love Turks. Some people also think that we are relatives of the Hun -Turks because of Attila. There are also very few people who don't like us. But I think they are a minority" (male, 53, single).

In analyzing this statement, it is important to treat it as a reflection of the participant's subjective beliefs and identity construction rather than an endorsement of historical or linguistic facts. Rather than presenting an accurate ethnolinguistic classification, the participant utilizes this perceived historical connection as a discursive tool to emphasize positive relations between Turks and Hungarians.

Another addded:

[6] "I think they're not culturally that far apart. For example, like in Turkey, grandparents here also help take care of children. Of course, that's partly for economic reasons, but in Germany or the Netherlands, you don't really see that. In Western Europe, life is more individual. Here, you still see extended families living together, grandparents helping, similar to Turkish culture" (female, 42, married to a Turkish husband).

Nevertheless, some participants expressed uncertainty as to whether this shared history is regarded as problematic or positive by Hungarians in everyday encounters. In this context, speaking Hungarian well influenced participants' evaluations and their acceptance in institutional and professional settings. One female partcipant who moved to Hungary at the age of 6 and currently 32 years old explain her situation as:

[7] "Both positive and negative. Whenever I go to a job interview, I always tell my family, "Being Turkish will either help me or it won't help me at all". Up to now, it's usually been positive. But its biggest reason is mostly because I speak Hungarian very well. They often say things like "You speak beautifully, it's not even noticeable that you're foreign," and that helps me a lot. They like it."

Participants predominantly constructed their experiences in Hungary in positive terms, expressing satisfaction with coexisting alongside Hungarians and emphasizing the welcoming attitudes of the host community, a perspective exemplified by the oldest male participant.

[8] “Life in Hungary is peaceful and nice, away from the busyness of Turkey. People live their own lives. We are happy living with Hungarians” (male, 78, married to a Turkish wife).

Another supported:

[9] “For me it’s good, I mean our work is calm, Hungarians are respectful, I mean. They like us, the Turks. We don’t have any problems, I mean. I’ve been here for years, I never had any problem” (male, 59, married to a Hungarian wife).

With regard to integration and belonging, participants overwhelmingly constructed their experiences in positive terms, occasionally referencing perceived positive discrimination linked to their Turkish identity. However, a more dominant theme was the emphasis on compliance with the social norms and expectations of the host society. This orientation is reflected in participants’ narratives, which frame positive treatment as conditional upon “proper” behavior and respect for local norms. For instance, one participant with a Hungarian spouse (aged 70) stated:

[10] “Believe me, they give me priority when they learn that I am Turk.” He further emphasized the importance of adaptation, explaining: “Honestly, if you change yourself, meaning, if you integrate here in Europe, in Hungary, with the traditions and customs here, with the education system, the way of life, then you don’t experience any problems. But if you don’t do this, our rudeness continues. And that creates problems. I mean, the thoughts of those Hungarians who have that lovely sympathy for us start to change. That’s very important. So otherwise, this country is the most beautiful, most comfortable, most peaceful country in the world. (Male, 70, married to a Hungarian wife)”

Similarly, another participant noted that:

[11] “[life is] very good [here], I think. Hungarians predominantly like Turks. They like proper people who come here. Proper people who come here can also hold on here. As long as you don’t do anything bad, there won’t be a problem in this country (male, 54, single).”

When asked explicitly about positive discrimination, another participant affirmed this perception, explaining that being identified as Turkish often elicited favorable reactions, such as being addressed as “Török Pasa [*Turkish Pasha*]” or receiving warm, hospitable treatment from Turks in Turkiye which participants linked to Hungarians’ favorable perceptions shaped by their own positive holiday experiences in Türkiye.

Furthermore, many participants reported that attempts to speak Hungarian were consistently met with appreciation, regardless of accuracy or accent, and that Hungarians frequently displayed supportive behaviors, such as offering assistance, corrections, or encouragement, which reinforced a sense of inclusion. For example, one participant explained:

[12] “Everywhere they praise me for how well I speak Hungarian. How did I learn so quickly, …I would put the word that should be at the beginning at the end. Or I used the wrong case ending. But they still somehow understood me. They laughed and said how cute I was, [they were saying] “at least you were trying, Others wouldn’t even bother learning” (female, 32, married to a Hungarian husband).

The interviews further indicated that the absence of a strong Turkish community network or densely populated Turkish neighborhoods reinforced this motivation, as learning Hungarian was often seen especially among earliest immigrants as the primary means of social participation and integration to Hungarian society. Almost all participants compared their situation with that of Turkish communities in Western Europe and expressed relief at not experiencing similar patterns of segregation and living choices. As it is illustrarted in the excerpt:

[13] “If we look at the low number of Turks here, it was an advantage for us, just as it is in Austria and Germany. How was it an advantage? Instead of growing up within the Turkish population and Turkish institutions in our own shell, we grew up among Hungarians. We became assimilated with Hungarians. We started living like Hungarians. We began to understand their culture and language better. Because I love these things, I decided to stay here.

I really like their education system. Since I studied here too, I want my children to study here as well." (male, 46, married to a Turkish wife).

In line with this pattern of low communal cohesion, participants also reported limited engagement with religious practices, both at the individual level and as a basis for community identity. Apart from a few individuals who occasionally attended prayers at the only mosque in Budapest, most described themselves as non-religious or noted that religion is not a central component of their identity. Similarly, participation in events organized by the Turkish Embassy was inconsistent, with some attending and others reporting no involvement at all. While national holidays were generally valued, religious holidays were often treated as symbolic occasions or opportunities to travel to Turkiyerather than as meaningful elements of identity or community life. Together, these patterns indicate that the Turkish community in Hungary exhibits relatively low engagement with organized cultural or religious activities, reflecting both the small community size and participants' orientation toward integration into broader Hungarian society. As one participant succinctly put it:

[14] "I mean, I have absolutely no connection or relation to Islam, zero. Thinking from Turkey, I try to keep maybe the food culture, the coming together for meals, or entertainment culture, maybe those national or religious holidays don't occupy space. Because those require kind of a close community, you know, and there isn't really that kind of close community here I have at least" (female, 38, married to Hungarian husband).

Despite generally positive integration experiences, participants also reported encountering common misconceptions about their language and culture. Thirteen of the fifty participants noted assumptions such as Türkiye being a desert country, people riding camels, everyone wearing a hijab despite the country's secular structure, or that Turkish language is similar to Arabic. These stereotypes were described as more prevalent among Hungarians with limited travel experience and it was more common in the past.

[15] "So, for us, let me tell you about when I first came, it's been almost 20 years, back then they didn't know us well. When in 2010-2011-2012 Turkish TV series became popular here, their view of us changed. Before, they'd ask me, "How many mothers do you have, how many wives does your father have?' They didn't know in our laws we have only one marriage. They

thought everyone was covered [wearing the headscarf]. But with those TV series coming, Hungarians' perspective on us changed" (male, 46, married to a Hungarian wife).

Similarly, another participant highlighted how such misconceptions emerge in everyday interactions, particularly through questions shaped by stereotypical assumptions. She described how, instead of being directly asked about religious practices, questions were often framed around her appearance:

[16] "Instead of asking, 'Do you have to wear a headscarf or hijab?', they ask it implicitly, 'Do you wear the same clothes here as you do in Turkey?' I usually wear skirts, sometimes short ones too… I didn't come here to dress differently." (female, 37, married to a Hungarian husband).

Her account illustrates how cultural assumptions are subtly embedded in interaction.

About half of the participants reported actively trying to correct these misconceptions, reflecting both their awareness of cultural misrepresentations and their efforts to manage social perceptions within the host society. As one participant explained:

[17] "Of course. Because if they know us wrong, we should tell them the truth. We shouldn't stay silent. Like, 'It's not like that, it's like this. Turkey is like this'. We were the first to give women the right to vote. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk did this." If someone asks me, I will gladly tell them about the beauty of our country and the good things we did" (male, 46, married to a Hungarian wife).

In contrast, other participants perceived such misconceptions as not worth correcting and instead responded with humor or irony. As one participant noted,

[18] "I usually joke about it, to make them feel a bit embarrassed. I think it's funny. Okay, maybe you don't know much, but still, it's a neighbouring country to the European Union region, not far away. For example Like, I don't know much about Argentina either, but I wouldn't confuse it with East Asia. Turkey isn't far from Europe, Honestly, it seems really absurd to me that things like this still happen in such obvious situations. That's why I usually laugh about it, to make them feel a little ashamed" (male, 32, with a Hungarian partner).

This strategy reflects a more detached stance, where misconceptions are acknowledged but not directly challenged, instead being reframed through humor as a way of coping with or subtly resisting them.All participants agreed that such wrong ideas do not affect their life in Hungary, their language use, their evaluation of Turkish culture, or their attitudes toward their mother tongue.

In sum, participants' experiences in Hungary reveal a generally supportive social environment, in which integration is facilitated by everyday immersion in Hungarian society and the absence of a dense Turkish community. Limited engagement with religious and organized cultural activities further reflects an orientation toward the host society rather than a separate communal sphere. At the same time, participants actively negotiate their cultural identity by addressing misconceptions about Türkiye, demonstrating agency in shaping how they are perceived. These lived experiences provide the broader social and cultural context in which language beliefs and practices are formed, laying the foundation for the following discussion on language ideology.

4.2. Language ideologies

Language ideologies, understood as beliefs and assumptions about the role, value, and function of language in society (Spolsky, 2004; Curdt-Christiansen, 2016), are shaped by personal, social, and institutional factors. Building on the living context outlined in Section 4.1, this study explores multiple dimensions of language ideology through semi-structured interviews, including language value and instrumentality, ideologies of multilingualism and code-switching, intergenerational language transmission, perceptions of variation and authenticity (e.g., "purity" and "correctness"), the relationship between language and social relations, the influence of societal norms, and language hierarchies shaped by globalization. To enhance clarity for the reader, this section will address each of these dimensions in turn, illustrating both the diversity and the complexity of participants' language ideologies.

Across all demographic groups, participants emphasised a strong emotional and symbolic attachment to Turkish. As one participant illustrate :

[19] "I think your native language always forms mental images more effectively. Other languages are secondary. No matter how fluent you become, they never form the same kind of imagery in your mind. So I think your native language has a special place" (male, 38, single).

While Turkish remains central emotionally, Hungarian is widely regarded as essential for practical engagement in public life, education, and work. Its importance is primarily framed in relation to adaptation to the host society, functioning less as a formal requirement than as a socially expected competence. The example below illustrates this ideology:

[20] “The reasons why Turks live in Hungary and how long they will stay here, whether it is to learn a language, are the most important criteria. If they came for a short period, simple Hungarian for daily use will be enough. If they will stay long-term, my advice is to learn the language. All the foreign languages I have learned have made my life easier. When you speak people’s language, they find you more sympathetic and treat you with more respect, this is true“ (female, 58, married to a Turkish husband).

Participants consistently linked Hungarian competence to social integration, agency, and interpersonal acceptance, framing language proficiency as a resource that facilitates everyday functioning, interaction with institutional structures, and smoother navigation of social life. One participant emphasized its centrality for building relationships:

[21] “I think it’s important, because to make local friends you definitely need to know Hungarian. To be part of any friend group or a family, or for serious relationships like marriage, I think Hungarian is absolutely necessary” (male, 37, in an exogamous relationship).

This utilitarian ideology is reinforced by accounts that position Hungarian as a tool for self-efficacy and protection from potential disadvantages:

[22] “Necessary. Absolutely necessary. If you don’t know Hungarian, they trick you everywhere or you don’t understand. So they delay your work, make it difficult. They make you go back and forth. When you know Hungarian, you can make them do whatever you want. They even really like it when I know Hungarian “(female, 32, married to a Hungarian).

At the same time, participants demonstrated flexibility in the hierarchical importance of languages**,** which shifts according to context and daily practices. One participant described how Hungarian currently dominates his daily life, with English and Turkish following in perceived importance:

[23] “Honestly right now, since I live here, I’d put Hungarian in first place (in terms of importance). Maybe it sounds interesting to say but I think it’s even ahead of Turkish for me right now. In this sense: I live in a country where Hungarian is spoken. In daily life I use Hungarian more than Turkish. Maybe only in work life there’s a certain balance. Then after that English, then Turkish. So in my life now, actually, Turkish is at the bottom. In terms of usage or importance. Its meaning is a bit different, of course, as a mother tongue, its meaning is different, but in terms of importance, Turkish could even be third. Now I even use English more than Turkish. So, I’d say Hungarian, English, and Turkish” (male, 42, single)

Finally, participants situated language learning within a broader cultural and social ideology**,** emphasizing coexistence of Hungarian and Turkish alongside recognition of host society norms. Language is not only a tool for communication but also a medium through which cultural respect and integration are enacted:

[24] “Definitely, if we are living in this country, not only its language but also its culture… we will definitely live our own culture, but recognizing (theirs) is definitely necessary. Language also, first of all, if we are living here in a country, it is already a need”(male, 61, married to a Hungarian wife).

[25] “In Turkish culture, this behavior might be accepted, but here, it’s not. Hungarians don’t like it. They say, “Why didn’t he greet me too?” And it affects how they treat you. That’s why I always say: if you want to learn the language, you have to learn the customs and traditions too. You have to adapt. Only then can you appreciate the finer things” (male, 70, married to a Hungarian wife).

In particular, learning the language of the host society, even at a basic level, was frequently constructed as an ethical obligation and a sign of social awareness, extending beyond long-term settlement to even short-term stays. This orientation is illustrated by the account of a female participant in an endogamous marriage who has lived in Hungary for over 14 years:

[26] "I think one should know at least a little bit, out of respect for the country you live in and its people. You can get by with English. My husband did that. But what happens then? ‘[Husband adressing her], I didn’t understand this. What did they say? Come explain this to me, translate it.’ Or ‘you know there are kormányablak-lar(s) [kormányablak means *“government*

service office"; -lar is the Turkish plural suffix] there's this government form, I can't handle it, you come too.' So I end up carrying that burden too. That's why, both out of respect for the country and to make life easier, I think learning Hungarian is necessary. It doesn't matter which country it is, even if it's Thailand, one should learn Thai or whatever the local language is. You should know it. After all, they accepted you into their country, right? We should show them some respect and learn their language."

Furthermore, participants' accounts also reflect an ideology of child-mediated language socialization, in which children play an active role in shaping family language practices and parental linguistic adaptation. In this perspective, language learning is not driven solely by adult motivation or integration goals, but emerges in response to children's participation in institutional settings such as education. This dynamic was reported by several Turkish mothers who are not in the workforce. One participant outside the workforce, described how her child's entry into kindergarten marked a turning point in her own engagement with Hungarian:

[27]" If you are going to live here, of course you need to learn it. We couldn't manage for the first 3-4 years… Until the child started kindergarten we didn't learn. We were always at home. But when my son started kindergarten then I learned" (female, 47, married to a Turkish husband)

Another mother illustrated how parents' language learning and usage are often child-driven, with the presence of children prompting engagement with Hungarian for both practical and social purposes:

[28] "[Hungarian] Definitely important. If you have kids, it's important for school, for going to the doctor" (female, 47, married to Turkish husband).

Overall, rather than constructing a linear hierarchy of languages, participants articulated a contextually grounded language ideology characterized by functional differentiation. Turkish is consistently indexed as a marker of identity and emotional affiliation, Hungarian as a necessary resource for legitimacy and participation within the host society, and English as a pragmatic tool embedded in globalized professional practices. Within this ideologically differentiated system, participants also articulated a pluralistic language ideology that positions multilingualism as an idealized linguistic condition.

Multilingual competence is thus discursively constructed as a resource associated with adaptability, social mobility, and intercultural competence. All participants identified themselves as multilingual and expressed a strong appreciation of its advantages. Among participants with children, multilingualism was consistently framed as a valuable asset, regardless of family structure, particularly in relation to future opportunities and integration.

However, this positive orientation toward multilingualism does not always translate into active heritage language transmission. As one participant reflected:

[29] “It would be wonderful if they knew it, knowing any language is a gain. For my children, Hungarian is their native language, they learned German and English at school. Now if you ask me why not Turkish, I don’t know, let me ask myself that too. I never tried [teaching Turkish].. Is it laziness? I don’t know” (male, 59, married with a Hungarian wife)

This pluralistic orientation toward multilingualism involves valuing the maintenance of Turkish alongside Hungarian and, in some cases, English. At the same time, participants demonstrated a pragmatic awareness of the unequal distribution of these languages in everyday life. In all families, Hungarian was considered essential, and in some cases constructed as the child’s dominant, or even primary, language, particularly in exogamous marriages. Turkish’s continued active use is recognized as contingent on contextual exposure. Reflecting on the prospects of Turkish language maintenance, participants acknowledged the limitations imposed by living in Hungary. As one parent observed:

[30] "If we stay here, that possibility [of the kids speaking Turkish daily] is hard. Only remains in fantasy. Like talking occasionally. But for real communication, we’d have to settle in that country so they get more affinity for the language"

Participants emphasized the importance of maintaining multiple linguistic resources within the family, particularly in bi- or multicultural contexts. As participants with different backgrounds stated:

[31] “Not only Turkish, of course other foreign languages too. But if the mother is Hungarian or Turkish, the father is Hungarian or Turkish, I think it is absolutely necessary that they know both languages”(male, 46, married to a Hungarian wife).

[32] “Children should use all language needed... Igen igen igen [*yes* in Hungarian]. Turkish and Hungarian are both mother tongues so they are the must” (male, 49, married to a Hungarian wife).

English was widely recognized as an inevitable necessity due to its role in the global world. Turkish, meanwhile, is ideologically expected to be spoken to some degree, with the recognition that children’s Turkish will never reach the same level as their Hungarian. A male participant explained as:

[33] “Hungarian. Because their mother is Hungarian. Whether it’s kindergarten, school, or social life, it’s all in Hungarian. What they read, the music they listen to, history, everything, it’s all Hungarian… So, to balance that, I constantly spoke Turkish to give them at least a bit of the other culture”(male, 53, married to a Hungarian wife).

Language proficiency is generally not seen as the primary marker of Turkish identity by many Turkish fathers; instead, being familiar with the language and the culture to some extent is accepted enough. As one father said:

[34] “I think it won’t disappear because… Let me put it this way. In the end, usually the father, I mean we Turks, culturally, as fathers, even if the mother is Hungarian, the child still knows that his father is Turkish (male, 47, married to a Hungarian wife)

And when I asked specifically about the language, the answer was:

[35]” Well, there could be some deficiency in the language, but in the end I mean they won’t let go of the culture. The child won’t let go because fatherhood is different for us”

On the other hand, Turkish language is essential for being Turkish for Turkish mothers regardless of the marriage type. In endogamous households, this expectation is naturally heightened, as illustrated by one mother’s assertion:

[36] “Language is a person's sense of belonging, a bond to their country, culture, and true identity. If this bond is severed, expecting a child to feel a connection to their homelandis nothing more than an empty hope”(female, 58, married to a Turkish husband)

A mother who has a baby with a Hungarian husband explained it as

[37] "…I want my child to learn Turkish. Their grandparents are Turkish, after all. I want them to be able to speak with them. And I'm Turkish so I want my child to learn Turkish" (female, 36, married to a Hungarian husband).

Another mother in an exogamous marriage emphasized:

[38] "[Turkish is] Necessary. Otherwise, they can't build communication with Turkish families"(female, 32, married to a Hungarian husband).

At the same time, concerns about the declining use of Turkish among younger generations were frequently expressed, especially in exogamous families where Hungarian tends to dominate. Despite feelings of regret or ambivalence for some, participants generally adopted a pragmatic stance toward this shift; they view it as an inevitable outcome of integration and prioritizing their children's success within the host society. The following statement depicts the picture clearly:

[39] "There will be a serious loss. I will be sad because I am Turkish, but they won't lose much in life. Hungarian will be enough here" (male, 46, married to a Turkish wife).

Another participant articulated a language ideology of heritage language maintenance and the powerful sociolinguistic pressures of assimilation. While expressing the belief that children should ideally retain Turkish, she highlighted how everyday socialization in Hungary drives a shift toward Hungarian identity and language:

[40] "They definitely should know. But in practice, that's difficult, because the children automatically become Hungarian, honestly. They automatically spend most of their time with Hungarians. It's very hard to reverse that now"(female, 45, married to a Turkish husband)

These ideological priorities often inform other decisions, such as school choices and language exposure, language use which are discussed in Sections 4.3 and 4.5 on language practices and intergenerational transmission.

Participants predominantly articulated a language ideology that equates “authentic” Turkish with the grammatical and accentual norms of Turkish as spoken in Turkey, while simultaneously asserting that their own Turkish in Hungary does not significantly diverge from this standard. They further extended this claim by suggesting that even regional dialectal differences remain unchanged, thereby minimizing not only diasporic variation but also internal linguistic diversity within Turkish. Turks in Hungary display a more flexible approach towards, treating code-switching as a communicative resource rather than a problem. This stance was often reinforced through implicit or explicit contrasts with Turkish-speaking communities in countries such as Germany or France, which were perceived as exhibiting greater degrees of language mixing or deviation from the standard.

[41] “Yes. Yes. I see this in the first generation who came and in later generations as well. Especially the older ones. We still preserve our language. I think this comes from frequent trips back and forth to Turkey” (male, 70, married to a Hungarian wife).

[42] “Not over such a long period of time. We were the first ones who came in the '90s, civil servants in the early '90s. That hadn't formed yet. These people hadn't been disconnected from their roots yet. That will probably happen with the second or third generation” (male, 50, married to a Hungarian wife).

At the same time, these claims of maintaining an “authentic” Turkish coexisted with acknowledgments of simplification and partial linguistic attrition which will be examined in greater detail in Section 4.3 on Language Practices. Participants recognized that sustained immersion in a Hungarian-speaking environment can shape their language practices, leading to the incorporation of Hungarian, and, for some, English, into their speech. Turks in Hungary display a more flexible approach towards treating code-switching as a communicative resource rather than a problem. These switches were typically shaped by the social context and the interlocutors involved. Nevertheless, alongside these conscious and strategic switches, many participants also reported instances of unconscious code-switching in unexpected contexts, for example, switching from Turkish to Hungarian in Turkiye, or to Turkish to a Hungarian-speaking spouse, which they perceived as inducing feelings of guilt in their daily interactions and tried to be avoided.

[43] “Everyone understands anyway. It is comfortable. There’s no need to search. Sometimes we even say, what was the exact Turkish word for this? Like that” (male, 56, married to a Hungarian wife).

[44] “I don’t interpret it as bad. It’s just that I don’t have full command of the foreign language at that moment. I mean, I don't think that someone who speaks perfect, really perfect [perfect in English] Hungarian would easily switch to Turkish like that. But still while speaking switches occur to Hungarian or French as well. It's a switch to the words you know best, the easiest ones you know. Of course. Yes, yes” (male, 70, married to a Hungarian wife)

4.3. Language practices

Building on the language ideologies outlined in Section 4.2, this section examines how these beliefs are enacted, arranged and sometimes reconfigured in participants’ everyday language practices. Drawing on semi-structured interview data, the study was designed to explore participants’ use of Turkish, Hungarian, and any other languages present in their repertoires across a range of communicative contexts, including family interactions, social and professional settings, as well as reading, writing, media consumption, and participation in cultural activities. While the primary analytical focus of the study was on Turkish and Hungarian, English emerged inductively from the data as a salient third language within participants’ repertoires. Its use was particularly evident in professional and transnational contexts, as well as among participants with lower levels of Hungarian proficiency, for whom English functioned as an alternative communicative resource.

For analytical clarity, the findings are organized into two interrelated domains: contextual and social language use (e.g., home, social interactions, workplace, emotional expression) and multimodal language practices (e.g., reading, writing, digital communication, and media engagement). Adopting a qualitative, interpretive approach, the analysis focuses on how participants describe and rationalize their language choices in relation to context, interlocutor, and communicative purpose, rather than on just measuring frequency of use. The following subsections examine these practices in detail, illustrating how multilingual resources are strategically mobilized across domains and how participants navigate the competing demands of identity, integration, and practicality in their daily lives. The analysis demonstrates that language practices are highly context-dependent: Turkish is most frequently maintained in domains associated with heritage, emotional expression, while its use diminishes in spheres

where adaptation to Hungarian linguistic norms is required. Language choice emerges as a dynamic process shaped by factors such as marriage type, length of residence, social networks. Such patterns reveal a form of selective bilingualism, with languages allocated strategically according to context, function, and interlocutor. Within the domain of contextual and social language use, the home represents a key site for examining everyday language practices and intergenerational transmission.

Across the sample, the composition of the home domain primarily consists of three configurations: individuals living alone (e.g., single or divorced participants), those cohabiting with a spouse, and those living with both spouse and children. These configurations constitute the primary interactional settings through which language practices in the home are structured. Only a limited number of participants reported the presence of extended family members within the home domain, typically in the form of short-term visits rather than permanent co-residence. To capture the diversity of experiences, language practice in the home is analyzed here across three primary household configurations.

4.3.1. Contextual and social language use

This section investigates contextual and social language use across the principal domains of daily life. Within the home domain, particular attention is paid to the influence of household composition and marital type on linguistic practices. The analysis distinguishes among three primary configurations: individuals living alone; couples without children, where language use is examined separately for endogamous (Turkish-Turkish) and exogamous (Turkish- non-Turkish) marriages; and families with both spouse and children, again differentiating between endogamous and exogamous family structures. Beyond the home, the analysis considers language use within participants' social networks, exploring how linguistic preferences and practices vary across friendships, community engagement, and leisure activities. The workplace domain is also examined, with a focus on how occupational context and professional interactions shape the use and roles of Turkish, Hungarian, and English. Finally, the section addresses emotional expression, investigating which languages are preferred for conveying feelings and intimacy, and how these linguistic choices relate to participants' sense of identity and personal history. Collectively, these domains offer an in-depth understanding of the ways in which multilingual practices are organized, shaped, and lived across diverse social settings in participants' everyday lives.

4.3.2. Home domain

This section examines how first-generation Turkish migrants in Hungary communicate within the domestic sphere. It details the linguistic patterns observed across three living arrangements: individuals living alone (Section 4.3.2.1), couples cohabiting without children (Section 4.3.2.2), and households with children (Section 4.3.2.3), with a focus on differences between endogamous and exogamous partnerships.

4.3.2.1. Individuals living alone

Participants living alone reported relatively flexible and individualized language practices, largely shaped by their social networks and professional environments rather than the home setting itself. In these cases, language use at home did not emerge as a strongly regulated domain, but rather reflected broader patterns of language use in daily life, often involving Hungarian and/or English depending on workplace and social integration.

4.3.2.2 Cohabiting with a spouse (no children)

i. Endogamous couples

This relative flexibility contrasts with patterns observed in shared households, where language use varies substantially depending on family composition. Among participants without children, language practices in the home are largely shaped by spousal dynamics and shared linguistic repertoires. In endogamous couples, this typically results in Turkish being consistently maintained as the primary language of communication. This continuity is not only a matter of ease and habit but also reflects a mutual commitment to preserving both linguistic and cultural ties. Because both partners share the same linguistic background, Turkish naturally remains the default language at home, eliminating the need for ongoing decision or adaptation around language choice. This seamless maintenance of Turkish is illustrated in the following examples: [45] "My spouse is Turkish; our home language is Turkish" (female, 58).

ii. Exagomous couples

In contrast to endogamous households, exogamous couples, where one partner is not Turkish, display distinctly different language practices in the home domain. Across the dataset, Hungarian consistently occupies a dominant position in daily interactions between spouses, regardless of whether the couple has children. This overall pattern is supported by the frequency

of reported language practices in participants' interviews: among those cohabiting with a spouse or partner, 21 participants stated that they speak mostly Hungarian at home, with a further 4 describing their use of Hungarian as greater than Turkish or English. Only a small number (2) reported using Hungarian and Turkish or English equally, while just 1 participant indicated using more Turkish or English than Hungarian. Similarly, when looking at the role of English, 4 participants stated that they use mostly English with their spouse, and only 1 reported using more English than Hungarian or Turkish. These figures do not represent a quantitative analysis, but rather reflect counts based on how many participants described each pattern in their interview responses. Many participants described using Hungarian for routine communication with their partners. As one participant noted,

[50] "I think I directly think in Hungarian now… My partner is Hungarian, so all my affectionate words are in Hungarian as well (female, 36)."

Others similarly emphasized the centrality of Hungarian in everyday interaction:

[51] "Yes. We [with the husband] dropped English a long time ago. I speak Hungarian with his family and everyone around." (female, 49)

[52] "...but at home I speak Hungarian. My wife is Hungarian" (male, 59)

[53] "My spouse is Hungarian, we speak Hungarian together" (male, 61).

While Hungarian is the default language in most exogamous households, language use can be fluid and is often responsive to the linguistic repertoires of both partners. For some couples, Turkish appears occasionally, typically in emotional expressions or cultural references, but it generally occupies a tertiary position, following Hungarian and, in some cases, English in daily use. As one participant described,

[54] "I told you, 45% Hungarian. With my wife too, my own wife… She's an English teacher, so she knows English. At home, sometimes my wife speaks English, I answer in Turkish, or we speak Hungarian. But generally, let me say, in my work and in my normal life it's 45% Hungarian, 40% Turkish, 15% English" (male, 40).

Similarly, code-switching to English often occurs when Hungarian alone cannot accommodate communication:

[55] “But when I speak with my spouse in Hungarian, I usually stick to Hungarian... If I don’t know a word, I throw in English because my spouse doesn’t know Turkish, but he understands English” (female, 36).

In a small number of households (4 out of 50), limited proficiency in Hungarian influenced the language dynamics. In these cases, English often functioned as a mediating language, serving as a pragmatic multilingual strategy when Turkish was not mutually understood. For example:

[56] “He hasn’t learned Turkish and he doesn’t have such intention either. That is why I pass that part. Since he lived abroad for so long. His English practice is much better, but this is something we keep in our agenda [indicating speaking in Hungarian]. We consciously try to integrate more into our daily life. We’re in a period where we’re talking about how to increase his speaking Hungarian with me over time.” (female, 37).

Similarly, another participant reported, [57] “I’d say 80% English, 20% Hungarian” (Female, 38), highlighting the transitional nature of these arrangements.

4.3.2.3. Cohabiting with spouse and children

iii. Endogamous Households

Language practices in endogamous households show a high degree of continuity across different family configurations, including both those with and without children. In the home domain, whether in interactions between spouses or between parents and children, Turkish consistently remains the primary language of communication. Rather than representing a shift, the presence of children appears to extend existing patterns of language use, as parents largely continue speaking Turkish within the household.

Across the dataset, first-generation parents in endogamous marriages reported an almost universal use of Turkish in family interactions (11/11 families). This consistency reflects a strong and deliberate orientation toward Turkish as the default medium of intra-family communication. Their language practices are not incidental but reflect sustained choices that

prioritize the maintenance of the heritage language in everyday life. While participants are aware of the broader multilingual environments in which family life is embedded, their own linguistic behavior within the home remains notably stable. External influences, such as schooling, peer interaction, or the wider societal use of Hungarian, are acknowledged but do not substantially alter the parents' language practices. Instead, Turkish continues to structure routine communication within the household. This orientation is also evident in the ways parents describe their own language use. As one participant explains:

[46] "At home, we always speak Turkish with the children. My husband is very fluent in Hungarian, but to avoid the possibility of influencing our child's accent, he doesn't speak it at home. My child started Hungarian preschool at age three, and at the beginning, she didn't know any Hungarian. Within three months, her teachers reported her progress, and within six months, she was speaking Hungarian at a very good level. Her Hungarian is excellent. In our home, we only use Turkish; she uses Turkish with her sibling as well" (female, 35).

Further evidence of this stability emerges in participants' reflections on everyday interactions. Even when other languages are present in the broader social environment, first-generation speakers maintain Turkish as their default choice in family contexts. As one father notes:

[47] "Sometimes they ask me something in Hungarian. I explain it, and they say, 'Ah, okay, got it.' …[their language use] It depends on the setting: in the schoolyard, Hungarian; at home or in the restaurant, Turkish" (male, 46).

Here, the emphasis remains on the parent's own practice: Turkish is consistently used in the home, while other languages are confined to specific external domains. The boundary between home and outside is thus maintained through the parents' linguistic choices.

A similar pattern emerged in households where an additional heritage language, such as Kurdish, was present. Even in these multilingual families, first-generation speakers predominantly relied on Turkish for daily interaction. While a few participants reported using Kurdish at home, its role was generally limited, appearing only sporadically, in specific contexts, or as occasional code-switching within Turkish conversation. As one participant put it:

[48] “(with husband) Mostly Turkish. Turkish, Kurdish” (female, 48).

Another participant reflected on the outcome of this limited use for their children:

[49] “They heard Kurdish from us, but it wasn’t enough. They heard more Turkish, so they understand it, but I’m sure they can’t write it.” (female, 46)

iiii. Exagomous Households

With regard to language practices involving children, it is important to note that none of the English-dominant exogamous families in the sample had children. This limits systematic comparison across this subgroup. However, unlike endogamous families, where Turkish is typically maintained as the primary home language by parental practice, in exogamous households with children, language use in the home domain became more complex and often reflected intentional family language policies and management strategies. According to participants’ descriptions in the interviews, the predominantly used language in parent-child interactions within exogamous families is Turkish, as reported by 17 participants. However, Hungarian is also commonly used: 8 participants stated that Hungarian is mostly spoken with their children, with another 5 indicating that Hungarian is used more often than Turkish or English. Two families reported using Hungarian and Turkish qequally, while just 1 participant described Turkish or English as being used more than Hungarian. While Turkish-speaking parents, most often mothers, frequently reported addressing their children exclusively in Turkish, a closer examination of these cases reveals that communication between spouses typically occurred in Hungarian. This leads to a functional differentiation of language use across family roles and interactional dyads: Turkish is prioritized in parent-child communication, whereas Hungarian remains the principal language between spouses and within broader family interaction.

A closer examination reveals a clear functional differentiation of language use across interactional domains. In many cases, Turkish-speaking parents, most often mothers, address their children in Turkish, while Hungarian remains the primary language of communication between spouses. This division is not incidental but reflects deliberate strategies shaped by beliefs about language transmission, competence, and identity. For instance, one participant described explicitly regulating language use within the family:

[58] I don't speak Turkish with my wife, and I forbade her from speaking Turkish with the children… I said, you speak your language, I speak mine… I speak solely in Turkish [with the kids]… this way they speak very good Turkish (male,68) "

At the same time, Hungarian is widely accepted, and often explicitly constructed, as a mother tongue within these households, particularly in relation to children's broader social environment. As one participant noted:

[59] "They mostly use Hungarian… since Hungarian is their mother tongue, they speak that" (male, 42).

This orientation is further reflected in accounts of parent–child interaction, where Turkish may be used by one parent but Hungarian emerges as the dominant language in more complex or extended communication:

[60] "I address them in Turkish… but when you go deeper, Hungarian… he understands sixty percent… but Hungarian dominates" (male, 61).

Similarly, another participant emphasized how environmental exposure shapes language dominance:
[61] "[they speak] Mostly Hungarian, because everyone speaks Hungarian… only the grandparents [in Turkiye] speak Turkish… when I get angry or repeat something, then I speak Turkish" (female, 31).

4.3.3. Social interactional language practices

Moving beyond the home domain, participants' accounts reveal that patterns of language use in social and community settings are equally dynamic and context-dependent. The structure and composition of social networks, whether predominantly Turkish-speaking, Hungarian-speaking, English-speaking, or mixed, play a crucial role in shaping everyday multilingual practices. While Turkish and Hungarian are most frequently used, English also emerges in certain social circles, not only among participants with international contacts, but especially as a compensatory language for those with lower proficiency in Hungarian. In these cases, English

serves as a practical lingua franca, enabling social engagement in otherwise Hungarian-dominant environments.

Hungarian occupies a significant place in many participants' social lives, especially in interactions with Hungarian-speaking friends, relatives (in exogomous marriages) colleagues, and peers. In these settings, as reported by 14 participants during the interviews, Hungarian was the main language used in their social circles. Hungarian typically emerges as the dominant language, reflecting participants' active engagement with the broader sociolinguistic environment. However, these language practices are not rigid or mutually exclusive. Instead, participants describe their use of Turkish and Hungarian as fundamentally fluid and context-sensitive, with language choice often decided in real time based on interlocutor composition and situational expectations. This was particularly pronounced among male participants, who more often reported Hungarian-dominant social circles. This trend is exemplified by one participant, who shared:

[62] "Mostly in Hungarian. My friends here are Hungarian, my circle is mostly Hungarian." (Male, 54, single)

One male participant, who has lived in Hungary for 29 years, noted that he has not communicated with Turks during his time abroad. His social interactions are exclusively with Hungarian speakers, and he reported using Hungarian with friends. Additionally, English is the primary language used in his professional environment. This profile illustrates a case of minimal contact with the Turkish-speaking community, where social language practice is shaped almost entirely by integration into Hungarian and English-speaking networks. In contrast, some participants, 13 by their own report, maintain Turkish-dominant social lives, often within dense, multiplex co-ethnic networks. As one participant described:

[63] "In our friend circle there are no Hungarians. ... Most Turks too, we hang out with Kurdish and Turkish friends ... All of them Turkish or Kurdish" (male, 51, married to a Hungarian wife).

Between these poles, a substantial group (9) described balanced or mixed social circles, reporting equal engagement in Turkish and Hungarian. In such cases, language choice is fluid, context-dependent, and constantly decided, as this example illustrates:

[64] “For me, it’s about equal. I have as many Hungarian friends as Turkish ones. ... With Hungarians, we discuss different topics ... With Turks, it’s more about history and traditional conversation” (male, 46, married to a Turkish wife).

Some participants also noted that, even when Hungarian is widely used in their social circles, this does not always translate into deeper or more meaningful interactions. One participant reflected:

[65] "Sure, I have friends ... It's all superficial, though. There's no depth. ... We can chat about cultural things ... but it's mostly superficial." (male, 53, married to Hungarian wife)

Importantly, these language practices do not operate as separate or competing systems. Rather, participants describe fluid and context-dependent use of Turkish and Hungarian across their social interactions. Turkish tends to be foregrounded in interactions with Turkish-speaking interlocutors, while Hungarian is more prominent in mixed or Hungarian-dominant settings. For those who regularly engage in both types of interactions, language choice is often flexible and balanced, shaped by interlocutor composition and situational expectations. The structure and orientation of social networks are also dynamic, influenced by broader processes such as migration waves, changing identity priorities, and technological advances. Several participants highlighted a shift in their social language practices over time, linking greater contemporary engagement with Turkish to the arrival of new Turkish immigrants and the increasing ease of connection through digital media. As participants described the transformation:

[66] “...Until I learned the language, I didn’t have any friends. There were very few Turks. There wasn’t really a Turkish community...Right now, 70% are Turkish. o in total, apart from me, there were probably only two Turkish kids. I tried to spend time with them. So there wasn’t much at all. Right now, for example, it’s much easier. In terms of both Turkish and Hungarian friendships, it’s also more comfortable. The friends I have in my circle right now are Turks who came later. They already don’t speak Hungarian” (female, 32, married to a Hungarian husband).

Another participant reflected on the impact of technology and migration history:

[67] “Let me put it this way, mostly Turkish. ... Nowadays, with online communication, there are far more Turkish publications and Turkish sources. (male, 68, married to a Hungrian wife).

Variation in the prominence of Turkish or Hungarian in social circles has direct implications for language maintenance. Participants embedded in Turkish-speaking networks tend to sustain Turkish more robustly as part of their communicative repertoire, whereas those whose interactions are primarily in Hungarian display greater reliance on Hungarian. Yet, the overall pattern is not one of straightforward language shift, but rather of dynamic, negotiated bilingual practice. Some participants also explicitly linked their social choices to language and identity priorities. For example:

[68] "Since I feel myself Turkish, and I am Turkish anyway, I go more to Turkish gatherings. Hungarians don't interest me that much, unfortunately. I only work here." (male, 53, single)

Similarly, another participant emphasized the role of Turkish in her professional and social life:

[69] My friends here are Turkish, I socialize with Turks. In fact, I work with Turks whenever possible; I do short-term rentals. When I need workers, I prefer to work with Turks. I go to Turkish groceries. So yes, of course, my native language is Turkish. (female, 41, married to a Turkish husband)

For a subset of participants, English plays a meaningful, if often pragmatic, role in social life. In some cases, English is used as a compensatory language, particularly by those with limited proficiency in Hungarian. These individuals reported relying on English to communicate with international colleagues, expatriate communities, or even with Hungarian speakers who also possess adequate English skills. At the same time, participants' accounts suggest that the availability of English reshapes integration trajectories by enabling social participation without requiring engagement with Hungarian. As one participant explained:

[70] "Especially after I made Hungarian friends, I started to feel like I had found my place… Because I could already communicate with people [meaning Hungarians] in English, the need didn't arise, and since I didn't use it, it didn't develop" (male, 37, single).

A similar pattern emerges in accounts where English dominance is directly linked to everyday interactional routines:

[71] “Of course, English. After all, we are in a foreign country. I have Turkish friends here whom I see, but I meet them once a week. The remaining five or six days are usually spent with foreigners. English is more dominant; I speak it more” (male, 38, in an exagaomous relationship).

In such cases, the frequency and composition of social interactions position English as the default language of communication. This is further reflected in participants who describe English as structuring the majority of their daily exchanges, while other languages remain confined to specific domains:

[72] “During the day, about 90% of my communication is in English. In the evenings, I speak Turkish (female, 41, married to a Turkish husband)”

For others, English use is shaped by professional environments, such as multinational workplaces or academic settings, where English functions as a lingua franca. In these domains, English enables participants to maintain active social lives and professional networks despite limited integration into Hungarian-speaking circles. For example one partcicipant living in Hungary for 20 years explained the languages he spokes as:

[73] “Mostly Hungarian. Then Turkish, English only to the extent of our workplace” (male, 35).

While English facilitates everyday interactions and broadens social networks, participants noted that it rarely replaces the affective or identity-related functions of Turkish or even Hungarian in more intimate or culturally specific settings**.** As one interviewee noted:

[74] “Yes, English dominates my daily life. But my true native language is Turkish; since I live abroad in Hungary now, I use English more during the day.” (male, 32)

4.3.4. Language practices in the workplace

To understand language practices beyond the home and social domains, it is essential to consider participants’ occupational roles, as the work environment constitutes a key site of daily

language use and social integration. Among the 50 participants in this study, there is a diverse range of current occupations, spanning both blue-collar and white-collar sectors. A substantial portion of participants are self-employed or business owners, particularly in sectors such as hospitality, retail, and small-scale entrepreneurship. For example, several participants reported operating Turkish restaurants, working as traders, or managing small businesses. Others are engaged in blue-collar work, including restaurant employees, administrative workers, stockbreeders, and tourism workers. In contrast, a notable segment of the sample occupies white-collar professional roles. These include architects, engineers, psychologists, finance professionals, real estate agents, corporate employees, and event coordinators. Additionally, there are participants who are retired, athletes, or housewives, reflecting further occupational diversity. This occupational distribution provides a rich context for examining how language practices are shaped by the demands and norms of different work environments. The following analysis explores the ways in which Turkish, Hungarian, and English are used and negotiated in blue-collar and white-collar workplaces, considering both the opportunities and constraints these occupational settings present for language maintenance, shift, and multilingual adaptation.

Within white-collar occupations, English frequently emerges as the primary language of workplace communication, particularly in multinational corporations, international organizations, and sectors with a global clientele. This is especially evident among recent immigrants or participants with a shorter length of residence in Hungary, who tend to seek employment in English-speaking corporate environments. For these individuals, English serves not only as a practical tool for professional advancement but also as a means of circumventing the challenges posed by limited proficiency in Hungarian. Notably, this pattern appears to transcend gender, as both male and female newcomers consistently report gravitating toward English-dominant workplaces. As one participant explained:

[75] “Yes, normally English. But at work, my colleagues sometimes speak Hungarian on purpose, just for me. When I don’t understand something, they translate it for me, thankfully. Our work language is English, but when we go out for lunch, grab coffee, or gossip, they switch to Hungarian (female, 42, residing in hungary for 14 years)”.

This account illustrates how English may structure formal workplace communication, while Hungarian continues to index informal interaction and social inclusion within the workplace.

Among participants with longer residence in Hungary, there is a more balanced distribution of workplace language practices. Female professionals who immigrated at a younger age are, in most cases, highly proficient in Hungarian and report using it as their primary language at work. However, these women also emphasized their capacity to switch to English when required by the demands of their occupation, such as in meetings, correspondence, or client interactions with international partners. Despite this linguistic flexibility, several indicated that they feel more comfortable and confident when operating in Hungarian as opposed to English, which is often described as a "secondary" or "work-only" language. participants emphasize that linguistic proficiency does not necessarily translate into equal comfort across languages. Even among highly proficient speakers of English, Hungarian is often described as the preferred language for professional self-expression in locally embedded careers: For example, one participant noted:

[76] "My English is very good too. But for example, I've never felt as comfortable expressing myself in English as I do in Hungarian. I think I'd have to live in an English-speaking place for a long time to feel that way. I don't use it daily because of my job. I'm a psychologist, I usually work with Hungarians.." (female, 32, residing in Hungary for 26 years).

Similarly, another participant described a mixed but Hungarian-dominant and even Turkish repertoire shaped by the demands of international trade:

[77] "English used to [be dominant], and it still does [occupies space]. Because I do live animal trade, I work in agriculture and livestock, so for Austria, the Netherlands, Denmark, you know, other places I go, I use it. But let me say it this way: maybe 45% Hungarian, 40% Turkish, and 15% English" (male, 40 , residing in Hungary for 19 years).

For male participants, with the exception of the most recent arrivals, workplace language use is largely determined by the nature of professional interactions and the structure of their occupational field. The majority of male respondents in white-collar positions are self-employed or run their own businesses, which frequently necessitates sustained engagement with Hungarian clients, partners, or regulatory bodies. Accordingly, Hungarian is most often the dominant language in these work settings. Among those involved in international business, English is also regularly used, particularly in dealings with non-Hungarian partners or global supply chains. Nevertheless, even in these contexts, participants frequently expressed a clear

preference for operating in Hungarian or Turkish when possible, noting that their comfort and fluency in English, while sufficient for professional purposes, does not match their proficiency in the other two languages.

[78] “The work language definitely took over as Hungarian. And I don’t want to speak English, for example. Our English is weak anyway, that’s another issue... My English is just enough to run the business, like Tarzan English. Those are the languages I can express myself in” (male, 42).

A smaller subset of participants reported workplace practices that are primarily oriented toward Turkish, particularly in cases where their professional activities are closely tied to Turkey or the Turkish diaspora, such as in import-export, tourism, or community-based enterprises. In these contexts, Turkish functions as the main language of professional interaction, reflecting the ethnically bounded nature of their client base and networks. As one participant succinctly stated,

[79] “It’s Turkish. Exactly, I mean very rarely Hungarian” (male, 34, residing for 10 years).

Another participant similarly emphasized the centrality of Turkish within his professional domain, while also highlighting a clear separation between work and broader social interaction:

[80] “I use Turkish the most. I serve in two foundations and only in the Turkish world, so I constantly speak Turkish. In my normal life, I speak with Hungarians around me, in my shop. Regarding my work, I sell real estate in Turkish only to Turks” (male, 58, residing for 37 years).

These accounts illustrate that Turkish-dominant workplace practices are typically sustained within relatively closed, co-ethnic economic spaces, where interaction with Hungarian-speaking networks remains limited or functionally compartmentalized.

4.3.5. Emotional expression

A recurring theme across participants’ narratives is the centrality of Turkish for emotional expression, regardless of the broader multilingual context in which they live and work. While participants often demonstrate considerable proficiency and flexibility in Hungarian and, to a

lesser extent, English, they consistently report that Turkish remains the language of choice for conveying feelings, intimacy, and affective nuance.

This preference for Turkish in emotionally charged contexts aligns with broader sociolinguistic findings on the "language of the heart" (Pavlenko, 2005), which suggest that speakers frequently revert to their first language when expressing deep emotions, values, or culturally embedded meanings. Among both endogamous and exogamous families, participants described Turkish as the language they use instinctively when expressing love, frustration, nostalgia, or other strong feelings, particularly in interactions with family members, close friends, and community members of Turkish background.

Several participants emphasized that, even when daily interactions or professional communications occur in Hungarian or English, moments of emotional intensity prompt a shift to Turkish. As one participant explained:

[81] "Turkish. Definitely. I wouldn't even wait for your sentence be over … Yes. I always tell him (the husband) that I'm limited in Hungarian emotionally. The main reason is this: we Turks are much more emotional as a society. We have far more words related to feelings, we can express ourselves much more richly in that sense. Hungarians, in general, aren't as emotional people as we are. And they don't have as many words to express emotions" (female, 32 , married to a Hungarian husband).

In contrast, only a small subset of participants (approximately 8%) expressed greater confidence in Hungarian than in Turkish, describing Hungarian as richer, or more precise, for conveying complex ideas and emotions. As one participant explained:

[82] "You express yourself better in Hungarian. Sometimes, even when you're sitting in a conversation, because you've lived with both Turkish and Hungarian, the Hungarian words express you more, so you look for it, you search for that word in your head in Turkish" (male, 53, residing in Hungary for 28 years).

Another participant provided specific examples, highlighting that particular Hungarian lexical items can, in his experience, convey emotional nuance that he feels is not fully captured by Turkish equivalents:

[83] “Some words, like kedvesem [*darling* in Hungaria], for example, do you understand? Kedvesem is more beautiful in Hungarian. Canım [*my dear* in Turkis], for example, it’s a little… something. Tatlım [*sweety* in Turkish]. But if the person in front of me knows this language, then I’ll speak it, that’s fine. But if they don’t, why would I say it to them?” (male, 57, residing in Hungary for 32 years).

4.3.6. Multimodal language practice and literacy practices across languages

In addition to spoken language use across social domains, this section examines participants’ multimodal language practices, encompassing reading, writing, digital communication, and media engagement. By investigating these distinct modalities, the analysis provides insight into participants’ language preferences, competencies, and patterns of use beyond face-to-face interaction. Attention is given to the choice of language in activities such as reading books or news, composing emails or text messages, participating in online forums, and engaging with television, radio, or social media content. This approach enables a more comprehensive understanding of how multilingual repertoires are expressed, maintained, and adapted across diverse communicative channels in everyday life.

In the domain of literacy, Turkish was particularly well maintained among participants, especially with regard to leisure reading. Many reported regularly engaging with books, newspapers, and online materials in Turkish. Many participants also described purposeful efforts to maintain Turkish through their reading habits, often prioritizing Turkish-language materials even when alternative options were available**.** As one participant explained:

[84] “I usually read in Turkish. I bring them from Turkey when I have time. But if something comes to me in Hungarian, if it gets through, if it’s something I like, something I’m interested in, then I read it in Hungarian. But generally, for example, I always try to read in Turkish. The main reason for that was that I already live in Hungary. I always speak Hungarian. So at least I wanted to keep my Turkish somewhere. So that it would always stay with me. I had something like that. Generally I read Turkish books.” (female, 32).

However, the limited availability of printed Turkish materials in Hungary emerged as a significant challenge for some. For these individuals, the scarcity of accessible Turkish books

and periodicals prompted a shift toward reading in English, particularly for genres or topics not available in Turkish. As one participant explained,

[85] “Since I can’t find Turkish books here, I usually read in English. I read entirely in English. But even so, there aren’t many options to find books here, so it’s mostly English” (female, 42)

While digital formats and international online ordering may provide alternative means of accessing Turkish-language materials, the participant’s account suggests that the local availability of printed books remained an important factor in her reading choices. This is also reflected in other participants’ reports of bringing physical Turkish-language books from Turkey when visiting, indicating that access to Turkish-language print materials in Hungary was not always readily available.

Professional or instructional reading in Turkish, by comparison, was much more limited. For educational and work-related purposes, English was most frequently preferred, followed by Hungarian, reflecting the institutional and occupational realities of life in Hungary. Even among those who primarily use Hungarian in daily spoken communication, Turkish remained the dominant language for online reading related to entertainment or everyday topics. This pattern highlights the continued affective and cultural significance of Turkish in participants’ literacy practices, despite the pressures of multilingual adaptation and the practical constraints of the local language environment.

Writing practices among participants display domain-dependent patterns similar to those observed in reading. Personal writing in Turkish, such as messages, letters, or informal correspondence, remained relatively common, especially among those with strong connections to Turkish-speaking networks. In contrast, Turkish was rarely used for formal or public writing; Hungarian and English were the dominant languages in institutional, educational, and professional settings. As one participant explained:

[86] “I used English regularly during my master’s and PhD, reading and writing articles. Other than that, I rarely use it” (female, 32).

Social media practices closely mirrored these trends. Turkish was frequently employed to maintain transnational ties with relatives and friends in Türkiye. One participant illustrated this preference:

[87] “Turkish. Because most of my friends on social media are Turkish. If I’m commenting on a foreign friend’s photo, then of course I write in English. But when I post or share a story myself, it’s usually in Turkish. It doesn’t exceed about 10-15% of my followers are non-Turkish, so there’s no point posting in English unless it’s something that involves them” (male, 38).

At the same time, Hungarian was preferred for communication in local or mixed-language digital environments, reflecting adaptation to the linguistic norms of the broader community. However, the overall pattern indicated that Turkish remained the dominant language for posting and reading on social media, especially in personal networks. Importantly, language choice was highly responsive to the interlocutor, as another participant explained:

[88] “Depends on the person. If it’s a Hungarian, I write in Hungarian. If it’s a Turk, in Turkish.” (Male, 50).

Participants also demonstrated sustained engagement with Turkish in their media consumption habits, including regular television viewing and accessing online videos in Turkish. When it came to watching movies and series, language choice revealed layered motivations: some participants opted for Turkish for reasons of cultural authenticity, while others preferred Hungarian dubbing for its descriptive quality and accessibility. As one participant explained:

[89] “If on YouTube, I use Turkish 100%. But for series or films on Netflix, I definitely prefer Hungarian, I mean for foreign series and movies. Dubs are excellent, like Family Guy, South Park. I love watching them in Hungarian; they are so, so good. Turkish dubbing is so artificial. For Turkish series, of course, I watch in Turkish” (male, 36).

The example shows how media language preferences are not fixed but context-dependent, shaped by genre, platform, and perceptions of quality and authenticity. English, meanwhile, was used more selectively, most often by younger or highly educated participants, as well as those with more limited proficiency in Hungarian.

4.3.7. Code Switching

Code-switching emerged as a prominent and routine feature of participants' linguistic practices, illustrating their ability to lead complex multilingual environments with remarkable competence and adaptability. Participants frequently reported drawing on Hungarian, Turkish, English, and even additional languages depending on the topic, setting, and conversation partner. This linguistic flexibility not only facilitated communication across diverse contexts but also reflected the dynamic, context-sensitive nature of their multilingual repertoires. For many, code-switching was described as an almost automatic response to communicative needs or gaps in lexical knowledge. One participant explained:

[90] "So yes, the languages get mixed up in my head a lot. But what I do is this: if the person I'm talking to is Hungarian and I can't find the English word, I might say it in Hungarian. Or if I'm not speaking Hungarian but I know the person knows English, I'll switch to English. Consciously. But Turkish slips in unconsciously very often" (female, 39).

Another participant observed that the direction and frequency of switching can be asymmetrical, depending on the dominant language in a given context:

[91] "Well, let me put it this way: when I speak Turkish, sometimes Hungarian comes to my mind more. But when I speak Hungarian, rarely [does] Turkish come" (male, 40).

The interlocutor's language background and the conversational topic also played a significant role. As one participant recounted:

[92] "Absolutely, I do [code-switch]. Like, I know [my brother] also speaks Hungarian, and in that context, when a word doesn't come to mind in Turkish, I say it in Hungarian. He answers the same way. The work language definitely took over as Hungarian. And I don't want to speak English, for example. Our English is weak anyway, that's another issue" (male, 59).

The motivations for code-switching were diverse, including lexical retrieval, topic shifts, emotional expression, and pragmatic adaptation to the listener's preferences or proficiencies. For some, code-switching was a deliberate strategy; for others, it was an unconscious or even playful aspect of communication. As one participant put it:

[93] “It depends on who I’m talking to. For example, when I’m talking to my husband, Turkish suddenly slips out of my mouth. When I’m talking to my parents, I mix Hungarian in. It really changes a lot depending on who I’m talking to” (female, 31)

Notably, some participants perceived code-switching as unnecessary or even impossible in their own experience, attributing this to the structured nature of their formal language education. As one participant articulated:

[94]“I did not have difficulty transitioning between them because I learned them through formal education, not through the ‘learn it on the street’ method” (female, 58).

Some participants described an even more complex linguistic landscape, involving not only Turkish, Hungarian, and English but also other languages such as Japanese or Italian, sometimes leading to surprising overlaps or confusion:

[95] “That happens a lot. Especially between Hungarian, Turkish, and Japanese. I also say I’m not going to speak Turkish. I mean my native language is Turkish. That’s in a separate place already, and I’m not going to speak Turkish. That’s okay. But in the remaining languages, it’s not English, but Japanese comes in. I’m not speaking English right now either. I try to speak Hungarian. At that time Japanese also gets added. Also phonetically Turkish, Japanese, Hungarian… there are very similar words. There are even words that are the same but with different meanings. For example the word soba. In Hungarian it is also that. In Japanese it is a type of noodle. In Turkish it means heater. Mizu means “what’s up”. Here it is slang. In Japanese it means water. Things like that. It really confuses me ” (female, 38)

Despite the potential for confusion or lexical interference, most participants viewed code-switching as a normal, even positive, aspect of their multilingual lives:

[96] “No, not a problem, actually, it’s fun. You know those jokes, when you try to speak two languages and can’t remember either one? That happens sometimes. Sometimes I even recall a word from an unrelated language. Some words just get stuck in your brain that way. It’s not a problem for me” (female, 38).

4.3.8. Perceptions of Attrition

While code-switching represents a dynamic and functionally integrated communicative resource, extended residence in an L2 environment can simultaneously influence native language availability. Research in sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics shows that code-switching and first-language attrition are separate processes. For example, when bilinguals switch between languages, it reflects their multilingual skills, not a loss of their first language (Yilmaz & Schmid, 2017). Conversely, perceived attrition typically stems from prolonged shifts in language use, reduced input, and domain-specific specialization in the host environment (Schmid & Köpke, 2004). Parallel to their flexible code-switching practices, several participants expressed concerns about a gradual decline in their Turkish language proficiency, most notably in relation to vocabulary breadth and ease of expression. This decline was commonly attributed to reduced opportunities for regular use, particularly in social and professional contexts dominated by Hungarian or English. The phenomenon of language attrition, especially lexical loss, was a recurring theme, with participants describing both conscious and unconscious shifts in their linguistic repertoire. During the interview, several participants expressed concerns about a gradual decline in their Turkish language proficiency, most notably in relation to vocabulary breadth and ease of expression. Rather than stemming from language mixing, this decline was commonly attributed to reduced opportunities for regular use, particularly in social and professional contexts dominated by Hungarian or English. The phenomenon of language attrition, especially lexical loss, was a recurring theme, with participants describing both conscious and unconscious shifts in their linguistic repertoire.
As one participant reflected:

[97] “I am really starting to have a lot of deficiencies in speaking the Turkish language. I mean I have about a 20% loss, forgetting things, not being able to pronounce them, or pronouncing them incorrectly. These are happening, they have happened. This is a deficiency. Especially in someone like me who has received education, when this happens, in other cases the situation is even more.” (male, 70, residining in Hungary for 21 years).

Another participant described unintended lexical intrusions of Hungarian into Turkish discourse:

[98] “Turkish is pushed into the back because I do not use it. Even in Turkey while talking to my mother, sometimes things go out of my mouth in Hungarian without any intention. Sometimes the Turkish equivalent of a word doesn’t come to my mind. Then I use Hungarian words with my Turkish friend” (male, 49, residing in Hungary for 19 years).

The unconscious nature of these shifts was repeated by others:

[99]“Yes, exactly. It happens without me realizing, I don’t notice in the moment, but then I realize I said something in Hungarian. When we go to Turkey, sometimes I can’t remember, I think, ‘What was that again?’ and neither Turkish nor Kurdish comes to mind ”

When asked directly about shifts in proficiency, participants linked vocabulary loss to personal acculturation choices, domestic language dynamics, and deliberate immersion in the host society:

[100] “Yes, a lot. And I think it’s my fault. Not just because I live here. I think it’s because my spouse is Hungarian, his family is Hungarian, and I love Hungarian a lot. I listen to and watch the news in Hungarian. To put it this way: the things I wanted to read in Turkish, I started reading or listening in Hungarian or English deliberately. Not in Turkish. That’s why I think my Turkish declined. Because I reduced its presence in my life intentionally. I did it consciously because I wanted to improve Hungarian and English. If I didn’t listen to Hungarian news, I would never learn that formal register. I forced myself to do it. But as a result, my Turkish regressed unfortunately. Also because I don’t have many Turkish friends here” (female, 36, residing in Hungary for 21 years).

These narratives demonstrate that perceived L1 attrition is closely tied to communicative disuse, emotional ambivalence, and integration into Hungarian-dominant networks. Conversely, other participants framed temporary retrieval difficulties as natural, short-term fluctuations easily reversed by transnational contact:

[101] “I don’t think so because we are not people who have been here for very long, as a community, I mean. Turkey is close, everyone earns good money here, constantly going back and forth; we’re not like the Turks in other parts of Europe who visit only once a year. And as I said, almost everyone came here in the late ’90s or early 2000s. After that age, your Turkish

doesn't really get affected, you just have some language loss, that's all, and that's normal. Spend a week in Turkey, and it gets better again" (male, 59, residing in Hungary for 31 years).

.4.4. Factors influencing language ideologies and practices

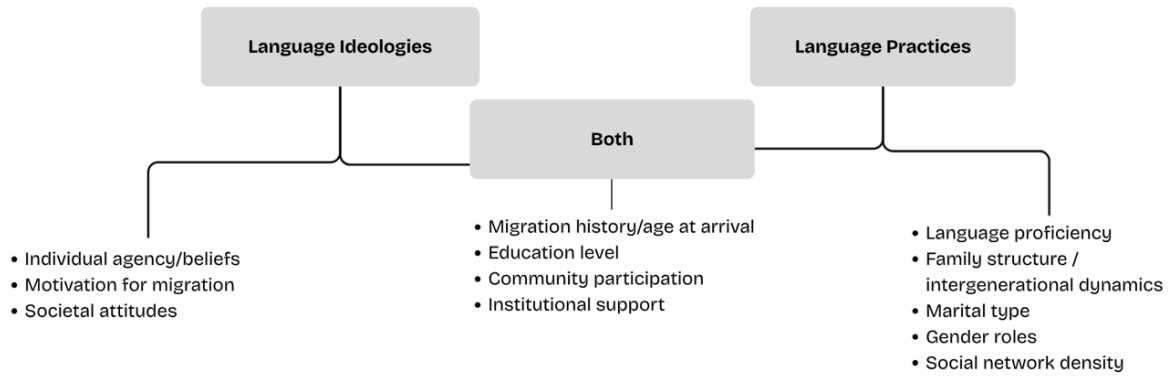
The language ideologies and practices of first-generation Turkish migrants in Hungary are shaped by a dynamic and interrelated set of personal, familial, social, and structural factors. Rather than operating in isolation, these influences interact in complex ways to shape both individual beliefs about language and observable patterns of language use across domains. Personal and biographical factors play a foundational role. Migration history and age at arrival are particularly consequential, as individuals who migrated to Hungary at a younger age or primarily for educational opportunities often develop higher proficiency in Hungarian and adopt a more pragmatic, adaptive approach to language choice. In contrast, those who migrated later in life, especially for marriage or family reasons, tend to maintain deeper emotional and identity-based attachments to Turkish. Language repertoire and proficiency further condition these patterns, with comfort and skill in Turkish, Hungarian, and other languages directly influencing language selection in daily life. For instance, high Hungarian proficiency facilitates engagement in professional and public spheres, while stronger Turkish skills support the maintenance of heritage language practices within the home. Individual agency and language-related beliefs, such as linguistic pride, positive attitudes toward multilingualism, or pragmatic acceptance of language shift, inform everyday decisions about which language to use, when, and with whom, and mediate the perceived value of heritage versus host languages.

Demographic and family factors are equally influential. Gender roles mediate both the transmission and the domain-specific use of language. Women, particularly those in endogamous marriages, are frequently primary agents of Turkish language maintenance in the home environment, whereas men may more readily adopt Hungarian for public or work-related communication. Marital type further differentiates linguistic outcomes; endogamous marriages tend to support Turkish use at home, while exogamous marriages often lead to a shift toward Hungarian, especially in interactions with children. Family structure and intergenerational dynamics, including the presence and ages of children and the language backgrounds of other household members, shape the prioritization of Turkish and the specific strategies employed to maintain it. Education level also exerts a significant effect, as higher educational attainment, especially in international or Hungarian institutions, is associated with greater use of Hungarian

or English in academic and professional settings and may foster more positive attitudes toward multilingualism and language adaptation. Social and community factors further contextualize language ideology and practice. The density and cohesion of Turkish social networks facilitate opportunities to use Turkish outside the home, thereby reinforcing heritage language maintenance. Conversely, weaker community ties and higher rates of intermarriage often necessitate greater reliance on Hungarian in social settings. Active participation in Turkish cultural events, religious gatherings, and community organizations strengthens heritage language ideologies, providing regular and meaningful contexts for Turkish language use.

Institutional and structural factors are also central to understanding language maintenance and shift. The absence of formal recognition for Turkish as a minority language in Hungary, limited access to Turkish-language education, and the scarcity of Turkish media collectively diminish structural incentives and opportunities for heritage language maintenance, thereby placing a greater burden on family and individual initiatives. Societal attitudes toward minorities, the inclusivity of public institutions, and the absence or presence of linguistic discrimination shape migrants' willingness to use Turkish in public settings and influence perceptions of the coexistence and compatibility of Turkish and Hungarian. Moreover, prevailing language ideologies in Hungarian society, regarding the value of Hungarian, the utility of English, and the perceived status of Turkish, directly inform both language attitudes and actual practices among migrants. The factors influencing language ideologies and practices among first-generation Turkish immigrants in Hungary, as discussed above, are summarized in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Factors Influencing Language Ideologies and Practices among First-Generation Turkish Immigrants in Hungary



4.5. Intergenarational language transmission

This section examines parental perceptions of intergenerational language transmission among Turkish-origin families in Hungary. While research often analyzes these processes through the broader lens of Family Language Policy (FLP), encompassing the dynamic interplay of parental ideology, language management, and observed practices (Lanza & Lomeu Gomes, 2020), the scope of this analysis is focused specifically on the transmission of Turkish and the linguistic outcomes reported by parents. Particular attention is paid to the intersection of family structure (endogamous versus exogamous), schooling environments (Hungarian-medium versus English-medium), and parental language ideologies in shaping reported child multilingualism. Methodologically, the empirical evidence discussed here is drawn exclusively from in-depth interviews with first-generation Turkish immigrant parents. The linguistic practices, proficiencies, and peer interactions of the children were not directly observed or tested; rather, they are presented through parental self-reports and retrospective accounts. Consequently, these findings capture first-generation parents' ideological commitments, management efforts, and interpretations of their children's language development within the Hungarian migration context, rather than child agency or negotiated family dynamics in their entirety (cf. Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020)

The findings reveal that the combination of family structure, institutional schooling, and parental language ideologies decisively influences reported patterns of language maintenance and shift. In endogamous households, where both parents are of Turkish background, Turkish is typically designated as the primary home language. Parents in these families express a strong commitment to transmitting Turkish as an essential anchor of cultural continuity and heritage identity. However, this commitment faces practical challenges when children attend international or English-medium schools. In these environments, children acquire high levels of proficiency in English and predominantly socialize in that language, while their exposure to Hungarian remains minimal or functionally non-existent. Parents recognized this native-like English fluency but maintained a distinction between instrumental fluency and heritage identity. Furthermore, the dominance of English in educational domains frequently led to code-mixing at home and placed pressure on Turkish maintenance. One mother described this dynamic by noting, “They never learned Hungarian. And now they mix up their Turkish with English as well” (female, 42, married to a Turkish husband). This observation is repeated by

others who report that, despite efforts to maintain Turkish at home, the dominance of English in the school environment leads to code-mixing and gradual weakening of Turkish proficiency.

Importantly, a parallel dynamic is observed among children who attend Hungarian schools and whose social networks are predominantly Hungarian-speaking. In these cases, children develop native-level proficiency in Hungarian, with both parents and children themselves often describing Hungarian as an additional mother tongue. Families broadly accept this outcome, acknowledging that school environment and peer interaction play a critical role in shaping linguistic repertoires. Parents reported that, despite their efforts to maintain Turkish at home, the dominance of Hungarian in the child's educational and social life leads to native-like proficiency in Hungarian and a tendency to treat it as a core language of identity.

To counteract the gradual displacement of the heritage tongue in endogamous households, some parents, in the endogamous households, implement deliberate language management strategies based on functional compartmentalization:She explained:

[102] "At home, we always spoke Turkish. Later, she attended an American school but still chose to speak Turkish at home and kept languages separate by context from a young age" (female, 58, married to a Turkish husband).

In exogamous families, where one parent is of non-Turkish [typically Hungarian] origin, Hungarian generally predominates as the primary language of both the home and school domains. This dynamic often results in more restricted Turkish proficiency among children and, in some cases, limited motivation to use the heritage language. One father reflected on this outcome:

[103] "As a father, I always wanted my kids to know Turkish, but their mother didn't want them to learn it. At home, we spoke Hungarian, and because of that, they couldn't even communicate with my parents." (male, 72, married to a Hungarian wife).

Nevertheless, some parents in exogamous households undertake active efforts to preserve Turkish. These efforts may include speaking Turkish exclusively at home, providing Turkish-language media, or integrating Turkish through music, storytelling, and play. One parent described the partial success of such strategies:

[104] “He understands and responds well to Turkish, despite hearing mostly Hungarian, like 80-90%, at home and in programs. For now, I support Turkish through music, speaking, and play, but will take action if his skills decline (female, 32, married to a Hungarian husband)”

These accounts show that even within linguistically mixed households, deliberate parental management strategies can foster receptive competence and sustain positive affective orientations toward the heritage language.

Parental language ideologies further mediate these educational pathways. In many endogamous families, Turkish is explicitly valued as an essential symbol of identity, heritage, and cultural belonging. However, pragmatic considerations also play a decisive role. The historical absence of Turkish-language schooling in Hungary posed a significant challenge for the earliest cohort of Turkish immigrants. Lacking institutional support for heritage language education, parents faced limited options and were compelled to choose between enrolling their children in Hungarian state schools or, less commonly, international (primarily English-medium) schools, which were scarce at the time. As a result, most early immigrant families opted for Hungarian schooling, while only a small minority chose international education.

In recent years, the educational landscape shifted with the establishment of the Turkish Maarif Foundation Hungarian-English Bilingual Primary and Secondary School (as detailed in Section 2.6). Despite this new institutional option, which offers Turkish as a supplementary subject, none of the recent immigrant families in this study chose to enroll their children there. Rather than viewing the school as a primary vehicle for heritage language maintenance, parents based their educational decisions on pragmatic considerations regarding long-term settlement, local integration, and global mobility.

Nevertheless, for the majority of Turkish immigrant families, both earlier and more recent arrivals, decisions about school enrollment continue to reflect a pragmatic assessment of language utility, integration prospects, and available resources. For some endogamous families , uncertainty about the long-term value of Hungarian, especially when future settlement plans remain unclear, has motivated enrollment in English-medium international schools. As one mother explained:

[105] “The downside is that they don't know Hungarian at all. Yes. Since we came here temporarily, we enrolled them in English schools, thinking we’d return in two years. Learning English will be better. But we decided to stay, and they continued in English” (female, 42, married to a Turkish Husband).

This reflects a future-oriented, instrumental approach to language education, in which English is favored for its perceived global mobility and opportunity, even when it comes at the expense of Hungarian proficiency.

In contrast, exogamous families frequently prioritize Hungarian schooling. This choice is motivated by a desire to support children's integration into the host society, facilitate daily communication, and ensure future access to both social and professional domains in Hungary. Parents in this group often emphasized the practical necessity of Hungarian by stating, [106] "Reminding you that the language here is Hungarian." This highlights how parental ideologies and anticipated life trajectories inform educational decisions and language management strategies.

A recurring challenge reported by parents across family types concerns children's difficulties with Turkish writing and vocabulary. This is commonly attributed to limited reading in Turkish and the lack of formal instruction in the language. One mother remarked:

[107] "His spoken Turkish is not bad, but he's not confident with written Turkish. He finished 4th grade when he came here, and he's still not sure about his writing skills" (female,41, married to a Hungarian husband).

Another parent noted that gaps in vocabulary often lead to code-switching or borrowing from dominant languages: [108] "So, just as we use certain words, they know only those too. Therefore, they do code-switching." These comments display differential acquisition across registers, particularly in literacy and academic domains, even while everyday conversational competence is successfully maintained. In addition, several parents explained that their children frequently showed limited motivation to speak Turkish, despite possessing full receptive comprehension. Parents reported that children frequently prefer to respond in Hungarian, which many now consider their native language, rather than in Turkish. This pattern was also apparent during interviews, where unplanned family interactions revealed that children would typically reply in Hungarian or provide only minimal responses in Turkish before shifting back to Hungarian. Such tendencies reflect the strong influence of the Hungarian school and peer environment, and illustrate the gradual decline of Turkish as an active language of communication within the home.

4.6. Identity construction

This section examines the processes and patterns of identity construction among first-generation Turkish immigrants in Hungary, focusing specifically on ethnic identity and its relationship to heritage language maintenance, family structure, and social context. The analysis draws on Spolsky's (2004) language policy framework alongside contemporary theories that conceptualize identity as dynamic, negotiated, and context-dependent (Piller, 2002; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). In sociolinguistic scholarship, ethnolinguistic identity is understood not as a static, essentialized trait, but as a situationally contingent construct involving shifting forms of belonging and self-presentation across communicative domains (Fishman, 1989; Clément & Noels, 1992; Edwards, 2009).

Rather than relying on direct, decontextualized questions such as "How do you identify?" or "Where do you feel you belong?", identity positions were inferred through qualitative analysis of participants' narratives, language choices, and reported everyday practices. This approach foregrounds how ethnic identity is discursively negotiated and performed, as well as how it is shaped by broader socio-structural conditions. Following Benwell and Stokoe (2006), the analysis attends to how social categories and ethnic positions are actively claimed, resisted, or negotiated by speakers themselves rather than presupposed a priori. The analytical framework engages with several established constructs in migration linguistics, including self-identification, subjective belonging, commitment to the heritage group, shared cultural values, ascribed versus subscribed identities, acculturative orientation, and intergenerational shifts. These constructs are treated not as discrete variables, but as mutually constitutive themes emerging across participants' accounts.

Participants consistently positioned Turkish as the central marker of their ethnic identity. The heritage language was articulated as much more than a functional communicative tool: it served as an essential symbolic resource indexing cultural continuity, ancestral belonging, and emotional attachment. This ethnolinguistic connection was particularly pronounced in domains associated with intimacy and affect, including family interaction, child-rearing, and emotional communication:

[109] "Turkish with our families and without any accent. This has always been non-negotiable for me." (female, 58, married to a Turkish husband).

This strong attachment was particularly evident in endogamous families, where Turkish language use in the home was often described as non-negotiable. At the same time, participants described their identities as layered and highly situational. While Turkish identity remained central, many reported feeling "Hungarian" in specific contexts, especially public, professional, or institutional settings. This often resulted in the coexistence of multiple, sometimes conflicting, identity positions. The management of these dual or hybrid identities was closely tied to language use in everyday life, with participants shifting between Turkish and Hungarian depending on context and interlocutor. For many, being able to navigate both cultural spaces was not seen as compromising their core identity, but as a pragmatic and dynamic adaptation to situational demands. For example, one participant reflected:

[110] "I feel completely like I belong here… I even feel kind of half Hungarian… But still, at the end of the day… I'm Turkish after all"(female, 36 married to a Hungarian husband).

Accounts like this show the fluidity of identity construction, supporting Clement & Noels' (1992) claim that individuals can maintain a sense of belonging in two cultures without compromising their core identity.

Family structure and gender further mediated these trajectories. In endogamous families, language was consistently foregrounded as an indispensable prerequisite of ethnic identity. In contrast, within exogamous households, Turkish fathers frequently emphasized cultural practices and historical values over linguistic fluency, whereas Turkish mothers framed active heritage language use as vital to authentic Turkish identity. Parents in both groups observed that while they privileged Turkish identity for themselves, their children's affiliations were more complex, often displaying a stronger orientation toward Hungarian society

[111] "But in practice, that's difficult, because honestly, the children automatically become Hungarian. They automatically spend most of their time with Hungarians. It's very hard to reverse that now" (female, 45, married to a Turkish husband)

Language proficiency, especially in Hungarian, was closely linked to participants' sense of belonging and integration. Higher levels of Hungarian proficiency were generally associated with stronger identification with Hungarian society, described by some as moments of "feeling Hungarian" (e.g., spontaneous emotional reactions in Hungarian or explaning yourself better in Hungarian). One participant noted:

[112] “I speak Hungarian better than Turkish. No one hears a foreign accent from me” (male, 58, married to a Hungarian wife).

However, this was not a uniform trend; some participants maintained strong Turkish affiliations and limited engagement with Hungarian despite long-term residence, suggesting that language acquisition is shaped by social orientation and identity motivations as much as by exposure or time. Accent was also a salient marker of social alignment. Speaking Hungarian without an accent was frequently associated with fuller integration into Hungarian society, whereas maintaining a noticeable accent signaled continued identification with Turkishness. As one participant put it:

[113]” I wouldn’t really care. I don’t bother with it, because there’s no need. I’m Turkish, this is my accent. This is how I’ll speak. Right. It wouldn’t suit me to speak like a Hungarian” (male, 57, married to a Hungarian wife).

This emphasis on authenticity was accompanied by an adherence to standard "Türkiye Turkish" and resistance to host-language borrowing. Concurrently, participants distinguished between Turkish ethnic identity and religious affiliation, with several rejecting the automatic equation of Turkishness with Islam.

While participants consistently emphasized their own Turkish identity, they acknowledged that identity is not simply inherited but actively decided, especially in the context of migration and language shift. Heritage language maintenance was seen as both a boundary and a bridge. It preserved group membership, but also enabled participation in the wider society.

Finally, participants’ sense of belonging and identity was deeply affected by the degree of social acceptance they experienced in Hungary. Those who felt welcomed and respected described themselves as more integrated, while those who experienced exclusion gravitated toward Turkish identity as a source of comfort and self-worth. As one participant explained:

[114] “Hungarians are really positive toward Turks, and I have never experienced any discrimination. Communication is the same. There is a Central Asian culture here. They are the only non-European race in Europe” (male, 58, married to a Hungarian wife).

The participant's assertion that Hungarians constitute a "non-European race" with a "Central Asian culture" should be understood as a subjective reflection of perceived cultural proximity rather than an anthropologically or historically accurate claim. In terms of identity construction, the speaker invokes a perceived historical kinship to minimize cultural distance and explain his positive reception in the host country

As the he widespread sense of welcome and positive treatment by Hungarians strongly fostered both feelings of belonging and openness to adopting Hungarian practices and self-identification.

Another participant highlighted the contrast with other European contexts:

[115] “I think it’s excellent. There’s a strong friendship…It’s not like the way Turks are sometimes treated in France, the UK, or Germany” (male, 46, married to a Turkish wife).

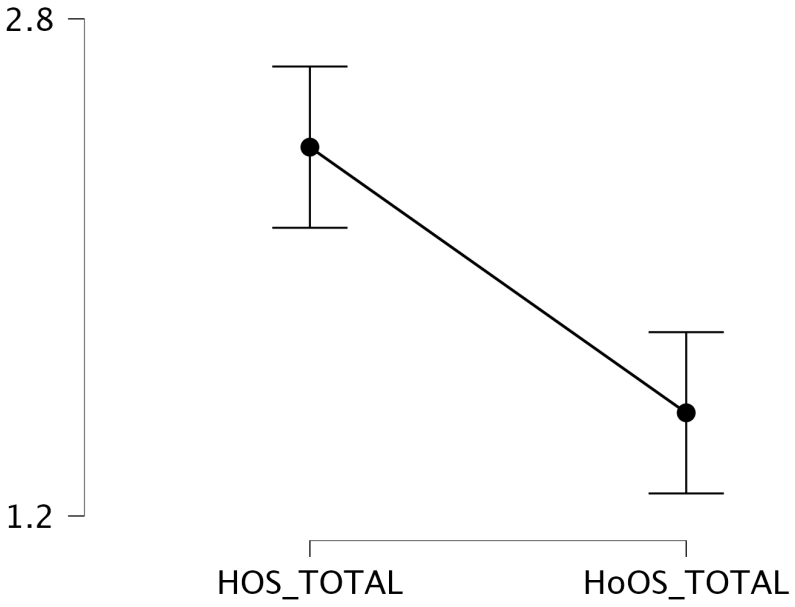
By examining participants’ narratives through these intersecting dimensions, the findings demonstrate that language serves not merely as an instrument for communicative exchange, but as the primary locus where ethnic boundaries, personal allegiances, and collective belongings are continuously negotiated in migration.

4.7. Acculturation Orientation

This section reports results from a mixed analytic approach combining descriptive quantitative analyses with a dynamic interpretation of Berry’s acculturation framework. Heritage orientation (HOS) and host orientation (HoOS) were calculated across five domains: family, literacy, media/social media, social life, and identity. Acculturation was examined both globally, using overall HOS and HoOS scores, and dynamically, by analysing domain-specific patterns. English orientation was treated as an additional explanatory dimension rather than as a core acculturation axis.

Descriptive statistics for the overall orientation indices indicate that, on average, participants demonstrated stronger heritage orientation (M = 2.39, SD = 0.71, Median = 2.40) than host orientation (M = 1.53, SD = 0.75, Median = 1.57) (see Figure 2). This suggests that, at the aggregate level, participants maintained stronger engagement with their heritage language and culture than with the host society, however within-group variability, suggests that acculturation trajectories in the sample are heterogeneous rather than uniform.

Figure 4. Difference between the aggregate HOS and HoOS



A multiple regression analysis was conducted to examine the extent to which demographic variables predicted overall heritage orientation (HOS). The full model, including length of residence, partner nationality, gender, date and place of birth, parental status, and education, explained a substantial proportion of variance in heritage orientation ($R^2 = .46$, adjusted $R^2 = .36$). The overall model was statistically significant, $F(7, 38) = 4.63$, $p < .001$.

Among the predictors, partner nationality emerged as the only significant predictor of heritage orientation. Having a Turkish partner was associated with significantly higher HOS scores ($B = 1.03$, $p < .001$), indicating stronger heritage orientation compared to participants with Hungarian partners. None of the other demographic variables, including length of residence, gender, education, or parental status, reached statistical significance/

Table 2. Acculturation strategies according to the partner's language

Contingency Tables

Acculturation strategy	Partner			Total
	Hungarian	Turkish	Single	
Assimilation	17	0	0	17
Integration	5	1	0	6
Marginalization	3	0	2	5
Separation	5	11	2	18
Total	30	12	4	46

Note: Each cell displays the observed counts

A chi-square test revealed a significant association between acculturation strategy and partner nationality, $\chi^2(6, N = 46) = 29.51$, $p < .001$. Participants with Hungarian partners were predominantly categorized as assimilated, whereas those with Turkish partners showed a strong tendency toward separation profiles (see Table 2)

Clear domain-specific acculturation patterns emerged across life domains. While Section 4.3 analyzed the linguistic repertoires and interactional mechanics within these domains, this section evaluates how participants position themselves culturally within each sphere. Applying Berry's (1997, 2005) framework at the domain level demonstrates that acculturation is not a static, uniform condition; rather, participants shift among distinct acculturative modes, depending on the private versus public demands of the setting (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2003). In the family domain, host orientation slightly exceeded heritage orientation (HoOS: M = 1.99, SD = 1.69; HOS: M = 1.67, SD = 1.65). To capture the complexity behind these family-based patterns, participants' accounts offer multifaceted perspectives on how assimilation is experienced in everyday family life. For example, one participant explained, [116] "[Hungarian is the most important]…Because my family is Hungarian, I'm married here. My children are here too" (male, 42, married to a Hungarian wife). One participant described how their social relationships influenced their orientation:

[117] I had a Hungarian girlfriend and was close with her family. My workplace was Hungarian. I would come home at night, totally immersed. Then I would realize I was starting to speak Hungarian and express myself. (male, 50, married to a Hungarian wife)

While a general orientation toward Hungarian was observed in family contexts, some participants described a more dynamic use of both languages. An illustration of this is:

[118] “Since I live here, I use Hungarian in my daily life. I speak Turkish with family and Turkish friends, but about 70-80% of my daily communication is in Hungarian” (male, 46, married to a Hungarian wife).

Although length of residence (LOR) was not a significant factor in host orientation at the group level, individual cases suggest it can play a role. For example, a participant (female, age 36, married to a Hungarian husband), who has spent most of her life in Hungary and developed strong social networks, reflected: [119] “So I feel like I grew up with Hungarians. That’s why, also my spouse is Hungarian by the way, I almost feel Hungarian myself.”

Literacy practices, by contrast, were predominantly heritage-oriented (HOS: M = 2.38, SD = 1.10; HoOS: M = 1.21, SD = 0.94) indicating strong institutional engagement combined with heritage language maintenance while many participants function successfully in Hungarian society, reading and literacy remain important spaces for the preservation of Turkish language and identity. Qualitative accounts reveal that for many, reading in Turkish is a deliberate act of heritage maintenance and emotional grounding.

Others reported a similar emphasis on maintaining Turkish literacy, which included, in particular, the use of non-printed materials and informal reading practices. As one participant noted:

[120] “Reading language… Well, I know those languages, but more often… I prefer Turkish. I look at Turkish news, Turkish books. Hungarian or English rarely” (male, 40, married to a Hungarian wife).

Media and social media practices also leaned toward heritage orientation (HOS: M = 2.11, SD = 1.21), and separation-oriented profiles were most frequent in this domain (40%),

highlighting the role of digital spaces in sustaining transnational and heritage ties. The centrality of Turkish in online interactions is evident in the following account:

[121] “Mostly Turkish. Of course, this. I have about two thousand mutual friends. About seventeen hundred. About sixty, seventy percent in Turkish of course. I also have Hungarian friends naturally. They mostly like, like, I don’t know. Birthday celebrations. Some things. Those are mostly Turkish. Generally Turkish but also Hungarian relatives. Naturally [Hungarian] for them too” (male, 52, married to a Hungarian wife).

While some participants described a flexible, multilingual approach in digital communication, Turkish was consistently prioritized as the main language for maintaining relationships with family and friends in Turkey. One participant described it

[122] “On social media, I mainly use Hungarian and Turkish, usually writing both at the same time. I write in Turkish so my friends and family in Turkey can understand” | (female, 37, married to a Hungarian husband).

In everyday social life, the pattern was reversed: host orientation was stronger than heritage orientation (HoOS: M = 2.41, SD = 0.97; HOS: M = 1.87, SD = 1.14), with integration and assimilation together accounting for over half of the profiles. This shift toward Hungarian was especially evident in participants’ descriptions of their daily routines, friendships, and professional interactions.

As Participants below recounted, Hungarian has become dominant in almost all areas of his social life:

[123] Because my work requires Hungarian. I don’t work much among Turks. Mostly my clients are Hungarian…. [daily life] Mostly in Hungarian. My friends here are Hungarian; my circle is mostly Hungarian. For example, on Facebook, for one friend’s profile, there are 10 Turks and 2-3 thousand Hungarian friends. So I focus on the Hungarian side” (male, 54, divorced, ex-wife Turkish).

The strongest divergence appeared in the identity domain. Heritage identity was consistently high and homogeneous (M = 3.88, SD = 0.39), while host-oriented identity remained low (M = 0.54, SD = 0.99). In terms of Berry’s framework, this profile represents a pronounced separation

outcome within the identity sphere, where participants almost universally retain strong heritage identification while exhibiting little to no subjective identification with the host nation. Overall, these findings show a dynamic and domain-sensitive acculturation process, characterised by selective orientation rather than uniform alignment across domains. Notably, no participants identified themselves in relation to English in any context.

The centrality of Turkish identity and heritage attachment was reflected in participants' aspirations for their children, a sentiment expressed particularly frequently by women. As one participant stated:

[124] I want my child to learn Turkish, even though I love foreign languages and even though the father is Hungarian and I speak Hungarian most of the time. I want my child to learn Turkish. Their grandparents are Turkish, after all. I want them to be able to speak with them. And I'm Turkish, so I want my child to learn Turkish. (female, 37, married to a Hungarian husband)

Turkish also remained the language in which many participants felt most able to express their emotions, humour, and nuances of meaning, continuing to shape their sense of self. As one participant noted, "I feel better in Turkish emotionally. Turkish is my mother tongue after all. Slang words in Turkish do not exist in Hungarian. When making jokes, the expressive language is wider in Turkish" (male, 58, married to a Hungarian wife).

The prominence of Turkish identity and language remained, even among those who had adapted to Hungarian culture and language, as one participant expressed as:

[125] "Sometimes speaking Hungarian is tiring. However, for example, I don't know, when I'm walking down the street and someone steps on my foot, I react in Hungarian, not Turkish, my reflexes have become Hungarian now. But still, since my native language is Turkish, and since I didn't even start learning Hungarian until I was 14, I know it will never be like my mother tongue" (female, age 36, married to a Hungarian husband).

Taken together, these domain-specific findings illustrate that acculturation among first-generation Turkish migrants in Hungary cannot be reduced to a uniform, global orientation. Rather, participants demonstrate a functional, domain-sensitive pattern. While public and institutional domains, such as workplace literacy and everyday social interaction, demand behavioral adaptation and host-language engagement, private domains, most notably media

consumption, leisure literacy, and subjective identity, remain firmly oriented toward heritage-language maintenance and separation. This dynamic compartmentalization highlights the utility of evaluating Berry's framework across distinct interactional spheres rather than treating acculturation as a single, unidimensional trait.

5. Discussion

Integrating all the empirical findings above with relevant theoretical frameworks provides a deeper understanding of language ideologies, daily practices, and identity construction among first-generation Turkish migrants in Hungary. In addressing the research questions, the following discussion interprets these empirical patterns in dialogue with existing literature. Specifically, this analysis examines how migrants' language ideologies shape communicative choices, how macro- and micro-level factors, such as partnership configuration and institutional demands, influence linguistic practices, and how private heritage preservation coexists with public adaptation within the Hungarian host context.

Before discussing the participants' language ideologies directly, it is important to consider the broader context of their lives in Hungary, as their experiences of migration, settlement, work, family life, and social interaction shape how they understand and value different languages. The participants' views on Turkish, Hungarian, and other languages did not emerge in isolation; rather, they were closely connected to their everyday experiences as first-generation migrants. Participants repeatedly emphasize that life in Hungary is peaceful, calm, and emotionally satisfying, often describing the country as a place where they "feel comfortable" and "live without tension." Unlike earlier Turkish migration flows to Western European countries, which were largely shaped by economic pull factors, labor recruitment programs, and expectations of financial advancement (Akgündüz, 2008; Abadan-Unat, 2011), the first-generation Turkish migrants in Hungary stress that their reasons for migrating were not economic. Instead, they highlight motivations tied to safety, stability, and the desire for a quieter life. In the same vein, participants consistently portray Hungarians as a socially welcoming and relatively depoliticized for Turkish migrants, especially when contrasted with Western Europe. At the time of their migration and initial integration, Hungary's social and political climate was not yet politicized around immigration, similarly, learning Hungarian was not yet a legal requirement for residency or integration, but rather a social necessity shaped by the largely monolingual character of the society. This discourse enables Turkish migrants in Hungary to engage with the host society primarily through personal and relational interactions, rather than adopting the defensive cultural postures often documented in larger, more visible Turkish diasporas. Unlike Turkish immigrants in France, Germany, and the Netherlands, the Turkish migrants in this study did not report living in a concentrated Turkish neighbourhood or forming a strong community-based settlement in Hungary. Previous studies show that Turkish migrants in other European contexts often use Turkish not only at home but also in

neighbourhoods, mosques, and community networks with other Turkish speakers (Yağmur & Akıncı, 2003). However, the participants in Hungary stated that they preferred to live among Hungarians and build everyday relations with them, rather than creating a separate Turkish enclave. Unlike other minority groups that form self-contained local enclaves and position themselves as distinct communities within urban spaces (Lazëri, 2023), Turkish migrants in Hungary generally integrate into the broader society.

Within this context, the first research question asked: What are the language ideologies of first-generation Turkish speakers living in Hungary? The findings suggest that participants' language ideologies were shaped by a combination of practical, emotional, and identity-related considerations. Instead of focusing only on Turkish and Hungarian, participants also valued English as an important third language for work, study, and international mobility. Each language served a different purpose: Turkish was tied to family and heritage, Hungarian was used for daily life in Hungary, and English was seen as a tool for career and global communication. This supports Spolsky's (2004) idea that language beliefs depend heavily on social context and the specific value speakers give to each language. Across all demographic groups, participants showed a strong emotional and symbolic attachment to Turkish, linking it to identity, cultural continuity, and belonging. This supports the idea of language as pride, where language functions as a marker of identity and group membership (Duchêne & Heller, 2012), and aligns with findings on the role of heritage language in identity formation among Turkish diaspora communities (Extra et al., 2004; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012). Hungarian, in contrast, was primarily valued for its practical role in daily life, including work, schooling, official institutions, and communication with the host society, serving largely as the language of utility and local belonging. Regarding the second research question, which examined the extralinguistic factors shaping participants' language ideologies, the findings reveal a multifaceted interplay of personal, social, and structural dimensions. At the individual level, agency and migration trajectories played a decisive role, as participants' initial motivations and lived experiences guided their linguistic investments. Perceived societal receptivity in Hungary further fostered pragmatic and open linguistic orientations, contrasting sharply with contexts marked by overt assimilationist pressures. As Lambert et al. (2013) observe, constructive intergroup relations between minority and host populations cultivate a foundational sense of psychological security and belonging. Furthermore, demographic variables, specifically age at arrival and length of residence, structured linguistic self-efficacy, with earlier arrivals reporting greater ease in Hungarian. Linguistic attitudes were also heavily shaped by educational attainment; consistent with empirical evidence documented by Altınkamış and Ağırdağ (2014)

among Turkish diaspora families, higher levels of formal education fostered markedly favorable stances toward multilingual development, active heritage language transmission, and broader socio-economic integration. Finally, the relative scarcity of institutional support in Hungary heightened the reliance on informal community ties, fundamentally dictating how participants balanced heritage language maintenance against majority language acquisition. Finally, the relative scarcity of institutional support in Hungary heightened the reliance on informal community ties, fundamentally dictating how participants balanced heritage language maintenance against majority language acquisition.

To answer the third research question regarding the underlying language beliefs and ideologies behind different types of language socialization practices in families with a Turkish background, the findings suggest that parental practices are shaped by a dynamic negotiation among three orientations; an affective-symbolic ideology of heritage continuity, a pragmatic-integrative ideology prioritizing local inclusion, and an instrumental-utilitarian ideology centered on global mobility (see Spolsky, 2004). These orientations resonate with previous research on family language policy, which demonstrates that parents' language decisions are shaped by competing values associated with heritage-language maintenance, integration into the wider society, and the perceived economic and educational value of particular languages (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2014). In endogamous households, a strong affective-symbolic ideology positions Turkish as an essential foundation for cultural identity, emotional intimacy, and intergenerational continuity. In exogamous households, by contrast, this symbolic commitment must compete directly with a pragmatic-integrative ideology that recognizes Hungarian as the necessary linguistic currency for domestic cohesion and host-society belonging. This results in deliberate dyadic management, where Turkish-speaking parents, particularly mothers in the present sample (see Ehrlich, 1997), attempt one-parent-one-language strategies, yet routinely accommodate their children’s emerging Hungarian dominance and receptive bilingualism to preserve communicative ease. Tensions between these belief systems are most evident in decisions about formal education. Parents uniformly do not opt for the Turkish Maarif Foundation school, an international school initiated by Turkey, demonstrating that heritage language maintenance is viewed primarily as a private, family responsibility. Instead, school choices are guided by parents’ socioeconomic considerations of linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). This pattern illustrates the interaction between family-level language management and external institutional contexts described in research on family language policy (Stavans, 2012). Among endogamous families, some parents initially selected English-medium international schools because they anticipated the possibility of future

migration. Although many families subsequently settled in Hungary, the children's exposure to Hungarian remained relatively limited in these cases. English dominance, in turn, frequently contributed to code-mixing in the home and placed additional pressure on Turkish as the heritage language. Nevertheless, parents distinguished between the instrumental value of English proficiency and the symbolic significance of Turkish as a marker of heritage and identity. Hungarian, meanwhile, was accorded little priority in these households, viewed neither as an immediate instrumental asset nor as a vehicle for cultural belonging. In contrast, exogamous families consistently selected Hungarian state schools from the outset, reflecting a stronger orientation toward local integration and their children's adaptation and educational participation within Hungarian society.

Building on these ideological foundations, the fourth research question examined the extent to which marital configuration (endogamous versus exogamous) contributes to language maintenance or shift. The findings indicate that, although the home domain constitutes the primary arena for linguistic negotiation among first-generation Turkish migrants in Hungary, language practices within this domain vary substantially according to household composition and marital configuration. For individuals living alone, language practices are notably flexible and individualized, shaped more by external social and professional networks than by the home environment itself. This contrasts with shared households, where language practices are more closely structured by marital configuration. In endogamous households, shared linguistic and cultural backgrounds create a relatively insulated linguistic environment that supports heritage-language maintenance. Among couples without children, Turkish is consistently maintained as the primary language of communication, grounded in shared linguistic background, communicative ease, and a common orientation toward maintaining cultural ties. Such couples rarely need to negotiate language choice explicitly, as Turkish naturally functions as the default household language. This pattern is consistent with research in France, where Yağmur and Akinci (2003) found that in-group marriage among Turkish migrants was closely associated with the maintenance of Turkish as the primary home language.

In endogamous households with children, however, parents' commitment to maintaining Turkish encounters practical obstacles introduced by institutional schooling. Studies on family language policy have shown that the medium of instruction and the peer environment at school exert a critical influence on children's language dominance, frequently outweighing parental efforts to preserve the home language (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2014; Spolsky, 2004). In the Hungarian context, this dynamic varies according to educational pathway: for children enrolled in local state schools, Hungarian rapidly becomes the dominant language, leading to clear

communicative shifts away from Turkish; conversely, for children attending international schools, English becomes the primary medium of socialization.

In exogamous households, by contrast, out-group marriage constitutes an important structural condition shaping language shift toward the host language. Hungarian consistently occupies a dominant position not only in interactions between spouses but also across the wider social environment associated with the Hungarian-speaking partner, including relatives, friends, extended family, and media. English may additionally function as a pragmatic auxiliary language when Hungarian proficiency is limited. Within the household, Hungarian consequently extends beyond spousal communication into broader family interaction. Turkish-speaking fathers also observed that, despite their continued use of Turkish with their children, the Hungarian-speaking mother's language gradually became dominant in the family environment. This finding is consistent with research on Turkish heritage families in Belgium, where family composition resulting from different marriage patterns has been shown to shape the linguistic resources available for family language policy and heritage-language maintenance (Altınkamış, 2022). As a result, children often showed limited motivation to speak Turkish and strongly preferred Hungarian, frequently displaying receptive bilingualism: they understood Turkish but consistently responded in Hungarian.

The findings for the fifth research question indicate that participants' language ideologies were not translated into a single, consistent pattern of language choice. Rather, language practices were strongly differentiated across home, as explained before, social, professional, emotional, literacy, and digital domains. This domain-specificity suggests that participants did not simply move along a continuum from Turkish maintenance to Hungarian language shift. Instead, they assigned different functions and meanings to Turkish, Hungarian, and English according to the interlocutor, communicative purpose, social network, and institutional context. Such differentiation is consistent with research on Turkish migrant communities in other European contexts, where language maintenance and shift have likewise been shown to depend on the interaction between individual preferences, social networks, community structures, and the linguistic environment of the receiving society (Yağmur & Akinci, 2003; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012).

The importance of social networks is particularly evident in the present findings. Participants whose everyday relationships were predominantly embedded in Hungarian-speaking networks generally used Hungarian as their principal language of social interaction, whereas those who maintained Turkish-speaking friendships, family connections, or links with more recent Turkish migrants had greater opportunities to use Turkish. English also appeared in some

participants' social practices, particularly among relatively recent arrivals and those with more limited Hungarian proficiency, for whom English provided an additional means of participating in social interactions before they became more confident in Hungarian. Nevertheless, English remained secondary to Hungarian in the broader social domain, and participants' accounts indicate that increasing familiarity with the local environment generally involved a shift toward greater use of Hungarian. This pattern supports network-based approaches to language maintenance, which emphasize the role of social ties and interactional density in sustaining minority-language use (Gal, 1979; Milroy & Milroy, 1992). The findings also correspond with observations from Turkish communities elsewhere in Europe. In France, for example, Yağmur and Akinci (2003) found that Turkish use was particularly sustained within domestic settings and Turkish-speaking neighbourhood networks, while community organizations and Turkish-language media provided additional resources for language maintenance. This comparison is relevant to the Hungarian case because it highlights that maintaining Turkish depends not only on individual commitment but also on the availability of social networks and resources through which Turkish can be used. At the same time, the Hungarian context appears to differ from some more established Turkish settlement environments in Western Europe. Turkish migrant communities in countries such as France, Germany, and the Netherlands have developed relatively established social and institutional networks, including Turkish-speaking neighbourhoods, community organizations, and access to Turkish-language media, although the availability and effects of these resources vary across national contexts (Yağmur, 2009; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012). Such differences in the receiving-country context are important for understanding the opportunities available for sustained Turkish use. In the Hungarian context, participants' accounts suggest fewer opportunities for Turkish interaction within their immediate local social environments. Consequently, Turkish appears to be more dependent on family relationships, transnational connections, and digitally mediated communication, whereas Hungarian occupies a much broader position in participants' everyday local social networks.

The workplace provides a particularly clear example of this distinction between ideological attachment and practical language choice. Hungarian was generally dominant in locally oriented occupations and in interactions with Hungarian-speaking colleagues, customers, and institutions. English, however, provided an alternative in international and corporate environments and was particularly important for some participants during the earlier stages of settlement.. In this respect, the workplace represents a domain in which the pragmatic and integrative dimensions of participants' multilingualism became particularly visible. English did

not necessarily replace Hungarian or Turkish; rather, it again functioned as an additional resource that enabled participation in international environments where Hungarian proficiency was initially limited. This pattern is broadly consistent with research on Turkish immigrants in Western Europe, which identifies proficiency and use of the host-country language as important dimensions of socio-cultural integration and shows variation across national contexts (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2010). At the same time, the present findings extend this perspective by illustrating how English can operate alongside the host-country language as an additional resource in internationally oriented workplaces. Thus, rather than representing a straightforward shift from Turkish to Hungarian, workplace multilingualism in the Hungarian context reflects the functional allocation of linguistic resources according to occupational setting, interlocutor, and communicative requirements (Piller, 2016).

The contrast between workplace language and emotional language is particularly informative. Although Hungarian was frequently necessary for participation in local professional and social life, Turkish retained a strong affective significance for most participants. Participants commonly associated Turkish with instinctive reactions, intimate emotions, affection, frustration, humour, and culturally familiar forms of expression. Even participants who were highly confident in Hungarian sometimes described Turkish emotional expression as more natural or personally meaningful. This finding is consistent with research in bilingualism suggesting that a first language acquired through early socialization may retain particular affective significance, although the extent of this relationship varies across individuals and experiences (Pavlenko, 2005; Dewaele, 2010). Psycholinguistic evidence provides further support for this possibility. Harris, Ayçiçegi, and Gleason (2003), for example, found stronger physiological responses to emotional words, reprimands, and taboo expressions presented in Turkish than to their English equivalents among Turkish-English bilinguals. These findings provide a useful perspective for interpreting the present participants' accounts, particularly their perception that Turkish could remain more immediate or personally meaningful for emotional expression despite high confidence in Hungarian. This pattern also has parallels in research on Turkish migrants in France. Yağmur and Akinci (2003), for example, identified differences in language use and choice across generations and communicative contexts, highlighting the context-sensitive nature of Turkish language maintenance. The present findings extend this perspective by showing that, among first-generation migrants in Hungary, the affective significance of Turkish can remain strong even when participants' everyday social and professional environments are predominantly Hungarian-speaking. Turkish therefore functions not only as a means of communication but

also as an important linguistic resource through which participants maintain connections to personal experience, cultural belonging, and identity.

The distinction between practical language use and continued access to Turkish is also evident in participants' literacy and media practices. Although Hungarian increasingly dominated many face-to-face interactions, Turkish remained present through reading, television, social media, online content, and digitally mediated communication. Participants referred to Turkish-language books, newspapers, television programmes, online videos, and communication with family and friends in Turkey. These practices indicate that language use cannot be understood solely in terms of face-to-face interaction: Turkish remained part of participants' everyday linguistic repertoires even when opportunities to use it locally were more limited. This finding is consistent with research on Turkish migrant communities in Europe, where Turkish-language media and transnational connections have been identified as resources for continued engagement with the heritage language (Yağmur & Akinci, 2003; Yağmur et al., 2009). At the same time, recent research on Turkish-Dutch populations suggests that language and media use are themselves adaptable domains of acculturation and vary across generations and social contexts (Akpinar et al., 2025). The present findings similarly suggest that Turkish media use did not constitute an alternative to participation in Hungarian society; rather, it provided an additional context in which Turkish remained accessible and meaningful.

Participants' digital communication further depicts the context-sensitive nature of their multilingual practices. Turkish was particularly prominent when participants communicated with relatives and friends in Türkiye or within Turkish-speaking personal networks, whereas Hungarian was more common in local or linguistically mixed digital environments. English also appeared in interactions involving particular interlocutors or communicative settings. Thus, participants did not appear to follow a fixed preference for one language across digital communication. Instead, language choice was shaped by audience, communicative purpose, and the linguistic resources available within a particular interaction.

Participants' regular movement between Turkish, Hungarian, and English shows further evidence of this flexible organization of multilingual resources. Code-switching generally occurred in relation to interlocutor, topic, communicative purpose, or the immediate accessibility of a particular linguistic resource. Rather than indicating inconsistency or deficient competence, such alternation can be understood as an ordinary feature of multilingual interaction, consistent with interactional approaches that emphasize the communicative and contextual functions of code-switching (Auer, 1998; Li Wei, 1998; Gardner-Chloros, 2009). At the same time, several participants reported occasional difficulty retrieving Turkish words,

which some interpreted as possible signs of first-language attrition. These accounts should be treated cautiously because the present study did not directly assess language attrition. Nevertheless, perceived changes in lexical accessibility are compatible with research linking reduced first-language exposure and prolonged immersion in another linguistic environment to changes in L1 accessibility (Köpke & Schmid, 2004; Schmid, 2011). Importantly, participants differed in how they interpreted these experiences: while some expressed concern about losing aspects of their Turkish, others regarded continued contact with Turkish-speaking relatives, Turkish-language media, and visits to Türkiye as sufficient to maintain the language. Taken together, these observations reinforce the central finding of RQ5: participants' multilingual practices were not organized around a simple replacement of Turkish by Hungarian, but involved the flexible allocation of different linguistic resources according to domain, interlocutor, communicative purpose, and social context.

Beyond micro-level family dynamics, these linguistic practices can also be understood in relation to broader patterns of socio-cultural adaptation. Acculturation therefore provides a broader framework for interpreting the linguistic choices discussed above. In this regard, the sixth research question asked: Which acculturation strategies (assimilation, integration, separation, marginalization) characterize first-generation Turkish immigrants in Hungary at a global level? Drawing on Berry's (1997, 2005) model, the findings predominantly indicate an integration orientation**.** Participants generally maintained strong attachments to Turkish language, culture, and identity while simultaneously developing functional relationships with Hungarian society and participating in Hungarian social and institutional life. Thus, the findings do not suggest a straightforward movement from heritage-language maintenance toward assimilation. Rather, participants were able to retain important elements of their Turkish identity while adapting linguistically and socially to the Hungarian environment. There was little evidence that separation or marginalization constituted the dominant orientation within the cohort. Participants generally described themselves as participating in Hungarian society while retaining meaningful connections to Turkish cultural and linguistic practices. The seventh research question examines how this overall orientation varies across different life domains. Although the overall pattern is predominantly integration-oriented, the findings reveal substantial variation in the relative strength of heritage- and host-society orientations across everyday settings. Family relationships provide one example of this differentiation. As discussed above, endogamous family configurations were generally associated with stronger opportunities for maintaining Turkish, whereas exogamous configurations created greater exposure to Hungarian through the spouse and the wider family environment. From an

acculturation perspective, these patterns indicate variation in the relative salience of heritage and host-society orientations rather than simply differences in language choice. The family domain therefore provided a stronger context for heritage-oriented practices among participants in endogamous relationships, while exogamous relationships created conditions in which host-society orientations could become more prominent.

A similar distinction emerges in social and professional life. The greater prominence of Hungarian in these domains, already documented in the preceding discussion, can be interpreted as evidence of a stronger host-society orientation rather than simply as a process of linguistic shift. Participation in Hungarian-speaking networks, workplaces, and institutions required sustained engagement with the host society and consequently strengthened the functional orientation toward Hungarian. This interpretation is closely aligned with the findings of Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver (2004), who demonstrated that acculturation orientations among Turkish-Dutch participants varied systematically across domains. Their study found that Dutch culture was more strongly emphasized in public, functional, and utilitarian domains, whereas Turkish culture remained more salient in private, social-emotional, and value-related domains. The present findings show a comparable pattern in the Hungarian context: host-society orientation was more pronounced in social, professional, and institutional settings, while Turkish orientation remained particularly salient in family, emotional, identity, and cultural domains. The convergence between the two studies is significant because it suggests that the coexistence of heritage and host-society orientations is not simply a characteristic of language choice but may reflect a broader domain-specific pattern of acculturation among Turkish migrants. At the same time, the present study extends this comparison to the Hungarian context, where the smaller Turkish migrant community and different institutional environment provide a distinct setting in which these orientations are negotiated.

Literacy and media constitute a particularly important domain in which heritage orientation remains highly visible. Participants' continued engagement with Turkish-language books, television, online content, and social media provided ongoing access to Turkish linguistic and cultural resources and helped sustain connections with Turkish cultural and social networks. This pattern is consistent with previous research showing that Turkish-language media can support migrants' connections with the country of origin and the wider Turkish-speaking community, while host-country media provide exposure to the receiving society, its language, and its public discourse (Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005; Alencar & Deuze, 2017; Christoph, 2012; Kuppens, 2010; Liu & Gastil, 2014). From an acculturation perspective, therefore, participants' continued use of Turkish-language media can be understood primarily as an expression of

heritage orientation. At the same time, engagement with Hungarian-language media provided access to host-society information and cultural content, showing that heritage-oriented media practices could coexist with orientation toward the host society. Importantly, the continued prominence of Turkish in literacy and media did not imply withdrawal from Hungarian society; rather, it represented one domain in which participants maintained a particularly strong connection to their heritage.

The findings indicate that first-generation Turkish immigrants in Hungary maintain a strong symbolic and emotional attachment to Turkish identity while adapting to Hungarian social and institutional life. This pattern is consistent with Fishman's (1989, 1999) view of language as a marker of cultural continuity and Edwards' (2009) distinction between the communicative and symbolic functions of language. At the same time, the findings support the more dynamic perspective of Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), as participants did not experience identity as fixed but negotiated their sense of belonging across different contexts. Turkish remained the primary reference point for ethnic identity, although some participants reported feeling partly Hungarian in particular contexts. The association between Hungarian proficiency, accent, and feelings of being "half Hungarian" further illustrates how language can function not only as a means of communication but also as a marker of social and ethnic positioning.

The importance attached to maintaining "Türkiye Turkish" and linguistic authenticity further highlights the symbolic role of Turkish in sustaining heritage identity. This is broadly consistent with research on Turkish diaspora communities in Western Europe, where Turkish continues to function as an important resource for cultural and ethnic identification (Yağmur & Akıncı, 2003; Extra & Yağmur, 2010; Yağmur & van de Vijver, 2012). The present findings extend this pattern to first-generation Turkish migrants in Hungary, where such identity maintenance occurs despite a comparatively limited Turkish-language institutional infrastructure. Family configuration also shaped how this identity was expressed: endogamous families provided stronger contexts for maintaining Turkish identity and language, whereas exogamous families involved a broader linguistic and cultural repertoire. Overall, the findings suggest that Turkish identity and adaptation to Hungarian society are not mutually exclusive; rather, participants maintained a strong heritage identity while developing context-dependent forms of engagement with the host society. Participants were also clear in distinguishing Turkish ethnic identity from religious affiliation. Most rejected the automatic equation of "Turk" with "Muslim," instead defining Turkishness through language, custom, and shared cultural practices. This secular, language-centered conception of identity differentiates the Hungarian Turkish experience from that of other Turkish diaspora communities where religion may play a more prominent role.

Although Extra and Yağmur (2010) found this pattern among second-generation Turkish youth in the Netherlands, the present study shows that the same trend is present among first-generation Turkish migrants in Hungary. While the first generation consistently prioritizes Turkishness, they often claim their children as developing more hybrid or Hungarian-oriented identities. As expected, overall, and in line with previous research on Turkish diaspora communities in Western Europe, particularly the findings of Yağmur and Akıncı (2003), Extra and Yağmur (2010), Leseman (2000), and Yağmur and van de Vijver (2012, 2022), the results of this study indicate that first generation Turkish migrants in Hungary maintain a strong emotional and symbolic attachment to the Turkish language.

The findings have several implications for language and cultural policy in Hungary. The first concerns the limited and irregular availability of structured Turkish-language education for migrant families. Participants particularly emphasized the importance of Turkish literacy and language opportunities for their children. Although first-generation migrants have generally maintained Turkish in their own lives, the findings suggest that continued language maintenance across generations cannot depend only on family efforts. Policy support could therefore provide additional opportunities for children to learn and use Turkish outside the home.

One possible measure would be the development of weekend or after-school Turkish language classes. These could be organized through cooperation between Turkish diplomatic institutions, community organizations, and Hungarian schools or municipalities. Because the Turkish population is relatively small and geographically dispersed, flexible forms of provision may be more suitable than directly reproducing the larger institutional models found in Western Europe. Digital and hybrid classes could also make these programmes accessible to families living outside Budapest. The findings also indicate a need for greater access to Turkish-language books and educational materials. Participants identified the availability of Turkish literacy resources as an important concern. Turkish institutions, in cooperation with Hungarian schools and public libraries, could support the provision of Turkish-language books for both adults and children. Such measures would give families additional resources for maintaining Turkish literacy and cultural knowledge.

Participants also expressed interest in a dedicated Turkish cultural centre. Importantly, this did not reflect a desire to establish a separate ethnic enclave. Rather, participants described a need for a shared space where families could attend language classes, access books and learning materials, participate in cultural activities, and develop social connections. A cultural centre could therefore support heritage-language and cultural activities while remaining connected to

the wider Hungarian community. Finally, the geographical dispersion of the community makes digital resources particularly relevant. Online language classes, digital Turkish-language materials, and virtual cultural activities could complement face-to-face provision and make support available to individuals and families who cannot regularly attend a physical centre. Cooperation between Turkish institutions, Hungarian educational and cultural organizations, local authorities, and community representatives could help develop these forms of support.

Overall, the findings suggest that heritage-language policy for Turkish migrants in Hungary should take account of the size, geographical distribution, and institutional circumstances of the community. Rather than simply adopting models developed for larger Turkish communities in Western Europe, support could focus on flexible language education, literacy resources, community activities, and digital provision. Such measures would support Turkish language and cultural continuity while allowing migrants to remain engaged in Hungarian society.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

This dissertation examined the language ideologies, linguistic practices, identity construction processes, and acculturation orientations of first-generation Turkish migrants in Hungary. Adopting a primarily qualitative research design complemented by quantitative measures of language use and acculturation preferences, the study addresses a critical gap in European sociolinguistics: while scholarship has focused extensively on large, institutionally dense Turkish enclaves in Western Europe, the linguistic realities of smaller, geographically dispersed communities in Central and Eastern Europe have remained largely unexamined. The Hungarian context is defined by a distinct socioeconomic and historical configuration, characterized by non-guest-worker migration trajectories, geographic dispersion, an absence of institutional minority infrastructure, and a comparatively high rate of out-group marriage.

The findings show that Turkish remains a strong marker of cultural continuity, emotional belonging, and identity among first-generation migrants in Hungary. Participants generally associated Turkish with family, affective expression, cultural authenticity, and connections to Turkey, while Hungarian was more closely associated with everyday interaction, public life, professional activities, and participation in Hungarian society. English functioned as an additional communicative resource for some participants, particularly in international and professional contexts. These patterns demonstrate that participants did not simply move from Turkish to Hungarian as a result of migration. Instead, they developed multilingual practices in which different languages acquired different functions across social contexts.

The findings also indicate that marital configuration was relevant to language maintenance and shift in participants' linguistic lives and, for those with children, in their family language practices. Endogamous and exogamous marital configurations were examined among the Turkish participants, and their implications for language use were considered in relation to participants' individual experiences and, where applicable, their children's language practices. Endogamous configurations generally provided more opportunities for continued Turkish use, whereas exogamous configurations were associated with greater use of Hungarian in participants' everyday lives and, particularly among those with children, within the household and wider family environment. These patterns were also shaped by other factors, including children's schooling, peer networks, and the wider Hungarian linguistic environment. Thus, marital configuration should be understood as one factor influencing language practices rather than as a direct determinant of language maintenance or shift. At the same time, participants

could maintain a strong ideological and emotional attachment to Turkish even when their everyday language use showed greater movement toward Hungarian.

The study also shows that language and identity do not necessarily change at the same rate. Turkish remained the primary reference point for ethnic belonging, but participants were not socially or culturally distant from Hungarian society. Some described themselves as feeling "half Hungarian" or as partly identifying with Hungarian society, particularly in relation to their language use and everyday experiences. Nevertheless, when describing their core ethnic identity, they continued to identify as Turkish. Thus, participation in and identification with Hungarian society did not require replacing a strong Turkish identity. Literacy and media use provided additional spaces for maintaining Turkish linguistic and cultural connections through Turkish-language books, television, social media, and digital communication.

Acculturation among participants was multidimensional and domain-specific, with integration as the dominant orientation. Heritage orientation was most evident in language, literacy, and media use, whereas host orientation appeared more in family, social, and professional domains, influenced in part by exogamous marriages. At the level of acculturation, the findings indicate a predominantly integration-oriented pattern. Integration in this context therefore did not involve an equal balance between Turkish and Hungarian identity. Rather, participants could develop meaningful connections to the host society while retaining Turkish as their primary ethnic and cultural reference point. This orientation also varied across domains. Heritage orientation was particularly visible in literacy, media, identity, and cultural practices, whereas host-society orientation was more pronounced in contexts involving regular participation in Hungarian society, particularly social circles, work, and, depending on participants' marital and family circumstances, the home.

The study therefore extends existing research on Turkish migration in two main ways. First, it adds evidence from a relatively contemporary immigrant setting characterized by a smaller and more dispersed Turkish population and a different profile of migrants from those found in many long-established Western European Turkish communities. Whereas much of the earlier literature developed around large-scale labour migration and the subsequent settlement of Turkish communities, migration to Hungary has involved more varied and individually motivated forms of mobility. Examining this context shows how language, identity, and acculturation may develop under different demographic, social, and migration conditions. Second, the study brings together language ideology, language practice, marital configuration, identity, and acculturation within the same empirical context. This makes it possible to examine not only whether Turkish is maintained or shifted, but also how language beliefs, family

circumstances, social environments, and domain-specific participation interact in shaping these processes.

The findings also have implications for language and cultural policy in Hungary. Because the Turkish community is relatively small and dispersed and has developed through diverse migration trajectories, language and cultural support may need to respond to the circumstances of individual migrants and families rather than rely on models developed for larger, more established migrant communities. Supplementary opportunities for Turkish-language learning and literacy could provide additional support, particularly for children. Weekend or after-school language programmes, Turkish-language books and educational materials, community-based cultural activities, and digital learning resources could respond to needs identified by participants. Given the size and distribution of the community, such provision would need to be flexible and accessible while supporting linguistic and cultural continuity without requiring the formation of separate ethnic communities.

6.1. Limitation of the study

Several limitations should be considered when interpreting the findings. First, the study focused on first-generation adults with relatively long residence in Hungary and therefore does not directly represent recently arrived migrants or second-generation Turkish-Hungarian individuals. Second, recruitment was concentrated primarily in Budapest, which may limit the applicability of the findings to Turkish migrants living in other parts of Hungary. Third, much of the data were self-reported and may not capture all aspects of participants' actual language behaviour. Finally, the cross-sectional design provides a picture of participants' experiences at one point in time and cannot establish how language practices, identity, or acculturation orientations develop over time.

6.2. Suggestions for future research

Future research could address these limitations through longitudinal and intergenerational studies examining how Turkish language use, literacy, identity, and acculturation develop over time. Ethnographic observation of family interactions could complement self-reported accounts and provide further insight into everyday language practices. Comparative research involving Turkish communities in other relatively contemporary and smaller-scale migration settings could also clarify how community size, institutional support, migrant profiles, and migration histories shape language use and ideologies, identity formation, and acculturation processes.

In conclusion, this dissertation contributes to the study of Turkish migration by examining a relatively contemporary and smaller-scale migrant setting that differs in demographic profile, migration trajectories, and institutional context from the large and long-established Turkish communities that have dominated previous research. By examining language ideologies, language practices, identity, marital configuration, and acculturation within this context, the study extends existing scholarship to a different type of Turkish migrant community. More broadly, it highlights the importance of considering the specific social, demographic, and migration context in which migrant communities develop when examining language, identity, and acculturation.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A.1. Semi-Structured Interview Guide (English version)

- Can you tell me please when, how, and why did you come to Hungary?
- How do you feel about life in Hungary?

Section 1: Language Importance and Identity

Do you think that learning Hungarian is important for Turkish speakers living in Hungary?

1. What do Turkish, Hungarian, and English languages mean to you personally?
2. What are your thoughts on switching between languages, for example, Turkish, Hungarian, and English?
3. What do you think about children raised in Hungary using Turkish, Hungarian, and English languages?
4. Do you notice any differences between Turkish as used in Hungary and Turkish as used in Turkey?
5. What are your views on the relationship between Hungarian and Turkish people?
6. Have you ever experienced negative or positive discrimination based on your use of Hungarian? If so, can you share your experience?

Section 2: Language Practices and Ideologies

1. Which language(s) do you use in everyday life and why? (e.g., with your partner, friends, workmates)
2. Which language do you find easier to use and to express yourself and your feelings in?
3. In which language do you prefer to read the most and why?
4. Which language do you prefer to use on social media when posting, commenting, or texting, and why?
5. Do you watch more Hungarian or Turkish channels/movies? What language do you typically use when watching videos, films, or TV?

Section 3: Language Ideologies and Extralinguistic Factors

1. What extralinguistic factors do you think shape your language beliefs and ideologies?
2. What are the underlying language beliefs and ideologies behind your different types of language practices?

Section 4: Language Maintenance and Shift

1. How do you put your language ideologies into practice to navigate your bilingual or multilingual repertoire, both within your migrant community and in the majority society?

Section 5: Language Learning and Social Integration

1. Can you share your experience with the Hungarian language? When did you start learning Hungarian? Why? Was it difficult?
2. What social activities or events in Hungarian or Turkish have you participated in? If relevant, can you explain why these activities are challenging or enjoyable for you?
3. Are there situations where you feel more comfortable using Turkish over Hungarian, or vice versa? What factors contribute to this preference?
4. How do you decide when to use Turkish and when to use Hungarian in your daily interactions, both within your communities and in wider society?
5. Do you participate in any groups or activities that support the Turkish language and culture in Hungary? If yes, can you describe them and your role?
6. Have you encountered people with misconceptions about your language or culture? If yes, how do you usually respond, and does it affect your language use?
7. Have you ever felt the need to "purify" your Turkish or avoid certain borrowed words because of misconceptions about the language?

Section 6: Children and Language Use

1. What language(s) do your children speak at home and outside? Do you think they will use Turkish in the future, for example, with siblings or friends?
2. Do you try to improve your children's Turkish skills, or do you rely on schools or other institutions? How and why?
3. Have you noticed any changes in your own language use since the birth of your child (e.g., more Turkish or more Hungarian)?
4. What language do you use with your child (spoken and written/texting)?
5. What language does your partner or other family members (e.g., grandparents) use with your child?

Appendix A.2 Semi-Structured Interview Guide (Turkish Version)

- Macaristan'a ne zaman, nasıl ve neden geldiğinizi anlatır mısınız?
- Macaristan'daki hayat hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

Bölüm 1: Dilin Önemi ve Kimlik

1. Macaristan'da yaşayan Türkler için Macarca öğrenmenin önemli olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
2. Türkçe, Macarca ve İngilizce dilleri sizin için ne ifade ediyor?
3. Diller arasında geçiş yapma (örneğin Türkçe, Macarca ve İngilizce arasında) hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
4. Burada yetişen çocukların Türkçe, Macarca ve İngilizce kullanmaları hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
5. Macaristan'da kullanılan Türkçe ile Türkiye'de kullanılan Türkçe arasında bir fark görüyor musunuz?
6. Macar ve Türk insanları arasındaki ilişki hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
7. Macarca bilginiz nedeniyle hiç olumlu veya olumsuz ayrımcılığa maruz kaldınız mı? Yaşadığınız bir örnek paylaşabilir misiniz?

Bölüm 2: Dil Kullanımı ve İdeolojiler

1. Günlük hayatınızda hangi dili/dilleri kullanıyorsunuz ve neden? (örneğin eşinizle, arkadaşlarınızla, iş arkadaşlarınızla)
2. Kendinizi ve duygularınızı ifade etmek açısından hangi dili kullanmak sizin için daha kolay?
3. En çok hangi dilde okumayı tercih ediyorsunuz ve neden?
4. Sosyal medyada paylaşım yaparken, yorum yazarken veya mesajlaşırken hangi dili kullanmayı tercih ediyorsunuz ve neden?
5. Daha çok Macar kanallarını mı, yoksa Türk kanallarını mı izliyorsunuz? Film, video ve TV izlerken hangi dili kullanıyorsunuz?

Bölüm 3: Dil İdeolojileri ve Dil Dışı Etkenler

1. Sizce hangi dil dışı faktörler dil inançlarınızı ve ideolojilerinizi şekillendiriyor?
2. Farklı dil kullanımı biçimlerinizin ardında hangi dil inançları ve ideolojiler yatıyor?

Bölüm 4: Dilin Korunması ve Değişimi

1. Dil ideolojilerinizi, hem göçmen topluluğunuzda hem de çoğunluk toplumunda iki dilliliğinizi veya çok dilliliğinizi yönetmek için nasıl uyguluyorsunuz?

Bölüm 5: Dil Öğrenme ve Sosyal Entegrasyon

1. Macarca ile ilgili deneyiminizi paylaşabilir misiniz? Macarca öğrenmeye ne zaman ve neden başladınız? Sizin için zor muydu, neden?
2. Hangi Macarca veya Türkçe sosyal etkinliklere/organizasyonlara katıldınız? Eğer uygunsa, bu etkinliklerin sizin için neden zor ya da keyifli olduğunu açıklayabilir misiniz?
3. Hangi durumlarda Türkçeyi kullanmak Macarcaya göre sizi daha rahat hissettiriyor, ya da tam tersi? Bu tercihinize hangi faktörler etki ediyor?
4. Günlük etkileşimlerinizde, hem topluluğunuzda hem de genel toplumda, Türkçe ve Macarca arasında geçiş yapmaya nasıl karar veriyorsunuz?
5. Macaristan'da Türk dilini ve kültürünü destekleyen herhangi bir grup veya faaliyete katılıyor musunuz? Evetse, bunları ve bu konudaki rolünüzü anlatabilir misiniz?
6. Diliniz veya kültürünüz hakkında yanlış fikirleri olan insanlarla karşılaştınız mı? Evetse, genellikle nasıl tepki veriyorsunuz ve bu durum dil kullanımınızı etkiliyor mu?
7. Türkçenizi "arındırma" veya bazı ödünç kelimelerden kaçınma ihtiyacı hissettiniz mi? (Avrupa'da Araplarla karıştırılmak ve Türkçedeki Arapça kökenli kelimelerle ilgili hassasiyet bağlamında)

Bölüm 6: Çocuklar ve Dil Kullanımı

1. Çocuklarınız evde ve dışarıda hangi dili/dilleri konuşuyor? Sizce gelecekte Türkçeyi kardeşleriyle, arkadaşlarıyla kullanmaya devam edecekler mi?
2. Çocuklarınızın Türkçesini geliştirmek için siz mi çaba gösteriyorsunuz, yoksa okul veya başka bir kuruma mı güveniyorsunuz? Nasıl ve neden?
3. Çocuğunuzun doğumundan sonra kendi dil kullanımınızda bir değişiklik fark ettiniz mi? (örneğin daha fazla Türkçe veya daha fazla Macarca)
4. Çocuğunuzla hangi dili kullanıyorsunuz (konuşma ve yazışma/mesajlaşma olarak)?
5. Eşiniz veya diğer aile bireyleri (ör. büyükanne/büyükbaba) çocuğunuzla hangi dili kullanıyor?

Appendix B.1. Personal Data Questions

- Gender: male female
- Date (year) and place of birth:
- Length of residence in HU:
- Did they move back to TR to live for a while?
- If yes, why?
- Living in other counties?
- How long?
- Education:
- Occupation now:
- Occupation before:
- Nationality:
- Religion:
- Languages learnt in school and elsewhere:
- Proficiency (speaking, writing, listening, reading):
- Could you speak any Hungarian before your arrival to Hungary?
- Why did you immigrate to Hungary? (reason of immigration)
- Place of residence in Hungary:

Family Data

- Can you describe the people you are living with in the same household (who they are, nationality, languages, appr. age, occupation, etc.)
- (Marriage, spouse, partner) Where did you meet? (Turkey or Hungary or elsewhere)
- Why did you choose to live in Hungary? - if the spouse is Hungarian or from any other national background
- What holidays do you celebrate (national or religious)?
- Do you have any child? How many children, how old are they?
- Do you have relatives in Hungary?)

Child data

- What school the child was enrolled in, whether there was a change (switching schools), why, and what was the decisive argument?
- Did/Do the children attend any extracurricular activities in Turkish or related to the Turkish culture? In Hungarian or other languages?

Appendix B.2. Personal Data Questions (Turkish Version)

- Cinsiyet: erkek / kadın
- Doğum tarihi (yıl) ve yeri:
- Macaristan'daki ikamet süresi:
- Bir süreliğine tekrar Türkiye'ye dönüp orada yaşadınız mı?
- Evetse, neden?
- Başka ülkelerde yaşadınız mı?
- Ne kadar süreyle?
- Eğitim durumu:
- Şu anki meslek:
- Önceki meslek:
- Uyruk:
- Din:
- Okulda ve başka yerlerde öğrenilen diller:
- Yeterlilik (konuşma, yazma, dinleme, okuma):
- Macaristan'a gelmeden önce hiç Macarca konuşabiliyor muydunuz?
- Macaristan'a neden göç ettiniz? (göç etme nedeni)
- Macaristan'daki ikamet yeri:

Aile Bilgileri

- Aynı evde yaşadığınız kişileri tanımlar mısınız? (kim oldukları, uyrukları, konuştukları diller, yaklaşık yaşları, meslekleri, vb.)
- (Evlilik, eş, partner) Nerede tanıştınız? (Türkiye, Macaristan veya başka bir yer)
- Neden Macaristan'da yaşamayı tercih ettiniz? – eşiniz Macar ya da başka bir milletten ise
- Hangi bayramları kutluyorsunuz? (ulusal veya dini)
- Çocuğunuz var mı? Kaç çocuğunuz var, kaç yaşındalar?
- Macaristan'da akrabanız var mı?

Çocuk Bilgileri

- Çocuğunuz hangi okula kayıtlıydı? Okul değiştirdiyse, neden ve belirleyici sebep neydi?
- Çocuk(lar) Türkçeyle veya Türk kültürüyle ilgili herhangi bir okul dışı etkinliğe katıldı mı/katılıyor mu? Macarca veya başka dillerde etkinliklere katıldı mı/katılıyor mu?

Appendix C.1. Consent Form (English version)

Research topic:	Language Ideologies, Language Practices, and Identity Construction among Turks Living in Hungary
Name of the researcher:	Beyza Nur Gürses

By signing below, I confirm that:

1. I have read and understood the information sheet (dated: _____) concerning the above research and data management.
2. I have been given the opportunity to consider the information and ask any questions I may have.
3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw from participation at any time without giving any reason. In such a case, I may request the deletion of the data recorded about me up to that point.
4. I understand that my data will be anonymised when the research is published.
5. I understand that the interview will be audio recorded, that the recording will be stored securely, and destroyed within 5 years after the research is completed.
6. I understand that the audio recordings of my interviews will be securely stored and only accessed by the researcher and her supervisor. Anonymised written transcripts of my interviews (with all identifying information removed) may be shared with other researchers or included in research publications, in accordance with confidentiality guidelines.

   Participant Name:

   Signature:

   Date:

Appendix C.2. Consent Form (Turkish version)

Araştırma konusu:	Macaristan'da Yaşayan Türkler Arasında Dil İdeolojileri, Dil kullanımları ve Kimlik İnşası
Araştırmacı adı:	Beyza Nur Gürses

Aşağıda imzamla onaylıyorum ki:

1. Yukarıda belirtilen araştırma ve veri yönetimiyle ilgili (tarihi: _____) bilgilendirme formunu okudum ve anladım.
2. Bilgileri değerlendirme ve aklıma takılan soruları sorma fırsatım oldu.

3. Katılımımın gönüllülük esasına dayandığını ve dilediğim anda hiçbir gerekçe göstermeksizin katılımımı sonlandırma hakkım olduğunu anlıyorum. Böyle bir durumda, o ana kadar hakkımda kaydedilmiş verilerin silinmesini talep edebilirim.
4. Araştırmanın yayımlanması sırasında verilerimin anonimleştirileceğini anlıyorum.
5. Görüşmenin ses kaydına alınacağını, kaydın güvenli bir şekilde saklanacağını ve araştırma tamamlandıktan sonra 5 yıl içinde imha edileceğini anlıyorum.
6. Görüşmelerimin ses kayıtlarının güvenli bir şekilde saklanacağını ve yalnızca araştırmacı ile danışmanı tarafından erişileceğini anlıyorum. Kimliğimi belirtecek tüm bilgiler çıkarılarak anonimleştirilmiş görüşme yazılı dökümlerinin, gizlilik kurallarına uygun olarak, diğer araştırmacılarla paylaşılabileceğini veya araştırma yayınlarında kullanılabileceğini anlıyorum.

   KatılımcınınAdı:

   İmza:

   Tarih:

Appendix D. Original texts of the interview excerpts (Turkish)

[1]

Avrupa standartlarından bakıldığında Macaristan'daki yaşam biraz eksik kalabilir… özellikle maddi açıdan. Ama bence Macaristan çok güzel, yaşanabilir bir ülke.

[2]

Bence bu ülke Batı Avrupa'ya, hatta Türkiye'ye kıyasla az gelişmiş.

[3]

Macaristan'daki hayatı ikiye bölmemiz lazım. Birincisi manevi hayat: huzur, o sakinlik, kültür, efendim nezaket gelişmişliği, misafirperverlik, insanlarla konuşma, günlük hayat. Bu bir kısmı ben o kısmına bayılıyorum. Ekonomik kısmına geldiğinde maalesef Macaristan bir Avrupa Birliği ülkesi ama kurucu ülkelerden bir Almanya, İngiltere, Fransa gibi güçlü değil, ekonomisi güçlü değil. Ben ikinci sınıf ülke olarak Bulgaristan, Macaristan, Romanya. Bunlar fakir ülkeler olduğu için ekonomide çok parlak bir ülke olduğuna inanmıyorum.

[4]
Huzur, kesinlikle huzur. İnanılmaz bir rahatlık var, özgürce dolaşabiliyoruz. İnsanlar o kadar agresif değil, ya da belki ben onlarla muhatap olmuyorum. Bana daha huzurlu geliyor. Ama Türkiye'de insanların aşırı agresif olduğunu gördüm.

[5]
Ya iyi yani macarlar seviyorlar yani. Akraba olduğumuzu da düşünen var Atilla'dan dolayı Hun Türklerinden. Öyle macarlar da var. Çok az bir kısımda sevmeyenler de var yani ama onlar

[6]
Bence kültürel olarak birbirlerinden o kadar da uzak değiller. Mesela Türkiye'de olduğu gibi burada da büyükanne ve büyükbabalar çocuk bakımına yardım ediyor. Tabii bu kısmen ekonomik nedenlerden dolayı, ama Almanya'da ya da Hollanda'da bunu pek görmezsiniz. Batı Avrupa'da hayat daha bireysel. Burada hâlâ geniş ailelerin birlikte yaşadığını, büyükanne ve büyükbabaların yardım ettiğini görüyorsunuz; bu da Türk kültürüne benziyor.

[7]
Hem olumlu hem olumsuz. Ne zaman bir iş görüşmesine gitsem aileme hep şunu söylerim: 'Türk olmak ya bana yardımcı olacak ya da hiç yardımcı olmayacak.' Şimdiye kadar genellikle olumlu oldu. Ama bunun en büyük nedeni çoğunlukla Macarcayı çok iyi konuşmam. Sık sık 'Çok güzel konuşuyorsun, yabancı olduğun hiç belli olmuyor' gibi şeyler söylüyorlar ve bu bana çok yardımcı oluyor. Hoşlarına gidiyor.

[8]
Macaristan'da yaşam huzurlu ve güzel, Türkiye'nin yoğunluğundan uzak. İnsanlar kendi hayatlarını yaşıyor. Macarlarla birlikte yaşamaktan mutluyuz.

[9]
Benim için iyi, yani işimiz sakin, Macarlar saygılı insanlar. Bizi, Türkleri seviyorlar. Hiçbir problemimiz yok yani. Yıllardır buradayım, hiç sorun yaşamadım.

[10]
İnanın, Türk olduğumu öğrendiklerinde bana öncelik veriyorlar…. Vallahi eğer sen kendini değiştirirsen yani Avrupa'da, Macaristan'da buranın gelenek ve görenekleriyle, eğitim

sistemine, yaşam biçimine entegre olursan sıkıntı yaşamıyorsun. Ama bunu yapmazsan kabalığımız devam eder. Bu da sorun yaratır. Yani bize karşı o güzel sempatiyi besleyen Macarların düşünceleri değişmeye başlar. Bu çok önemli. Yoksa bu ülke dünyanın en güzel, en rahat, en huzurlu ülkesidir.

[11]

Gayet iyi bence yani. İyi. Macarlar kökende zaten Türkleri seviyorlar. Şey olarak seviyorlar. Buraya gelen düzgün insanlar da burada zaten tutunabiliyor. Rahat olarak rahatlıkla da tutunabilir yani. Kötü bir şey yapmadıktan sonra düzgün insanlarla itibat halinde olduğun zaman burada şey yok bir sıkıntı çıkmaz yani. Bu ülkede öyle şey değil. İnsanları da seviyor yani.

[12]

Her yerde Macarcayı ne kadar iyi konuştuğum için beni övüyorlar. Nasıl bu kadar çabuk öğrendiğimi soruyorlar. …'Başa koymak gerekeni sona koyuyordum. Ya da çekim vermeye yanlış söylüyordum. Ama yine de anlıyorlardı bir şekilde beni. Gülüyorlardı ne kadar tatlısın falan deyip. En azından çabalıyorsun. Başkası olsa öğrenmez.

[13]

Türk'ün az olması bir Avusturya Almanya'da da bakarsak bizim için avantaj oldu. Nasıl avantaj oldu? Kendi kabuğumuzda Türk nüfusunun Türk kuruluşların içinde büyümektense Macarların içinde büyüdük. Macarlara asimile olduk. Macar gibi yaşamaya başladık. Onların kültürünü dilini daha iyi anlamaya başladık.Bunları sevdiğim için burada kalmaya karar verdim. Eğitimini çok seviyorum. Ben de burada okudum için. Çocuklarımın da burada okumasını istiyorum.

[14]

Yani benim İslam'la kesinlikle hiçbir bağım ya da ilişkim yok, sıfır. Türkiye açısından düşündüğümde belki yemek kültürünü, yemek için bir araya gelmeyi ya da eğlence kültürünü korumaya çalışıyorum. Belki de milli ya da dini bayramlar hayatımda yer kaplamıyor. Çünkü bunlar bir tür yakın topluluk gerektiriyor ve burada en azından benim böyle yakın bir topluluğum yok.

[15]

Ben ilk geldiğim zamanı anlatayım, neredeyse 20 yıl oldu; o zamanlar bizi pek tanımıyorlardı. 2010–2011–2012 yıllarında Türk dizileri burada popüler olunca bize bakışları değişti. Önceden bana ‘Kaç annen var, babanın kaç eşi var?’ diye sorarlardı. Bizim kanunlarımızda sadece tek evlilik olduğunu bilmiyorlardı. Herkesin kapalı olduğunu sanıyorlardı. Ama o diziler gelince Macarların bize bakış açısı değişti.

[16]

Başörtüsü ya da hicap takmak zorunda mısın?’ diye sormak yerine bunu dolaylı şekilde soruyorlar: ‘Burada da Türkiye’deki gibi mi giyiniyorsun?’ Ben genelde etek giyerim, bazen kısa etek de giyerim… Buraya farklı giyinmek için gelmedim.

[17]

Elbette. Çünkü bizi yanlış tanıyorlarsa, onlara doğrusunu anlatmalıyız. Sessiz kalmamalıyız. ‘Öyle değil, böyle. Türkiye böyledir’ demeliyiz. Kadınlara seçme ve seçilme hakkını ilk verenlerden biriydik. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk bunu yaptı. Biri bana sorarsa, ülkemizin güzelliklerini ve yaptığımız iyi şeyleri memnuniyetle anlatırım.

[18]

Genelde dalga geçiyorum biraz, utansınlar diye. Bence komik bir durum. Tamam bu kadar bilmeyebilirsin ama sonuç olarak Avrupa bilerek komşu bir ülke. Çok uzak. Ben de mesela Arjantin hakkında çok detaylı bir bilgim yok ama Arjantin tanıdığı dergi de uzak Asya'yı görüyor. (..) Bence Türkiye'yi çok uzak değil Avrupa'ya. En azından bazı şeyler net, saçmalık olması garip geliyor bana. O yüzden dalga geçiyorum genelde. Karşılıklı utansın biraz.

[19]

Yani şöyle güzel bir soru bu öncelikle. Yani bence ana dil tabii ki de her zaman beyinde imgeler oluşturmakta daha etkili oluyor. Çünkü diğer diller senin secondary. Yani ne kadar da hakim olsan bir yerde ana dil kadar bir imgi oluşturmuyor beyninde. Bu yüzden bence ana dilin orada yeri daha önemli.

[20]

Türklerin Macaristan’da yaşama nedenleri ve burada ne kadar kalacakları, ister dil öğrenmek için olsun, en önemli kriterlerdir. Kısa süreliğine geldilerse, günlük kullanım için basit Macarca yeterli olacaktır. Uzun süre kalacaklarsa, tavsiyem dili öğrenmeleridir. Öğrendiğim tüm

yabancı diller hayatımı kolaylaştırdı. İnsanların kendi dillerini konuştuğunuzda sizi daha sempatik buluyorlar ve size daha çok saygı gösteriyorlar, bu gerçekten doğru.

[21]
Bence önemli. Çünkü lokal arkadaş yapmak için kesinlikle Macarca bilmek gerekiyor. Herhangi bir arkadaş grubuna ya da bir aileye dahil olmak ya da daha ciddi evlilik olsun o tarz ciddi ilişkilerde Macarca kesinlikle şart olduğunu düşünüyorum.

[22]
Gerekli. Kesinlikle gerekli. Macarca bilmiyorsan her yerde seni kandırıyorlar veya anlamıyorsun. O yüzden işini uzatıyorlar, yokuşa sürüyorlar. (.) Git gel yaptırıyorlar. Macarca bildiğin zaman istediğin gibi istediğin şeyi yaptırabiliyorsun onlara. Hatta çok hoşlarına bile gidiyor Macarca bilmem…

[23]
Açıkçası şu anda burada yaşadığım için (önem sırasına göre) Macarcayı birinci sıraya koyarım. Belki ilginç gelebilir ama bence şu an Türkçeden bile önde. Şu anlamda: Macarca konuşulan bir ülkede yaşıyorum. Günlük hayatta Macarcayı Türkçeden daha çok kullanıyorum. Belki sadece iş hayatında belli bir denge var. Sonra İngilizce, sonra Türkçe geliyor. Yani şu anda hayatımda, aslında, Türkçe en altta. Kullanım ya da önem açısından. Tabii ki ana dil olarak anlamı farklı, ama önem açısından bakınca Türkçe üçüncü bile olabilir. Şu anda İngilizceyi bile Türkçeden daha çok kullanıyorum. Yani, Macarca, İngilizce ve Türkçe derim

[24]
Kesinlikle, eğer bu ülkede yaşıyorsak, sadece dilini değil kültürünü de… Elbette kendi kültürümüzü de yaşayacağız ama onlarınkini tanımak kesinlikle gerekli. Dil de, öncelikle, burada bir ülkede yaşıyorsak zaten bir ihtiyaç.

[25]
Türk kültüründe bu davranış kabul edilebilir olabilir, ama burada öyle değil. Macarlar bundan hoşlanmaz. ‘Neden bana da selam vermedi?’ derler. Ve bu, onların sana olan tutumunu etkiler. Bu yüzden her zaman diyorum ki: dili öğrenmek istiyorsan, gelenek ve göreneklerini de öğrenmelisin. Uyum sağlamalısın. Ancak o zaman daha ince şeyleri takdir edebilirsin.

[26]

Bence insan, yaşadığı ülkeye ve insanlarına saygı gereği en azından biraz bilmeli. İngilizceyle de idare edebilirsin. Eşim öyle yaptı. Ama sonra ne oluyor? '(Eşi ona hitaben) Bunu anlamadım. Ne dediler? Gel bana bunu açıkla, çevir.' Ya da 'biliyorsun kormányablak-lar var, şu devlet formu var, ben halledemiyorum, sen de gel.' Yani ben de o yükü taşıyorum. Bu yüzden hem ülkeye saygıdan hem de hayatı kolaylaştırmak için Macarca öğrenmenin gerekli olduğunu düşünüyorum. Hangi ülke olursa olsun, Tayland bile olsa, Tayca veya yerel dili öğrenmeli. Bilmeli. Sonuçta onlar seni ülkelerine kabul etti, değil mi? Biraz saygı gösterip onların dilini öğrenmeliyiz.

[27]

Eğer burada yaşayacaksan tabii ki öğrenmen lazım. İlk 3-4 yıl idare edemedik… Çocuk anaokuluna başlayana kadar öğrenmedik. Hep evdeydik. Ama oğlum anaokuluna başlayınca ben de öğrendim.

[28]

Kesinlikle (Macarca) önemli. Çocuğun varsa, okul için, doktora gitmek için önemli.

[29]

Bilmeleri mukemmel olurdu, herhangi bir dili bilmek bir kazanç. Benim çocuklarım için Macarca ana dilleri oldu, okulda Almanca ve İngilizce öğrendiler. Şimdi bana neden Türkçe değil diye sorsan, bilmiyorum, kendime de sorayım bunu. Hiç denemedim.

[30]

Ya eğer ki burada kalırsak o ihtimali zor. İhtimali sadece fantazide kalır. Hani arada bir öyle muhabbet olsun diye konuşulur. Ama gerçek anlamda konuşmaları için bizim o ülkeye yerleşmemiz gerekiyor ki o dile daha fazla bir yatkınlıkları olsun diye.

[31]

Sadece Türkçe değil, tabii ki başka yabancı diller de. Ama anne Macar ya da Türk, baba Macar ya da Türk ise, bence her iki dili de bilmeleri kesinlikle gerekli.

[32]

Çocuklar hangi dil gerekiyorsa kullanmalı.. .. IGEN IGEN IGEN ,Türkçe ve Macarca ikisi de ana dil, bu yüzden ikisi de şart.

[33]
Macarca. Çünkü anneleri Macar. Kreş, okul, sosyal hayat, hepsi Macarca. Okudukları, dinledikleri müzik, tarih, her şey Macarca… Bunu dengelemek için sürekli Türkçe konuştum, en azından diğer kültürden de biraz almaları için.

[34]
Bence bu kaybolmaz çünkü… Şöyle söyleyeyim. Sonuçta genellikle baba, yani biz Türkler, kültürel olarak, babalar olarak, anne Macar olsa bile, çocuk yine de babasının Türk olduğunu biliyor.

[35]
Dilde bir eksiklik olabilir ama sonuçta kültüründen kopmazlar. Çocuk kopmaz çünkü bizde babalık farklıdır.

[36]
Dil, bir insanın aidiyet duygusudur, ülkesine, kültürüne ve gerçek kimliğine bir bağdır. Bu bağ koparsa, bir çocuğun vatanıyla bağlantı hissetmesini beklemek boş bir umuttan ibarettir.

[37]
…Çocuğumun Türkçeyi öğrenmesini istiyorum. Sonuçta onların dedesi ve ninesi Türk. Onlarla konuşabilmesini istiyorum. Ben de Türküm, o yüzden çocuğumun Türkçeyi öğrenmesini istiyorum.

[38]
(Türkçe) Gerekli. Yoksa Türk ailelerle iletişim kuramazlar.

[39]
Ciddi bir kayıp olacak. Türk olduğum için üzülürüm ama hayatta çok şey kaybetmezler. Burada Macarca yeter.

[40]
Kesinlikle bilmeleri gerek. Ama pratikte bu zor, çünkü çocuklar otomatik olarak Macar oluyor, açıkçası. Otomatik olarak zamanlarının çoğunu Macarlarla geçiriyorlar. Şimdi bunu tersine çevirmek çok zor.

[41]
Evet. Evet. Bunu hem ilk gelen kuşakta hem de sonraki kuşaklarda görüyorum. Özellikle yaşlılarda. Hâlâ dilimizi koruyoruz. Sanırım bu, Türkiye'ye sık seyahatlerden kaynaklanıyor.

[42]
Bu kadar uzun süre değil. 90'larda ilk gelenler bizdik, 90'ların başında memur olarak gelenler. O zamanlar daha bu oluşmamıştı. Bu insanlar henüz köklerinden kopmamıştı. Muhtemelen bu, ikinci veya üçüncü nesilde olacak.

[43]
Zaten herkes anlıyor. Rahat. Aramaya gerek yok. Bazen hatta diyoruz ki, bunun tam Türkçesi neydi? Böyle.

[44]
Kötü olarak yorumlamıyorum. Sadece o anda yabancı dile tam hâkim olmamak bu. Yani, gerçekten çok iyi, kusursuz Macarca konuşan birisi kolay kolay böyle Türkçeye geçmez bence. Ama yine de konuşurken Macarcaya veya Fransızcaya geçişler oluyor. Bildiğin, en kolay bildiğin kelimeye geçiş. Tabii. Evet, evet.

[45]
Eşim Türk. Ev dilimiz Türkçe.

[46]
Evde çocuklarla her zaman Türkçe konuşuyoruz. Eşim Macarcayı çok iyi konuşuyor ama çocuğumuzun aksanını etkilememek için evde Macarca konuşmuyor. Çocuğum üç yaşında Macar anaokuluna başladı ve başta hiç Macarca bilmiyordu. Üç ay içinde öğretmenleri ilerlemesini bildirdi ve altı ay içinde çok iyi seviyede Macarca konuşmaya başladı. Macarcası mükemmel. Evimizde sadece Türkçe kullanıyoruz; kardeşiyle de Türkçe konuşuyor.

[47]
Bazen bana bir şeyi Macarca soruyorlar. Açıklıyorum, tamam anladım diyorlar. Dil kullanımları ortama bağlı: okul bahçesinde Macarca, evde veya restoranda Türkçe.

[48]
Eşimle genelde Türkçe konuşuyoruz. Türkçe, Kürtçe.

[49]
Bizden Kürtçe duydular ama yeterli olmadı. Daha çok Türkçe duydular, bu yüzden anlıyorlar (Türkçe) ama eminim yazamazlar.

[50]
Artık doğrudan Macarca düşünüyorum. Eşim Macar, bu yüzden tüm sevgi sözcüklerim de Macarca.
[51]
Eşimle İngilizceyi çoktan bıraktık. Onun ailesiyle ve çevremdeki herkesle Macarca konuşuyorum.

[52]
Evde Macarca konuşuyorum. Eşim Macar.

[54]
Eşim Macar, birlikte Macarca konuşuyoruz.

[55]
Söylemiştim, yüzde kırk beş Macarca. Eşimle de, kendi eşimle. O İngilizce öğretmeni, yani İngilizce biliyor, iletişim. Evde bazen eşim İngilizce konuşuyor, ben Türkçe cevap veriyorum ya da Macarca konuşuyoruz. Ama genel olarak işimde ve normal hayatımda yüzde kırk beş Macarca, yüzde kırk Türkçe, yüzde on beş İngilizce.

[54]
Eşimle Macarca konuşurken genellikle Macarcada kalıyorum. Bir kelimeyi bilmiyorsam İngilizce araya giriyor çünkü eşim Türkçe bilmiyor ama İngilizce anlıyor.

[56]
Türkçe öğrenmedi ve böyle bir niyeti de yok. O yüzden o kısmı geçiyorum. Uzun süre yurtdışında yaşadı. İngilizcesi çok daha iyi ama bu gündemimizde olan bir şey. Bilinçli olarak günlük hayatımıza daha çok entegre etmeye çalışıyoruz. Şu anda onun benimle Macarca konuşmasını nasıl artırabiliriz diye konuştuğumuz bir dönemdeyiz.

[57]
%80 İngilizce, %20 Macarca diyebilirim.

[58]
Eşimle Türkçe konuşmuyorum ve çocuklarla Türkçe konuşmasını da yasakladım. Sen kendi dilini konuş, ben kendi dilimi konuşayım dedim. Ben sadece çocuklarla Türkçe konuşuyorum, bu şekilde çok iyi Türkçe konuşuyorlar.

[59]
Genellikle Macarca kullanıyorlar. Çünkü Macarca onların ana dili, onu konuşuyorlar.

[60]
Onlara Türkçe bir şey diyorum ama derine inince Macarca. Yüzde altmış anlıyor ama Macarca baskın.

[61]
Çoğunlukla Macarca konuşuyorlar çünkü herkes Macarca konuşuyor. Sadece Türkiye'deki büyükanneler ve büyükbabalar Türkçe konuşuyor. Sinirlendiğimde ya da bir şeyi tekrar ettiğimde Türkçe konuşuyorum.
[62]
Çoğunlukla Macarca. Buradaki arkadaşlarım Macar, çevrem de çoğunlukla Macar.
[63]
Bizim arkadaş çevremizde Macar yok. ... Çoğunluğu Türk, ayrıca Kürt ve Türk arkadaşlarla takılıyoruz ... Hepsi Türk veya Kürt.
[64]
Benim için neredeyse eşit. Macar arkadaşlarım da Türk arkadaşlarım kadar var. ... Macarlarla farklı konuları tartışıyoruz... Türklerle ise daha çok tarih ve geleneksel sohbetler oluyor.

[65] Tabii, arkadaşlarım var... Ama hepsi yüzeysel. Derinliği yok... Kültürel şeyler hakkında sohbet edebiliyoruz... ama çoğunlukla yüzeyde kalıyor.

[66]
Dili öğrenene kadar arkadaşım yoktu mesela. Çok az Türk vardı. Çok fazla Türk community yoktu. Yani toplamda benim dışımda herhalde iki tane çocuk vardı Türk. Onlarla görüşmeye çalıştım. Yani çok azdı her şey. Şu an mesela çok daha rahat. Hem Türk hem Macar arkadaşlıklar konusunda da daha rahat. Benim şu an çevremde olan arkadaşlarım sonradan gelen Türkler. Onlar zaten Macarca bilmiyor.

[67]
Birincisi, internet iletişiminin çok yoğunlaştığı şu günlerde… Türkçe yayınlara, Türkçe kaynaklarlaşması çok daha fazla.

[68]
Kendimi Türk hissettiğim ve zaten Türk olduğum için daha çok Türk etkinliklerine gidiyorum. Macarlar beni çok ilgilendirmiyor maalesef. Sadece burada çalışıyorum.

[69] Buradaki arkadaşlarım Türk, Türklerle sosyalleşiyorum. Hatta mümkün olduğu sürece Türklerle çalışıyorum; kısa dönem kiralama işi yapıyorum. İşçi ihtiyacım olduğunda Türklerle çalışmayı tercih ediyorum. Türk marketlerine gidiyorum. Yani evet, tabii ki ana dilim Türkçe.

[70] Özellikle Macar arkadaşlar edindikten sonra kendimi yerimi bulmuş gibi hissetmeye başladım... Zaten (Macarlarla) İngilizce iletişim kurabildiğim için ihtiyaç oluşmadı ve kullanmadığım için gelişmedi.

[71]
Tabii ki İngilizce. Sonuçta yabancı bir ülkedeyiz. Burada gördüğüm Türk arkadaşlarım var ama onları haftada bir görüyorum. Kalan beş-altı gün genellikle yabancılarla geçiyor. İngilizce daha baskın; onu daha çok konuşuyorum.

[72] Gün içinde iletişimimin yaklaşık %90'ı İngilizce. Akşamları ise Türkçe konuşuyorum.

[73]
Çoğunlukla Macarca. Sonra Türkçe, İngilizce ise sadece iş ortamında.

[74]
Evet, günlük hayatımda İngilizce baskın. Ama gerçek ana dilim Türkçe; şimdi Macaristan'da yurtdışında yaşadığım için gündüzleri daha çok İngilizce kullanıyorum.

[75]
Evet, normalde İngilizce. Ama işte, bazen iş arkadaşlarım özellikle benim için Macarca konuşuyor. Bir şeyi anlamadığımda sağ olsunlar bana çeviriyorlar. İş dilimiz İngilizce ama öğle yemeğine çıktığımızda, kahve içtiğimizde ya da dedikodu yaptığımızda Macarcaya geçiyorlar.

[76]
İngilizcem de çok iyi. Ama mesela İngilizce'de kendimi Macarca'da rahat hissettiğim kadar hiçbir zaman hissetmedim. Onun için uzun bir süre aynı şekilde İngilizce konuşulan bir yerde yaşamam gerekiyor diye düşünüyorum ben. Her gün kullanmıyorum işimden dolayı. Ben psikoloğum. Genelde Macarlarla çalışıyorum. İngilizceyi en son yüksek listans ve doktora yaparken, makalde okurken kullandım. Onun dışında nadir.

[77]
Eskiden İngilizce baskındı, hala da öyle. Çünkü canlı hayvan ticareti yapıyorum, tarım ve hayvancılıkla uğraşıyorum; Avusturya, Hollanda, Danimarka, yani gittiğim diğer ülkelerde kullanıyorum. Ama şöyle söyleyeyim: belki %45 Macarca, %40 Türkçe, %15 İngilizce.

[78]
İş dili kesinlikle Macarca oldu. Zaten İngilizce konuşmak istemiyorum mesela. Zaten İngilizcemiz zayıf, o ayrı mesele… İngilizcem işi yürütecek kadar, Tarzan İngilizcesi gibi. Kendimi ifade edebildiğim diller bunlar.

[79]
Türkçe. Aynen, yani çok nadiren Macarca.

[80]
Şu an hayatımda en çok Türkçe kullanıyorum. İki vakıfta görev yapıyorum ve sadece Türk dünyasında o nedenle sürekli Türkçe konuşuyorum. Normal yaşantımda Macarlarla konuşuyorum çevremde dükkânda. İsimle ilgili sadece Türkçe Türklere emlak satıyorum. Bulunduğum bölgede Türk lobisi olusturmak istiyorum. Gezilerimde İngilizce kullanıyorum.

[81]
Türkçe. Kesinlikle. Cümlenin bitmesini bile beklemem… Evet. Eşime (kocama) hep derim, duygusal olarak Macarcada sınırlıyım. Bunun temel sebebi şu: Biz Türkler toplum olarak çok daha duygusalız. Duygularla ilgili çok daha fazla kelimemiz var, bu anlamda kendimizi çok daha zengin bir şekilde ifade edebiliyoruz. Macarlar ise genel olarak bizim kadar duygusal insanlar değiller. Ve duyguları ifade edecek o kadar çok kelimeleri yok.

[82] “
Kendini Macarca daha iyi ifade ediyorsun. Bazen, bir sohbette otururken bile, hem Türkçe hem de Macarca ile yaşadığın için, Macarca kelimeler seni daha iyi ifade ediyor, bu yüzden onu arıyorsun, kafanda Türkçesini bulmaya çalışıyorsun.

[83]
Bazı kelimeler var, mesela kedvesem, anlıyor musun? Kedvesem Macarcada daha güzel. Canım mesela , biraz… bir şey. Tatlım. Ama karşındaki bu dili biliyorsa, o zaman söylerim, sorun yok. Ama bilmiyorsa, neden ona söyleyeyim ki?

[84]
Genelde Türkçe okuyorum. Türkiye'den getiriyorum zaman. Ama Macarca'da elime bir şeyler geliyor, geçiyorsa, sevdiğim bir şeyse, ilgilendiğim bir şeyse Macarca okuyorum. Ama genelde mesela ben hep Türkçe okumaya çalışıyorum. Bunun da en büyük sebebi şeydi, hep zaten Macaristan'da yaşıyorum. Hep Macarca konuşuyorum. Hani bari bir yerde Türkçem kalsın. O beni her zaman tutsun diye. Öyle bir şeyim vardı. Genel olarak Türkçe kitap okuyorum.

[85]
Burada Türkçe kitap bulamadığım için genelde İngilizce okuyorum. Tamamen İngilizce okuyorum. Ama yine de burada kitap bulmak çok mümkün değil, o yüzden çoğunlukla İngilizce.

[86]
Yüksek lisans ve doktora dönemimde İngilizceyi düzenli olarak kullandım, makale okuyup yazarken. Onun dışında nadiren kullanıyorum.

[87]
Türkçe. Çünkü sosyal medyadaki arkadaşlarımın çoğu Türk. Yabancı bir arkadaşımın fotoğrafına yorum yapacaksam tabii ki İngilizce yazarım. Ama kendim bir şey paylaşıyorsam ya da hikaye atıyorsam, genelde Türkçe oluyor. Takipçilerimin %10-15'i yabancıdan fazla değil, onları ilgilendiren bir şey olmadıkça İngilizce paylaşmanın anlamı yok.
[88]
Kişiye bağlı. Eğer Macarsa Macarca yazıyorum. Eğer Türkse Türkçe

[89]
YouTube'da %100 Türkçe kullanırım. Ama Netflix'te dizi ya da film izleyeceksem kesinlikle Macarcayı tercih ederim, yani yabancı dizi ve filmlerde. Dublajlar harika, mesela Family Guy, South Park. Onları Macarcada izlemeye bayılıyorum; gerçekten çok iyi. Türkçe dublaj çok yapay kalıyor. Türk dizilerinde ise tabii ki Türkçe izliyorum.

[90]
Yani evet, diller kafamda çok karışıyor. Eğer konuştuğum kişi Macarsa ve İngilizce kelimeyi bulamazsam, onu Macarca söylerim. Ya da Macarca konuşmuyorsam ama karşımdaki kişinin İngilizce bildiğini biliyorsam, bilinçli olarak İngilizceye geçerim. Ama Türkçe çok sık bilinçsizce araya giriyor.

[91]
Şöyle söyleyeyim: Türkçe konuşurken bazen aklıma daha çok Macarca geliyor. Ama Macarca konuşurken, nadiren Türkçe aklıma geliyor.

[92]
Kesinlikle, ben de yapıyorum. Yani, biliyorum, [kardeşim] de Macarca konuşuyor ve o bağlamda, Türkçede aklıma kelime gelmezse Macarca söylüyorum. O da aynı şekilde cevap veriyor. İş dili kesinlikle Macarca oldu. Mesela İngilizce konuşmak istemiyorum. Zaten İngilizcemiz de zayıf, o ayrı mesele.

[93]
Kiminle konuştuğuma bağlı. Mesela kocamla konuşurken ağzımdan birden Türkçe çıkıyor. Ailemle konuşurken Macarcayı karıştırıyorum. Kiminle konuştuğuma göre gerçekten çok değişiyor.

[94]
Geçişte hiç zorlanmadım çünkü onları sokakta öğrenmedim, formel eğitimle öğrendim.

[95]
O çok fazla yaşanıyor. Özellikle Macarca, Türkçe ve Japonca arasında. Bir de Türkçe konuşmayacağım diyorum. Yani anadilim Türkçe. O ayrı bir yerde zaten ve Türkçe konuşmayacağım. O okey. Ama kalan dillerde İngilizce değildir ama Japonca geliyor. İngilizce de konuşmuyorum şu an. Macarca konuşmaya çalışıyorum. O sırada Japonca da ekleniyor. Bir de fonetik olarak Türkçe, Japonca, Macarca çok benzer kelimeler var. Hatta aynı olan kelimeler var ama farklı anlamlı. Mesela soba kelimesi. Macarcada da o var. Japoncada bir çeşit makarna. Türkçede ısıtıcı anlamına geliyor. Mizu Japoncada su demek. Burada slang olarak kullanılıyor. Gibi çok eşsiz şeyler var. O çok kafamı karıştırıyor.

[96]
Hayır, sorun değil, aslında eğlenceli. Hani iki dil konuşmaya çalışıp hiçbirini hatırlayamadığın espriler var ya, bazen o oluyor. Hatta bazen alakasız bir dilden bir kelime aklıma geliyor. Bazı kelimeler öylece akılda kalıyor. Benim için bir sorun değil.

[97]
Gerçekten çok eksiğim olmaya başları yani Türk dilini konuşmak için. Yani bir % 20 şeyim var, kaybım var, hatırlamama, telaffuz edememe, eksik telaffuz etme. Bunlar oluyor oldu da. Bu bir eksiklik. Hele hele benim gibi bir insanda eğitim almış olan bir insanda bu böyle olunca diğerlerinde daha fazla.

[98]

Türkçeyi kullanmadığım için geri planda kaldı. Hatta Türkiye'de annemle konuşurken bile bazen ağzımdan istemeden Macarca çıkıyor. Bazen bir kelimenin Türkçesi aklıma gelmiyor. O zaman Türk arkadaşımla Macarca kelime kullanıyorum.

[99]
Evet, kesinlikle. Farkına varmadan oluyor, o anda fark etmiyorum ama sonra Macarca bir şey söylediğimi fark ediyorum. Türkiye'ye gittiğimizde bazen hatırlayamıyorum, 'O neydi ki?' diye düşünüyorum, ne Türkçe ne Kürtçe aklıma geliyor.

[100]
Evet, çok fazla. Ve bence bu benim hatam. Sadece burada yaşadığım için değil. Bence nedeni eşimin Macar olması, ailesinin Macar olması ve Macarcayı çok sevmem. Haberleri Macarca dinliyor ve izliyorum. ....Şöyle diyeyim: Türkçe okumak istediğim şeyleri bilinçli olarak Macarca ya da İngilizce okumaya veya dinlemeye başladım. Türkçe değil. Bu yüzden Türkçemin gerilediğini düşünüyorum. Çünkü bilerek hayatımdan azalttım. ... Bunu bilinçli yaptım çünkü Macarcayı ve İngilizceyi geliştirmek istedim. Macarca haber dinlemesem o resmi dili asla öğrenemezdim. Kendimi bunu yapmaya zorladım. Ama sonuçta Türkçem maalesef geriledi. Bir de burada çok Türk arkadaşım olmadığı için.

[101]
Bence öyle değil çünkü toplum olarak, yani topluluk olarak burada çok uzun zamandır kalan insanlar değiliz. Türkiye yakın, herkes burada iyi para kazanıyor, sürekli gidip geliyor; Avrupa'nın başka yerlerindeki Türkler gibi yılda bir kez gelenlerden değiliz. Ve dediğim gibi, neredeyse herkes buraya 90'ların sonu veya 2000'lerin başında geldi. O yaştan sonra Türkçen çok etkilenmiyor, sadece biraz dil kaybı oluyor, o da normal. Türkiye'de bir hafta geçir, hemen düzeliyor zaten.

[102]
Evde her zaman Türkçe konuştuk. Daha sonra Amerikan okuluna gitti ama evde yine de Türkçe konuşmayı tercih etti ve dilleri küçük yaştan itibaren bağlama göre ayırdı.

[103]

Bir baba olarak çocuklarımın Türkçe bilmelerini hep istedim, ama anneleri öğrenmesini istemedi. Evde Macarca konuştuk ve bu yüzden rahmetli anne babamla bile iletişim kuramadılar.

[104]
Evde ve programlarda çoğunlukla, yani %80-90 oranında, Macarca duymasına rağmen Türkçeyi anlıyor ve iyi cevap veriyor. Şimdilik Türkçeyi müzikle, konuşmayla ve oyunla destekliyorum …ama daha sonrasında okula gittiği zaman hala Türkçesinde ben bozukluklar görürsem tabi ki de…

[105]
Olumsuz yanı ise Macarcayı hiç bilmemeleri. Evet. Buraya geçici olarak geldiğimiz için onları İngilizce okula kaydettirdik, iki yıl içinde döneriz diye düşündük. İngilizce öğrenmeleri daha iyi olur dedik. Ama kalmaya karar verdik ve onlar da İngilizceye devam etti.
[106]
Buradaki dilin Macarca olduğunu hatırlatırım.

[107]
Konuşma Türkçesi fena değil ama yazılı Türkçede kendine güvenmiyor. Buraya geldiğinde 4. sınıfı bitirmişti ve hâlâ yazma becerisi konusunda emin değil.

[108]
Yani biz bazı kelimeleri nasıl kullanıyorsak, onlar da sadece o kelimeleri biliyorlar. Bu yüzden dilde geciş yapıyorlar.

[109]
Türkçe konuşuyor ve aksansız konuşuyor. Bu benim olmazsa olmazım olmuştur her zaman.

[110]
Kendimi burada tamamen ait hissediyorum... Hatta kendimi biraz yarı Macar gibi hissediyorum... Ama günün sonunda... Sonuçta Türküm.” (kadın, 36, Macar bir eşle evli)

[111]

Ama pratikte bu zor, çünkü çocuklar otomatik olarak Macar oluyor, açıkçası. Zamanlarının çoğunu Macarlarla geçiriyorlar. Şimdi bunu tersine çevirmek çok zor.

[112]
Macarcayı Türkçeden daha iyi konuşuyorum. Kimse benden yabancı bir aksan duymuyor.

[113]
Ama o aksanim olmasa da hiç şey yapmıyorum. uğraşmıyorum. Çünkü gerek yok. Çünkü ben Türk'üm benim akşamım budur. Ben böyle konuşacağım yani. Evet. Bana Macar gibi konuşmak yakışmaz.

[114]
Macarlar Türklere karşı gerçekten olumlu, hiç ayrımcılık yaşamadım. İletişim aynı. Burada bir Orta Asya kültürü var. Avrupa'daki tek Avrupalı olmayan ırk onlar.

[115]
Bence mükemmel. Güçlü bir dostluk var... Fransa, İngiltere ya da Almanya'daki Türklere bazen nasıl davranılıyorsa burada öyle değil.

[116] "(Hayatımda en önemli olan Macarca) …Çünkü ailem Macar, burada evliyim. Çocuklarım da burada.

[117]
Macar bir kız arkadaşım vardı ve ailesine çok yakındım. İşyerim de Macarcaydı. Akşam eve gelirdim, tamamen içine gömülmüş olarak. Sonra fark ederdim ki Macarca konuşmaya ve kendimi ifade etmeye başlıyorum.

[118]
Burada yaşadığım için günlük hayatımda Macarca kullanıyorum. Aile ve Türk arkadaşlarla Türkçe konuşuyorum ama günlük iletişimin %70-80'i Macarca.

[119]

Yani kendimi Macarlarla büyümüş gibi hissediyorum. Bu yüzden, ayrıca eşim de Macar bu arada, kendimi neredeyse Macar gibi hissediyorum.

[120]
Okuma dili... O dilleri biliyorum ama daha çok... Türkçeyi tercih ediyorum. Türk haberlerine, kitaplarına bakarım. Macarca ya da İngilizce nadiren.

[121]
Çoğunlukla Türkçe. Tabii ki bu. Yaklaşık iki bin ortak arkadaşım var. On yedi yüz kadar. Yüzde altmış, yetmişi tabii ki Türkçe. Doğal olarak Macar arkadaşlarım da var. Genellikle, doğum günü kutlamaları gibi şeyler. Bazı şeyler. Bunlar çoğunlukla Türkçe. Genel olarak Türkçe ama Macar akrabalar da var. Onlar için de doğal olarak (Macarca)

[122]
Sosyal medyada çoğunlukla Macarca ve Türkçe kullanıyorum, genellikle ikisini aynı anda yazarım. Türkiye'deki arkadaşlarım ve ailem anlayabilsin diye Türkçe de yazıyorum.

[123]
İşim gereği Macarca kullanmam gerekiyor. Türkler arasında çok çalışmıyorum. Müşterilerimin çoğu Macar... (günlük hayat) Çoğunlukla Macarca. Buradaki arkadaşlarım Macar, çevrem de çoğunlukla Macar. Mesela Facebook'ta bir arkadaşımın profilinde 10 Türk, 2-3 bin Macar arkadaşı var. Yani daha çok Macar tarafına odaklanıyorum.

[124]
Ben şöyle istiyorum gönlümden geçen şu her ne kadar ben yabancı dilleri çok sevsem de ve babası Macar ben sürekli Macarca konuşsam da çocuğumu Türkçe de öğrenmesini istiyorum. Zaten anneannesi ve dedesi sonuçta Türk olacak. Onlarla konuşabilmesini istiyorum. Bir de ben Türk'üm yani Türkçe öğrensin çocuk diye düşünüyorum.

[125]
Bazen Macarca konuşmak yoruyor. Halbuki mesela ne bileyim sokakta yürürken biri ayağıma bastı ben Macarca yapıp, yani Türkçe değil Macarca, reflekslerim de Macarca oldu artık. Fakat yine de sonuçta ana dilim Türkçe olduğu için, 14 yaşıma kadar da zaten hiç Macarca öğrenmeye başlamadığım için, ana dilim gibi olmayacağını biliyorum.