

# Language Attrition in the Hungarian Minority in Croatia / Gubljenje jezika kod mađarske manjine u Hrvatskoj

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Master's thesis / Diplomski rad

2024

Degree Grantor / Ustanova koja je dodijelila akademski / stručni stupanj: **Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences / Sveučilište Josipa Jurja Strossmayera u Osijeku, Filozofski fakultet**

Permanent link / Trajna poveznica: <https://um.nsk.hr/um:nbn:hr:142:413793>

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Download date / Datum preuzimanja: **2024-12-23**



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J.J. Strossmayer University of Osijek

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Study Programme: English Language and Literature and Hungarian Language and  
Literature

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**Language attrition in the Hungarian minority in Croatia**

Master's Thesis

Supervisor: Tanja Gradečak, Associate Professor

Co-supervisor: Ana Werkmann Horvat, Assistant Professor

Osijek, 2024

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Diplomski rad

Znanstveno područje: Humanističke znanosti

Znanstveno polje: Lingvistika

Znanstvena grana: Sociolingvistika

Mentorica: Tanja Gradečak, izv. prof. dr. sc.

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Osijek, 2024.

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## **Summary**

This master's thesis examines language attrition and shift among the Hungarian minority in Croatia, focusing on and comparing the Slavonia and Baranja regions. It analyzes how factors such as age, migration, education, and cultural participation impact language retention. Using survey data, the study compares language use in both regions, finding that Baranja shows higher Hungarian retention due to stronger educational and community support, while Slavonia experiences more language shift towards Croatian. The research underscores the importance of continued support for minority language education and cultural participation to preserve the Hungarian language in Croatia.

**Keywords:** language attrition, language shift, Hungarian minority, bilingualism, comparative analysis

## **Sažetak**

Rad istražuje slabljenje i promjenu jezika među mađarskom manjinom u Hrvatskoj, s naglaskom na usporedbu regija Slavonije i Baranje. Analizira kako čimbenici poput dobi, migracije, obrazovanja i kulturnog sudjelovanja utječu na očuvanje jezika. Korištenjem podataka iz ankete, rad uspoređuje jezičnu upotrebu u obje regije, pri čemu Baranja pokazuje veće očuvanje mađarskog jezika zbog utjecaja obrazovanja i potpore zajednice, dok je u Slavoniji više prisutan prijelaz na većinski jezik. Istraživanje naglašava važnost obrazovanja na manjinskom jeziku i kulture za daljni opstanak mađarskog jezika u Hrvatskoj.

**Ključne riječi:** slabljenje jezika, zamjena jezika, mađarska manjina, dvojezičnost, komparativna analiza

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Background and context

Language attrition and language shift are two significant phenomena that affect minority languages globally, mainly in multilingual areas where dominant languages overshadow the smaller ones. *Language attrition* encompasses the cognitive and psycholinguistic changes that take place when speakers gradually lose their proficiency in their mother tongue due to infrequent use or lack of reinforcement (Gallo et al. 2021). Conversely, a sociolinguistic technique known as *language shift* is also evident among several communities where one language is abandoned for another, typically under social, economic, or political pressures (Palotai et al. 2019: 109).

The Hungarian minority in Croatia's Slavonia and Baranja regions demonstrates distinctive patterns of these linguistic phenomena. In Slavonia, there are clear indications of language attrition whereby Hungarian speakers gradually lose proficiency by sometimes developing a non-Hungarian accent and forgetting specific language features. This cognitive decline results from increased dominance of the Croatian language in daily activities. In contrast, Baranja has also been experiencing the language shift phenomenon while successfully maintaining the heritage language. This has been managed through community efforts, education, and everyday language use in most spheres of life (Gal 2008).

This process is typical for late bilinguals who spend part or all of their adult lives in an environment where a language is spoken that is different from the language they learned as children. They often experience various language development changes and typically acquire receptive and/or productive knowledge in the new or second language (L2). Multiple factors, including the environment, personal experiences, attitudes, and individual characteristics, influence the extent of this acquisition. Simultaneously, they may notice a divergence in their native language (L1) proficiency compared to monolingual speakers from their home country, which is also typical for the process of language attrition. Over time, specific skills in L2 may become equivalent to or even surpass those in L1 (Schmid and Yilmaz, 2018). This shift in proficiency between L1 and L2 is a primary focus in studies of language dominance done by Schmid and Yilmaz in their work called *Predictors of Language Dominance: An Integrated Analysis of First Language Attrition and Second Language Acquisition in Late Bilinguals*.

Language dominance includes a variety of aspects and characteristics that can generally be grouped into two categories. The first category involves aspects of language that are often used as outcome measures or dependent variables in linguistic studies. These are quantifiable elements related to the knowledge, use, and processing of all the languages a bilingual speaker knows, encompassing all linguistic levels, and are broadly referred to as proficiency. The second category involves measures related to personal background variables, such as age, education, language aptitude, the context in which the languages were acquired, language experiences and practices, and linguistic and cultural identification. These background factors typically serve as independent variables, predicting the extent to which the proficiency-related variables develop in any given individual speaker (Schmid and Yilmaz, 2018). Some of these factors were a starting point for our research questions and are included in the survey to be described in the Methodology section below and Appendixes 8.1 and 8.2.

## **1.2. Study problems and questions**

The primary research problem investigated in this study is the uneven rate of language attrition among the Hungarian minority in Croatia, particularly between Slavonia and Baranja. My personal experiences as a member of the Hungarian minority and observations during my studies at the Department of Hungarian Language and Literature at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Osijek have directed my focus to language attrition and maintenance. I have directly observed a noticeable shift towards Croatian among the members of the Hungarian minority in Slavonia, which became evident during my education, from primary school to university. My involvement in a folklore association from Dalj Planina (KUD Petefi Šandor, Dalj Planina), which enabled extensive travel across Croatia—especially in Slavonia and Baranja—further highlighted this issue. Through interactions with members from various villages in these regions, I noticed that young people from Baranja were generally more comfortable speaking Hungarian than those from Slavonia. This difference appears to stem from the greater prevalence of Hungarian schools and educational models in Baranja, which have helped preserve the language more effectively.

My academic background in sociolinguistics and bilingualism provided a theoretical framework for understanding these observations. Based on my experiences and observations of an uneven rate of language attrition, this study aims to explore:

- What are the primary factors contributing to higher rates of language attrition in Slavonia compared to Baranja?

- How do educational facilities, public services, and community interactions influence language use in these regions?
- What are the attitudes of the Hungarian minority members towards their heritage language and cultural identity in both Slavonia and Baranja?

By examining these questions, the study sheds light on language attrition and maintenance dynamics among the Hungarian minority in these regions.

### **1.3. Aims of the study**

This study aims to achieve the following objectives:

- The primary aim of this study is to conduct a survey in order to identify and analyze the various factors contributing to language attrition among the Hungarian minority in Croatia, with a particular emphasis on comparing the regions of Slavonia and Baranja. Specifically, the study seeks to understand why language attrition is more prevalent in Slavonia than in Baranja and to explore how the Hungarian minority in Baranja has successfully maintained their heritage language to the extent that it remains their L1 (dominant language).
- Identifying and investigating socio-cultural, educational, demographic, and economic factors influencing language attrition, language shift, and language maintenance of the heritage language in these regions. The focus of this objective is to explain the general causes of the language attrition phenomenon, considering the availability of a Hungarian education at different levels (models A, B, and C), community dynamics, and cultural opportunities (e.g., cultural art societies).

My personal experience and academic insights motivated me to investigate language attrition among the Hungarian minority in Croatia, explicitly focusing on comparing Slavonia and Baranja, as most Hungarians in Croatia are located in these two regions. Based on these observations, I expected that the survey results would show that individuals from Baranja are generally more comfortable with Hungarian than those in Slavonia. Additionally, I anticipated that respondents from Slavonia, whose initial L1 was Hungarian, would demonstrate that it is no longer their dominant language, reflecting a greater degree of language attrition in that region.

This research aims to clarify the factors influencing language maintenance and shift among the Hungarian minority in these two regions, contributing valuable insights into the broader study of language attrition and minority language preservation.

#### **1.4. Expectations**

Before conducting the study, I had had several expectations about language use, maintenance, and shift patterns within the Hungarian minority communities in Slavonia and Baranja. These expectations were shaped by my personal experiences and observations within these regions and insights gained from my academic background.

Firstly, I expected more people from Baranja would be involved in Hungarian folklore associations than those in Slavonia. Given Baranja's more substantial Hungarian population and closer connection to Hungary, I believe this cultural involvement would also contribute to higher levels of Hungarian language proficiency in this region. Conversely, I anticipated that respondents from Slavonia would demonstrate lower participation in folklore associations and, as a result, lower proficiency in Hungarian.

Additionally, I aimed to explore the factors driving language attrition and shift beyond the obvious population differences between the regions. While I recognized the significant disparity in the size of the Hungarian communities in Slavonia and Baranja, I sought to uncover the underlying social, educational, and cultural factors that influence language dominance. With Hungarian language instruction available in both regions, I expected that the availability of different educational models would significantly impact language retention. Specifically, I anticipated that Models A and B (offered mainly in Baranja) would help maintain Hungarian as a dominant language. At the same time, the absence of these models in Slavonia would contribute to a shift toward Croatian.

Regarding education, I also predicted that more people from Slavonia and Baranja would attend Croatian secondary schools, where social factors, such as peer interaction and cultural pressures, could lead to language attrition. However, I believe this shift might not be as pronounced in Baranja, where community support for Hungarians is more substantial. Therefore, I wanted to investigate why language shift occurs more prominently in Slavonia.

Another expectation was related to daily language use in public spaces, such as stores, pharmacies, and post offices. It was expected Hungarian would be used more frequently in Baranja in these everyday interactions due to the region's higher density of Hungarian speakers. In Slavonia, particularly in rural areas, it was anticipated that such interactions would predominantly occur in Croatian, as the likelihood of encountering Hungarian-speaking staff in these locations would be much lower.

It was also anticipated that the majority of respondents from Baranja would fill out the survey in Hungarian, given their stronger retention of the language in daily life and community use. However, for Slavonia, it was expected that most respondents would complete the survey in Croatian due to the region's more significant language shift towards Croatian as the dominant language.

Furthermore, I believe language transmission to children would differ between the regions. It was expected that more respondents in Slavonia would choose not to teach Hungarian to their children, reflecting common concerns I had heard, such as the belief that Hungarian is not necessary or that children might face difficulties in school if they speak Hungarian. In contrast, I anticipated that respondents in Baranja would be more committed to passing on Hungarian to the next generation.

Lastly, I predicted that respondents from Baranja, where Hungarian identity is more robust, would be less likely to feel that Croatian culture is part of their own. In Slavonia, I expected more respondents to express a connection to Croatian culture, reflecting the more significant influence of Croatian society in this region.

## **2. Literature review**

### **2.1. Language attrition**

Language attrition, a vital focus of this study, is a phenomenon that has accumulated extensive attention in linguistic research over the past several decades. This process has always existed since the beginning of human migration and language contact, where individuals and communities encounter new languages and gradually lose proficiency in their original languages because of changes in the linguistic environment. The causes of language attrition can vary from natural shifts in language use to significant political events such as wars and territorial changes. In such cases, individuals may be forced to adapt to new linguistic environments by moving to different countries, or they may find the world around them changing even if they remain in the same place as political borders and dominant languages alter (Bódi, 2022: 3).

#### **2.1.1. Language attrition hypotheses**

According to Park, E. S. (2018), language attrition is a process in which an individual gradually experiences a reduction or loss in their linguistic abilities. It is also essential to add to this definition

that it is a “non-pathological decline in proficiency in a language that was previously learned by an individual” (Schmid et al. 2004: 3).

First language attrition, particularly in the contexts of bilingualism and multilingualism, is one of the most extensively studied aspects of language attrition. This phenomenon is widespread in regions where migration remains significant, making it a regular instance as people increasingly move across borders, which leads to shifts in their linguistic landscapes.

Park (2018) discusses the most researched hypotheses of language attrition. Firstly, he mentions the “last in, first out” model, which means that an individual is more likely to lose the language skills of the language that he learned last. Secondly, the model “best learned, last out” has also gained noticeable attention. It indicates that when an individual’s language knowledge reaches a certain threshold, it will be less prone to attrition. In addition to the latter, another hypothesis suggests that the higher a person's language proficiency before they start losing it, the more likely they are to retain that language. The following hypothesis Park mentions can be examined in Croatia, using the example of Hungarian as the affected language. It suggests that when language attrition occurs, the language is strongly influenced by the new dominant language (which would be Croatian in the mentioned example), which is known as *crosslinguistic influence* or *interference*. The hypothesis predicts that the areas of the original language that are the most different from the new language will most likely be forgotten or altered. For example, if the original language has grammar or sounds that the new language does not have, those parts of the original language will likely show the most decline. The last model Park mentions is *the dormant language hypothesis*, which considers what happens to an individual’s language knowledge at the end of the language attrition process. The question raised here is whether there is a complete loss of linguistic knowledge or whether there are traces that remain in the mind.

While the majority of the research on language attrition and language maintenance focuses on communities formed through migration, there has been less extensive study of these phenomena in contexts where a minority group exists not due to recent migration but as a result of historical political and territorial changes, also called *regional minorities* as opposed to the above mentioned *migrant minorities* (Gal, 2008: 207). Such cases are less common but present a unique dynamics that differ from those typically associated with migration, where individuals relocate under various circumstances. The status of the Hungarian minority in Croatia, for example, represents a specific scenario where the community has been established for over a century due to the shifts in national

borders beyond their control, contrasting with migration-driven scenarios (to be discussed in 2.3.1. below).

## **2.2. Minority languages and cultural identity**

### **2.2.1. Language and identity**

In his book, John E. Joseph (2004) explores comprehensively how language is deeply connected to various forms of identity. He shows that language is a means of communication and a crucial marker of national, ethnic, and religious identities. These identities are shaped and expressed through language, which can be a powerful tool for inclusion and exclusion.

Joseph highlights the complex power dynamics in the relationship between language and identity and the role of language policies in shaping these dynamics. His work underscores the importance of understanding the multifaceted role of language in identity formation and the need for policies that respect and protect linguistic diversity.

Through this analysis, Joseph's work offers valuable insights into how language shapes who we are and how we relate to others.

Considering how language is a major part of one's national identity, it is evident why minority communities would like to preserve their heritage language and ethnicity. Education is crucial in this process; however, it is not the most important feature of promoting and protecting minority languages. Society and the community are as crucial in revitalizing a minority language (Gorter, 2015).

### **2.2.2. Language vitality**

Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor's (1977) work, *Towards a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations*, introduces the concept of *ethnolinguistic vitality* as a framework for understanding the survival and development of linguistic groups in intergroup contexts. They define ethnolinguistic vitality as the factors that make a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in situations involving multiple groups. The authors argue that ethnolinguistic groups with high vitality are likelier to maintain their language and culture. In contrast, groups with low vitality may face the risk of linguistic and cultural assimilation.



The framework proposed by Giles and his colleagues organizes the factors influencing ethnolinguistic vitality into three main categories: Status, Demographic, and Institutional Support. Status factors relate to a language group's perceived prestige and social standing within a broader social context. Demographic factors involve the group members' size, concentration, and distribution. Institutional Support factors pertain to the extent to which a language group is represented and supported by institutions such as government bodies, educational systems, media, and religious organizations.

Additionally, the authors integrate Tajfel's theory of intergroup relations, suggesting that language plays a critical role in social categorization, social identity, and social comparison. They emphasize that language behavior is a significant element in achieving positive social identity within a group. The work also incorporates Giles's theory of speech accommodation, which examines how individuals adjust their speech in social contexts through strategies like convergence, non-convergence, and divergence. These linguistic strategies are seen as tools that individuals use to negotiate their social identity and group membership.

The authors conclude that the structural variables they outline—status, demographic, and institutional support—are essential in shaping the social psychological processes that affect group members. This integrated theoretical approach provides a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics contributing to ethnolinguistic groups' vitality and potential survival in various intergroup settings (Giles et al. 1977).

In their discussion of language attrition, Schmid and de Bot emphasize the critical role of ethnic identity, especially for minority groups. They refer to the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality, which researchers like Howard Giles and Richard Bourhis initially developed. This theory explains how strong social identity and group cohesion can help maintain a minority language. According to Schmid and De Bot, societal perceptions and pressures, rather than just individual attitudes, influence language retention or attrition, as these factors determine how minorities navigate their identity in relation to the dominant culture (Schmid S. and De Bot, 2004).

### **2.2.3. Importance of language in minority communities**

Bartha (2003) explained the context of language ecology in the 2000s. Local and global social, economic, and political processes and linguistic contexts have always influenced languages and their communities. Changes made by globalization and migration have shaped new forms of interaction between different linguistic groups within states. Bartha (2003) also mentioned how

minority languages are disappearing faster than ever. Some languages, particularly "world languages," like English, are becoming dominant, while many minority languages face extinction. Although elite, voluntary bilingualism is spreading, many minorities are forced to abandon their native languages in favor of majority languages due to socio-economic and political pressures. Bartha's work emphasizes the connection between language practices and societal power dynamics, highlighting that the understanding and maintenance of languages are closely linked to political and ideological frameworks. She points out that the elite, such as governments, academia, and economic groups, shape language ideologies and practices that benefit their interests. This contrasts with minority communities, who often face linguistic shifts due to socio-economic pressures. Voluntary bilingualism is viewed as elitist because it reflects the choices and privileges of the dominant groups rather than those of the marginalized minority communities. Reading this in 2024 remains remarkably accurate.

The primary reason for the disappearance of human languages, according to Grenoble and Whaley, is the complex interplay of political, social, and economic pressures that favor the dominance of majority languages over minority ones. As more powerful languages gain prevalence, speakers of minority languages may gradually shift toward the majority language, often due to societal pressures or perceived economic benefits. Over time, this shift leads to a reduction in the use of the minority language, particularly across generations, as younger speakers increasingly adopt the dominant language. This gradual erosion of linguistic diversity contributes to a broader global trend of language loss, mirroring the broader patterns of endangerment observed across different communities and regions. These patterns reflect the multifaceted nature of language endangerment, influenced by both external forces and internal community dynamics (Grenoble and Whaley 1998).

Bartha (2003) also observed the power imbalance between the majority and the minority, closely tied to the monocultural and monolingual nation-state structure. In this system, minorities that either cannot or do not want to integrate into the dominant culture become seen as potential threats. She also explains how, over the past two hundred years in Europe, nationalism has been the central ideology driving the formal recognition of particular languages as national (and official) languages, integrating them into society, culture, and language policies. At the same time, this has led to the suppression of other languages and dialects and their speakers within the same state, deepening the divide between the majority and minority groups.

A language's real endangerment seems to begin when its demographic, geographic, social, political, and other environments change so much that it loses its actual communicative (market) value. The roles and values associated with it become purely symbolic. Increasingly, analyses emphasize that the language choices and long-term linguistic decisions of minority language speakers are influenced by the rational economic consideration that they perceive the actual "advantages" of switching to the majority language, which is seen as "more modern" (Bartha 2003).

### **2.3. The Hungarian minority**

How one perceives belonging to the Hungarian nation can be based on self-identification (a person is considered Hungarian if they identify as Hungarian) or on citizenship criteria. Ablonczy and Bárdi (2010) claim that in the former case, we are speaking of a cultural nation (an ethnocultural community), while in the latter case, we refer to a political nation (a political community). Therefore, they argue that "Hungarian minority communities" is a more appropriate term than the term "*Hungarians beyond the borders.*"

The term 'Hungarians beyond the border' (*határon túli magyarok*) refers to those individuals who identify as Hungarian but live outside Hungary's current state borders, within the Carpathian Basin on territories once part of historic Hungary. This includes Hungarians living in neighboring countries who, as a result of the Treaty of Trianon on June 4, 1920, found themselves outside the newly established borders of Hungary (Gyémánt, 2017).

Hungarian speakers today live both as migrant minorities and as regional minorities. In 2008, Gal explained how few Hungarian speakers could be found as migrants in various parts of Western Europe, North and South America, Israel, and Australia. Additionally, Hungarian speakers represent one of Europe's largest regional minority groups. These communities are located in territories such as Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, and Austria in a region enclosed by the Carpathian Mountains to the north and southeast and the easternmost part of the Alps to the west. Their settlement histories in these regions date back several centuries (Gal, 2008).

In smaller rural communities within these regions, bilingualism had become more prevalent by the early 2000s. The process of language shift was well advanced, particularly among younger generations. Many Hungarians worked as migrant laborers, particularly in Austria and Germany, where they earned money reinvested into their farms back home. Despite this mobility,

opportunities for higher education in these rural communities remained limited, with few pursuing secondary or tertiary education (Gal, 2008).

This situation contrasts with typical migrant communities, where migration often creates linguistic shifts within one or two generations. In the case of regional minorities like the Hungarian minority in Croatia, the pressures for language shift may be slower and more intertwined with local economic, social, and educational factors.

The population of Hungarian minority communities is continuously declining, which can be attributed to demographic, migration, and assimilation factors. Their settlement areas are also shrinking, and their socio-economic positions within these regions have significantly weakened. The causes of this can be traced back to social processes that largely stem from the disadvantages of minority status and the nation-building efforts of the respective countries. This can collectively be referred to as the uncertainty of the national and communal future of Hungarian minorities. By this, we mean the lack of opportunities for Hungarian minorities to achieve a status in their countries of citizenship/origin that would allow them to experience and pass on their nationality with the same chances as their majority fellow citizens. Influential members of minority groups are working to create solid and so unified communities within specific regions. They do this by setting up organizations that bring together people of the same ethnic background. These organizations do not just focus on preserving language and culture; they also address social, economic, and political needs. Building this sense of community is similar to nation-building, and it's different from communities formed based on shared beliefs or financial interests. (Ablonczy and Bárdi, 2010).

### **2.3.1. Origins of the Hungarian minority in Croatia**

Hungary, as part of the Austrian Empire and later the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, was a country with many nationalities. Still, at the beginning of the 20th century, nearly half of the population were non-Hungarians. The Treaty of Trianon, signed in 1920 to end World War I, significantly altered Hungary's borders, reducing its territory by two-thirds and redistributing these lands to neighboring countries. This change left Hungary with a much smaller and more linguistically uniform population, where only 7.9% were non-Hungarian speakers. Meanwhile, around one-third of Hungarian speakers—approximately 3.3 million people—found themselves living in these newly defined neighboring states (Gal 2008).

Hungarians in Yugoslavia became a significant ethnic minority after the Treaty of Trianon. Within Yugoslavia, Hungarian communities were primarily located in Vojvodina, an area that maintained a degree of cultural and political autonomy. This autonomy allowed Hungarians to preserve their language and cultural practices through state-supported institutions, such as schools and cultural organizations. However, despite these protections, Hungarians in Yugoslavia still faced challenges related to national integration policies and shifting political landscapes, which influenced their cultural and linguistic identity. The dissolution of Yugoslavia further complicated these dynamics, affecting Hungarian communities' socio-political and cultural continuity in the newly formed states (Kocsis and Kocsis-Hodosi, 1998).

Following the Croatian War of Independence of 1991 and the establishment of new borders after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, Hungarian-speaking areas in Croatia became culturally and educationally isolated from Vojvodina (Lehocki-Samardžić, 2014).

In „Ethnic Geography of the Hungarian Minorities in the Carpathian Basin“ Vojvodina is highlighted as a critical cultural and educational hub for Hungarians during Yugoslavia's existence. The region's autonomous status allowed for Hungarian-language education and cultural institutions, which preserved Hungarian identity outside Hungary. With the dissolution of Yugoslavia, these institutions played a critical role in maintaining Hungarian culture amid changing political landscapes and pressures (Kocsis and Kocsis-Hodosi, 1998).

After establishing new borders in Croatia, the Hungarian community had to independently verify its entire educational system, cultural life, and media and develop institutions and intellectual leadership. Over the past two decades, the number of Hungarians in Croatia has decreased significantly, leading to cultural and linguistic "re-Hungarianization" as a spontaneous response to post-war conditions (Lehocki-Samardžić, 2014).

Every political and social change brings cultural and linguistic shifts. Hungarian education in Croatia was mostly limited to primary education in a Slavic-majority environment. Secondary education in the Hungarian language was only available in Beli Manastir, the center of Baranja. For higher education in Hungarian, students had to go to Hungary or Vojvodina. However, the new borders established after the Croatian War of Independence reduced these opportunities, and many students chose to remain in Croatia, continuing their studies in Croatian-language institutions (Lehocki-Samardžić, 2014).

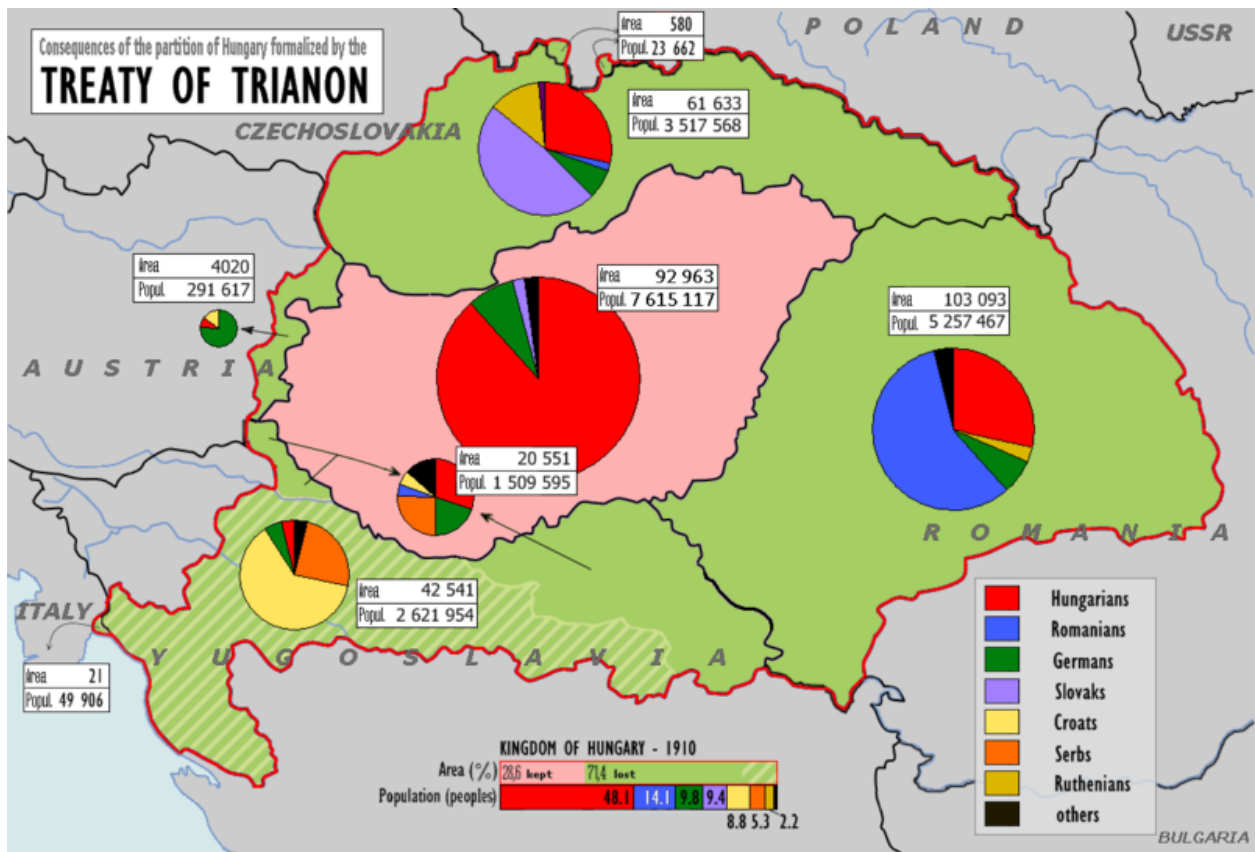


Figure 1. A map showing the newfound borders after the Treaty of Trianon in 1920 ([https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Magyarország\\_1920.png](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Magyarország_1920.png)).

### 2.3.2. Hungarian minority in Croatia today

The political changes created by the Treaty of Trianon set the stage for the sociolinguistic phenomena we observe today. While the initial language shift was caused by the need to adapt to new political realities, the following generations have faced balancing their Hungarian heritage with the dominant Croatian culture. Language attrition and language shift have been the case in this area for over a hundred years. Still, a modest part of the society managed to preserve their heritage language and culture despite everything while also adopting the language and culture of the country they live in (Bódi, 2022: 30).

For the Hungarian national minority in Croatia, preserving language and culture is crucial, as it is also a condition for maintaining national identity. Since schools can no longer rely on students' language knowledge acquired at home, the Croatian government is trying to make language and culture accessible to everyone (explained in more detail below, in 2.3.3.). This means that language

proficiency, the cultivation of customs/traditions, and knowledge of culture, language, and the present must all contribute to preserving identity.

According to the 2011 census data, 14,048 people identified as Hungarians. According to the Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 72.82% of those of Hungarian nationality, or 10,231 people, declared Hungarian as their mother tongue.

According to the data from the Croatian Bureau of Statistics, the 2021 Population Census shows that 10,315 members of the Hungarian national minority live in the Republic of Croatia. Most Hungarians live in the Osijek-Baranja, Vukovar-Sirmium, Bjelovar-Bilogora, and Primorje-Gorski Kotar counties and the City of Zagreb.

In 1995, the Republic of Croatia signed a bilateral agreement with Hungary on the protection of the rights of national minorities, specifically the Hungarian national minority in Croatia and the Croatian national minority in Hungary (Ministarstvo znanosti i obrazovanja RH, [https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2020\\_07\\_83\\_1556.html](https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2020_07_83_1556.html)).

### **2.3.3. Hungarian language in Croatia**

The language of the Hungarian minority in Croatia includes Slavic elements previously borrowed into standard Hungarian<sup>1</sup>. However, the region also incorporates Croatian words and expressions unfamiliar to standard Hungarian. These specific borrowings reflect unique historical and cultural reasons (Lehocki-Samardžić, 2014). In Lehocki-Samardžić's work called „A horvát nyelv hatása a drávaszögi magyar nyelvre“ it is analyzed how Croatian has influenced the Hungarian language among the minority in Baranja. Most of the linguistic material analyzed in the study entered the language of the Hungarian minority in Croatia during and after the Croatian War of Independence. Lehocki-Samardžić aimed to show how the dialect present among the Hungarians in Baranja is not damaged as it is being labeled but instead enriched by the borrowings from the dominant language.

The work "Dialectal Features of the 'Baranja Speech'" from 2016 by Ana Lehocki-Samardžić examines language contact phenomena and various linguistic elements distinctive to the Hungarian spoken in Baranja. While many features are unique to the Baranja dialect, some similarities with the Hungarian used in Slavonia were observed during my analysis. For example:

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<sup>1</sup> “The standard (in other words, denoted by the standard, the literary language) is a codified language version of a language community.” Tolcsvai Nagy (2017)

- The conjugation patterns of verbs like "to go," "to come," and "to be" (existential verbs).
- The case endings of noun stems.
- The frequent use of diminutive suffixes in both Baranja and Slavonia.
- The shortening of high-position long vowels due to changes in vowel duration.

These examples demonstrate that, despite some unique characteristics specific to Baranja, there are shared linguistic features between the Hungarian spoken in Baranja and Slavonia. This suggests that both regions have experienced similar linguistic influences from Croatian. However, the Baranja dialect has developed its distinct linguistic identity, reflecting a unique blend of influences and the cultural and social context of the Hungarian-speaking community in that region.

#### **2.3.4. Linguistic landscape**

The concept of the linguistic landscape revolves around the focus on language present in the environment, specifically, the words and images displayed in public spaces. This rapidly growing field examines language not only as something spoken and heard but also as something that is visually represented and displayed, whether for functional purposes or symbolic significance. Language in public spaces has captured the interest of researchers and scholars, who seek to study and interpret its meanings, messages, functions, and contexts. This type of language, visible everywhere, is intrinsically linked to people responsible for creating and presenting it in various spaces. They are the ones who put up signs, display posters, design advertisements, write instructions, and develop websites. People also engage with these displays by reading, interpreting, and sometimes disregarding or removing them. Linguistic landscape studies intersect with numerous fields and attract scholars from diverse disciplines, including linguistics, geography, education, sociology, politics, environmental studies, semiotics, communication, architecture, urban planning, literacy, applied linguistics, and economics. These scholars are interested in exploring the deeper meanings and messages language conveys in different spaces and environments (Shohamy and Gorter, 2009).

The laws that govern a place's language policy and linguistic environment shape its linguistic landscape. These elements are intertwined with language policy at the state, regional, and local levels, providing a prescriptive framework for the concept of a linguistic landscape. The linguistic landscape, therefore, acts as a concrete variable in this framework, representing the actual use of language in public spaces.



Lehocki's research called 'Linguistic Landscape of Bilje (Southern Baranja) in the Context of Minority Bilingualism' from 2016 focuses on the linguistic landscape of Bilje, a town in southern Baranja known for its multi-ethnic composition as the center of a bilingual municipality in eastern Croatia. The study examines how the Law on Use of Languages and Scripts of National Minorities<sup>2</sup> enables the most prominent national groups in Bilje to use their mother tongue and script.

Unlike bilingualism in other multinational regions, Bilje represents "minority bilingualism," where minority languages are used alongside the majority language. The findings reveal a significant presence of Hungarian language use in both private and public spheres in Bilje despite a recent decline in the Hungarian-speaking population due to various factors, including migration and demographic changes. The analysis of 252 official and unofficial signs in Bilje shows that Hungarian is still visible in public spaces, especially in areas with a higher concentration of Hungarian speakers. This visibility reflects the importance of Hungarian culture and language in Bilje's everyday life. However, it is increasingly confined to private usage as the dominant Croatian language prevails in public interactions (Lehocki, 2016).

This research provides concrete evidence of the prevalence of the Hungarian minority and cultural influence in Baranja, which is vital in understanding the Hungarian minority in Croatia. It highlights how the Hungarian language remains a visible and integral part of the public and private life in Baranja, reflecting the strong cultural presence and identity of the Hungarian community. By documenting the use of Hungarian in various forms, such as bilingual signage and official documents, Lehocki's research underscores the community's efforts to preserve its linguistic heritage within a multicultural environment. This is particularly relevant for examining the broader dynamics of minority language maintenance in Croatia, illustrating the importance of linguistic landscapes in supporting cultural and linguistic diversity.

### **2.3.5. Geographical and cultural context of Slavonia and Baranja**

Slavonia is a historical and geographical region located in the eastern part of Croatia. The Sava River borders it to the south, the Drava River to the north, the Ilova River to the west, the state border to the east, and the Bosut and Vuka rivers to the southeast. Together with Baranja and Sirmium, it forms part of the broader region known as Eastern Croatia. Although Slavonia is not an isolated unit due to modern transportation and social integration within Croatia, the term remains widely used. The region encompasses Požega-Slavonia and Brod-Posavina counties, a

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<sup>2</sup> [https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2000\\_05\\_51\\_1128.html](https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2000_05_51_1128.html)

large part of Osijek-Baranja County, portions of Virovitica-Podravina and Bjelovar-Bilogora counties, and smaller parts of Sisak-Moslavina and Vukovar-Sirmium counties (Hrvatska enciklopedija).

Baranja, on the other hand, is a geographical and historical region divided between Hungary (its northern part) and Croatia (its southern part). It is part of the Pannonian Plain. In Croatia, Baranja is located in the eastern part of the country, near the confluence of the Drava and Danube rivers, within Osijek-Baranja County. The Croatian part of Baranja is bounded by the Drava and Danube rivers and the land border with Hungary (Hrvatska enciklopedija).



Figure 2. A schematic map of Baranja which shows the region and its villages (Lokalna akcijska grupa (LAG) Baranja, <https://lag-baranja.hr/lag/item/1378-broj-stanovnika-baranjskih-mjesta-po-popisima-2021-2011-i-2001>).

I differentiate between Slavonia and Baranja in this study based on commonly accepted geographic and cultural distinctions recognized within local communities and Croatian society. It is widely acknowledged and accepted among the inhabitants of this region that everything north of the Drava River is considered Baranja, while areas south of the Drava are considered Slavonia. This division reflects not only geographical positioning but also distinct cultural, historical, and social identities deeply ingrained in the local consciousness.

This differentiation between Slavonia and Baranja is a standard narrative in Croatia, particularly in Osijek-Baranja County, where both regions are situated. This understanding is evident in everyday conversations, media, and even administrative contexts, where the Drava River serves as a natural and symbolic boundary between the two regions.



Figure 3. A map of eastern Croatia's counties (<https://gddizajn.hr/product/istocna-hrvatska-142x100-cm/>).

In Croatia, the terms "Slavonija" and "Baranja" are commonly used in everyday language and formally recognized and employed in official government communications. This is evident from the usage of these terms on the official website of the Croatian Government, specifically in reference to The development agreement Slavonia, Baranja, and Srijem (<https://razvoj.gov.hr/projekt-slavonija-baranja-i-srijem-4234/4234>). This project, detailed on the website of the Ministry of Regional Development and EU Funds, demonstrates how these regional names are used to define distinct geographical, cultural, and developmental regions within the country. The Croatian government acknowledges these as widely accepted and recognized regional designations by using the names "Slavonija" and "Baranja" in the project's title and throughout its documentation. This official use underscores these terms' cultural and

administrative relevance, reinforcing their status as widely accepted names for these regions among the Croatian public and within governmental frameworks.

This recognition aligns with the regional distinctions recognized in this study, where "Slavonija" and "Baranja" are treated as separate entities based on geographic and cultural criteria. The consistent use of these terms in official and colloquial contexts supports the legitimacy of this differentiation in analyzing language attrition among the Hungarian minority.

Recognizing these distinct identities is essential for this study, as it provides a framework for understanding the varying dynamics of language use, maintenance, and attrition among the Hungarian minority in Croatia. By adhering to this locally accepted distinction, the study aligns with the region's social and cultural realities, ensuring that the analysis is relevant and accurately reflects the lived experiences of the Hungarian communities in Slavonia and Baranja.

Another example where these two terms are being used is in the book called *Drávaszög és Szlavónia. Adalékok a horvátországi magyarok nyelvéhez és kultúrájához* "Drava-corner and Slavonia. Additions to the Croatian Hungarians language and culture"<sup>3</sup> by Gasparics and Ruda (2014). "Drávaszög" refers to Baranja - the part between the Drava River and the Hungarian border to the north. My translation of this word would be Drava-corner/Drava-angle. This reference supports the notion that it is common to differentiate between these two regions rather than using broader terms like "Eastern Croatia." The use of "Drávaszög" in academic and cultural contexts highlights the significance of these regional distinctions in understanding the historical and contemporary experiences of the Hungarian minority in Croatia and makes a clear distinction from the Baranya county in the bordering part of Hungary.

The table below demonstrates that, despite including all municipalities within the Osijek-Baranja County, there are significantly more municipalities in Slavonia than in Baranja, both in terms of total count and geographical size. Nevertheless, the total number of Hungarians residing in Baranja is markedly higher than in Slavonia. This highlights a significant difference in the concentration and distribution of the Hungarian minority between these two regions, underscoring Baranja's greater Hungarian presence despite its smaller size and fewer municipalities.

*Table 1.* List of Hungarian population in Slavonia and Baranja by municipalities (according to the 2021 census data - <https://dzs.gov.hr/u-fokusu/popis-2021/88>).

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<sup>3</sup> Author's translation.

Region	Municipality	Hungarian population	Percentage of total population
Slavonia	Antunovac	29	0.85%
	Bizovac	8	0.21%
	Čepin	26	0.27%
	Donja Motičina	1	0.07%
	Drenje	1	0.05%
	Đurđenovac	2	0.04%
	Erdut	268	4.93%
	Ernestinovo	304	15.61%
	Feričanci	1	0.06%
	Gorjani	0	0
	Koška	4	0.13%
	Levanjska Varoš	0	0
	Magadenovac	2	0.13%
	Marijanci	5	0.26%
	Petrijevci	10	0.40%
	Podgorač	2	0.08%
	Podravska Moslavina	0	0
	Punitovci	0	0
	Satnica Đakovačka	2	0.11%
	Semeljci	3	0.08%
	Strizivojna	0	0
	Šodolovci	6	0.49%
	Trnava	0	0
	Viljevo	0	0
Viškovci	5	0.33%	
Vladislavci	108	6.96%	
Vuka	0	0	
<b>Total Slavonia</b>	<b>787</b>		
Baranja	Bilje	1238	25.94%
	Čeminac	71	2.86%
	Darda	381	7.02%
	Draž	432	22.17%

	Jagodnjak	58	3.87%
	Kneževi Vinogradi	1299	38.70%
	Petlovac	244	13.02%
	Popovac	47	3.25%
<b>Total Baranja</b>		<b>3770</b>	

### 2.3.6. Hungarian education in Croatia

The pedagogical practices of a diverse community often show how the larger community treats minorities and how much ideas about language and ethnicity affect the authorities' views on minority issues. Research has shown that schools can significantly impact whether languages in diverse communities are kept alive or lost, depending on how and in what languages they teach (Göncz, 1999).

Members of the Hungarian national minority exercise their right to education by participating in preschool education in their mother tongue; by participating in Model A, Model B, and Model C of primary education, as well as in Model A and Model C of secondary education. Model A provides education in the language and the script of the minorities, Model B involves bilingual education, and Model C means language and culture nurturing (perseverance of the heritage language) (Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i mladih, <https://mzom.gov.hr/istaknute teme/odgoj-i-obrazovanje/obrazovanje-nacionalnih-manjina/571>).

Additionally, to preserve the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identity of students who are members of national minorities in the Republic of Croatia, education is provided through the organization of summer schools as unique forms of instruction and the implementation of special programs. This education is also supported by minority institutions primarily focusing on education (Ured za ljudska prava i prava nacionalnih manjina, <https://pravamanjina.gov.hr/nacionalne-manjine/nacionalne-manjine-u-republici-hrvatskoj/madjari/375>).

*Table 2.* List of all primary and secondary schools in Croatia where Hungarian is taught using different models. (Horvat, 2024).

Model of teaching	Learning level	School	Location
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A	Elementary school	Osnovna škola (OŠ) Zmajevac	Zmajevac, PŠ Kotlina, PŠ Novi Bezdán, PŠ Suza
A	Elementary and secondary school	Prosvjetno-kulturni centar Mađara u Republici Hrvatskoj	Osijek
A	Elementary school	OŠ Korog	Korog
B	Elementary school	OŠ Ivana Gundulića	Zagreb
B	Elementary school	OŠ Lug	Lug, PŠ Kopačevo, PŠ Vardarac
C	Elementary school	IV. OŠ Bjelovar	Bjelovar
C	Elementary school	OŠ Antunovac	Antunovac
C	Elementary school	OŠ Čakovci	Čakovci
C	Elementary school	OŠ Stari Jankovci	Stari Jankovci
C	Elementary school	OŠ Dr. Franjo Tuđman	Beli Manastir
C	Elementary school	OŠ Bilje	Bilje
C	Elementary school	OŠ Darda	Darda
C	Elementary school	OŠ Draž	Draž
C	Elementary school	OŠ Kneževi Vinogradi	Kneževi Vinogradi
C	Elementary school	OŠ Jagodnjak	Jagodnjak
C	Elementary school	OŠ Laslovo	Laslovo
C	Elementary school	OŠ Mate Lovrak	Vladislavci
C	Elementary school	OŠ F.K. Frankopana	Osijek
C	Elementary school	OŠ F. Krežme	Osijek
C	Elementary school	OŠ Gradina	Gradina
C	Elementary school	OŠ Vladimira Nazora	Đakovo
C	Elementary school	OŠ Grubišno Polje	Grubišno Polje
C	Elementary school	OŠ Jana Amosa Komenskog	Daruvar
C	Elementary school	OŠ Dežanovac	Dežanovac
C	Elementary school	OŠ Lokva gripe	Split
C	Elementary school	OŠ I.B. Mažuranić	Virovitica
C	Secondary school	Druga srednja škola	Beli Manastir

In the academic year 2023/2024, Osijek-Baranja County recorded 169 students enrolled in Hungarian language programs in primary school education, with the majority participating in Model A (160 students) and a smaller cohort in Model B (9 students). The data provided by the

Education and Teacher Training Agency (Agencija za odgoj i obrazovanje)<sup>4</sup> includes only information for Models A and B. At the same time, specific enrollment numbers for Model C are unavailable. However, a list of schools where Model C is available is provided below.

#### **2.3.6.1. Model A enrollment in Osijek-Baranja County 2023/2024**

*Educational and Cultural Center of Hungarians in Croatia, Osijek:* This institution has the highest enrollment, with 104 students studying under Model A, indicating its crucial role in preserving and promoting Hungarian language education in the region.

Primary school *Zmajevac:* This school enrolls 32 students in Model A, with additional students distributed across its branch schools:

- Branch school Kotlina: 7 students.
- Branch school Novi Bezdán: 10 students.
- Branch school Suza: 12 students.

The total number of Model A students at Primary school *Zmajevac*, including branch schools, is 61.

Primary school *Lug:* Primary school *Lug* accommodates 34 students under Model A, with an additional 12 students at its branch school in Vardarac, bringing the total to 46 students.

In total, 160 students are enrolled in Model A, with the *Educational and Cultural Center of Hungarians in Croatia* having the largest share, followed by Primary school *Lug* and Primary school *Zmajevac*. This distribution shows the significance of these institutions in Hungarian language education.

#### **2.3.6.2. Model B Enrollment in Osijek-Baranja County 2023/2024**

The Model B program is limited to Primary school *Lug*, with 9 students enrolled:

- Primary school *Lug:* 5 students.
- Branch school *Kopačevo:* 4 students.

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<sup>4</sup><https://app.powerbi.com/view?r=eyJrIjoieZWE3YTE4OWQtOWJmNC00OTJmLWE2MjktYTQ5MWJINDNlZDQ0liwidCI6IjJMTFJYmNjLWI3NjEtNDVkYi1hOWY1LTRhYzc3ZTk0ZTFkNCIsImMiOjph9>



### 2.3.6.3. Model C Enrollment in Osijek-Baranja County 2023/2024

While specific enrollment figures are unavailable, Model C is available in numerous schools throughout the county, offering cultivation of the Hungarian language and culture. These programs provide vital support for students who may not have access to full immersion models in their place of residence.

Primary schools with teaching of Hungarian language and culture under model C in the Osijek-Baranja County:

- Primary School *Antunovac*, Antunovac
- Primary School *Antunovac*, Branch School *Ivanovac*
- Primary School *Franje Krežme*, Osijek
- Primary School *Dr. Franjo Tuđman*, Beli Manastir
- Primary School *Bilje*, Bilje
- Primary School *Dalj*, Dalj
- Primary School *Dalj*, Branch School *Erdut*
- Primary School *Darda*, Darda
- Primary School *Darda*, Branch School *Mece*
- Primary School *Draž*, Draž
- Primary School *Draž*, Branch School *Duboševica*
- Primary School *Draž*, Branch School *Batina*
- Primary School *Draž*, Branch School *Topolje*
- Primary School *Kneževi Vinogradi*
- Primary School *Kneževi Vinogradi*, Branch School *Karanac*
- Primary School *Kneževi Vinogradi*, *Grabovac*
- Primary School *Laslovo*, Laslovo
- Primary School *Mate Lovraka*, Vladislavci
- Primary School *Vladimir Nazor*, Đakovo
- Primary School *Vladimir Nazor*, Branch School *Ivanovci Gorjanski*
- Primary School *Zmajevac*, Zmajevac
- Primary School *Zmajevac*, Branch School *Suza*
- Primary School *Zmajevac*, Branch School *Novi Beždan*
- Primary School *Lug – Laskoi Altalanos Iskola*, Lug

Despite the absence of enrollment data, Model C's broad presence in schools highlights its significance in preserving Hungarian cultural ties and providing supplementary language education. Model C is offered in numerous schools across Slavonia, with some presence in Baranja, while Models A and B are predominantly concentrated in Baranja. Notably, the Educational and Cultural Center of Hungarians in Croatia, located in Osijek, the capital of Osijek-Baranja County, is technically situated in Slavonia. However, most Model A and B programs are primarily offered in Baranja, with Model C extending its coverage more widely across Slavonia.

### **3. Methodology**

#### **3.1. Research Design**

This study employs a socio-linguistic research design to explore the patterns of language attrition and maintenance among the Hungarian minority in Croatia's Slavonia and Baranja regions. A structured questionnaire was used to collect quantitative data from participants currently residing in these regions. The questionnaire is based on Keijzer's *Last in First Out?: An investigation of the regression hypothesis in Dutch emigrants in Anglophone Canada* from 2007. The aim was to identify the extent and nature of language attrition among Hungarian speakers and compare the differences between the two regions. The questionnaire was anonymous and distributed in the form of online Google forms by the so called snowball method and a minor number of forms was distributed in physical, paper form to older members of the community. The research was approved by the Ethical Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Decision, Class: 602-04/24-04/165, Off.nr: 2158-83-02-24-2, of 16 September 2024.

#### **3.2. Participants**

The participants in this study were members of the Hungarian minority living in Slavonia and Baranja in Croatia. The selection criteria specifically targeted individuals who have spent most of their lives, including childhood, in these regions and currently reside there. This approach ensures that the study accurately reflects the linguistic experiences and practices of those deeply embedded in these communities.

Participants were selected across a wide age range, with possible answers spanning from 0 to 14 to over 65 years old. This broad age range was chosen to capture diverse generational experiences and perspectives on language use and maintenance. Including participants from all age groups

allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the linguistic dynamics within these communities, considering the various influences that different generations may have experienced.

As previously discussed in section 2.3.1, the Hungarian minority's experience in Croatia shifted significantly after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, particularly with the loss of educational and cultural links to Vojvodina. By including participants of all ages, the study aims to explore the linguistic impact of these historical and socio-political changes on multiple generations within the Hungarian minority.

The study examines how these shifts have influenced language use among those who lived through different political landscapes, from the Yugoslav period to an independent Croatia. This inclusive age range provides a comprehensive understanding of the factors contributing to language attrition and maintenance among the Hungarian minority in Croatia, as highlighted in section 2.3.1.

Participants were recruited through local community organizations, cultural associations, and social networks, ensuring a diverse representation of the Hungarian-speaking population in these regions. This recruitment strategy helped capture various experiences and perspectives, further enriching the study's language attrition and maintenance findings.

### **3.3. Data collection**

Data were collected using a structured questionnaire that participants could complete in either Hungarian or Croatian, allowing for a self-assessed indication of language preference and comfort. The questionnaire was available in two formats: online via Google Forms and manually on paper. This Flexible approach facilitated broader participation by accommodating digitally literate individuals and those more comfortable with traditional paper surveys.

The questionnaire was designed to assess several dimensions of language use and attrition, including:

- **Demographic Information:** Age, gender, place of birth, nationality, highest level of education, and occupation.
- **Language Background:** Languages spoken, the primary language learned before entering primary school, and languages used in various social settings.

- **Language Use and Proficiency:** Frequency of Hungarian and Croatian language use in different contexts (e.g., family, workplace, social settings) and self-assessed proficiency levels in both languages.
- **Attitudes Toward Language Maintenance:** Perceptions of the importance of maintaining the Hungarian language and cultural identity and experiences and challenges related to bilingualism.

Additionally, the survey included questions on participants' experiences of language attrition, such as instances of difficulty in speaking Hungarian or discomfort when conversing with native Hungarian speakers from Hungary. In this study, the term "native speakers" refers to individuals residing in Hungary, where Hungarian is both their dominant language and the primary language of their surrounding environment.

### **3.4. Data analysis**

The collected data were analyzed using IBM SPSS Statistics software. Descriptive statistics were calculated to summarize the participants' demographic information and language use patterns. Cross-tabulation and chi-square tests were used to compare the frequency and contexts of Hungarian language use between participants from Slavonia and Baranja. Additionally, logistic regression analysis was conducted to identify significant predictors of language attrition, such as age, education level, and frequency of Hungarian language use in various settings.

### **3.5. Ethical Considerations**

This study was conducted following ethical guidelines to ensure the privacy and confidentiality of all participants. Participation in the survey was voluntary, and informed consent was obtained from all respondents. As the sole researcher, I have exclusive access to the data, ensuring that the privacy of all participants is strictly maintained. No identifying information was collected to link participants to their responses, and all data were securely stored and anonymized.

### **3.6. Limitations**

The study focuses on Hungarian speakers currently residing in the Slavonia and Baranja regions, which limits the generalizability of the findings to the entire Hungarian minority in Croatia. Due to time, budget, and geographical scope constraints, conducting the research across the entire

Slavonia region was not feasible. Instead, the study concentrated on the Osijek-Baranja County, selecting participants from areas both above and below the Drava River to provide a representative comparison of language attrition in similar-sized regions within the county. This limitation should be considered when interpreting the findings, as further research is needed to include a broader range of participants from different areas.

## **4. Findings and Analysis**

This section presents the findings from the study on language attrition among the Hungarian minority in Croatia, specifically focusing on the regions of Slavonia and Baranja. The analysis is based on data collected through a detailed survey to capture various factors influencing language use, maintenance, and shift among the participants. The findings address the critical expectations of this study, particularly regarding the differing rates of language attrition observed between Slavonia and Baranja and the underlying factors contributing to these differences.

In line with the study's expectations, the findings explore how demographic characteristics, language proficiency, educational backgrounds, and social and cultural engagements influence language maintenance and shift. The results are organized to examine the primary factors contributing to higher rates of language attrition in Slavonia compared to Baranja, the impact of educational and social environments on language practices, and the attitudes of the Hungarian minority towards their heritage language and cultural identity.

The data, presented in both quantitative and qualitative forms, provide a nuanced understanding of the linguistic dynamics within these communities. Additionally, the findings highlight regional differences in language maintenance efforts and the socio-cultural factors that influence these efforts. These insights are crucial for understanding the broader context of minority language preservation in Croatia and contribute valuable knowledge to the field of sociolinguistics.

### **4.1. Demographic overview**

#### **4.1.1. Age and residence**

The survey results show a difference in age distribution between Slavonia and Baranja. In Slavonia, 21.3% of respondents are in the 15-24 age range, compared to 30.5% in Baranja. In contrast, the 45-54 age group represents 24.6% of respondents in Slavonia, while only 12.4% of respondents in Baranja fall within this age range.

The survey was primarily conducted online, and the overall age distribution may reflect the online format's influence on participation. The survey results indicate that 87.5% of respondents from Slavonia filled out the survey in Croatian, while 12.5% filled it out in Hungarian. In Baranja, 62.5% of respondents filled out the survey in Hungarian, with the remaining 37.5% choosing Croatian.

Table 3. Current residence in relation to age

Current residence region * Age Crosstabulation									
Current residence region		Age							Total
		0-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 or more	
Slavonia	Count	2	17	9	4	8	0	0	40
	% within the region	5.0%	42.5%	22.5%	10.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	% within Age	100.0%	60.7%	42.9%	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%
	% of Total	2.5%	21.3%	11.3%	5.0%	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%
Baranja	Count	0	11	12	8	4	4	1	40
	% within the region	0.0%	27.5%	30.0%	20.0%	10.0%	10.0%	2.5%	100.0%
	% within Age	0.0%	39.3%	57.1%	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%	100.0%	50.0%
	% of Total	0.0%	13.8%	15.0%	10.0%	5.0%	5.0%	1.3%	50.0%
Total	Count	2	28	21	12	12	4	1	80
	% within the region	2.5%	35.0%	26.3%	15.0%	15.0%	5.0%	1.3%	100.0%
	% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	2.5%	35.0%	26.3%	15.0%	15.0%	5.0%	1.3%	100.0%

#### 4.1.2. Nationality and dual citizenship

The survey data indicate that 56.5% of respondents in Slavonia identified as Croatian, compared to 43.5% in Baranja. Conversely, 52.6% of respondents in Baranja identified as Hungarian, while 47.4% did so in Slavonia.

Regarding dual citizenship, 61.5% of respondents in Baranja reported holding dual citizenship (Hungarian and Croatian), compared to 38.5% in Slavonia. Among those without dual citizenship, 61.0% of respondents were from Slavonia, while 39.0% were from Baranja.

*Table 4. Nationality and dual citizenship with region*

Question	Answer		Region		Total
			Slavonia	Baranja	
<b>Nationality</b>	Croatian	Count	13	10	23
		% within Nationality	56.5%	43.5%	100.0%
	Hungarian	Count	27	30	57
		% within Nationality	47.4%	52.6%	100.0%
<b>Total</b>		Count	40	40	80
		% within Nationality	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

Question	Answer		Region		Total
			Slavonia	Baranja	
<b>Dual citizenship</b>	Yes	Count	15	24	39
		% within Dual citizenship	38.5%	61.5%	100.0%
	No	Count	25	16	41
		% within Dual citizenship	61.0%	39.0%	100.0%
<b>Total</b>		Count	40	40	80
		% within Dual citizenship	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%

## 4.2. Language use and bilingualism

### 4.2.1. Languages learned before primary school

The survey results provide insights into the combinations of languages learned before primary school by respondents in Slavonia and Baranja. 48 respondents reported learning both Hungarian and Croatian before primary school, with 27 respondents from Slavonia and 21 from Baranja. In contrast, 24 respondents reported learning only Hungarian, with the majority from Baranja (18) and a smaller number from Slavonia (6). Additionally, 7 respondents in Slavonia reported learning only Croatian, while only 1 respondent in Baranja reported the same.

The crosstabulation of age and region with languages learned before primary school reveals additional patterns. In the youngest age group (0-14), both respondents (one from Slavonia and one from Baranja) reported learning only Hungarian before school.

In the 15-24 age group, 60% of respondents in Slavonia reported learning only Croatian, while the other 40% learned both Hungarian and Croatian. In Baranja, 60% of respondents in this age group learned both languages, and 40% learned only Hungarian.

For the 25-34 age group, the majority of respondents in Slavonia (67%) learned both Hungarian and Croatian, while 33% learned only Croatian. In Baranja, half of the respondents (50%) learned both languages, while the remaining 50% learned only Hungarian.

Among respondents in the 35-44 age group, 100% of respondents in Slavonia reported learning both Hungarian and Croatian, while in Baranja, 50% learned only Hungarian and 50% learned both languages.

In the 45-54 age group, 67% of respondents in Slavonia learned both languages, while the remaining 33% learned only Croatian. In Baranja, 50% of respondents learned both languages, and 50% learned only Hungarian.

Finally, in the 55-64 and 65 or more age groups, all respondents in both regions reported learning both Hungarian and Croatian before primary school.

Table 5. Hungarian and Croatian learned before primary school

Hungarian and Croatian learned before primary school	Region		Total
	Slavonia	Baranja	
No language selected	7	5	12
Only Hungarian	6	16	22
Only Croatian	6	0	6
Both Hungarian & Croatian	21	19	40
Total	40	40	80

**4.2.2. Mother tongue and dominant language**

The survey results show differences between Slavonia and Baranja regarding both Hungarian and Croatian as mother tongues and their persistence as dominant languages.



For Hungarian, 54.2% of respondents in Slavonia reported Hungarian as their mother tongue, while in Baranja, this figure was higher, with 67.5% identifying Hungarian as their mother tongue. However, not all respondents continued to regard Hungarian as their dominant language. In Slavonia, 45.8% of those who reported Hungarian as their mother tongue still considered it their dominant language, whereas, in Baranja, 87.1% maintained Hungarian as their dominant language.

For Croatian, 32.5% of respondents in Slavonia identified Croatian as their mother tongue, and among those, 100% continued to consider Croatian their dominant language today. In Baranja, 22.5% of respondents identified Croatian as their mother tongue, and 100% of those respondents also continued to see Croatian as their dominant language.

When asked whether they had ever experienced an awkward situation in Croatia due to speaking Hungarian, 13 respondents reported that they had. In comparison, 67 respondents indicated that they had not encountered such situations.

Regionally, the responses varied significantly. In Slavonia, 22.2% of respondents reported having experienced awkward situations, compared to 77.8% in Baranja. These results align with expectations, as the Hungarian minority in Baranja tends to use Hungarian more frequently daily, which may increase the likelihood of encountering such situations. Conversely, in Slavonia, where Croatian is more commonly spoken, fewer respondents reported these experiences.

Out of the 13 respondents who reported feeling uncomfortable, two provided specific examples. One respondent from Baranja mentioned experiencing awkwardness "in company," while another respondent from Slavonia explained that it was due to people's lack of awareness of the size of the Hungarian minority in this region.

#### **4.2.3. Bilingualism and school type**

The survey results show varying self-perceptions of bilingualism based on the type of school attended and region.

##### **Primary school in Slavonia:**

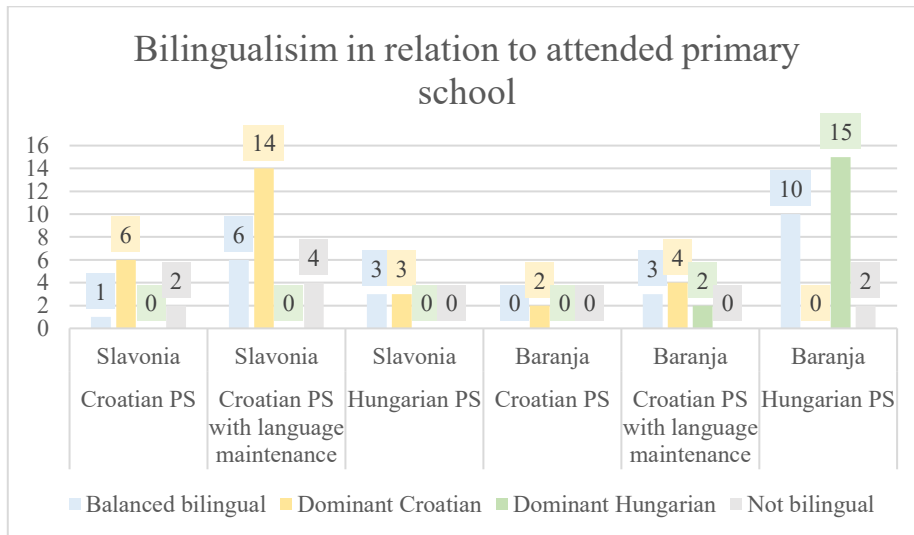
- Among the 9 respondents who attended Croatian primary schools, 6 considered themselves more proficient in Croatian, while 1 rated themselves equally proficient in both languages.

- Among the 24 respondents who attended Croatian primary schools with Hungarian language maintenance, 14 considered themselves more proficient in Croatian, 6 were equally proficient in both languages, and 4 reported proficiency in only one language.
- Of the 6 respondents who attended Hungarian primary schools, 3 rated themselves equally proficient in both languages, while none reported being more proficient in Hungarian.

**Primary school in Baranja:**

- Out of the 27 respondents who attended Hungarian primary schools, 15 considered themselves more proficient in Hungarian, while 10 were equally proficient in both languages, and 2 reported proficiency in only one language.
- Among the 2 respondents who attended Croatian primary schools, both rated themselves more proficient in Croatian.
- Out of 9 respondents who attended Croatian primary schools with Hungarian language maintenance, 3 were equally proficient in both languages, and 2 reported proficiency in only one language.

Figure 4. Chart showing bilingualism in relation to attended primary school



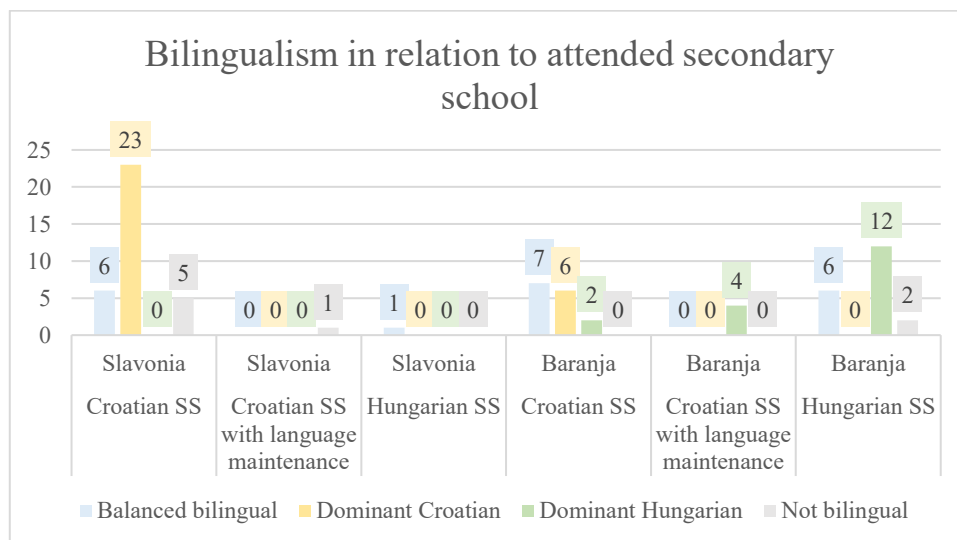
### Secondary school in Slavonia:

- Among 34 respondents who attended Croatian secondary schools, 23 considered themselves more proficient in Croatian, while 6 were equally proficient in both languages. Additionally, 5 respondents reported proficiency in only one language.
- Of the 6 respondents who attended Croatian secondary schools with Hungarian language maintenance, all 6 considered themselves equally proficient in both languages.
- Among 9 respondents who attended Hungarian secondary schools, 6 reported being more proficient in Hungarian, while 3 were equally proficient in both languages.

### Secondary school in Baranja:

- Among 20 respondents who attended Hungarian secondary schools, 12 considered themselves more proficient in Hungarian, 6 rated themselves equally proficient in both languages, and 2 reported proficiency in only one language.
- Out of the 15 respondents who attended Croatian secondary schools, 6 considered themselves equally proficient in both languages, while 6 reported being more proficient in Croatian, and 2 reported proficiency in only one language.
- Two respondents who attended Croatian secondary schools with Hungarian language maintenance rated themselves as more proficient in Croatian.

Figure 5. Chart showing bilingualism in relation to attended secondary school



### 4.3. Language use in specific contexts

The survey results show varying levels of discomfort when speaking with native Hungarians from Hungary between respondents from Slavonia and Baranja. To the question, “Do you ever feel uncomfortable when speaking to a native Hungarian from Hungary?” among respondents from Slavonia, 64% reported feeling uncomfortable when speaking with native Hungarians. In comparison, 36% of respondents in Baranja expressed the same discomfort. In contrast, 40% of respondents from Slavonia stated that they do not feel uncomfortable in such situations, compared to a higher percentage of 59.6% in Baranja.

The data also shows trends by age. Among the youngest age group (15-24 years), 66.7% of respondents in Slavonia reported discomfort, while 33.3% in Baranja felt the same way. This pattern continues across other age groups, with more Slavonian respondents in each category reporting discomfort than those from Baranja.

Seven respondents provided written explanations for why they felt uncomfortable when speaking to native Hungarians. These respondents mentioned difficulties in recalling specific words, differences in slang, and the influence of Croatian on their Hungarian. Respondents from Baranja also noted discomfort, although to a lesser extent, citing reasons such as native Hungarians speaking too fast or not understanding some of the words used in the Hungarian spoken by the minority in Croatia.

#### Summary of Written Responses:

1. Slavonia: Yes, I have trouble remembering words in Hungarian.
2. Slavonia: Yes, sometimes I cannot remember words at the moment, and some of the words we use are influenced by Croatian.
3. Slavonia: Yes, the slang is different compared to what we use in our village.
4. Slavonia: Yes, because I feel my Hungarian is not good enough for talking with a native Hungarian.
5. Slavonia: Yes, I cannot recall all the words I need.
6. Baranja: Yes, because they talk too fast and are incomprehensible.
7. Baranja: Yes, they do not understand some of our words.

### 4.3.1. Croatian language use in specific situations

The data shows varying patterns of Croatian language use across different contexts in Slavonia and Baranja:

**Family:** In Slavonia, 17 respondents reported always using Croatian, while 8 in Baranja reported the same. Additionally, 2 respondents in Slavonia and 5 in Baranja stated they never use Croatian with family.

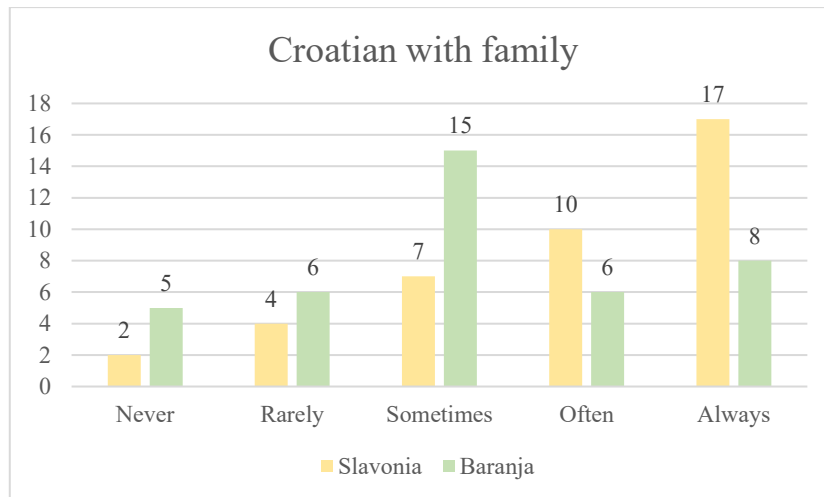


Figure 6. Use of Croatian language with family

**Friends:** Croatian was always used with friends by 22 respondents in Slavonia and 10 in Baranja. However, 1 respondent in Slavonia and 3 in Baranja reported never using Croatian with friends.

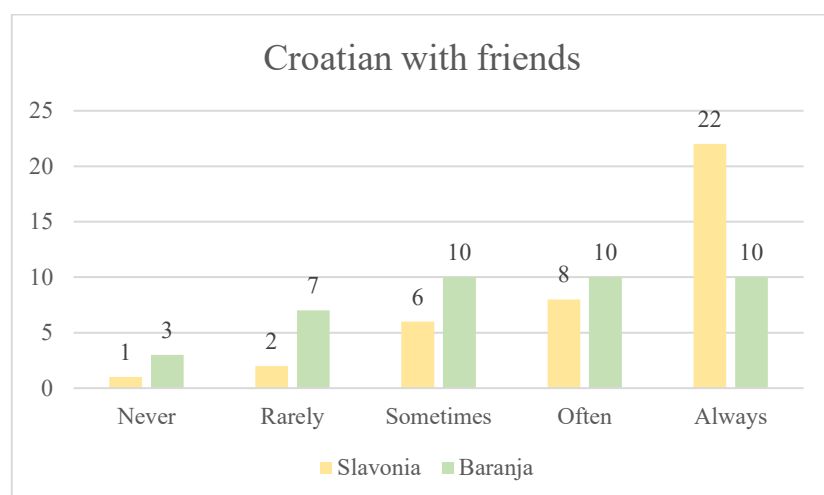


Figure 7. Use of Croatian language with friends

**Pets:** In Slavonia, 19 respondents always used Croatian when talking to pets, compared to 7 in Baranja. Four respondents in Slavonia and 23 in Baranja said they never use Croatian with pets.

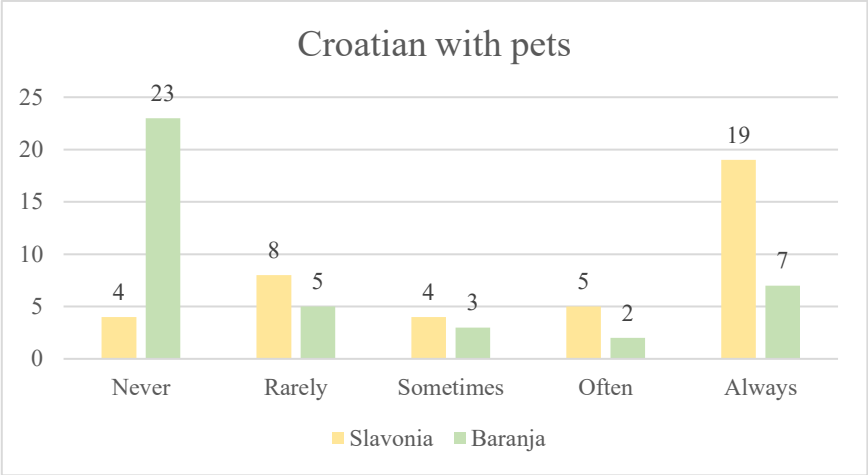


Figure 8. Use of Croatian language with pets

**Work:** In Slavonia, 28 respondents always used Croatian at work, while 11 respondents in Baranja reported doing so. Only 3 respondents in Slavonia and 4 in Baranja never used Croatian at work.

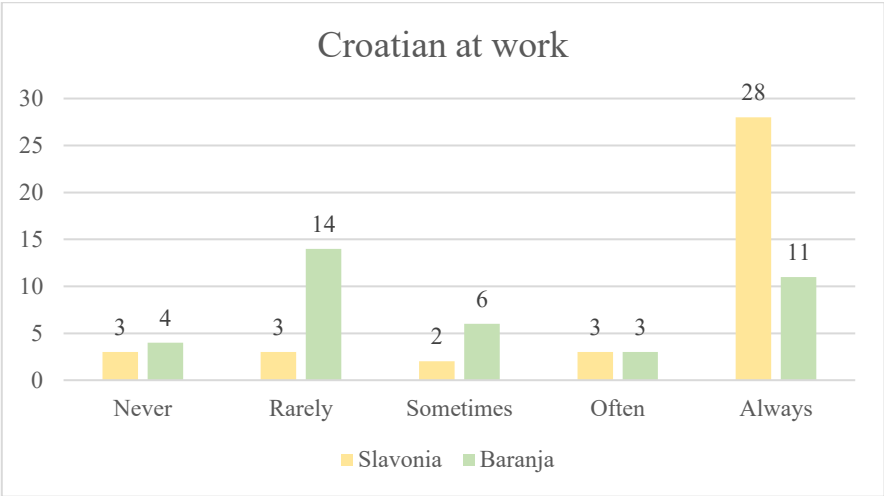


Figure 9. Use of Croatian language at work

**Church:** Seven respondents in Slavonia never used Croatian at church, compared to 23 in Baranja. However, 13 respondents in Slavonia and 5 in Baranja always used Croatian at church.

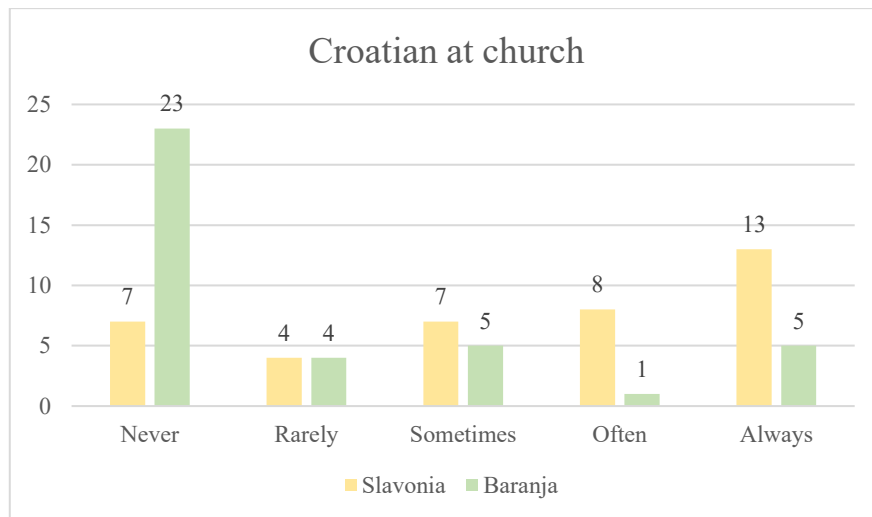


Figure 10. Use of Croatian language at local church

**Store:** In stores, 38 respondents in Slavonia and 29 in Baranja always used Croatian. Only 2 respondents in Slavonia and 1 in Baranja stated they never use Croatian in stores.

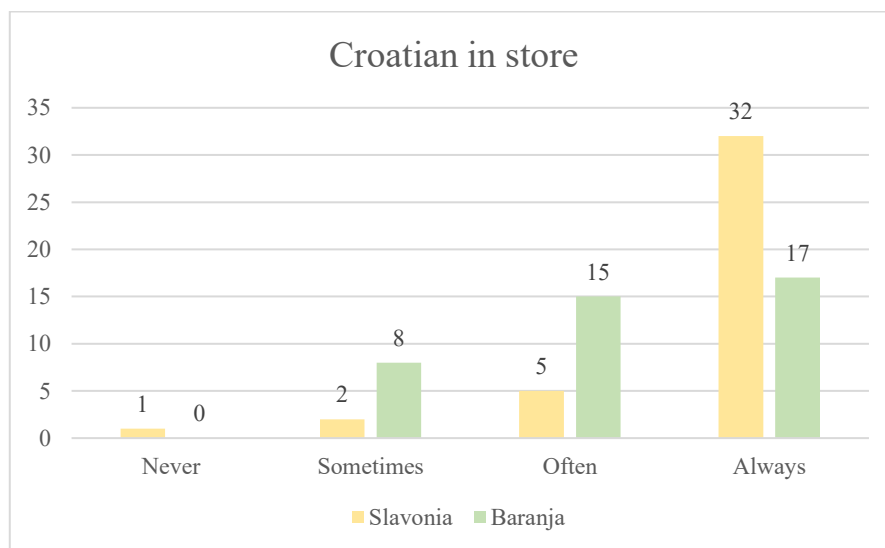


Figure 11. Use of Croatian language in a local store

**Post Office:** Thirty-eight respondents in Slavonia and 33 in Baranja always used Croatian at the post office. Two respondents in Slavonia and 1 in Baranja never used Croatian in that setting.

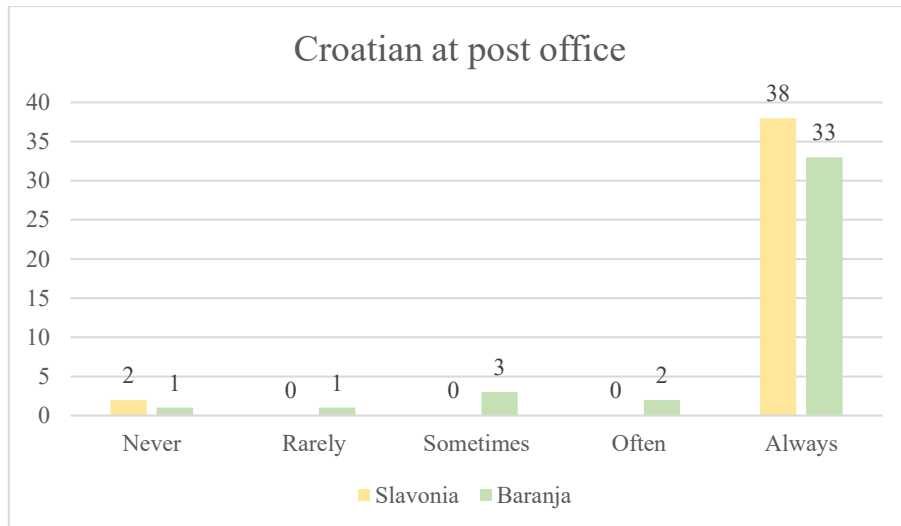


Figure 12. Use of Croatian language at a local post office

**Doctor's Office:** Thirty-eight respondents in Slavonia and 34 in Baranja always used Croatian at the doctor's office. Two respondents in both Slavonia and Baranja never used Croatian.

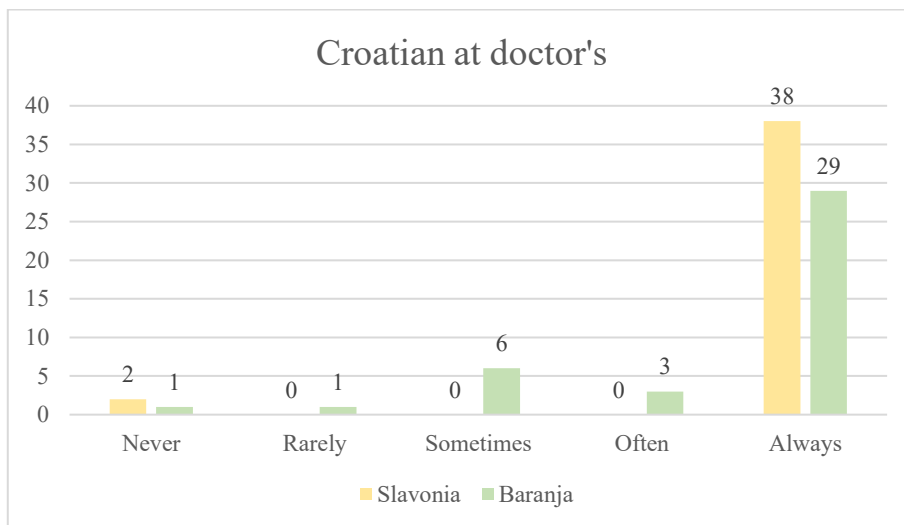


Figure 13. Use of Croatian language at the doctor's office

**Pharmacy:** Thirty-seven respondents in Slavonia and 34 in Baranja always used Croatian at the pharmacy. Two respondents in Slavonia and 1 in Baranja never used Croatian.



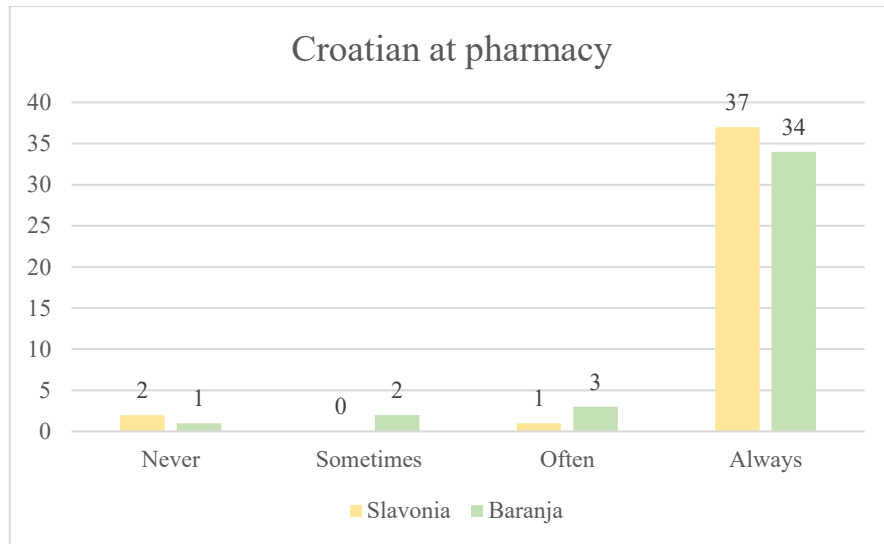


Figure 14. Use of Croatian at the local pharmacy

**Café:** Thirty-five respondents in Slavonia and 16 in Baranja always used Croatian at cafés, while only 1 respondent in Slavonia never used Croatian in this context.

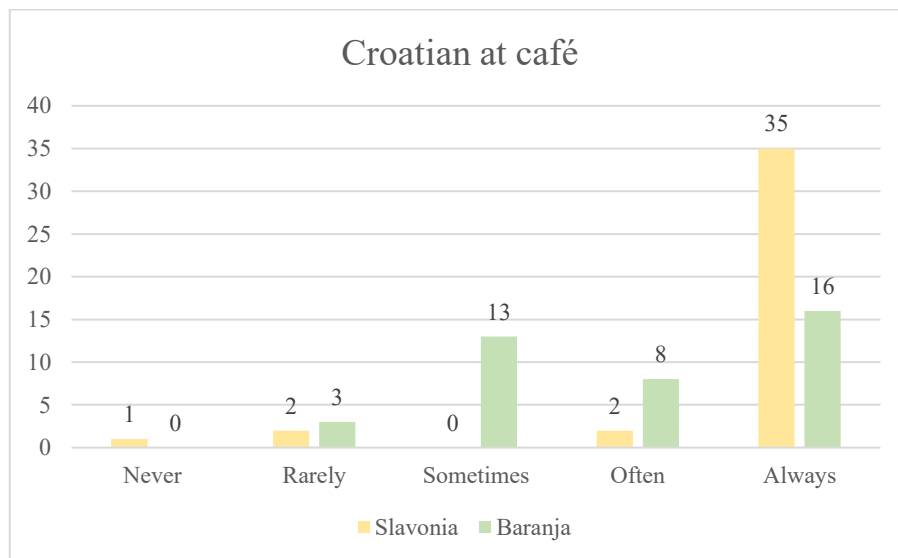


Figure 15. Use of Croatian at café

**Neighbors:** Twenty-three respondents in Slavonia and 9 in Baranja always used Croatian with neighbors. Two respondents in Slavonia and 8 in Baranja never used Croatian.

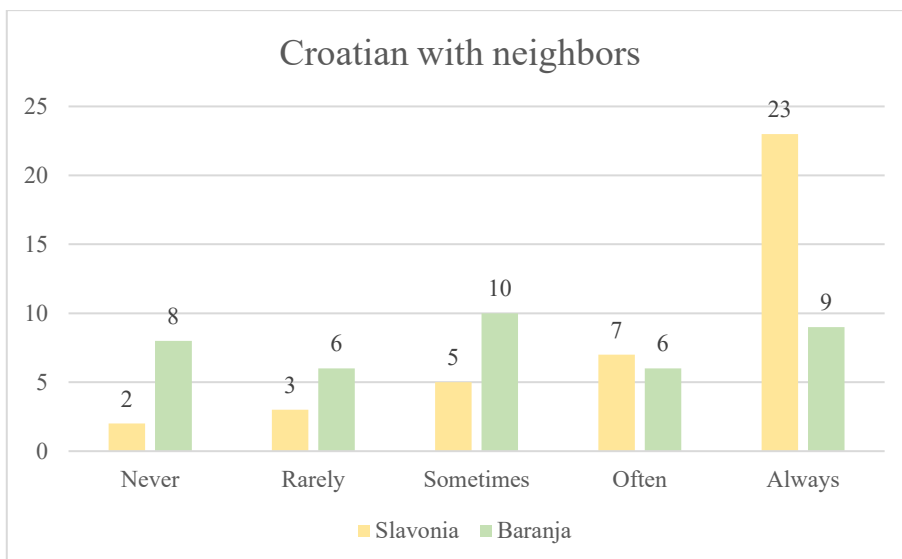


Figure 16. Use of Croatian language with neighbors

#### 4.3.2. Hungarian language use in specific situations

The data also reveals how frequently Hungarian is used across various settings in Slavonia and Baranja:

**Family:** Six respondents in Slavonia never used Hungarian with family, compared to 2 in Baranja. Sixteen respondents in Baranja and 9 in Slavonia always used Hungarian with family.

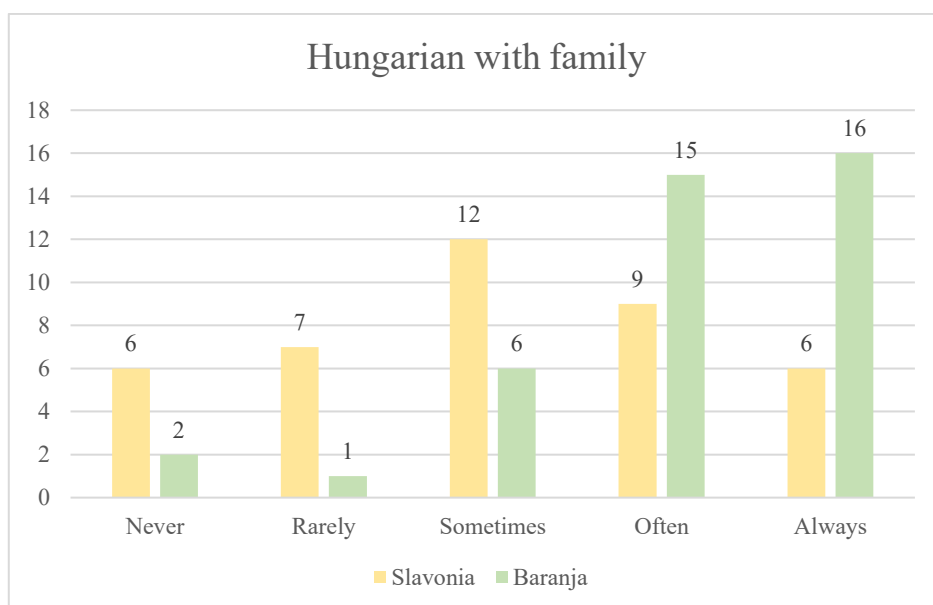


Figure 17. Use of Hungarian language with family

**Friends:** Ten respondents in Slavonia and 2 in Baranja never used Hungarian with friends. Eighteen respondents in Baranja and 7 in Slavonia always used Hungarian with friends.

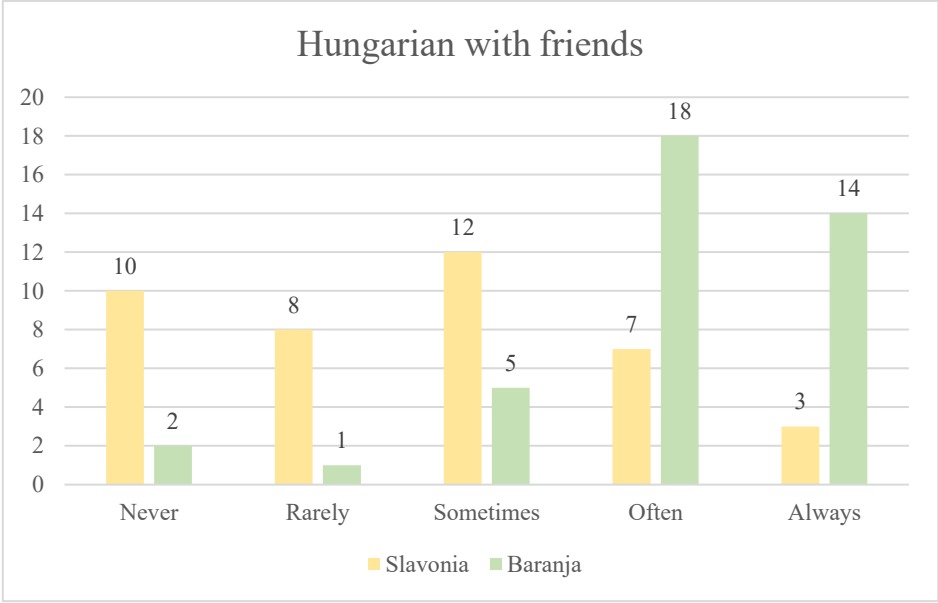


Figure 18. Use of Hungarian language with friends

**Pets:** Nineteen respondents in Slavonia and 7 in Baranja never used Hungarian with pets. Twenty-five respondents in Baranja and 6 in Slavonia always used Hungarian in this context.

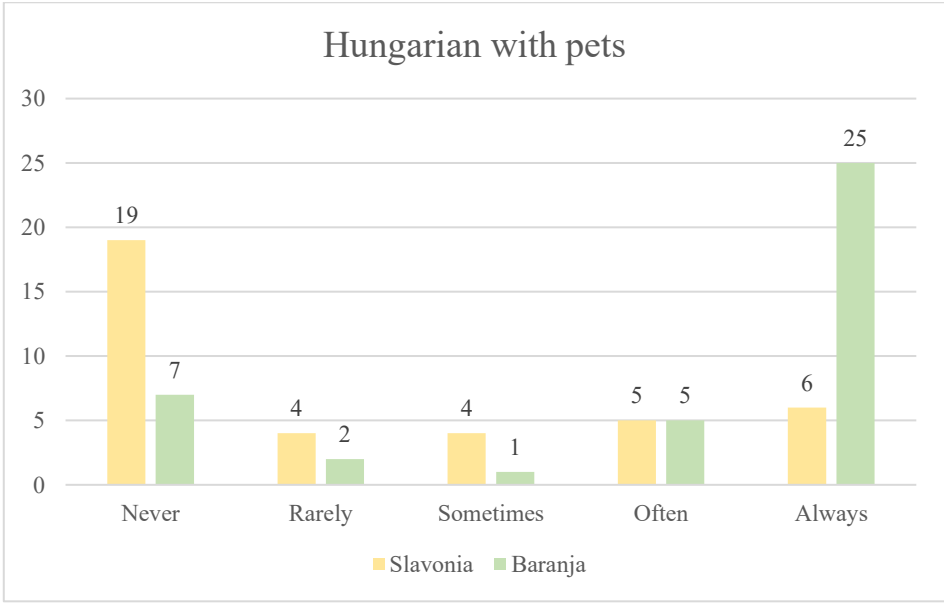


Figure 19. Use of Hungarian language with pets

**Work:** At work, 25 respondents in Slavonia and 9 in Baranja never used Hungarian. Five respondents in Baranja and 1 in Slavonia always used Hungarian at work.

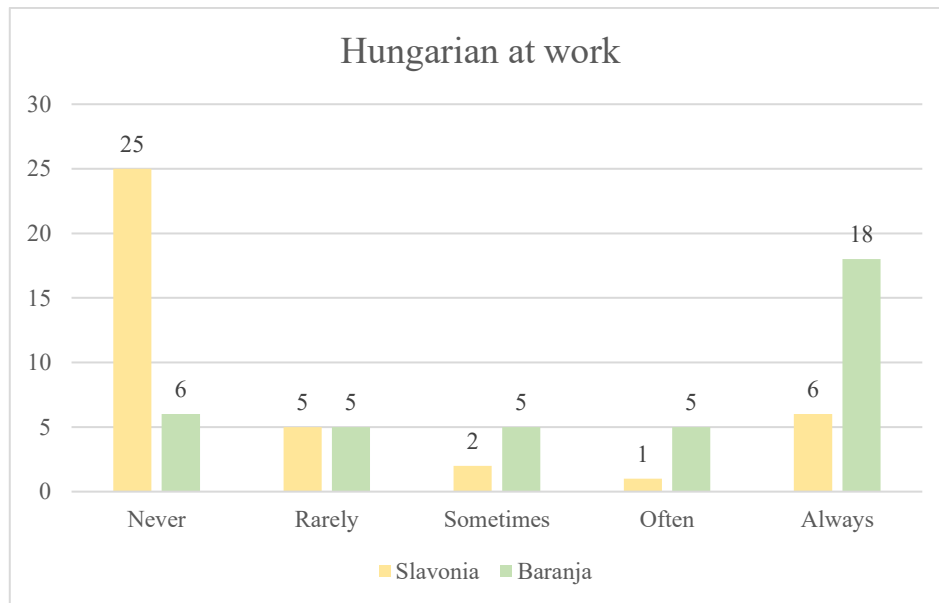


Figure 20. Use of Hungarian language at work

**Church:** Twelve respondents in Slavonia and 10 in Baranja never used Hungarian at church. Twenty respondents in Baranja and 9 in Slavonia always used Hungarian in this context.

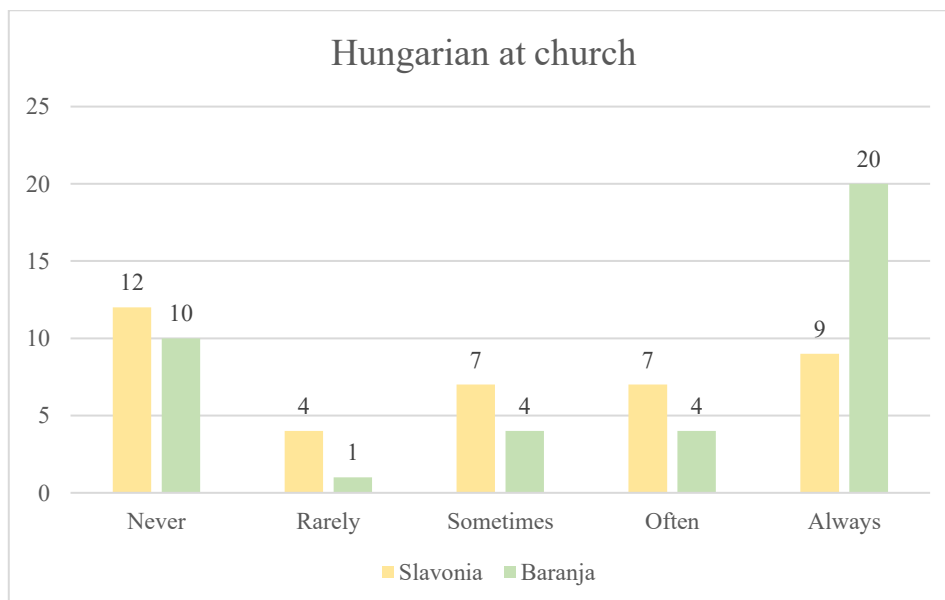


Figure 21. Use of Hungarian language at local church

**Store:** Nineteen respondents in Slavonia and 9 in Baranja never used Hungarian in stores, while 20 respondents in Baranja and 9 in Slavonia always used it.

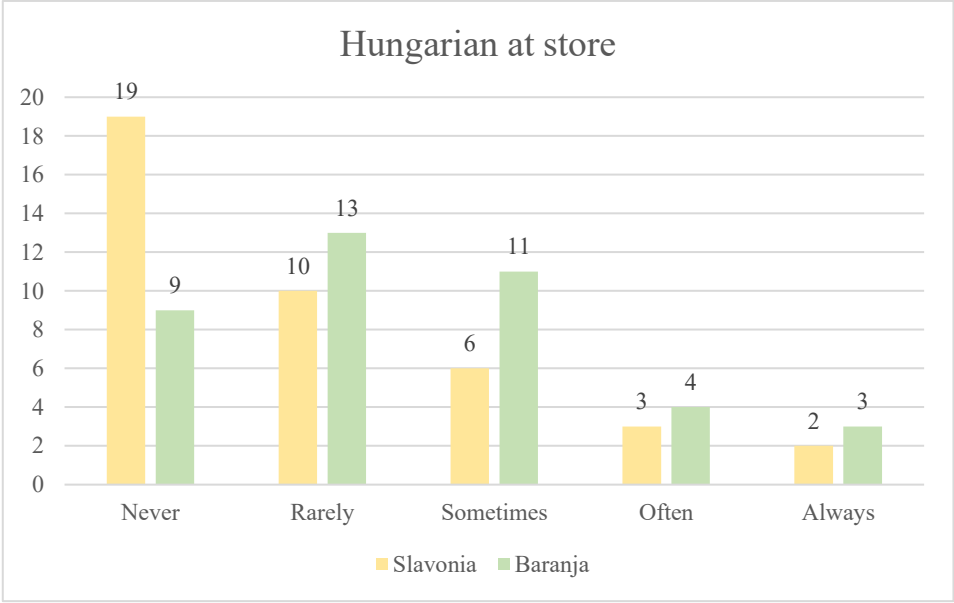


Figure 22. Use of Hungarian language at local store

**Post Office:** Thirty-eight respondents in Slavonia and 29 in Baranja never used Hungarian at the post office. Only 2 respondents in Baranja and 1 in Slavonia always used Hungarian.

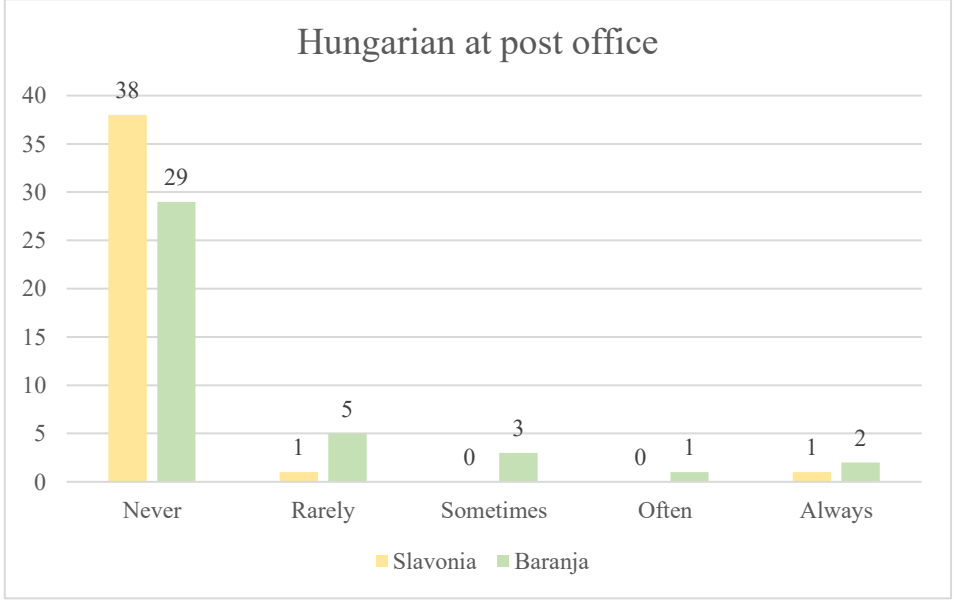


Figure 23. Use of Hungarian language at local post office

**Doctor's Office:** Thirty-six respondents in Slavonia and 24 in Baranja never used Hungarian at the doctor's office. Five respondents in Baranja and none in Slavonia always used Hungarian in this context.

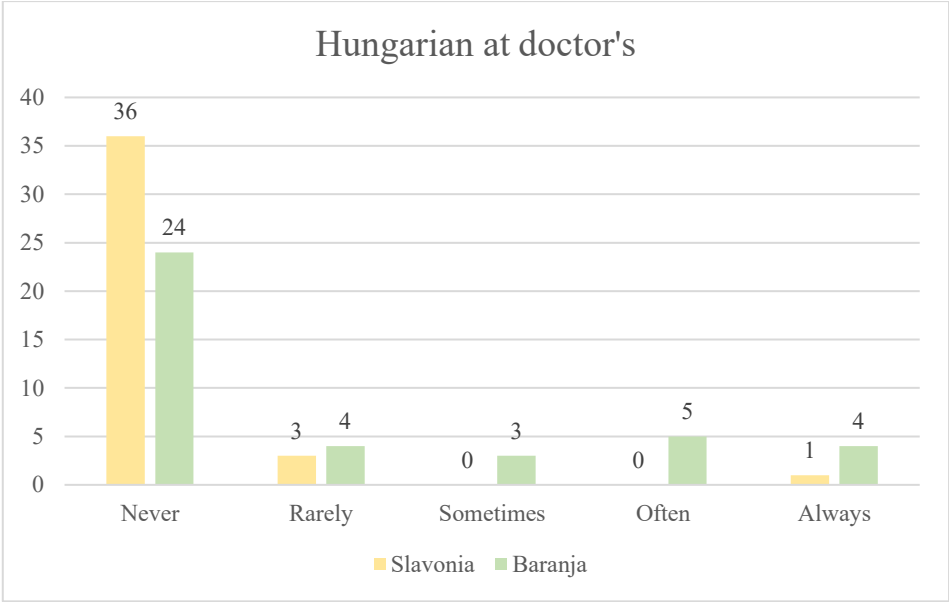


Figure 24. Use of Hungarian language at the doctor’s office

**Pharmacy:** Thirty-six respondents in Slavonia and 28 in Baranja never used Hungarian at the pharmacy. Three respondents in Baranja and 1 in Slavonia always used Hungarian.

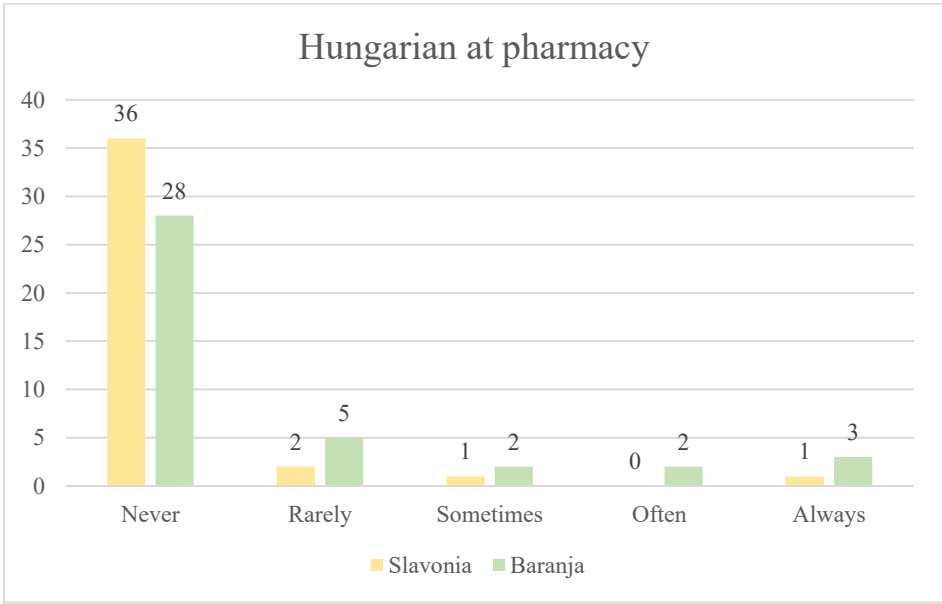


Figure 25. Use of Hungarian language at the local pharmacy

**Café:** Twenty-seven respondents in Slavonia and 12 in Baranja never used Hungarian at cafés. Eight respondents in Baranja and 1 in Slavonia always used Hungarian.

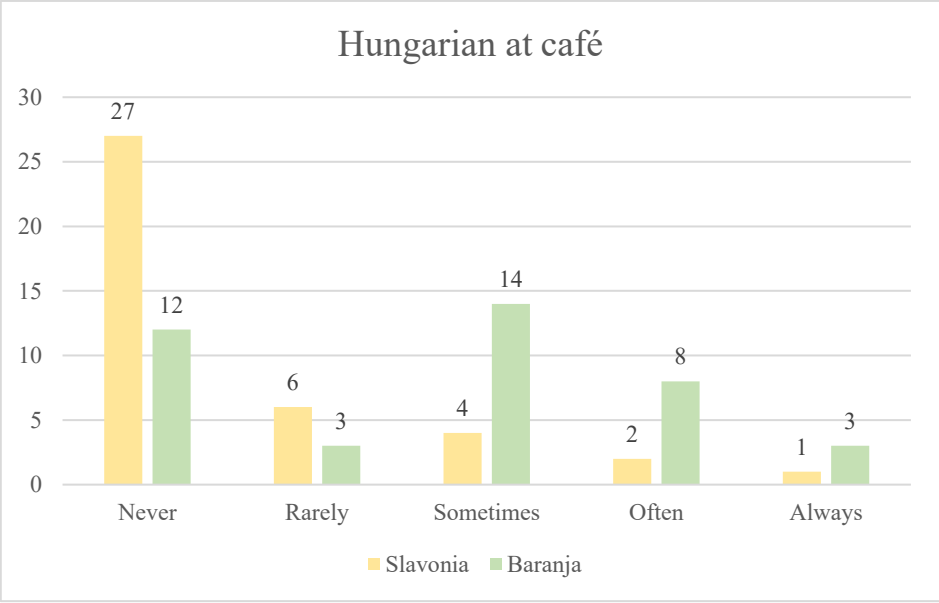


Figure 26. Use of Hungarian language at café

**Neighbors:** Fourteen respondents in Slavonia and 4 in Baranja never used Hungarian with neighbors. Eleven respondents in Baranja and 6 in Slavonia always used Hungarian.

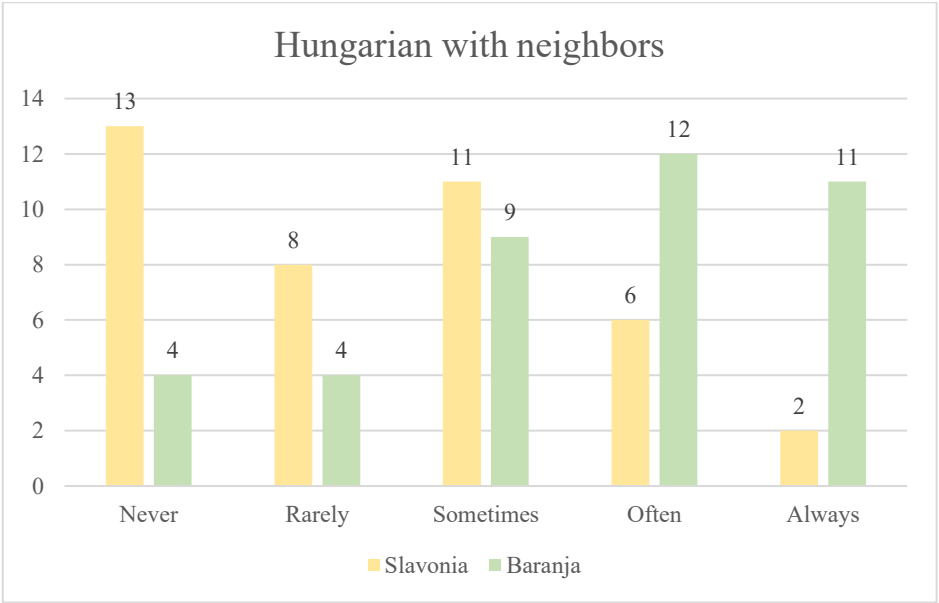


Figure 27. Use of Hungarian language with neighbors

#### **4.4. Family dynamics and language transmission**

##### **4.4.1. Communication with children**

The survey results reveal differences between Slavonia and Baranja regarding the languages spoken with children:

In Slavonia, 23.5% of respondents who frequently speak Croatian with their partner also speak Croatian with their children, while 64.7% of these respondents reported having no children. Only 5.9% of respondents who speak Croatian with their partner also speak Hungarian with their children.

Of those in Slavonia who speak Hungarian with their partner, 33.3% also speak Hungarian with their children, and 33.3% use both languages. One-third (33.3%) of respondents in this group reported having no children.

Among respondents who speak both Hungarian and Croatian (but mainly Croatian) with their partner in Slavonia, 33.3% speak both languages with their children, and the remaining 66.7% reported having no children.

Those who speak both languages but primarily Hungarian with their partner in Slavonia also split their language use with children: 50% use both languages and 50% reported having no children.

In Baranja, 64.3% of respondents who frequently speak Hungarian with their partner also speak Hungarian with their children. Additionally, 50% of respondents who use both Hungarian and Croatian but primarily Hungarian with their partner continue to speak Hungarian with their children.

Among respondents in Baranja who primarily speak Croatian with their partner, 22.2% speak Croatian with their children, while 66.7% reported having no children.

Among those who speak Hungarian with their partner, 58.8% reported speaking Hungarian with their children, and 17.6% use both languages.

Respondents who use both Hungarian and Croatian but primarily Hungarian with their partner also reported similar language practices with children, with 50% continuing to use Hungarian.

The data shows that Hungarian is more likely to be passed on to children in Baranja, while in Slavonia, a higher proportion of respondents either switch to Croatian or use both languages with their children.



Table 6. Languages used with a partner and with children

Language most frequently spoken with partner * Language spoken with children * Current residence region Crosstabulation									
Current residence region	Survey question			Language spoken with children					Total
				In Croatian	In Hungarian	Speak Hungarian, they reply in Croatian	Use both languages	No children	
Slavonia	Language most frequently spoken with partner	Croatian	Count	4	1	0	1	11	17
			% within survey question	23.5%	5.9%	0.0%	5.9%	64.7%	100.0%
		Hungarian	Count	0	1	0	1	1	3
			% within survey question	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	33.3%	33.3%	100.0%
		Both, mainly Croatian	Count	0	0	1	1	1	3
			% within survey question	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	100.0%
		Both, mainly Hungarian	Count	0	0	1	0	0	1
			% within survey question	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		Total	Count	4	2	2	3	13	24
			% within survey question	16.7%	8.3%	8.3%	12.5%	54.2%	100.0%
Baranja	Language most frequently spoken with partner	Croatian	Count		2		1	6	9
			% within survey question		22.2%		11.1%	66.7%	100.0%
		Hungarian	Count		9		2	3	14
			% within survey question		64.3%		14.3%	21.4%	100.0%
		Both, mainly Croatian	Count		0		0	2	2
			% within survey question		0.0%		0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Both, mainly Hungarian	Count		1		1	0	2
			% within survey question		50.0%		50.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		Other	Count		0		0	2	2
			% within survey question		0.0%		0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	Count		12		4	13	29		
	% within survey question		41.4%		13.8%	44.8%	100.0%		

#### 4.4.2. Partner's dominant language and languages spoken by children

The survey results show regional differences in the relationship between the partner's dominant language and the language spoken with children. In Baranja, among respondents whose partner's dominant language is Hungarian, 58.6% reported that their children speak Hungarian, and 75% indicated that their children speak both Hungarian and Croatian. Among respondents whose partner's dominant language is Croatian in Baranja, 34.5% reported that their children speak Hungarian, and 53.8% stated that their children speak both languages. In Slavonia, 70.8% of

respondents whose partner's dominant language is Croatian reported that their children speak Croatian, while 44.4% stated that their children speak both Hungarian and Croatian. Notably, in Slavonia, no respondents whose partner's dominant language is Hungarian reported that their children speak only Hungarian. In contrast, in Baranja, 100% of respondents whose partner's dominant language is Hungarian reported that their children speak Hungarian. These results highlight that the partner's dominant language is a crucial factor influencing the language spoken with children, particularly in Baranja, where a Hungarian-speaking partner is associated with a higher likelihood of passing on Hungarian to children.

Table 7. Languages of partner and children

Languages spoken by children * Dominant Language Of Partner * Current residence region Crosstabulation								
Region				Partner's dominant language			Total	
				Hungarian	Croatian	Other		
Slavonia	Languages spoken by children	Croatian	Count	0	2	0	2	
			% within Languages spoken by children	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
		Both	Count	4	5	0	9	
			% within Languages spoken by children	44.4%	55.6%	0.0%	100.0%	
		No children	Count	2	10	1	13	
			% within Languages spoken by children	15.4%	76.9%	7.7%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	6	17	1	24		
		% within Languages spoken by children	25.0%	70.8%	4.2%	100.0%		
	Baranja	Languages spoken by children	Hungarian	Count	4	0	0	4
				% within Languages spoken by children	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Both			Count	9	3	0	12	
			% within Languages spoken by children	75.0%	25.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
No children			Count	4	7	2	13	
			% within Languages	30.8%	53.8%	15.4%	100.0%	

	Total	spoken by children				
		Count	17	10	2	29
		% within Languages spoken by children	58.6%	34.5%	6.9%	100.0%

#### 4.5. Cultural identity and language proficiency

##### 4.5.1. Perception of Hungarian minority culture

The survey results show that respondents in both Slavonia and Baranja have distinct views on how the Hungarian minority culture in Croatia compares to the culture of Hungarian citizens.

- In Baranja, 19 out of 32 respondents stated that they feel the Hungarian minority culture in Croatia differs from that in Hungary.
- In Slavonia, a similar perception is held by 30 out of 34 respondents.

When broken down by respondents' current dominant language:

- In Baranja, 11 out of 22 respondents whose dominant language is Hungarian felt that the Hungarian minority culture differs from that of Hungarian citizens. In comparison, all 6 respondents whose dominant language is Croatian agreed with this statement.
- In Slavonia, 4 out of 8 respondents with Hungarian as their dominant language felt the cultures differ, while 100% of respondents with Croatian as their dominant language held the same view.

Table 8. Perception of the Hungarian minority culture and the Croatian culture

Perception of Hungarian minority culture differing from Hungarian citizens' culture					Perception of Croatian culture as own		Total
					Yes	No	
Yes	Slavonia	Current dominant language (CDL)	Hungarian	Count	4	4	8
				% within CDL	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
			Croatian	Count	25	0	25
				% within CDL	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
			Both	Count	1	0	1
				% within CDL	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total			Count	30	4	34	

			% within CDL	88.2%	11.8%	100.0%
Baranja	Current dominant language (CDL)	Hungarian	Count	11	11	22
			% within CDL	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		Croatian	Count	6	0	6
			% within CDL	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		Other	Count	1	0	1
			% within CDL	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		Both	Count	1	2	3
			% within CDL	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	19	13	32	
		% within CDL	59.4%	40.6%	100.0%	
No	Slavonia	Hungarian	Count	2	0	2
			% within CDL	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		Croatian	Count	2	1	3
			% within CDL	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	Total		Count	4	1	5
			% within CDL	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Baranja	Current dominant language (CDL)	Hungarian	Count	3	1	4
			% within CDL	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
		Croatian	Count	3	0	3
			% within CDL	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	6	1	7	
		% within CDL	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%	

#### 4.5.2. Proficiency and folklore association membership

The survey results show that participation in Hungarian folklore associations is strongly linked to higher proficiency levels in Hungarian. In Baranja, 72.7% of respondents currently members of Hungarian folklore associations rated their Hungarian proficiency as "very good," compared to 27.3% in Slavonia. Among those previously members of folklore associations, 84.6% of respondents in Baranja reported "very good" proficiency, compared to 15.4% in Slavonia. Additionally, 41.7% of respondents in Baranja who are not members of any Hungarian folk culture group still reported "very good" proficiency in Hungarian, compared to 33.3% of those in Slavonia.

Table 9. Self-assessed proficiency in Hungarian compared to participation in folklore association

Proficiency level in Hungarian language * Current residence region * Member of Hungarian Folklore association Crosstabulation								
Member of Hungarian Folklore Group				Region		Total		
				Slavonia	Baranja			
No	Hungarian proficiency level	Sufficient	Count	1	1	2		
			% within Hungarian proficiency level	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%		
		Good	Count	2	2	4		
			% within Hungarian proficiency level	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%		
		Very good	Count	2	4	6		
			% within Hungarian proficiency level	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%		
	Total			Count	5	7	12	
				% within Hungarian proficiency level	41.7%	58.3%	100.0%	
Yes, I am	Hungarian proficiency level	No proficiency	Count	1	0	1		
			% within Hungarian proficiency level	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%		
		Poor	Count	4	0	4		
			% within Hungarian proficiency level	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%		
		Sufficient	Count	6	0	6		
			% within Hungarian proficiency level	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%		
		Good	Count	7	5	12		
			% within Hungarian proficiency level	58.3%	41.7%	100.0%		
		Very good	Count	6	16	22		
			% within Hungarian proficiency level	27.3%	72.7%	100.0%		
		Total			Count	24	21	45
					% within Hungarian proficiency level	53.3%	46.7%	100.0%
Yes, I was	Hungarian proficiency level	Poor	Count	0	1	1		
			% within Hungarian proficiency level	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%		
		Sufficient	Count	4	0	4		
			% within Hungarian proficiency level	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%		
		Good	Count	4	0	4		
			% within Hungarian proficiency level	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%		
		Very good	Count	2	11	13		
			% within Hungarian proficiency level	15.4%	84.6%	100.0%		
Total			Count	10	12	22		
			% within Hungarian proficiency level	45.5%	54.5%	100.0%		
Total			Count	39	40	79		
			% within Hungarian proficiency level	49.4%	50.6%	100.0%		

## 4.6. Media consumption in Hungarian

### 4.6.1. Watching Hungarian TV Programs

The data for watching Hungarian TV programs shows distinct differences between Slavonia and Baranja, with respondents in Baranja generally more engaged with Hungarian TV.

**Slavonia:** A significant portion of respondents, particularly in the 15-24 age group, rarely or never watch Hungarian TV. Specifically, 87.5% of this age group from Slavonia either never or very rarely engage with Hungarian TV programs. This trend is consistent across all age groups in Slavonia, with only a few respondents reporting watching Hungarian TV often or daily.

**Baranja:** Respondents from Baranja are more likely to watch Hungarian TV frequently. In the 15-24 age group, 25% watch Hungarian TV often, and 8.3% daily. The older age groups, especially those over 65, show even higher engagement, with 33.3% watching Hungarian TV daily in Baranja. This suggests a stronger cultural connection to Hungarian media in Baranja.

Table 10. Frequency of watching Hungarian TV

Current residence region * Frequency of watching Hungarian TV programs * Age Crosstabulation								
Age			Frequency of watching Hungarian TV					Total
			Never	Very rarely	Sometimes	Often	Daily	
0-14	Region	Slavonia	1		1			2
	Total		1		1			2
15-24	Region	Slavonia	8	7	1		1	17
		Baranja	4	3	4		0	11
	Total		12	10	5		1	28
25-34	Region	Slavonia	2	3	2	2	0	9
		Baranja	1	4	5	0	2	12
	Total		3	7	7	2	2	21
35-44	Region	Slavonia	2	2	0		0	4
		Baranja	2	1	2		3	8
	Total		4	3	2		3	12
45-54	Region	Slavonia	1	3	1	2	1	8
		Baranja	0	0	1	1	2	4
	Total		1	3	2	3	3	12
55-64	Region	Baranja				1	3	4
	Total					1	3	4
65 or more	Region	Baranja					1	1
	Total						1	1
Total	Region	Slavonia	14	15	5	4	2	40
		Baranja	7	8	12	2	11	40

	Total	21	23	17	6	13	80
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#### 4.6.2. Listening to Hungarian Music

The frequency of listening to Hungarian music provides further insights into how connected respondents feel to Hungarian cultural expressions.

**Slavonia:** Music consumption in Hungarian shows a similar pattern to TV watching. A significant proportion of younger respondents in Slavonia (15-24) either never or very rarely listen to Hungarian music, with 87.5% of respondents in this group reporting minimal engagement with Hungarian music. Across all age groups in Slavonia, few respondents listen to Hungarian music frequently, and no one reported listening daily.

**Baranja:** In contrast, Baranja respondents show more frequent engagement with Hungarian music. In the 15-24 age group, 25% listen to Hungarian music often, and 8.3% listen daily. The older age groups show higher levels of frequent listening, particularly in the 45-54 age group, where 33.3% listen to Hungarian music often, and 25% listen daily. The high levels of music engagement in Baranja reflect the region's cultural cohesion and stronger ties to Hungarian media.

Table 11. Frequency of listening to Hungarian music

Current residence region * Frequency of listening to Hungarian music * Age Crosstabulation								
Age			Frequency of listening to Hungarian music					Total
			Never	Very rarely	Sometimes	Often	Daily	
0-14	Region	Slavonia			1		1	2
	Total				1		1	2
15-24	Region	Slavonia	6	5	5	1		17
		Baranja	2	5	1	3		11
	Total		8	10	6	4		28
25-34	Region	Slavonia	2	1	4	1	1	9
		Baranja	1	0	4	5	2	12
	Total		3	1	8	6	3	21
35-44	Region	Slavonia	1	3		0	0	4
		Baranja	0	1		6	1	8
	Total		1	4		6	1	12
45-54	Region	Slavonia		1	2	4	1	8
		Baranja		0	0	3	1	4
	Total			1	2	7	2	12
55-64	Region	Baranja			1		3	4
	Total				1		3	4

<b>65 or more</b>	Region	Baranja					1	1
	Total						1	1
Total	Region	Slavonia	9	10	12	6	3	40
		Baranja	3	6	6	17	8	40
	Total		12	16	18	23	11	80

### 4.6.3. Reading in Hungarian

Reading in Hungarian shows similar regional differences, with Baranja respondents generally more engaged with Hungarian literature and written content.

**Slavonia:** A large proportion of respondents, particularly younger ones, report either never or very rarely reading in Hungarian. In the 15-24 age group, 88% of respondents either never or very rarely read Hungarian material. This is consistent across other age groups in Slavonia, where the majority of respondents engage minimally with Hungarian reading material.

**Baranja:** Baranja respondents show a higher level of reading in Hungarian. In the 15-24 age group, 27.3% read Hungarian material often, and 9.1% read daily. This pattern continues into the older age groups, where the 65+ age group stands out—50% of respondents in this group reported reading Hungarian material often or daily.

Table 12. Frequency of reading in Hungarian

Current residence region * Frequency of reading in Hungarian * Age Crosstabulation								
Age			Frequency of reading in Hungarian					Total
			Never	Very rarely	Sometimes	Often	Daily	
<b>0-14</b>	Region	Slavonia		1				1
	Total			1				1
<b>15-24</b>	Region	Slavonia	8	3	3	0	0	14
		Baranja	0	5	1	3	2	11
	Total		8	8	4	3	2	25
<b>25-34</b>	Region	Slavonia	2	3	2	0	2	9
		Baranja	0	3	4	2	0	9
	Total		2	6	6	2	2	18
<b>35-44</b>	Region	Slavonia	1	3	0	0	0	4
		Baranja	1	0	2	2	3	8
	Total		2	3	2	2	3	12
<b>45-54</b>	Region	Slavonia		1	2	2	3	8
		Baranja		0	0	2	2	4
	Total			1	2	4	5	12
	Region	Baranja				1	3	4



55-64	Total					1	3	4
	Region	Baranja					1	1
65 or more	Total						1	1
	Region	Slavonia	11	11	7	2	5	36
Total	Region	Baranja	1	8	7	10	11	37
	Total		12	19	14	12	16	73

#### 4.7. Migrations patterns from Hungary

The survey shows notable differences in the age distribution between Slavonia and Baranja, with a higher proportion of younger respondents in Baranja. For instance, 21.3% of respondents in Slavonia fall within the 15-24 age group, compared to 30.5% in Baranja. This variation in age distribution could point to differing language retention rates across the two regions. The higher proportion of older respondents in Slavonia may indicate that younger generations are more likely to shift towards Croatian as the dominant language while older individuals continue to maintain their Hungarian proficiency.

This demographic variation is also consistent with findings from Gal (2008), who noted that even in the early 2000s, language shift was well advanced among younger generations in small rural Hungarian-speaking communities.

Migration patterns also play a significant role in language retention and attrition. The survey results indicate that six respondents reported moving to Croatia from Hungary, with four (66.7%) residing in Slavonia and two (33.3%) in Baranja. Additionally, 65.2% of respondents in Baranja reported having lived in Hungary at some point in their lives, compared to 34.8% in Slavonia. This reflects greater cross-border movement and a stronger connection to Hungary in Baranja. Interestingly, 57.1% of respondents in Slavonia reported never having lived in Hungary, compared to 42.9% in Baranja, highlighting regional differences in migration experiences.

In response to the question “19. Did you ever live in Hungary?”, respondents who had lived there gave a variety of reasons. Four individuals mentioned they lived in Hungary due to the Croatian War of Independence, where their families sought exile. Additionally, two respondents cited educational purposes as their reason for living in Hungary, and one respondent explained that they were born in Hungary and completed their primary school education there.

Among those who migrated from Hungary, one respondent explained that their parents fled to Hungary during the Croatian War of Independence, where they were born before returning to Croatia. This example illustrates a more complex migratory background tied to the region’s

political history. Other reasons for migration included family relocations and work opportunities. Notably, all of these respondents completed the survey in Croatian despite having Hungarian origins, underscoring the prevalence of Croatian as the dominant language even among migrants with Hungarian backgrounds.

Schmid and Yilmaz (2018) emphasize that bilinguals, particularly those who spend part of their adult lives in an L2 environment, experience a divergence between their native language (L1) and their second language (L2). This framework helps explain why older respondents in Slavonia may retain stronger Hungarian proficiency, as they likely had more time to consolidate their Hungarian language skills before Croatian became dominant. In contrast, the younger population in Baranja may benefit from community and educational environments where Hungarian is still actively used, contributing to stronger language retention.

These figures also suggest that Slavonia's demographic structure could reflect a trend toward greater language attrition among younger respondents, who may increasingly adopt Croatian as their primary language due to its prevalence in schools and public life. Conversely, Baranja's younger population may be more embedded in community practices and educational settings that help sustain Hungarian language use.

*Table 13.* Immigration from Hungary to Croatia with region

Immigration from Hungary * Current residence region					
Crosstabulation					
			Region		Total
			Slavonia	Baranja	
Immigration from Hungary	Yes	Count	4	2	6
		% within Immigration from Hungary	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	No	Count	36	37	73
		% within Immigration from Hungary	49.3%	50.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	40	39	79
		% within Immigration from Hungary	50.6%	49.4%	100.0%

## **5. Discussion**

### **5.1. Language attrition and the role of age, demographics, and migration**

The survey shows notable differences in the age distribution between Slavonia and Baranja, with a higher proportion of younger respondents in Baranja. For instance, 21.3% of respondents in Slavonia fall within the 15-24 age group, compared to 30.5% in Baranja. This variation in age distribution could point to differing language retention rates across the two regions. The higher proportion of older respondents in Slavonia may indicate that younger generations are more likely to shift towards Croatian as the dominant language. In contrast, older individuals continue to maintain their Hungarian proficiency.

This demographic variation is also consistent with findings from Gal (2008), who noted that even in the early 2000s, language shift was well advanced among younger generations in small rural Hungarian-speaking communities.

Migration patterns also play a significant role in language retention and attrition. The survey results indicate that six respondents reported moving to Croatia from Hungary, with four (66.7%) residing in Slavonia and two (33.3%) in Baranja. Additionally, 65.2% of respondents in Baranja reported having lived in Hungary at some point in their lives, compared to 34.8% in Slavonia. This reflects greater cross-border movement and a stronger connection to Hungary in Baranja. Interestingly, 57.1% of respondents in Slavonia reported never having lived in Hungary, compared to 42.9% in Baranja, highlighting regional differences in migration experiences.

As reported by respondents, the reasons for living in Hungary provide insight into the migration dynamics that have influenced language retention and cultural identity. Four respondents mentioned that they lived in Hungary due to the Croatian War of Independence, illustrating the impact of historical conflict on migration patterns. Others mentioned educational purposes or that they were born in Hungary. These experiences, particularly for those who sought exile, may have contributed to a more complex bilingual or bicultural identity, influencing their language use upon returning to Croatia.

Among those who migrated from Hungary, one respondent explained that their parents fled to Hungary during the Croatian War of Independence, where they were born before returning to Croatia. This example illustrates a more complex migratory background tied to the region's political history. Other reasons for migration included family relocations and work opportunities. Notably, all of these respondents completed the survey in Croatian despite having Hungarian

origins, underscoring the prevalence of Croatian as the dominant language even among migrants with Hungarian backgrounds.

Schmid and Yilmaz (2018) emphasize that bilinguals, particularly those who spend part of their adult lives in an L2 environment, experience a divergence between their native language (L1) and their second language (L2). This framework helps explain why older respondents in Slavonia may retain stronger Hungarian proficiency, as they likely had more time to consolidate their Hungarian language skills before Croatian became dominant. In contrast, the younger population in Baranja may benefit from community and educational environments where Hungarian is still actively used, contributing to stronger language retention.

These figures also suggest that Slavonia's demographic structure could reflect a trend toward greater language attrition among younger respondents, who may increasingly adopt Croatian as their primary language due to its prevalence in schools and public life. Conversely, Baranja's younger population may be more embedded in community practices and educational settings that help sustain Hungarian language use.

## **5.2. Nationality and dual citizenship**

The findings reveal that nationality and dual citizenship are essential in shaping cultural and linguistic identity among the Hungarian minority in Slavonia and Baranja. In Baranja, a greater proportion of respondents identified as Hungarian and held dual citizenship (Hungarian and Croatian), with 24 respondents reporting dual citizenship, compared to 15 in Slavonia. This suggests stronger ties to Hungary among Baranja residents, likely facilitated by geographical proximity and closer cultural connections.

Ablonczy and Bárdi (2010) discuss how Hungarian minority communities generally face challenges related to their status within their countries of citizenship. These communities often lack the opportunities to pass on their nationality with the same ease and resources as their majority counterparts. This disparity, according to Ablonczy and Bárdi, creates a sense of "uncertainty of the national and communal future" among Hungarian minorities as they navigate pressures of assimilation and socio-political marginalization.

In Baranja, the higher prevalence of dual citizenship may reflect efforts by the Hungarian minority to maintain formal connections with Hungary to reinforce their cultural identity. This could be tied

to greater cultural and linguistic preservation opportunities through cross-border relations and community support despite the socio-economic challenges minority communities face.

In contrast, the data from Slavonia shows a slightly higher proportion of respondents identifying as Croatian, with fewer holding dual citizenship. This may reflect weaker ties to Hungary and a more substantial alignment with Croatian national identity. This shift could also be linked to the socio-economic and political pressures highlighted by Palotai et al. (2019), where members of minority communities often adopt the majority language (in this case, Croatian) in response to external pressures, leading to language shift and attrition.

The differences in dual citizenship between Slavonia and Baranja suggest that Baranja's closer connection to Hungary may help preserve the Hungarian language and culture more robustly. In Slavonia, where fewer respondents hold dual citizenship and identify more with Croatian nationality, the process of language attrition appears to be more pronounced. This highlights the importance of cross-border ties and formal affiliations in supporting minority language retention, as well as the broader socio-political challenges faced by minority communities in maintaining their cultural and linguistic heritage.

### **5.3. Bilingualism in education: The impact of school type**

Education is crucial in maintaining or shifting language dominance within minority communities. Among the Hungarian minority in Croatia, the availability of different educational models—Model A, Model B, and Model C—has had varying impacts on language proficiency and bilingualism.

Model A, where all classes are conducted entirely in the minority language (Hungarian), has effectively maintained Hungarian language proficiency, especially in Baranja. Schools offering Model A reinforce Hungarian language skills throughout students' educational journeys, creating an environment conducive to sustained language use. In Baranja, several primary schools offer Model A, which contributes to Hungarian's stronger retention in the region. The Educational and Cultural Center of Hungarians in Croatia, located in Osijek, offers the only Model A education available in Slavonia. However, its location in the county capital makes it less accessible to rural areas, limiting its impact on Hungarian language retention in Slavonia.

Model B is unavailable in Slavonia, and Model C (which focuses on language and culture nurturing, with most subjects taught in Croatian) is the predominant model. The lack of Model A

and Model B schools means that students in Slavonia receive significantly less exposure to Hungarian in their education, which may contribute to the greater dominance of Croatian observed among respondents. Over time, this limited exposure to Hungarian could lead to reduced proficiency in the language. It is also important to consider that the choice of educational models is influenced by factors such as community needs, local demand for Hungarian-language education, and individual school policies. In Slavonia, the prevalence of Model C schools suggests that community preferences and practical considerations may have driven the shift toward Croatian.

These findings align with Göncz's (1999) research, which underscores schools' significant role in preserving or diminishing minority languages. In Baranja, where Model A is more widely available, Hungarian remains a dominant language, supported by the region's educational infrastructure. In contrast, in Slavonia, the reliance on Model C reflects a more complex linguistic environment, where Croatian often takes precedence due to socio-economic and community factors. This contributes to higher levels of bilingualism but also accelerates language shift.

#### **5.4. Language use in specific contexts**

The survey results provide detailed insights into the use of Hungarian and Croatian across various social and professional contexts, revealing apparent differences between Slavonia and Baranja. While respondents in both regions reported using both languages, the frequency and context of use varied significantly. In line with my expectations, a high proportion of respondents from Slavonia (87.5%) filled out the survey in Croatian, reflecting the dominant role Croatian plays in formal and everyday contexts in the region. However, while a majority of respondents from Baranja (62.5%) completed the survey in Hungarian, this percentage was slightly lower than anticipated. This suggests that even in Baranja, Croatian is still chosen by many respondents for formal tasks like filling out a survey, indicating a broader pattern of bilingualism where Croatian continues to play a substantial role in formal contexts.

Croatian was reported as the dominant language in Slavonia in most public and formal settings. Respondents frequently used Croatian at work, in stores, post offices, and doctor's offices, with more than 30 respondents indicating that they consistently use Croatian in these spaces. Hungarian, in contrast, was less commonly used in these formal settings, with only a few respondents reporting regular use of Hungarian at work or in public institutions. Croatian was frequently used in more personal contexts, such as interactions with neighbors, family, or pets.

In Baranja, however, the picture was more balanced. Hungarian remains widely used in informal, familial, and cultural settings, though Croatian still dominates in formal situations. For example, 18 respondents in Baranja reported using Hungarian with friends, compared to only 7 in Slavonia. Similarly, 16 respondents in Baranja used Hungarian at home with family, whereas 9 reported the same in Slavonia. Pets, a more informal context, also showed interesting patterns: 23 respondents in Baranja reported never using Croatian when speaking to pets, compared to only 4 in Slavonia.

These results suggest that while Croatian dominates in formal and public life across both regions, Hungarian retains a stronger presence in personal and familial contexts in Baranja. The relatively lower use of Hungarian in Slavonia, even in family settings, may reflect the ongoing language shift process, as younger generations and even families increasingly adopt Croatian as the primary language of communication.

The use of Croatian in formal and public contexts, especially in Slavonia, aligns with Bartha's (2003) observations on the power dynamics between majority and minority languages in multilingual states. As the dominant language, Croatian is often required for participation in public life and official matters, leading to its more frequent use. This shift towards Croatian in everyday interactions is an expected outcome, especially in a society where the majority language holds greater institutional power and prestige.

However, in Baranja, Hungarian remains resilient in more intimate, cultural, and community-based interactions, reflecting the region's stronger support for the Hungarian language and identity through education and cultural institutions. This suggests that while Croatian is necessary for formal interactions, Hungarian remains a vital part of the everyday lives of many in Baranja, particularly in less formal contexts.

The survey reveals that a small portion of respondents (13 out of 80) reported encountering awkward situations due to speaking Hungarian in Croatia. This indicates that while the majority of respondents feel comfortable using Hungarian, it is primarily within familiar or private contexts, such as with family or friends, rather than in public or formal settings. A minority still faces challenges when using their heritage language in social settings where Croatian is dominant or where linguistic differences with native Hungarian speakers from Hungary are evident.

As highlighted by one respondent from Baranja, speaking Hungarian in a social context can lead to awkwardness, especially when in the company of non-Hungarian speakers. Additionally, a respondent from Slavonia noted that the awkwardness stemmed from people's lack of awareness regarding the size of the Hungarian minority in Croatia. This suggests broader issues of visibility

and representation of the Hungarian minority within Croatian society and the complexities of language use in more public, non-familiar spaces.

### **5.5. Family dynamics and language transmission**

Family plays a crucial role in transmitting heritage languages, especially in minority communities. The survey data shows significant differences between Slavonia and Baranja in the language spoken between partners and with children, reflecting varying degrees of Hungarian language maintenance within family contexts.

In Baranja, 64.3% of respondents who frequently speak Hungarian with their partner also speak Hungarian with their children. Additionally, 50% of those who use Hungarian and Croatian with their partner (but primarily Hungarian) continue using Hungarian with their children. These figures highlight the successful transmission of Hungarian within family settings in Baranja, where Hungarian remains actively used across generations. The region's proximity to Hungary and the availability of Hungarian-language education likely contribute to this higher rate of language retention within families.

In Slavonia, there is a more pronounced shift towards Croatian in family dynamics. Among respondents who speak Croatian with their partner, only 5.9% reported speaking Hungarian with their children, indicating a significant language shift toward Croatian. Among respondents who speak Hungarian as their dominant language, 33.3% reported using Croatian with their children, exclusively or alongside Hungarian. This suggests that Croatian's influence on daily life in Slavonia is strong enough to shift family language practices, even among Hungarian-speaking families.

These findings are consistent with broader patterns of language attrition, where heritage languages often face challenges when passed down to younger generations. Gorter (2015) emphasized how the wider community and societal structures play a crucial role in revitalizing minority languages, and this can be observed in the case of family language practices in Baranja. Without the reinforcement of community and educational support, family efforts alone may not be sufficient to maintain a minority language across generations.



## 5.6. Perception of culture and identity

The survey results reveal significant differences in how respondents from Slavonia and Baranja perceive the Hungarian minority culture in Croatia compared to the Hungarian culture in Hungary. In Baranja, 30 out of 39 respondents felt that the Hungarian minority culture differs from that in Hungary, while 25 out of 34 respondents in Slavonia shared this view. These findings suggest a stronger cultural connection to Hungary in Baranja, likely due to the region's historical proximity to the border and preserved ties to Hungarian traditions. Conversely, Slavonia's geographical and cultural distance from Hungary may contribute to the perception that the Hungarian minority culture in Croatia has diverged more significantly from that of Hungarian citizens.

When broken down by the current dominant language, the data shows a more profound distinction between those who still consider Hungarian as their dominant language and those who have shifted to Croatian. In Baranja, 11 out of 22 respondents whose dominant language is Hungarian felt that the Hungarian minority culture differs from that of Hungarian citizens. In contrast, all 6 respondents in Baranja, whose dominant language is Croatian, agreed that the cultures differ. Similarly, in Slavonia, 4 out of 8 respondents with Hungarian as their dominant language believed that Hungarian minority culture differs from that in Hungary, while 25 out of 26 respondents whose dominant language is Croatian held the same view.

These perceptions reflect broader patterns of cultural adaptation and identity formation. Bartha (2003) explains the context of language ecology, noting how socio-economic and political pressures force minority communities to shift toward dominant languages and cultures. In this case, while Baranja has maintained a more vital link to Hungarian traditions, Slavonia has seen a more pronounced cultural shift toward Croatian influence. Bartha highlights that these shifts are often shaped by societal power dynamics, where dominant groups—such as governments or economic elites—impose language ideologies that benefit their interests. This contrasts with minority communities like those in Baranja and Slavonia, who must navigate these pressures while attempting to preserve their heritage.

In addition to perceptions of Hungarian culture, respondents were also asked about their identification with Croatian culture. In Slavonia, 87.2% of respondents stated that they feel Croatian culture is their own, reaching 96.4% among those whose dominant language is Croatian. Even among those whose dominant language is Hungarian, 60% in Slavonia expressed that they consider Croatian culture part of their identity. In Baranja, 75.6% of respondents stated that Croatian culture is their own, with 97.3% of those whose dominant language is Croatian agreeing.

Among those whose dominant language is Hungarian in Baranja, 53.8% felt that Croatian culture is also theirs.

This dual cultural identification can be seen as part of a broader hybrid identity, where members of the Hungarian minority, particularly those in Slavonia, feel attached to both Hungarian and Croatian cultures. Bartha (2003) underscores that while voluntary bilingualism may spread among elites, for minority communities, the shift toward dominant languages is often driven by socioeconomic pressures. This is evident in how respondents in Slavonia, where Croatian culture and language dominate daily life, are more likely to identify with Croatian culture, even among those whose dominant language remains Hungarian.

The discomfort reported by many respondents when speaking with native Hungarians from Hungary reveals the linguistic divergence between the Hungarian spoken by the minority in Croatia and the Hungarian used in Hungary. Seven respondents provided written explanations for their discomfort. Several respondents from Slavonia mentioned challenges such as difficulties recalling specific words and the influence of Croatian on their Hungarian vocabulary. This influence, which results from the minority's unique sociolinguistic environment, is not seen as an issue but instead reflects the natural development of a dialect.

In contrast, respondents from Baranja reported less discomfort overall, although they still highlighted challenges related to differences in speech, particularly the speed of conversation and variations in vocabulary. As discussed in section 2.3.3 of the thesis (Lehocki, 2014 and 2016), the Hungarian spoken in Croatia, particularly in Baranja, has developed distinct lexical features influenced by the local context. These regional variations create a distinct linguistic identity for the Hungarian minority in Croatia, which can make interactions with native Hungarians somewhat challenging for speakers of this minority dialect.

### **5.7. The role of media in language retention**

Media consumption, particularly the frequency of watching Hungarian television programs, listening to Hungarian music, and reading in Hungarian, plays a significant role in reinforcing language retention within minority communities. The survey data reveals important trends in media usage that influence language retention differently in Slavonia and Baranja.

The frequency of watching Hungarian TV programs shows a clear regional divide. In Slavonia, out of 40 respondents, 35% never watch Hungarian TV programs, and 25% watch them very rarely. Only 5% of respondents from Slavonia reported watching Hungarian TV programs daily,

compared to 9 respondents (22.5%) who never watch TV in Hungarian in Baranja. In Baranja, 27.5% of respondents reported watching Hungarian TV daily, and 30% often do so, demonstrating a much higher engagement with Hungarian media compared to Slavonia. This suggests that access to Hungarian television content is more prevalent and culturally significant in Baranja, contributing to stronger Hungarian language retention.

A similar trend is observed when examining the frequency of listening to Hungarian music. In Slavonia, the majority of respondents (57.5%) rarely or never listen to Hungarian music, with only 2 respondents (5%) indicating they listen to it daily. In contrast, Baranja displays a higher engagement with Hungarian music, where 40% of respondents listen to it often, and 12.5% listen to it daily. These figures further highlight the stronger cultural and linguistic ties to Hungary in Baranja, reinforcing the Hungarian language through music consumption.

When it comes to reading in Hungarian, the gap between the two regions is even more pronounced. In Slavonia, 47.5% of respondents reported never reading in Hungarian, while 27.5% read very rarely. Only 5% of respondents in Slavonia read in Hungarian daily. Baranja, on the other hand, shows a much higher frequency of reading in Hungarian, with 40% reading often and 15% reading daily. The higher frequency of reading Hungarian-language content in Baranja again indicates a stronger connection to Hungarian linguistic and cultural practices, which plays a key role in language retention.

These findings suggest that the frequency of engaging with Hungarian media—whether through television, music, or reading—has a clear correlation with language retention. In Baranja, the higher levels of media consumption in Hungarian reinforce the use of the Hungarian language in everyday life, contributing to its continued presence within the community. In contrast, Slavonia shows lower levels of engagement with Hungarian media, which may contribute to the higher rates of language shift towards Croatian observed in the region.

This analysis highlights the importance of media as a tool for maintaining minority languages. Hungarian television, music, and literature serve not only as forms of entertainment but also as vital resources for keeping the language alive within the minority community.

### **5.8. Participation in folklore associations and language proficiency**

Participation in Hungarian folklore associations plays a significant role in maintaining Hungarian language proficiency among the minority in both Slavonia and Baranja. The survey results indicate

a link between involvement in folklore associations and higher self-reported proficiency in Hungarian, particularly in Baranja.

For example, among current members of folklore associations in Baranja, 16 respondents rated their Hungarian proficiency as "very good." In contrast, in Slavonia, only 6 respondents from this group rated their proficiency as "very good." This distinction reflects the broader cultural and linguistic environment of Baranja, where Hungarian folk traditions are actively preserved and celebrated through community engagement. These associations provide a platform for cultural expression and a crucial space for using Hungarian in social settings, reinforcing cultural identity and language skills.

Furthermore, even those no longer active members of folklore associations in Baranja show continued high proficiency in Hungarian. The survey reveals that out of 12 former members in Baranja, 11 respondents rated their proficiency as "very good." In Slavonia, only 2 out of 10 former members reported "very good" proficiency, indicating a greater degree of language shift in this region. These findings suggest that long-term cultural engagement has a lasting impact on language retention, extending beyond active participation.

Additionally, respondents who have never been involved in any Hungarian folklore association still demonstrate higher proficiency levels in Baranja compared to Slavonia. In Baranja, 4 respondents who have never participated in a folklore association rated their Hungarian proficiency as "very good," while 2 rated it as "good." In Slavonia, 2 respondents reported "very good" proficiency and 2 others rated their proficiency as "good." This suggests that even outside of formal cultural institutions, the overall linguistic environment in Baranja supports stronger Hungarian language retention.

Although the number of people involved in folklore associations in Baranja is higher, and their Hungarian proficiency levels are generally more potent than those in Slavonia, it is worth noting that participation in these associations is not solely based on language proficiency. The survey shows that even those respondents who rated their proficiency in Hungarian as non-existent, poor, or sufficient still choose to engage in folklore associations. This demonstrates a strong desire to maintain cultural ties and remain connected to the Hungarian community, even when language skills are limited. Their involvement highlights an important aspect of cultural participation—one that goes beyond language proficiency alone—and emphasizes the value placed on Hungarian heritage and community identity. Regardless of language ability, this engagement reflects a commitment to cultural preservation and participation that transcends linguistic boundaries.

Bartha (2003) notes that socioeconomic and political pressures often push minority groups toward language shift. However, in Baranja, the presence of solid cultural institutions like folklore associations helps counterbalance this pressure, providing spaces where Hungarian is actively used and valued. In Slavonia, the lower participation in such institutions may contribute to the region's higher rates of language attrition, as there are fewer opportunities for active engagement with Hungarian-language cultural activities. This contrast between the regions highlights the importance of community involvement in preserving minority languages and maintaining proficiency across generations.

## **6. Conclusion**

This thesis set out to explore the dynamics of language attrition and shift within the Hungarian minority in Croatia, with a particular focus on the regions of Slavonia and Baranja. By investigating the roles of age, migration, education, and cultural participation, this study provides a comprehensive analysis of how various socio-cultural factors influence language retention and shift within these two regions.

One of the primary findings was the apparent difference in Hungarian language retention between Slavonia and Baranja. In Slavonia, Croatian dominates, especially among younger generations, reflecting the greater degree of language shift in this region. In contrast, Baranja demonstrates stronger Hungarian language retention, particularly among the younger population, which can be attributed to the presence of Hungarian-speaking communities and educational models that reinforce the use of Hungarian.

The research also highlighted the pivotal role of education in language maintenance. The prevalence of Model A schools in Baranja, where the entirety of the curriculum is taught in Hungarian, provides significant support for the retention of the Hungarian language. Conversely, the lack of these models in Slavonia contributes to the dominance of Croatian, illustrating the importance of education in maintaining minority languages.

Migration patterns also provided valuable insights into the relationship between cultural identity and language use. Although few respondents had migrated from Hungary, most of those who did still completed the survey in Croatian, highlighting the extent to which Croatian has become dominant even among individuals with Hungarian origins. This underscores the complex dynamics of cultural identity and the gradual shift towards Croatian in both social and formal contexts.

Cultural participation emerged as another critical factor influencing language retention. Baranja's rich tradition of folklore associations, where cultural identity is closely tied to language, has helped to preserve Hungarian language use. Respondents involved in these associations tended to report higher proficiency in Hungarian, further illustrating the connection between cultural involvement and language retention.

The analysis of media consumption patterns highlights its significant role in language retention within the Hungarian minority in Croatia. The survey reveals that Hungarian media consumption is more prevalent in Baranja than in Slavonia, with a higher percentage of respondents from Baranja regularly watching Hungarian television, listening to Hungarian music, and reading in Hungarian. This distinction aligns with the broader trends observed in the study, where Baranja consistently demonstrated stronger retention of the Hungarian language. In contrast, respondents in Slavonia exhibited a greater shift towards Croatian media, which reflects the broader language shift seen in the region. The reliance on Croatian media, in addition to the lower levels of Hungarian language use in other domains, points to the gradual attrition of Hungarian in everyday life for the minority in Slavonia.

One of the significant societal implications of this research is the need for greater awareness and acceptance of the natural evolution of the Hungarian dialect spoken by the minority in Croatia. As Lehocki (2016) pointed out, the dialect present among Hungarians in Baranja is not damaged but rather enriched by the borrowings from Croatian, which reflects the historical and linguistic context of this minority. The separation from Hungary for over a century has inevitably led to linguistic adaptations, and this dialect is an essential part of the community's identity. It is crucial for society, both within and outside the Hungarian minority, to recognize this linguistic evolution as a natural process.

The survey also sheds light on some respondents' feelings of discomfort or embarrassment when speaking their Hungarian dialect, particularly when interacting with native Hungarians from Hungary. This highlights a broader issue of visibility and acceptance, where some members of the Hungarian minority in Croatia may feel that their language is not "pure" or "standard" enough. Greater societal awareness of this phenomenon could alleviate such concerns and foster a more inclusive understanding of linguistic diversity. Rather than perceiving these linguistic differences as shortcomings, they should be viewed as a testament to the resilience of the Hungarian minority in maintaining their language under complex socio-political conditions.

This study contributes to the understanding of how minority languages evolve within multicultural and multilingual societies. The findings suggest that language attrition is not merely a consequence of demographic changes but is influenced by broader societal factors, such as educational policies and cultural participation. The distinction between the two regions—Slavonia and Baranja—highlights how localized factors, such as the availability of Hungarian-speaking schools and cultural organizations, can either mitigate or accelerate language shift.

While this study provides valuable insights, it is not without its limitations. The sample size, though adequate for the purposes of this research, may not capture the full range of experiences within the Hungarian minority in Croatia. Additionally, the focus on Slavonia and Baranja leaves out other regions where Hungarian-speaking communities exist, which could be explored in future studies.

Further research could expand on the connection between education models and language retention, particularly in regions where minority languages are not as widely spoken. Additionally, exploring the role of digital communication and media in reinforcing or diminishing the use of minority languages could offer new perspectives on the future of the Hungarian language in Croatia.

In conclusion, this thesis demonstrates that while language shift and attrition are evident within the Hungarian minority in Croatia, particularly in Slavonia, there are still strongholds of Hungarian language use, especially in Baranja. Education, cultural participation, and regional differences all play a critical role in shaping the linguistic landscape of these communities. Ultimately, the study underscores the importance of both formal education and informal cultural practices in sustaining minority languages in a multilingual world.

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## 8. Appendices

### 8.1. Appendix A: Croatian Questionnaire

Studentica: Sindy Pap

Fakultet: Filozofski fakultet Osijek

Smjer: engleski i mađarski jezik i književnost

Upotreba upitnika: diplomski rad

#### Upitnik o jezičnoj upotrebi mađarske manjine u Hrvatskoj

Ovaj upitnik ima za cilj prikupiti informacije o osobnoj pozadini i jezičnoj upotrebi Mađara koji žive u Hrvatskoj, kao i načine na koji se mađarski jezik mijenjao tijekom vremena. Važno je napomenuti da se sva pitanja možda neće odnositi na vas osobno. Ako smatrate da se određeno pitanje ne odnosi na vašu situaciju (na primjer, ako ste upitani o jezičnoj upotrebi vaše djece ili supružnika/partnera, a nemate djece ili niste u braku ili partnerstvu), preskočite to pitanje i prijedite na sljedeće. Vaši individualni odgovori su nam važni jer nas zanima vaša osobna jezična upotreba. Ako vam neko pitanje nije jasno, slobodno tražite pojašnjenje. Sjetite se, nema točnih ili netočnih odgovora!

*Hvala na vremenu i povjerenju!*

This questionnaire aims to gather insights into the personal background and language use of Hungarians living in Croatia, as well as the ways Hungarian language has been changing. It's important to note that not all questions may be relevant to you personally. If you find that a particular question does not apply to your situation (for example, if you're asked about the language use of your children or spouse/partners and you do not have any), please skip that question and move on to the next one. Your individual responses are important to us as we are interested in your personal language use. If you find any question unclear, feel free to ask for clarification. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers!

*Thank you for your time and trust!*

1) Starosna dob:

0-14

15-24

25-34

35-44

45-54

55-64

65 ili više

2) Spol:  muški  ženski

3) Gdje ste rođeni?

Mjesto:.....Država:.....

4) Koja je Vaša nacionalnost po rodnom listu?

HRV  MAĐ

5) Imate li dvojno državljanstvo?

DA  NE

6) Koja je najviša razina obrazovanja koju ste završili?

Osnovna škola

Srednja škola

Više obrazovanje

Fakultet

7) Čime se trenutno bavite (posao)? Ukoliko ste u mirovini, molim navedite čime ste se bavili prije mirovine.

.....

8) Molim označite jezike koje govorite:

Hrvatski

Mađarski

Oba jezika

9) Jeste li došli u Hrvatsku iz Mađarske?  DA  NE

10) Ako ste na prethodno pitanje odgovorili s *DA*, možete li navesti razlog?

(zbog posla, zbog partnera, zbog partnerovog posla, zbog škole, i sl.)

.....

11) Gdje trenutno boravite? Molim da navedete ime sela ili grada.

Slavonija

Baranja

Ime sela ili grada:.....

12) Jeste li ikada živjeli na području današnje Mađarske?

NE

DA (navedite razlog):.....

13) Koje ste jezike naučili prije kretanja u osnovnu školu?

Mađarski

Hrvatski

Engleski

Njemački

Drugo (navedite):.....

14) Sljedeće pitanje odnosi se na Vaše osnovnoškolsko obrazovanje. Molim označite

koji program se odnosi na Vas:

Hrvatska osnovna škola

Hrvatska osnovna škola i njegovanje mađarskog jezika

Mađarska osnovna škola

Drugo (primjer: pohađali ste osnovnu školu u Mađarskoj).....

15) Sljedeće pitanje odnosi se na vaše srednjoškolsko obrazovanje. Molim označite koji program se odnosi na Vas:

- Hrvatska srednja škola
- Hrvatska srednja škola i njegovanje mađarskog jezika
- Mađarska srednja škola
- Drugo (primjer: pohađali ste srednju školu u Mađarskoj.).....

16) Jeste li bili član mađarskog kulturno umjetničkog društva?

- Da, bio sam/bila sam (navedite naziv):.....
- Da, još uvijek sam član/ica (navedite naziv):.....
- Ne

17) Koji jezik smatrate vašim materinskim jezikom, odnosno jezikom koji ste prvo naučili?.....

18) Možete li reći da je taj jezik i danas ostao vaš dominantan jezik na kojem razmišljate i sanjate?

- DA     NE

19) Ako ste na prethodno pitanje odgovorili s *NE*, navedite jezik koji je trenutno vaš dominantan jezik:.....

20) Smatrate li da je vaše znanje hrvatskog jezika na razini izvornog govornika?

- DA     NE

21) Kako biste ocijenili vaše znanje mađarskog jezika?

- Nikakvo
- Vrlo loše
- Loše

- Dovoljno
- Dobro
- Vrlo dobro

22) Kako biste ocijenili vaše znanje hrvatskog jezika?

- Nikakvo
- Vrlo loše
- Loše
- Dovoljno
- Dobro
- Vrlo dobro

23) Koliko često govorite hrvatski?

- Nikada
- Rijetko
- Par puta tjedno
- Par puta mjesečno
- Svakodnevno

24) Koliko često govorite mađarski?

- Nikada
- Rijetko
- Par puta tjedno
- Par puta mjesečno

Svakodnevno

25) Smatrate li da je važno održati znanje mađarskog jezika u Hrvatskoj?

DA       NE

26) Koji je vaš trenutni bračni status?

Oženjen/udana

Rastavljen/a

Udovac/udovica

Veza s partnerom/partnericom

Samac/samica

27) Ukoliko ste oženjeni/udani ili u vezi, molim da navedete materinski jezik svog partnera/svoje partnerice:..... i također trenutni dominantni jezik svog partnera/svoje partnerice:.....

28) Ukoliko ste oženjeni/udani ili u vezi, molim navedite jezik na kojem najčešće razgovarate sa svojim partnerom/svojom partnericom:

hrvatski

mađarski

i hrvatski i mađarski, ali uglavnom hrvatski

i hrvatski i mađarski, ali uglavnom mađarski

drugi jezik (navedite):.....

29) Smatrate li da je važno vašu djecu (buduću, ako ih sada nemate) učiti mađarski jezik?

DA       NE



30) Koje jezike govore vaša djeca?

- Hrvatski jezik
- Mađarski jezik
- Hrvatski i mađarski jezik
- Nemam djece

31) Ako imate djece, na kojem jeziku pričate s njima?

- Na hrvatskom
- Na mađarskom
- Ja im pričam na hrvatskom, a oni odgovaraju na mađarskom
- Ja im pričam na mađarskom, a oni odgovaraju na hrvatskom
- Koristima oba jezika
- Drugo:.....
- Nemam djece

32) Ukoliko imate djece, pohađaju li hrvatsku ili mađarsku školu?

- Hrvatsku školu, bez njegovanja mađarskog jezika
- Hrvatsku školu i njegovanje mađarskog jezika
- Mađarsku školu
- Nemam djece

33) Jesu li vaša djeca dio mađarskog kulturno umjetničkog društva?

- DA       NE       NEMAM DJECE

34) Jesu li vaša djeca dio bilo kakve grupe, društva i sl. koji imaju veze s mađarskim?

DA       NE       NEMAM DJECE

35) Imate li unuke?

Ne

Da (navedite broj):.....

36) Na kojem jeziku pričate sa svojim unukama/unucima?

Na hrvatskom

Na mađarskom

Ja im pričam na hrvatskom, a oni odgovaraju na mađarskom

Ja im pričam na mađarskom, a oni odgovaraju na hrvatskom

Koristimo oba jezika

Drugo:.....

Nemam unuke

37) Imate li više prijatelja koji govore hrvatski ili mađarski?

Samo prijatelje koji govore hrvatski

Samo prijatelje koji govore mađarski

I jedne i druge, ali više prijatelja koji govore mađarski

I jedne i druge, ali više prijatelja koji govore hrvatski

Podjednako

38) Smatrate li da je hrvatska kultura i vaša kultura?

DA       NE

39) Smatrate li da se mađarska manjinska kultura razlikuje od kulture državljana  
Mađarske?

DA       NE

40) Putujete li u Mađarsku?

- Rijetko (jednom godišnje)
- Nekada (par puta godišnje)
- Često (više puta godišnje)
- Mjesečno
- Tjedno
- Nikada

41) Koji su razlozi za putovanje u Mađarsku?

- Kupovina
- Izdavanje dokumenata (osobna iskaznica, putovnica)
- Posao
- Obilazak obitelji
- Drugo (navedite):.....

42) Ukoliko odlazite u crkvu, na kojem jeziku se održava misa?

- Hrvatskom
- Mađarskom
- Kombinacija hrvatskog i mađarskog jezika
- Drugo (navedite):.....

43) Gledate li nekada mađarske televizijske programe?

- Nikada

Jako rijetko

Ponekad

Često

Svaki dan

44) Slušate li nekada mađarsku glazbu?

Nikada

Jako rijetko

Ponekad

Često

Svaki dan

45) Čitate li nešto na mađarskom jeziku?

(primjerice: novine, knjige, recepte, objave na društvenim mrežama, i sl.)

Jako rijetko (navedite primjer):.....

Ponekad (navedite primjer):.....

Često (navedite primjer):.....

Svaki dan (navedite primjer):.....

Nikada

46) Bude li vam ikada neugodno kada pričate na mađarskom jeziku s osobom koja živi u

Mađarskoj?

DA       NE

Ako ste odgovorili s *DA*, možete li navesti razlog?

.....  
.....  
47) Jeste li se ikada u Hrvatskoj našli u neugodnoj situaciji zbog govora na mađarskom?

DA

NE

Molim navedite primjer ako ste odgovorili s da:  
.....

48) Smatrate li sebe dvojezičnom osobom?

Da – znanje je podjednako u oba jezika

Da – ali je veća razina znanja mađarskog

Da – ali je veća razina znanja hrvatskog

Ne – samo jedan jezik znam jako dobro

49) Molim da ispunite tablice koja će pokazati u kojoj mjeri koristite koji jezik u

određenim situacijama. Ako se neke situacije ne odnose na vas, molim da ostavite polje prazno.

<b>Govorim hrvatski jezik:</b>					
	Cijelo vrijeme	Često	Ponekad	Rijetko	Nikada
S rođacima					
S prijateljima					
S kućnim ljubimcima					

Na poslu					
U crkvi					
U prodavaonici					
U pošti					
U ambulanti/kod doktorice opće prakse					
U ljekarnoj					
U kafiću					
Sa susjedima					

<b>Govorim mađarski jezik:</b>					
	Cijelo vrijeme	Često	Ponekad	Rijetko	Nikada
S rođacima					
S prijateljima					
S kućnim ljubimcima					
Na poslu					
U crkvi					
U prodavaonici					
U pošti					

U ambulanti/kod doktorice opće prakse					
U ljekarnoj					
U kafiću					
Sa susjedima					

Došli ste do kraja ovog upitnika. Ukoliko želite dodati nekakav komentar, pitanje ili primjedbu, molim vas da se ne ustručavate.

.....

.....

## 8.2. Appendix B: Hungarian Questionnaire

Hallgató: Pap Sindy

Kar: Eszéki Bölcsészettudományi Kar

Szak: angol és magyar nyelv és irodalom

Kérdőív használata: diplomamunka

### **Kérdőív a horvátországi magyar kisebbség nyelvhasználatáról**

Ez a kérdőív arra irányul, hogy betekintést nyerjünk a Horvátországban élő magyarok személyes háttérébe és nyelvhasználatába, valamint arról, hogyan változott a magyar nyelv az idők során. Fontos megjegyezni, hogy nem minden kérdés vonatkozik személyesen Önre. Ha úgy érzi, hogy egy adott kérdés nem kapcsolódik az Ön helyzetéhez (például ha gyermekei vagy házastársa/partnere nyelvhasználatáról kérdezik, de Önnek nincsenek gyermekei, vagy nincs házastársa vagy partnere), akkor hagyja ki ezt a kérdést, és lépjen tovább a következőre. Az Ön egyéni válaszai fontosak számunkra, mert az Ön személyes nyelvhasználatára érdekel minket. Ha egy kérdés nem világos, nyugodtan kérjen magyarázatot. Ne feledje, nincsenek helyes vagy helytelen válaszok!

*Köszönöm az idejét és a bizalmát!*

1) Életkor:

0-14

15-24

25-34

35-44

45-54

55-64

65 év vagy idősebb

2) Nem:  férfi  nő

3) Hol született? Hely: ..... Ország: .....

4) Mi az Ön nemzetisége a születési anyakönyvi kivonat szerint?

Horvát  Magyar

5) Rendelkezik kettős állampolgársággal?

IGEN  NEM

6) Mi a legmagasabb iskolai végzettsége?

Általános iskola

Középiskola

Felsőfokú végzettség

Egyetem

7) Mivel foglalkozik jelenleg (munka)? Ha nyugdíjas, kérem, írja meg, mivel foglalkozott nyugdíjazása előtt.



.....  
8) Kérem, jelölje meg, mely nyelveket beszéli:

Horvát

Magyar

Mindkét nyelv

9) Magyarországról érkezett Horvátországba?  IGEN  NEM

10) Ha az előző kérdésre IGEN a válasza, meg tudná adni az okot?

(munka miatt, partner miatt, partner munkája miatt, iskola miatt stb.)

.....  
11) Hol lakik jelenleg? Kérem, adja meg a falu vagy város nevét.

Szlavónia

Baranya

Falu vagy város neve:.....

12) Élt valaha a mai Magyarország területén?

NEM

IGEN (Kérem, adja meg az okot):.....

13) Mely nyelveket tanulta meg, mielőtt elkezdte az általános iskolát?

Magyar

Horvát

Angol

Német

Egyéb (kérem adja meg):.....

14) A következő kérdés az általános iskolai oktatására vonatkozik. Kérem, jelölje meg, melyik program vonatkozik Önre:

- Horvát általános iskola
- Horvát általános iskola és a magyar nyelv ápolása
- Magyar általános iskola
- Egyéb (például Magyarországon járt általános iskolába) .....

15) A következő kérdés a középiskolai oktatására vonatkozik. Kérem, jelölje meg, melyik program vonatkozik Önre:

- Horvát középiskola
- Horvát középiskola és a magyar nyelv ápolása
- Magyar középiskola
- Egyéb (például Magyarországon járt középiskolába.) .....

16) Tagja volt-e magyar kulturális és művészeti egyesületnek?

- Igen, voltam (kérjük, adja meg a nevét): .....
- Igen, még mindig tag vagyok (kérjük, adja meg a nevét): .....
- Nem

17) Melyik nyelvet tartja anyanyelvének, azaz melyik nyelvet tanulta meg először?

.....

18) Mondhatja-e, hogy ez a nyelv ma is az Ön domináns nyelve, amelyen gondolkodik és álmodik?  IGEN  NEM

19) Ha az előző kérdésre NEM-mel válaszolt, kérjük, adja meg a jelenlegi domináns nyelvét:

---

20) Úgy gondolja, hogy a horvát nyelvtudása anyanyelvi szinten van?

- IGEN  NEM

21) Hogyan értékelné magyar nyelvtudását?

- Semmilyen
- Nagyon rossz
- Rossz
- Megfelelő
- Jó
- Nagyon jó

22) Hogyan értékelné horvát nyelvtudását?

- Semmilyen
- Nagyon rossz
- Rossz
- Megfelelő
- Jó
- Nagyon jó

23) Milyen gyakran beszél horvátul?

- Soha
- Ritkán
- Hetente néhányszor

Havonta néhányszor

Naponta

24) Milyen gyakran beszél magyarul?

Soha

Ritkán

Hetente néhányszor

Havonta néhányszor

Naponta

25) Fontosnak tartja-e, hogy megőrizze a magyar nyelvtudását Horvátországban?

IGEN     NEM

26) Mi a jelenlegi családi állapota?

Házass

Elvált

Özvegy

Párkapcsolatban él

Egyedülálló

27) Ha házass vagy kapcsolatban él, kérem, adja meg partnere anyanyelvét:

..... és jelenlegi domináns nyelvét: .....

28) Ha házass vagy kapcsolatban él, kérjük, adja meg a nyelvet, amelyen leggyakrabban beszélnek partnerével:

Horvátul

Magyarul

- Horvátul és magyarul, de inkább horvátul
- Horvátul és magyarul, de inkább magyarul
- Más nyelv (kérjük, adja meg):.....

29) Fontosnak tartja-e, hogy (jövőbeni) gyermekeit megtanítsa magyarul?

- IGEN     NEM

30) Milyen nyelveken beszélnek gyermekeik?

- Horvátul
- Magyarul
- Horvátul és magyarul
- Nincsenek gyermekeim

31) Ha vannak gyermekeik, milyen nyelven beszél velük?

- Horvátul
- Magyarul
- Horvátul beszélek hozzájuk, ők magyarul válaszolnak
- Magyarul beszélek hozzájuk, ők horvátul válaszolnak
- Mindkét nyelvet használjuk
- Egyéb: .....
- Nincsenek gyermekeim

32) Ha vannak gyermekeik, horvát vagy magyar iskolába járnak?

- Horvát iskolába, magyar nyelv ápolása nélkül
- Horvát iskolába és magyar nyelv ápolásával

Magyar iskolába

Nincsenek gyermekeim

33) Tagjai gyermekeik magyar kulturális és művészeti egyesületnek?

IGEN  NEM  NINCSENEK GYERMEKEIM

34) Tagjai gyermekeik bármilyen csoportnak, egyesületnek stb., amely kapcsolódik a magyarsághoz?

IGEN  NEM  NINCSENEK GYERMEKEIM

35) Vannak unokái?

Nem

Igen (adja meg a számot):.....

36) Milyen nyelven beszél unokáival?

Horvátul

Magyarul

Horvátul beszélek hozzájuk, ők magyarul válaszolnak

Magyarul beszélek hozzájuk, ők horvátul válaszolnak

Mindkét nyelvet használjuk

Egyéb: .....

Nincsenek unokáim

37) Több barátja van, akik horvátul vagy magyarul beszélnek?

Csak horvátul beszélő barátaim vannak

Csak magyarul beszélő barátaim vannak

Mindkettő, de több barátom beszél magyarul

Mindkettő, de több barátom beszél horvátul

Egyenlő arányban

38) Úgy érzi, hogy a horvát kultúra az Ön kultúrája is?

IGEN  NEM

39) Úgy érzi, hogy a magyar kisebbségi kultúra különbözik a magyarországi állampolgárok kultúrájától?

IGEN  NEM

40) Milyen gyakran utazik Magyarországra?

Ritkán (évente egyszer)

Néha (évente párszor)

Gyakran (évente többször)

Havonta

Hetente

Soha

41) Milyen okokból utazik Magyarországra?

Vásárlás

Dokumentumok igénylése (személyi igazolvány, útlevel)

Munka

Családlátogatás

Egyéb (kérjük, adja meg): .....

42) Ha templomba jár, milyen nyelven tartják a misét?

Horvátul

- Magyarul
- Horvát és magyar nyelv keveréke
- Egyéb (kérjük, adja meg): .....

43) Néz-e valaha magyar televíziós műsorokat?

- Soha
- Nagyon ritkán
- Néha
- Gyakran
- Minden nap

44) Hallgat-e valaha magyar zenét?

- Soha
- Nagyon ritkán
- Néha
- Gyakran
- Minden nap

45) Olvas-e valamit magyar nyelven?

(például újságok, könyvek, receptek, közösségi média bejegyzések stb.)

- Nagyon ritkán (kérjük, adja meg a példát): .....
- Néha (kérjük, adja meg a példát): .....
- Gyakran (kérjük, adja meg a példát): .....
- Minden nap (kérjük, adja meg a példát): .....



Soha

46) Érezte már magát kellemetlenül, amikor magyarul beszélt egy Magyarországon élő személlyel?

IGEN  NEM

Ha IGEN-nel válaszolt, meg tudná adni az okot?

.....  
.....

47) Volt-e már kellemetlen helyzetben Horvátországban amiatt, hogy magyarul beszélt?

IGEN

NEM

Kérjük, adjon példát, ha IGEN-nel válaszolt:

.....

48) Kétnyelvű személynek tartja magát?

Igen – mindkét nyelvet egyformán jól ismerem

Igen – de a magyar nyelvtudásom jobb

Igen – de a horvát nyelvtudásom jobb

Nem – csak egy nyelvet ismerek nagyon jól

49) Kérem, töltsse ki a táblázatot, amely megmutatja, milyen mértékben használja az egyes nyelveket bizonyos helyzetekben. Ha egyes helyzetek nem vonatkoznak Önre, kérjük, hagyja üresen a mezőt.

<b>Horvátul beszélek:</b>
---------------------------

	Minden alkalommal	Gyakran	Néha	Ritkán	Soha
Rokonokkal					
Barátokkal					
Háziállatokkal					
Munkahelyen					
Templomban					
Boltban					
Postán					
Orvosi rendelőben					
Gyógyszertárban					
Kávézóban					
Szomszédokkal					

<b>Magyarul beszélek:</b>					
	Minden alkalommal	Gyakran	Néha	Ritkán	Soha
Rokonokkal					
Barátokkal					
Háziállatokkal					
Munkahelyen					
Templomban					
Boltban					

Postán					
Orvosi rendelőben					
Gyógyszertárban					
Kávézóban					
Szomszédokkal					

Elérkezett ennek a kérdőívnek a végére. Ha megjegyzést, kérdést vagy észrevételt szeretne hozzáfűzni, kérem, ne habozzon megtenni.

.....

.....

**Köszönöm az idejét és az együttműködését!**