

The Impact of Liaison and Support on the Teaching of Hungarian and Language Maintenance in the Diaspora: A Case Study of Brazil and Chile

Abstract. A significant number of Hungarian minorities live in South America. Brazil and Chile are two countries where a large number of Hungarians arrived in several immigration waves, mostly between and after the two World Wars and after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Whereas Brazil's Hungarian minority is currently mainly concentrated in São Paulo (80%), Chilean Hungarians are found relatively isolated, in smaller groups. Furthermore, there was no Hungarian Embassy in Chile for a long time. The goal of the present paper is to give an overview about the situation of the Hungarian language teaching in two South American countries, Brazil and Chile. This paper also touches upon the language policy of these countries, the institutional support system gained for the vitality of the minority language and review the bilateral cooperation (between the home country and the diaspora) for language maintenance and language revitalization.

Keywords: Hungarian minority, heritage language, Brazil, Chile, language policy, education

Резюме. У Південній Америці проживає доволі чисельна угорська діаспора. Бразилія та Чилі – це дві держави, до яких було кілька хвиль еміграції, переважно угорці виїжджали сюди в період між двома світовими війнами та після революції 1956 року. Якщо в Бразилії угорська діаспора зосереджена в місті Сан-Паулу (80%), то в Чилі угорці проживають у порівняно ізольованих, невеликих групах. Крім цього, у цій країні довгий час не було посольства Угорщини. Мета цієї публікації – простежити ситуацію з вивченням угорської мови у двох південноамериканських країнах – Бразилії та Чилі, зокрема охарактеризувати мовну політику цих держав, систему інституцій, які мають підтримувати мови меншин, а також двосторонню (материнська держава – діаспора) роботу з метою збереження мови та її ревіталізації.

Ключові слова: угорська меншина, мова походження, Бразилія, Чилі, мовна політика, освіта

Rezümé. Dél-Amerikában jelentős számú magyar kisebbség él. Brazília és Chile két olyan ország, ahová több kivándorlási hullámban, de főleg a két világháború között és azt követően, valamint az 1956-os forradalom után érkeztek jelentős számban magyarok. Míg Brazília magyar kisebbsége jelenleg főként São Paulo városában összpontosul (80%), addig Chilében, viszonylag elszigetelten, kisebb csoportokban élnek a magyarok, továbbá hosszú ideig magyar nagykövetség sem volt az országban. Jelen cikk célja, a két dél-amerikai ország, Brazília és Chile magyar nyelvoktatási helyzetének bemutatása, ide sorolható az adott ország nyelvpolitikája, a kisebbségi nyelv vitalitását segítő intézményrendszer, valamint a nyelvmegtartás, illetve a nyelv revitalizációja érdekében folyó kétoldalú munka (anyaország-diaszpóra) bemutatása.

Kulcsszavak: magyar kisebbség, származási nyelv, Brazília, Chile, nyelvpolitika, oktatás

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1. Introduction

We hear little about the situation of the Hungarian minority living in Chile and Brazil and their heritage language maintenance. However, those countries are often in the news. Since institutional support is a crucial factor in language maintenance, this study introduces issues related to language maintenance and teaching the Hungarian language, as well as the domestic institutional system through the case study of Brazil and Chile. It analyses relations and liaison links with the motherland and the impact of support from the home country and their significance in the process of heritage language maintenance. Through the example of these two countries, we can draw conclusions that can provide a suitable solution for a Hungarian minority living in another country, especially for Hungarian minorities living overseas and abroad.

1.1. Brazil and Chile

There is a significant difference between the two countries: Brazil is almost the size of the USA, Chile is much smaller, less than 9% of the territory of Brazil. Chile is one of the smallest countries in South America and Brazil is the 5th largest country in the world. Chile's population is only 8.8% of Brazil's population. Brazil has the highest annual GDP in South America, which is € 1,700,706M (World Bank) and only the 5th on the ranking list by GDP per capita with its €14,662. Chile has an annual GDP of € 271,319.5M and the GDP per capita is €23,565 (Statistics Times) However, Chile has the highest GDP per capita, so it is the first on the South American ranking.

1.2. The Hungarian diaspora in Brazil and Chile

The history of the Hungarian minorities in the two countries evolved in a different way. Due to this, their current situation has also progressed differently. The primary destination of Hungarian immigrants was North America, and a country in South America was the second choice for them.

From the early 1920s, more significant numbers of Hungarians began to arrive on the South American continent. The reason for this was the Emergency Quota Law¹ introduced by the United States and Canada² because of extremely high immigration caused by political and economic problems. New Hungarian colonies were formed in South America. However, the proportion

¹ The University of Washington-Bothell Library: http://library.uwb.edu/Static/USimmigration/1921_emergency_quota_law.html (Accessed: 24 August 2019).

² Canadian Council for Refugees: <https://ccrweb.ca/en/hundred-years-immigration-canada-1900-1999> (Accessed: 28 August 2019).

of the Hungarians from the home country was low, only 10 to 20 per cent (Torbagyí 2004: 5).

The earliest data relating to Hungarians in Brazil dates back to the first half of the 16th century. The Hungarian presence began here with the Jesuits, soldiers and mercenaries, Gypsies and miners, similarly to other Latin American countries. Hungarian families³ also arrived in Brazil together with the first German settlers. Then many Hungarians arrived after the failure of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 (Torbagyí 2004: 5).

Hungarians arrived in Chile much later. A large number of immigrants arrived on the first ship in 1850 which landed at the port of Valdivia. Almost all of Chile's ports had Austro-Hungarian colonies of 50–100 people (Szondi – Seres 2011: 195).

Unlike the Brazilian Hungarians with a mixed social background, a lot of wealthy Hungarian families found a new home in industrially underdeveloped Chile. More and more Hungarians started industrial ventures in Chile beside the large number of merchants (Torbagyí 2007: 170).

It is difficult to estimate the current number of Hungarians and their descendants, as far as there are no statistics on the former immigrant minorities. Only during the Brazilian census of 2010 birth outside the country and the language(s) spoken at home were surveyed. The findings of the World Federation of Hungarians are as follows: Brazil: 70,000; Argentina: 40,000; Venezuela: 4,500; Uruguay: 3,500; Chile: 2,000; Peru: 1,600; Costa Rica: 1,100; Mexico: 300 (Szondi et al. 2009: 610). The Hungarian Embassy in Brazil currently estimates the number of Hungarians and Hungarian descendants to be nearly 100,000.⁴ However, in 1933 the South American Hungarian News (DMH) estimated the number of Hungarian immigrants in Brazil to be 150,000.⁵ There were two great waves of immigration after the 1930s.

Table 1 provides the essential data and information on the two countries.

³ The statistical tables of the State of São Paulo from 1872 contain the 'Hungaro' (Hungarian) as a separate foreign nationality (Nacionalidade). Census 1872–200 São Paulo. http://smul.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/historico_demografico/tabelas.php (Accessed: 24 August 2019).

⁴ News October 24, 2018, Journal of the Gazette of São Paulo. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gq7AMejrKFY> (Accessed: 24 October 2018).

⁵ DMH – Délamerikai Magyar Hírlap: June 15, 1933.

Table 1. Hungarian Diaspora: Brazil – Chile

	Brazil	Chile
Diplomatic relations	92 years of diplomatic relations From 1923 (suspended between 1942 and 1961) Honorary Consuls: 8 (1)	Approximately 32 years of diplomatic relations. From 1965 to 1973 (until Pinochet came to power) and from 1990 to the present (between 2009 and 2014 there was no embassy again) Honorary Consuls: 6
Hungarian descendants	80% in São Paulo, small, scattered communities all over the country (2)	Scattered throughout the country and in Santiago
Estimated size of the Hungarian minority	100,000 people (2)	2,000 people
Active associations (Hungarian Subsidy and LAMOSZSZ as an umbrella organization)	- AEHASP Association of Hungarian Associations - São Paulo. - Hungarian-Brazilian Chamber of Commerce Approximately 12 groups (1) or clubs ⁶ + dance groups	- Hungarian Cultural Association of Chile (1992–) - Danube Association (2019–) - Hungarian-Chilean Chamber of Commerce
Hungarian folk dance groups	50 years of dancing (5 folk dance groups) (1)	Danube Folk Dance Group (2017–) Little Danube – Children's Folk Dance Group (2018–)
Hungarian House	Yes: 3 (3)	None
Composition of immigrants	Groups of different social compositions (4)	Mainly richer and more educated people (ex-craftsmen, factory owners, etc.)
Time of immigration	In several major phases from the early 19 th century (4)	Especially between the two World Wars, after World War 2 and 1956

Resource: own compilation (Brazil: 1–braziliavaros.mfa.gov.hu, 2–Journal of the Gazette of São Paulo, 3–Kobori et al 2017, 4–Szilágyi 1996; Thomazy 2001; Pongrácz 2008, Chile: LAMOSZSZ, Torbágyi 2007 and based on interviews)

The table 1 shows the differences between Brazil and Chile. First and foremost, there is a significant difference concerning diplomatic relations as Brazil and Hungary have now had diplomatic relations for 92 years. The number of cultural

⁶ Hungarian Tennis Association, Bible Circle, Literary Circle, Chess Circle, György Szondi Scout Group, Hungarian Women's Association of São Paulo, Choir of São Paulo, Open University of Kalman Könyves, SERVA Vila Anastácio Sport and Leisure Society, Péter Balázs Special Care Facility for the Elderly, Hungarian Community of Jaragua do Sul, Hungarian Community of Nova Friburgo, Hungarian Community of Árpádfalva, Hungarian Community of Rio de Janeiro. News Editorial Office, Info Boletim Editorial office.

associations and folk-dance groups is much higher in Brazil. Although the Brazilian Hungarian minority is currently mainly concentrated in the city of São Paulo (80%), a significant number of Hungarians live in Rio de Janeiro, Nova Friburgo (RJ – State of Rio de Janeiro) and Jaragua do Sul (SC – State of Santa Catarina), in southern Brazil. Not all of these communities have a Hungarian cultural centre (Casa Húngara). Hungarian descendants are scattered throughout Brazil, but in Chile the Hungarians typically live in relatively isolated groups. Organizing cultural groups and associations was made difficult by the fact that there was no Hungarian Embassy in the country for a long time. It was challenging to unite Hungarians living in small groups scattered throughout this long country. Currently, Hungarians living in the Chilean capital are more active. More and more people attend Embassy events⁷ and the Danube Folk Dance Group programs, but there is no Hungarian House, a place where events, dance rehearsals and Hungarian lessons could be held. There are three Hungarian Houses⁸ in Brazil, and cities which have a Hungarian House put on more Hungarian cultural events and have more cohesive power.

1.3. Language Policy and Minority Languages in Brazil and Chile

Linguistic unification began in South America in the 16th century parallel to the European monolingual ideology, intending to create modern nation states through linguistic homogenization. In Brazil, Marquês de Pombal is associated with this process, who banned the tupi-based *nheengatu* mediation language which had been used as a "lingua franca" for over two hundred years. Thus began the decline of more than 1,175 different indigenous languages and 200 different African languages spoken by more than 4 million African slaves. Portuguese became the new official language of mediation (Cardoso, 2016).

The number of Hungarian immigrants in São Paulo increased significantly in the 1920s and 30s. However, public education was not available for Hungarian immigrant children, so in 1927 the first Hungarian school was established in the district of Mooca. Five other districts and two other settlements inhabited by Hungarians followed the foundation of the school.⁹ The Alliance of Hungarian Schools was also established under the leadership of the Hungarian Charity Association of Brazil¹⁰ to promote unified governance. A Board of Hungarian Schools was also founded with the involvement of Catholic and Protestant pastors. Education was conducted in accordance with bilingual curriculum (Hungarian and Portuguese). The era of Hungarian schools had come to an end by 1941 (Kutasi

⁷ Operating since 2014.

⁸ São Paulo, Nova Friburgo, Jaragua do Sul.

⁹ Vila Anastácio, Vila Pompeia, Vila Ipiranga, Freguesia do Ó and Vila Pirituba, Árpádfalva, Istvánkirályfalva.

¹⁰ Associação Beneficente 30 de Setembro/Braziliai Magyar Segélyegylet.

1980: 136–137). The nationalization of Hungarian schools and their transition to a full Portuguese curriculum took place during the period called Estado Novo (1937 to 1945) as a result of the unifying nationalist policy of Getúlio Vargas. All minority organizations and the use of minority languages were banned, which had a profound effect not only on the language of the Hungarian minority but also on the language maintenance of other large immigrant groups such as the Germans, Italians and Japanese (Cardoso, 2016).

Extra and Gorter (2001) make a distinction between (i) *indigenous or regional* minority language groups and, using several factors, separated the languages of the (ii) *immigrant or refugee* language groups. Besides this, the definition of the heritage language became widespread in both North and South America.

In Brazil the term ‘*immigrant*’ is used primarily for European or Asian immigrants and not for Africans who were forced to immigrate as slaves from 1538 (Ferraz, 2007: 50).

Due to its cultural character, the words ‘*minority*’ or ‘*diaspora*’ are largely unknown in South America. The terms ‘*descendant*’ (descendiente/descendente) and ‘*community*’ (comunidad/comunidade) are more commonly used.

Based on their primary characteristics, Gorter and Cenoz distinguish the person speaking/learning a socially dominant language (the same language at home and at school) and the person speaking/learning a minority language (a different language at home and at school). Minority language learners in Europe can learn three languages: (a) a minority language from an early age, (b) a majority state language and (c) an international language, which is usually English. The country/state has the power to determine the national curriculum including the language as a medium of instruction and the rights of minority languages. Cenoz and Gorter distinguish four categories of language used inside the school curriculum: (i) no minority language teaching at all; (ii) the minority language is only a subject and the official language of the state, the dominant language, is the medium of instruction; (iii) both languages (dominant and minority) are the medium of instruction – a feature of the early Hungarian schools in Brazil; (iv) the minority language is the medium of instruction of school education and the dominant language is only a subject – the latter feature is typical of Brazilian indigenous elementary schools and border schools. Category (ii) is the most characteristic in Europe, which gives only a small amount of symbolic significance to the minority language in education and language maintenance. It has a more assimilative role of stimulating integration into mainstream society than the real preservation of a minority language (Cenoz – Gorter 2012: 187–188). Linguistic revitalization requires a stronger provision of minority education in order to produce stable and proficient bilingual people. There are examples and best practices of bilingual or multilingual education systems in Europe, Chile and even in Brazil which are already fulfilling this role.

In 1951 Hungarian Benedictines founded a private school in the district of the city centre. It used the Portuguese curriculum which was the only one allowed at that time. From the first year they organized Saturday Hungarian school into three age groups as well. In addition to the language courses, participants were able to acquire Hungarian cultural knowledge in the previously established Hungarian Scouts. High school graduates were also allowed to take the Hungarian final exam at the College of Saint Imre (Colégio Santo Américo) (Kutasi, 1980: 138).

Academic language teaching was offered in the period 1990 to 1994 at the University of São Paulo (USP) by the Department of Oriental Languages (FFLCH¹¹), where students could attend lectures on the history of the Hungarian language, descriptive Hungarian grammar and Hungarian language and literature¹² (Kóbori 2017: 14).

The UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger of 1996¹³ and Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity¹⁴ on the importance of preserving cultural assets and linguistic diversity (2001) influenced not only researchers and European language policy, but also those responsible for language policies in the South American countries. A lot of projects were launched relating to research and maintenance/revitalization of minority languages in Brazil. At first, they were only related to indigenous languages, then Afro-Brazilian and later immigrant languages. A statistical survey of 2010 proved that Brazil was a multicultural and multilingual country with abundant linguistic diversity. About 250 spoken languages were registered. The results included 180 indigenous languages, 56 immigrant languages, two sign languages (Portuguese and the only indigenous sign language: Urubu-Ka'apor) as well as several Afro-Brazilian and Creole languages (Cardoso 2016).

Brazilian linguistic diversity has legally become a cultural asset which needs to be preserved (Decreto Federal 7.387/2010). The process of recognizing minority languages as co-official also began in Brazil. The process is lengthy, requiring a complete research team working together with minority communities. The non-profit IPOL¹⁵ (Institute for Language Policy Development and Research, State of Santa Catarina) took part in this process. This means that 11 languages have received a semi-officialised minority language¹⁶ status since 2002 in several states. It was made officially possible to include minority languages in public education.

¹¹ Faculty of Philosophy, Literature and Human Sciences.

¹² Teachers: Margot Malini Petri, Anna Teréz Szabó, Maria Bianco and Zsolt Iróffi (Benedictine Gabriel).

¹³ Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger of Disappearing (1996, 2001).

¹⁴ UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity: http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/pdf/5_Cultural_Diversity_EN.pdf (Accessed: 21 May 2019).

¹⁵ IPOL – Instituto de Investigação e Desenvolvimento em Política Linguística.

¹⁶ Instituto de Investigação e Desenvolvimento em Política Linguística (IPOL): <http://ipol.org.br/publicacoes/legislacao/> (Accessed: 25 August 2019).

The Hungarian House (Casa Húngara) in São Paulo has been organizing Hungarian courses on several levels since 2005. However, academic-level education in the Hungarian language began in São Paulo again in 2014 on the initiative of the Department of Oriental Languages at University of São Paulo (USP) and the Hungarian Rectors' Conference, with the support of the National Bank of Hungary and the Pallas Athena Domus Animae Foundation. The program will run until 2019 in cooperation with the University of Pécs, Hungary (Kóbori 2017: 14). Hungarian classes at USP helped to meet the demand for Hungarian language learning relating to the Simplified Hungarian Citizenship (Act LV of 1993.) Procedure of 2010.

There is a relatively small indigenous population in Chile: the largest native indigenous group called *Mapuche* is approximately 9.9% of the population (Census 2017). The *Mapudungun* language is their ancient language, spoken by very few.

Minority language teaching is possible in Chile (besides formal education) but there is no proper background such as teacher/curriculum, subsidies and often there is a lack of demand for learning.

Foreign language teaching in public education was not regulated until 1998. The quality is still inferior and mainly focused on English. There are, of course, bilingual private schools that mainly teach English and German. (Rosas – Pereira 2017)

It is worth mentioning the German minority, which is in a unique situation in Chile. The first private school was established in 1917 to promote the teaching of the German language in South Chile. Germany is involved in education (subsidies, teachers, exchanges, etc.). There are currently 18 German bilingual private schools, which are elementary and secondary schools (Asociación de Colegios Alemanes). It is essential to emphasize the support of Germany and the numerous exchange programmes available to students and teachers of the German language in Chile. We can point to the initiative of the local community, and also the help of the home country. It is essential to note that the German minority in Chile is a relatively closed community in more substantial numbers, especially in southern Chile.

2. Research methods

Local knowledge, previous research and analysis of the available data helped the work in both countries. Interviews were conducted in both Brazil and Chile with Hungarian language teachers and scholars participating in the Kőrösi Csoma Sándor Programme. These interviews were analysed using qualitative research tools.

3. Results

3.1. Characteristics of Hungarian Language Teaching in Brazil and Chile

Analysing the data, the relationship of the Hungarian minority to the Hungarian language was divided into three larger groups (Table 2).

Table 2. Relationship to the Hungarian language

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
- Hungarian native speakers - Mostly 60+ to 70+ - They still speak Hungarian - Practice is the crucial aspect	- They used to learn Hungarian - They do not speak it anymore - Or they do not often use the language	- They learn Hungarian as a foreign language - Descendants (umpteenth generation) - New or mixed marriages where bilingualism is essential and the spouse wants to learn Hungarian as well

Resource: own compilation (based on interviews and own teaching experience in Chile)

Group 1 exists in both countries. Most of all, they need to be allowed to practise, but unfortunately, narrowed language domains (Fishman 1967, 1972) make it difficult for them. There are few active language users in both countries who speak Hungarian fluently and use it on a daily basis. Language maintenance pledges to expand the Hungarian language domains were primarily towards mass media and public education. An additional supply may be provided by the involvement of young Hungarians who moved to Brazil and Chile in recent years/decades and finished their studies in Hungary.

Group 2 is almost completely missing in Chile. The status of the Hungarian language was not significant: there were no teachers and intergenerational language transmission (Fishman 1991, 2001) was not the primary consideration. This means that even the second generation did not learn Hungarian.

Group 3 is the most populous in both countries. After the language shift and assimilation of several generations, they often start to become interested in their Hungarian roots. The process was further enhanced by the simplified localization procedure adopted by the Hungarian Parliament in May 2010 (legislation amending Act LV of 1993). This allows Hungarians living abroad to obtain Hungarian citizenship without being resident in Hungary. Hungarian can only be taught as a foreign language to this group.

The fact is that in general Portuguese is the mother tongue or the dominant (L1) language in the case of Hungarian descendants in Brazil. For the Chilean Hungarian descendants the L1 is Spanish.

It is possible to learn Hungarian twice a week for 60 minutes or on Saturdays for 2x45 minutes¹⁷ at the University of São Paulo (USP). Education consists of 7 modules from A1+ to B1+ levels and an intermediate communication group. Currently the program has only one Hungarian language and literature teacher (who

¹⁷ The University of São Paulo, Hungarian classes: <http://letrasorientais.fflch.usp.br/hungaro> (Accessed: 30 August 2019).

graduated from Eötvös Loránd University). The volumes of the MagyarOK textbook family is taught (Pelcz – Szita: 2013–2017). The speed of progress is slower compared to other countries as it is not typical for students to prepare for classes at home. Those students who want to be prepared for the citizenship interview do not usually undertake lengthy language studies at USP. They prefer a faster, easier form of language learning, for example, with the help of Hungarian teachers teaching online.

Table 3. Hungarian Language Teachers in Brazil and Chile

Brazil	Chile
• Hungarian House (Casa Húngara): several teachers • USP (University of São Paulo): Hungarian language course (anyone can apply, USP students are interested, mainly linguists) • Scouting: language and cultural education • 11 private tutors, some of whom give lessons on Skype	• A Hungarian language teacher occasionally travelled to Santiago from Argentina for a long time • A teacher living in Santiago is currently giving Hungarian classes

Resource: own compilation (based on interviews and braziliavaros.mfa.gov.hu, LAMOSZSZ)

On the basis of the interviews, it can be stated that most of the teachers do not have a qualification in Hungarian as a Foreign Language teaching. They independently compile the teaching materials with success and prepare for the lessons themselves, or they teach the students in an organized way (University of São Paulo Hungarian lessons) using a textbook and a method based on traditional language teaching. But there is a clear need for innovation in this area. Old language classes are becoming obsolete and language learners give up learning Hungarian after a short time if they have to cope with a lot of dry grammar. Further training of current Hungarian language teachers would be essential in the following areas: Hungarian as a Foreign Language and modern multilingual education, in order to change their attitudes so that they can level up even more people.

The only way to teach Hungarian is to teach from the mother tongue or dominant language (L1) to Hungarian descendants. Textbooks written in English-Hungarian are unsuccessful as most students have never learned English or they have learned only a little, so the comments and the words in another foreign language confuse the students. In many cases, Hungarian is the first foreign language they learn, and it is not advisable to rely on the knowledge of other languages.

Experience-based, creative, interactive lessons are needed to make learning and teaching the Hungarian language a positive experience. Communication is the most critical element and it is essential to develop modern interactive materials available on the Internet.

Table 4. Learning Hungarian as a positive experience

Language teaching must be attached to a positive experience
- Transfer of interesting historical knowledge - Presentation of Hungarian customs and quirks, which help students to understand Hungarian culture - Watching/analysing music, lyrics, video clips, movies - Tasting and cooking Hungarian dishes

Resource: own compilation (based on own teaching experience in Chile)

The interviews show that teaching in blocks is the most successful way, mainly due to the long distances. In a metropolis like São Paulo or Santiago it takes 1.5 to 2 hours or more travelling to get to a language class. This means that the students often refuse to go to a 1 to 1.5-hour language class after a tiring school or workday. The 5x45-minute classes on Saturdays or Sundays every second week were very successful in Santiago, where there was time to acquire some cultural knowledge and taste some Hungarian dishes. A Hungarian teacher travelling to Chile from Argentina could teach classes only once a month. In both cases personal education needs to be complemented with online teaching so that the students can develop appropriately. One of the Hungarian language teachers in Brazil teaches only on Skype. The reason why it is so popular is that there is no travel time. However, the positive effect of group lessons and meeting people with similar family backgrounds and origins is lost.

The classes taught in blocks can be conceived as a long weekend Hungarian course where mainly adult learners but even children can learn a lot in 2 or 3 days. Of course, it is vital to be able to practise the unfamiliar expressions and words immediately. A single teacher is not enough to accomplish this goal: it requires several qualified, open-minded and creative teachers. Lessons should be linked to the positive experiences mentioned in Table 4 (experience-based learning). Furthermore, it is challenging to organize longer language classes taught in blocs as the annual holiday of employees in Chile is only 15 days. However, there seems to be a demand for learning Hungarian as it has become more into the limelight with the introduction of the simplified localization procedure. Obtaining a European Union passport has become an additional motivating factor for many.

3.2. Programmes - Scholarships - Bilateral Relations

Only the most essential programmes and scholarships can be mentioned in this paper.

Higher education scholarships: There is no convention between Chile and Hungary at present, however, Stipendium Hungaricum¹⁸ Scholarships are avail-

¹⁸ Stipendium Hungaricum: <http://studyinhungary.hu/study-in-hungary/menu/stipendium-hungaricum-scholarship-programme> (Accessed: 28 August 2019).

able for Brazilians. Unfortunately, a Hungarian descendant having Hungarian citizenship is not allowed to apply for this opportunity even though they are the ones who really want to study in Hungary.

Demand for further education in Hungarian higher education: both Chile and Brazil would be interested, mainly in Masters or PhD courses. Since both countries have costly tertiary education even in the form of fee-paying would be a good option for them. The lack of knowledge in this field makes it difficult: (i) it takes many efforts to recognize degrees and (ii) the fact that there is no exam similar to the Hungarian final exam either in Chile or Brazil to be able to get on to a Bachelor's course may cause a problem.

*Balassi Scholarship*¹⁹: The Balassi Bálint Institute offers several scholarship opportunities for learners between 18 and 35. One of these scholarships is the 10-month course in the Hungarian language and Hungarian studies (from September to June). A lot of Hungarian descendants from Chile and Brazil have taken part in it. Unfortunately, the school year lasts from March to December in the Southern Hemisphere so if a student wants to take part, they will lose one and a half school years of their higher education.

The Balassi Summer University course is also very popular as the participants can acquire a Hungarian language module in an intensive form (in only 4 weeks). The disadvantage is that there is a total of 60 scholarships a year for all Hungarians living in the entire Western Diaspora. The age limit also locks out the age group older than 35 from participating in this program. They would be the group able to pay costs not covered by the scholarship such as airplane tickets and fees of additional programs and the language exam.

*Kőrösi Csoma Sándor Program*²⁰: This has been available since 2013. Hungarian youth can help the Hungarian diaspora for 6 to 9 months, mainly by organizing cultural events, teaching Hungarian cultural traditions and teaching the heritage language. The original idea is excellent as helpers from the home country can provide Hungarian minorities living abroad with a lot of new things. The implementation is less successful in South American countries. Often young people who do not speak the local language are awarded this scholarship and consequently through lack of communication they fail to do their job correctly.

Unfortunately, English, German or Hungarian language knowledge is not sufficient in these countries. Sometimes the local minority does not get the scholar they would really need. For example, if a language teacher is needed, then a Hungarian scholar speaking only English as a foreign language and having no qualification and experience is not able to perform the task.

¹⁹ Balassi Ösztöndíj Program: <https://balassischolarship.kormany.hu/index> (Accessed: 28 August 2019).

²⁰ Kőrösi Csoma Sándor Program: <https://www.korosiprogram.hu/> (Accessed: 28 August 2019).

Working Holiday: This Program started in 2017. Hungarian and Chilean young people between 18 and 35 can apply for a Working Holiday visa for a period of 365 days. An assistant or a coordinating team would be required for the success of this visa. It is available for those with higher incomes, since it is not a working visa and it is often challenging to find a paid job as employers are not familiar with it either in Chile or Hungary. Several Hungarian descendants came to Hungary with this visa, and found a job with more or less success or returned to Chile.

4. Conclusion

Through the example of these two South American countries, it can be clearly seen that local Hungarian institutions play a significant role in preserving Hungarian culture. Relating with the motherland and the liaison subsidy coming from there (programmes, initiatives, scholarships) are critical as well.

There are positive initiatives, but they are often applied in accordance with the Hungarian way of thinking and not the local circumstances. Such an excellent initiative, as mentioned above, is the Kőrösi Csoma Sándor Scholarship Programme because the assigned young people help the Hungarian minority for months. Unfortunately, the organizers often assign young people who do not speak the local language and not the kind of applicant the locals want. The Balassi Scholarship is also a good option, but the timing of the 10-month scholarship does not focus on school years in the Southern Hemisphere (March to December) but on the Hungarian system from September to June. This means that a young person who wants to study in Hungary with this scholarship could lose 1.5 school years. It would also be worthwhile to provide intensive language training focused on the local summer period in which the instructors travel to the country. Moreover, it would be a good idea to involve the age group older than 35 to participate in this program because the high demand for learning Hungarian would have a good cohesive effect on the Hungarian minority communities. In this way, new contacts would be formed to practise and enhance the heritage language.

All in all, is essential to create a Hungarian language book or an interactive learning facility that meets the needs of today, focuses on the local culture and language and would help the teaching of the Hungarian language. Further training of current Hungarian language teachers would be vital in the following areas: Hungarian as a foreign language and modern multilingual education in order to change their attitudes so that they can level up even more people open to learning Hungarian to a communication level. This would allow them to develop their existing language skills on their own. It would be particularly important to develop initiatives and scholarships to promote adult learning (over 35).

It is clear from the Chilean and Brazilian examples that a lack of support from the institutional system create difficult conditions for the Hungarian language and culture to survive. Then there is a challenge for the next generations to know Hungarian culture from a very young age and develop multilingual skills such as the knowledge and awareness of dual or plural (multilingual and multicultural) identity. It is essential to train teachers and cultural professionals from the local Hungarian minorities with the support of the motherland (Hungary). Those professionals would promote the preservation of Hungarian culture and language, taking the local cultural traditions into account.

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