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Diasporic Imagination and Chronotopes

Language Ideologies in Two Hungarian Diasporic Groups in Catalonia[1]

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Abstract. The ways diasporic groups emerge and diasporic identities are constructed have recently become important research topics in sociolinguistics. However, these works have not paid sufficient attention to the spatial-temporal configurations of diasporic imaginations. In this article, I intend to shed light on the ways differing diasporic imaginations are inscribed on what kind of language-related diasporic activities are created by the diasporic subjects. To answer this question, I draw on the data of an ethnographically informed critical sociolinguistic study of diasporization among Hungarians in Catalonia that I conducted between 2018 and 2022. In the analysis, I compare the chronotopic figures appearing in the life journey narratives of Hungarians in Catalonia with the ways the ideal diasporic subject was imagined in the activities of two salient diasporic organizations. The article points to the fact that diasporic imaginations do not only contain moral guidelines on how diasporic subjects should behave, but they are also determined by the time and the space diasporic subjects inhabit.

Keywords: diasporization, diasporic imagination, Hungarians in Catalonia, critical sociolinguistics, chronotope

1. Introduction

"*Össze kell hangolódni, nem csak egy nyelvet beszélni*" ('You have to adapt to each other, not just speak the same language') – said wisely Dénes once, who was one

1 The article is based on my doctoral thesis entitled *A Critical Sociolinguistic Study of Diasporization among Hungarians in Catalonia*. The thesis has obligatorily been uploaded to the following database by the doctoral school of the Open University of Catalonia: https://www.tdx.cat/handle/10803/687700.

of the key participants of my ethnographically informed critical sociolinguistic study on diasporization among Hungarians in Catalonia. His witty comment referred to how stratified the Hungarian population in Catalonia was in terms of motivations and solidarity to each other. Although it would be tempting to speak about Hungarians in Catalonia as one single and unified diasporic community, the analysis in this article rather sheds light on the fact that even small diasporic groups can differ in their diasporic imaginations and language ideologies.

The reason for quoting Dénes's words here is that the research applied collaborative research methodologies (Fluehr-Lobban 2008, Lexander & Androutsopoulos 2021) along with an ethnographic perspective (Blommaert & Dong 2010, Heller 2011) in order to address the emic viewpoints of the interested parties (see also Bodó et al. 2022). More precisely, the key participants, Hungarians in Catalonia who showed willingness to collaborate in the research for a longer term, were invited into the research process by formulating their own questions on what they would be interested in discussing with and about other Hungarians in Catalonia (see Szabó ms.). These questions then became the basis for the discussions between the researcher and the key participants during the fieldwork. In one of these monthly gatherings, when Dénes's question was talked over on the motivations of other Hungarians in moving to Catalonia, certain participants had very different perceptions (diasporic imaginations) of how diasporic subjects should behave and how they should relate to either the homeland or the host society. In this article, I focus on how these differing diasporic imaginations are connected to the language-related diasporic activities created in the past. To capture this, I will examine the history of two diasporic organizations of Hungarians in Catalonia, namely *Katalán-Magyar Kulturális Egyesület* ([Catalan-Hungarian Cultural Association]; hereinafter: KMKE) and *Aranyalma Kör* ([Golden Apple Circle]; hereinafter: AK), by drawing on document analysis and two individual interviews conducted during the ethnographically informed fieldwork I did between 2018 and 2022.

The article is organized as follows. In the next section, I discuss how the sociolinguistic processes of diasporization can be studied with an approach called "thinking diaspora from below" proposed by Rosa and Trivedi (2017) and argue that this approach can be potentially combined with seeing the diasporic experience as chronotopically organized (Cohen 2019). After presenting the methods of data generation and data analysis drawing on the principles of ethnographic critical sociolinguistics (Heller et al. 2018), in the analytical section I compare the chronotopic figures appearing in the life journey narratives of Hungarians in Catalonia with the ways how the ideal diasporic subject was imagined in the activities of two salient and aforementioned diasporic organizations. The article ends with a discussion of the empirical findings claiming that there are unresolvable ideological tensions between the diasporic imaginations of the two examined organizations deriving from their different diasporic and migratory experiences in time and space.

2. Theoretical underpinnings

This study draws on an approach that does not see diaspora as a well-defined and stable entity of a scattered émigré community with a certain language (variety) characteristic only to that diaspora. As Canagarajah and Silberstein (2012: 82) put it, "once we stop treating diaspora as bounded, territorialized, static, and homogeneous, we begin to appreciate the role language and discourse play in its construction". Therefore, I rather put the emphasis on the processes in which diasporic groups come to existence through the narration of common experiences and the construction of language ideologies among diasporic subjects from the same imagined homeland.

These processes are called diasporization here. By this term, I refer to the specific ways in which the diasporic is being linguistically and discursively constructed by the "claimed" members of the diaspora, as Brubaker (2005) put it. Rosa and Trivedi (2017) propose "thinking diaspora from below", a grassroots approach in order "to track the dynamic, situated processes through which diasporic identities are constructed, enacted, and transformed" (Rosa & Trivedi 2017: 337). This way, sociolinguistics has the potential to show how diasporic identities and linguistic practices shape each other and how new language ideologies emerge through their dynamic interaction (see Sankaran 2020). Within this "thinking diaspora from below" approach, in this article, I rely on the concept of diasporic imagination, i.e. the ways diasporic subjects envisage how one should behave linguistically and socially in order to perform polycentric diasporic identities and create commonalities with other members of the diaspora or the nation (Karimzad & Catedral 2021). Combining diasporic imagination with a language ideologies perspective (Fazakas 2022, Szabó 2022) allows us to see the diasporic as characteristically dynamic and hybrid (Albury & Schluter 2021).

To adequately address diasporic imagination among Hungarians in Catalonia, I draw on the term of chronotope, rediscovered lately in linguistics (see Creese & Blackledge 2020, Karimzad & Catedral 2021), coined in the translations of the work of the Russian literary theorist, Mikhail Bakhtin (1981). In Lyons and Tagg's words, chronotopes are "the socially conditioned configurations of time and space, which reflect and determine the historical, biographical, and social relations within a given interactive context" (Lyons & Tagg 2019: 658).

Although mainly used in literary studies, chronotopes do not merely determine genres but images of the self and certain character developments as well (Woolard 2013). Understandably, linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics also discovered the concept recently due to its potential to explain social and linguistic relations. In Jan Blommaert's words, chronotopes "invoke and enable a plot structure, characters or identities, and social and political worlds in which actions become dialogically meaningful, evaluated, and understandable in specific

ways" (Blommaert 2015: 109). The main reason for applying the concept here lies in the capability to shed light on the ways narrators, diasporic subjects in this case, do complex identity work and ideological work with references to time and space. De Fina (2016) identifies three important aspects of Bakhtin's theory that provide an impetus for this analysis, from which the first one is the connection between chronotopes and ideologies. However, there is a line of research in Hungarian sociolinguistics that labels certain language ideological settings (such as language nonformalism; see Lanstyák 2017, 2023). In this work, I rather draw on Gal and Irvine's (2019) approach emphasizing the constant ideological work of interactants. This approach acknowledges that language ideologies are not predefined but dynamically change in interaction from time to time and from space to space. The analysis and the excerpts in this article will also point out the diasporic subjects' endeavour to fit a complex web of social expectations, normativities, and ideological settings that may differ in time and space.

3. Methods

This article draws on the findings of my ethnographically informed critical sociolinguistic study of diasporization among Hungarians in Catalonia (Szabó 2023), a diasporic group which started to be visible in terms of numbers after Hungary's accession to the European Union (2004) and the Schengen Agreement (2007; see Csányi 2018) but had organizations way before these historical events. The research took place between 2018 and 2022, during which I spent a total of 2.5 years of fieldwork in Catalonia, an autonomous community in the northern part of Spain with two official languages, Castilian and Catalan. Fieldwork here means multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork that involved many activities aiming data generation within the complex social interrelations on the field (Barabás 2022). Another specific feature of the fieldwork was the constant alternating between the online and the offline space due to the COVID-19 pandemic (Fazakas & Barabás 2020) in order to keep in touch with the participants. The data generation methods consisted of participant observation, individual interviewing, online focus groups, monthly discussions with the key participants, language portraits, language diaries, and document analysis. The whole dataset of the research consisted of over 75 hours of audio recordings and 200 pages of fieldnotes.

This amount of data from various sources required unified principles to be able to deliver reliable analyses. To be able to capture the sociolinguistic dynamics through various data, Heller and colleagues (2018) propose a 4-step methodology that I heavily relied on. These four steps are mapping, tracing, connecting, and claiming. Mapping, or categorizing, is the activity of organizing the data (or elements in the data) systematically according to the rationale of

the research. This categorization can involve people, resources, activities, space, time, material objects, and so on. Tracing is the analytical activity in which the researcher follows the categories defined during the step of mapping. Connecting is the "informed explanation for what we have mapped and traced in the two previous interrelated steps of the analytical processes" (Heller et al. 2018: 114). Claiming, as the last step, is articulating what the other three steps allowed us to argue in relation to the research questions.

In this paper, I present the results of a sub-study which draws on the narratives of research participants on how Hungarian-related organizations and activities emerged and the documents available about the history of these organizations. This combination helped to fully discover "the historical body" and "the discourses in place" (Scollon & Scollon 2004) on the diasporization processes of Hungarians in Catalonia. Starting from the collaborative work with key participants, the aim of this sub-project was to show how different sub-groups exist among Hungarians in Catalonia in terms of space, time, moralities, and language ideologies; to achieve this goal, these categories were mapped, traced, and connected to each other during the analysis.

In this study, I did not treat interviews as neutral encounters but as situated events (Laihonen 2008; also inspired by oral history studies – see Ritchie 2015) in which the participants intend to construct certain self-images. This means that such interviews might be perfect for examining diasporization: not because what is said should necessarily be taken for granted but, on the contrary, because the diasporic subject will explicitly speak about how one should behave or how things should be, i.e. their diasporic imagination. This can potentially shed light on how the diasporic group under study is stratified along different language ideologies (cf. Bartha 2005).

4. Analysis

In the forthcoming analysis, I intend to explain one ideological axis in detail that created the experience of dissimilarity among Hungarians in Catalonia. This ideological axis is the way language is imagined as part of a diasporic project. To demonstrate that, I present the brief history of KMKE and AK, which were two relevant diasporic organizations of Hungarians in Catalonia in the past, and the recollections of the members of these two organizations. To understand the main ideological differences between these two groups, we first have to clarify how the ideal diasporic subject was imagined by the research participants. In another study (Szabó, in prep.), I identified five chronotopic figures in the narratives of the diasporic subjects.

By chronotopic figures, I refer to the self-ascribed identity categories of the participants that are connected to times, spaces, and moral positionings (see also Park 2021). These five chronotopic figures are the *integrálódott* 'integrated', the *nomád* 'nomad', the *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* 'Hungarian who lives a bit further', the *gyökértelen* 'rootless', and the *segítő* 'supporting person' (the wordings are recurrent categories from the data, articulated by the research participants themselves). While all are important in the contemporary context, in this article I focus only on two of them. These are the *integrálódott* and the *kicsit távolabbb élő Magyar*, which are significant in the history of KMKE and AK. The *integrálódott* belongs to an earlier experience of migration when displacement was mostly understood as a single and irrevocable decision. For the *integrálódott*, the morally acceptable behaviour is to adjust to the local milieu as promptly as possible, which in this case means affiliation with the Catalan-speaking part of the society.

By contrasts, the figure of the *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* perceives the distances and the boundaries between the homeland and the host-land but sees them easily penetrable due to the European free movement. The *kicsit távolabb* 'a bit further' refers to Hungary's proximity to other places in Europe. For the *kicsit távolabb élő magyar*, the presence in Catalonia might not necessarily be permanent, therefore they invest more in the (re)creation of emotional bond with the homeland and the Hungarian language. To point to this relation between ideologies, diasporic imaginations, and chronotopic positions, I will show excerpts from documents and two interviews with one former leading member of each organization, Hilda and Tamás (pseudonyms).

4.1. "Patriotic feelings" and the KMKE

In this section, I explore how the members of the KMKE imagined the ideal diasporic behaviour. For this purpose, I first provide an overview of the brief history of this association, drawing on the few available written sources (Baló 2011; Brachfeld Latzkó 1990; Mikes 1991, 2001) and the accounts some members gave me in interviews. The aim of this association was mainly the cultural mediation between the Hungarian and the Catalan elites by Hungarians with extended social capital in Catalonia. Thus, I argue that the ideal for the association was the chronotopic figure of the *integrálódott*, who had easily adjusted to the Catalan society, more precisely, the Catalan middle class. At the end of this section, I also shed light on how maintaining such an organization became difficult in the mid-2000s because newcomers came with new demands about how the local Hungarian community should function.

KMKE was officially established on 23 April 1987. The date is also symbolic: Saint George's Day (Sant Jordi) is an important cultural event in Catalonia since the early 20th century. The founders of this association were Pere Joaquin

Brachfeld Montaña, Jaime Rodrigo de Larrucea, and Péter Brachfeld Latzkó. The latter person became the first president of the association and the main organizer of its events. He was still remembered as a beloved and extraordinary person by the former members during my fieldwork, some of which I interviewed. The respect towards him was expressed by referring to him as *Péter bácsi*, which is an informal but respectful way of addressing someone in Hungarian (*bácsi* could be translated as 'uncle', but it does not necessarily imply a family relationship).

In an early report published in a Hungarian journal, Brachfeld Latzkó (1990: 65) claimed that KMKE had around 200 members, but "a Barcelonában és Katalóniában élő magyarok száma alig éri el a 40-et, vagy 50-et" ('the number of Hungarians living in Barcelona and Catalonia hardly reaches 40 or 50'). Its members were predominantly married couples where generally only one of the spouses was Hungarian, but the membership also included other local cultural actors too. In an interview, another prominent person of the club told me that the highest number of members they could reach at the end of the 1990s was 400, out of which approximately 100-140 were Hungarians. That might be the reason why the members referred to the association as *Barcelonai Katalán-Magyar Kulturális és Baráti Egyesület* 'Catalan-Hungarian Cultural Friendship Association of Barcelona' in their articles written in Hungarian (cf. Brachfeld Latzkó 1990; Mikes 1991, 2001), which was not the officially registered name of the organization but somehow (consciously or unconsciously) differentiated them from other Hungarian-related diasporic clubs around the globe. Their early activity "úttörőnek és hézagpótlónak tekinthető" ('can be considered as pioneering and a niche'), as Brachfeld Latzkó (1990: 65) put it, because it was the first initiative to unite Hungarians and the lovers of Hungarian culture in Catalonia – and probably in the whole country.

Drawing on the aforementioned written sources (Baló 2011; Brachfeld Latzkó 1990; Mikes 1991, 2001) and the stories told to me in interviews and informal conversations, I would argue that KMKE's role in cultural diplomacy could also be considered unique in comparison with other Hungarian émigré communities. Instead of focusing on the nostalgic reconstructions of the idealized images and habits of the homeland, this association was looking for the possibilities to create and maintain contacts and cultural bonds between the elites of the sending and the host societies. More precisely, most of their programmes were based on mediating high culture such as book launches of contemporary Hungarian books and their Spanish translations, lectures on historical and cultural topics, fine art exhibitions, and film screenings. Mikes (2001) argues that KMKE had multiple objectives since its inception: to create a community of Hungarian individuals living in Barcelona, to introduce Hungarian culture and history to Catalans, and to organize the teaching of Hungarian language at the university level – unfortunately, the success of this last objective was only ephemeral (see Mikes 1991).

These aims might be best understood in terms of two factors. The first is a geopolitical one: in the late 1980s, Catalonia was still a fairly young autonomous community amongst the preparation of the Olympic Games in Barcelona, while Hungary was also expected to start its democratic transition soon. According to my interviews with some early members, the Catalan elite displayed a great interest in following the political events of Hungary at that time. Hungary was seen as exemplary in gaining independence from oppression, namely from the influence of the Soviet Union. Thus, in the years of the regime change and the first free elections (1989–1990), the members of KMKE wrote reports and reviews for the local press (see Mikes 2001: 35). Official international relations started to revitalize between Spain and Hungary at the time, and the General Consulate of Hungary in Barcelona also came into existence in 1992. Although KMKE remained independent from the consulate, some of their events were organized together.

Besides the mutual interests the elites of the two nations expressed, KMKE embodied something close to the moral position of the figure of the *integrálódott* 'integrated'. Integration in this case referred precisely to the integration by émigré Hungarians into the Catalan (upper-)middle class and cultural elite. This was a direct consequence of the migratory profiles of the members.

As stated above by Brachfeld Latzkó (1990), these Hungarians were mostly married into Catalan families, and they had arrived in Catalonia for marital reasons. In this sense, their life journey differed from most of the diasporic narratives I had access to. Most of my participants were neither displaced from their country of origin for political reasons nor did they emigrate for the hope of a better life and economic prosperity. Thanks to their local ties, these people had been able to promptly gain social capital in Catalonia. In this sense, they did not need the support of other Hungarians locally. On the contrary, the expected behaviour of the *integrálódott* diasporic subject was to utilize its social capital for creating connections between the host culture and the cultural elites back in Hungary.

The social network of the association was fairly extensive. For instance, the inaugural meeting elected Jordi Maragall i Noble as honorary president, who was a lawyer and a politician, at that time a senator for Barcelona province. In addition, the writer Josep Maria Castellet became the honorary vice-president. Castellet was the chief editor of the publishing house Edicions 62, which published Hungarian authors' works translated to Catalan. The local social capital mobilized by Brachfeld Latzkó can also be traced in the venues of the events: most of them were organized in the auditorium of the Ateneu Barcelonès, which is still an important and traditional organization of the Catalan intelligentsia in the heart of Barcelona. From the 1990s, the cultural activities of KMKE remained important. Just to mention a few of them: a Hungarian-language almanac on Catalonia was published in 1992. In 2000, a roundtable was organized on Hungarian literature with special attention to poetry with both Hungarian and Catalan participants.

In 2001 and 2002, a series of 14 lectures on Hungarian geography, history, music, and other disciplines was supported by UNESCO (for more details, see Baló 2011, Mikes 2001). However, after Brachfeld Latzkó died in 2003, the frequency of the events organized by the Association decreased significantly.

Some of his followers remained active in propagating the maintenance of Hungarian and Catalan cultural bonds. Drawing on Mikes's words, the task of the Association was "nemcsak a magyarság összetartása, hanem ezen jóval túlmenően Magyarország, a magyar művelődés és a magyar történelem megismertetése és megszerettetése az egyébként is érdeklődő katalán közönséggel" ('not only to bring Hungarians together but, beyond that, to promote Hungary, Hungarian culture, and Hungarian history to Catalan audiences who have already demonstrated their interest'; Mikes 2001). However, from the 2000s, a generational conflict emerged, which was labelled *a nagy szakadás* 'the great rupture' in one of my interviews. As the number of Hungarian migrants in the region started to increase, their interests started to change as well.

The composition of the Hungarian population in Catalonia diversified in terms of socioeconomic status, education, and profession. For instance, a demand emerged for a group of people to organize weekend school-like activities for the children of the newcomers.

The excerpt below is from an interview with one of the members of KMKE. It serves as an explanation to why this generational conflict was seen as a "great rupture" by the elders. According to Hilda's narrative, new Hungarians, who arrived in Catalonia around the millennium, had a different set of values than the one she and her generation had.

Excerpt 1

Hilda: azok a fiatalok, akik már nem is fiatalok, akik csinálják ezt az egyesületet, egy a probléma velük, hogy csak gyerekfoglalkozásokat készítenek, és csak a magyar magnak. tehát egyszerűen fel sem merül bennük, hogy mást is lehetne csinálni, esetlegesen lehetne előadásokat csinálni, kulturális kiállításokat csinálni @. csak gyerekprogramok vannak, ami nagyon jó, hogy van, nagyon jó, de hát ez mondjuk egy- egy akkora- ez ténylegesen csak a magyar- a fiatal magyar házaspárokat érdekli, és az összes többit nem (#laugh). tehát ö ez nagyon jó, de szerintem mást is kellene csinálniuk, de mind amikor mondtuk ezt a (#delete: male name), meg én is ö egy-két embernek, akkor nem érdekelte a dolog őket. tehát szerintem ez a hazafias érzelmek, amik voltak bennünk, az szerintem- most már mindenki nagyon európai, és mindenki nagyon világpolgár, és szerintem ezek az érzelmek szerintem nincsenek meg az emberekben. és szóval akkor még itt lehetett magyarul beszélni sokat, hetente voltak rendezvényeink, és havonta egy előadás, s havonta egy koncert

> *Hilda*: the youngsters, who are not young anymore, who do this [other] association, there is one problem with them that they only do activities for children and only for the Hungarian core. they don't even think to do something else, perhaps doing lectures, doing cultural exhibitions @. there are only activities for children, which is very good that it exists, but it let's say a- a- such- it factually only interests Hungarian- young Hungarian couples, and no one else (#laugh). so ehm this is very good, but I think they should do something else too, but when we told this both (#delete: male name), and I to ehm one-two people, they were not interested in the thing. so I think the patriotic feelings we had I think- now everyone is very European, everyone is very cosmopolitan, and I think people don't have these feelings. and so back then it was possible to speak Hungarian a lot, we had events every week, a lecture every month, and a concert every month

The way Hilda was speaking about the role of such activities differed from the mainstream discourse on language maintenance in the diaspora (see Hatoss 2020). Organizing and participating in educational programmes specialized for the children of emigrants is usually treated as the most essential thing one could do for the transmission of the language and culture. Hilda, however, found this programme too limited, alleging there was only a low number of people who could be addressed. Her narrative indexically linked patriotic feelings to certain types of activities that were aimed at local people to familiarize them with Hungarian high culture. This is also connected to the figure of the *integrálódott* and the chronotopically salient moral position behind it. Hilda pointed out the morally acceptable choices in the past (from her point of view) and judged others' past and present choices both in the narrated event and in the event of speaking from the moral position that was opposed to Europeanness and cosmopolitanism.

According to other reports (Baló 2011, Mikes 2001), she might have exaggerated the frequency of the events organized by KMKE, but what is more important is that these events were attributed to speaking Hungarian and patriotic feelings, while the activities for Hungarian-origin children were not.

This interview excerpt is a good example of how the expectations towards the social practices of other speakers work and how a different diasporic experience might emerge at a particular historical moment. Hilda represents the older generation, who perceived that something had inevitably changed in the way they had experienced what being Hungarian in Catalonia meant. From the overview of the history of KMKE, we can see that its activities were extremely important in the milieu of the 1980s and 1990s. However, the Hungarian newcomers from the early 2000s were gradually bringing in new understandings and new priorities (switching the ideal of the *integrálódott*), such as living in the Europe of free

movement, maintaining the opportunity of moving back to Hungary, and teaching Hungarian for the second generation. In the next section, I show how the increase in the number of Hungarians in Catalonia had consequences for the development of another Hungarian diasporic group.

4.2. "A good idea to gather" and the AK

By comparing the narratives and life trajectories of the research participants, it seems clear that the motivations of the population newly arrived during the 2000s differed from the ideal of the *integrálódott* represented in the way of looking at the morally acceptable means of the diasporic as prompt adjustment to the Catalan society. These new people were "infected" with the idea of free movement in Europe. This does not necessarily mean that this population remained fully and consistently unintegrated. It just means that they had other preferences compared to the previous generations, such as creating closer bonds with the homeland and contemporary Hungarian culture. The chronotopic ideal of the people who started to engage in new Hungarian-speaking activities from the second part of the 2000s could be best described with the label *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* 'Hungarian who lives a bit further'. As Hilda also observed in Excerpt 1, the new Hungarian population did not consider mediating Hungarian high culture for the Catalan audience to be the most important activity they could do. The needs of the community have changed in terms of the contacts with the homeland as their opportunities for frequent visits became feasible. The new needs and the opportunities required new solutions in organizing Hungarians in Catalonia.

From the second part of the 2000s, a new group was formed of people in their 30s with families. The name they used for this group was *Aranyalma Kör*, which is indicative of their main interest. *Aranyalma* 'golden apple' is a motif that frequently appears in Hungarian folklore, especially in folktales, while *Kör* (literally meaning 'circle') refers to a group of people sharing the same interests. The intention was clear: to organize events where language, folk culture, and other sorts of knowledge associated with nationality can be shared and transmitted to younger generations. Their meetups were mostly party-like gatherings of families where a few parents prepared some activities for the children, although in some cases, artists from Hungary, such as singers and storytellers, were also invited. However, AK never became a formally registered club or association, as the organizers did not feel the need to do so. They did not apply for any financial aid either from Catalan cultural organizations or Hungarian ones.

The group members financed each of their gatherings, which usually meant only the costs of food and the rent of a venue. The invited guests were accommodated in the homes of the members.

The organizers estimated that they were in contact with around a hundred families. Tamás, who was there from the beginning, recalled this period in the interview as follows.

Excerpt 2

Tamás: emlékeim szerint olyan száz család volt a levelezőlistánkon, tehát lélekben száz családdal tartottuk a kapcsolatot, de persze a foglalkozásokra, az összejövetelekre ö ennél kevesebben jöttek, de ö így is népes tá- társaság alakult ö ö jött össze. [...] még az Aranyalma előtt ö a konzulátusnak volt egy ö évi legalább egyszeri rendszeresen össz- összejövetele. ezt úgy hívtuk, a legalább egyszerit, a Mikulás ö rendezvény, ö ahol lehetett találkozni itt élő magyarokkal. tulajdonképpen az Aranyalma is félig-meddig ezekből a Mikulás-rendezvényekből nőtt ki, és próbálta őket rendszeressé tenni nem évente egyszer-kétszeri találkozóval, hanem legalább havi egyszeri találkozóval. [...] mondta a (#delete: female name), hogy ezek a dánok, a dán anyák ö havonta rendeznek ö ugyanott ebbe a műteremben összejöveteleket, ahol énekelnek, mesélnek, jól érzik magukat, beszélgetnek, ö gyerekekkel foglalkoznak. és mondta a (#delete: female name), hogy ha a dánok meg tudják csinálni, akkor mi miért ne tudnánk megcsinálni? úgyhogy ez- szerintem ez ha már nem én vagyok az ötletgazda, de van egy ilyen jó ötlet, akkor ez tökéletes ö ö leírja az én hozzáállásomat, hogy ha itt él szétszórva egy magyar közösség, ha van egy jó ötlet, amivel össze lehet őket fogni, akkor miért ne tudnánk ezt megcsinálni? ö és- és- és ö hát ez adott erőt meg ez- ez adott lelkesedést számomra abban, hogy- vagy ahhoz, hogy ebben részt vegyek, és- és a- közreműködjek abba, hogy ebből legyen valami. tehát ha a dánok tudják, akkor tuti, hogy mi is meg tudjuk csinálni, és végül meg is csináltuk, és nagyon jól éreztük magunkat, és nagyon jó rendezvényeket szerveztünk

Tamás: according to my memories, there were like a hundred families on our mailing list, so we maintained the contact with a hundred families in spirit, but of course to the activities, to the gatherings ehm fewer of them came, but ehm there was still a large bunch [of people] ehm ehm who came together. [...] before the Aranyalma ehm the consulate had one ehm per year at least one regular gath- gathering. we called it, at least one of them, the Santa Claus ehm event, ehm where one could meet other Hungarians living here. Actually Aranyalma also grew out from this Santa Claus event more or less, and tried to make it more regular than having only one or two gatherings per year, but at least one gathering per month. [...] (#delete: female name) told us that these Danish, the Danish mothers ehm organize a gathering per month ehm in this art studio where they sing, they tell stories, feel good, talk, ehm do activities for children. and (#delete: female

> name) said if the Danish can do it, why couldn't we do it? so this- I think if I'm not the mastermind behind it, but there is a good idea, then this perfectly ehm ehm describes my attitude, if a Hungarian community lives here scattered, if there's a good idea to gather them, why couldn't we do it? ehm and- and- and ehm well this gave me strength and this- this gave me enthusiasm in that- or for that to participate in this and- and to- contribute to make it a thing. so if the Danish can do it, then it's sure that we can also do it, and finally we could do it, and had a great time, and we organized very good events

The organizers of AK created a mailing list through which they advertised their events to the interested people. As Tamás outlined, the events had two main inspirations. The General Consulate of Hungary had already organized an event every year in which they somehow reconstructed the Hungarian tradition of the Santa Claus party where children receive gifts on the name-day of Saint Nicholas (6 December). Tamás and his fellows aimed to make such happenings more frequent for their children. Interestingly, the other inspiration came from another diasporic group. Back then, a Hungarian woman was working in an art studio which was rented for an event every month by Danish people for educational and socialization purposes; thus, this woman suggested to her fellow Hungarians that they should do something similar.

For KMKE, impetus was given by Catalan cultural bodies, while AK was rather influenced by Hungarians and the interaction with other foreign populations. The figure described as *kicsit távolabb élő magyar* 'Hungarian who lives a bit further' sees its life in less eschatological terms than the *integrálódott*. On the one hand, when integration is mentioned, it is always chronotopized as a unidimensional process between cultures from which there is no return. On the other hand, the chronotope represented by the one "who lives a bit further" is more complex in terms of the myriad opportunities for the future, and thus, it also holds the possibility of settling in a less permanent way.

Following this line, it might seem that a certain concept of nationality operates as the driving force for the social organization of diasporic communities. However, it is important to emphasize that the diasporic picture is more complex than one's mere understanding of nationality. This is especially true for the activities of the AK, as the members' diasporic imagination referred to a fluid and mobile notion of one's national and ethnic belonging. For them, (re)creating closer bonds with the homeland was not necessarily only a nationalistic move, rather one that also supports multicultural belonging. For instance, András, one of the other leaders of the AK, said, "szerintem Magyarországról nem értik, hogy mi a kétnyelvűség az egész- vagy soknyelvűség, sok kultúrához tartozás, és azér egy olyan- olyan- ilyen béna magyar kultúrát próbálnak nyomatni, ami nekünk nem releváns" ('I think

[they who are] in Hungary do not understand what bilingualism is, the whole- or plurilingualism, belonging to multiple cultures, and thus they try to push that-that- this lame Hungarian culture which is not relevant for us').

These different experiences of diasporization clearly stem from the socio-technical contexts; travel and digital connectivity have also become more accessible. Tamás and his fellows considered contacts with Hungary not only in terms of cultural mediation but also in terms of actual life choices. They wanted their children to be familiarized with experiences of Hungarian heritage, which might then also result in temporary or even permanent stay in the home country as they anticipate that maybe they or their children will continue moving from one place to another.

5. Conclusions

In this article, I compared the language ideological embeddedness of two diasporic groups among Hungarians in Catalonia in the context of diasporic imaginations. The data came from an ethnographically informed critical sociolinguistic study of diasporization for which I conducted fieldwork between 2018 and 2022 (Szabó 2023). The sub-study I summarized was about the ways diasporic groups emerged in the brief history of Hungarian presence in Catalonia (see also Szabó, in prep). The theoretical concept I applied was chronotope, the spatio-temporal frameworks that indicate moral and language ideological positions in the narratives (Blommaert 2015, Karimzad & Catedral 2021). In the analysis, I showed excerpts from documents and two individual interviews.

The first such group I studied was the *Katalán-Magyar Kulturális Egyesület* (KMKE). Their activity might be easily understood in line with the chronotope of integration; the members were upper-middle-class people who intended to contribute to the mediation between Catalan and Hungarian high culture. In these terms, the members merged the symbolic capital they brought with themselves from one place with the cultural and social capital obtained at the other place that certainly defined the way they imagined an ideal behaviour of the newcomers.

As the number of Hungarians in Catalonia significantly increased after the turn of the millennium, their experiences also diversified. The second diasporic group, the *Aranyalma Kör* (AK) was made up of people who saw themselves as Hungarians who lived a bit further in the sense that they arrived in a new geopolitical era that also characterized the way they looked at their mobility. That was imagined in the context of a European free movement, which also implied the possibility of returning or maintaining a life drawing on two localities. Thus, their activities were focusing more on the second generation; they mostly organized events for families where their children could meet with modern Hungarian culture.

Going back to the initial thought of Dénes in the introduction of this article, speaking the same language was not considered sufficient for Hungarians in Catalonia in the times when the number of this population started to rise in the first decade of the 2000s. But they could not adapt to each other either due to certain language ideological conflicts over different diasporic imaginations. This article showed that these imaginations do not only contain moral guidelines on how diasporic subjects should behave, but they are also determined by the time and the space diasporic subjects inhabit.

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