Culture and Language Maintenance Efforts of the Hungarian Community in San Diego (California, USA)

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In this paper, I argue that members of the Hungarian community (who are assumed to be first-generation Americans) living in the city of San Diego, California and have assimilated into the mainstream culture of their adopted country, have developed an identity that can be regarded as a combination of their native language and culture as well as their dominant language and culture. This distinctively dynamic identity contributes to the maintenance of their heritage language and culture. Through negotiating their identity via intentional code-mixing in their written discourse, they invite members of the mainstream group to learn about and become interested in their culture. Among the many types of significant influences that minority community media can have on ethnic identity construction, there is an opportunity for the community to be present inside and outside of the group as well as operating as an essential communicator of culture and a creator of cultural artifacts. The illustrative material analyzed in this paper is sourced from the House of Hungary (San Diego) website and the latest issues of their newsletter.

In this research, a multimodal approach is used to study intentional code-mixing: this approach presumes that in addition to language, there may be other means available for making meaning. The statement "The meanings of the maker of a text as a *whole* reside in the meanings made jointly by all the modes in a text" (Kress 37) is especially true when meanings, in general, are to be understood in a community. Gunther Kress emphasizes that "in a multimodal approach, all modes are framed as one field, as one domain. Jointly they are treated as one connected cultural resource for (representation as) meaning-*making* by members of a social group at a particular moment" (38, emphasis in the original). This approach assumes that the modal resources typical of a culture can be regarded as one broad field, which can contribute to making meaning. Kress demonstrates the essence of multimodality as follows:

> [m]ultimodality and social semiotics, together, make it possible to ask questions around *meaning* and meaning-*making*, about the *agency* of meaning-*makers*, the constitution of *identity* in sign- and meaning-making; about the (social) constraints they face in *making meaning*; around *social semiosis* and *knowledge*; how 'knowledge' is produced, shaped and constituted distinctly in different modes; and by whom. Multimodality includes questions around the potentials – the *affordances* – of the resources that are available in any one society for

the *making* of meaning; and how, therefore, 'knowledge' appears differently in different modes. (38, emphases in the original)

In applying this approach, I agree with Adam Jaworski who states—based on his former studies—that writing is multimodal, meaning, "a visual medium that incorporates several design features from a range of semiotic systems, for example, the choice of a particular script, the font and typeface, the manner and medium of its execution, the use of color, and so on" ("Metrolingual Art" 135). Mark Sebba recommends the application of the methods used by linguistic landscape (LL) researchers for the study of language alternation in written discourse, and he identifies two techniques which can indicate "the degrees of integration or separation of languages a multilingual mixed-language text can include" ("Reaching and Theorising" 14). Máiréad Moriarty believes that "linguistic communities that are peripheral in nature . . . offer a rich source for LL data" since diasporic communities can express their sense of national and ethnic identity in this manner (461). This paper follows the approaches suggested by multimodality and linguistic landscape research by analyzing the semiotic landscapes via language contact manifestations found in the sources mentioned above provided by the Hungarian community in San Diego.

In order to put the focus of the paper into a broader context, I will begin by briefly sketching some meanings of the term "identity." I then delineate issues related to identity and language together with the concept of metrolingualism, which suggests that people negotiate identities with the help of language. The reasons why bilinguals prefer to use one language over the other are also discussed. The following section includes the short history of the House of Hungary in San Diego, and the history and current operation of the weekend school, whose mission is to provide language courses in Hungarian to children and adults (regardless of nationality). Later on, I introduce the methods and analyses of linguistic landscape researchers, which are used during the process of studying the linguistic and non-linguistic features of the examples; this way referring to the multimodal nature of the written discourse discussed in this paper.

Identity

Although James Fearon (1999) emphasizes that dictionaries generally do not capture the new meaning of "identity," which is quite a challenge to provide, it may seem to be relevant to refer to some dictionary definitions. In the Cambridge English Dictionary, "identity" denotes "who a person is, or the qualities of a person or group that make them different from others." Lexico includes a similar meaning, i.e., "the characteristics determining who or what a person or thing is." In the online Merriam-Webster dictionary, "identity" is defined as "sameness of essential or generic character in different instances; sameness in all that constitutes the objective reality of a thing; the distinguishing character or personality of an individual." Generally speaking, identity can involve sameness, while it can refer to distinguishing characteristic features as well.

Identification can be considered and approached sociologically and functionally based on different roles, relations, and surroundings in which we have dissimilar selves. From the day we are born, we are educated and expected to produce a traditional "core" identity, nonetheless, in our everyday lives, we do not give much consideration to the inconsistencies between our dissimilar selves. We disregard them, thus achieving a level of social and mental flexibility, which is necessary to survive in a multifaceted and inconsistent world. Jay Lemke draws attention to the identity theory which can be characterized by the notion of "performing identities," and which involves the activities we accomplish in order to perform our different private and public selves. He argues that we enact the identity most advantageous for us within a set context and that we should accumulate a set of identity-performing practices, which is a collection of practices exclusive to each individual, nevertheless in common systems we all share them. Lemke concludes that we can achieve this goal via identification because "at many points in our lives, we adopt identities, or the elements of performing them, from the common culture" ("Multimodality" 147).

Jaworski and Thurlow note that people construct their identities to a certain extent via "the process of geographical imagining, the locating of self in space, claiming the ownership of specific places, or by being excluded from them, by sharing space and interacting with others" (7). They emphasize that in this context, space is "diversity," so it cannot be considered a mere physical thing that can be carefully circumnavigated. In their argumentation, they state that both cultures and people are situated in space, so the concept of home, that is, belonging, unavoidably depends on particular geographical locations that they become familiar with "both sensually and intellectually through semiotic framing and various forms of discoursal construal" (7). According to Mahootian, "identity is not a monolithic concept, but a layered construction." He further argues that the languages we select in our communication "all contribute to who (we think) we are, how we want others to see us and how others actually perceive us" (193). Lemke—in accordance with all of the above—states that identity is multifaceted and can be defined "on many timescales of behavioral coherence," mentioning identities that we perform, we maintain, or we construct for ourselves and invite people around us to support them across settings (e.g., age, social class, gender). He finds it significant, however, that we are not misled "by the normative ideal of a consistent fixed stereotypical identity," which is the result of the "highly regulative, institution-dominated, modernist culture ("Language Development" 72). Julia Sallabank supports this idea when she states that due to the influence of postmodernism, identities are no longer regarded as fixed, formal realities, "but rather a fluid, shaped while people compose and position themselves within various social settings of their everyday lives" (505). Lemke argues that the majority of people intentionally activate "on various timescales, identity performances and identity claims that contradict the standpoint of modernist identity standardization." Throughout their lives, individuals "surf across the identity possibilities of their cultures, taking them as semiotic resources to play with rather than as essentialist necessities of their being" ("Language Development" 72, 73). According to Jaworski and Thurlow, diasporic communities can preserve their sense of ethnic and national identity; they can also articulate their nostalgia for their past and mother country by

using the imagery of place as a resource. In each ethnic, racial, cultural, or gender-related speech, community language use is of vital importance (8).

Language and Identity

Language is one of the resources by which people can "present" and "represent" themselves; language has been offered as the most significant aspect of individual identity; it is a more typical representative of ethnicity and identity than ancestry, religion, or residence (see Mahootian). Identity can be created, manifested, and disclosed by language. Eva Vetter, in her article on social networks, refers to the paradigm shift that characterizes the identity research of recent times. She maintains that the apparent relationship between language and ethnic identity should be negated, arguing that in the field of multilingualism research, this "essentialism of identity" is rejected, and adding that "fluidity of identities is more applicable" (215). In order to understand this approach to identity, it is essential to equally study the systems of knowledge that generate it as well as the multilingual environments in which it is produced. In the case of metrolingualism, for a more precise study of contemporary language use, meanings must be deconstructed, reconstructed and negotiated not only according to the stance of the interlocutor or of the reader and their cultural norms, but also according to the environment in which they occur (Hortobágyi 146). The concept of "metrolingualism," which was developed by Emi Otsuji and Alastair Pennycook in 2010, is defined by Jaworski as "the contemporary practice of creative uses, or mixing, of different linguistic codes in predominantly urban contexts, transcending established social, cultural, political and historical boundaries, identities and ideologies." Jaworski also emphasizes that the ultimate goal of metrolingualism is to confront and undermine conventional and stable identity attributions, that is, "to disrupt or destabilize dominant expectations and ideologies" ("Metrolingual Art" 134, 139). He accepts Otsuji and Pennycook's explanation of metrolingualism, given in "Metrolingualism: Fixity, Fluidity, and Language in Flux" (246). Jaworski states that

> the way in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language . . . does not assume connections between language, culture, ethnicity, nationality or geography, but rather seeks to explore how such relations are produced, resisted, defied or rearranged; its focus is not on language systems but languages as emergent from contexts of interaction. (139)

Multilingual people negotiate their multiple identities in contact situations. Referring to language contact situations, Clyne states that linguistic behavior is "both an expression of multiple identity and a response to multiple identity," adjoining that one of the four major functions of language is to be "a means by which people can identify themselves and others" (3-4). Gardner-Chloros, referring to Hamers and Blanc (204-07), highlights that people, during the process of becoming bilinguals, become acculturated into the other culture, by which they become bicultural through the acquisition of the language skills and cultural rules of the new culture and

assimilate them into their primary culture—thus their identity develops into bicultural. She continues in her argument that the effect of language on identity is of significant importance (176).

Language Choice of Bilinguals

Language choice is predominantly concerned with linguistic resources that are accessible to bilingual people, and conversely, how they formulate their preferences in terms of code choice when interacting with their fellow community members. L1 and L2 use of bilinguals can refer to their group membership, depending on how they perceive themselves and others. Carol Myers-Scotton supposes that the most important motivation for deciding on the use of a particular language in an interaction is to revive the socio-psychological values that are connected to that language. She presumes that all the linguistic varieties that are at the disposal of the members of a bilingual community are associated with particular social meanings, which is a component of bilinguals' communicative competence (143). Many reasons can influence the preference of one language over the other (for instance, language attrition, imperfect language learning). Myers-Scotton, however, emphasizes that it is the symbolic value attributed to a particular language that is most likely to contribute to the decision. She also states that "choosing a variety is both a tool and an index of interpersonal relationships" (141). The linguistic choices can be referred to as indexical signs. Nevertheless, Myers-Scotton underlines that "the variety itself is not a message, but it points to a message" carrying a unique sort of meaning. She continues the argument by saying that "as indexical signs, the choice is not the social message . . . the interpretations are the social messages" (145). Several interpretations can be connected to the choice.

Michael Clyne, when discussing the language maintenance of bilinguals, states that the disadvantages of the process can, at times, prevail over the advantages (*Dynamics* 67-68). Drawbacks can involve the negative effect on the individual's identity, on the one hand, and forced identification from the outside world, on the other. Benefits incorporate the possibility for articulating the speaker's multiple identities in words, as well as the opportunity for expressing solidarity in the community and the family through effective communication. Here Clyne refers to the market value of a language, which comprises the linguistic market for interethnic communication (majority language) and intraethnic communication (choice of languages). He suggests that bilinguals have to consider the continuing advantages of language maintenance as they become integrated with the interethnic marketplace. Code-switching/code-mixing is a prevalent occurrence in bilingual verbal communication; consequently, the majority of research on bilingualism concentrates on this subject matter.

Claudia M. Riehl describes the different approaches scholars have produced in their studies distinguishing between three types of procedures, which may aid the investigation of code-switching/code-mixing. First of all, she mentions the sociolinguistically conditioned approach, in which "factors such as the interlocutor, social role, domain, topic, venue, medium, and type of interaction play an important

role." This socio-pragmatically conditioned approach does not involve function "in the local conversational context" (1945). Instead, it can express attitudes towards language or can indicate linguistic identity, since it concentrates on why and when a language user selects one language variety in preference over the other. The grammatical approach to code-switching/code-mixing focuses on patterns, that is, the types of switching/mixing structures found in particular data.

Riehl argues that through this investigation, "it is possible to offer interesting indications about the underlying structure of language systems by analyzing code-switching constraints, i.e., the points within a sentence at which the transition from one language to the other is possible" ("Code-Switching in Bilinguals" 1945). When scholars focus on the processes that occur in the speaker's brain, they are involved in the third aspect, that is, the psycholinguistically motivated code-switching, which incorporates language alternation stimulated by the specific conditions of language production, not by the intentions of the speaker. Michael Clyne (*Dynamics* 162) provides examples of these occurrences under the heading of "triggering" or "facilitation." Peter Auer refers to this phenomenon as non-orthodox or facilitated code-switching/mixing, during which the transition is not sudden but goes through an indistinct phase (461). Riehl concludes that both the sociolinguistic and the psycholinguistic approaches focus on speakers who use different codes, while in the focus of the grammatical approach, the language system is utilized ("Code-Switching in Bilinguals" 1954). Studying popular mainstream publications in the United States, Mahootian observes that the examples of intentional code-switches between English and community population language found in national publications are "a discourse practice" with the help of which "a bilingual identity is branded, defined and consequently valorized." He maintains that the aim of intentionally produced code-mixing in printed media is "to delineate territory, socially and politically" (195).

Linguistic Landscape Research

For the study of language alternation in written discourse, in "Researching and Theorising Multilingual Texts," Mark Sebba proposes the application of the methods and analyses of linguistic landscape researchers who study multilingual signage in urban centers. The works of Roudridge Landry and Richard Y. Bourhis, Sebba ("Multilingualism in Written Discourse,"), Jaworski, and Moriarty build a coherent conceptual framework and network of the elements constituting the linguistic landscape (LL). Based on the references listed, it can be argued that both the oral and the written linguistic performances of people lie deeply in the intersection between verbal and non-verbal elements. All the representations of these languages—from topographic signs related to place names and street names, public signs, and billboards advertising commercial services and cultural performances, to the built environment of shopping malls and airports—underlie the importance of recognizing two symbolic functions for LL, namely, the obvious informative function that conveys information and a symbolic function that embeds our experience in the built realities. Several decades earlier, when mobility and worldwide communication was less rushed

and sophisticated, this linguistic landscape was more static. Currently, LL is highly dynamic and is undergoing continuous change. It is also worth considering that in our time most forms and instances of communication are positioned in relation to social media, and as phone-users communicate predominantly through texts, multimodality also influences the audience's semiotic and generic understanding of information.

For better decoding of the conveyed message, Sebba calls attention to the existence of certain parallelism in both oral and written texts ("Researching and Theorising" 4). Thus, in a multicultural and multilingual environment, there are "twin texts," each with the same content but rendered in different codes/languages. Parallelism is the norm for bilingual signage. Its distinct function is to give the reader a choice of languages; there is an assumption that the reader is monolingual or has a preferred language. Some of these types are parallel texts for collective and multilingual readership rather than for monolingual individual access. Others are complementary texts, where two or more textual units with different content are juxtaposed within the framework of a textual composition. The juxtaposed texts may be monolingual internally, or they may contain a mixture of languages (code-switching at the sentential or intra-sentential level), and they assume a reader, who is bi- or multiliterate or at least has adequate reading competence in both languages. It is also essential to consider that in addition to the importance of the verbal level, language alternation in written discourse can also be approached from the perspective of the relationship between the elements of various semiotic devices employed in rendering the proposed meaning. Therefore, when analyzing the language of newspapers and advertisements—to remain within the scope of our research—we have to comment on the visual images, nonverbal communication, architecture, and the built environment determining our text. Depending on the type of multilingual community and the dynamics of its functioning, elements of global communication coexist with local varieties. However, from their form and content, we can discern either a competition between varieties as a sign of tension between the language communities themselves or of monolingualism, which occurs in friendly and harmonious community expression. In short, the written discourse of texts within a community represents the visible signs of the societal actors, their goals, and cultural priorities; as argued in the present research, they can contribute to the construction of identity in bilingual people.

Sebba states that "the production and reading of mixed-language texts are to be viewed as social practices . . ., as a complex of *literacy practices* situated in particular social-historical and linguistic contexts." ("Researching and Theorising" 8). In other words, in addition to how they are created and how they will be read, it is essential to know by whom and for whom they are created, i.e., the intended audience. A significant concern is that researchers studying written discourse focus on "written texts *as* text," that is, sequences of words on a page, rather than studying it in the visual context a reader would encounter it, in the form of style, colors, font sizes, etc. These elements of information can provide the "context for interpreting the content of a text" (Sebba, ("Researching and Theorising" 5). Sebba also indicates that the focus of research in the field of multilingual written texts should be moved "from text-as-text to text-as-image" ("Researching and Theorising" 11), since particular text types can and do make use

of the "potential of the visual medium for complex layouts, multilayering and the use of a range of fonts and graphic devices because they can function as contextualization cues." Considering all of the above, Sebba suggests that the focal point of the analysis of multilingual texts be extended to the "complete text," taking into account its "visual and linguistic whole" ("Researching and Theorising" 12).

The House of Hungary in San Diego

The House of Hungary Inc., a California non-profit corporation, is a member of the House of Pacific Relations International Cottages, Inc., and one of the thirty-three International Houses in Balboa Park. The aim of the House of Hungary is to promote Hungarian culture, history, customs, and traditions; and to organize social activities for its members. The City of San Diego donated most of the cottages occupied today by various ethnic groups in 1936, following the San Diego Panama Exposition. Hungarians joined in 1948 and shared a cottage with the Czechs and Slovaks. Their new cottage was completed in 1995 by the hard work and dedication of their members. This cottage is similar to a little farmhouse in Hungary but with the modern conveniences of today.

The cottage is open for the public every Sunday between 12 and 4 pm, with a hostess offering homemade pastries, coffee, and refreshments to visitors. The House of Hungary provides free language classes for adults and children of different age groups as well as organizes various social, cultural, and fund-raising events, for example, the *Ethnic Food Fair* at the end of May and the *International Christmas Festival* at the beginning of December. As a contributing member of the House of Pacific Relations (HPR), the Hungarians present a lawn program on the HPR stage to celebrate St. Stephen and the Hungarian statehood in August. Membership is open to all people who are interested in promoting the national culture, customs, and traditions. On the homepage of the House of Hungary, information about the different events is generally available both in Hungarian and English. Supposedly, code-mixed language users do not intend to segregate or isolate their community; on the contrary, they want to give a chance for members of the dominant community to be invited to learn about and become familiarized with Hungarian traditions and culture.

Weekend School Education

The initiative started as a playhouse, and children under the age of ten were engaged in teams. In terms of language knowledge, the group was exceptionally mixed, including children whose mother tongue was Hungarian as well as children who knew only a few Hungarian words. After two and a half years, both the school leader and the parents needed to differentiate between language skills and age. As a result, the Hungarian Sunday School now has six different age/level groups. The current weekend school has been operating in the San Diego House of Hungary since March 2006. In each group, great emphasis is placed on vocabulary development and the dissemination of Hungarian traditions and culture. Each group participates in different holiday

activities and then continues to study in their own group in the remaining time. Adults can also learn Hungarian since the 1980s in the House of Hungary at beginner and intermediate levels.

Aims, Approaches, and Data

Reconfiguring the scope of this paper to investigate written mixed-language discourse following the approaches discussed in detail above (see Kress, "Multimodal," Sebba, "Multilingualism" and "Researching and Theorising"), the resources that have been used include the webpage of the House of Hungary in San Diego and the latest issues of the newsletter of the House of Hungary. It is discernible that the contributors and the authors of the webpage and the newsletter are interested in utilizing and sourcing their content from more than one language. Their multilingual language usage in everyday oral communication may differ from their written language uses; written language discourse is seen as another situation where they interact with other bilingual people. This research investigates and focuses on linguistically mixed written discourse, i.e., the mixed-language practices found in the sources in order to observe how these manifestations contribute to a community's multifaceted identity. Sebba states that a multilingual text, for example, the newspaper of a minority community, is "the product of a multilingual culture," in other words, "the collective property of a multilingual speech community" ("Researching and Theorising" 7). As written texts, they can be characterized by the two conditions of permanence and reproducibility, where the distinction between a spoken and a written discourse does not necessarily imply the expression of permanent versus non-permanent linguistic relations between the audience or readership.

A Multimodal Analysis of the Webpage of the House of Hungary in San Diego (USA) and Its Newsletter

"San Diego, House of Hungary; Kik vagyunk; Történelem; Események; Iskola; Könyvtár"
Figure 1. Homepage of the House of Hungary in San Diego in Hungarian
https://sdmagyar.org/

"San Diego, House of Hungary; Who We Are; History; Events; School; Library"
Figure 2. Homepage of the House of Hungary in San Diego in English
https://sdmagyar.org/archive-newsletters/

Figures 1 and 2 represent the homepage of the House of Hungary in San Diego, which is available both in Hungarian and English. The graphic design is consistent between the two languages and illustrated by symbols associated with the well-known traditional embroidery motives of Kalocsa, a settlement in the Great Hungarian Plain. The cumulative content they provide is both in Hungarian and English. As for the design

and layout, no difference is apparent between the two pages, neither of the languages is emphasized over the other. The parallel nature of the texts means accessibility for both bilinguals and monolinguals in either of the two relevant languages. The group of non-Hungarian speakers includes people who are second-, third-, or fourth-generation Hungarians with little or no basic Hungarian language skills, yet still feel they belong to the Hungarian ethnic community; or speakers of English who may want to learn about the Hungarian culture and traditions. Besides, the homepage's color scheme reflects the colors of the Hungarian flag: red, white, and green.

"HOUSE of HUNGARY, Inc.
a California Public Benefit Corporation
2159 Pan American Plaza, Balboa Park, CA 92101. Tel.: (619) 238-5155
Volume 23 Issue 4   www.sdmagyar.org   September-October 2019"

Figure 3. Nameplate of the newsletter of the House of Hungary in San Diego
https://sdmagyar.org/

Figure 3 illustrates the nameplate on the header of the front page of the newsletter of the House of Hungary in San Diego, a publication providing news about the Hungarian community in San Diego. It shares information on future events, reports on what happened in the months prior to the given issue, and includes classified advertisements. Although it is the newsletter of a Hungarian community, the text found in the nameplate is entirely English, including reference to the full name and address of the House of Hungary together with the volume and issue number and the publication date. Through the use of language within context, these constituents reveal the geographical location of the newsletter. The two coats-of-arms—the coat of arms of Hungary on the right-hand side and the coat of arms of the House of Pacific Relations International Cottages Inc. on the left-hand side—are used as design elements to indicate the affiliation of the institution and its newsletter.

"SAN DIEGO HOUSE OF HUNGARY
HARVEST DINNER PARTY
SZÜRETI BÁL
ÉLŐ ZENE; TÁNC; MAGYAROS VACSORA
Music by: Józsi Baki
Wine by: Varga Vineyard
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 12, 2019 7:00 PM
IN THE HALL OF NATIONS
2191 West Pan American Rd. San Diego, CA 92101
Dinner Menu:
Marhapörkölt Gombával – Beef Stew with Mushrooms; Vajas Burgonya – Butter
Roasted Potatoes; Savanyúság – Pickles; Vargabéles
Vegetarian Menu:
Gombapörkölt – Mushroom Stew; Vajas Burgonya – Butter Roasted Potatoes;
Savanyúság – Pickles; Vargabéles"

Figure 4. Invitation for a harvest dinner party
https://sdmagyar.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/oct19.pdf

Figure 4 illustrates an announcement of the upcoming event of a harvest dinner party, a traditional aspect of country life originating from the celebration of successful autumn grape gathering and wine-making. Multimodality characterizes it insofar as both linguistic and non-linguistic features contribute to the compilation of the information leaflet. The name of the event, *Harvest dinner party,* is provided both in Hungarian and English and emphasized in two ways: through typeface and font size. The accompanying images of dancing couples, grapes, wine glasses, and bottles portray the tone of the event. Both parallelism and complementarity characterize the text; for instance, the names of the dishes served at the dinner are provided in both Hungarian and English. Mention must be made of the fact, however, that the name of the dessert, "vargabéles," is only given in Hungarian. Although in English contexts, the terms "Hungarian strudel" and "noodle pie" are available as English equivalents of the food, Hungarian people would never associate these names with the traditional Transylvanian dessert. The description of the event, its venue, and date are only indicated in English.

"The Hungarian PennySaver

Apróhirdetés		Classified	
Munkát keres/kínál	Help wanted/Offered	Adás/vétel	For Sale/Buying

A Ház tagjai INGYEN hirdethetnek! Email: info@sdmagyar.org

Szolgáltatás		Services	
Hivatalos ügyek	Civil Services	Egészség	Health Care
Ügyvéd (Attorney) (John P. Cogger)		Fogorvos (Dentist) Nellie Molnár Golenyák	
Fordítás, hitelesítés (Translator, Notary Public)		Pszichiáter (Psychiatrist) Egészségügyi tanácsadás (Health Counseling)	

Iparos munkák	Maintenance	Szolgáltatás	Service
Vízvezeték szerelő (Plumber) Szobafestő (Painter)"		Utazás (Travel Agent)	

Figure 5. Classified Advertisements
https://sdmagyar.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/oct19.pdf

Figure 5, entitled *The Hungarian Pennysaver*, illustrates the classified advertisements in the Hungarian newsletter. Parallelism characterizes the text, i.e., all the services are provided in both languages, the Hungarian version, however, is emphasized with

the help of typeface and order, that is the name of the services are first given in Hungarian, and their English equivalents are then provided. Complementarity can be deduced at two points: people's names are indicated in consecutive English order (that is, given name first, surname last), whereas information that members of the House of Hungary can submit advertisements free of charge is stated in Hungarian but omitted in English.

"Események / Events
Sept 1 vasárnap 11-4 Open House, Hostess needed
Sept 7 szombat 9-12 Magyar Nyelvtanfolyam a Magyar Házban. Hungarian Language Class.
Mindenkit szívesen látunk. Kontakt/contact: Katalin Solymosi; sdmagyarnyelv@gmail.com
12-5 Open House, Hostess needed
Sept 8 vasárnap 10-12 Vezetőségi Gyűlés – Board Meeting
12-5 Open House, Hostess needed
12   HPR küldöttek találkozója a Hall of Nations-ben.
3:30 Magyar protestáns Istentisztelet a University Christian Church-ben (3900 Cleveland Ave.)
Sept 11 szerda 12 - Ladies Auxiliary Luncheon a Magyar Házban

Figure 6. Events of the House of Hungary
https://sdmagyar.org/hu/fooldal/

Figure 6 includes some of the events organized at the House of Hungary. The days and dates of the events are only given in Hungarian, the names of the events, however, reflect mixed-language discourse, including both parallelism and complementarity. A different typeface is used to attract attention, but no preference for either of the languages can be detected. There are two interlingual linguistic manifestations found in the text in the form of loan blends (imported stem and native suffix): "Hall of *Nations-ben*" and "University Christian *Church-ben*," where Hungarian inflectional suffix (inessive case marker) is attached to the English words. The program entitled "Open House. Hostess needed" is specified in English but omitted in Hungarian, and its objective can be surmised and understood after reading the following captions, which appear on both the Hungarian and English homepage:

"A Magyar Ház szombatonként és vasárnaponként 12 és 17 óra között nyitva. Látogasson meg minket, hogy találkozzon magyar honfitársaival és vendégeinkkel a világ minden részéről.

Szeretne házigazda lenni, vendégeinket kávéval és házi süteménnyel fogadni? Válasszon ki egy szombatot vagy vasárnapot és jelentkezzen a host@sdmagyar.org címen. A gondnok már fél 12-kor ott lesz és segít.

HOUSE of HUNGARY is open Saturdays and Sundays from 12:00 pm to 5:00 pm. Come visit, you will have the opportunity to meet your fellow Hungarians and guests from around the world.

Want to be a host or hostess to serve coffee and homemade pastries?
Please pick a Saturday or Sunday and email to host@sdmagyar.org. The Custodian will be there at 11:00 to help you."

Figure 7. "Open House" Program in the House of Hungary
https://sdmagyar.org/

Figure 7 refers to the program, which is titled 'Open House,' and the detailed description of the program is specified in both Hungarian and English, stylistically parallel to each other. The colors of the Hungarian flag (red, white, and green) dominate the color scheme of the headings and body text; both languages appear to convey the same information equally; no language predominates over the other.

Conclusion

The present paper analyses resources selected from the webpage of the House of Hungary in San Diego (USA) and the latest issues of the newsletter of the House of Hungary to describe written mixed-language discourse in adherence to the novel approaches initiated by Kress ("Multimodal") and Sebba ("Multilingualism," "Researching and Theorising"). The novel theoretical framework suggests a form of a multimodal approach to multilingual text types and considers the linguistic properties alongside the visual and spatial relationships of languages on a page. The sample texts include intentional language alternation with instances of parallelism and complementarity, which are intermittently supported by graphic devices. In conclusion, it can be stated that this deliberate code-mixing reflects the particular language use and multifaceted identity of the members of the Hungarian community in San Diego, which are generated by their dissimilar cultural environments, and which can be concluded to have contributed to the culture and language maintenance efforts of the community.

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