

APPROACHING FROM BOTH SIDES – CONTEMPORARY HUNGARIAN-GERMAN MINORITY LITERATURE AS A CHALLENGE FOR THE HUNGARIAN STUDIES

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The aim of this paper is to propose a cross-cultural approach to contemporary Hungarian-German minority literature comprising texts written both in German and in Hungarian in order to give an adequate description of the Hungarian-German minority's literary scene. Also, the significance of this specific minority literature within the context of culture and heritage conservation and its true identity-forming potential can be analysed that way. First results indicate that Hungarian-German literature can help to (re)gain an authentic minority consciousness, but this requires not only a reevaluation of the Hungarian-German literary institutions but also the capability to reinvent Hungarian-German literature on the part of the youngest generation of minority writers.

Keywords: minority literature, Hungarian-German literature, identity, minority culture, cross-cultural studies

Cultural homogenization is regarded as one of the main characteristics of a globalised world. It refers to the loss of cultural diversity, the growth of “sameness” and the loss of cultural autonomy – usually conceived on a national level.¹ While cultural homogenization is believed to have a negative impact on national identity and culture, critics of the theory emphasize that the process of cultural homogenization is not one-way, but involves a number of cultures exchanging various elements.² Considering these developments happening on a national level and consequently affecting national cultures, it seems all the more important to take minority cultures within a nation into account as their survival is already endangered by the dominant national culture. However, there are a number of problems that come with the study of minority cultures or certain aspects of them, which vary in terms of intensity from minority to minority. Hence, for the sake of clarity, this paper deals with only one minority and only one aspect of their culture, namely contemporary Hungarian-German literature. This being stated, the crucial problem arising from approaching this specific subject is, who to assign the task to.

Why this is the case and what possible solutions can be found, shall be discussed in the following. To begin with, some preliminary remarks may help to see the importance of engaging in the study of contemporary Hungarian-German literature even though the actual literary output of the minority may appear discouraging at first sight.

Before approaching texts of a minority literature, one has to bear in mind, why minority literature itself is of great importance for the respective minority. In order to form a personal identity, the individual must live in a shared symbolic “world of sense” with others. In order to become a collective identity, this common ground must be made and kept aware for and by the individuals.³

A collective identity is [...] social affiliation that became reflexive. Accordingly, cultural identity is participation in and the commitment to a culture that became reflexive.⁴

Benedict Anderson argues that categories such as “nation” and “people” have to be considered as imagined and are alterable and historic due to their constructedness.⁵ Following Anderson’s ideas the categories of “ethnos” and “nationality” are also imagined and therefore alterable categories. John C. Swanson states:

If we accept the argument that ‘nations’ are imagined, then Hungarian-Germans, or any other group seen as an ‘other’ in a nation-state, is also a constructed group. The definition of an ethnic minority is different, depending on who is doing the defining.⁶

Swanson emphasizes: “minority-building is a multilayered, ever-changing phenomenon [...]”.⁷ Essential aspects of nation-building include the adoption of a group consciousness, the use of national symbols and the cultural demarcation against the outside. In a modified form, these aspects are also crucial for the process of what Swanson calls minority-building: Similar to national literature, minority literature, for example, fulfills important tasks – especially within the context of personal and collective identity formation. In connection with the concept of collective identity Jan Assmann emphasizes the need for an explicit commitment of the individuals within a group to the group. He argues that a collective identity or “we-identity” is essentially a picture that a group paints of itself and with which the members of the group can identify. Collective identity is basically a question of identification, it does not exist as such but only to that extent as the individuals are willing to be part of a group and identify with it. Consequently, collective identity can only be as strong or weak as it is alive within the minds of the group members and as much as it is able to motivate their thinking and actions

in everyday life.⁸ Bearing Assmann's thoughts in mind, it becomes evident why literature plays such an important role in this context:

By talking about mutual memories, life stories and customs, groups envision those aspects of their past that characterizes them as that specific group and therefore must not be forgotten. Through the active participation of individual protagonists in such a collective memory they are not only provided with group-specific memories, but also perception schemes that frame the individual's self-understanding. The practice of shared interpretation of the past is also linked to the emergence of new collective horizons within meaning and identity construction. The collective identity of a group is the result of the shared interpretation of the past.⁹

Literary works can be considered one form of communicating mutual memories and life stories that may even trigger other forms of communication (e.g., book discussions, reviews, a.o.). With regard to content, literary works may not only give insights into past constructions of reality and collective ideas, but can also be exploited for the constitution of a particular perspective on the past and function as support for the self-understanding of a group or nation deriving from that particular perspective. But the potential of literature in the context of cultural memory is not only limited to the affirmation of existing self-perceptions and collective values, it also includes the direct opposite, namely their critical reflection or even the accentuation and dissemination of subversive counter-memories that enable the development of alternative models of identity.¹⁰ This aspect of literature is all the more important within the context of minority literature, because minorities undergo changes within the course of history. The members of a minority are confronted with political, social and cultural challenges that need to be addressed, one way or another. Artists are said to be the seismographs of society – writers can become the mouthpiece of the minority they belong to and as such not only articulate their issues for the outside but the inside world, raising awareness for them amongst the group members and help the minority coping with change in an adequate way. One of the greatest dangers for a minority is to get caught in repetitive anachronistic behaviour while missing the moment to adapt to changing social and cultural conditions. In this regard, Paola Bozzi emphasizes, that the concepts of identity, nationality and culture must not be considered as static values but rather interactive processes:

We live in border regions of the present, in times of historical transformation, within processes and moments produced by the articulation of cultural difference; in interspaces that bring a new understanding of individual or communal identity and society. This entirely new historical context draws one's attention away from the differences between cultures and more and more towards the differ-

ences within one and the same culture, producing a multi-dimensional, decentralized, dynamic, pluralistic image of culture and subject, of identity and collective. [...] The construct and understanding of culture and subject (as well as that of ethnicity) have to be questioned, deconstructed and to be considered as moving aspects of a whole, which constantly undergoes change itself.¹¹

Bozzi takes up the idea of identity as a variation of different identities, which are not to be located within purely ethnic categories. According to that idea, there is a modern heterogeneous society of individuals with multiple, split and/or fractured identities. Especially with regard to the younger generations of a minority, this idea must necessarily be accepted as a prerequisite for any further consideration.

After this rather theoretical start, some hard numbers and historical as well as sociological facts shall demonstrate how Hungarian-Germans – and among them especially those belonging to the younger generations – deal with questions of identity, minority culture and minority literature. Does the latter play an outstanding role in their lives in terms of identity formation?

First, we need to take a look at the Hungarian-German minority as it presents itself at the beginning of the 21st century. At no time in their long history were the Hungarian-Germans a homogeneous group disposing of a very distinct collective identity. On the contrary, it was rather a more of a state-specific Hungarian patriotism which dominated amongst the Hungarian-Germans. The processes of social change, such as urbanization, industrialization and increasing mobility, accelerated their assimilation. After World War II, the authorities took strong measures against the Hungarian-German minority: while in 1941 the German minority still counted a total of 302,198 persons, the number of people who stood up and declared themselves as Hungarian-German decreased to 2,617 in 1949. The reasons for this included war losses, deportations to labor camps and resettlement abroad.¹² Thanks to the changes in Hungarian politics over time, a steady increase of those numbers can be detected since 1960: While the Hungarian-German minority counted a total of 8,640 persons in 1960, it counted 11,310 persons in 1980.

In the 2001 census, a total of 62,105 people have indicated that they belonged to the Hungarian-German minority. Of these, 3,559 persons are between 0 and 14 years old, 15,136 persons are between 15 and 39 years, 15,813 persons are between 40 and 59 years and 18,404 persons are 60 years old or older.¹³ According to these numbers, more than 18,000 members of the Hungarian-German minority belong to the younger generation(s). This is of great importance inasmuch as it is the younger generation that is responsible for the continued existence of the minority and can produce new writers (and readers) of minority literature and ensure the evolution of the latter. This would require a sense of belonging to a minority and the will to keep up the minority culture necessary. However, Györgyi Bindorffer states that the primary basis for the minority-awareness among the mi-

norities in Hungary is their respective origin which is represented towards the outside world through the practice of folk dance and folkloristic dressing at the most. Modernization and assimilation have led to a life which is no longer totally imbued with elements signaling the affiliation to a minority.¹⁴ Still, in her article about identity concepts of the Hungarian-Germans at the turn of the millennium published in 2004, Zsuzsanna Gerner emphasizes the possible personal benefits as a motivating factor for the Hungarian-Germans to act as a member of a minority:

The Hungarian-German minority forms a community of interest with access to economic resources due to the current national and international conditions. Therefore, it perhaps seems promising to be organized according to ethnic criteria. There is no denying that the Hungarian-German minority was financially supported significantly by different German and Austrian organizations and institutions.¹⁵

While Gerner considers these financial benefits as positive incentive measures, critics like Wolfgang Aschauer believe, that they cannot trigger enough *real* personal commitment amongst the members of the minority in order to achieve a *real* sense of togetherness. He actually goes so far as to question even the existence of a Hungarian-German nationality or minority, even if the Hungarian-Germans try to prove it by various clubs and associations to maintain their culture – again culture being understood more in the sense of folk art and folklore.¹⁶ But Aschauer's question seems to be justified, especially if one follows the definition of the Hungarian Minority Act of 1993, where an "awareness of belonging"¹⁷ is explicitly required as a prerequisite for the recognition as a minority. In opposition to that, Aschauer underlines the high level of artificiality, the choreographic character of Hungarian-German cultural manifestations, which is also confirmed by Bindorffer's research. According to her, the traditional elements and customs of minority culture exist only within a festive dimension and are not expressed in everyday life. The festive habits live on in a dramatic, choreographed, modified way on stage during village festivals, local, regional, ethnic and national meetings or galas.¹⁸ It is almost needless to say at this point, that this does not include the public presentation (reading or discussion) of minority literature.

But why is this the case, when considering on the one hand, the great potential of literature in terms of identity formation while on the other hand the survival of an authentic, *real* Hungarian-German identity and culture is at risk?

The first and foremost reason for the almost total ignorance of Hungarian-German literature within the minority itself is quite simple: language. Within her research about the formation of minority identities, Györgyi Bindorffer states that in the case of the Hungarian-Germans German can be considered as native language only among the members of the older generations. Younger members of the mi-

nority automatically speak Hungarian, even if they are able to speak German on a native level, which only a few of them are capable of. In reality, a total change of language has taken place among the young Hungarian-Germans due to their linguistic assimilation.¹⁹ Maria Erb also confirms that the functional first language of the Hungarian-Germans is Hungarian, which they not only know best, but also use the most in the private and public spheres alike.²⁰ In 2004, Norbert Spannenberger gets to the heart of the problem: “Among the Hungarian-Germans, bilingualism is a utopia, certainly not reality.”²¹ Very revealing, in this regard, is a study²² conducted in a Hungarian-German settlement, namely Mecseknádasd near Pécs, that examines the specific characteristics of individual identity that are perceived as a primary building element for a minority identity by the respondents. In spite of the developments already described above, 75% of the respondents between 45–55 years of age regarded the knowledge of the German language or German dialect as absolutely necessary for belonging to the Hungarian-German minority. 79.2% of the younger generation, respondents aged 25 to 35, did not regard the knowledge of the German language as essential in order to develop a Hungarian-German identity. The identity-forming function of language could, according to them, be replaced by elements of Hungarian-German culture. This is mirrored in other researches as well. According to Bindorffer it is the loss of language which the older generations see as the biggest problem in connection with the preservation of the minority. At the same time Sasné Grósz emphasizes the importance of cultural binding, which is, in contrast, growing especially among the younger generation of Hungarian-Germans. This bond, that comprises primarily traditional customs and folklore, ideally compensates for the lack of language skills. Also, it shall enable them to live out their Hungarian-German identity.²³ However, taking all this into account, it is no more surprise, that Hungarian-German literature is of no interest to the members of the minority: most of them simply can't read it and most of them don't consider it as a meaningful part of their culture – or so it seems.

In 1988, an article entitled “The Hungarian-German literature and its audience” was published in the literary supplement of the Hungarian-German weekly paper *Neue Zeitung*. The author presented the results of her research on the topic and mentioned the lack of interest within the Hungarian-German community – only 5 out of 4,500 questionnaires that she had distributed via the newspaper were returned. Through personal interviews and the mediation of various institutions she finally got the necessary data and concluded the following: While most of the elderly believed in the importance of Hungarian-German literature, the younger generations were not so convinced of its importance and the youngest respondents even said that it was not at all important to them.²⁴ Obviously, this meant bad news for the Hungarian-German literary life – both in terms of writers and recipients. Unfortunately, the situation has not changed much since then: a study conducted

among 130 pupils in Mecseknádasd, who attend schools offering Hungarian-German minority classes, showed that nobody read Hungarian-German literature on a regular basis.

15 high school students and 49 elementary school students were unable to name even one Hungarian-German writer. Only 8 out of 90 pupils were able to name more than one Hungarian-German writer.²⁵

But who are those writers whose names seem to be lost to the younger generations? Basically Hungarian-German writers are divided into three generations: First, there is the so-called “old generation” consisting of writers such as Georg Fath or Franz Zeltner, who considered their writing as “public service” to ensure the survival of the minority and pass on the rhythms of the folk songs, the dialect, the rural customs and traditions to the next generations. Again and again, they tell the stories of World War II, the loss of their home, the longing for the old ways of life and the impossibility of returning to those life conditions. Their texts constantly circle around the motives of home (tree, root), homelessness (stray animals) and change responded to with melancholy.

The second generation is called the “middle generation” and consists of writers such as Erika Áts, Ludwig Fischer, Josef Mikonya, Engelbert Rittinger, Franz Sziebert and Georg Wittmann. None of these writers, who all have a rural background, are full-time writers. Like the writers of the generation before, they try to pass on the Hungarian-German tradition and language within their works. However, they also address contemporary issues such as the problems and consequences of urbanization and industrialization, which permanently changed the lives of the Hungarian-Germans.

The next generation of writers, who have already benefited from a significantly longer education and consists largely of academics, includes, amongst others, Béla Bayer, Robert Becker, Nelu Bradean-Ebinger, Koloman Brenner, Robert Hecker, Claus Klotz, Valeria Koch and Joseph Michaelis. According to Eszter Propsz, the great achievement within the literature of this generation is that the writers have (partly) left behind the narrowness of the Hungarian-German literature before.²⁶ However, the importance of the shared history and the Hungarian-German tradition is still a main motive in the literature of this young generation of writers.²⁷

After the analysis of the works written by the members of these three literary generations and diving into the relatively little research literature about them, one is most likely to agree with Eszter Propsz, who considers contemporary Hungarian-German literature as the product of a small group of amateur writers. As such it shows considerable qualitative deficiencies on several levels. Also, it is greatly influenced by the Hungarian minority policy insofar as it has to be up to the the-

matic expectations of the leaders of the Hungarian-German literary scene, who are highly dependent on public funding. In short, Hungarian-German literature can be regarded as a politically motivated cultural construct that is kept alive artificially. The potential for development hardly exists in current Hungarian-German literature, unless it would completely redefine and reinvent itself.

However, there is a part of Hungarian-German literature that has the ability to withstand current national and international literary demands in terms of quality while at the same time fulfilling the task of strengthening the identity of the Hungarian-Germans without ignoring the change it has undergone throughout the years: A considerable number of texts in Hungarian language written by Hungarian-German authors and dealing with topics characteristic for the Hungarian-German minority have enjoyed great success within the last years. István Elmer's "Parasztbarokk" (1991) and Robert Balogh's "Schwab trilógia" consisting of the three novels "Schwab evangéliom. Nagymamák orvosságos könyve" (2001), "Schwab legendariom. Álmoskönyv" (2004) and "Schwab diariom. Utolsó Schwab" (2007) are remarkable examples of Hungarian-German literature written in Hungarian. Eszter Propsz, who has conducted a respectable amount of research on that literature, sums up her findings as follows:

In my experience, based on years of research and analytical work leading to my results that I've written down, texts in Hungarian language provide identity models that are more functional than the ones provided by the German language texts. They allow the reader a much more differentiated creation of identity by providing identity elements offered for internalization that are both semantically as well as psychologically differentiated and developed in a complex way. Also, the structural relationships between those identity elements reconstruct both the social reality as well as the mental reality of the individual and the community in an elaborate way. In contrast to that, it is my experience that the Hungarian-German texts in German language, often providing extremely simplified models of life and history and working with stiff schemata, do not motivate readers to further reflection or even self-reflection.²⁸

Márton Kalász is another Hungarian-German writer, who has so far been awarded 17 literary prizes – among them the most important Hungarian literary awards such as the József Attila-díj (1971, 1987), Arany János-díj (2001), Prima Primissima díj (2006) and the Kossuth-díj (2013). He was born in southern Hungary in 1934 and has until now published about 30 volumes of poetry and prose – among them his novel *Téli bárány* (1986), which is partly autobiographical and deals with his childhood experiences during the Interwar period, World War II and the social situation as well as changes in Hungary during the first years of the socialist regime. By doing so, Kalász not only breaks a taboo by making the Hun-

garian-German's partly voluntary involvement in the SS the subject of discussion, but also leaves the whitewashing of the good old times, which is typical for the German language texts, way behind. Instead, he describes conflicts and rivalry between the members of the minority and, in addition to that, focuses on general problems and issues concerning the overall society. The reality of the Hungarian-German minority becomes a part of the whole – the one cannot be seen without the other without the risk of achieving a distorted picture.

Taking the above into account finally leads back to the initial question: where does Hungarian-German literature belong? Judging by its name and the language most texts are written in, one would assume that it belongs to the tasks of the German studies. However, even when considering the German language texts alone this view is not undisputed as a quick look into the ongoing discussion about the handling of minority literatures within the German studies shows. Although there is a long dispute about the terminology itself, by looking at the term “Hungarian-German literature” the need for an approach from more than one side becomes obvious: by shifting the focus away from the geographical localization, the sheer name, “Hungarian-German literature”, emphasizes the special position of that specific (minority) literature that moves between the languages and literatures, which represents a major and influential challenge for it. Minority literature written in German is considered a valid part of what falls under the generally accepted definition of German literature in a supranational context.

At the same time it is the German part of each other national literature, because it is part of a different reality and as such subject to different linguistic, historico-cultural and socio-political terms. Also, the distribution and reception mainly takes place within the space of the other literature.²⁹

An adequate handling of Hungarian-German literature would require scientific consideration on the part of the German *and* the Hungarian studies, in order to take account of all its dimensions.

The literary studies that want to do the minority literature justice, have to examine the texts with regard to intercultural aspects, such as their participation in various cultural and literary traditions, their presentation of intercultural contacts and conflicts and their production of cultural differences. All that requires the investigation of the relationships between cultures and literatures beyond the limits of national philology [...], which goes well beyond the methodological requirements of the traditional German studies.³⁰

Herzog also emphasizes the importance of a trans-cultural approach to Hungarian-German literature – instead of searching for connections between the minority

literature and the “linguistic motherland”, much more attention should be given to its comparison with the literature of the other language originating from the immediate area. Thus, what is considered as an exclusive characteristic of the minority literature at first sight might not be as exclusive as it seems: it is very likely that one can find many similarities between, for example, the rural and the urban literary traditions of different language groups within one area.³¹ Werner Biechele, pointing into a similar direction, also emphasizes the need for a cross-cultural approach to minority literature: the German minority literatures have to be regarded as specific and in that respect regional phenomena in between the other linguistic and national units surrounding them. Their quality cannot be measured by the standards applied for the national literature of Germany or Austria written in the German language. Their quality, Biechele argues, is defined by the extent to which the writers and the texts of minority literature are able to gain recognition and importance *within* and *in relation to* another, namely, the surrounding cultural area.³² Therein lies the core significance of the Hungarian-German literature from the standpoint of the Hungarian studies: both the German and the Hungarian texts represent a valuable addition to the Hungarian national culture – as they are influenced by the same historico-cultural and socio-political factors as Hungarian national literature. It is necessary to search for similarities and influences between the minority and the national literature with regards to content, motives and style with respect to intertextual associations. While, for example, in German contemporary literature rural motives are not very widespread, there is a strong tradition of rural symbolism in Hungarian national literature as well as in Hungarian-German minority literature. Obviously, the primary cultural socialisation of contemporary Hungarian-German writers happens in Hungary, which resonates in their own literary works more strongly than any German literary tradition they acquired during their academic education. In this context, it would be interesting to establish whether a Hungarian audience in contrast to a German audience would react more positively to Hungarian-German literature whose motives appear closer to their own written tradition.

The most important aspect of the previously mentioned Hungarian-German literature written in Hungarian, probably is its significance in regard to the construction of identity as well as cultural and collective memory.

Apart from non-fictional texts such as philosophical or religious writings, rites and ancient monuments, literary texts represent an important medium of cultural memory and identity formation. Fictional texts can stage elements of the pre-existing memory culture on different levels within the text. These elements can also be placed into new contexts and become symbolically compressed, so the texts often provide alternative representations of collective memories. Outside the textual dimension, fictional texts can become meaningful as

the central form of expression of collective memory and thereby make an active contribution to social memory and identity formation.³³

This capacity of literature is all the more important for minorities disposing of a separate, particular cultural memory, as it can help to achieve changes within the main collective memory of the dominant social group they are incorporated into, for example, on a national level.

The collective-semantic and at the same time 'official' memory includes the evaluative version of memory of a dominant part of the population, which is produced and maintained by institutional, normative references to the past, such as in [...] the formation of state traditions and canons. [...] In order to become culturally effective, particularistic episodic memories of a group must be transferred via conventionalized references of public discourse into semantic knowledge content and made available for the whole of society beyond the socially limited horizon of the group itself.³⁴

A scientifically appropriate approach to and discussion about the Hungarian-German literature in a wider public arena may actually be able to lead to what the Hungarian-German minority is so eagerly seeking for: increased awareness for the minority and its culture, both outside and within the minority itself. The latter especially in regards to the improvement and development of a real sense of belonging and togetherness among the members of the minority that may encourage them to personal commitment within the manifold aspects of minority life such as literature, music, education, a.o.. After all, only a strong, authentic and vivid minority can withstand the danger of cultural homogenization and this continuity of cultural variety should ideally be of interest for both the German and the Hungarian studies.

Notes

¹ Chris Barker, *Cultural Studies. Theory and Practice* (SAGE, 2007), 159.

² *Ibid.*, 161.

³ Cf. Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. 4. Aufl. (München: Beck, 2002), 134f.

⁴ Assmann, 2002, 134. (Translation by the author.)

⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Die Erfindung der Nation. Zur Karriere eines folgenreichen Konzepts*. 2. Aufl. (Frankfurt/Main, New York: Campus-Verlag, 2005).

⁶ John C. Swanson, "Minority Building in the German Diaspora: The Hungarian-Germans." In *Austrian History Yearbook* 36 (2005), 149.

⁷ Swanson, 2005, 150.

⁸ Cf. Assmann, 2002, 132.

- ⁹ Brigitte Neumann, "Literatur als Medium (der Inszenierung) kollektiver Erinnerungen und Identitäten," in *Literatur, Erinnerung, Identität. Theoriekonzeptionen und Fallstudien*, ed. Astrid Erll, Marion Gymnich et al. (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2003), 52f. (Translation by the author.)
- ¹⁰ Cf. Neumann, 2003, 57.
- ¹¹ Paola Bozzi, *Der fremde Blick. Zum Werk Herta Müllers* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005), 30. (Translation by the author.)
- ¹² Cf. Árpád von Klimó, *Ungarn seit 1945* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 172.
- ¹³ The data is cited from Györgyi Bindorffer, *Változatok a kettős identitásra. Kisebbségi léhelyzetek és identitásalakzatok a magyarországi horvátok, németek, szerbek, szlovákok, szlovének körében* [Changes in Dual Identity. Minority Circumstances and Identity Formations among the Hungarian Croats, Germans, Serbs, Slovaks and Slovens] (Budapest: Gondolat; MTA Etnikai-nemzeti Kisebbségkutató Intézet, 2007), 10f.
- ¹⁴ Bindorffer, 2007, 8.
- ¹⁵ Zsuzsanna Gerner, "Zu Identitätskonzepten der Ungarndeutschen um die Jahrtausendwende: Abstammung – Sprache – Kultur," in *Literatur, Literaturvermittlung, Identität*, ed. Johann Schuth (Budapest: VUdAK 2004), 57. (Translated by the author.)
- ¹⁶ Wolfgang Aschauer, *Zur Produktion und Reproduktion einer Nationalität. Die Ungarndeutschen* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1992), 236f.
- ¹⁷ <http://www.nek.gov.hu/data/files/156899042.pdf> [Accessed 07 August 2012].
- ¹⁸ Bindorffer, 2007, 8f.
- ¹⁹ Cf. Bindorffer, 2007, 9.
- ²⁰ Cf. Maria Erb, "Sprachgebrauch der Ungarndeutschen: Geschichte – Tendenzen – Perspektiven," in *Deutsch als Fremd- und Minderheitensprache in Ungarn. Historische Entwicklung, aktuelle Tendenzen und Zukunftsperspektiven*, ed. Frank Kostrzewa and Roberta V. Rada (Baltmannsweiler: Schneider-Verl. Hohengehren, 2010), 137.
- ²¹ Norbert Spannenberger, "Die Lage der deutschen Minderheit in Ungarn im Spiegel des Minderheitengesetzes," in *Deutsche in Ungarn. Ungarn und Deutsche. Interdisziplinäre Zugänge*, ed. Frank Almai and Ulrich Fröschle (Dresden, Thelem, 2004), 59.
- ²² Gerner, 2004, 64f.
- ²³ Cf. Annamária Sasné Grósz, "Egységesezés vagy elkülönülés? Német nemzetiségi fiatalok helykeresése napjainkban" [Unification or Separation? The Search for Place among German Minority Youth Today], in *Ifjúsági jövőképek és életstratégiák globalizálódott korunkban. Tanulmánykötet* [Visions of the Future and Life Strategies in the Era of Globalisation. Collection of Essays], ed. Béla Beszteri (Komárom: MTA Veszprémi Területi Bizottság, 2009), 194.
- ²⁴ Susanne Breier, "Die ungarndeutsche Literatur und ihr Publikum," in *Ungarndeutsche Literatur der siebziger und achtziger Jahre. Eine Dokumentation*, ed. János Szabó and Johann Schuth (München u.a: Verl. des Südostdt. Kulturwerkes, 1991), 180.
- ²⁵ Gerner, 2004, 63.
- ²⁶ Eszter Propsz, Die ungarndeutsche Gegenwartsliteratur unter literatursoziologischem Aspekt. <http://www.inst.at/trans/3Nr/propsz.htm> [Accessed 27 May 2013].
- ²⁷ There is by now a fourth generation of even younger writers, but, apart from the author's own research, they have hardly found any recognition within the literary or academic field until now. For more information see: Erika Regner, "Die ungarndeutsche Literatur im 21. Jahrhundert" (Diplomarbeit. Univ. Wien, 2012).
- ²⁸ Eszter Propsz, "'Hol vagy, Balogh? Gyere ki, megöllek!' Avagy mi szükség a magyarországi német irodalomra?" ["Where are you, Balogh! Come out, I am going to kill you!" Or Why Do We Need Hungarian German Literature]. http://www.napkut.hu/naput_2008/2008_5/089.htm [Accessed 27 May 2013] (Translated by the author.)

- ²⁹ Alexander Ritter, "Germanistik ohne schlechtes Gewissen. Die deutschsprachige Literatur des Auslands und ihre wissenschaftliche Rezeption," in *Deutschsprachige Literatur im Ausland*, ed. Alexander Ritter (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 29.
- ³⁰ *Die andere deutsche Literatur, Istanbul Vorträge*, ed. Manfred Durzak and Nilüfer Kuruyazıcı et al. (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2004), 13.
- ³¹ Cf. Andreas Herzog, "Transkulturalität als Perspektive der Geschichtsschreibung deutschsprachiger Literatur," in *Wer mag wohl die junge, schwarzzügige Dame seyn? Zuordnungsfragen, Darstellungsprinzipien, Bewertungskriterien der deutsch(sprachigen) Literatur in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa*, ed. Werner Biechele and András F. Balogh (Budapest: Argumentum Verlag, 2002), 33.
- ³² Cf. Werner Biechele, "Deutschsprachige Literaturen des Auslands im Kontext einer interkulturellen Literaturwissenschaft," in Werner Biechele and András F. Balogh, *Wer mag wohl die junge, schwarzzügige Dame seyn? Zuordnungsfragen, Darstellungsprinzipien, Bewertungskriterien der deutsch(sprachigen) Literatur in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa* (Budapest: Argumentum Verlag, 2002), 22.
- ³³ Neumann, 2003, 50. (Translated by the author.)
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, 65. (Translated by the author.)

