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Language policies and language ideologies related to multilingualism: A case study of the Hungarian minority population in Szeklerland

PhD dissertation

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Abstract

This dissertation aims to investigate the educational language policies of minority Hungarian educational settings in Szeklerland and to trace aspects of language ideologies connected to these language policies in terms of multilingualism as conceived of by students, parents, teachers, school presidents and educational officials (Throop, 2007). The characteristics of multilingualism are explored with explicit focus on the Hungarian, Romanian and English language. The dissertation combines the theoretical framework of language policy and language ideologies as proposed by Spolsky (2004, 2007) and Shohamy (2006a), who conceive of the aforementioned linguistic fields to be interconnected to each other.

Chapter 1. Introduction: The aim of the research

In the present dissertation I aim to look at the language policies and language ideologies related to multilingualism in the educational context of the Hungarian minority population in Szeklerland. The motivation for the choice of the topic can be briefly summarized as follows. In recent decades it has become commonplace in European bilingual contexts to have more than two languages in the school curriculum and studies carried out to explore the characteristics of multilingual education are becoming more and more widespread. However, the number of research studies exploring multilingualism within the combined theoretical framework of language policies and language ideologies is still insignificant. The number of studies which aim to explore the phenomenon of multilingualism in Szeklerland, Romania, in the educational context of the Hungarian minority is even smaller. For instance, Kontra (1995: 20) argues that due to the fact that under communism it was taboo to speak about the issues of multilingualism, of ethnic identity and linguistic human rights in East-Central Europe, scholarly research on these problems was only being started in the middle of the 1990's. In addition, Kontra (2009: 93) also argues that even though a *laissez faire* language policy endangers the very existence of a minority, neither the Hungarian state, nor the minority Hungarian organizations of the neighboring countries have a systematic, rational and theoretically based language policy that could be implemented in the effort of changing the Hungarian language environment.

In response to this need, this case study has a twofold objective: on the one hand, it investigates the educational language policies of minority Hungarian educational settings in Szeklerland, and, on the other hand, it aims to trace aspects of language ideologies connected to these language policies in terms of multilingualism. More to the point, the present study attempts to explore the characteristics of multilingual language policy and language ideologies related to multilingualism with explicit focus on the second language of the Hungarian minority (Romanian) and one of the foreign languages in the Szeklerland Hungarian minority schools, English. Although it is not the aim of the present study to focus on the language policy and the language ideologies related to Hungarian, for means of comparison, there will be made reference to both the language policy and the language ideologies connected to the Hungarian language.

My research is a case study of multilingualism in the Szeklerland minority Hungarian educational context through the combination of the theoretical framework of language policy and language ideologies, along the lines of a new language policy

approach proposed by Spolsky (2004, 2007) and Shohamy (2006a), who conceive of the aforementioned linguistic fields to be interconnected to each other and as ones without which the deeper understanding of any language policy is less efficient. As part of this framework this dissertation sets out to determine the aspects of multilingualism as conceived of by students, parents, teachers, school presidents and other educational officials (Throop, 2007). Accordingly, the focus is on exploiting how the language ideologies of different actors of the educational system, as language policy mechanisms in connection with their second and foreign language(s), promote or discourage a multilingual language policy and multilingualism. Since it is among the aims of the study to uncover and explain language policy as it functions in everyday life, particular emphasis is paid to examining language ideologies as mechanisms or devices that are used by different educational institutions and their agents to perpetuate or challenge declared language policies.

This research was conducted in the context of the international LINEE (*Languages in a Network of European Excellence* 2006-2010, contract number 028388) Project, specifically its sub-project called *(Inter)-regional case studies of multilingual education* and has set out to survey and analyze educational models in multilingual settings in four regions: South Tyrol (Italy), Vojvodina (Serbia), Transylvania (Romania) and the Hungarian-inhabited region in southern Slovakia (Hungarian *Felvidék*). Our work package tackled four countries in terms of their educational systems, school results and multilingual school experience.

On the basis of the results of my empirical research I hope to be able to determine the features of multilingual language policy in Szeklerland, and to contribute to the development of Szeklerland Hungarians' positive attitude to multilingualism in which minority children have good training both in and through their second language and foreign languages. Also, through providing members of the educational system with information about the strengths and weaknesses of the present second and foreign language policy, as seen by those actors who are at the bottom and have day-to-day contact with the shortcomings of a system, I hope to help them judge the merits and the worth of policies and encourage them to initiate further modifications in both designing the most illuminating language policy theory, one that is in balance with their linguistic environment and the linguistic needs of the Hungarian minority, and in planning the most effective practice of implementation (Bassey, 1995: 22).

This dissertation consists of 7 main sections: chapter 2 comprises the sociolinguistic background of the Hungarian minority in Szeklerland and is subdivided into several subsections with the first three (2.1., 2.2., 2.3.) addressing Romania's state language policy, the status quo of teaching Hungarian as a first language in Szeklerland and the features of teaching and learning English as a foreign language, and one subsection (2.4.) proposing the research questions. Chapter 3 outlines the main aspects of the theoretical background that frames the present research including language policy, language ideologies and the relationship between language policy and language ideologies. Chapter 4 describes the methods used in the research, the data collection and data evaluation. Data analysis is presented in chapter 5. In chapters 6 and 7 the results and conclusions of the research are discussed. The appendix contains the interview questions, tables, a diagram and maps.

Chapter 2. Sociolinguistic background

2.1. Historical background

At the end of World War I, in 1920, the Trianon Peace Treaty brought about severe changes in the political and ethnic structure of Hungary and the neighboring countries: one of the changes was the ceding of Transylvania[1] to Romania (Köpeczi, 1988: 1731; Magocsi, 2002: 147, see Maps 1 and 2 in the Appendix). Hungarians living in Transylvania, therefore, became a minority in Romania.

During the communist regime, a twofold assimilationist policy was dominant in Transylvania. The migration of Romanians to Transylvania was a politically stimulated process. On the one hand, ethnically Romanian officials were appointed in the regions inhabited mostly by Hungarians. On the other hand, qualified Hungarians were transferred to purely Romanian villages and towns in Moldva and Muntenia, hundreds of kilometres away from their homes. As a consequence, Hungarians came to be underrepresented in the central and local administration of Romania. This systematic 'Romanianization' program and the migration of the Hungarian minority led to the decline of the proportion of the total population represented by Hungarians, both in Transylvania and in Romania (Köpeczi, 1988: 1745).

In the 1970s and the 1980s Hungarians were gradually deprived of the limited degree of autonomy they had been granted in the previous few decades, and this dramatically reduced, for example, the amount of Hungarian-language education available (Horváth and Scacco, 2001: 251).

At the end of the communist control in Eastern Europe, medium of instruction policies became an important element on the political, cultural and social agenda due to forces of globalization and ethnolinguistic nationalism (Tollefson, 2004: 263). In Romania, since the period of the post-communist transformation the political leaders of the Hungarian minority, called *The Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania*, have challenged the centralized nation-state policy of the Romanian government and have continuously demanded institutional guarantee for cultural reproduction. Thus, language use in educational context and in self-government has always been a central political issue between the representatives of the minority and the majority group (Csergo, 2007: 19, 58-59).

With the collapse of the communist regime in 1989, the Romanian state was confronted with the challenge of reforming the status of its minorities. Even though the fall of the communist regime provided new opportunities for minorities to reform their cultural, educational, and political life, challenges had to be faced first of all on the grounds of making Romanian politicians and policy-makers understand the importance of preserving the multi-ethnic and multilingual character of Romania (Horváth and Scacco, 2001: 252). The conflicts that were generated between Romanian and Hungarian politicians over language rights have transformed the ethnic issue in Romania into the Hungarian question. Consequently, all the decisions concerning minority language rights were determined by the shadow of the relationship between the Romanian and the Hungarian political elites.

2.2. Language policy: Language as a right, as a resource or as a problem

The aim of this chapter is to survey the ways in which the three languages in focus, that is, Hungarian, Romanian and English, can function as a right, as a resource or as a problem in Szeklerland Hungarians' life as an outcome of official regulations. Hence the title of the chapter: "Language policy: Language as a right, as a resource or as a problem".

2.2.1. Romanian

In this section I describe, with reference to the official documents and the most relevant scholarly publications[2], the ways in which some of the most important language rights of the Hungarian minority population in Szeklerland are being violated as manifested in education and in connection with Romanian, their second language. As such, with the aim of introducing the topic, I identify the main linguicist practices of the Romanian language policy as far as minority education is concerned. Afterwards, I describe in detail the discriminatory aspects of state language teaching with reference to two official documents, namely, the *Constitution* and the *Law on Education*. Third, I outline the terminological confusion that has existed for the *Romanian language and literature* subject. I also assess whether state language policy functions as a facilitator tool of Hungarians in Szeklerland becoming bilingual and whether Romanian language skills

function as mediums of comprehension or not. The section ends with the estimation of the recommendations for the modernization of state language policy.

As Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1999: 51) claim, it is possible to discriminate against people on the grounds of language and to deprive them of their linguistic human rights. Eastern Europe is one part of the world where the violation of linguistic human rights has been on the agenda for several decades. The violation of linguistic human rights is also manifested in education through the conflicts related to educational linguistic human rights (Kontra, 2003: 23). Examples of states that practice linguicist language policies, as highlighted by Kontra (2006c: 1814), are states neighboring Hungary, including Romania, which have exercised linguicist policies towards their Hungarian minorities. For instance, in Transylvania are when children are denied the right to be educated through the medium of their L1 (mother tongue) or when they have monolingual teachers who do not speak their L1 (Kontra, 2006a: 43) the linguistic human rights of minority Hungarians are being violated. Also, when minority children are expected to become fluent in an L2 even though their right to learn an L2 as a second language is not recognized, their rights to become bilingual are not guaranteed[3]. In a similar manner, when minority children cannot fully participate in education, and, thus, in intellectual development, since they are to learn certain school subjects through the medium of a language they do not possess (at all or well enough), their educational rights are not provided (Kontra, 2006a: 43). Kontra's statement is supported by Péntek (2009a), too, who argues that even though there have been several attempts to modernize the Romanian educational system, Romania's language policy[4] is still discriminatory in several aspects. For example, as far as the teaching of the state language is concerned, Romanian is to be taught to Hungarians as if it was their first language in all schools obligatorily, including schools where the main medium of instruction was other than Romanian. This regulation was originally designed for students with Romanian as a first language, but through its application to all students regardless of their mother tongue, several minority groups, including the Hungarian minority, are denied the right to learn Romanian according to their specific linguistic needs, that is, via a methodology of teaching Romanian as a second language. Below, I briefly discuss the drawbacks of this policy on the basis of the writings of several academics and with reference to legal documents.

At the moment the Romanian state does not have a comprehensive language legislation but its language policy is formulated as part of the legislation concerning the educational system and the public administration (Csergo, 2007: 57). As far as the rights of

minorities are concerned, the situation is the same. Even though the minorities of Romania have been calling for the adoption of a law on minorities since 1991 (Pataki, 2002: 265), minority rights are not regulated in separate laws but are part of other legislations (Horváth and Scacco, 2001: 255), namely, the *Constitution*[5] (1991) and the *Law on Education* (legislated in 1995, modified in 1999 and 2011). Also, minority rights are treated on the individual[6], not on a collective basis[7] (Horváth and Scacco, 2001: 253, Péntek and Benő, 2005: 96, Csergo, 2007: 60, Kukorelli, 1995). Horváth and Scacco (2001: 243) argue that due to the diversity of the minority groups[8] of Romania, Romanian policy makers should address the educational issues related to them in a distinct way. Also, authorities in charge of policy making should take into account the plurality of the challenges that each group has when they manage the problems relevant to each. As yet, Romania has failed to respond to this demand and its unitary and highly centralized policy irresponsibly merged the diversity of these challenging issues into one general view of the minority question (Horváth and Scacco, 2001: 244).

As Romania was planning to join the European Union, the questions of nation-building and language rights remained a relevant issue of international integration (Csergo, 2007: 3). On the international level Romania creates the image of a state that guarantees minority protection since it signed European legal documents that promote liberal minority policies (the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, ratified in 1994; the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, ratified in 1995; the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, ratified in 2008) and it promises to allocate priority to prescriptions of signed international legislation on human rights in case those are in contrast with the internal legislation of Romania (Horváth and Scacco, 2001: 254, Péntek and Benő, 2005: 108, Csergo, 2007: 85). Nevertheless, disharmony characterizes the seemingly tolerant and minority oriented legislation when it comes to implementation. Since signing these framework agreements have little, if any, effect on minority policy, Csergo (2007: 85) observes that Romania's government has the habit of saying one thing and doing another. In this sense, Romania clearly illustrates the case that it is only in case domestic interests comply with international goals that substantial change for the protection of minorities can succeed (Csergo, 2007: 21).

According to Article 1, Paragraph 1[9] of the *Constitution*, Romania is a sovereign, indivisible, unitary nation state with only one official language: Romanian[10] (Horváth and Scacco, 2001: 253-254; Benő and Szilágyi, 2005: 142; Péntek and Benő, 2005: 95), which,

as stated in Article 32, Paragraph 2[11], is also the language of the education in all grades[12] (Benő and Szilágyi, 2005: 142). Also, as stated in Article 8, Paragraph 3[13] of the *Law on Education*, it is obligatory to learn Romanian (Norel, 2008: 62). As such, Romania creates the image of a sovereign monolingual nation state[14] (Horváth and Scacco, 2001: 255). The relationship between the individuals and the state is defined on the basis of ethnicity and culture (Horváth and Scacco, 2001: 254). Article 4, Paragraph 2[15] of the *Constitution* emphasizes that all citizens of Romania should be treated equally regardless of their nationality (Horváth and Scacco, 2001: 254). Also, Article 6, Paragraph 1[16] of the *Constitution* prescribes that minorities are granted the right to preserve, develop and express their ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious identities[17] (Horváth and Scacco, 2001: 254). Some of the Articles of the *Law on Education* (modified in 1999 and 2011), a law which tolerates mother tongue medium education of the minorities in Romania (Péntek and Benő, 2005: 96), impose certain restrictions which trespass the support guaranteed to minorities in the *Constitution*. For instance, the principle of equality is not addressed on the mother tongue basis but on the basis of the official (and obligatory, as already indicated above) language of the state, that is, Romanian (Péntek, 2009a: 79). As a matter of fact, Article 32, Paragraph 3[18] of the *Constitution* is discriminatory since it does not even mention *limba maternă* 'mother tongue' in relation to ethnic Romanians but only in relation to ethnic minorities (Kontra and Szilágyi, 2002; Fóris-Ferenczi and Péntek, 2011: 118). The *Law on Education*, Article 26, Paragraph 4[19] states, for example, that secondary education students, regardless of their ethnic status, take their final examinations in *Romanian language and literature*[20], and, in addition to that, minority students can take an examination in their mother tongue (Kontra and Szilágyi, 2002).[21] Furthermore, Article 120, Paragraph 1[22] of the 1995 *Law on Education* (modified in 1999 and 2011) prescribes that teaching *Romanian language and literature* in minority schools, with the exception of the primary level, is to take place according to the curricula and textbooks prepared for students whose mother tongue is Romanian (Benő and Szilágyi, 2005: 143).[23] That is to say, the number of hours dedicated to and the curricula and textbooks used for teaching and learning *Romanian language and literature* are identical in all the schools of the Romanian state regardless of the medium of instruction of the school (Benő and Szilágyi, 2005: 143; Dégi, 2008: 178). In a similar manner, minority students' performance in *Romanian language and literature* examinations (at the end of the first phrase of secondary school and in the school leaving examination) is to be evaluated according to the evaluation grid designed along the Romanian as a first language perspective (Horváth,

2008a: 39). Romanians argued that the public education system needed to remain unitary and centralized[24] since it serves national interests and the future of the state rests on it (Csergo, 2007: 158). Put another way, graduation examinations in *Romanian language and literature* require that minority students master the Romanian language at the same level as their counterparts whose mother tongue is Romanian. As a matter of fact, to pass the baccalaureate after secondary education Hungarian students have to acquire nativelike proficiency in the majority language (Csergo, 2007: 178).

All in all, it is exactly those two official documents of Romania (*Constitution* and *Law on Education* 1995, modified in 1999 and 2011) which regulate the educational system that created a paradoxical situation in which learning the Romanian language as the only official language of the state is paralyzed (Péntek, 2009a: 79; Fóris-Ferenczi and Péntek, 2011: 118). Obviously, these laws are motivated by political and ideological considerations rather than sound pedagogical theory and the purpose of social integration for the minority groups of Romania. They have little if anything to do with what constitutes good education or an adequate linguistic preparation for future life.

Concerning the implementation of such a bilingual language policy, several authors have reflected upon its unsatisfactory outcomes as far as the development of Hungarian-Romanian bilingualism is concerned. To start with, Tódor (2008b)[25] considers that there is a high level of uncertainty concerning the use of terminology[26] referring to teaching Romanian in minority language, specifically, Hungarian-medium schools. This uncertainty, as Tódor understands, is reflected in the name of the field itself, too, being referred to as, for example, the methodology of teaching Romanian as a foreign language, as a second language, as an adopted language, as the language of social communication, as non-mother tongue, environmental language, the language of social communication and, more recently, personally adopted language. Péntek (2011: 23) considers that authorities mystify the terminology of state language teaching (which goes as: the Romanian language is the *state* language so it can *not* be a *foreign* language and it can not be taught as a foreign language and, as such, it can not and it should be not taught, italics in the original) on purpose and, as a result, this way of approaching the terminological uncertainty has become a stereotypical way of thinking. Similarly, Kontra (2009: 89-90) mentions that the terminological confusion that exists in the present political discourse on how the Romanian language should be taught in (Hungarian) minority schools is one of the sources of ethnic conflict between the Hungarians and Romanians. Horváth (2008: 52) elucidates that in the language planning literature the concept foreign language refers neither to the political, nor

to the legal status of any of the languages concerned. In contrast, it refers to, first, its actual presence in the linguistic environment of the person who is to learn a specific language, and, second, to the utility and functions of a certain language that a person aims to learn. As far as the Hungarian minority population in Romania is concerned, Horváth (2008: 52) outlines that for more than half of the students Romanian is not an ever-present element of either their language environment or their communication situations. For instance, in Covasna/Kovászna county 73.8% and in Harghita/Hargita county 84.6% of the total population are Hungarians. In contrast, in Mureş/Maros county this proportion is 39.3%, it is 19.8% in Cluj/Kolozs county and 8.7% in Braşov/Brassó county. Indeed, he infers, the Romanian language is used by minority Hungarian students in relatively few communication situations in Covasna/Kovászna and Harghita/Hargita counties.[27] Thus, in case of this category of the minority Hungarian population, it cannot be said that the Romanian language dominates the linguistic environment. For this reason, the Romanian language cannot be considered to be a second language for these students since there is no actual language environment that allows it. Under these circumstances informal learning of the Romanian language is quite improbable.

In the hope of solving the conflict of the terminological confusion for the *Romanian language and literature* subject, Tódor (2008b) recommends the use of the term *non-mother tongue* for teaching this subject in minority schools since this, in her view, emphasizes the fact that in the minority educational system the acquisition of the Romanian language is different from it being taught and learnt as a mother tongue, and, also, this term highlights alternation in comparison to the Romanian as a first language perspective. In comparison, Norel (2008: 70) recommends the use of the Romanian term *limbă personală de adopţie* 'personally adopted language' for two reasons. First, in her view this term mirrors the official status of the Romanian language in Romania. In addition to this, in Norel's interpretation it also shows the attitude of the speaker towards the language.

Both Tódor (2005a, 2005b, 2008a) and Péntek (2003: 14-15) argue that even though in Hungarian-medium schools *Romanian language and literature* is a compulsory subject of instruction for 12 years and, in addition, Romanian is the medium of instruction of other subjects such as *The Geography of Romania* or *The History of Romania*,[28] it does not necessarily function as a language of comprehension, and, as such, Szeklerland minority Hungarian students are either monolingual Hungarians or develop asymmetrical bilingualism[29] with dominant linguistic competence in the mother tongue. Students'

Romanian language skills are so underdeveloped that they fail their final examinations at the end of the 8th grade (Kontra, 2006b[30]) and other examinations (Horváth, 2008a: 53; Péntek, 2011: 24). For instance, in 2007 at the school examinations organized in May for the 8th graders, 70.82% successfully took the examination. The lowest results were recorded in Harghita/Hargita county where only 44.43% of the students were successful in taking the examination. The results of the other Hungarian majority county, Covasna/Kovászna, were a bit higher, with 59.09% of successful examinations (Horváth, 2008a: 57, citing Biroul de Presa al MEdCT [MEdCT Press Office]). The causes of this failure are explained by Horváth's results (2005: 177-179). Based on research that measured the bilingualism of a representative sample[31] of Hungarians in Romania through a self-assessment grid,[32] he claims that in Szeklerland 13.5% of the respondents considered themselves to be monolingual Hungarians, 39.4% considered they were passive Hungarian-Romanian bilinguals with Hungarian as the dominant language, 29.6% considered themselves to be active bilinguals with Hungarian as the dominant language, 16.9% were ambilinguals, and 0.6% considered themselves to be bilinguals with Romanian as a dominant language.[33] This suggests that the language policy of teaching Romanian in minority schools is much below being effective in the development of Hungarian-Romanian bilingualism.[34] What is even more discouraging is that in many cases even after 8 years of secondary education (at the end of the 12th grade) Hungarians cannot speak Romanian as correctly and fluently as could be expected (Szilágyi, 1998; Benő and Szilágyi, 2005: 143).

Even though the great majority of the Hungarian population is aware of the official status of the Romanian language in Romania, and, as such, understands the importance of speaking Romanian (Horváth, 2002: 149), there is a detectable sense of resistance towards its learning exactly due to the constant failures that the Hungarian population experiences in formal education. Secondly, the manner of promotion of the Romanian language is considered to be coercive by many (Horváth, 2008a: 54).

As has already been mentioned, several Hungarian linguists and authors[35] have argued for the modernization of the methodology of state language teaching[36] in Szeklerland minority Hungarian schools (Csergo, 2007: 165). For example, Balázs (2007) and Péntek and Szilágyi (2009) addressed the Romanian Ministry of Education in official petitions in which they analyzed the shortcomings of the present-day language policy and proposed recommendations for its correction. As indicated by Péntek and Szilágyi (2009), without the curricula and textbooks that address teaching the Romanian language as a non-

mother tongue and qualified teachers who are trained to teach the Romanian language as a means of communication, state language teaching in Romania remains unsuccessful. Péntek and Szilágyi's suggestions for the teaching of the Romanian language in minority schools include: (a) all the minorities in Romania should have a separate curriculum for teaching and learning the Romanian language, (b) curricula for teaching the Romanian language in minority schools should focus more on the development of communicative competence, (c) curricula should clearly reflect the fact that learning *Romanian language and literature* (a school subject) is not the same in schools which have Romanian as the medium of instruction (and where this subject is the study of mother tongue language and literature) and schools which have a minority language of instruction, where the study of this school subject is the study of the language and literature of a non-mother tongue, (d) new textbooks should be written which incorporate the recommendations listed above. Horváth (2008a, 2008b) suggests that a new policy should be developed which would incorporate, first, a focus on the development of communicative competence, second, the enrichment of those registers of the vocabulary that enable students to effectively communicate in everyday life situations,[37] and, third, would also consider the influence of the linguistic context on informal language learning possibilities. On the basis of the result of the international LINEE Project (*Languages in a Network of European Excellence*) carried out between 2006 and 2010, Dégi (2008) assumes that in minority Hungarian schools *Romanian language and literature* should be taught by Hungarian-Romanian bilingual language teachers who are qualified for teaching the language as a means of communication. Norel (2008: 65) and Péntek (2011: 16) consider that since the Romanian and the Hungarian languages represent two different language families, the particular linguistic aspects of the two languages are also relevant and should be taken into consideration. In a similar matter, Tódor (2005b) and Dégi (2008: 180) emphasize that the first language of the students should also be taken into consideration since this, first, would enable comparison between the mother tongue and the second language, and, second, it would encourage students to conceive of their mother tongue as a previous linguistic experience that can function as a rich source of further language learning. Last but not least, the mother tongue of the students should be viewed as a major element of the development of their plurilingual competence. Péntek (2009a: 80; 2009b: 174) draws attention to the fact that there should also be space for alternative curricula that would have different educational goals designed on the basis of the language level and the special linguistic needs of Hungarian mother tongue students. The correction of the above listed

educational absences would constitute a first step of responding to the linguistic needs of the Hungarian minority and would create an appropriate context for the development of an educational environment where interactive and communication oriented state language learning could take place (Dégi, 2008; Tódor, 2005b).

In short, the need for the reconceptualization of bilingual education, both at the level of curriculum and instructional practice, has to be recognized.

2.2.2. Hungarian

Even though it is not within the primary aims of this dissertation to explore the language policy and language ideologies of either the Romanian state or the Szeklerland Hungarian population towards the Hungarian language, it is important to briefly summarize the characteristics of its educational status in order to clarify how the Hungarian language shapes the multilingualism of Szeklerland Hungarians.

Regarding education, one of the most important language planning challenges that need to be addressed are connected to the choice of languages that can be used as mediums of instructions (Tollefson, 2008: 3). One of the most powerful tools of implementing language policies aimed at language maintenance and revitalization is medium of instruction (Fishman and Fishman, 2000) since this is a major determinant in the availability of the political and economic opportunities that social and linguistic groups have (Tsui and Tollefson, 2004: 2). As a matter of fact, medium-of-instruction policy functions as a key factor in the (re)distribution of power and in the (re)construction of society (Tsui and Tollefson, 2004: 2). As such, it becomes the site of the realization of the political conflicts of countries, linguistic, social and political groups (Tsui and Tollefson, 2004: 2). Because of this, in many cases medium-of-instruction policy justifies the promotion or the prohibition of the use of certain languages as dictated by the political, economic and social interests of the group it aims to serve (Tsui and Tollefson, 2004: 2). Often, the tension between the educational and political interests ends with solutions that protect political, economic and social interests instead of educational ones (Tsui and Tollefson, 2004: 2). Since medium-of-instruction policy cannot be separated from the net of the political, economic and social agenda, due to the reasons listed above, it is necessary that the interpretation of medium-of-instruction policies be situated in its sociopolitical context (Tsui and Tollefson, 2004: 3, 283). In what follows, the dissertation highlights the processes through which Hungarian-medium education became the site of conflict in

Romania. I will briefly discuss how the discourse of opportunity and equality of the *Constitution* and the *Law on Education* (1995, modified in 1999 and 2011) hides policies of discrimination and language political acts that block the Hungarian minority from access to education and employment.

As understood by Péntek (2003: 11), the Hungarian minority policy in Romania aspires to receive equal rights in public education in Hungarian at all levels of education, to ensure the rights for the use of Hungarian in all spheres of public life and, last but not least, to raise the prestige of the Hungarian language. Besides these, Csergo (2007: 186) holds that the formation of a national elite in all professions is also a very substantial challenge which needs to be answered since its positive resolution would contribute to the reproduction and maintenance of the Hungarian population in Romania. Additionally, Csergo (2007: 188) asserts that the foundation of an independent minority Hungarian school system[38] is necessary since this could be a site of socialization where Hungarian students use their mother tongue and can learn the majority language in order to develop a type of bilingualism with Hungarian as primary language and Romanian as second channel of communication in the broader society. Last but not least, Péntek (2009a) and Fóris-Ferenczi and Péntek (2011: 110) highlight that the most relevant condition of teaching *Hungarian Language and Literature* in minority schools is the founding of a professional association[39] which is in charge of investigating the shortcomings of the present system and of proposing measures which would open the ways of improvement in the field.

Regarding the history of the Hungarian education system in Romania[40], there are three main periods: the one before the communist regime, the one during the communist regime, and the one after the collapse of the communist regime in Romania. The educational system created after World War II ensured Hungarian-medium education from the primary to the university level[41] (Benő and Szilágyi, 2005: 139). However, ever since the Ceauşescu dictatorship started in the 1960s, the Hungarian education system has been strongly influenced by its relationship with the political elite of the country. Since the Hungarian minority politics in Romania challenged the majority political actors' rights of titularity and sovereignty (maintained and reproduced through a state form that was based on the unity of one territory, one nation and one language) the public education system became an institution of political significance (Csergo, 2007: 146-147). The two groups had different and most of the time opposing approaches to the issue of language and education (Csergo, 2007: 147). The aim of the nationalist majority was to sustain a unitary, highly centralized system of education which socializes the members of the minority into

the majority language and culture (Csergo, 2007: 147). The content of education, and, most importantly, teaching a unitary national canon, including national literature, historiography and geography, were of utmost importance in this process aimed at consolidating the interests of a unitary nation state (Csergo, 2007: 147).[42] However, in the case of minorities whose social, religious and other traditions draw sharp boundaries between their culture and language and that of the majority group, language shift (was and) is resisted consistently (Csergo, 2007: 147). The claims of the Hungarian minority in Romania referring to the aim of maintaining schools that assure the community authority of the Hungarian language in education, which represents an institutional guarantee for cultural reproduction, (was and) is evident proof of the objective of resisting language shift (Csergo, 2007: 147). As a matter of fact, community authority in education, or, in other words, minority control over minority educational matters, is a tool of language maintenance that draws self-imposed boundaries between the language of the minority community and that of the dominant group. Nevertheless, it should be clear that the boundaries drawn by the Hungarian minority to resist the assimilationist policy of the Romanian state were (and are) not aimed at refusing a public education system which aims to integrate minority students in the Romanian society (Csergo, 2007: 148). Hungarians held (and still hold) that a bilingual form of education with Hungarian as medium of instruction and the state language taught as non-mother tongue was (and is) a reasonable means of the integration of the Hungarian minority in the mainstream Romanian society (Csergo, 2007: 148). In contrast, the majority group aimed to establish an educational system that gradually introduced the majority language in the minority education system, expanded its dominance as a medium of instruction, and, in parallel, strictly constrained the use of the minority language in secondary education and totally excluded it from higher education (Csergo, 2007: 148). Accordingly, the content and language of secondary and higher education (including admission tests) became an important debate between the minority and the majority (Csergo, 2007: 148).

During the communist regime in Romania, even though it guaranteed minorities the right to learn and to be educated in their mother tongue, Romanian nationalists hardly supported the establishment of the Hungarian education system and of other cultural institutions. Accordingly, during the communist regime one of the aims of the nationalist majority elite was to constrain the use of the minority language in all spheres of education, to abolish the minority institutional background and to compel minority students to shift to the use of the majority language (Péntek, 1999: 56). A major tool of implementation of this

objective was the total exclusion or strict limitation of Hungarian medium instruction in secondary level professional and vocational schools, and the exclusion of the Hungarian language from higher education institutions (Csergo, 2007: 30). As such, it has been years since no university level training exists in Hungarian for several professions such as, for example, administrative, agricultural and technical fields. The fact that Hungarian-medium higher education has been absent for several decades in Romania appears in the 1992 census in that the percentage of Hungarians who had a university degree was only 3.57% in contrast to the ratio of Romanians, which was 5.34% (Benő and Szilágyi, 2005: 140). The only exceptions to this were medical schools and teacher training institutions. One outcome of this policy is that, for example, in Szeklerland Hungarian mother tongue teachers rejected the possibility of teaching vocational school subjects in Hungarian due to the fact that they do not possess the necessary professional terminology in Hungarian (Péntek, 2003: 14-15; Fóris-Ferenczi and Péntek, 2011: 117). To facilitate the language shift of the Hungarian students (and population) to the Romanian language, in the mid- to late 1980s (the last years of the Ceaucescu regime) several thousand Romanian mother tongue teachers were sent to Hungarian-medium schools to teach various school subjects in Romanian. The knowledge and skills of these teachers in the culture and language of the minority students were extremely limited or, more frequently, non-existent (Péntek, 1999: 12). In a similar manner, thousands of Hungarian mother tongue graduates were forced to take jobs in monolingual Romanian regions. This was also part of the planned and strictly implemented acts of assimilation of the Romanian state (Cocora, 2002: 46).[43] As Csergo (2007: 28-29) asserts, in Romania nationalism remained a highly influential principle throughout the communist era.

Even though in the post-communist era a process of redefinition of the relationship between the majority and the minorities started, it had, unfortunately, been organized as bound by practice of national sovereignty (Csergo, 2007: 31). Nevertheless, after the fall of the communist dictatorship in 1989 the Romanian education system underwent change which had a favorable influence on the Hungarian educational institutions since the possibility to receive Hungarian-medium education increased at all levels of schooling (Benő and Szilágyi, 2005: 139). The number of institutions which aimed to reestablish minority Hungarian language planning also increased (Péntek, 2003: 17). As a result, the number of students in higher education grew from 164,507 in 1990 to 407,613 in 1999 (Benő and Szilágyi, 2005: 139). The 1995 *Law on Education* (modified in 1999 and 2011) made possible the education through the medium of Hungarian from kindergarten to

university. Nevertheless, the legislative framework for the protection of minority education was not completely minority friendly. For instance, the regulations of the 1995 *Law on Education* (modified in 1999 and 2011) had several restrictions on minorities. This law prescribed the mandatory study of the Romanian language and of certain subjects in Romanian, while, in many cases, the study of the minority language was made possible "only under the conditions of the law" and upon request (Csergo, 2007: 146-158). Through this, the supremacy of the Romanian language was legitimized again (Bakó, 2008: 163). In addition, the Romanian government expressed the view that the centralized structure[44] of the public educational system constituted one of the pillars of a future state that served national interests and, accordingly, it needed to stay as centralized as possible. A system of inspectorates was created in order to have total control and oversight of the complete educational planning of the Hungarian minority (Csergo, 2007: 158-159). Those in charge of educational language planning and policy were not necessarily the ones with suitable professional backgrounds for designing and implementing minority language policies (Péntek, 1999: 13). Nor did they necessarily represent the educational priorities of the Hungarian minority. Thus, during the years several obstacles came to restrict the operation of an educational system that had already had several weak points as far as effective functioning was concerned. For example, after the gradual abolishment of the Hungarian-medium university education from the late 1960s on, Hungarians who wanted to continue their studies in higher education had no choice but to go to state universities where the training programs, such as those qualifying doctors, engineers, teachers, were organized in Romanian only (Péntek, 1999: 13). As a result, these intellectuals had no choice in getting familiar with the discipline specific terminology in Hungarian. After the fall of the communist regime, when Hungarian-medium secondary and university level education was reintroduced, the Hungarian professionals of the field realized that they were expected to teach in Hungarian even though they were not familiarized with the terminology of the field. These absences resulted in two further problems. The designed textbooks were very poor translations and had an inconsistent terminology, which teachers in Szeklerland refused to teach (Péntek, 2003: 15). Even though there were inconsistencies, the use of these textbooks in secondary education started. In addition, the Romanian state forbade the supervision of translations and the use of any Hungarian textbooks published in Hungary. Similarly, there was a total absence of field specific dictionaries in Hungarian (Péntek, 2003: 18-19). Kontra (2010: 113-115) states that book editors and publishers show considerable irresponsibility when publishing textbooks for minority Hungarian schools in

Romania that are not only weak translations of textbooks written in Romanian, but also contain spelling mistakes. He also underlines that since the Romanian law allows that Hungarian schools use textbooks written in Hungarian, the problem of the poor quality of textbooks is the responsibility of the Hungarian textbook market in Romania. According to Kontra's view, since the issue of textbooks has an influential role in minority students' future life, the most reasonable solution in solving the problem of textbooks would be a careful cooperation between the minority Hungarian teachers and the teachers in Hungary.

As far as learning Hungarian language and literature is concerned, one of the major challenges was, and still is, the lack of qualified teachers and the lack of teaching resources (Péntek, 1999: 38). In addition, the existent textbooks' exquisite focus on high level belletristic literature analysis leaves no space for presenting the mother tongue as the main language of communication of Hungarians, as the symbol of culture and as the primary tool of content based learning (Péntek, 2003: 20-21). This challenge was partly the result of the centralized language policy that did not allow the use of alternative educational programs and of textbooks which were designed to respond to the linguistic needs of a certain type of minority community[45] located in urban or rural settlements where they are the local-minority (Péntek uses the Hungarian term *szórvány* 'diaspora') or in settlements where they are the local-majority, like the Szekler people in Szeklerland (Péntek, 1999: 24). The need for the use of alternative textbooks is also supported by the fact that the minority language was regionalized and underwent certain changes in the different spheres of language. For example, in a mostly monolingual Romanian environment the minority language is characterized by the use of many borrowings and loanwords. However, in mostly monolingual Hungarian regions, ones that are isolated from the regions where standard Hungarian is spoken, the minority language became very archaic. As such, the minority language and literature textbooks, which aim to teach the Hungarian standard, would also have to apply different methodology and, even more important, to deal with region specific challenges such as how to make students use Hungarian words instead of loanwords (Péntek, 1999: 24, 28-30, 49-50; 2009a: 77). Another problem is that there is an exclusive focus on high level literary analysis while there is almost no attention given to the importance of mother tongue as a means of everyday communication, to the influence that society bears on language, or to the differences between the vernacular and the standard forms of a language (Péntek, 2009a: 77).

The problem of textbooks is related to the type of bilingualism of the Hungarian population in Romania, which is shaped by the ethnic composition of the region they live

in. First, there are regions where the Hungarian population outnumbers the Romanian population and where the Hungarian population lives in blocks (e.g., in Szeklerland). In this case minority Hungarians are either bilinguals with Hungarian as their dominant language and have low proficiency in the state language or monolinguals in case of which they do not speak any other languages besides their mother tongue. Second, there is what has been called the diaspora,[46] that is, regions where the proportion of the Hungarian population is much lower than that of the Romanian population, below 15%, and in which case subtractive bilingualism or language shift are the dominant linguistic features of the Hungarian population (Péntek, 2003: 14-15; Csergo, 2007: 166). Among the main reasons of the latter case are, first, ethnically mixed marriages, where parents do not consider it important to teach their children Hungarian, and, second, labeling Hungarian as a low prestige language that does not contribute to success at university studies or competitiveness on the labor market. In many cases, such a perspective on the Hungarian language results in Hungarians perceiving it as an extra burden in education and enrolling Hungarian mother tongue students in Romanian medium schools (Péntek, 2003: 15-16). Third, there are regions where the proportion of the Hungarian population is between 15 and 50%, like, for example Satu Mare/Szatmár. Accordingly, the variety in the typology of Hungarian populated regions indicates and supports the need for decentralization in minority language policy and the reconceptualization of the implementation of language policy goals.

All in all, since two decades passed when the Hungarian minority in Romania had no chance to design context appropriate language policies for the maintenance of the Hungarian language and culture, the restrictions imposed by the Romanian state and the ad-hoc (but, still, better than nothing) resolutions of the Hungarian authorities seriously damaged the institutional background of both the Hungarian language and culture. Similarly to the problem of teaching Romanian as a second language in Hungarian-medium schools which enroll Hungarian mother tongue students, the question of teaching Hungarian and through the medium of Hungarian according to carefully designed language policies which respond to the linguistic needs of a certain type of Hungarian community requires serious reconsideration.

2.2.3. Foreign language learning

The aim of teaching and learning foreign languages in the past used to provide access to the thinking and art of dead civilizations (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 21). As such, the teaching of classical languages such as Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Sanskrit took place through the methods of grammar-translation (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 21). Today, teaching and learning foreign languages aim to facilitate international communication and, as such, is more concerned with the development of communicative competence. Nevertheless, much of the teaching of foreign languages has come to happen in a language environment where there is actually no speech community which would be able to support the language in practice (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 22). The term *foreign languages* denotes languages that are not spoken within the polity (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 24).

As far as second and foreign language learning are concerned, the European Union encourages its member states to develop their own language policies, promote cooperation between member states on matters of multilingualism, and encourage all its citizens to be multilingual. Also, the European Union considers linguistic diversity, multiculturalism and mobility to be fundamental values within the EU (Extra and Gorter, 2008: 38; House, 2008: 63).

While several modern languages, such as German and French, receive much support from language institutions (e.g., the Goethe Institute, Organisation internationale de la Francofonie, etc.) to encourage, support and promote the learning of these languages as foreign languages, in the global arena English is on the rise as a lingua franca and is widely used not only on the institutional level, but also on the level of public and interpersonal communication (Extra and Gorter, 2008: 3, 11-13; House, 2008). In the international hierarchy of the constellation of languages, English occupies the top position. That is, it functions as a lingua franca for transnational communication. This position is followed by official state languages in the second place, while regional minority languages and immigrant languages occupy the third and the fourth position (Extra and Gorter, 2008: 3). The dominance of English is at the cost of many other state languages in Europe, such as German and French (Extra and Gorter, 2008: 8). Nevertheless, it is used by a considerable number of people out of their own free will since it is a language "with the currently widest communicative range" (House, 2008: 68).

There are three types of foreign language programs in Romania. The first is the one which offers learning programs through the medium of a foreign language. Such programs

function in the elite institutions in Bucharest, the capital of Romania. The second type of program functions as a special program of schools and offers foreign language learning in a high number of hours. The third kind of program is the regular program with a certain number (usually 2 or 3) of hours dedicated to foreign language learning (Péntek, 2009a: 82).

The lack of qualified teaching personnel for all the six foreign languages that are taught at present in Romania is quite serious. As far as the number of qualified teachers[47] of English is concerned, out of the total number of teachers of English 59.70% are qualified while 23.77% are unqualified (according to data listed in Table 1, the remaining 16.53% have other qualifications). The percentage of qualified Spanish teachers is much higher, 87.87% with only 5.23% not being qualified out of the total number of 1,261 (Ministry of National Education, 2000). As far as the lowest number of qualified teachers of a foreign language is concerned, Russian has the weakest position with 55.02% of the total number of 40,269 Russian teachers being qualified and 24.26% being not qualified (Ministry of National Education, 2000).

Rural areas[48] are clearly disadvantaged regarding the lack of qualified teaching personnel. While the percentage of qualified teachers of English in urban areas is 68.95%, it is only 19.6% in the rural areas. The situation is the worst as far as the number of qualified language teachers working in the rural areas is concerned. Naturally, the absence of qualified (language) teachers influences the quality of the educational processes, too. In comparison and in contrast with English, the best position is occupied by the Spanish as foreign language teachers among whom 82.35% are qualified in rural areas and 88.02% are qualified in urban areas.

As far as the curriculum for foreign language learning in the "regular program" is concerned, in secondary schools students learn the first foreign language in 2 to 4 classes per week, while the second foreign language is being taught in 1 to 2 classes per week depending on the profile of the program. Most students have English as first foreign language and German, French, Italian or Spanish as second foreign languages. There are some schools that offer intensive language learning programs where the first foreign language, which is in almost all cases English, is taught in up to 5 or 6 hours per week. The teaching materials used in the English classes are published by international publishers such as Cambridge University Press, Macmillan, Oxford University Press, Longman, etc. However, there is a limited number of books that are approved of by the Ministry of Education as books that students can get free of charge. As such, teachers can either use

the books included in this list or ask students to buy the books themselves. The British Council gives a considerable amount of help in this matter. Since the financial opportunities of most of the students are quite limited, in most of the cases the free books are chosen and the teachers try to use as much photocopied material as possible as additional material. The absence of free textbooks is further compensated by the services of schools and county libraries that are also quite well equipped with materials that aim to develop English language skills. In addition, schools with intensive English language learning programs are in contact with international organizations that send English native speakers to teach in schools that apply for this. The presence of native speaker English teachers is said to considerably contribute to students' development of communication skills in English (Phillipson, 1992). As far as teacher training is concerned, both the Ministry of Education and the British Council organizes workshops and courses where teachers can improve their language proficiency and knowledge of EFL methodology.

A substantial part of the challenges related to foreign language learning in Szeklerland derives from the absence of a necessary number of foreign language lessons in schools and the lack of qualified professionals, mainly in rural areas (Péntek, 2009a: 82). The choice of foreign language is usually related to the availability of language teachers in the school (Péntek, 2009a: 82). In many cases the unavailability of language teachers leads to several switches in a student's foreign language learning history and, accordingly, it decreases the level of proficiency a student ends up with at the end of their secondary education (Péntek, 2009a: 82). Even so, foreign language learning started to prosper after 2000 and several kindergartens, schools, language schools have opened that offer foreign language teaching (Péntek, 2009a: 82). Mobility in the labor market, language certificates as conditions of entry into higher education, and the increase in foreign relations constitute the most important motivations for foreign language learning including English, French, German, Spanish, Italian,[49] etc. (Péntek, 2009a: 82).

The number of scholarly studies which measure Szeklerland Hungarian students' skills in foreign languages on the basis of the Common European Framework of Reference is just as low as the ones which assess their Romanian language skills. Only one study can be mentioned, namely Tódor (2008b). The results of this study reveal that, according to the respondents' view,[50] the main factor that inhibits the development of language skills in English is the absence of a language environment where the spontaneous practice of the language would be possible.[51] The same study indicates a high level of consciousness of

the great importance of both English and Romanian language competence as far as social integration and educational success are concerned.[52]

2.3. Language ideologies

Empirical research exploring the personal perception of local inhabitants and conducted along the theoretical lines of language ideologies is extremely limited in Transylvania[53]. In fact, besides the research conducted by Laihonen (2001; 2004; 2006; 2008) in Banat/Bánát, studies by Csergo (2007) and Dégi (2008) in Transylvania (Mureş/Maros county), and the investigation initiated by Kiss in Szeklerland (the results of which are presented in this dissertation), there are no empirical studies that investigate the language ideologies of any of the ethnic groups of the Transylvanian region.

In his studies Laihonen (2001; 2004; 2006; 2008) combines the analytical framework of language ideologies and conversation analysis to explore, through means of interview data, how the Hungarian and German inhabitants of the multicultural region of Banat/Bánát perceive multilingualism. In addition, he contrasts the view of the local inhabitants (ordinary people) with that of the educated elite. In order to do this, he analyzes contemporary academic publications from Romania, Hungary and Germany. According to Laihonen, the views and language ideologies presented on Banat/Bánát in the intellectual writings most of the time diverge from the perspectives of the local people, while convergence is less frequent. For example, these writings depict the region as one that gives space to languages in competition and in conflict. In general, the results of the study indicate that multilingualism is conceived of as a positive phenomenon and is often described as a symbol of tolerance. In contrast, monolingualism is perceived as malevolent and characteristic of people who do not want to learn the language of the co-habitants. In relation to the Hungarian language the study shows that the local people of Banat/Bánát give little instrumental value to it. As far as the Romanian language is concerned, it is considered to be the official language which should be learnt by everyone. The German language, in contrast to Hungarian, has high prestige and is considered to be part of Hungarian national identity.

Csergo (2007) presents, on the basis of official documents, literature and the conversations between the author and members of the Hungarian and Romanian intellectual communities in Romania, how the ideology of national languages shapes the politics of language use, language rights granted for the Hungarian minority in Romania,

the issue of minority-majority division and conflict. Her study demonstrates that, in spite of Romania's integration into the European community, the ideology of nationalism is strongly manifested in the territorial nation state model. Because of this, she claims, nationalism is reproduced in the political, social and educational organization of the national majority and minority through the notion of linguistic territoriality[54] as being manifested in the way the majority and minority define language as representing culture and as a marker of ownership over their national homelands.

Dégi's (2008) study explores the language ideologies of minority Hungarian speakers towards the state language, Romanian. She concludes that the respondents of her study[55] defined the Romanian language as in contrast with their mother tongue, Hungarian, and they labeled it as a *foreign* language. Dégi's respondents' interpretation of the term *foreign* suggests that the Romanian language is referred to as *foreign* in the sense that it is neither a mother tongue, nor a language of private communication. However, it is not defined either as a foreign language in the interpretation this term has in case of languages such as English or German. Further, she elucidates that, according to her respondents, the Romanian language is considered to be an important instrument of competitiveness on the labor market and a tool of social integration.

Chapter 3. Theoretical framework

3.1. Language policy and planning

This section starts with a brief history of the field of language policy and planning. It continues with describing some definitions and frameworks of language policy. Afterwards the domains of operation of language policy are presented with reference to the micro and macro levels. The overt and covert aspects of language policies are also outlined followed by the observation that language policy theory and implementation (practice) are not necessarily in congruence with each other. Sixth, the success and effectiveness of language policies are assessed. The section ends with underlining the relevancy of language policy analysis and the conceptualization of the author's view on language policy.

Language policy and planning appeared as a distinct field of research in the 1960s (Tollefson, 2008: 3; Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: xi). *Language planning*, a term that was initially used in Haugen's (1959) work on the development of standard Norwegian, referred to both corpus and status planning (Tollefson, 2008: 3). The earliest language policy and planning research paid limited attention to practical issues (Tollefson, 2008: 3). When it did, it focused on corpus planning in developing nation states (Tollefson, 2008: 3), the interactional patterns in educational settings, the relationship between bilingualism and diglossia (Tollefson, 2008: 5), and on devising the conceptual framework for language policy and planning (Tollefson, 2008: 3). However, since corpus planning work is inseparably connected to education, attention shifted to the ways in which education can be involved in the language policy and planning work in a way that it contributes to the political, social and cultural integration at the end of colonialism in Asia and Africa (Tollefson, 2008: 4). Early language policy and planning and developmental theory shared the ideas that (a) the nation state should be the focus of both language policy and planning research and practice, (b) experts in language policy and planning were responsible for developing and implementing effective language policy plans, and (c) the language policy and planning in education that aimed to contribute to the integration of minorities (Tollefson, 2008: 4). It was governmental educational agencies that were the main agents of early language policy and planning work. Hence, language policy and planning was strongly dominated by the top-down perspective (Tollefson, 2008: 4).

The language policy and planning of the 1980s developed a critique of early language policy and planning work since it held that early language policy and planning work was neither effective in the implementation of language policy goals nor did it pay sufficient attention to the complexity of the sociolinguistic contexts, including the local sites, in language policy development (Tollefson, 2008: 4).

In recent research on language policy and planning, the focus has shifted to the question of inequality, power and ideology (Tollefson, 2008: 5). This research focuses on how language ideologies of standardization and mono- or bilingualism affect education (Tollefson, 2008: 5). As a result of the realization that linguistically and culturally homogeneous nation-states are ideological in their views, after the 1990s the focus of much of the language policy and planning work shifted to the impact of English as a main factor in linguistic globalization, language rights in education, language maintenance and language revitalization.

The terms language policy and language planning are often employed synonymously in the literature, although they refer to different processes (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 14). Thus, it is important to draw clear boundaries between what we call language planning, which refers to all the interventions that aim to regulate language behavior, and language policy, which are the actual set of principles regarding language behavior (Shohamy, 2006a: 49). Language planning, although its actors are many, is usually being done by governments since it affects large social layers and promotes systematic linguistic change in a community of speakers (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: xi, 4). Also, language planning is combined with language practice since it does not allow individuals to control their language behavior but it determines both what the person will know and how a person will learn it (Shohamy, 2006a: 49).

Cooper (1989: 41) and Ricento (2006a: 10) claim that there is as yet no generally accepted language policy theory. As such, the different approaches to language policy underline different relevant aspects of it. For example, Tollefson (2008: 3) assumes that the result of language planning carried out by official bodies may be language policies in education, or, guidelines addressed to educational institutions referring to rules shaping language structure, language use, and language acquisition. Language policy, realized in various forms from formal documents to informal statements of intent, is the total of the ideas, regulations, laws and practices through which linguistic change takes place or is planned to take place (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: xi, 3). Language policy is also defined as beliefs about language born in social groups and aimed at managing the language practices

of other social groups (Spolsky, 2004: 39). According to Shohamy (2006a: 45-47), language policy includes all the decisions referring to the legitimacy, use, teaching and learning of certain languages in terms of place (where), time (when), agency (whom) and context (which). Also, Cooper (1989: 41) adds, theoretically adequate language policy models have to analyze how and why language policy models are planned as they are and who are the beneficiaries of those approaches. Grin (2003: 30-33) stresses the public character of language policy which he defines[56] as follows:

> Language policy is a systematic, rational, theory-based effort at the societal level to modify the linguistic environment with a view to increasing aggregate welfare. It is typically conducted by official bodies or their surrogates and aimed at part or all of the population living under their jurisdiction.

This definition, as Grin (2003: 30) says, stresses several important aspects of language policies. To begin with, it draws attention to the systematic and rational character of language policies and emphasizes that language policy methods are applied in a way that they enhance the achievement of clearly defined goals that were based on reasoned arguments. Second, it says that language policies are theory-based, that is, they are based on the presupposition that the scientific analysis of reality can indicate the ways through which reality, more specifically, the linguistic environment, can be changed. Accordingly, language policy involves status planning. Third, one of the goals of language policies is to increase welfare. This includes, amongst other things, marketable second and foreign language skills of private actors in addition to non-market/non-pecuniary benefits (Grin, 2003: 36). Last but not least, the definition underlines the responsibility of official bodies in language policy which, as Grin (2003: 32) asserts, is linked to the specific responsibility of the states in language matters. The most important question to be addressed today by researchers is, according to Ricento (2000: 23), the following:

> Why do individuals opt to use (or cease to use) particular languages and varieties for specified functions in different domains, and how do these choices influence – and how are they influenced by – institutional language policy decision-making (local to national and supranational).

Of the same importance are the perspectives of Shohamy (2006a: 46) on language policy, who also argues that for a deeper understanding of true policies there is a need to

apply an expanded view of language policy that incorporates the analysis of the different policy mechanisms, too, which perpetuate language policies. These mechanisms Shohamy (2006a) calls "hidden agendas". What Shohamy (2006a: 46) underlines is that real language policies of any entity should be observed not only through declared policy statements but also through a variety of devices that are used to perpetuate language practices in covert ways.

She (2006a: 52-57, 2006b: 175-182) considers Spolsky's new framework extremely relevant since, in her view, it serves as a foundation for the introduction of the concept of policy mechanisms, or policy devices defined as means through which policies are introduced, as overt and covert devices that affect, create and perpetuate de facto policies, as indicators of hidden agendas of language policies, as mechanisms through which ideology turns into practice, and as devices through which democratic principles and personal rights are violated. It is the interpretation of these mechanisms that can make language policy critical since in this way it can reveal those ideological practices of nation states that sustain undemocratic practices and create hierarchy between languages (Shohamy, 2006a: xvii).

The mechanisms that Shohamy (2006a: xvi) labels as hidden mechanisms include language educations policies, language tests and language in the public space. These mechanisms are, most of the time but not exclusively, used by authorities in conversations, negotiations or battles targeted at exercising control over language practices (2006a: xv). Shohamy (2006a, xvi-xvii) adds that, as a matter of fact, it is the authorities in power who use these mechanisms to manipulate state ideologies. With this in mind, she (2006: xv) claims that this broader perspective of language policy incorporates "de facto" policies, hidden mechanisms, language practices and, in addition, negotiations that take place between them. It is on the basis of Spolsky's new framework that Shohamy (2006a) also argues for the need to apply an expanded view of language policy that includes the analysis of hidden mechanisms, too, in order to have a comprehensive view of actual language policies. Moreover, she believes that the examination of declared and official statements is limited in view since it includes neither the analysis of the manipulative power of hidden agendas (which influence language behavior indirectly), nor the degree of unawareness of people who suffer the consequences of language policies. Finally, Shohamy (2006a: 53) also states that since an expanded view of language policy goes beyond declared policies to reveal de facto policies, it necessarily focuses on the indicators that lie behind these policies, that is, on both the variety of mechanisms that indirectly perpetuate LPs and the

ideologies applied as tools to perpetuate hegemonic policies. She underlines that policy documents are often not more than declarations of intent whose manipulability is revealed when it comes to uncovering the multiplicity of covert and implicit agendas that often contradict a declared policy's views. Shohamy's view on how the hidden policy mechanisms may affect language policy is supported by Spolsky's (2004: 222) view, who considers that it is not language management that the language policy of a community is to be found in but in its language practices.

Language policy operates on several domains (Spolsky, 2004: 42). First, it operates in the family, for instance, when members of a bilingual family, produced by intermarriage, make decisions related to the language proficiency of their children, or when a monolingual family chooses the country where it wishes to emigrate. (Spolsky, 2004: 42-46). The second and one of the most important domains of language policy is the school domain where several issues related to language questions need to be carefully considered. The school domain gives the space for questions referring to mediums of instruction, the acquisition of standard and official languages, etc. In a similar manner, workplaces, local governments, supra-national groupings (such as the European Union) and states all determine, on the micro or macro level, patterns of language use of a unit of society (Spolsky, 2004: 52-56).

Since both language and language policy exist in the interacting contexts of linguistic and non-linguistic factors (social, cultural, political, demographic, etc.), any modification on the part of a person or a group of any of the elements of a language has consequences for the occurrence or non-occurrence of changes in case of all the other elements or factors (Spolsky, 2004: 6). As Cooper (1989: 37-38) says, the mechanisms that operate on the micro level are likely to operate on the macro level, too. Any change imposed by a language policy on any of the micro or macro elements of a language is necessarily connected to and affects all the other elements of the language context (Spolsky, 2004: 10). Consequently, language policy is concerned with all the levels of a language and with all of its elements (Spolsky, 2004: 40).

As has been argued above, language policies function in speech communities the size of which can vary from micro-level groups such as families to macro-level groups such as nations or regional alliances (Spolsky, 2004: 40). On the macro-level, language policy is usually interconnected with politics, power and authority through governments' regulations of language policy in constitutions or other official documents (Spolsky, 2004:

40). As a matter of fact, the implementation of language policies requires power and authority (Spolsky, 2004: 40).

There is a distinction between vague, unspecific, general language policies and ones that are very detailed with specifically set principles and minute elements for implementation (Shohamy, 2006a: 49). In other words, as Schiffman (2006: 112) asserts, language policy involves not only official, explicit, overt, de jure, written and top-down decision-making about language, but also the unofficial, implicit, unwritten, covert, de facto, grass-roots ideas and assumptions, which influence the outcomes of policy-making just as emphatically as explicit decisions, and which are strongly connected to linguistic culture. When stated explicitly, through official documents such as national laws, we are dealing with explicit or overt language policies (Schiffman, 1996; Shohamy, 2006a: 50). In many cases, but not always, such explicit language policies are formal documents (Spolsky, 2004: 11). Examples of such situations are national constitutions and national legislatures written by legislative assemblies (Spolsky, 2004: 8). In the same manner, local governments may determine the language of signs and members of the family may try to persuade other members of the family to learn and use one language instead of another (Spolsky, 2004: 8). On the other hand, some countries and institutions do not have an overt language policy made explicit by authorities (Spolsky, 2004: 8-9). When not stated explicitly, language policies are latent and remain ignored (Schiffman, 1996). As such, they are to be derived from language practices and are more difficult to detect (Shohamy, 2006a: 50). Schiffman (1996: 13) underlines that even though grass-root level language policy can easily remain unnoticed, it is the integral part of a culture, and, as such, it needs to be studied. Nevertheless, even in these countries people's language practices (that is, their use of certain sounds, words and grammatical structures) and their beliefs about language use do suggest the existence of a covert language policy (Spolsky, 2004: 8-9).

Referring to the relationship between language policy in theory and in practice, Spolsky (2004: 8, 11) emphasizes that the existence of an explicit policy does not guarantee either the implementation act itself or the success of the implementation. This issue is underlined by Schiffman (2006: 120), too, who points out that without a thorough look into an explicit language policy one cannot determine how a language policy actually works since there might often be a disruption between what a language policy seems to be and what it implies in reality. Shohamy (2006a: 51) also demonstrates that since language policies are manifestations of intentions even in cases when policies are stated explicitly, it is not guaranteed that they will be implemented, i.e. turned into practice. Shohamy (2006a:

51) quotes Baldauf (1994) to support this claim, who warns that policy planners should not believe that they will be able to control the language practices of a country since there will always be people who resist top-down policies through their own language ideologies sewed into the bottom-up policies they create themselves and through the strategies they adopt to implement these policies. Additionally, Shohamy (2006a: 143-144) suggests that imposed language policies, in case of which the needs and wishes of those involved are not assessed, may increase intolerance of a certain language, especially when the public has negative attitudes towards the languages and their native speakers and, as such, may contribute to low achievement in language skills. As a matter of fact, as Spolsky (2004: 222) says, language management cannot be effective unless it is consistent with the practices, beliefs and the other elements of the context of language use.

The challenge of effective analysis of language policies was addressed by Spolsky when he proposed a new framework for language policy in his 2004 book entitled *Language policy*. In this work he identifies three components of language policy: beliefs, practice and management. The first, in his view, refers to the language ideologies connected to language and language use that lie behind each policy. For instance, the ideology of one nation – one language is such a belief which considers that language functions as the unifying symbol of the nation and in comparison to which all other languages in a state are irrelevant. The second he defines as the ecology of language, which, regardless of policies and beliefs, focuses on the actual language practices in a community, on "the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire" (Spolsky, 2004: 14). Language management, the third component, refers to the actions that attempt to modify a language practice by intervention. That is, it aims to manage and manipulate language behavior in a given entity. Accordingly, understanding the effectiveness of educational guidelines drawn by language planners presupposes conducting the act of analysis of a language policy on at least three levels.

Grin (2003: 43, 85) asserts that the outcome and the success of a (language) policy largely depend on actual or potential speakers' (language) behavior. For example, for a language to be used – this being a possible outcome of a language policy – three conditions, "a triple necessity", must be met (Grin, 2003: 43, 85). First, it is important that the actors of a language community speak the language or, if they do not speak it, they have the opportunity to increase their degree of language competence (Grin, 2003: 43). Second, provided they are willing to, actors must have the opportunity to speak the language both in private and in public. As such, there is a need for the authorities to supply

an adequate linguistic environment (Grin, 2003: 43). Third, it is important for speakers to have a choice to carry out linguistic activities in one language or the other. The third condition, naturally, is also related to the question of willingness (Grin, 2003: 43-44). The three conditions, capacity, opportunity and willingness, form the policy-to-outcome path (Grin, 2003: 44-46). People depend at large on the state for such conditions to be met (Grin, 2003: 44) since it is the state that permits language policy measures to be implemented. Accordingly, it is the state's responsibility, first of all, to design language policies that guarantee speakers the capacity, opportunity and willingness to speak a language (Grin, 2003: 44). One main site for the provision of these conditions is education (Grin, 2003: 45).

Education is very relevant in what language policy evaluation is concerned with since it is closely related to one of the three conditions of the effectiveness of language policy, namely, capacity (Grin, 2003: 170). In the sphere of education a certain policy intervention is called language education planning, and it is related to the notion of capacity since it implies both acquisition and skill development planning (Grin, 2003: 170). While the former aims to increase the number of persons who can use a language at a given level of competence (C1, effective proficiency level or C2, mastery level as the levels set by the Council of Europe), the latter focuses on skill development without an explicit aim of raising the number of speakers (Grin, 2003: 170). In practice, acquisition and skill development planning cannot be separated since skill development automatically implies increase in the number of competent language users (Grin, 2003: 170). Nevertheless, since the two types of planning have distinct outcomes, when planning a language policy it must be clearly defined whether the goal is to develop the language skills of users or to increase the number of users (Grin, 2003: 171).

Grin (2003: 29-30) claims that language policy evaluation is relevant in two cases. First, when a language policy has not been implemented yet. In this case there is a need for both the assessment of the possible consequences, drawbacks and the advantages of alternative language policies and a shift in focus from the development of language policy orientations to defining measures. Second, in case a language policy has already been implemented, the evaluation of effectiveness of the policy is still useful. Due to the fact that language policy analysis provides knowledge of both possible (*ex ante*) and existing (*ex post*) policies, it is at the same time descriptive (Grin, 2003: 39).

My own interpretation of language policy derives from Shohamy (2006), Grin (2003) and Spolsky (2004), who argue that language policy (a) refers to interventions

related to the positions of one language to the other, (b) operates both on the micro and macro levels, (c) has the aim of legitimizing or challenging existent language policy, (d) promotes or discourages the teaching and learning of languages through methods that are applied in a way that they enhance the achievement of clearly defined goals, (e) is based on reasoned arguments, (f) implies hidden mechanisms such as language ideologies, (g) implementation requires power and authority, and (h) implies continuous evaluation and re-evaluation.

On the basis of such theories on language policy I conclude that a realistic exploration of the language policy of any government or institution needs to be carried out by applying an extended view on policy analysis including the exploration of hidden mechanisms.

3.2. Language ideologies

Language ideologies are the reflections of a community on the appropriateness of language practices and on the language varieties it assigns or does not assign prestige to (Spolsky, 2004: 14). Since these reflections both influence and derive from language practices, they can function as the basis of language planning, which, in turn, may confirm or may modify them (Spolsky, 2004: 14). Indeed, theoretical studies focusing on the analysis of language policies have shown that a thorough understanding of any language policy presupposes the investigation of not only explicit language policies (e.g. documents, laws on education), but also their backgrounds in order to effectively uncover the hidden agendas of overt language policies (Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2006a: 46).

The analysis of language ideologies is of special importance in the present study for several reasons. First, since language ideologies are very relevant both linguistically and socially in multilingual communities, their analysis is also important (Woolard, 1998: 16). Second, as is sustained by critical educational studies, research that is critical should go beyond describing a certain case in order to reveal connections that might not be evident for people, like, for example, the hidden mechanisms of a language policy invested in the relationship between language, ideology and power, so as to change a situation that disempowers some people and to create one that redresses equality (Fairclough, 1995: 5, Woolard, 1998: 11; Gal, 1998: 319; Cohen et al, 2007: 26, 28). Basically, Fairclough (1995: 3) emphasizes that since ideology is present in language it should also be present among the research themes of modern social science. Third, there is a great probability that

bilingual educational settings are holders of "complex and contradictory" language ideologies the nature of which relationship shapes not only language policies but, more importantly, the power relations of a society (Field, 2008: 85). Fourth, in order to avoid ideological uniformity and illegitimate ideological common sense, which would contribute to the reproduction and strengthening of inequalities in society, it might be beneficial to promote and sustain ideological diversity (Fairclough, 1995: 86), a tool of which is the analysis and mirroring of it. Fifth, the analysis of social and political problems that exist in intergroup relations is not possible without the analysis of the ideologies that underlie these problems (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998: 25). Sixth, research on language ideologies can provide conceptual tools for understanding the relationship between social inequality and linguistic nationalism (Kroskrity, 1999: 28). And last but not least, as Baquedano-Lopez and Kattan (2007: 84-86) also note, language ideologies are of central importance in understanding the linguistic profile of multilingual communities since they carry important information regarding the influence of language beliefs on community members' choice of language use, and ultimately, borrowing, code-switching, language shift, etc.

Various language ideologies have been examined in a wide range of contexts including language ideologies of standardization (see Lippi-Green's 1997 work on how the spoken language of dominant institutions and the upper-middle class is positioned as the model for a homogeneous written language), linguistic assimilation, internationalization and linguistic pluralism (Tollefson, 2008: 7-8). Even so, concerning the investigation process itself, several researchers (Woolard, 1998: 3-4) mention that there has been no clear agreement in the last quarter century on what the concept of language ideology exactly means and, as such, the theoretical organization of studies that used terms such as *language ideology*, *linguistic ideologies* and *ideologies of language* to denote the same concept. As far as the research methodology of language ideologies is concerned, Laihonen (2004: 84, 2006, 2008) claims that it has no unitary, well-defined system and its analysis is being combined either with sociolinguistic inquiries (see Woolard, 1998) or folk linguistic studies (see Niedzielski and Preston, 2000).

The term *language ideologies* denotes those implicit, common sense, unstated notions about the nature of language and communication which position individuals and social groups in social order (Tollefson, 2008: 5). According to Silverstein's classic definition (1979: 193), language ideology can be defined as a "set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use". Silverstein (1985, cited in Wortham, 2008: 99) defines language

ideology as a kind of authoritative power, which, due to its relatedness to language and social relations, regiments particular language uses. That is to say, language ideologies are ideas about what language is, how it works, and about the ways it relates to other aspects of social life (Johnstone, 2008: 66). Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 55) define language ideologies as "cultural conceptions about language – its nature, structure and use". Gal (1998: 319) asserts that language ideologies refer to the human understanding of language in the form of ideas, beliefs, consciousness about the relation of language and social life. This idea is shared by Woolard (1998: 3), too, who claims that language ideologies are implicit or explicit representations of the intersection of language and human beings in the social world. Such a definition highlights that language ideologies are never about language alone, but also about how language is connected in different ways with all the things that humans are connected to, such as identity, socialization or schooling (Woolard, 1998: 3). Irvine (1989: 255) also puts the emphasis on cultural, social and political relatedness of language ideologies which she defines as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests". Another definition, which emphasizes the informal, homogeneous and uniform nature of language ideologies without giving attention to ideological variation and diversity, is given by Rumsey (1990: 346, cited in Kroskrity, 2004: 496), who holds that language ideologies are "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world". As far as the existence of language ideologies is concerned, Fairclough (1992: 91) suggests that they are born in societies characterized by different types of relations of domination, like, for example, ones based on cultural groups, like gender. Indeed, conceptions about language are various and they exist in all sociocultural settings (Johnstone, 2008: 66). For instance, they may be related to how communication works, language learning, correctness, language use, etc (Johnstone, 2008: 66). What is common about all language ideologies is that they all affect both language and social relations in the public as well as in private domain (Johnstone, 2008: 66-67). Definitions that support the idea that both ordinary people and scientists have language ideologies are given by Gal (2002: 197, emphasis in the original):

> LINGUISTIC IDEOLOGIES are the culturally specific notions which participants and observers bring to language, the ideas they have about what language is good for, what linguistic differences mean about the speakers who use them, why there are linguistic differences at all. Both ordinary people and social

scientists – linguists, sociologists and anthropologists – hold language ideologies.

Ideologies reside in language in various ways and in different possible locations. The identification and deduction of ideologies becomes possible through interpretation, an act which is also ideological in nature, to different degrees (Fairclough, 1992: 89). Since texts and discourse are the products of social events that take place between people, ideologies appertain to discourses as social events (Fairclough, 1992: 89). Nevertheless, not all discourse is irredeemably ideological due to the fact that not all human beings are incapable of transcending ideologies resident in societies (Fairclough, 1992: 91). According to Fairclough (1992: 87), the effectiveness of ideologies depends on their naturalization, that is, on the degree that they achieve the status of "common sense". Furthermore, Fairclough (1992: 90) holds that people might not even be aware of the ideological dimensions of their own acts since ideologies are built into conventions and naturalized ("automatized"). That is to say, people may not comprehend that their normal practices are ideological investments and may be unaware of the "ideological import" of their practice even when they resist or contribute to ideological processes (Fairclough, 1992: 90). This is due to their potentially misleading character that ideologies are well masked instruments used by the dominant power to set oppressive structures as natural (Johnstone, 2008: 54). The less visible an ideology is, the more effective its working becomes. Should somebody realize that sustaining power inequalities is a way of promoting common sense, common sense ceases to be what it was meant to be and loses its ideological power. Indeed, ideologies are the net of commonsensical ideas about some aspects of social "reality" (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998: 25, quotation marks in the original). Their commonsensical nature is manifested in the fact that they are hardly ever questioned in a society and, as such, they are often carried on implicitly (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998: 25). To sum up, the invisibility of an ideology in text is best preserved in the form of common sense assumptions that support the argumentation of an idea as simple background information either on the part of the text producer or through the text interpreter (Fairclough, 1995: 85).

Fairclough (1992: 2, 88) also says that language ideologies are connected to the exercise of power in modern society. More to the point, the ideological dimension of discourse means that discursive practices restructure relations of domination (Fairclough, 1992: 88). In fact, Fairclough (1992: 87) conceives of ideologies as constructions of reality

that are built into discourse and that contribute to the production, reproduction and transformation of a relation of domination. In addition to these, Fairclough's (1992: 87) theoretical framework for ideologies highlights that (a) ideologies are materialized in the discourse of institutions; (b) that the constitution of subjects in discourse is itself ideological and (c) that state apparatuses are sites of and stakes in class struggle. Furthermore, ideology can be constructed through consent which, along with concession, is a means of constructing power (Fairclough, 1995: 3-4). The same view is shared by Cohen et al. (2007: 28), who claim that due to the ideological working of language or, in other words, due to the fact that language ideologies are constructions of reality built into various dimensions of "discursive practices", social relations are affected by language ideologies and contribute to the promotion and legitimation of the interests of certain groups at the expense of others disempowered. For these reasons, analyzing discourse as a social practice involves the analysis of power relations and ideologies (Fairclough, 1992: 86).

Kroskrity (2004: 501; 1999: 7) classifies language ideologies into five levels of converging dimensions. First, he assumes that they represent "the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group". Accordingly, what a person perceives as "aesthetically pleasing", "morally good" or "true" is determined, Kroskrity claims, by its groundedness both in the social experience and the politico-economic interests of the person (Kroskrity, 1999: 8).[57] In addition to this, a speaker's beliefs about language are not only rooted in their social and cultural experiences but are often used as tools of reproduction of such perceptions (Kroskrity, 1999: 8). Second, Kroskrity (1999: 12) affirms that due to "the multiplicity of meaningful social divisions" that appear "within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership" language ideologies are multiple. He adds that due to the multiplicity of language ideologies within a population, focus is on their contention, conflict, contestation and disjuncture in social space, including the analysis of language ideologies which have been naturalized and of dominant language ideologies (Kroskrity, 1999: 12-13). He further claims that even dominant language ideologies respond to the changing form of opposition since there is always struggle between states and their opponents. Third, he states that the degree of awareness of existing local language ideologies varies from speaker to speaker just as well as the types of sites in which language ideologies are produced and commented upon vary (Kroskrity, 1999: 18-19). This means, on the one hand, that the root of the perspectives about language

is diverse, they derive from the experience of individuals and, because of this, their uniformity is distributed (Woolard, 1998: 12). On the other hand, it implies that the degree of consciousness of individuals of their own language ideologies can vary from active contestation to naturalized ideological domination. In addition, he suggests that language ideologies are a mediation point between forms of talk and social structures since language ideologies bridge sociocultural experience and linguistic resources (Kroskrity, 2004: 507). Last but not least, he asserts that language ideologies mediate between forms of talk and social structures, are involved in the construction of identity involving different levels such as cultural and social levels (Kroskrity, 2004: 509) and that, as a matter of fact, by means of language ideologies, speakers' linguistic and discursive resources are linked to their sociocultural experience (Kroskrity, 1999: 20-21).

My own interpretation of language ideologies derives from Fairclough (1992), Woolard (1998) and Gal (2002), who argue that language ideologies are the culture specific, "common sense", implicit or explicit representations that ordinary people and scientists assign to the relationship between language and all the other elements of social life that people are connected with.

3.3. Combining language policies and language ideologies

In a minority context, language is one of the bridges of everyday life which may contribute to the better integration of the members of the minority group into both the micro-linguistic context of the immediate majority group and the macro-linguistic market of international exchange. Under these circumstances language policies (Ricento, 2006a,b, Spolsky, 2007) and underlying language ideologies (Blackledge, 2008: 29) have a major impact on developing multilingualism in minority settings. More to the point, language policy decisions and the ideologies connected to certain languages have major implication for promoting or discrediting the study and use of several languages in educational contexts. As such, the implementation of certain language policies, their (re)evaluation and revision is indispensably necessary to provide feedback on the outcomes of a certain policy and on the language ideologies that were born in relation to these policies (Spolsky, 2004: 29).

Spolsky (2004: 15) asserts that anything that affects language practices and beliefs in a community is part of the sociolinguistic setting of that community and, as such, it affects language policy. He cites Ferguson (1977: 9) in this sense, who claims that the

nature and scope of language planning activities can only be fully understood by investigating its relation to the particular sociolinguistic setting they are part of. Therefore, a critical investigation of multilingualism in Szeklerland presupposes not only exploring explicit language policies, but also projecting the implicit components of those policies such as the existing language ideologies.

As defined by Shohamy (2006a: 76), language educational policies are "mechanisms to create de facto language practices in educational institutions" used by authorities to impose and manipulate language policies or used as grassroots mechanisms to negotiate and introduce alternative practices. According to this view, both overt and covert policies are accompanied by language ideologies (2006a: 53). As such, language policies are a tool for turning language ideologies into practice and vice versa (Shohamy, 2006a: 76). Consequently, all the components of language policies, including decisions referring to mother tongues, second and foreign languages that incorporate answers to questions such as which language(s) to learn and teach in schools (which heritage language and which community language to teach to whom), which language(s) to apply as medium(s) of education (usually prestigious languages like the official language or an international lingua franca), who should teach these languages and how (using which methods, materials etc.) are holders of language ideologies (Shohamy, 2006a: 76-77).

Last but not least, educational systems and their language policies are a sophisticated way of implementing linguicist policies, i.e. covert practices through which ideologies are reproduced to legitimate unequal power relations, based on language, in an institutional form (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1999: 48).

To conclude, the members of a speech community share a set of beliefs about appropriate language practices, they assign prestige to various aspects of language and their assumptions may even designate a kind of consensual ideology. In other words, language ideologies are language policies without a manager (Spolsky, 2004: 14).

Chapter 4. Methodology

4.1. Research questions

The general aim of this study is to examine the sociolinguistic situation of Szeklerland minority Hungarians on the basis of interview data through the combination of the theoretical framework of language policy and language ideologies. Accordingly, the main research questions of this study are the following:

1. What language policies are promoted in the current minority educational contexts in Transylvania?
2. What language ideologies can be observed as underlying existing language policies?
3. How do existing language policies and language ideologies contribute to or discredit the development of the multilingualism of Szeklerland minority Hungarians?

The first research question emerged before the fieldwork. The second and third research questions were inspired after a detailed examination of the first 21 interviews, the thematic content analysis of which proved the existence of language ideologies in the discourse produced by the interviewees.

4.2. Type of research: Case study

The aim of this case study is to explore, describe and interpret the Szeklerland Hungarian minority educational system by taking a framework that embraces the examination of the minority group as existent in everyday life, through the meaning created and the interpretation given by its actors (May, 2006: 256; Duranti, 1997: 85; Cohen et al., 2007: 26; Freebody, 2003: 76). Such an approach assesses how educational language policy is understood by the present members of particular Hungarian minority secondary schools. In other words, it sets out to identify and expose the way these people's language policy views and language ideologies shape the language policy of Hungarian minority education on the micro-level of secondary education. In this sense, my research can be conceived of as embracing the critical framework of educational research (Cohen et al., 2007: 28).

Case studies may either focus on the behaviors of a single social unit (or community) to emphasize its shared perspective (individual case studies) or may explore the individual differences between members of the same group or across different groups

in which case we are dealing with a multiple comparative case study (Duff, 2008: 32-34). This research implied the analysis of both individual (students, teachers, educational representatives, etc.) and multiple cases. Since the participants of the research fall, from the point of view of folk linguistics, into two categories, namely, students and parents versus language teachers, data analysis necessarily includes a comparison of their beliefs and this, in turn, will also be compared to the views of Hungarian linguists who have argued linguistic views on multilingualism (Niedzielski and Preston, 2000: 3-10).

On the basis of Moore (1996), Canagarajah (2006: 155) claims, on the one hand, that "policy documents are ideological discourses since they make the reality conform to them rather than base themselves on reality" and, on the other hand, assumes that "subsequent acts of policy are not necessary closer approximations of reality but reflect the changing ideological priorities of the status quo". Consequently, for the simple reason of wishing to avoid the reproduction of the ideological and partial view of policy documents which would represent the context under study in a very limited way, I considered it vital to conduct interviews with the members of the Hungarian minority educational system in order to gain a well-contextualized orientation to language practices (Canagarajah, 2006: 155). By this, I try to reveal participants' own points of view about how the educational language policy facilitates or challenges multilingualism of a minority population (Canagarajah, 2006: 154; Miles and Huberman, 1994: 6-7).

For the reason that interviews should be understood not as giving "true" descriptions of what the subjects think or feel in certain situations but, rather, as providing researchers with evidence about what subjects think "is intelligible or plausible to say in a given discourse community and how members of that community use shared resources to construct a position in an interview" (Block, 2000: 762), it is not my aim to represent the "only true" point of view in my dissertation. Finally, due to the fact that every researcher emphasizes different aspects of the same phenomenon and, as such, one study cannot reveal and describe all the aspects of one phenomenon, it is beyond the aims of the study to be comprehensive in its way (Duranti, 1997).

4.3. Place of data collection

4.3.1. Demographic, educational, linguistic and geographic background

In this part of the dissertation I intend to give a brief outline of the demographic, linguistic, educational and geographic features of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania.

The region of Transylvania is the central part of Romania. It comprises the historical Transylvania (including Secuimea/Szeklerland), the provinces of Banat/Bánát (Western Romania), Crişana/Körösök vidéke (North of Banat/Bánát) and in the northern part of Romania, Maramureş/Máramaros (Benő and Szilágyi. 2005: 133).

According to the latest, 2002, census, the entire population of Romania is 21,680,974 of which 1,431,807 people (6.6%) are ethnically Hungarians (see Map 3 in the Appendix), constituting the largest ethnic and minority group in Romania. 6.66% (1,443,990) of the people in Romania declared Hungarian as their mother tongue. The number of Hungarians in Transylvania is 1,415,718 (98.87% of Hungarians in Romania) where they constitute 19.60% of the total population.

According to the 1992 census, 56% of the Hungarians in Romania live in settlements where they constitute the local majority (see Map 4 in the Appendix). 44% of the Hungarians in Romania constitute the local minority in their locality, a linguistic outcome of which is that in their environment the use of the Hungarian language is limited to the everyday and literary level and is less used in the public sphere. This has a negative effect on their competence in their mother tongue, including some registers in their vocabulary such as the legal and technical terminology (Benő and Szilágyi, 2005: 161).

Szeklerland (Ţinutul Secuiesc/Székelyföld) is situated in eastern Transylvania and corresponds with Covasna/Kovászna and Harghita/Hargita counties plus some parts of Mureş/Maros county (see Map 5 in the Appendix). According to the 2002 census, there are 154,168 Hungarians in Covasna/Kovászna county and 51,790 Romanians. The number of Hungarians in Harghita/Hargita county is 276,038 and that of Romanians is 45,870. The cultural centers of these two counties are Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy and Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda. According to the 2002 census, there are 45,012 Hungarians living in Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy (the total population is 60,389) and 33,891 in Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda where the total population is 41,547.

Romanian has a high social prestige among Hungarians in Transylvania and is considered to be the language of success. The prestige of Romanian is indicated by the fact that an increasing number of parents (mainly from mixed marriages, but not exclusively) choose to send their children to Romanian medium schools, since, as they perceive it, their children can get along easier in life if they do their studies in Romanian (Benő and Szilágyi, 2005: 146). On the basis of an empirical study carried out in 1996 in Transylvania on minority Hungarian parents (N = 523) whose children attend either Hungarian (N=324) or Romanian medium (N=199) secondary schools, Sorbán (2000: 167-180) considers that, when it comes to choosing school for their children, families' sociological characteristics are very relevant as far as the medium of instruction of the school they choose is concerned. More to the point, she concludes that the language of instruction of the parents' own studies, the prestige of the mother tongue and their attachment to it, the opinion of the close relatives and friends and the status of the language are factors that influence the choice of families regarding the medium of instruction of their children's school instruction. As a matter of fact, 45.52% of the respondents (N = 216) of the research reported by Benő and Szilágyi (2005: 146) believed that monolingual Romanians can be far more successful than monolingual Hungarians. As such, while people are of the opinion that those who can only speak Hungarian manage with difficulty in Romania, monolingual Romanian speakers are considered to succeed easily.

As far as the Hungarian language spoken in Romania is concerned, due to its dialectal characteristics and to the Hungarian–Romanian contact situation, it is different from the one used in Hungary both on the lexical and structural level. At the same time, Hungarian has a high cultural prestige and is a relevant factor of the attachment to community and loyalty to the region (Benő and Szilágyi, 2005: 145).

The Romanian Educational System is regulated by the Ministry of Education and Research (*Law on Education*, passed in 1995, modified in 1999 and 2011). Students in Romania start school at the age of 6, and it is compulsory for them to attend school for ten years. The educational system is divided into two main levels, namely, the pre-university and the university level. Each level has its own form of organization and is subject to different legislations. The pre-university level is structured in 4 cycles: kindergarten (3 years), elementary school (grades 1 through 4), secondary school (grades 5 through 8), and high school (grades 9 through 12 or 13). Students who wish to specialize for careers that are based in manual or practical activities have the possibility to attend vocational education programs which can be chosen as a continuation of secondary school.

Kindergarten is optional between the ages of 3 to 6. School education starts at age 7 (sometimes 6), and is compulsory until grade 10 (which usually corresponds to the age of 16 or 17). Higher education is organized according to the principles of the Bologna process, which aims at the construction of the European higher education area.

In Romania high schools are free to offer one or more academic programs such as a theoretical program in sciences (e.g., mathematics and computer programming), humanities (social studies or modern languages), technical programs (qualification in technical professions such as electrician, industrial machine operator, train driver or mechanic) and services and economics programs (waiter, chef, tourist guide).

School life in a city school is very different from life in a rural school. While an urban school has well-equipped science and computer laboratories, offers extracurricular activities such as clubs based on different interests (mathematics, film and drama), and psychologists, rural schools are usually very small, many providing only the first 4 years of schooling (while the rest is offered at a nearby larger village) and having only one teacher for all students (generally under 10 students in total in all four grades). Transportation to and from school is almost never provided for the students. In extreme cases, in remote villages, students as young as six must walk up to 10 kilometers to school if there is no bus or train service. Only starting in 2003 was a very limited rural school bus service introduced. Public transport for all students is, in theory, free, but, because of a very awkward system, students end up paying half the price for a season ticket. Students also pay half price at all commuter trains operated by the *Romanian National Railway Company*.

4.3.2. School profile

My own view of with whom and where language policy and ideology should be investigated derives from Ricento (2006a: 21), who claims that sites such as the workplace, neighbors, schools and families have considerable influence on people's language policy and, as such, are sites of discussion of such topics.

Data was collected in two Hungarian majority counties in Transylvania, Covasna/Kovászna and Harghita/Hargita counties, in one town from each of the two counties, in two schools in each of the two towns. These sites afforded an exciting opportunity for examining the powerful role of language ideologies in shaping language policy since education and the educational process is a space where views on language are

created, transmitted in an institutional setting and, through this site, the reproduction and legitimation of language ideologies takes place both voluntarily and involuntarily.

According to Baker's (2007: 137-145) classification of the components of bilingual education, the following aspects are characteristic of the investigated Szeklerland minority Hungarian schools. With the exception of the vocational bilingual schools which offer education both through the medium of Hungarian and through the medium of Romanian, most Hungarian minority educational institutions in Szeklerland use Hungarian as the main medium of instruction. All subjects are taught through the medium of Hungarian with the exception of *Romanian language and literature*, which makes 30% of the total number of classes per week, the *Geography of Romania* and the *History of Romania* (Fóris-Ferenczi and Péntek, 2011: 107-108). In most of the cases, Hungarian minority schools enroll Hungarian minority students whose first language[58] is Hungarian, with a few exceptions where, students who were born in mixed marriages, have as their first languages both Hungarian and Romanian. Concerning the language balance of children, most of them have Hungarian as first and dominant language, they live in a predominantly Hungarian language context (family, school environment and the everyday life context) with the exception of official places. Regarding the allocation of languages in the curriculum, a heritage type of bilingual education is applied, with all subjects[59] being taught in Hungarian with the exception of *Romanian language and literature, The Geography of Romania* and *The History of Romania*. Regarding the language profile of the school personnel (including school principals, teachers and administrative personnel), in most of the cases Hungarian schools in Szeklerland employ ethnic Hungarian teachers (with the exception of a few language teachers) who are speakers of at least two languages, Hungarian and Romanian, but many of them speak Russian, German, English or French as their third language and actively promote multilingualism. Most of the available curriculum resources are in Hungarian, in addition to which a reduced quantity of materials produced in the state language and in other foreign languages is also available. All schools aim to create additive multilingualism,[60] that is, to maintain mother tongue language skills/competence and to add skills/language competence in (at least) another language to the existing repertoires in the mother tongue.

To conclude, on the basis of the bilingual education typology outlined by Baker (2007: 131-137), minority Hungarian education in Szeklerland is heritage language bilingual education which enrolls children from the language minority background and aims at maintaining the mother tongue of children through first language medium

education (Hungarian) from the elementary level up to and throughout secondary education.

4.4. Data collection

The research used for the basis of the present dissertation was conducted in the context of the international LINEE (*Languages in a Network of European Excellence*) Project, specifically its sub-project called *(Inter)-regional case studies of multilingual education*, and has set out to survey and analyze educational models in multilingual settings in four regions: South Tyrol (Italy), Vojvodina (Serbia), Transylvania (Romania) and the Hungarian-inhabited region in southern Slovakia (*Felvidék* in Hungarian). The work package which I worked in tackled four countries in terms of their educational systems, school results and multilingual school experience.

One of the major challenges when deciding what type of data collection and analysis to apply is how to ensure that findings engage the perspectives of those involved and enable them to contribute with their own words. Each of the qualitative methods has its own strengths and weaknesses and influences the degree to which a participant contributes in their own words to the issues in focus. With these in mind, in the present study data was collected by means of semi-structured individual interviews and through focus group semi-structured interviews, both of which were digitally recorded. These two types of data collection instruments were chosen since they allowed consistency and comparisons across and among individuals and groups during data analysis.

Interviews are a source of information used to produce declarative and relevant content data (Codó, 2008: 158-161) from participants in order to gain information regarding their attitudes towards their own and others' linguistic practices. The semi-structured interview contains a pre-prepared set of open questions which guide and prompt the interviewees to elaborate their views but which, at the same time, do not limit the respondents' perspective and encourage them to elaborate their own ideas, too (Dörnyei, 2008: 136). In this case, the questions of the semi-structured interview aimed to reveal the language policy view of the participants and contained questions such as how they would describe the multilingualism of Szeklerland Hungarian people or what were the languages they considered to be important in their micro and macro social contexts (see the Appendix, Language policy interview questions). This data revealed subjects' language ideologies, too, in addition to their views on language policy.

The focus group interview is one of the qualitative methods of data collection which allows participants the possibility to share their own views of a certain issue in a group. As such, the use of focus groups served several purposes in the present study. First, it allowed participants to synergically augment each other's opinions with their similar or dissimilar opinions (Dörnyei, 2008: 144). Second, a considerable part of the participants were students who were probably not used to delivering their opinions through interviews. However, since the focus group methodology requires talking about their views on certain issues in a group, with people whom they already know and in the form of a group conversation, anxiety caused by the research situation has decreased (Codó, 2008: 163).

Originally developed in the field of sociology, today focus group interviews are discussions of selected topics in groups under the guidance of a moderator (Fallon and Brown, 2002: 195). A key characteristic of focus groups is interaction which produces insights into the views of participants that would be less accessible without group interaction (Fallon and Brown, 2002: 195) as, for example, in case of interviews where interaction takes place only between the interviewer and the interviewee and not also between interviewees. Curtis and Redmond (2007: 27) argue that focus groups are particularly important when there is little knowledge about a current issue, and deeper understanding of a phenomenon presupposes further investigation and exploration. The method is also advantageous since it can generate a large amount of data in a relatively short period of time (Fallon and Brown, 2002: 195). In comparison to participant observation, it is a less naturalistic type of data collection since interaction is provoked by the interview situation, that is, in an unnatural interaction setting (Fallon and Brown, 2002: 196). Focus group interviews may be used either as a single method, in case of which the same topic is discussed with several different focus groups, or as a secondary method applied complementarily to other methods (Curtis and Redmond, 2007: 26).

Fallon and Brown (2002: 197-198) assume that some of the most important characteristics of focus group interviews is the optimal number of participants, who, in case of a low population (and in case of research that does not aim to obtain generalizable data) is a minimum of 4 to 10 participants who should be volunteers for the interview, should wish to disclose, comment and explain their opinions and attitudes in groups comfortably and should feel free to express differences of opinion (Dörnyei, 2008: 145).

According to Fern (2001, cited in Curtis and Redmond, 2007: 28), focus group methodology is a very appropriate research method when the researcher does not aim to generalize the results of the research beyond the population of interest. The same author

(Fern, 2001 cited in Curtis and Redmond, 2007: 28) identifies two types of focus groups: the one that he calls experiential focus groups is concerned with the similarity of results between different focus groups, while exploratory focus groups are concerned with both the similarities and the differences between views of the groups in focus.

In this dissertation, data triangulation is achieved by the combination of the investigation of academic literature and by carrying out structured interviews with the different members of the Szeklerland Hungarian education system. The combination of data collected by the two methods hopefully compensates for the weaknesses of each single method and provides a more realistic and comprehensive insight into the present day language policy and language ideological issues in Szeklerland.

4.5. Participants

In relation to language policy and planning the notion of agency is often related to government officials (Baldauf and Kaplan, 2003), that is, to the macro level. Baldauf (2007) challenges the issue of macro language policy, that is, agency in language policy and planning on the governmental level, by raising the question whether the language policy framework designed at the macro level and for the macro level can be applied in micro contexts, in different (if necessary) but equally valid and effective ways. Put in another way, is macro language policy able to respond to the local needs and the specific requirements of the micro level (Baldauf, 2007)? According to this conceptualization of language policy and planning, the individuals of local micro contexts (for example, teachers and students) are important agents in context-appropriate micro language planning. Since the research reported on in this dissertation is a study of the Szeklerland micro context, it involved the agents of micro language policy and planning, namely, teachers, school presidents, students, parents and representatives of minority organizations. That is, a wide range of subjects were involved for several reasons. First, as highlighted by Tollefson (2006: 45) "people who experience the consequences of language policy should have a major role in making policy decisions" and, as such, their opinions should also be revealed. Second, as seen by Shohamy (2006a: 48), the different levels of language policy decisions include children deciding which language to use with their peers and educational systems, workplaces and political entities (EU) language policy holders (Shohamy, 2006a: 48). Indeed, she claims the following:

While language policy is often perceived on a national political level, it is not always the case, as language policy can exist at all levels of decision making about languages and with regard to a variety of entities, as small as individuals and families, making decisions about the languages to be used by individuals, at home, in public spaces, as well as in larger entities, such as schools, cities, regions, nations, territories or in the global context (Shohamy, 2006a: 48).

More to the point, Shohamy considers that the agents of language educational policies include all those people who carry out such policies in an educational system through applying specific educational materials, methods and teaching hours. Educational personnel and staff such as teachers, principals and inspectors are part of this group. Moreover, it is them whom Shohamy considers to be "soldiers" (quotation marks in the original, page 78) of the system expected to carry out the policies through their teaching practice being mediators between language educational policies and their implementation who often "follow orders unquestioningly" (Shohamy, 2006a: 78, 79, 88). As such, she draws attention to the idea that teachers' opinions almost never matter on the political level, that they are hardly ever listened to and that they are not part of the policy-making process (Shohamy, 2006a: 79). This is because, on the one hand, in most countries teachers do not even gain training in language policy and, as a result, they are 'bureaucrats' of big government policies 'without having any say' in shaping and delivering language educational policies (Shohamy, 2006a: 80, 140-141). On the other hand, this means that bottom-up input about the realities of schools and classrooms does not reach language policy makers (Shohamy, 2006a: 142). Last but not least, Phillipson et al. (1995: 3) stress that the role of teachers as language professionals is also relevant from the point of view of linguistic human rights since teachers assume special responsibility in creating optimal conditions for the learning and use of languages.

Another group of agents, who, as Shohamy (2006a: 88, 140) suggests, are not involved in language policy processes, though they should be, are students and language learners. As far as students are concerned, Shohamy claims that a type of language rights violation introduced by language educational policies is when students of languages which are not powerful in a society are forced to learn a powerful language with limited or no support (Shohamy, 2006a: 89). Since students have no choice "but to comply and to change their language behavior" according to language educational policies (Shohamy, 2006a: 138), their rights of participation are violated. It is for this reason, among others,

that students should also be involved in research which is oriented towards evaluating or re-establishing language policy decisions. Besides these, the perspectives that students and their parents hold about language and language learning are important since, as folk linguists argue (Niedzielski and Preston, 2000: 302), average people's comments on and reactions to language are very illuminating as far as nonlinguists' ("real people's") metalinguistic perspectives of what language is and how it works are concerned. As a matter of fact, the ignorance of real people's knowledge about language is considered to be debilitating and dangerous by Niedzielski and Preston (2000) for the simple reason that a complete view of language is impossible without a minute account of the ideas that real people have about language. As the two authors demonstrate, nonlinguists have a very complex view on language matters including issues such as child language acquisition, language socialization, the role of correct spelling and formal education in language learning (Niedzielski and Preston, 2000: 201–260).

Such a variety of participants (parents, students, teachers, school-presidents) allowed collecting a wide range of perspectives on the language policy of the Szeklerland Hungarian minority and revealed existing contradicting views about the importance of languages that shape multilingual language policy theory and its implementation (Field, 2008: 86).

Interview participants[61] were selected with the following methods (Cohen et al, 2007: 176): (i) snowball sampling in case of which the first interviewee recommended other interviewees (school principals and teachers, stakeholders in the educational process); (ii) convenience sampling or opportunistic sampling, when the interviewee who was available was selected (school principals and vice-principals, stakeholders in the educational process); (iii) identification of the norm of a characteristic (bearers of extreme characteristics are selected, teachers, stakeholders in the educational process); (iv) typical case sampling when a sample was collected from parents or students, and (v) through the personal relationship of the interviewer (teachers).

The data for this study was collected over an approximately two year long period between April 2007 and January 2009 (see Table 3 for a comprehensive overview). Participants were selected in order to enable the comparison between language policy in theory and practice as well as to reveal the hidden relationship between language policy and language ideologies.

Between April 2007 and the first few months of 2008, 21 individual interviews were recorded in the 7 schools (3 in Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda and 4 in Sfântu

Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy) that participated in the research. Seventeen of the interviews were conducted with teachers and 4 interviews with school principals and vice-principals. Six of the teachers and 1 principal were from Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda, 11 teachers and 3 principals were from Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy.

The second part of the research involved the same schools and lasted from November 2008 through January 2009. Twenty-three interviews were conducted in Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy (3 school principals, 11 teachers, 5 parents, and 4 stakeholders in the educational process), and 8 focus group interviews were also recorded. In Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda the number of interviews is 9, of which 1 is a focus group with students, 5 are individual interviews with teachers, 2 with stakeholders in the educational process and 1 with a parent.

All in all, after the nearly two-year data collection period that took place between April 2007 and January 2009, the total number of interviewees is 33 teachers (of whom 23 are language teachers), 7 school (vice-)principals, 6 parents and 6 other institutional representatives. The total number of student subjects with whom focus group interviews were conducted is 41.

4.6. Data analysis: Thematic content analysis

Content analysis, a method of data analysis used for the analysis of mass media and public speech acts, is the process of examining any form of communicative material (like documents, interview transcripts and other written data) in order to reduce a (large) amount of text into a summary through the use of preexistent and emerging themes (Cohen et al., 2007: 475-476). It has its origins in the behavioral and social sciences and has a more than 50 years history in several fields such as communication, sociology and journalism (Neuendorf, 2002: xv). It is one of the research techniques applied in human sciences to analyze the human production of messages (Neuendorf, 2002: 4) and, as such, it aims to make replicable inferences from texts (Krippendorff, 2004: 18). While it is often used as a quantitative method of analysis, it is up to the decision of the researcher to delimit whether the scope of content analysis is a quantitative or qualitative one (Neuendorf, 2002: 3). Krippendorff (2004: 16) argues that qualitative content analysis focuses on the interpretation and rearticulation of relatively small amounts of text into narratives. The type of content analysis that encompasses written or transcribed texts is called text content analysis (Neuendorf, 2002: 25). Nevertheless, while some of the classic definitions of

content analysis apply the term only to refer to the analysis of written and transcribed texts, the modern definition of the term emphasizes that thematic content analysis may be applied as a method of data analysis to any type of message transcribed speech, including verbal interaction, visual images, etc. (Neuendorf, 2002: 24; Krippendorff, 2004: 19).

According to Neuendorf (2002: 73), the choice of units of analysis in thematic content analysis should be made depending on whether a type of analytic unit can well enough represent the phenomenon under investigation or not. In order to insure reliability, the present study makes use of sentences and paragraphs as units of analysis.

In the present study data analysis consists of the procedures offered by Fairclough (1995), i.e. the method based on three components: description, interpretation and explanation of the content of the interview excerpts by summative statements.

In this case, the interview transcripts have provided the text that has served as a domain of thematic content analysis. First of all, I listened to the interviews and selected elaborations on relevant themes for the research. Then I transcribed the selected voice sample units of the interviews word by word without adding any other linguistic convention (e.g. accent, standardization, hesitation) to have an orthographic representation of the oral data (Dörnyei, 2008: 246). Regarding the procedure of transcription, Dörnyei (2008: 248) notes that there is not a single, correct method of transcription, but the best option of transcription of a certain type of data depends on the research question, the methodological design and the theoretical background of the research. To break down the amount of text I received, I applied a thematic coding system so that my data be more manageable (Cohen et al., 2007: 478-479). To start with, relevant text parts were assigned a thematic code with sentences and paragraphs as units of analysis on the basis of their key themes like, for example, language ideologies related to linguistic competence, the implementation of a language policy, and the outcomes of the implementation of a particular language policy, viewing multilingualism as a cultural asset. Though this type of coding system was used, I looked at the utterances in their context rather than in isolation. After a selective reduction of the text to sentences and paragraphs, further codes were assigned to each sentence or paragraph to denote one of two major themes of the study, that is, language policy and language ideologies. Finally, I focused on describing the aspects of existent language policies related to first, second, or foreign language policies and matched them with one or more of the language ideologies my interviewees articulated. This was the last step of the analysis. This type of analysis allowed building a

multi-level diagram of relevant themes and made it possible to make connections on the several different levels of the data.

4.7. Language policy and language ideologies evaluation

To evaluate the language policy of the Szeklerland Hungarian minority schools, I adopted the language as a right, as a resource and as a problem framework presented by Ruiz (1984) and by Kontra et al. (1999) and the "three elements" language policy evaluation grid (capacity, opportunity and willingness) described by Grin (2003) in his suggestions referring to the effective planning of the implementation of the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*.

Ruiz (1984) and Kontra et al. (1999: 2) emphasize that the respect for linguistic human rights is the essential tool of preventing language conflicts in a society and, also, the condition of preventing the unequal divisions of power relations. Furthermore, they argue that the linguistic human rights perspective approximates language(s) on the ground of the "both-and" dichotomy and it excludes the "either-or" view which necessarily involves one language but it excludes others (Ruiz, 1984; Kontra et al., 1999: 2). Similarly, Phillipson et al. (1995: 2) claim that observing linguistic human rights implies not only the right to learn, to be educated and to use the mother tongue but also the right to learn (at least one of) the official language(s) of the state one is the resident of. According to this conception on the relationship of language policy with linguistic human rights (briefly described above), in this research I aim to highlight the ways in which the linguistic human rights[62] of Szeklerland minority Hungarians are being violated as far as state language learning and teaching is concerned.

Grin (2003) designed a comprehensive proposal for practical policy evaluation. Out of the numerous tools he offers for language policy analysis, I selected the one I considered to be the most suitable for the goals of my research. As such, I adopt the policy evaluation path that Grin (2003: 43-45) considers to include the three major conditions for a language to be living: *capacity* (adequate degree of competence in a language and the opportunity to learn it in case of inadequate competence in it); *opportunity* or the chance to use a language both in the private and the public spheres of life, and *desire* defined as the willingness to choose to use a certain language when doing something instead of another language.

I considered it important to apply both of these language policy evaluation guidelines since they emphasize that the condition of effective intervention in social

reality, as far as language matters are concerned, is both a positive and a normative evaluation of an existing language policy which, as a first step, drafts the key aspects of an existing language policy and it goes further to a second step when it envisions how things should be redesigned in order for a language policy to meet its objectives in an effective way (Grin, 2003: 4-23). In this sense the analysis in this research is both *ex ante* and *ex post facto* in its character since: (a) it describes existent orientations that have already been adopted; (b) it draws attention to the need to focus on the implementation of adopted orientations through specific measures, (c) it examines effects of existing policies; and (d) it assesses beforehand the advantages and drawbacks of policy alternatives if implemented (Grin, 2003: 29).

4.8. My position as a researcher

In this part of the dissertation I describe the role I occupy in my PhD research, including a detailed presentation of how I got interested in the topic, the factors that influenced my choice of topic, my personal experiences and opinion on my fieldwork and my position as a researcher.

My "first contact" with language policies and language ideologies goes back to my childhood. Having been raised by Hungarian parents and relatives, part of whom had Romanian colleagues and even friends, and who spoke fluent Romanian, while others condemned and depreciated Hungarians who had even the least contact with them, I grew up in a mainly monolingual Hungarian environment. I remember my mother telling me to be friendly and share my toys with everyone, Romanians, too, but not to accept chewing gum, candy and chocolate (rare things in those times in the least years of communism and first years of a new regime) from Romanians. I also remember being interrupted by my Hungarian friends' parents and older siblings when speaking to Romanians in the playground. I was absolutely banned from entering the garden and sports field of the Mihai Viteazul Lyceum, a Romanian school (which my mother attended in the "Hungarian times", as she called it, when it used to belong to Hungarians) situated at a 50 meter distance from my home, even though I always argued that there was a fountain in the garden which I found very useful during the long hours of playing in the fresh air. Luckily, I was allowed to drink water in the garden of the Székely National Museum which had the "Keep out" sign on its gate (but not on the fence that my friends and I used as a secret entrance). I remember that my mother was arrested when she could not have me down a

statue which had a star on the top and a hammer on the bottom that I liked sitting on. During my primary school years I remember trying to memorize the national anthem of Romania without any success and greeting the picture of Nicolae Ceauşescu through incomprehensible and long sentences, each and every morning and afternoon. Then, one day, my mother picked me up from school very early, and I could leave without singing the national anthem in Romanian. She took me to the neighboring little village to my grandparents because, as she explained while we were running to the bus station, the Dairy Factory was being shot at by soldiers. I really did not understand why soldiers shoot milk and dairy products in a factory instead of the bears in the forest, just as the smiling man from the first page of our books does on TV. After having started to learn French and English in the 6th grade, I did not understand why we could not learn Romanian in a similar manner: it could have been so much more fun with colorful books, speaking and listening to songs instead of reading about the Danube and some industrial matters every day, doing so much grammar and reading so many poems I could not appreciate. My Latin teacher said this was because we were in Romania and we had to know the language of the state. My History teacher said, if our parents agree, he would be happy to teach us the history of Hungarians, but this was something we should not speak about in the street and added that a different notebook was needed for this matter. The school principal was shocked when I told him that the scholarship the school gave me for paying the university examination fee would help me start my studies through the medium of Romanian. He said I was not going to like it. I did like it, very much, though, for a long time I did not understand the big difference in lesson plans and methodology as far as English and Romanian were concerned. Soon after, I realized that a relevant part of the linguistic challenges and problems of Hungarians living in Szeklerland were related to state language learning. I noticed that the language policy the *Constitution* embodied could only be implemented in a way that it became a problem. As a matter of fact, after a deeper analysis of the *Constitution*, I came to the conclusion that, implicitly though, but it is the *Constitution* itself that made it impossible for minorities to fulfill a task (that of state language learning) that the *Constitution* prescribed to be an obligation. As such, I become interested in identifying the ways in which the imposed aspects of state language policy became a problem for minority Hungarians. I wanted to find out how macro language policy was understood and reacted to at the micro level. I also wanted to reveal the ways in which the agents of the micro level shape language policy through their own ideologies and policies. In addition, I aimed to understand how something imposed at the macro level

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disempowered those on the micro level and why the micro level did not have authority over the macro level even though it had scientifically argued views on why macro level language policy was defective in its outcomes.

I started investigating the language policy issues of Romania due to the position I got as member of the LINEE Project in November 2006. My research started with a six month desk research phase that I carried out at the library of the ELTEAL Department (University of Szeged, Hungary). During these months, I collaborated with the other members of the research team, mainly Zsuzsanna Dégi, in finding the publications that are relevant to the topic investigated. We worked under the supervision of Anna Fenyvesi and Eszter Gillinger-Szabó and held a one to three hour meeting every two weeks where we reported on the progress we had made in our desk research. After a detailed exploration of the academic literature, we prepared the actual list of questions that later served as the actual question list of the semi-structured interviews. The first data collection took part afterwards, whereas I carried out semi-structured interviews according to the ones described in sections 4.3 and 4.4. Data analysis took place for one year, after which I participated at several conferences where I presented my results. Out of these, the one that had considerable influence on my research was the 15. Élőnyelvi Konferencia (15th Hungarian Sociolinguistics Conference) in Štúrovo/Párkány, Slovakia, in 2008. The call for papers of this conference urged me to investigate my data from the point of view of language ideologies. Soon afterwards I realized how rich my data was from this point of view, too. In addition, it was at this conference that I came to know the work of Petteri Laihonen, formerly unknown to me, unfortunately. He proved to be very helpful in sending me the publications he had on the topic of language ideologies in the Romanian Banat/Bánát. Reading his papers convinced me that the investigation of language ideologies was a very relevant and, also, unexplored, research topic as far as the Hungarians in Romania were concerned. However, only after reading Spolsky's (2004, 2007) and Shohamy's (2006a, 2006b) works did I understand how the two topics, language policy and language ideologies, I was so interested in, could be combined. By this time the second phase of the LINEE project had already started and, soon, at the end of 2008, I recorded further interviews with an expanded circle of interviewees. After this I transcribed the interviews and started to prepare my dissertation plan.

As far as my researcher status is concerned, I position myself on the continuum between the insider and outsider researcher.

Being a member of the culture I investigated, and having experienced the learning and teaching processes of the educational system I have aimed to explore, I position myself as an insider. Naturally, I experienced both the advantages and the disadvantages of this status. There were several advantages I benefited from as an insider. To start with, having known the sociolinguistic background of the community I investigated, due to being an indigenous member of the Hungarian community in Szeklerland, it was easier for me to find people who agreed to be interviewed. As such, my membership in the Hungarian community in Szeklerland was helpful in gaining the trust of the interviewees. I am positive about interviewees being more open in saying their opinion due to this. Also, it was easier for me to understand what they were talking about, and, as such, I did not have to ask questions to understand answers which were already uttered though not in a direct way. Understanding their narratives, the nuances of their words and idioms gave me considerable help in really understanding what the interviewees were talking about, what meaning they gave to their words and in being confident enough to overcome my position as a young and inexperienced researcher who was talking to experienced teachers and school principals.

As far as the disadvantages are concerned, fortunately, these were fewer in number than the advantages. First, many times throughout recording the interviews I felt like I was asking taken-for-granted questions and my interviewee was making taken-for-granted comments. In other words, it seemed to me the interviewees considered that the questions I was asking they themselves considered everybody knew the answers to. For example, when I asked the interviewees whether they considered the maintenance of their first language important or not, it appeared they got angry by hearing this question and said *Szerintem annyira fontos (az anyanyelv), hogy szinte nem is érdemes róla beszélni* ('I think it's so important [the mother tongue] that it's almost not worth talking about it'). As such, many of the issues the interviewees raised remained unchallenged. Another example is when an interviewee says they do not want to use *nehéz szavakat* ('difficult words') and I did not notice the very important reflection they had by saying this (*nehéz szavakat* ('difficult words') since the reasons for which they said their ideas in by using these words seemed to be so evident and self-explanatory to me. However, without their own explanation of what they meant by saying this, my interpretation of their words could seem like a distortion of meaning of my views in their perspective. The same situation, however, besides being a shortcoming of my research, taught me a very relevant lesson regarding the importance of the capability of trying to be an outsider, too: had I carried out the interview

more as an outsider who was trying to put aside already existing knowledge of the issue and pretend to know nothing, I would have been able to find out more about what, how and why the interviewee thought what they thought.

In addition to this, certain issues that I wanted to discuss seemed to be so self-evident to the interviewees that I sometimes felt like they considered the questions childish and unserious. For this reason, I decided to remind them that the interview was being recorded with the aim of them being able to share their views with people who were not familiar with their sociolinguistic situation at all. This "warning" seemed to make them understand that the issues we were talking about were, as a matter of fact, very serious and they continued elaborating their views enthusiastically. However, there were some interviewees who seemed to express their disillusionment and disinterest in the topic, or the whole situation of the interview, I could not decide which. In such cases, I decided to end the interview with politely offering the possibility to finish some other time in case they changed their minds.

Another disadvantage is, in a way, the continuation of the first one. Due to my existing knowledge, quite often I seemed to be very tight-lipped and far too superficial in collecting, analyzing and describing the data. Here, I would like to express my gratitude to Anna Fenyvesi, Eszter Szabó-Gillinger and Miklós Kontra for the comments they had throughout carrying out the fieldwork and writing the dissertation. Also, their comments helped me become more objective and distant enough to overcome subjectivity and personal preconceptions in the topic.

My position as an outsider can be supported with two points. First, I was not an actual member of any of the communities I contacted in the sense that I was never in daily contact with them. As a matter of fact, I contacted them three times: I called them on the phone or met them personally before the interview, at their workplace, to ask them to collaborate in the LINEE Project. For the second time I met them for the interview. For the third time I contacted them in an e-mail, almost two years after the interview was recorded, and offered to send them the article I wrote on the basis of the interviews electronically or by mail. As such, the motivation behind my research has always been purely academic in as much as I have wished to add some further knowledge to the field of language policy and language ideologies as far as the minority Hungarian community in Szeklerland was concerned. Accordingly, unwillingly though, I became an outsider to the community I investigated by "my will to act as a researcher" in the community I belonged to.

To conclude the ideas related to my position as a researcher, I wish I had been more experienced when I started my fieldwork in order to be more able to maximize the advantages of being both an insider and outsider to the topic of investigation.

Chapter 5. Results

In this chapter I am going to outline, on the basis of interview excerpts, interviewees' language policy views and language ideologies related to multilingualism, including their perceptions related to the Romanian, English and Hungarian languages.

5.1. Multilingualism

The Szeklerland data reveals a strong demonstration of consensus about the importance of multilingualism. As will be shown in what follows, interviewees consider multilingualism a very relevant competence. Naturally, interviewees' justifications for the importance of a person being competent in speaking several languages vary. One part of the arguments in favor of multilingualism emphasizes the instrumental value that multilingualism has in education, labor force, information flow and communication, while another part of the arguments views multilingualism as a window to other cultures and as a feature that makes one's personality richer.

First, the need of multilingualism is strongly, though not exclusively, associated with the notions of territoriality and labor force. More to the point, interviewees seem to be aware of how the actual choice of second and foreign languages is shaped by the territory a person lives in. This view is illustrated in interview excerpt[63] (1):

(1) Teacher of World Literature (PhD): *Az **európai integrációval** egyre több olyan **cég** is megjelenik **Romániában**, amely kéri azt, hogy egy **világnyelv**, többnyire az **angol**, mint közvetítő nyelv ismerete [meglegyen]. A **Romániában** működő **cégek** esetében az feltétel, hogy **románul** kell tudni. Mivel megjelennek a magyarországi **székelyföldi** központú **cégek,** ott normális az elvárás, hogy tudjanak **magyarul** is.*

'With the **integration into Europe** also more and more **companies** come to **Romania** that require that a **world language**, for most of the part knowledge of **English** as an intermediary language [be there]. In case of the **companies** that operate in **Romania** it is a requirement that one has to know[64] **Romanian**. Since there are Hungarian **companies** in **Szeklerland**, it is a normal requirement to also speak **Hungarian**.'

In excerpt (1), as in the following ones (2 and 3), the interviewee lists the languages they consider to be important according to their relevance in a certain territory. As a matter of fact, this interviewee's discourse on multilingualism is dominated by several names of certain territories. This indicates that, in the interviewee's view, multilingualism is a

phenomenon that is closely related to the notion of territoriality. As such, three territories are pinpointed that structure a person's need of language competence: the European Union, Romania and Szeklerland. According to this interviewee, multilingualism means three languages: Hungarian, Romanian and a foreign language, most often English. English is evaluated as a world language that functions as the mediator language within the labor market of the EU. Referring to Romanian, the interviewee claims that in case of companies that function in Romania it is a condition of employment that *románul kell tudni* 'one has to know Romanian'. The interviewee finds it a self-evident requirement that people who apply for a job at companies from Hungary should speak Hungarian, too. As a result, in addition to the notion of territoriality, another significant element of this interviewee's justification for the need of multilingualism is labor force. This is signaled by the reoccurring use of the term *cégek* 'companies', and it indicates that the nature of multilingualism is, as a matter of fact, influenced by the availability of labor force in a certain territory.

The existence of a link between territoriality and multilingualism is detectable in the discourse of another interviewee, too. The following interviewee (excerpts 2 and 3) considers that the need for multilingualism is justified by Hungarians' historical and present-day political situation. Implicitly, the interviewee conceives of the need of multilingualism for Szeklerland Hungarians as, first, a response to the historical changes that resulted in a political situation in which the Hungarians living in the Transylvania region of Greater Hungary became a national minority in Romania (a historical conceptualization of multilingualism), and, second, as an outcome of a political situation through which Romania joined the EU. Interestingly, the interviewee discusses their perspective on multilingualism in a way that they do not name any languages as such. What I am referring to is that by saying that *azok a gyerekek, akik már kicsi koruktól egy második nyelvet is, kényszerből vagy másképp, de megismernek, sokkal könnyebben tanulnak meg egy újabb idegen nyelvet* 'those children, who, from early childhood, out of obligation or in another way, get to know a second language, learn another, a new foreign language much more easily', the interviewer covertly indicates that one of the languages that they consider to be important is Romanian. This is discursively achieved by the use of the phrase *kényszerből vagy másképp* 'out of obligation or in another way', where the use of the term *kényszerből* 'out of obligation' mirrors the terminology of the *Constitution* which, as has been shown in Section 2.2.1, states that learning Romanian is an obligation of all Romanian citizens. In addition, this phrase expresses the interviewee's perception

according to which a possible reason for learning Romanian is that it is an obligation imposed by the state. However, the suggested inconvenience which was inferred by the term *kényszerből* 'out of obligation' related to the reasons for learning Romanian is dissolved further in the excerpt since, as a matter of fact, it turns out that the first language that comes into the interviewee's mind when talking about multilingualism is the Romanian language, which is positioned as being *segítő faktum* 'a helping factor' in becoming multilingual.

(2) *School principal, teacher of English 2: Azt gondolom, hogy a többnyelvűség, úgy, mint tulajdonság, az egy erény. Én azt gondolom, hogy szükség van rá. A **történelmi és a mostani politikai helyzetünkből kifolyólag nagyon nagy szükség van a többnyelvűségre**. Eléggé **segítő faktum** is abból a szempontból, hogy azok az emberek és **azok a gyerekek, akik már kicsi koruktól egy második nyelvet is, kényszerből vagy másképp, de megismernek, sokkal könnyebben tanulnak meg egy újabb idegen nyelvet** és sokkal nyitottabbak a másságért és a mássággal szemben. A nyelvérzékük is jobb, sokkal.*

'I think that multilingualism, as a characteristic, is a virtue. I think it is needed. Due to our **historical and present day political situation there is a great need for multilingualism**. It is also quite a **helping factor** from the point of view that **those people and those children who, from early childhood, out of obligation or in another way, get to know a second language, learn another, a new foreign language much more easily** and are more open to and towards otherness. Their sense of language is better, much better.'

Getting back to the arguments in favor of the "Romanian and a foreign language" type of multilingualism in excerpt (3), the interviewee gives some other reasons for which it is needed, namely, travelling and communication. As the interviewee puts it, multilingualism is required so that *meg tudjanak szólalni az emberek* 'people would be able to say a word or two'.

(3) Teacher of English, (PhD student): ***Mindenkinek kellene tudni románul és egy idegen nyelvet**, de ez gyakorlatilag nem minden esetben valósul meg. [...] Azért van szükség, mert egyre **könnyebben utazik** az ember. A **kommunikáció** szempontjából fontos, hogy **meg tudjanak szólalni az emberek**. Ma mindenki angolt tanul, ez a divat, de nem tudom, hogy ez jó-e?*

'**Everyone should know Romanian and a foreign language** but this isn't always accomplished. […] There is a need because people **travel more and more easily**. It is important from the point of view of **communication**, **so that people would be able to say a word or two**. Today everybody learns English, this is the fashion, but I don't know whether this is good or not.'

The representation of multilingualism as "Romanian and a foreign language" is further apparent in the whole of the data. Indeed, being multilingual in Hungarian, Romanian and English is perceived to be very important as far as success is concerned (see excerpts 4 and 5). Supportive evidence for the view of multilingualism as a tool of success is further given by the phrases *bárhol, bármiben, bármit elintézni* 'settling anywhere, anything', *munkahely elfoglalását, a továbbképzést* 'to get a job, a postgraduate course' and *érvényesülésben* 'succeeding', *sokkal könnyebben lehet érvényesülni* 'it's much easier to succeed', *hogy tudj érvényesülni az országban* 'so that you can succeed in this country', *ez hasznos* 'this is useful':

(4) Teacher of Geography 2: *Fontos, hogy az erdélyi magyarság, mint minden közösség, többnyelvű legyen. Nem tudok általánosítani.* **Vannak olyan egyének akik többnyelvűek és a magyar és román nyelvet is folyékonyan beszélik. Itten beszélhetünk többnyelvűségről, illetve egy idegen nyelvet is beszélnek és itten beszélhetünk egy bizonyos fokig többnyelvűségről.** [...] *Ez nagyon fontos lenne, mert az* **érvényesülésben** *nagyon fontos lenne a román nyelv használata is. A* **továbbtanulásnál** *is nagyon fontos, vagy* **bárhol, bármiben, bármit elintézni** *nagyon szükséges a román nyelv. Az idegen nyelv használata és tudása megkönnyítené úgy a* **munkahely elfoglalását, a továbbképzést.**

'It is important that Hungarians in Transylvania, like any other community, be multilingual. I can't generalize. **There are individuals who are multilingual and are fluent speakers of both Hungarian and Romanian. Here we can talk about multilingualism, or they also speak a foreign language and here we can talk about multilingualism to a certain degree**. […] This would be very important because the use of Romanian would be very important as far as **succeeding** in life. It is also important as far as **further education** is concerned, or in **settling anywhere, anything** Romanian is very necessary. The use and knowledge of a foreign language would make it easier **to get a job, a postgraduate course**.'

(5) Teacher of Romanian language and literature 4: **Ez benne van szinte a pakliban, hogy idegen nyelvet is kell tudni. Európai divatnyelveket, az angolt, a franciát, a németet.** [...] **Munkahelyet is könnyebben lehet keresni.** *Kimennek Spanyolországba, Olaszországba- ott is* **sokkal könnyebben lehet érvényesülni, ha ismeri a nyelvet.** *Előnyösnek látom a többnyelvűséget mindenféle szempontból. Nekünk előnyünk van a románokkal szemben mivel a magyar anyanyelv,* **a románt kötelezővé tettük, hogy meg kell tanulni, hogy tudj érvényesülni az országban. Ez hasznos.**

'**This is part of it that one has to know a foreign language. European fashion languages, English, French, German. […] It's easier to search for a job**. If they leave for Spain, Italy- **it's much easier to succeed there, if one knows the language**. I find multilingualism to be advantageous from all points of view. We have an advantage compared to Romanians because Hungarian is the mother tongue, **we made Romanian obligatory so that we have to learn it so that you can succeed in the country. This is useful**.'

In addition, multilingualism is estimated as a tool of getting insight into foreign cultures. Even more, in the following excerpt, (6), the interviewee claims that multilingualism brings *szabadságot* 'freedom'. This opinion is accompanied by an explanation through the phrase *minél több nyelvet ismer az ember, annál tágabb lesz számára a világ* 'the more languages one knows, the wider the world becomes for one'. This phrase is a variation of the proverb that heightens the importance of speaking languages "*The more languages you know, the more of a person you are*" and is an example of legitimization. As a matter of fact, the interviewees quoted in excerpts (7 and 8) use different means of legitimation to demonstrate their judgments related to multilingualism. In all cases, strategies of legitimation are applied for reasons of supporting their views as being correct. For instance, one type of legitimization characteristic to these interviewees' discourse is rationalization. The most relevant example for rationalization, the proverb "The more languages you know, the more of a person you are", is quoted to argue in favor of the view that multilingualism is a very positive phenomenon.

(6) Teacher of History 2: *Azt gondolom, hogy **alapvető szabadságot ad a többnyelvűség** és a fiatal nemzedéknél ez örvendetesen kezdett látszani [...] és felismerték annak szükségességét, **hogy minél több nyelvet ismer az ember, annál tágabb lesz számára a világ.** Azért van szükség a többnyelvűségre és a nyelvek ismeretére, hogy Európában is **teljes jogú emberként** tudjon érvényesülni. Ne csak Romániában, ne csak Magyarországon, hanem bárhol a világon. Ehhez az angol nyelv ismerete a legfontosabb, mert akárhová megy angolul ha tud akkor érvényesül az ember. [...] **A németet is és a franciát is. Sajnálatosnak tartom, hogy a francia nyelv iránt lanyhult a figyelem.** Alig lehet egy-egy franciát tanuló csoportot összehozni. A európai modern kultúra bölcsője mégiscsak Franciaország és a francia nyelv ismerete luxus, eszencia, amire szintén szükség lenne. De **ez iránt most már nincsen érdeklődés**.*

'I think multilingualism gives **basic freedom** and this can, fortunately, be seen in the case of the younger generation […] and they recognized the necessity of **the more languages one knows, the wider the world becomes for one**. There is a need for multilingualism and the knowledge of languages so that they can succeed as **people in their own right** in Europe**.** Not only in Romania or in Hungary but anywhere in the whole world. Knowledge of English is the most important for this, because anywhere you go, if you know English, you can succeed. […] **And German and French, too. I feel sorry about the loss of interest in French.** It's almost impossible to get a group together to learn French. After all, France and the French language is the cradle of modern culture and knowledge of French is a luxury and essence that one would also need. But there is no more interest for it anymore.

Other versions of the same proverb appear in excerpts (7 and 8), too, in which the interviewees describe multilingualism as something that *ezzel is több ember vagy* 'you become more by this':

(7) School principal 3, Religion teacher: *Most, hogy megnyílt a világ, [...] az angol nyelvnek és a német nyelvnek, a világnyelveknek az ismerete nagyon fontos a kommunikáció szempontjából. A más népek kultúrájának, irodalmának a megismerése-* **ezzel is több ember vagy, ha többet ismersz.**

'Now that the world is open […] the knowledge of English and German, of world languages is very important from the point of view of communication. To know other people's culture, literature- **you become more through this, if you know more**.'

(8) Parent 6: *Fontosnak fontos. Az angol a nagy divat. Mindenki angolul tud. Azt mondják, hogy* **ahány nyelvet tudsz, annyi ember vagy.** *Minél több nyelvet tudsz annál jobb. Kinek milyen nyelvre van szüksége: milyen kapcsolatai vannak? Fölösleges tudni annyi nyelvet ha nem használod semmire.*

'As for importance – it is important. English is the big fashion. Everybody knows English. People used to say that **the more languages you know, the more of a person you are**. The more languages you speak, the better. Who needs what languages, what relationships does one have? It's useless to know so many languages if you don't use them for anything.'

Undoubtedly, this proverb is used in the interviewees' discourse as confirmation to their personal opinion. By the use of proverbial wisdom, interviewees position their view as universally accepted.

A positive view on multilingualism is presented in excerpts (9 and 10), too, in which the interviewees make use of another of the frequently used means of legitimation, namely, authorization to support the opinion according to which multilingualism, inferred by the phrase *minél több nyelvet tudjon egy ember* 'one should speak more languages', is *jelenleg nagyon fontos* 'it is very important nowadays'. The interviewees refer to an authority of the field of education (e.g. a language teacher) or to a family member to underline that their view on the matter is reliable. As such, the interviewees below position their parents' or grandparents' opinion as further evidence for the truth of their personal perspective.

(9) Teacher of Romanian language and literature and of English: *Jelenleg nagyon* **fontos az, hogy minél több nyelvet tudjon egy ember. Egyrészt azért mert annyival több kultúrát ismer. Ugyanakkor több lehetősége van az érvényesülésre, mint annak az embernek, aki egy nyelvet, az anyanyelvét. [...] Nagytatám mondta: annyi fajta minden**

ember annyit ér, ahány nyelvet tud, annyi ember, annyi fajta. Mivel hogy kultúrát ismer. Nem csak a nyelvet ismered, amikor egy nyelvet tanulsz, a kultúráját is megismered és azokat az embereket is.

'**It is very important** nowadays that **one should speak more languages. On the one hand because then you know more cultures. Also you have more possibilities to succeed than a person who knows one language, their mother tongue. [...] My grandfather used to say: every man is worth as much as many languages they know, as many men, as many types. Since they know cultures. It is not only the language you know when you are learning a language, you also get to know its culture and those people, too**.'

Another occurrence of the proverb that proclaims the importance of multilingualism is given in excerpt (10), which says that competence in speaking languages gives people a sense of safety and liberty. In this case too, as in many other cases, the interviewee makes use of the views of an outsider (one of their teachers, an old teacher of German) to support their claim.

(10) Teacher of English 9: *Édesapám fogadott egy öreg német tanárt. Mindig azzal kezdte az órát, hogy ahány nyelvet beszélsz annyi ember vagy. Ez így igaz. Nem hogy csak annyi ember vagy, hanem ad egy biztonságérzetet és egy felszabadultságot. [...] Egymás kultúráját igazán a nyelven keresztül lehet megismerni.*

'**My father** got an **old teacher of German for me**. He used to start his lesson by saying **the more languages you know, the more of a person you are**. This is true. **It's not only that you are more as a person, but it also gives you a sense of safety and liberty. [...] We can know each other's cultures truly only through language**.'

All in all, multilingualism[65] is portrayed as a basic competence that comprises, besides the mother tongue, fluent language competence in the state language and one additional foreign language, mainly English. A comprehensive illustration of discourse that justifies this view is the one given in excerpt (11), in which the interviewee uses means of intertextuality (legitimation and authorization) to convey multilingualism as a positive phenomenon and irony, inferred through an anecdote, to criticize monolingualism. The adequacy of the view that promotes multilingualism as a value is constructed, first, through the use of rationalization manifested in the Latin proverb *Navigare necesse est* 'to navigate is necessary' (which is transformed by the interviewee to 'Communicare necesse est') and, second, by authorization through reference to a piece of literature written by László Németh[66]**.** In contrast to multilingualism, monolingualism is disapproved of by the interviewee. As such, on the basis of a textually incorporated anecdote (which is an explicit

form of intertextuality), the interviewee points out that in their view monolingualism pushes people to the periphery and it deprioritizes them.

(11) University professor, author of curriculum for teaching Romanian as a second language: *Ma idegen nyelven is kell kommunikálni, nem csak anyanyelven. Amikor idegen nyelvet mondok, akkor első helyre teszem a románt. Nem olyan értelemben, hogy idegen nyelv mivel nem az angollal, franciával vagy orosszal komparálható, hanem nem anyanyelv. Román nyelven bármilyen szakmában kommunikálni kell. Nem primitív, nem dadogó hanem fluens módon a kortárs román nyelv szókincsével, retorikájával és minden más nyelvi vetületével egyetemben. Szeretem mondani, hogy Navigare necesse est, hogy Hajózni muszáj. Ma ezt én úgy fordítom le, hogy **Communicare necesse est. Hogy fordítsam át ezt az analógiát: annak idején sem csak az óceánon hajóztak. Az óceáni hajózásnak én ma a kommunikációban az angol nyelvet mondom. Hanem a belvizeken is hajóztak. A belvizeket pedig ebben az összefüggésben, az én szemléletemben, a román nyelvet jelenti.** […] Eszembe jut **Németh Lászlónak egy beszámolója**, Magyarok Romániában- ez a címe, amit 1930-as évekbem írt amikor Romániába és Székelyföldre látogatott. Azt **írja a székelyekről nyelvi vonatkozásban (természetesen szabadon idézek), hogy annak nyelvi konoksága egyszerre felemelő és lehúzó. Ezt ma is **nagyon időszerűnek** tartom. Felemelő az önmegmaradása szempontjából. Hogy miért lehúzó, azt nem mondja. Sokszor eltűnődtem ezen és a **magyarázatot** egy **anekdotában** látom, amit huszonöt éve hallottam. Bár viccként mesélik, ez folklóralkotás és mély üzenete van. Rövidre fogva: készültek az innsbrucki téli olimpiára és a szervezők közzétettek egy hirdetést, hogy tolmácsokat keresnek. János bácsink is elmegy jelentkezni az interjúra és kérdezik tőle, hogy: A: 'Németül tud?', B: 'Nem.', A: 'Oroszul tud?', B: 'Azt sem.', A: 'Franciául?', B: 'Nem.', A: 'Angolul?', B: 'Nem.', A: 'Hát miért jött ide?', B: 'Hát azért, hogy megmondjam, hogy reánk ne számítsanak!'. Itt rejlik a mi tragédiánk. Jó az nekünk, hogy mi kijelentjük és még büszkék is vagyunk rá, hogy 'reánk ne számítsanak!' és ezt úgy jelentjük ki, hogy 'na, János bácsi kiszúrt a némettel!'? Holott csak magunkkal szúrunk ki: másodrendűek vagyunk, reánk egy ilyen fontos területen, mint a kommunikáció, ne számítson senki?! Ha nem tudunk kommunikálni, még a gondolatainkat sem tudjuk elmondani és eladni, nemhogy a javainkat. Ezzel magunkat a perifériára vagy egy rangsor végére taszítjuk.** Az állásvizsgák sokaságánál elsősorban a nyelvismeret feltétel. Székelyföldi állásvizsgáknál is a magyar és román és az angol vagy egy másik idegen nyelv feltétel.*

'Nowadays you have to communicate in a foreign language, too, not only in your mother tongue. When I say foreign language, I am thinking of Romanian, first of all. Not in the sense that it is a foreign language since it cannot be compared with English, French or Russian, but in the sense that it's not a mother tongue. You have to be able to communicate in Romanian in any profession. Not primitively, not in a stammering way but fluently by using the vocabulary, rhetoric and other linguistic nuances of contemporary Romanian. I like saying **'Navigare necesse est', that is 'Navigation is a necessity'. Today I understand this as 'Communicare necesse est'. Let me translate this analogy: people didn't use to sail only on the ocean. Sailing on the ocean today means English in communication. But they also used to sail on internal waters, too. Internal waters in this conceptualization, as far as my view is concerned, mean the Romanian language.** […] I remember **one of the reports of László Németh**, "Hungarians in Romania". This is the title and it was written in the 1930s when he visited Romania and Szeklerland. He wrote **about Szeklers, as far as language is concerned, that their**

linguistic obstinacy is elevating and, at the same time, retrograde. Nowadays I find this **very topical.** It's uplifting from the point of view self-existence. Why it is degrading, he doesn't say. I often meditate on this and the **explanation** I found in an **anecdote** that I heard twenty-five years ago. Though people used to tell it as a joke it is a piece of folklore and it has a deep message. In short: **people were getting prepared for the Innsbruck Olympics and the organizers launched an advertisement that they are looking for interpreters. Our Uncle János went to sign up for the interview and they asked him: A: 'Do you speak German?', B: 'No.', A: 'Do you speak Russian?', B: 'No.', A: 'French?', B: 'No.', A: 'English?', B: 'No.', A: 'So why did you come here?', B: 'So that I would tell you that you shouldn't count on us.' This is where our tragedy is inherent. Is it good for us that we state and, even more than that, we are proud of saying that 'people shouldn't count on us' and we claim this as if saying 'Ha, Uncle John has tricked the Germans!'. We are actually making fools of ourselves: we are second rate, nobody should count on us in such an important area as communication. If we can't communicate, we can't share our ideas and we can't sell them, nor can we sell our goods. We are pushing ourselves to the periphery and to the end of a ranking list.** In case of many job applications knowledge of language is a requirement. In case of Szeklerland job applications, too, Hungarian and Romanian and English or another foreign language is a condition.'

5.2. The Romanian language

5.2.1. Language policy

Romania's official language policy, as discussed in chapter 2, prescribes that in all institutions of the Romanian education system the state language is to be taught according to the curricula designed for teaching Romanian as a first language. This implies that the members of any of the minority groups of Romania, regardless of their mother tongue, have no choice but to learn the state language as if it was their first language. Much of the existing body of scholarly literature has challenged the efficiency of this top-down language policy which does not allow a Romanian as a second language policy and which disregards the linguistic needs of the Hungarian minority in Szeklerland. Similarly to the view presented in the literature, the interviewees of the present study outlined the unsuccessfulness of this state-imposed language policy. This idea is emphasized in excerpt (12):

(12) Teacher of History: *Én azt tapasztalom, hogy **a székelyföldi tömbmagyarságban élőknek** nagyon kis hányadáról mondható el az, hogy **többnyelvűek** lennének vagy akár a román–magyar nyelv viszonylatában kétnyelvűek lennének. Ennek egy olyan **hibás oktatáspolitika** adja a magyarázatát, ami gyakorlatilag **megfosztja az itt élő gyerekeket** gyakorlatilag mai napig **a kétnyelvűség lehetőségétől**. […] olyan módon építik fel azt az*

***anyag**ot, amelyen keresztül **nekük** nyelvet kellene tanulniuk, amely gyakorlatilag lehetetlenné teszi a nyelvtanulást.*

'According to my experience, of the **Hungarians who live in blocks (compact areas) in Szeklerland** only a low percentage can be considered to be multilingual or Hungarian-Romanian bilingual. This is explained by a **defective educational policy** that, practically, **deprives children who live here**, even today, of **the possibility of bilingualism**. […] They design the **material** through which **they** have to learn language in such a way that it, practically, **makes language learning impossible**.'

As indicated, according to the above quoted interviewee's opinion (excerpt 12), the state language policy does not work effectively in Szeklerland. This view is inferred from the interviewee saying that the state language policy is a *hibás* 'defective' language policy, one that makes the *kétnyelvűség lehetőségét* 'the possibility of bilingualism' and the development of Hungarian-Romanian bilingualism impossible. In other words, the interviewee positions the *hibás* 'defective' language policy as being the cause for Szeklerland Hungarians' underdeveloped Hungarian-Romanian bilingual language skills. Accordingly, there is a conflict of interest suggested between Szeklerland Hungarians (*az itt élő gyerekeket* 'children who live here') and the *hibás oktatáspolitika* 'defective educational policy' whose designers the interviewee does not name. As such, the reader faces an unidentifiable agent whose identity is not indicated but whose work, however, is said to victimize the minority group. Obviously, the language policy that the interviewee views as *hibás* 'defective' has been designed by a few agents. However, the interviewee constructs their view in a way that they avoid saying who the agents responsible for this language policy are. Through this means of erasure the agents are made invisible and, as such, there is noone identified as being responsible for the malfunctioning of an implemented language policy.

To get back to the main point, the interviewee's discourse is expressive of why they consider that the state language policy malfunctions in Szeklerland Hungarian minority schools. For instance, they indicate that the language environment in Szeklerland is dominated by the Hungarian language. What is inferred from this is that the language environment in Szeklerland is not the same as the one in all other parts of Romania, that is, monolingual Romanian. Accordingly, the interviewee identifies Szeklerland language environment, further stressed through the use of the adverb of place *itt* 'here', as one that does not facilitate the acquisition of other languages than Hungarian in everyday situations. Even more, the interviewee adds, the use of materials, too, *gyakorlatilag lehetetlenné teszi a nyelvtanulást* 'makes language learning practically impossible'.

In the same manner, the interviewee quoted in excerpt (13) criticizes the state language policy[67] and identifies it as the victimizer of Szeklerland Hungarians, this being indicated by the phrase *nem tudunk előre haladni* 'we aren't able to advance'. As before, there are no agents identified as ones to whom language policy procedures could be ascribed, and no agents are identified as being responsible for the outcome of these procedures. This interviewee illustrates the state language policy's faults by explaining that it does not take into consideration the fact that there is a significant difference between language learners who have a language as their mother tongue and between learners who have the same language as a non-mother tongue, or, in other words, as a second or foreign language.

(13) University professor, author of curriculum for teaching Romanian as a second language: *Nagyon fájlalom, **hogy nem tudunk előre haladni**. Ennek számtalan oka van mely okok talán nem is annyira magunkban, mint a **halvány nyelvoktatási politikában** és **stratégiában** vannak. Abban, hogy **a román oktatáspolitika egyenlőségjelet vont** a **nyelvet anyanyelvként beszélő**, tehát a nyelvbe beleszülető egyén és az abba **a nyelvbe nem beleszülető**, tehát egy **más anyanyelvbe és egy más kultúrába beleszülető** egyén között.*

'I am very sorry that **we aren't able to advance**. This has an innumerable number of reasons, reasons the source of which are not so much in us, but in the **vague language policy** and **strategy**. Namely, in that the **Romanian educational policy equates individuals who speak a language as a mother tongue**, that is, are **born into a language,** and those who are not born into that language, so they are **born into another mother tongue and another culture**.'

The most important reason for which interviewees consider the Romanian as a first language policy ineffective in Hungarian-medium schools is that it does not contribute to Szeklerland Hungarians' development of communicative competence in Romanian. As the interviewee below states (excerpt 14), students can solve exercises of grammar but they can't communicate. Also, when they are expected to deliver their personal opinion or the content of a literary piece of art they rather memorize from their copybooks the text which was dictated to them during class because they cannot handle the challenge of speaking freely due to the absence of vocabulary necessary for the speaking task.

(14) Student 1: ***Feladatba tudják alkalmazni** [a nemek egyeztetését], megtanulják [a nemek egyeztetését], de amikor **el kell beszélgetni** vagy **elmondani egy leckének a tartalmát románul**, akkor azt már **nem tudják saját szavakkal elmondani.** Inkább **bemagolják** és azt mondják elejétől végéig szóról szóra ami a füzetben van.*

'**They can implement it** [gender concord] **in practice**, they memorize it [gender concord], but when they **have to talk or say the topic of a lesson in Romanian**, then they **can't say it in their own words**. More like they cram it up and they say what is written down in the copybook, word by word, from the beginning to the end.'

The absence of competences in Romanian is highlighted (see excerpts 15, 16 and 17) in many ways by the interviewees. In most of the cases, interviewees do not evaluate students' language competence by reference to all language skills and by levels but give an overall evaluation of vocabulary and communication skills by saying that these, what they call *alap szintű készségek* 'basic level skills', are *elég hiányos* 'rather imperfect', *nagyon nagyon visszafogottak* 'very very subdued', *eléggé alacsony szintű* 'of quite a low level' and are *nem felel meg, egyáltalán nem felel meg* 'not suitable, not suitable at all', *nagyon gyenge a román nyelvtudásuk* 'their knowledge of Romanian is very weak', and with *milyen kicsi a szókincsük* 'such a narrow vocabulary'.

(15) Teacher of Romanian language and literature: *Egyértelműen probléma a **[román] nyelvi készség hiánya**. Emiatt éppen az a legnagyobb problémám, hogy egy viszonylag jól tanuló, fejlődőképes nyolcadik osztályban nagyon nehezen megy a román nyelvű történelem és földrajz oktatás, mivel a szakkifejezéseket nagyon nehezen tanulják meg és az **alapszintű készségek** és a **román nyelv használatában nagyon nagyon visszafogottak**.*

'**Absence of language skills [in Romanian]** is an obvious problem. For this reason my biggest problem is that in a relatively good-skilled class of eight graders, who are capable of progress, learning history and geography in Romanian works quite badly since they learn professional vocabulary with difficulty and in **basic skills** and in **the use of Romanian they are very very subdued**.'

(16) Teacher of History: *De sokszor még az összekötő szöveget sem értik meg. Ez is mutatja, hogy a **román tudásuk eléggé alacsony szintű**, a román nyelvi tudásuk. Sokszor nagyon egyszerű kifejezéseket többször is meg kell ismételni, mert nem értik vagy nem tudják leírni helyesen.*

'Oftentimes they don't understand even the connecting text. This indicates that **their knowledge of Romanian is of quite a low level**, their knowledge of Romanian. Oftentimes you have to repeat very simple expressions many times because they don't understand them or they can't spell them correctly.'

(17) School principal, teacher of English*: Sajnos a tapasztalatom azt mutatja, hogy **Székelyföldön a román nyelv ismerete elég hiányos**, és nyelvész révén tudom, hogy ez elsősorban annak tudható be, hogy a **diákjaink** gyermekkorukban **nincsenek olyan környezetben, ahol a román nyelvet spontánul tanulták meg**. **Nem beszélik a román nyelvet**, amikor pedig elérik az iskolai kort, akkor is nem igazán mondhatják, hogy román diákokkal játszanak együtt, tehát a természetes módja a nyelvtanulásnak igazán nem létezik számukra. [a román nyelvi szint] **nem felel meg, egyáltalán nem felel meg** [a történelem*

*és a földrajz tárgyak románul való oktatásának], mert főleg Sepsiszentgyörgyön, ahol olyan a nyelvi környezet, mert hogy a nap zömében magyarok között vagyunk és vannak. Emiatt **nagyon gyenge a román nyelvtudásuk** s ezért bizony elég sok szót órán is le kell fordítani nekük, mert **nem értik**. Elég nehéz megtanulni nekik, sokszor úgy **magolják be**, hogy **nem értik, mit tanulnak**, a tanár magyarul is el kell mondja közben nekik. [...] Egy másik környezetbe felnövő gyerek, aki szórványban él és románok között van, az biztos, hogy jobban el tudja sajátítani. Bővebb a nyelvtudása, a szókincse, de ezeknek a mieinknek, akik itt vannak Szentgyörgy, Csíkszereda, Udvarhely, tehát ezeken a részeken nagyon nehéz, mert érettségin látjuk, hogy a gyereknek **milyen kicsi a szókincsük** és nehéz.*

'Unfortunately my experience shows that **in Szeklerland the knowledge of Romanian is rather imperfect** and, as a linguist I know that this is due to the fact that in their childhood **our children aren't in such a language environment where they could spontaneously learn Romanian. They don't speak Romanian** and when they reach school age they cannot really say that they play with Romanian children, so a natural learning environment doesn't really exist for them. [The level of Romanian] **is not suitable, not suitable at all** [for teaching History and Geography in Romanian], because, mainly in Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy, where the language environment is such that we and they are among Hungarians for the most part of the day. For this reason **their knowledge of Romanian is very weak** and so we have to translate many words for them during the class since **they don't understand them**. It's quite difficult for them to learn them, oftentimes **they cram them up**, they **don't understand what they are learning**, the teachers have to tell them in Hungarian, too. […] A child who is raised in a different environment, lives in diaspora and is among Romanians is much more able to acquire it. Their knowledge of language is wider, their vocabulary, but these here, ours, who are here in Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy, Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda and Odorheiu Secuiesc/Székelyudvarhely, in these parts, it's very difficult, since we can see it in the school leaving examinations that the children have **such a narrow vocabulary** and it's difficult.'

Excerpt (18) is an illustration of the interviewee's assessment of the vocabulary of Hungarian minority children living in Szeklerland. In their discourse the interviewee in excerpt (18) estimates the underdevelopment of Romanian language skills by saying *nagyon szegény a szókincsük* 'their vocabulary is very poor'.

(18) Teacher of Russian, of Romanian language and literature and of Hungarian: Hát sajnos a probléma az, hogy ezek a gyerekek ugye magyar ajkúak és otthon a családban nem használják a [román] nyelvet. *Ezért mondhatnám úgy, hogy **nagyon szegény a szókincsük**.*

'Unfortunately, the problem is that these children are of Hungarian mother tongue and they don't use the [Romanian] language in the family. For this reason I could even say that their vocabulary is very poor.'

Another interviewee (excerpt 19) evaluates language skills in Romanian as *egyszerűen nem tudnak, tehát nem értenek románul* 'they simply don't know it, so they

don't understand Romanian', *egy egyszerű mondatot nem tudnak megfogalmazni nálam is történelemből* 'they can't put together a simple sentence in Romanian in my history class either'.

(19) Teacher of Geography: *Tehát **a román nyelvtudás szintje nagyon alacsony**, tehát nagyon nagyon nagyon alacsony, annyira, hogy a román szakos kolleganők is néha panaszkodnak, hogy nincs amit kezdjenek velük, mert **egyszerűen nem tudnak**, tehát **nem értenek románul**. Egy egyszerű mondatot nem tudnak megfogalmazni nálam is történelemből.*

'So **the level of knowledge of Romanian is very low**, so very very very low that sometimes my colleagues of Romanian complain that they can't do anything with them, because **they** simply **don't know it**, **they don't understand Romanian**. They can't compose a simple sentence in Romanian in my history class either.'

To continue the discussion of the suitability of state language policy for Hungarian first language speakers, an important question to ask is *what exactly is being taught in school*? This is described in the following excerpt (20):

(20) School principal, teacher of Geography: *Én azt hiszem, illetve azt látom, hogy a mi iskolánk diákjai addig amíg bizonyos **szövegértelmezésekre** törekednek és **irodalmi értelmezéseket** várnak el tőlük a tanárok illetve maga az oktatási rendszer, mindamellett, hogy **alapvető kommunikációs problémáik vannak a hétköznapokban**, ez kihozza **a rendszer hiányosságait** illetve a **tévútjait**. Tehát addig amíg a román nyelv és irodalom órán **igen nagy lélegzetvételű elemzéseket** készítenek, addig az **utcán** amikor valaki hirtelenül váratlanul rákérdez valamilyen segítségnyújtás kapcsán, akkor hát finoman fogalmazzak, **nehézségeik** vannak. Nem állítom, hogy mindenkinek, de az esetek többségében ez így működik, ami valamilyen szinten érthető is, hiszen **egészen más az**, ami **a tanítási órán történik** illetve hát kell történjen, mint amit **a mindennapi élet elvár** tőlük.*

'What I think or rather, what I see, is that students in our school are expected to do **interpretations of texts**, **literary interpretations** – this is the expectation of the teachers and the whole educational system – at the same time when **they have basic problems communicating in everyday life**. This really shows you the **shortcomings** and **misconceptions** of the system. So, while the students are doing **complex analyses** in the Romanian language and literature classes, if somebody asks them for help in the **street**, they **are**, to put it mildly, **in trouble** as far as their language skills are concerned. Not everyone is, but this is the typical scenario. It's pretty understandable, too, because the school expects you to do things that are **very different** from what happens in **real life**.'

This interviewee believes that the fact that students cannot meet the communicational challenges they encounter in their everyday life highlights the failure of the language educational policy that focuses on teaching literature analysis but does not teach language

in use. More to the point, the interviewee contrasts the content of formal teaching *ami a tanítási órán történik* 'what school expects you to do', which they describe as *szövegértelmezésekre* 'interpretations of texts' and *irodalmi értelmezéseket* 'literary interpretations' with everyday life referred to as *a mindennapi élet elvár tőlük* 'what is expected of us in everyday life' and *utcán* 'in the street' to show that there is a gap between what students need in their daily life and what they are taught at school. To emphasize the dissimilarity between the two, they add that these two things are *egészen más* 'very different'.

Further relevant questions to ask regarding state language policy is *what methodological approach is used for teaching the Romanian language* and *in what way does this methodology respond to the local needs*? Excerpts (21 and 22) discuss these issues and show the difference between the presently applied methodology and the one that interviewees believe would be suitable for the local needs:

(21) Teacher of History: *Hát szerintem ez eléggé megegyezik a többi kollégáim véleményével, hogy ez a szint **ez anyanyelvi szint**, ez tehát **olyan szinten** tanítják a román nyelvet **mint a román anyanyelvű diákoknak**. Tehát ez túl magas. Tehát **inkább** arra kellene megtanítsák a diákokat, **hogyan kell beszélni románul**, **nem** azt hogy **ki és mit, mikor és hogyan írt**. Tehát nem az **irodalmat** kell túlsúlyba helyezni, hanem i**nkább** a nyelvet, **a román nyelvet**.*

'Well I think my opinion is pretty much the same as my colleagues' that this level is the **mother tongue level**, so they teach the Romanian language **at the level** they have **for Romanian mother tongue students**. So this is too high. So they should **rather** teach children **how to communicate in Romanian**, **not who wrote what, when and how**. So it's not **literature** that should be in predominance, but **rather language**, **the Romanian language**.'

From excerpt (21) it follows that the reason for which the interviewee considers state language policy to be problematic is that it has been designed for speakers of Romanian as a first language. This interviewee labels this approach to teaching Romanian as the *anyanyelvi szint* 'mother tongue level' and describes as one that teaches *ki és mit, mikor és hogyan írt* 'who wrote, what, when and how' instead of *a román nyelvet* 'the Romanian language' and *inkább a nyelvet, a román nyelvet* 'rather language, the Romanian language'. The same view is expressed in excerpt (22) in which the interviewee labels the present state language policy as one that *román diákok számára készültek* 'was written for Romanian students' and underlines that it *nem is összpontosít végül is a kommunikációs*

nyelvre 'textbooks don't concentrate on communicative language use' but, instead, it makes students memorize examination topics.

(22) School principal, teacher of English: *[A román nyelvi kompetencia] nem alakul ki 12 év oktatás alatt sem. Természetesen, ezt elsősorban azzal magyarázhatjuk, hogy a tankönyvet amiket használunk* **román diákok számára készültek**, *nem is feltételezi azt, hogy esetleg nyelvi nehézségekbe ütközne az a diák és* **nem is összpontosít** *végül is a* **kommunikációs nyelvre** *egyik könyv sem. Ezért a diákjaink többnyire* **kívülről** *tanulják meg, azt hiszem, azt amit* **vissza kell adniuk** *és amit* **bizonyítaniuk** *kell* **vizsgákon**.

'[Competence in Romanian] doesn't develop even in twelve years of education. Naturally, this can be explained by the fact that the textbooks that we use **were written for Romanian students**, and they do not expect that students will possibly have any difficulties with them, and **textbooks don't concentrate on communicative language use**. So, our students learn **by heart** everything that **they have to know for the exams**.'

Additional details of why state language policy is not compatible with the local language needs are given in excerpt (23). Here the interviewee explains that *archaizmusoktól* 'archaic expressions', *regionalizmusoktól* 'regionalisms' and *nyelvtani problémát* 'grammar problems' are useless as far as students' language needs are concerned since students cannot make use of them *mindennapi életben* 'in everyday life', *kommunikációban* 'in communication' and *hát a későbbiekben* 'in the future'.

(23) Teacher of History: *Egy csomó* **olyan dolgot taníttatnak**, *aminek tulajdonképpen* **nem veszi hasznát** *a gyerek* **a mindennapi életben**, *a mindennapi* **kommunikációban**. *Tehát* **nem kommunikálnak** *tulajdonképpen, hanem a* **regionalizmusoktól** *és az* **archaizmusoktól** *és a minden egyébtől elkezdődően egy csomó* **nyelvtani problémát** *tanulnak meg* **amihez a gyereknek semmi köze nem lenne hát a későbbiekben** *és hát* **attól nem fog tudni jól beszélni románul**. *[...] A románt nem úgy tanítják, mint idegen nyelvet! Igen.*

'**A whole lot of things are taught** to the students that they **cannot make use of in everyday life and in** everyday **communication**. They don't communicate really but learn about a great range of **grammar issues** like **regionalisms** and **archaisms** and other things like that, which **children really won't have anything to do with later in life** and **which don't make them learn Romanian any better**. […] Romanian is not taught as a foreign language. That's it!'

An illustrative example of why the Romanian as a first language methodology is unsuitable for teaching the state language in a language environment dominated by the use of Hungarian is given in excerpt (24). The interviewee contrasts what they call *nyelvi kövületeket* 'linguistic fossils', referring to *a moldvai tájnyelv* 'the Moldavian dialect' and

olyasmit, amire abszolút nincs szükségük 'things that they absolutely don't need' with *élőnyelvi képességek, kompetenciák* 'real language skills and competences'. Through this comparison the interviewee, similarly to the previous interviewees, separates the elements of language into two groups: elements that can make a language live since they facilitate communication, and ones that transform a language into a tool incompatible for communication.

(24) Teacher of History: *Azt hiszem, hogy arról az elvi kérdésről van itt szó, ami a román nyelvet nem idegen nyelven kezeli egy olyan nyelvi környezetben, ahol a gyerekek többsége csak iskolai környezetben találkozik ezzel a nyelvvel. Amikor ők első osztályba kerülnek, akkor úgyszólván teljesen idegen nyelvként kezdik és azt az első két évet leszámítva olyan szövegekkel szembesülnek, amelynek **a nyelvi anyaga** egyrészt **fölösleges** másrészt nagyon nehezen rögzíthető számukra. […] **élőnyelvi képességek, kompetenciák helyett** gyakorlatilag **nyelvi kövületeket** tanulnak vagy **olyasmit, amire abszolút nincs szükségük,** ami egy románul beszélő gyermeknek is megtanulandó, mondjuk a **moldvai tájnyelv.***

'I think we are dealing with the principle that does not handle the Romanian language as a foreign language in a language environment where most of the children meet this language only in school context. When they start primary school, they, so to say, begin it as a totally foreign language, and, except for those two years, they face texts whose **language points** are, on the one hand, **unnecessary**, and on the other hand very difficult to remember for them. […] **Instead of real language skills and competences,** they learn, practically, **linguistic fossils** or **things that they absolutely don't need**, things that are to be learnt even by a Romanian child, as, for example, **the Moldavian dialect**.'

Last but not least, interviewees emphasized that what is achieved by the Romanian as a first language policy is in sharp contrast with what motivation for target language learning would be. Namely, as demonstrated by excerpt (25), students show resistance towards speaking the state language.

(25) Teacher of Romanian language and literature: **Még a szó is borzasztó**. Tehát mikor a **parlamentben** erről vitáznak hát már **a hajuk égnek áll**, amikor valamelyik magyar képviselő vagy szenátor felveti a problémát, hogy sokkal **eredményesebb** lenne, ha a **román nyelvet** úgy kezelnék, már kicsi osztályoktól, mint **idegen nyelvet**. Nyugodtan lehetne úgy kezelni. **Nagyon nagyon borzolódnak attól a szótól, hogy "idegen nyelv".** "**Hát ugyebár ez az állam nyelve, hát nem lehet idegen nyelv**". De nem a **tényeket** veszik alapul, hogy ennek a székely gyereknek **itt a székely környezetben a román nyelv az egy abszolút idegen nyelv és soha az ő környezetében románul nem beszélt, nem hallott román szót, itt is csak az iskolában hall**. […] Tízes általánosú [átlagú] gyerek **nem mer megszólalni románul** román környezetben. Ő tudja a tananyagot, nagyszerűen megtanulta, de **románul értekezni**, románul **kommunikálni** ugyebár **nem tud**. Ezért lenne jó ez a dolog, hogy **idegen** nyelvként kezeljük. **Ha félnek a szótól** nem feltétlenül kell odabiggyeszteni, hogy "**idegen**", de "**ismeretlen**" akkor. Mert úgyse **ismerik**. A **tény**

az, hogy **nem ismerik**. Ha 1–4, 5–8-ba legalább így kezelnék ezt a dolgot, akkor már líceumi szintre eljutnánk oda, hogy gyerekekkel már el lehetne beszélgetni románul. De **így** szó se róla.

    '**Even the word sounds awful**. So when they are discussing this issue in the **parliament their hair stands on end** when one of the Hungarian members of the parliament or a senator raises the problem that it would be **much more effective** if **Romanian** were to be treated as a **foreign language** right from early school years. One could do it, no problem. **They are really really being grated on their nerves by the word "foreign"**. **"Well that is the language of the state, it can't be a foreign language"**. But it is not **facts** that things are based on that for **Szekler children in this Szekler environment Romanian is an entirely foreign language and they have never used Romanian with people around them, never even heard Romanian spoken outside the school**. Even students with the best average grade[68] are **afraid to speak Romanian** in the Romanian environment. They know the material, excellently, but **to make themselves understood in Romanian**, **to communicate in Romanian they can't**, can they? This is the reason why this thing would be good, that they would handle it as a foreign language. **If they are afraid of the word**, you don't have to attach "**foreign**" to it, but, then, "**unknown**". Because **they don't know it**, anyway. **It's a fact that they don't know it**. If they handled this thing like this, at least in the grades from 1 to 4, and 5 to 8, then, by the level of secondary school we would be able to hold a Romanian conversation with the children. But **like this,** no way.'

The interviewee in excerpt (25) discusses why there is no willingness on the part of the students to use Romanian as a means of communication. According to their opinion, students *nem mer megszólalni románul* 'are afraid to speak Romanian' in a Romanian linguistic environment since, even though they are familiar with the material they've have been taught during *Romanian language and literature* lessons, they cannot communicate in Romanian. Why students cannot communicate in Romanian is not directly highlighted in the discourse. However, the fact that the interviewee contrasts students' knowledge of the Romanian acquired during formal school learning with their inability in communication pinpoints that the interviewee believes that the material taught in school is not suitable for the development of Romanian communication skills. The ineffectiveness of the methodological approach for *teaching* communication in Romanian is emphasized in the last sentence of the excerpt where the interviewee underlines, once again, that by this language policy, referred to by the phrase *így* 'like this', it is not possible for the students to learn to communicate in Romanian.

    In their discourse, the interviewee recommends that Romanian should be taught as a foreign language. This recommendation is accompanied by a short narrative in which a reflection on the use of the term *idegen* 'foreign' as referring to the Romanian language is given. They say that *ha félnek a szótól nem feltétlenül kell odabiggyeszteni, hogy "idegen",*

de "ismeretlen" akkor 'if they are afraid of the word, one should not put *foreign* but *unknown*' because *tény az* 'it is a fact' that *nem ismerik* 'they don't know it'. This discourse indicates several things. First, the interviewee differentiates between two groups of people who do not agree on the use of the term *idegen* 'foreign'. On the one hand, there are some unidentified subjects who do not agree with the use of the word *idegen* 'foreign' related to a language. Namely, the interviewee claims that some are *félnek* 'afraid' of the use of the term *idegen* 'foreign' as referring to the Romanian language. The interviewee does not indicate who does not agree with the use of the term *idegen* 'foreign'. As such, this group of people remains unknown. On the other hand, and in contrast with the unknown subjects, there is another group of people referred to, identified as *ő* 's/he', *székely gyereknek* 'for a Szekler child' who consider that Romanian should be taught as a foreign language. More importantly, the interviewee insists that instead of the word *idegen* 'foreign', which is not preferred by the other group of people, another term could be used, namely, *ismeretlen* 'unknown' and emphasizes that this is necessary because students *úgyse ismerik* 'don't know it anyway'. Through the use of the terms *ismeretlen* 'unknown' and *úgyse ismerik* 'don't know it anyway' the interviewee comments on students' relationship with the state language and infers their resistant attitude towards it.

The above presented opinion, representative of the group of interviewees I labeled as teachers, parents and stakeholders in the educational process, is shared by the group of interviewees labeled as students, too, one of whom also reports that the state that *félünk attól, hogy kikacagnak* 'we are afraid to be mocked' stops them not only from speaking but also from trying to speak Romanian (see excerpt 26).

(26) Student 4: *Velünk az a baj, így magyarokkal*, hogy **félünk**. **Nem is próbálkozunk** sokszor, hogy *megértessük magunkat, mert* **félünk** *attól, hogy* **kikacagnak** *azért, hogy nem tudunk. Nem is próbálkozunk, s hagyjuk.* Így nem is tudunk tanulni.

'The problem with us, Hungarians, is that **we are afraid**. Oftentimes **we don't even try** to make ourselves understood because **we are afraid** to be **mocked** for not knowing. We don't even try, so we just leave it at this. And so we can't learn.'

In addition to all what is said by the previous interviewees related to the fear of speaking Romanian, one of the students (quoted in excerpt 27) explains that the reason for this attitude is that students are aware of the fact that what they learn at school is not the knowledge of language they would need in everyday life and, accordingly, they are afraid to speak Romanian. They clearly indicate that the skills of literature analysis they acquire

during formal teaching does not make them capable of responding to the communication situations they meet in their daily life as, for example, when going to the baker's to buy some bread.

(27) Student 12: Igen. Pont az a probléma, hogy **nem merünk megszólalni románul,** *mert nem tudjuk, hogy hogy fejezzük ki magunkat, mert csak verselemzéseket meg műelemzéseket tanulunk és nem azt, hogy hogyan kérjünk mondjuk egy kenyeret.*

'Yes. That is exactly what the problem is, that **we are afraid to speak Romanian**, because we don't know how to express ourselves, because we only learn poetry and literary interpretations and do not know how to ask for bread.'

To demonstrate the existence and validity of the attitude of fear on the part of Hungarians, one of the interviewees (excerpt 28) highlights that the discourse of Romanian official representatives actually contributes to this. This interviewee indicates that one of the members of the Romanian Parliament claimed that *Secuii sunt handicapaţi lingvistic* 'Szekler people are linguistically handicapped'. The interviewee says this claim originates from the Romanian Parliament[69] and emphasizes its Romanian origins through the fact that the claim is quoted in Romanian, that is, the language it was originally uttered in. Moreover, this claim the interviewee interprets as a stigma since, as they point out, it classifies Szekler people as *nyelvi lemaradottak, hátramaradottak* 'linguistically underdeveloped, backward'. The interviewee views this stigma metaphorically as a threshold that stops Hungarian people from initiating communication or trying to speak Romanian in all circumstances where the Romanian language is needed or even in the presence of Romanian native speakers. To estimate the way in which fear of speaking and the stigma operate together, they say that being laughed at because of bad pronunciation or saying something incorrectly in Romanian adds to this attitude as a prohibition, one that is not uttered but makes Hungarians go silent, anyway.

(28) University professor, author of curriculum for teaching Romanian as a second language: *Eszembe jut az a stigma, ami elhangzott a román parlamentben, mely románul úgy hangzott, hogy* **Secuii sunt handicapaţi lingvistic**- *tehát* **nyelvi lemaradottak, hátramaradottak** *amely kijelentésben, ha általánosítok, akkor azt is kiérthetem, hogy a székely nyelvileg fejletlen, alacsony rendű nép, ami, túl azon, hogy bántó, számtalan hátrány származik belőle. [...] Igen, ez a küszöb, melyet én metaforaként is értelmezek, nagy gondot jelent köztünk. [...] A küszöbnek különös spiritualitása van. A magyar, ha egy román közegbe akar belépni bármilyen ürüggyel, lehet az magán vagy lehet az közösségi, a* **küszöb előtt szorong**. *Még akkor is, ha az ajtó olajozott. A* **nyelvi gátlások, a nyelvi kisebbrendűség tudata** *egyfajta* **félszet indít el** *benne. Ez az emberi közeledésben bárhol*

*létezhet: az utcán, a vonatban, akárhol a két nemzetiségnek egy-egy képviselője egy helyen van. A vonatban utazhat egy magyar és egy román, kilométerek szaladnak el anélkül, hogy szót váltanának, mert tudja, hogy nem tud kommunikálni olyan szinten. Főleg, hogyha nagy ügyet akar elintézni, akkor benne van a **félsz**, hogy "Akkor hogy mondjam?". [...] Tehát továbbra is ott van a tartózkodás, a húzódozás. Arról ne is beszélve, hogy hányszor kerül **nevetség tárgyává** a magyar, ami a küszöböt újra emeli: hogy rosszul hangsúlyoz, hogy rosszul mond valamit és **kinevetik, kikacagják**. Ezzel **belefojtják a szót, anélkül, hogy megtiltanák**, hogy megszólaljon. Újabb **gátlásokat** indukálnak, generálnak benne, ami miatt **nem mer megszólalni**.*

'I remember the stigma that was said in the Romanian Parliament, which sounded in Romanian **Szekler people are linguistically handicapped, so linguistically underdeveloped, backward**, a claim which, if I generalize, could mean that the Szekler is a linguistically undeveloped, low cast nation, which, beyond being offensive, is the source of many disadvantages. [...] Yes, this is the threshold that I evaluate also as a metaphor and that creates many problems among us. [...] The threshold has a specific spirituality. A Hungarian, if s/he wants to enter a Romanian environment for any kind of reason, be it private or of the community, **is standing anxiously at the threshold**. Even if the door is easy to open. **Linguistic hindrance, the awareness of linguistic inferiority** creates fear in them. This could be anywhere in human relations: in the street, on the train, anywhere where the representatives of the two nations are in the same place. On the train there could be a Romanian and a Hungarian travelling together and kilometers go by without them saying a word to each other because the Hungarian knows that they can't communicate in such a way. Mainly if they want to handle some important business, they have the **fear** "how should I say it?". [...] So resistance and reluctance are still there. Not to mention how many times the Hungarians **become the laughing stock of others**, which raises the threshold: that stress is not all right, that they say something incorrectly and others laugh at them. Through this they **shut their mouth**, **without any prohibitions in place**. They induce, they generate new internal inhibitions because of which **they are afraid to speak**.'

For the reasons discussed above in detail, including the lack of second language perspective and supportive language environment, the total absence of the development of communication skills and an attitude of resistance towards the Romanian language it can be concluded that the state language policy does not respond to the linguistic needs of the Hungarian minority in Szeklerland. Accordingly, the policy needs to be reconceptualized in a way that, first, it incorporates modern language teaching methodologies which are focused on teaching language in use and, second, it takes into account the local challenges and necessities in state language learning.

5.2.2. The ideology of territoriality: Is Szeklerland different from the rest of Romania?

Csergo (2007, 6-9) holds the view that linguistic territoriality is the outcome of European nationalism whose key characteristic is that it conceives of the national language as of an instrument that maps the national space, has exclusive authority in a territory, and makes use of physical spaces as markers of ownership. Also, the main aspect of linguistic territoriality is that it is strongly connected to the educational system with the aim of socializing through the national language, and which, in turn, is used to serve as a site of blossoming of the ideology of nationalism through national literature, national historiography and geography. Accordingly, she adds, language is more than an ethnic marker in a territorial nation state: it becomes a national marker, a means through which individuals are socialized into the one state – one nation – one language ideology. In a similar way, the ideology of linguistic territoriality is related to the notion of homeland community in case of which ownership over a particular territory is claimed through lengthy existence of a group on a territory, while restating ownership is implemented through national literature, historiography and geography.

As mentioned above, the present dissertation does not discuss the whole territory of Transylvania, but only one part of it, namely, Szeklerland. The reason that justifies this choice is the linguistic situation of Hungarian speakers in Romania. In other words, in some regions of Transylvania Hungarians are the local majority (Szeklerland) while in other regions Hungarians live in diasporic communities with Romanian as the dominant language. This issue is evaluated by the interviewee quoted in excerpt (29), who indicates that there are no two Hungarian populated regions in Romania which are linguistically identical to each other since in certain parts of the country *a többnyelvűség szabály* 'multilingualism is the rule', while in other regions, like in Szeklerland, one can easily live *anélkül, hogy akár egy kukkot is tudna románul* 'without speaking even a word of Romanian'. That is to say, while multilingualism is absolutely necessary in certain Hungarian populated parts of Romania, in Szeklerland monolingualism is accepted as being normal.

(29) Journalist, university teacher (the theory of drama): *A **romániai magyarság rendkívüli módon sokféle**. [...] Még **Kovászna és Hargita megye között is jelentős különbségek** vannak **többnyelvűség** tekintetében is. Vannak olyan **szórványterületek**, ahol a **többnyelvűség szabály**, a többnyelvűség nélkül az élet is lehetetlenné válna. A*

Székelyföldön vannak olyan települések, ahol az ember vidáman eléldegélhet anélkül, hogy akár egy kukkot is tudna románul.

'**Hungarian communities in Romania are extraordinarily colorful**. As far as multilingualism is concerned there are **considerable differences even between Covasna/Kovászna and Harghita/Hargita counties**. There are some **diasporic regions**, where multilingualism is the rule, and life would be impossible without multilingualism. In **Szeklerland** there are localities where people can happily live **without speaking even a word of Romanian**.'

To put it in another way, the interviewee highlights that it is not appropriate to discuss the linguistic features of the Hungarian population living in Romania as if they were features of one integral and homogeneous whole. In contrast, one has to take into consideration that the view of Transylvanian Hungarians as a minority population is fragmented by the demographic and linguistic aspects of the specific region of Transylvania they live in. At this point, the analysis is back to the issue of territoriality. As is demonstrated by excerpt (30), interviewees are deeply aware of the fact that territoriality shapes language ideologies to a considerable degree. Namely, views of territoriality are interpreted as being connected to the attitude of Hungarians towards the status of the Hungarian and Romanian languages in Szeklerland. In fact, as the interviewee below says, Szeklerland Hungarians have a false *biztonságérzet* 'sense of security' which dominates their opinion of language learning by views such as *itt mindféleképpen mi vagyunk többen, itt úgyis mi vagyunk az uralkodók, itt úgyis minden a miénk és éppen ezért nem kell nekünk igaziból megtanulni semmiféle más nyelvet, mert elboldogulunk azzal, ami van* 'here there are more of us, here we are dominant anyway, everything here is ours anyway, so, for this reason, we don't really have to learn another language since we can be fine with what we have'. The repeated use of the adverb of location *itt* 'here' emphasizes several reasons for which Szeklerland Hungarians conceive of Szeklerland as being different from all the other regions of Romania. First, it underlines that Szeklerland is different because *mi vagyunk többen* 'there are more of us', a phrase in which *mi* 'we', a first person plural personal pronoun stands for Hungarians and where the verb phrase *vagyunk többen* 'are more' signals the demographic status of Hungarians as the local majority. Second, the power relations between Hungarians and Romanians living in Szeklerland are also highlighted by saying that *itt úgyis mi vagyunk az uralkodók* 'we are dominant here anyway'. Last but not least, as if to reconfirm the "state of the art" as far as power relations are concerned, the ownership over Szeklerland is proved by claiming that *itt úgyis minden a miénk* 'everything here is ours anyway'. These views are assessed by the interviewee as *farcs*[70]

biztonságérzet 'false sense of security', a phrase by which the interviewee indicates their criticism and disagreement towards this attitude, further saying that it is this false sense of safety that makes Hungarians believe that they don't have to learn other languages than their mother tongue. As a result, the interviewee says, Szeklerland Hungarians are linguistically *jobban le vagyunk maradva, mint más régiók* 'we are more behind than other regions'.

(30) Parent: *Azt hiszem, hogy a **székelyföldi magyarságban** van egy **farcs biztonságérzet**, hogy **itt mindenféleképen lehet lakni**. Egy olyan szemlélet, hogy **itt mindféleképpen "mi vagyunk többen, itt úgyis mi vagyunk az uralkodók, itt úgyis minden a miénk és éppen ezért nem kell nekünk igaziból megtanulni semmiféle más nyelvet, mert elboldogulunk azzal, ami van"**. Ez elsősorban nem arra van kihatással, hogy nem tanulnak meg a gyermekek **románul**, hanem inkább arról van szó, hogy az idegen nyelv tekintetében, talán, **jobban le vagyunk maradva, mint más régiók**. Nem biztos, hogy így van, ez csak az én meglátásom. Talán, kevesebb motivációja van az itteni gyereknek, hogy valamilyen idegen nyelvet megtanuljon.*

'I think **Hungarians who live in blocks in Szeklerland** have a **false sense of security**, that **they can live here on any terms**. A view that "**here there are more of us, here we are dominant anyway, everything here is ours anyway, so, for this reason, we don't really have to learn another language since we can be fine with what we have**". The outcome of this is not so much that children don't learn **Romanian** but that, as far as foreign language is concerned, we are **more behind than other regions**. It's not for sure that it is like this, this is only my view. A child that lives here is less motivated to learn a foreign language.'

As the opinion of the previous interviewee demonstrates, territoriality is an important element of interviewees' language ideologies. Eventually, ideologies of territoriality influence the language policy of interviewees. This idea is justified by excerpt (31) in which the interviewee shows that even though Szeklerland Hungarians perceive of Szeklerland as being a linguistically distinct territory from the rest of the country, Romanian language skills are still *létfontosságú* 'of vital importance' in Szeklerland. As in many other cases, Szeklerland is referred to by the adverb of place *itten* 'here' and is viewed as being perceived of by Szeklerland Hungarians as a "linguistic island" dominated by the Hungarian language. The interviewee adds that while this is true, Szeklerland is still situated within the territory of Romania and, as such, Hungarians can't live *elszakadva a világtól* 'separated from the world', that is, without any knowledge of the state language. The attitude of resistance towards the Rumanan language, inferred to by the phrase *mit kell neked román?* 'why do you need Romanian?', is judged by the interviewee as incorrect since they value it by the phrase *bármennyire is mondjuk* 'regardless of what we say'.

Further in the excerpt the reason for which the interviewee does not agree with this claim is also given when they say that *Romániában van a legközelebbi érdekeltség* 'it is in Romania that we have our most immediate interest'.

(31) Teacher of Romanian language and literature 4: *A **román nyelvtanulással** kapcsolatosan, ami nekik **itten**, **bármennyire is mondjuk**, hogy **Székelyföldön** élünk, **létfontosságú** [...]. Ha a gyerekekkel ezt megértetjük, hogy **nem élhetünk elszakadva** a világtól, és **Romániában** van **a legközelebbi érdekeltség**. [...] **Székelyföldön élünk! Mit kell neked román**? Ha a családban ilyen a hangulat és eleve elzárkóznak, az akkor a gyerekre is kihat.*

'**Related to the knowledge of Romanian**, that is **here**, for them, **regardless of what we say,** that **we live in Szeklerland**, is a matter of **vital importance**. […] If we can make our children understand **that we cannot live separated from the world** and **that it is in Romania that we have our most immediate interest**. […] **We live in Szeklerland**! **Why do you need Romanian**? If the atmosphere is like that in the family and they reject it off hand, then that influences the children, too.'

The notion of territoriality is also used by interviewees to contrast two different types of Hungarian minority communities (see excerpt 32). On the one hand, the interviewee singles out diasporic Hungarian communities in Mureş/Maros county and from the cities of Oradea/Nagyvárad or Satu Mare/Szatmár as examples for territories where it is possible for Hungarians to learn and use Romanian in everyday life since students *több román nyelvűvel találkoznak, román anyanyelvű emberrel találkoznak* 'meet more Romanian mother tongue speakers'. The interviewee contrasts this type of territory with *itt* 'here', an adverb of place referring to Szeklerland, a territory where *tömbmagyarság* 'Hungarians live in blocks' and where there is no possibility for the students *felszedjen* 'to pick it up' or *halljon* 'to hear things' in Romanian. Szeklerland communities are, furthermore, considered to be territories where formal Romanian language learning, referred to by indicating the number of Romanian lessons per week as *4-5 órát iskolában* 'the four or five hours at school', is not enough for learning the Romanian language.

(32) Teacher of Romanian language and literature and of English 7: *Szerintem úgy érdemes lenne elgondolkodni azon, hogy esetleg **Maros megyében**, de akár ne is Maros megyét vegyük, **Nagyvárad** vagy **Szatmáron**, szerintem a gyerekek **jóval több román nyelvűvel találkoznak**, **román anyanyelvű** emberrel találkoznak vagy **normálisan tudnak egy üzletbe beszélni románul** vagy ilyesmi holott **nálunk ilyesmire nagyon nincsen alkalom**. És akkor én azt mondanám, hogy **különbséget kell tenni megint még a kisebbségen belül is**, hol kisebbség, milyen vidéken. Mert nem mindegy, hogy **itt** azért **tömbmagyarság** él és tényleg **nincs ahol a gyermek halljon román nyelvet**, annyit, hogy*

felszedjen. Sokan, amit hallanak, azt a 4-5 órát iskolában, amíg ott vannak, annyi. És semmi egyebet románul, abból nem lehet megtanulni.

'I think it would be worth considering that, maybe in Mureş/Maros county, but we don't necessarily have to take **Mureş/Maros county**, let's take **Oradea/Nagyvárad** or **Satu Mare/Szatmár**, I think there children **meet more Romanian mother tongue speakers** or **they can properly speak Romanian in a shop** or things while **here there isn't really chance for that**. And so I would say that **you have to make a difference again even within the minority, where is it a minority, what region**? Because it's not the same, that **here** there are **Hungarians living in blocks**, and **there really isn't a chance for the child to hear Romanian**, not as much as to pick it up- many of them here what they hear in those four or five hours at school, while they are there, that's all. And nothing else in Romanian, you can't learn Romanian from that.'

The same idea is explicated by another interviewee in excerpt (17), p.76, who discusses the issue of territoriality through contrasting the cities of Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy, Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda and Odorheiu Secuiesc/Székelyuvarhely in Szeklerland, as places where people *nem beszélik a román nyelvet* 'don't speak Romanian', *a román nyelvet spontánul tanulták meg* 'have spontaneously learnt Romanian' and where *a román nyelv ismerete elég hiányos* 'the knowledge of Romanian is very imperfect' with the diasporic communities where Hungarians have *bővebb a nyelvtudása, a szókincse* 'wider knowledge and vocabulary' in Romanian because they *románok között van* 'live among Romanians' and *jobban el tudja sajátítani* 'can acquire Romanian much better'.

A further issue that interviewees connect with the notion of territoriality is the question of status of languages. As the interviewee quoted below declares (33), the Hungarian language gains the status of a minority language only in comparison to the territory of Romania as a country. They support this view by saying that in comparison to Romania, Szeklerland is dominated by Hungarian language speakers and Hungarian people live in blocks *itt* 'here', *a mi vidékünkön* 'in our region'. There are at least two things that this view suggests. On the one hand, it indicates that the interviewee does not accept the notion of a linguistically homogenous Romania. On the other hand, it indicates that interviewees consider that the status of a language is to be considered from the point of view of the number of speakers it has in a particular territory of a country.

(33) Teacher of German: *Székelyföldi kisebbségi nyelvről az ország területéhez mérve beszélhetünk, mert a mi vidékünkön, tehát Székelyföldön többségében magyarul beszélnek az emberek. Tömbmagyarság létezik és emiatt a hétköznapi beszélt nyelv is a*

székelyföldi nyelvjárás. […] *Úgyhogy a román nyelvtudás eléggé alacsony szintű itt nálunk.*

'**We can talk about minority language in Szeklerland in comparison with the territory of the state**, since **in our region**, **in Szeklerland, most of the people talk in Hungarian**. **Hungarians live in a block** and so **the Szeklerland dialect is the spoken language**. […] So the knowledge of Romanian is of quite a low level here.'

This view is shared by other interviewees, too. For instance, the interviewee quoted in excerpt (34) says that *a mi régiónknak, itt Kovászna megyében* 'in our region, in Kovászna county' (and its towns such as Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy, for instance), which is one of the three Hungarian counties situated in Szeklerland, *a kisebbségi nyelvek a legdominánsabbak* 'the minority languages are still the most dominant languages'. In this part of the excerpt the term *kisebbségi* 'minority' is used to refer to the status of the Hungarian language as a minority language in Romania. However, the status of Hungarian as the dominant language of Szeklerland is further emphasized by a switch of reference of the use of the word *kisebbségi* 'minority' by the middle part of the excerpt to refer to the Romanian language. Here the interviewee says that *mivel Sepsiszentgyörgyön a román, inkább az a kisebbségi nyelv* 'in Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy it is rather Romanian that is the minority language'. As the interviewee emphasizes, it is important to underline that the Hungarian language is the dominant language in this region of Romania. The reason why the interviewee finds this worth highlighting is that they conceive of it as a major reason for which Szeklerland Hungarians' knowledge of the state language *nem feltétlenül megy* 'doesn't necessarily work' and that *ez nagyon megnehezíti a magyaroknak a helyzetét a nyelvtanulás szempontjából* 'this makes the situation of Hungarians very difficult from the point of view of language learning'.

(34) School principal 3, Religion teacher: *Úgy gondolom, hogy a **mi régiónknak**, **itt Kovászna megyében** még mindig **a kisebbségi nyelvek a legdominánsabbak**. Az **állam nyelvének** ismerete **nem feltétlenül megy**, az az igazság. Mindenkinek fontos az, hogy az anyanyelvén beszélhessen. Sőt, **itt** még nem áll fenn annyira a keveredésnek a veszélye, mint más területeken. Ezt hangsúlyozom, hogy **mivel Sepsiszentgyörgyön a román, inkább az a kisebbségi nyelv**, így is mondhatnánk, ezért **ez nagyon megnehezíti a magyaroknak a helyzetét a nyelvtanulás szempontjából**.*

'I think that **in our region**, **here in Covasna/Kovászna county,** it is still **the minority languages that are the most dominant**. **Knowledge of the state language doesn't necessarily work**, this is the truth. It is important for everyone to be able to speak their mother tongue. Moreover, the chance of mixing is not that great **here** as it is in other regions. This is what I am stressing, that **in Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy it is**

rather Romanian which is the minority language, we could say it like this, so **this makes the situation of Hungarians very difficult from the point of view of language learning**.

Similarly to teachers, students also have language ideologies of territoriality (see excerpt 35). As such, students also make a distinction between *itt Erdélyben* 'here in Transylvania/Erdély' and *más vidékeken* 'in other regions' of Romania when they discuss the effect that the language environment has on Szeklerland Hungarians' Romanian language competence. The place adverb *itt* 'here' is used to refer to Hungarian cities as Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy, to micro regions as Trei Scaune/Háromszék, and counties such as Harghita/Hargita county. Also, it stands for those places in Romania where Hungarians *nem vagyunk rászorulva, hogy román nyelvet használjunk* 'are not in need of speaking Romanian' or *vagy más idegen nyelvet* 'another foreign language' since in these regions one can mainly meet Hungarian as the spoken language. Again, the Hungarian region is set in opposition with *más vidékeken* 'other regions', a phrase which indicates places (for example, Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár) and situations where one needs to use the Romanian language more often.

(35) Student 7: *Szerintem **itt Erdélyben**, ha azt vesszük viszonylatba, hogy **más vidékeken**, hogy a többnyelvűség mennyire dominál, akkor **nálunk kevésbé** ugyanis **szentgyörgyi** viszonylatban, kint vagy **más, főként magyar városokban, nem vagyunk rászorulva, hogy román nyelvet használjunk**, vagy más idegen nyelvet. **Főként magyarral** találkozhatunk. Azonban, ha már elmegyünk **Kolozsvárra**, akkor ott sokkal több **olyan helyzetbe** kerülhetünk, **ahol románt kell használjunk**. Ha csak **Háromszéket vagy Hargita megyét** nézzük, akkor **a többnyelvűség nem annyira dominál, mint más erdélyi városokban**.*

'I think that **here in Transylvania/Erdély**, if we take into consideration to what degree multilingualism dominates **in other regions**, then **at our place** [multilingualism **dominates] less** because **as far as Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy is concerned or in other, mainly Hungarian cities, we are not in need of speaking Romanian or another foreign language**. We mainly **use Hungarian**. However, if we go to **Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár** there we can find ourselves in more situations where **we have to use Romanian**. If we take only **Trei Scaune/Háromszék or Harghita/Hargita county** then it does not dominate **as much as in Transylvania/Erdély**.'

Another layer of the language ideology of territoriality is outlined by the interviewee in excerpt (36) who explains why the linguistic environment is an important factor in language learning. More to the point, the interviewee points out that the geographic location of a community of speakers/territoriality in Romania is a relevant

factor as far as the motivation for learning the Romanian language is concerned. As they state, there are certain territories in Romania where people *nincsenek rákényszerítve* 'aren't forced' to use the Romanian language. The interviewee quoted below labels these communities *földrajzilag elzártabbak* 'geographically more isolated' communities and refers to Szeklerland as an example. They say that in case of the rural communities of Szeklerland the use of the Romanian language is not part of the everyday life of the inhabitants.

(36) Teacher of Geography 2: *Gondolok **olyan közösségekre**, amelyek **földrajzilag elzártabbak**. Gondolok itt a **székelységre**. Itt több tényező is van. A **földrajzi tényező**, hogy **nincsenek rákényszerítve a román nyelv használatára**. A faluközösségen belül úgy zajlanak a hétköznapok, **hogy nem szükséges egyáltalán a román nyelvet használni**.*

'I am thinking about **communities** that are **geographically more isolated**. I am thinking of the **Szekler people**. There are more factors at play here. The **geographical factor**, that **they aren't forced to use the Romanian language**. In rural communities everyday life goes on in a way that **they don't need to use the Romanian language at all**.'

The dominance of the Hungarian language, inferred by the phrase *ezen a vidéken jórészt magyar nyelvű lakósság él* 'it is mostly Hungarian speakers that live in this region' in excerpt (37) is accompanied by an evaluation of the territory as one where ***nem igen van alkalom az intenzívebb román nyelvtanulásra*** 'there isn't really an occasion to intensively learn Romanian'. Through these words, the interviewee infers that in their view one cannot learn a language without a suitable language environment.

(37) Teacher of the History of Romania: Mivel ***ezen a vidéken*** *jórészt **magyar nyelvű lakosság él**, **nem igen van alkalom az intenzívebb román nyelvtanulásra**.*

'Since there are mainly **Hungarian speakers living in this region, there isn't really an occasion to intensively learn Romanian**'.

The emphasis of interviewees is on justifying that the dominance of the Hungarian language in the linguistic environment does not leave space for the inhabitants of these communities to learn and use Romanian in their daily life. As the interviewee quoted below says (38), students do not actually see the use that Romanian could have in their life and they do not learn Romanian in lively, everyday situations since everybody speaks Hungarian in their environment, including people living in the closest village and town (Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda).

(38) Teacher of Romanian language and literature and of English 1: *Tehát a program maximalista. Nem veszi figyelembe azt, hogy **a gyerek egy magyar környezetben nevelkedik fel**, ahol úgy ahogy mondtam, **nem tanul románul konkrét helyzetekben** sem. Tehát egy példát adjak rá. [...] Kérdeztem, hogy hát valakivel beszéltek-e románul? Hát, nem. Tévét, rádiót románul valamit? Nem, semmi. De különben sem néznék, mert hogy úgy is, hát ők a románnal nincsenek jól s **úgyse fogják sehol használni, mert a szomszéd faluban is csak magyarul beszélnek s Csíkszeredában is csak magyarul beszélnek, s a rendőr is annyira tud magyarul, hogy megértetik valahogy magukat** és akkor körülbelül ezzel lezárul a kérdés. Tehát gyakorlatilag a gyerek **ebben a környezetben egy adott pontig nincs ahol használja a román nyelvet**.*

'So the program is perfectionist. It doesn't take into consideration that **the child is raised in a Hungarian language environment**, where, as I have said, **they don't learn Romanian in actual situations**, either. So let me give an example. […] I asked whether anyone speaks Romanian. Well, no. Television, radio- anything in Romanian? No, nothing. But they wouldn't watch it anyway, because they, anyway, **don't have a good relationship with Romanian and they won't use it anywhere, because they speak Hungarian in the other village, too, and they speak only Hungarian in Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda, too, and the policeman speaks enough Hungarian so that they can make themselves understood** and the issue is closed at this point. **So the child who lives in this environment doesn't have a place to use Romanian till a certain point**.'

In this section of the dissertation I have discussed the ways in which interviewees conceive of how the dominance of one language in a region can affect views on opportunities and the need of second language competence. I have also presented how the ideologies of linguistic territoriality can contribute to a group of people conceiving of themselves as linguistic minority or linguistic majority. The findings presented in this section correspond to the perspectives of linguistic territoriality discussed by Csergo (2007: 8-9), who claims that both members of the majority and the minority communities conceive of a mental map that links language, nation, state and territory, share the ideology of linguistic territoriality and, furthermore, assign an important role to the connection between language and sovereignty over a particular linguistic territory. However, she continues, while national majorities declare to be titular over a particular language due to the official status of their language within a state, national minorities reject the view of national hierarchy and conceive of historical continuity as a proof of titularity of a language and culture in a particular territory.

5.2.3. Learning Romanian: A territory-imposed obligation?

All through the interviews the question of learning the Romanian language is presented by the interviewees as an obligation that Hungarians living in Romania must respond to. There are several ways in which interviewees infer why they consider learning Romanian an obligation. The questions of "who needs to learn what languages for what reason and for whom" accompanied by views of how language needs and territoriality get connected to each other ("here we are in Romania") are one of the ways in which interviewees argue for the view that for minority Hungarians living in Romania learning the state language is an obligation. For instance, the interviewees quoted in excerpts (9), p. 70, and (39) say that since Romanian is the official language of the state, it is very important that Hungarians should speak it. In excerpt (39) the interviewee even underlines that since Hungarians *itt születtünk* 'were born here', that is, in the territory of Romania, we (Hungarians) cannot expect everyone else to speak *velünk* 'to us', Hungarians, in Hungarian. In the discourse of this interviewee the adverb of place *itt* 'here' refers to Romania. As such, this interviewee considers that Romanian citizenship is one of the reasons for which it is obligatory for Hungarians living in Romania to learn the Romanian language, this being the official language of the state. They continue by saying that one needs to be open-minded enough to accept *ezt a tényt* 'this fact', a phrase through which they suggest that the obligatory nature of this requirement cannot be changed. Their acceptance of *ezt a tényt* 'this fact' is suggested when they claim that one should think about it as a *másik nyelvvel* 'another language' not as an obligation that one is forced to bear but as a possibility to become richer with another language that is worth acquiring. Undoubtedly, the attitude of this interviewee is very positive towards the Romanian language and their aim is to show that one should not stress the obligatory nature of *ezt a tényt* 'this fact' but should accept the situation as a possibility to learn an additional language. Through this they indicate that one should not make a difference between languages when it comes to language learning.

The openness of the interviewee's attitude is further underlined by reference to other subjects' opinion which they use as a resource that justifies their opinion. The first external voice they refer to is inferred by the noun *olyan emberek* 'such people'. As a matter of fact, the interviewee makes use of indirect discourse to underline that the meaning they produce belongs to someone else, *olyan emberek* 'such people', but not to the interviewee themselves. The interviewee is actually being ironic when they claim that

they do not agree with the view of *olyan emberek* 'such people' who say that *aki akar beszélni velük az tanuljon meg az ők nyelvükön* 'if someone wants to talk to them, they should learn their language'. This is an example of embedded intertextuality through which a clearly detectable external voice (inferred by the noun *emberek* 'people'), one that is previous to the speakers' utterance, is made heard. Soon after, in contrast to the this external voice, which, as a matter of fact, alludes to no identifiable agent, through the second and third external voices the interviewee brings into their discourse two well-identifiable referent agents to underline the statement they have previously set (see excerpt 9). The interviewee claims that according to the view of their grandfather (first referent), *minden ember annyit ér, ahány nyelvet tud, annyi ember, annyi fajta* 'every man is worth as much as many languages they know, as many persons, as many types', which is a proverb with a second referent, and it signals generally accepted knowledge. By this, first, they challenge the authority of the external voice they have already criticized before. Second, through a combination of the two means of legitimation, authorization (grandfather's voice) and rationalization (proverb) the interviewee brings an external argument to support their standpoint. By these means, the truth value of their opinion is further emphasized.

(39) Teacher of Romanian language and literature and of English: *Nagyon is fontos. Vannak olyan emberek, akik úgy gondolják, "**aki akar beszélni velük az tanuljon meg az ők nyelvükön**". Ez **nem teljesen így van**. [...] Én nagyon fontosnak tartom, hogy a magyar egyének is tudjanak románul, hiszen **az állam nyelve. Itt születtünk** és **nem várhatjuk el azt, hogy Romániában mindenki velünk magyarul beszéljen**. Elég **nyitott kell lenni** arra, hogy **elfogadjuk ezt a tényt** és elfogadjuk, hogy ez is egy **lehetőség** arra, hogy **gazdagodjunk egy másik nyelvvel**. Tehát **ne úgy fogjuk fel**, mint **ránk erőszakolt nyelv**, amit **meg kell tanulni** az anyanyelvünk helyett. Ha úgy fogjuk fel, hogy ez is **egy idegen nyelv**, számunkra, mert **természetesen az**, akkor igenis **érdemes elsajátítani**, úgy mint bármelyik más nyelvet és kötelességünk is szerintem.*

'It is, in fact, very important. There are people who consider that "**if someone wants to talk to them, they should learn their language**". **This is not really so**. […] I consider it very important that Hungarian individuals speak Romanian since that is **the language of the state**. **We were born here and cannot expect that everyone in Romania speaks Hungarian to us**. You have to **be open enough to accept this fact** and that this is a **possibility** for us to **get richer by another language**. So we **shouldn't conceive it** as a **language that is forced on us**, one that we have to learn instead of our mother tongue. If we conceive it as another **foreign language**, because that is what **it is to us**, **naturally,** that **it is worth acquiring** it, just as it is with any other language, and it is our duty, too.'

The issue of *who needs to learn what languages for what reason and for whom* appears in several of the interviewees' arguments brought to stand for the view that Hungarians in Szeklerland should learn Romanian. Moreover, it is related to how the interviewees make use of the adverb of place *itt* 'here' interchangeably to refer to either Szeklerland or, in other cases, to Romania. The above quoted interviewee (excerpt 39), when they say *itt születtünk* 'we were born here', uses this adverb of place to refer to Romania which they infer as an officially Romanian speaking country where people who have mother tongues other than Romanian cannot expect to be addressed in a language other than Romanian. Similarly, the interviewee quoted in excerpt 40 also makes use of the adverb *itt* 'here', but in a different manner. First, they use this adverb to say that *itt a Székelyföldön* 'here in Szeklerland' Romanians *folyékonyan hallgatnak magyarul* 'fluently keep silent in Hungarian'. In this case, obviously, *itt* 'here' refers to Szeklerland. The view of Romanians is then emphasized in the middle part of the excerpt when the interviewee says, through the use of indirect speech, that Romanians say that they are in Romania so *alkalmazkodjunk mi hozzuk* 'we should accommodate to them'. Clearly, the issue of "who needs to learn what language for what reason" is referred to by this phrase where the interviewee explains that Romanians consider that Hungarians should learn Romanian since it is them, Hungarians, who are on the territory of Romania and not vice versa. By the end of the same excerpt there is a change of referent in the use of the adverb *itt* 'here', namely, to Romania when the interviewee directly quotes Romanians who say that *mi itt Romániában vagyunk, hát azok tanuljanak meg románul* 'here we are in Romania so those should learn Romanian'. In other words, the interviewee discusses that Romanians conceive of *itt* 'here' as Romania and, as such, they consider that *azok* "those", that is, Hungarians (not Romanian first language speakers), should learn Romanian.

(40) Teacher of English, (PhD student). *Valamennyire **itt a Székelyföldön** tudnak- a románok folyékonyan hallgatnak magyarul. Értenek, de nem szólalnak meg. Elvből. Azt mondják, hogy **ők Romániában vannak és alkalmazkodjunk mi hozzuk**.* […] *Ez az egyik nagy kerékkötő, hogy a románok azt mondják, hogy "**mi itt Romániában vagyunk, hát azok tanuljanak meg románul**".*

'Here in **Szeklerland** they know some- Romanians **fluently keep silent in Hungarian**. They understand, but they don't say a word. Out of principle. They say that **they are in Romania and we should accommodate to them**. […] This is one of the big obstacles that Romanians say that "**here we are in Romania so those should learn Romanian**"'.

To sum up, it is particularly interesting to see that both Romanians and Hungarians use the adverb *itt* 'here' to refer to what they consider to be "linguistically their territory". Nevertheless, Romanians use the adverb only and exclusively with reference to the whole of Romania as a country where Romanian is spoken as the official language. Also, and, as indicated by the interviewees above, Romanians do not leave place for other interpretations *mi itt Romániában vagyunk* 'here we are in Romania'. Meanwhile, Hungarians use *itt* 'here' interchangeably to refer to either Szeklerland as a Hungarian speaking territory or to Romania, a country where the state language is the Romanian language.

Another way in which the "learning of Romanian as an obligation" view is inferred is the frequent use of the term *kényszerülve* 'are forced' and of the phrases *valamilyen szinten kötelesség* 'a duty to a certain degree'. For example, the interviewee in excerpt (41), a student, says that *itt élünk ebbe az országba így mi rá vagyunk kényszerülve* 'we live here in this country, so we are forced'. As a matter of fact what this interviewee says is that their explanation for the obligation of learning the Romanian language is that they live in this country. The second student quoted below (excerpt 42) clearly asserts why they consider that living in a certain country means an obligation to learn its language. They say that *valamilyen szinten kötelesség, mert tényleg ez a nemzeti nyelv* 'to a certain degree it is a duty, since this is really the national language'. From these two opinions it can be deduced that it is citizenship that students consider to be the obliging factor for learning Romanian.

(41) Student 2: *Mivel **itt élünk ebben az országban** így **mi rá vagyunk kényszerülve**, hogy azt tudjuk.*

'Since **we live here in this country, so we are forced** to know that.'

(42) Student 19: ***Valamilyen szinten kötelesség**, mert tényleg **ez a nemzeti nyelv**. **Az, hogy mi most magyar közegben nevelkedtünk, itt éltünk tízen annyi éven át, az még nem jelenti azt, hogy nekünk nem kell tudni azt a nyelvet.***

'**To a certain degree it is a duty**, since **this is the national language. The fact that we are raised in Hungarian language environment, we've been living here for more than a decade doesn't mean that we don't have to know that language**.'

The fact that learning the Romanian language is conceived of as an obligation (*az muszáj* 'is an obligation') imposed by citizenship in Romania is highlighted in several other ways, too (see excerpts 43, 44 and 45). Some interviewees consider that since "we", Hungarians live in Romania (*mivel Romániában élünk* 'since we live in Romania') it

should be perceived as natural (*természetesnek kell lennie* 'it has to be natural') that Hungarians speak Romanian: *hogy egy magyar anyanyelvű ember tudja a románt* 'a Hungarian mother tongue person should know Romanian'.

(43) Student 6: *A **román nyelv az muszáj** mert **kell értsük, mivel Romániában élünk** de segítségével más nyelveket is könnyebben meg tudunk tanulni. Fejleszti a nyelvkészségünket.*

'**The Romanian language is an obligation** because **we have to understand it since we live in Romania** but, through it, we can learn other languages more easily. It develops our language skills.'

(44) Student 10: *Az, hogy általános **elvárás Románia** szinten az, hogy **egy magyar anyanyelvű** ember **tudja a románt, szerintem ez jogos**. Vagy **nem is jogos, hanem** egy magyar anyanyelvűnek is **természetesnek kell lennie**, szerintem, hogy **itt Romániában szükséges az**, hogy megtanuljuk a románt vagy hogy használjuk.*

'The general **expectation** throughout **Romania** that **a Hungarian mother tongued person should know Romanian** is **legitimate. Or it's not that it's legitimate but it has to be natural** for a Hungarian, as far as I think, that **here in Romania it is necessary** that we learn Romanian or that we use it.'

(45) Student 11: *Szerintem **régebb Erdély magyar föld volt**, a magyar az anyanyelvnek számított, viszont **most Romániához van kapcsolva**, és nekem személyes véleményem, hogy **amíg Romániában élünk, addig muszáj tudnunk románul kommunikáció szintjén**, mert most nem kötelezhetünk senkit arra, hogy a román is tanuljon meg magyarul.*

'I think **Transylvania used to be Hungarian land**, Hungarian used to be a mother tongue, but now **it is attached to Romania** and my personal opinion is that **as long as we live in Romania it is an obligation to know how to communicate in Romanian**, since we can't oblige anyone that a Romanian should also learn Hungarian.'

The interviewee quoted in excerpt (46) clearly states that s/he believes it is an obligation which derives from living in any of the countries of the world that one speaks the official language(s) of that country.

(46) Teacher of English 9: *Én mindig elmondom, hogy **román az ország nyelve**, azt **kell** tanulni.*

'What I always say is that **Romanian is the language of the state**, that is what you have to **learn**.'

The phrases *itt van a kényszer* 'here's the obligation', *kötelezővé vált* 'it has become obligatory', *kényszernek érzik* 'they take it as an obligation' are used by the

following interviewee (excerpt 47) to point out that the school leaving examination is an additional reason for which the Romanian language is so important to learn for Hungarians.

(47) Teacher of Romanian language and literature 4: *Sokan azért is tanulják, mert ott van az érettségi előttük és tudják, hogy első vizsga és tudják, ha ottan megbuknak akkor baj lesz.* ***Itt van a kényszer.*** *Elsősorban azért, mert most már a hivatalokban a románt használják és csak azzal tud érvényesülni.* ***Kötelezővé vált, hogy ha akarjuk, ha nem meg kell tanulni.*** *Fél emberek vagyunk, ha nem megy a román. [...]* ***Kényszernek érzik.***

'Many learn it because they have the school leaving examination to take and they know it's the first examination, and if they fail, that will be a problem. **There's the obligation**. First of all because in government offices they use Romanian and it is only through Romanian that people can manage. **It has become obligatory**, **whether you like it or not**, **that you have to learn it**. You count as half a person if your Romanian doesn't work. […] **They take it as an obligation**.'

As the interviewee below claims (excerpt 48) the fact that Szeklerland Hungarians live *itt közepén* 'here in the middle' makes knowledge of the Romanian language obligatory. As a matter of fact, the interviewee says that this multilingualism is *nekünk itt muszáj* 'obligatory here for us', and knowledge of Romanian (inferred by the phrase *a román nyelvet pedig azért kell beszéljük* 'we have to speak the Romanian language') is also important because *létünk fenntartásához szükséges* 'it's necessary for our continued survival', verbs and phrases which all suggest that interviewees conceive of Romanian language skills as a condition for living in Romania. The necessary nature of this competence is further emphasized by the use of the phrase *bár ne adjanak el* 'enough to survive' (literally 'so that they wouldn't be able to sell you'), which the interviewee uses to point out that communication skills in Romanian are the minimum knowledge that one should have.

(48) Student 20: *Nekem az a véleményem, hogy az a baj, hogy* ***itt közepén vagyunk***. *Ha már kilépünk Hargita vagy Kovászna megyéből, akkor már mindenütt román emberekkel találkozunk és* ***muszáj***, *hogy románul megszólaljunk. [...] A román nyelvet minimum társalgó szinten, hogy, ezt szokták mondani, "bár ne adjanak el". [...] Oda akartam kilyukadni, hogy* ***nekünk itt muszáj a többnyelvűség***. *Mi nem tudunk meglenni anélkül, hogy ne beszéljük mind a két nyelvet. A magyar nyelv azért, mert az az anyanyelvünk és az fontos számunkra. A* ***román*** *nyelvet pedig azért* ***kell beszéljük, mert létünk fenntartásához szükséges***.

'I think the problem is that **we are here in the middle**. If we go out of Harghita/Hargita and Covasna/Kovászna counties then we meet Romanian people

everywhere and **it's obligatory** that we speak Romanian. […] The Romanian language **at the level of communication**, people usually say like "**so that they** wouldn't be able to **sell you**". What I was trying to get to is that **multilingualism is obligatory here for us**. We **can't manage** without speaking both languages. Hungarian because it's our mother tongue and that is important to us. **We have to speak the Romanian language because it's necessary for our continued survival**'.

The interviewee in excerpt (49) connects this issue to the minority–majority question. According to their view, learning Romanian is important because *mi kell megtanuljuk egyelőre még a többség nyelvét* 'as for now it is us who have to learn the language of the majority'. In this utterance the interviewee identifies Hungarians as *mi* 'we' and as "the minority" who has to learn the language of the state where they live, and contrasts them with the speakers of the language categorized as *többség* 'the majority'. Accordingly, this discourse can be interpreted as a response to the "here we are in Romania" discourse, which covertly asserts the majority status of the Romanian language as the official state language and suggests an attitude of acceptance of the sociolinguistic situation of Hungarians as a minority population in Romania.

(49) Teacher of Geography: *Ha átlépjük a megye határát akkor óhatatlanul szembesülünk azzal a dologgal, hogy románul is kellene tudnunk, mert **mi kell megtanuljuk egyelőre még a többség nyelvét**, fordítva sajnos még nem igaz*. […]

'If we cross the borders of the county we inevitably face the fact that we have to know Romanian, too, because, **as for now it is us who have to learn the language of the majority**, the other way around is not true yet, unfortunately.'

As outlined above, interviewees list several reasons for which they regard competence in Romanian as relevant. These findings are in agreement with Tódor's (2008a) study according to which in the hierarchy of languages that are important for existence the second position is assigned to Romanian (81%), a language that Tódor's (2008a) respondents find worthy of learning because of necessity (79%), examinations (70%), its being the state language (68%), for communication (56%), for access to information (23%), for talking with teachers (18%), and because of interest in the language itself (7%).

5.2.4. Further ideologies related to learning Romanian

Interviewees' opinions of whether it is important for Szeklerland Hungarians to speak Romanian varied only minimally. Only three of all the interviewees consider that it is not of absolute importance for all Szeklerland Hungarians to be able to speak Romanian. One of these interviewees (excerpt 50), for instance, considers that in case one does not want to do postgraduate studies, in certain professions the ability to speak the field-specific vocabulary in Romanian is enough and one can still make a living.

(50) Parent 1: *Én **nem tartom mindenki számára nagyon fontosnak** azt, hogy románul jól tudjon. [...] De **nem mindenkinek létfontosságú** kérdés. Én **nem látom, hogy mitől létfontoságú** egy olyan gyereknek, aki például nem akar továbbtanulni, választ magának **egy jó mesterséget**. Egészen biztos, hogy nekik elegendő lesz az, hogy mikor az illető szakmával találkozik, akkor meg fogja tanulni azt az **illető szakmának megfelelő nyelvezetet** és azzal ő megél.*

'**I don't consider it very important for everyone** to know Romanian well. **But it's not crucial for everyone**. […] **I don't see why it should be crucial** for a child who doesn't want to do further studies and **chooses a good trade** for themselves. It's absolutely certain that it will be enough for them that when they find that certain trade, they learn the **terminology** necessary for it and manage with that.'

The interviewees quoted in excerpts (51 and 52) hold the same view. Nevertheless, they highlight that everybody who does not speak Romanian will have to face problems of communication and will need to ask for help to be able to solve things, for instance, in official situations. Moreover, the interviewees say, the absence of Romanian language competences will function as a serious disadvantage in the life of such people. The interviewees value this state as being similar to illiteracy that makes one's possibilities narrower in life.

(51) Teacher of Geography 2: *Attól függ, hogy milyen szinten szeretne érvényesülni. Ha megmarad azon a közösségen belül, amelyben született és amelyben felnevelkedett, gondolok itt például egy **kőművesre**, gondolom, hogy bizonyos fokig tud érvényesülni. Viszont már akkor is **nehézségekbe ütközik**, mert **ha rendőrségen valamit el szeretne intézni**, vagy különböző **hivatalos kérvények kitöltésekor** már ott is szükséges a román nyev. Ez **olyan mintha valaki analfabéta lenne, segítséget kérhet** és valaki megmagyaráz számára dolgokat és úgy is meg lehet élni de **mindenképpen hátrányt jelent**.*

'It depends on which level one wants to succeed. If one stays in the community where one was born and raised, I am thinking of a **bricklayer**, for example, I think one will be able to manage to a certain degree. But, in fact, they will run into **difficulties if they want to solve something at the police station**, or when **filling in different official**

forms because there you already need the Romanian language. **This is like you were illiterate, one can ask for help** and others can explain and you can still manage **but it's a drawback for sure**.'

(52) Teacher of History: *A többségi nyelv elsajátítása nyilván fontos, mert itt a történelem teremtett számunkra egy olyan helyzetet, amelynek többek között az a lényege, hogy **nekünk egy idegen nyelvű országban valahogyan boldogulnunk, élnünk kell**. (A) **mindennapokat megnehezítheti, a karrierépítést** megnehezítheti- tehát ennek gyakorlati jelentősége van. Aki valamilyen átlagos szinten nem képes a hivatalos nyelvet használni az a saját **lehetőségeit beszűkíti. Elképzelhetők olyan életpályák, amelyekben nem származik jelentős hátrány abból, ha csak az anyanyelvét tudja használni**. [...] De a legtöbb szakma olyan, hogy beépül egy olyan állami vagy magánszektorbeli hierarchiába, rendbe, ahol **súlyos hátrány**, ha nem birtokolja, mondjam úgy, a két nyelvet, **olyan szinten, hogy boldogulhasson**.*

'Acquiring the majority language is, evidently, very important since here history has created for us a situation the point of which is, among other things, that **we somehow have to manage, to live in a country whose language is foreign to us**. **It makes everyday life difficult, it makes career building difficult**- so this has such practical reasons. If someone isn't able to use the official language at a general level, it **makes their possibilities narrower. It can be that there are walks of life where one doesn't suffer from any relevant drawbacks if one only speaks one's mother tongue**. […] But most of the professions get infiltrated into the hierarchy of the private sector where it is a **serious drawback** if they don't possess, so to say, the two languages **at a level high enough so that they can manage**.'

Most of the interviewees, as argued before, too, say that competence in Romanian is necessary if one wants to succeed. That is, according to them getting along in life is a justification for the necessity of learning Romanian. This is inferred by the phrases *kell tudnia románul* 'one has to know Romanian', *románul meg kell tanulni* 'Romanian must be learnt' in excerpts (53) and (54).

(53) Student 5: *A román azért fontos, **mert Romániában élünk** és **érvényesülni kell**. Kötelező a nyelv ismerete bizonyos szinten.*

'Romanian is important **because we live in Romania and one has to succeed**. Knowledge of the language is obligatory to a certain degree.'

(54) Teacher of English 6: *Egyszerűen nem lehet megkerülni. Ha valaki **Romániában érvényesülni** akar, akkor **kell tudnia románul** és állandóan kell, hogy fejlessze a beszédkészségét, íráskészségét. Nagyon fontosnak tartom. Szerintem elfogadják. Nem tudom milyen érzelmekkel. De elfogadják azt, hogy **románul meg kell tanulni**.*

'You just can't get round [speaking Romanian]. If someone **wants to succeed in Romania**, **one has to learn Romanian** and has to develop their communication and writing skills continuously. I consider it very important. I think they accept it. I don't know with what feelings. But they accept that **Romanian has to be learnt**.'

One of the interviewees (excerpt 55) quotes a well-known 20th-century Hungarian writer, Elek Benedek, as reference to justify their view according to which knowledge of Romanian is indispensable if one wishes to live in Romania.

(55) School principal, P.E. teacher: *Ha azt akarjuk, hogy* **a gyermekeink haladjanak** *és megfelelőképpen teljesítsenek, akkor föltétlen szükséges az, hogy, ahogy* **Benedek Elek mondta „az állam nyelvét meg kell tanulni".** *És ehhez úgy mi tartunk is, mert ez van, ez egy adott körülmény és adott értelemben eléggé odafigyelünk a román nyelv oktatására.*

'If we want **our children to get ahead in life**, to achieve something, then it's necessary, by all means, that, as **Elek Benedek said,** "**the language of the state must be learnt**". And we kind of stick to this, because this is the case, this is the given situation and in a certain way we quite pay attention to teaching the Romanian language.'

In excerpts (56) and (57) access to higher education and competiveness in the labor market are listed as further reasons for learning Romanian:

(56) Teacher of French: *Nagyon fontos. Az állam nyelvét ismerni kell. Másodsorban még mindig vannak olyan* **egyetemnek, fakultások, ahol csak románul lehet tanulni**. *[...] Több lehetőségük van a továbbtanulásra, aki a román nyelvet is tökéletesen elsajátítja. Munkavállalás ugyanúgy nagy városokban, nagy cégeknél. [...] A román nyelvet ismerve egyetemen hozzájuthatnak* **olyan szakirodalomhoz,** *amely nincs lefordítva magyarra. (...) Tudatában vannak, hogy meg kell tanulni és, hogy jobban boldogulnak és hogy az az állam nyelve, nem lehet, hogy ne tanulják meg.*

'It's very important. The language of the state has to be known. Second, there are **universities, faculties, where you can only study through the medium of Romanian**. [...] Those who acquire the Romanian language perfectly have more possibilities for further studies. The same goes for getting a job in big cities and big companies. At the university knowing the Romanian language gives them access to **scholarly literature** that is not translated into Hungarian. They are aware that they have to learn it, and that they will get on much easier and that it is the language of the state and it's unfathomable that they not learn it.'

(57) Parent 9: *Egyértelmű, hogy fontosnak tartom, mert* **versenyképes** *polgára úgy lehet az országnak, ha meg tudja értetni magát, és meg tudja érteni azt, amiről szó van a környezetében.*

'It's obvious that I find it important because one can only become a **competitive** member of the state if one can make oneself understood and can understand what others are saying in their environment.'

5.2.5. Terminological disagreement: the Romanian as a "foreign" language ideology

As I mentioned earlier, interviewees often use the term *idegen* 'foreign' when referring to the methodological perspective they consider would be more effective for teaching the Romanian language to Szeklerland Hungarians. Interestingly, when interviewees discuss issues related to multilingualism they also refer to languages such as the German, French, English etc. languages as foreign languages. In what follows, the reasons for the use of and the language ideologies related to the phrase *román mint idegen nyelv* 'Romanian as a foreign language' will be discussed.

There are several things that interviewees highlight referring to the reasons for which the Romanian language or the methodology of teaching the Romanian language can, should or shouldn't be called *idegen* 'foreign' in Szeklerland minority Hungarian schools.

First of all, the data indicates that there is a controversy between Hungarians and Romanians about the use of the term *idegen* 'foreign' as referring to the Romanian language. As indicated in excerpt (58), there is always disagreement between Hungarians and Romanians when Hungarians say that the Romanian language should be taught as *idegen* 'foreign' language for Hungarian first language speakers. What the interviewee continues with is that they explain the use of the term. They say that it is wrong to interpret the phrase *román mint idegen nyelv* 'Romanian as a foreign language' as *idegen* 'foreign' since the term *idegen* 'foreign' in this phrase does not refer to the status of the Romanian language in Romania but to the methodology that should be used in Hungarian minority schools for teaching the Romanian language. Immediately after this they add that the methodology that is suggested by the phrase *román mint idegen nyelv* 'Romanian as a foreign language' is the one *ahogy hat hónap alatt egy embert meg lehet tanítani angolra* 'the way you can teach a person English in six months'. To put it in another way, what the interviewee says is that the phrase *román mint idegen nyelv* 'Romanian as a foreign language' should be interpreted as referring to the methodology that is used, for instance, for teaching English as a foreign language.

(58) School principal, P.E. teacher: *Ugye **mindig nagy felháborodást** szokott ez okozni **amikor azt mondjuk**, hogy **a román nyelvet a magyar embereknek**, magyar anyanyelvű embereknek **idegen nyelvként kell tanítani**. **Nem idegennek kell** nézni, ahogy **egyesek helytelenül gondolják,** hanem **azt a módszert kell használni,** ahogy hat hónap alatt egy embert meg lehet tanítani angolra.*

'**It always creates great disturbance when we say that Romanian should be taught to Hungarian people, Hungarian mother tongue people as a foreign language**. It is **not that it has to be considered a foreign language**, as some people **think**, **wrongly**, but **the methodology that has to be used** is the one that teaches a person English in six months.'

A second aspect of the "Romanian as a foreign language" controversy is highlighted by the interviewee in excerpt (59), who says that *a román nyelv, tehát nyelvet és irodalmat, anyanyelvi szinten követelik holott nekik itt ez tulajdonképpen idegen nyelv* 'they are are demanding the knowledge of Romanian, language and literature, on a mother tongue level, though it is a foreign language for them'. The adverb of place *itt* 'here' is used in this discourse as an element that strengthens the gap between what is demanded by the state language policy (native-like proficiency of the Romanian language for Hungarian first language speakers) and the perceived status of the Romanian language as foreign language by the speakers (Hungarians) who are demanded to have native-like proficiency of the Romanian language. Who this demand is coming from is not indicated. The last sentence of the excerpt brings two things to focus. On the one hand, it draws attention to the possibility of the phrase *román mint idegen nyelv* 'Romanian as a foreign language' being *súlyos* 'difficult'. Unfortunately, I am unable to explain why the interviewee says that using this phrase might be *súlyos* 'difficult'. On the other hand, it claims that a language that is not the mother tongue of these (Hungarian) speakers is a foreign language to them. According to these ideas, a second reason for using the *román mint idegen nyelv* 'Romanian as a foreign language' phrase is to highlight that Romanian is not the mother tongue to Hungarians but a language that, in contrast to their mother tongue, is foreign to them.

(59) Teacher of Russian, of Romanian language and literature and of Hungarian: *A **román nyelv**, tehát nyelvet és irodalmat, **anyanyelvi szinten követelik** holott nekik **itt ez** tulajdonképpen **idegen nyelv**. **Nem akarok súlyos szavakat használni, de ha nem anyanyelvük akkor persze, hogy idegen nyelv**.*

'They (students) are **expected to know Romanian, language and literature, on a mother tongue level**, though it is **here** for **them a foreign language. I don't want to use difficult words, but if it is not their mother tongue, then, of course it's a foreign language**.'

What we have found out so far from the excerpts above is that, first, it is probably Hungarians' use of the phrase *román mint idegen nyelv* 'Romanian as a foreign language'

that is (also) responsible for a controversy between Hungarians and Romanians on state language policy matters. Second, we have found that the intended meaning of the phrase as used by Hungarians can be explained by a comparison to teaching English as a foreign language. We also know that it is in contrast with their first language that Hungarians find the Romanian language a foreign language.

Excerpt (60) is an example that aims to highlight Romanians' reaction to the *román mint idegen nyelv* 'Romanian as a foreign language' phrase. The interviewee says that this is a highly disturbing phrase for Romanians and that, should one say something like *román mint idegen nyelv* 'Romanian as a foreign language', Romanians "get angry"– this is suggested by the phrase *a fél minisztérium szívbajt kapna* 'half of the ministry [of education] would get a heart attack'.

(60) Teacher of Romanian language and literature and of English: *A **román** sajnos **nem minősül** sajnos **idegen nyelvnek**, tehát **ilyen nincs**, hogy **a román idegen nyelv**. Szerintem ez a l**egháborítóbb gondolat**, esetleg hogyha ilyesmit merít, merülne fel, ilyesmi merülne fel a mit tudom **minisztériumi** szinten a **fél minisztérium szívbajt** kapna, hogy **milyen idegen nyelv**.* Úgy hogy a románt azt úgy veszik, hogy természetes, hogy tanuljuk és azt első osztálytól anyanyelvi szinten normálisan kellene, nem megy azért, de hát na.

'Unfortunately, **Romanian** is **not considered to be a foreign language**. **There is no such thing as Romanian as a foreign language**. I think this is **the most appalling idea**. Should one say something like this, say, at the level of the **ministry**, **half the ministry** [of education] would get a heart attack, that, **what foreign language**? So they consider Romanian to be natural for us to learn it from the first grade on as a mother tongue. It does not work but… oh well.'

Another interviewee (already quoted in excerpt 25, p. 81) comments on the same idea, saying that the way Romanians behave in cases when Hungarians use this phrase is similar to when someone is having *a hajuk égnek áll* 'their hair stands on end'. They emphasize this reaction by adding that Romanians *nagyon nagyon borzolódnak* 'are really really being grated on their nerves' when they hear the word *idegen nyelv* 'foreign language' in reference to the Romanian language. This interviewee gives an explanation as to why Romanians conceive of this phrase as so disturbing to them. As a matter of fact, the explanation they give originates from Romanians: *hát ugyebár ez az állam nyelve, hát nem lehet idegen nyelv* 'well, it is the language of the state, it can't be a foreign language' and it clearly highlights the exact cause of the misunderstanding. According to the interviewee's view, Romanians consider this phrase insulting because they interpret it as if Hungarians were saying that Romanian is a foreign language in the Romanian state, which is, in fact,

not the case. Further in their discourse, the interviewee continues to use the word *idegen* 'foreign' for the methodology that they consider as being suitable for teaching Romanian for Hungarian children. They even highlight that they do not agree with the opinion of the Romanian language being foreign to Hungarian children, listing several reasons. First, as the interviewee says, it is because Hungarian children in Szeklerland do not actually meet the use of the Romanian language in their everyday environment. This explanation suggests that what they mean to say by the word *idegen* 'foreign' is that in Szeklerland Romanian is not a language that children hear and use too often, and, accordingly, Romanian is something unknown, *idegen* 'foreign' to them. As a second justification for the use of the term *idegen* 'foreign' related to the Romanian language the interviewee compares the methodology of state language teaching with the methodology used for teaching English, French and German, which they consider to be successful as far as pupils' communication skills in these languages are concerned. By the end of the discourse, the interviewee turns back to the controversy of using the term *idegen* 'foreign' and suggests that *ha félnek a szótól nem feltétlenül kell odabiggyeszteni* 'if they are afraid of the word, there is no need to hang on to its use'. This phrase, once again, stresses Romanians' dismissive attitude towards the *román mint idegen nyelv* 'Romanian as a foreign language' phrase. In addition, by this suggestion what the interviewee is trying to do is to recommend a terminological change that would soften the controversy. What is more, they suggest a solution that could give the issue a new direction when recommending the term *ismeretlen* 'unknown' could be used since *mert úgyse ismerik* 'they don't know it anyway'.

To conclude, there is a relevant degree of controversy regarding the use of the term *idegen* 'foreign' related to the state language teaching methodology for the reason that, in the Hungarians' view, Romanians do not agree that this term could appear in one context with the official language of the Romanian state. As interviewees clarified, Hungarians' use of the phrase *román mint idegen nyelv* 'Romanian as a foreign language' is not intended to cause controversy (Kontra, 2009: 91-92) and, in addition, it does not refer to the status of the Romanian language[71] in Romania but to the way Hungarians conceive of this language in contrast to their first language.

5.3. The English language: the "English at every step" policy is "not enough"

After World War II foreign language learning was introduced in nearly all European schools and German, French or Russian were the first foreign languages offered (Hoffman, 2000: 13). While until the end of the communist regime French and Russian dominated foreign language learning in Romania, today this position is taken by English. As has been outlined in section 5.1, which discusses the language ideologies related to multilingualism, the issue of foreign language learning is viewed as very important by all interviewees. Unfortunately, interviewees' opinions on which foreign languages they consider to be the most important are monochromatic. Though they mention that German and French are still taught at schools, all of them view English as the most important foreign language. On the whole, there are two major language ideologies related to the English language. On the one hand, it is viewed as a tool of succeeding in life. On the other hand, it is perceived as a language that displaces other languages such as German and French.

As the interviewee in excerpt (61) claims, *elsősorban az angol, az már nem is kérdéses* 'English, first of all, this is unquestionable' – a phrase which expresses their attitude of rejecting all other foreign languages but English from occupying the first place in the hierarchy of world languages. This claim is followed by a reinforcement *azt kell tudni* 'you have to speak it' and a justification *az angol az már teljesen alapvető* 'English is already totally fundamental', which further emphasize the privileged position the interviewee ascribes to English. This view is even more highlighted by further phrases like *lépten-nyomon szembesülök az angol nyelvvel* 'you face the English language at every step' and that it is a *világnyelv* 'a world language'.

(61) Teacher of Geography: ***Elsősorban az angol, az már nem is kérdéses. Azt kell tudni. Azért mert az ma már alapvető.*** *[...] Az egyszerű számítógépkezelésnél is az angol szükséges. [...] Lépten-nyomon szembesülök az angol nyelvvel [...] a dalszövegeknél, az interneten.* ***Az angol mindenképpen az első, az ott van, mert az a világnyelv.*** *[…]* ***Az angol az már teljesen alapvető*** *[…].* ***Most teljesen kiszorította az angol nyelv a más nyelveket.***

'**English, first of all, this is unquestionable**. **You have to know it**. Because that is fundamental today. […] With a simple task of computer use you need English. […] **You face the English language at every step** […] with song lyrics, on the internet. **English is the first by all means**, it is there because that is **the world language**. […] **English is already totally fundamental […] English has displaced other languages**.'

Both in the interview excerpt (61) and (62), the phrase *háttérbe szorult az angol miatt* 'has been forced to the background due to English' refers to the fact that English, though it is a very useful language (a *hot* language, as the interviewee says, using a recent Hungarian loanword from English), also plays the role of "a linguistic cuckoo" in today's state-of-the-art of multilingualism. More to the point, emphasis is on the malevolent status of English as a language that leaves no place for other languages. This is indicated by the use of the adverb of mood *igazságtalanul* 'unfairly' and the verb phrase *ezt nem tartom helyesnek* 'I don't consider this to be right' when referring to the lower prestige and status that foreign languages other than English have been assigned to due to the dominance of English.

(62) Teacher of English: Hát ha a boldogulást vesszük akkor az angollal. De talán *igazságtalanul* az utóbbi években a *más nyelvek*, főként francia, *kissé háttérbe szorult és én ezt nem tartom helyesnek*. Szinte mintha egy *hot* nyelv lett volna *az angol* most az utóbbi időben. *Tény az, hogy tudnak vele érvényesülni* csak talán egy kicsit a *francia sőt még a német is*, legalábbis itt ebben a régióban *háttérbe szorult az angol miatt*.

'If we take succeeding then it's English. But **unfairly**, maybe, in the last few years **other languages**, mainly French, **have been pushed into the background and I don't consider this to be right**. It's as if **English** was a **hot** language recently. **It's a fact that they can succeed with it** but it's just that maybe French and even German, too, at least in this region, **have been forced to the background due to English**.'

In excerpt (63) the interviewee emphasizes that, even though English is the language of effective communication *akkor angolul szólalhat meg eredményesen* ('then it is English one can use effectively'), a language policy that favors English so much is *nem egy meggondolt és megfontolt* 'not well-considered and well-advised'. As a matter of fact, the interviewee calls English the *divatos idegen nyelv* 'fashionable foreign language', a *fetisizált és favorizált nyelv* 'fetishistic' and favored language' but, on the other hand, they also underline that in their opinion this language policy is motivated by economics, which is not *szerencsés* 'fortunate'.

(63) Journalist, university teacher (the theory of drama): *Köztudott, hogy az angol nyelv lett a divatos idegen nyelv. Ha az ember elhagyja az ország határát akkor angolul szólalhat meg eredményesen.* […] *Én nem tartom szerencsésnek, hogy a világnyelvek közül az angol ennyire kivételezett, majdnem fetisizált és favorizált nyelv lett.* […] *Ma egy konjunkturális helyzet irányítja ezt a nyelvoktatási politikát és ez nem egy meggondolt és megfontolt politika.*

'It's well known that English has become **the fashionable foreign language**. If one crosses the borders of the country **then it is English one can use effectively** . […] **I don't consider it to be fortunate that English has become such an exceptionally treated, an almost fetishistic and a favored language**. […] **It is the economic situation that shapes this language policy and not a well-considered and well-advised policy**.'

The ideology that the English language is a tool of succeeding in life is justified by several facts. According to the interviewee in excerpt (64), English is more wide-spread than other foreign languages, not only in Europe but worldwide.

(64) School principal, teacher of Geography: *Be kell látnunk, hogy az angol nyelv az jóval elterjedtebb, nemcsak* **Európa** *szerte, hanem* **világszerte** *is.*

'We need to acknowledge that the English language is **more widespread**, not only **in Europe** but also **throughout the world**.'

The same idea is shared by the interviewee in excerpt (65), too, who says that if one speaks English at least on the intermediate level one can manage *bárhová* 'anywhere', *bármelyik országban* 'in any country'.

(65) Teacher of Romanian language and literature and of English: *Hát most* **leginkább** *az angol* […] *mivel hogy ugye az Európai Unióban is, azért tehát* **bárhová** *elmennek dolgozni* […] **bármelyik országban***, hogyha* **az angolt tudják legalább egy olyan jó közép szinten akkor azzal elboldogulnak***.*

'Well nowadays it is **rather English** […] since now in the European Union, too, so should they go to work **anywhere, in any country, if they speak English, at least at the intermediate level, they can manage**.'

Knowledge of English is further viewed as a tool for equality in Europe. As the interviewee says (the view of the interviewee already quoted in excerpt 6), p. 69, being capable of speaking English makes one succeed in Europe as a fully entitled member of the European community.

As indicated before, interviewees also consider that due to the expectations of the European Union's labor force policy, speaking English is not considered to be an outstanding capacity. This is expressed by the phrases *nem kizárólagosan fontos* 'it's not one of exclusive importance', *nem igazán elég már* 'it's not enough any more' in the view of the interviewees inferred in excerpts (66) and (67). As the interviewees say, not being competent in English has *hátránya* 'disadvantage' because English is a *világnyelv* 'world language', *a legdominánsabb* 'the most dominant' language. Nevertheless, interviewees

underline that English is *nem elégséges* 'not enough', *jó, hogy ha az angol mellett legalább tud még egy-két nyelvet* 'it is good for people to know one or two more languages besides English' and *még valami egyéb is kell* 'you need something else, too', phrases which refer to the idea that besides competence in the English language, skills in other European foreign languages are also important.

(66) Teacher of Romanian language and literature and English 3: ***Tehát az angol lassan olyanná vált, hogy ha nem ismeri valaki, akkor hátránya van***. ***De szerintem ez még nem elégséges. Még valami egyéb is kell***. *Szerintem kellene még egy kis* ***francia*** *meg* ***német*** *az angol mellé.*

'**Well English has slowly become something that if you don't know, you have a disadvantage. But I think this is not enough. You need something else, too**. I think you need some **French** and **German** next to English.'

(67) Teacher of Romanian language and literature and of English 2: ***Nagyobb részt angolt***, *kisebb mértékben németet és franciát még kevésbé. [...] Európai szinten én úgy nézem, hogy az angol* ***nem igazán elég már***, *hanem kéne német is, francia, olasz, spanyol. Sőt! Tehát itt arra gondolok most konkrétan, hogy az* ***Európai Uniós elvárások*** *szerint a munkahelyen egy* ***ember jó, hogy ha az angol mellett legalább tud még egy-két nyelvet***. *Úgyhogy ezzel az a következtetés, hogy szerintem* ***az angol az világnyelv és az a legdominánsabb*** *de ennek ellenére* ***nem kizárólagosan fontos***.

'**In most of the cases English**, and to a lesser extent German and French to an even lesser extent. […] At the European level English **is not enough any more**, but there is need for German, French and Spanish. Moreover! What I am actually saying is that according to **the expectations of the European Union at your workplace it is good for people to know one or two more languages besides English**. So my conclusion is that **English is a world language and the most dominant** one, but, nevertheless, it is **not one of exclusive importance**.'

In excerpt (68) the issue of territoriality, signaled by the use of the adverb of place *itt* 'here', is connected with the importance of foreign language learning as far as success in life is concerned. The interviewee refers to Szeklerland by the adverbs of place *ezen a területen* 'in this region' and by *itt a Székelyföldön* 'here in Szeklerland'. In this case Szeklerland is contrasted with the idea of temporality indicated by the phrase *manapság oda jutottunk* 'nowadays we've come to' which signals that even in Szeklerland, perceived by interviewees (as shown before) as a mainly monolingual Hungarian territory as far as everyday communication is concerned, if one wishes *valóban érvényesülni* 'really to succeed', with no skills in English and German, it is just not possible.

(68) Journalist, university teacher (the theory of drama): *Manapság oda jutottunk, hogy az angol és a német nélkül ezen a területen sem nagyon lehet. […] Itt a Székelyföldön sem nélkülözhetjük a harmadik és a negyedik nyelvet sem, főként a fiatalok, ha az ember valóban érvényesülni akar*.

'**Nowadays we've come to not really managing without English and German even in this region**. […] **You can't do without the third and fourth foreign language here in Szeklerland either**, **especially not the young people**, **if they really want to succeed**.'

Further reasons listed for the dominance of the English language are its role in communication and as a language of the internet. As pointed out in excerpt (69), English is *legfontosabb* 'the most important' language of the internet due to the fact that much of the information that is available on the internet is in English.

(69) Teacher of History 1: *Mindenképpen túlsúlyban van az angol. **Az utóbbi időben kicsit háttérbe szorult a francia, főleg a francia, viszonylag a német is**, mert tudjuk azt, hogy az **angol lett a legfontosabb nyelv, főleg kommunikáció szempontjából**. […] Viszont **hogyha kell kommunikáljunk, ha kell internetről forrásokat leszedjünk, nagyon sok minden angolul van meg**. Én azt mondom, hogy minimális szinten mindhárom világnyelvet, tehát a franciát, a németet és az angolt, minimális szinten mindenkinek meg kell tanulnia legalább, hogy tudjon olvasni és, hogy minimális szinten megértsen egy szöveget. Viszont a **kommunikáció szempontjából tényleg az angol a legfontosabb** és ez éppen a globalizáció egyik hatása, amiért főleg Amerika okolható.*

'English is definitely outweighing everything. **Recently French has moved into the background, as has German, also**, because **we know that English has become the most important foreign language, especially from the point of view of communication**. […] **But if we have to communicate, if we need to download information from the internet, many of the things are available in English**. I think everybody has to learn all of the three world languages, so French, German and English on the basic level, so that they can read and understand the basics of a text. But **from the point of view of communication it is really English that is the most important** and this is one of the results of globalization and for which America is to be blamed.'

The role that English plays today in worldwide communication is also portrayed through citing a Latin proverb *navigare necesse est* 'to navigate is a necessity' in the view of the interviewee already quoted in excerpt (11), p. 72. The information inferred by the infinitive *navigare* 'to navigate' is substituted by another infinitive *communicare* 'to communicate' while the verb phrase *necesse est* 'is necessary' is maintained. By doing so the interviewee transforms the proverb into *communicare necesse est* 'to communicate is necessary' and through this analogy their view on why the role of English today is so

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important is emphasized. The phrase *óceáni hajózásnak* 'navigation on the ocean' refers to the function of English as the language of worldwide communication.

The spread of English is perceived as the outcome of globalization. In excerpt (70) the interviewee says regarding competence in English that *nincs apelláta, muszáj megtanulni* 'there is no question, you've got to learn it'. The reasons they give for this view are several. The first reason is tourism, labeled as *az emberek mennek, utaznak* 'people go, travel', as *turizmus* 'tourism' and as *eljutnak a határon kívülre* 'cross the borders'. In relation to tourism the interviewee says *az angol az jó eszköz* 'English is a good tool' because it is spoken in other places, too. Second, they continue, skills in English have a positive effect on your job opportunities (*munkalehetőség* 'for jobs'). As an outcome of globalization, or, more to the point, as a result of the globalizing effect that English itself has on the languages of the world, the interviewee further mentions that nowadays learning other foreign languages than English is pushed into the background.

(70) Parent 1: *Igen, az angolnál nincs apelláta, muszáj megtanulni.* **Az angol a globalizációnak egyik következménye. Az emberek mennek, utaznak.** *[…] Akár* **munkalehetőség, akár turizmus** *formájában mindenképpen* **eljutnak a határon kívülre** *is és akkor az angol nyelv, mivel hogy máshol is beszélik, nemcsak az angol nyelvi országokban,* **az angol az jó eszköz.** *[…]* **Más idegen nyelveknek a megtanulása is fontos volna, ami háttérbe szorul mostanában az angol hatására.**

'Yes, in case of English there is no question, you have to learn it. **English is one of the results of globalization. People go, travel.** […] Should it be **for jobs** or as **tourists** they **cross the borders** and then **the English language**, since it is spoken elsewhere, too, not only in English speaking countries, **is a good tool. Learning other foreign languages would also be important but this is pushed into the background due to the influence of English**.'

Related to how competence in foreign languages is related to the European Union, the interviewee in excerpt (71) claims that since Romania has become a member of the European Union if one wants to assert one's knowledge within the European Union it is absolutely necessary to speak *nem egy, két idegen nyelvre* 'not just one but two foreign languages'. Competence in English is viewed, on the one hand, as *nem nagy dolog* 'not a big deal' since, as the interviewee believes, *ma angolul majdnem mindenki tud valamilyen szinten* 'today almost everybody speaks some English'. In other words, the interviewee infers that competence in English is considered to be a self-evident skill in the European Union. At the same time the idea that English is a language that *tudni kell, az biztos* 'one has to know for sure' is also emphasized since, the interviewee continues, everyone speaks

English no matter where one goes in the world. Another issue that is highlighted in this excerpt is the effect that English has on other world languages. The interviewee says that it is a problem that English leaves no space for other languages. This is inferred by the phrase *az angol javára megszűnt majdnem minden nyelvnek a tanítása* 'teaching almost all [other] languages has stopped, to the benefit of English'. They further stress their regret about the issue by saying *nekem csupán csak ennyi a bajom, hogy a németet ne szorítsa ki* 'the only problem I have with English is that it should not squeeze German out'.

(71) Teacher of Geography*: Amióta mi is **Európai Uniós tagország lettünk**, ahhoz, hogy egyáltalán kiléphessünk az ország határain túlra, hogy **érvényesíthessük tudásunkat**, hogy megmutathassuk önmagunkat **feltétlenül szükség van** nem egy, **két idegen nyelvre**. Ma **angolul majdnem mindenki tud valamilyen** szinten. [...] de én azt mondom, hogy **ez ma már nem nagy dolog**. [...] **Nálunk az a gond, hogy az angol javára megszűnt majdnem minden nyelvnek a tanítása**. [...] A **számítógép nyelvezete** angolul van, vagy hogy a **tévében is folyton angol filmeket** lehet látni vagy hogy a **rajzfilmek** is angol nyelven futnak [...] Nagyon **könnyű** az angol. [...] **Az angol nyelvet, hogy tudni kell, az biztos, mert bárhová megyünk a világon tényleg mindenhol beszélik. Ez a nagy előnye.** Hátrányát nem igazán tudom megnevezni. **Nekem csupán csak ennyi a bajom, hogy a németet ne szorítsa ki.**

'Since we have become a member state of the **European Union** in order for us to be able to cross the border, for us to be able to **manage our knowledge**, to be able to show ourselves **there is an absolute need** not just **for** one but for **two foreign languages. Nowadays almost everybody knows some English**. […] But what I am saying is that **this is not a big deal today**. […] **The problem here is that the teaching of all other languages has stopped to the benefit of English. English is the language of computers, or that you can watch films and cartoons in English**. […] English is **very easy**. […] **That one has to know English this is for sure since, should we go anywhere, it is spoken there. This is its big advantage**. I can't really name any disadvantages. **The only problem I have with English is that it should not squeeze German out**.'

Another relevant point in excerpt (71) is that it draws attention to the view that the dominance of English in foreign language teaching does not necessarily contribute to the promotion of multilingualism. This is inferred by the phrase *az angol javára megszűnt majdnem minden nyelvnek a tanítása* 'teaching almost all languages has stopped, to the benefit of English'. Accordingly, the dominance of English stands, if I may say, for "English as the first and most important foreign language", and, indeed, for linguistic imperialism. However, at present "monolingualism in English" is asserted by presenting English as the language of all and everything.

To return to the subject, one of the interviewees (see the view of the interviewee already quoted in excerpt 3, page 67) calls the dominance of English, signaled by the

phrase *ma mindenki angolt tanul* 'today everybody learns English' an orientation of fashion. S/he actually questions the great influence that English has by saying *ez a divat, de nem tudom, hogy ez jó-e* 'this is the fashion, but I don't know whether this is good or not', a phrase through which s/he suggests an attitude of disagreement.

The findings of the present dissertation are in agreement with Tódor's (2008a) study[72] as far as the importance of learning English as a foreign language is concerned. According to her study in the hierarchy of foreign language learning English occupies the top position with 94% of the respondents considering it as being the most important language as far as existential success is concerned. Her respondents assign the second position to Romanian (81%), while 69% of the respondents considered Hungarian to be important for future existence.

To summarize, interviewees conceive of the English[73] language as "the prestigious language" that opens doors and facilitates mobility and success. Education, travelling, tourism, science, technology, computers, films, music and entertainment are considered to be the sources that stimulate English language learning and use. English language skills are considered to be desirable requirements that are absolutely unavoidable and indispensable as far as competitiveness in national and international professional environments and the labor market are concerned. This view is in agreement with the status of English as a lingua franca of the globalized world evaluated by Hoffman (2000: 10) as a *sine qua non*. It also reflects the position and prestige of English as has been described in the academic literature as a language that connotes pleasure, brings success to its users, creates new possibilities and increases mobility (Phillipson, 2003: 6). The absence of competence in English is identified as closing doors. At the same time, however, interviewees consider that competence in English is not enough and that skills in another language of international communication are of influential importance for the internationalization of personal capacities. In addition, interviewees underline that in spite of the benefits of English as a lingua franca they do not agree with the promotion of "the English language at every step" language policy.

5.4. Hungarian

As has been indicated, it is not within the primary objectives of the present dissertation to go into details as far as language policy and language ideologies related to Hungarian are concerned. Nevertheless, since a comprehensive view of multilingualism

would be incomplete without reference to the first language of the Hungarians living in Szeklerland, it is necessary to give insight to the ideologies interviewees have towards their mother tongue.

All of the interviewees of the present research agreed that the maintenance of their first language, which, as interviewees underlined in the whole of the data, is Hungarian, is of exquisite value and importance.

Interestingly, even though interviewees were happy with sharing their views related to multilingualism in general, when they were asked to talk about Hungarian many of them mentioned that, as a matter of fact, they did not really understand why they had to talk about it due to the simple reason that, as is illustrated in excerpts (72 and 73), the first language is *szinte nem is érdemes róla beszélni* 'almost not worth talking about it'. In other words, the importance of the first language is so self-evident that interviewees do not understand why this has to be justified. Eventually, the first language is viewed as the basis of the ability of human beings to think, talk, feel and understand. What is more, it is considered to be the only language one can truly express themselves in – this opinion being inferred by the phrase *nem érzem kerek egésznek csak úgy, ha magyarul mondom el* 'I don't see it as a rounded whole phrase only if it's in Hungarian':

(72) Teacher of English: *Szerintem **annyira fontos (az anyanyelv), hogy szinte nem is érdemes róla beszélni. Amennyiben magyarnak valljuk magunkat,** akkor a magyar kell legyen a legfontosabb nyelv számunkra és ezt **minden körülmények között meg kell tartani, fontosságát, elsőbbrendűségét, még akkor is ha ez nem hasznos. Anyanyelven gondolkozni, érezni, beszélni** és **minden információt feldolgozni** az agyban- ez a legtermészetesebb folyamata annak, hogy valaki más nyelveket is tudjon és valamilyen tudományban eredményeket tudjon elérni. Az **identitás**, az **integritásom** szempontjából muszáj anyanyelvemhez ragaszkodnom.*

'I think **it's so important** [the mother tongue] **that it's almost not worth talking about it**. **If we declare ourselves to be Hungarian** then Hungarian has to be the most important language for us, and **you have to maintain it under all circumstances**, **its importance**, **its priority even if it's not useful. Thinking, feeling, talking and processing information in the brain in one's mother tongue**- this is the most natural process for someone to know other languages, too and so that one could be successful in a scientific field. From the point of view of my **identity** and **integrity** I have to stick to my mother tongue.'

(73) Focus Group 3: *Hiába próbálkozom akár románul, akár angolul elmondani ugyanazt a gondolatot, nem sikerül úgy és nem érzem kerek egésznek csak úgy, ha magyarul mondom el.*

'**In vain do I try to say the same idea in Romanian or English, it doesn't work and I don't see it as a rounded whole phrase, only if it's in Hungarian.**'

The outstanding aspect of excerpt (73) is that it underlines the opinion that the importance and primacy of mother tongue needs to be kept even if this is not considered to be useful. The interviewee does not clarify what s/he means by the phrase *nem hasznos* 'not useful'. However, in excerpt (74) other interviewees portray two situations that might explain this former view. It is a fact that under certain circumstances the everyday use of mother tongues is less relevant due to the presence of another, second or foreign language that dominates the whole language environment. The interviewee also says that there might be cases when we *hagyjuk, most menjen a román* 'let the Romanian go' a phrase through which a linguistic environment when the use of the Romanian language, as in contrast with Hungarian as a first language, seems to be more practical. Again, it is not indicated why the use of a language other than the first language is more reasonable, but it seems to be realistic to suppose it is either because Romanian is the only linguistic code understood by most or all of the participants of the conversation or it is the one that most participants prefer.

(74) Teacher of Spanish and of Romanian: *Szerintem kell, mert az a te nyelved, a te identitásod, a te életed, hozzád tartozik. […] Minél több nyelvet ismerünk, annál többek vagyunk. Ez a te nyelved és ezt tovább kell vinni.* **Megtörténik egyszer, kétszer, háromszor, hogy "*Óh hagyjuk, most menjen a román*".** Akkor egy idő után odajutunk tényleg, hogy magyarok nem lesznek sehol, sajnos.

'I think it's needed because that is your language, your identity, your life, it belongs to you. […] The more languages we know, the more we are. This is your language and you have to take it along with you. **It happens once, twice, three times that "Oh, leave it, let's just speak Romanian".** Then, after a time we really won't have any more Hungarians anywhere.'

Another situation when the use of the first language could become less frequent is referred to in excerpt (75), in which the interviewee warns us that if everyone who goes to a foreign country would consider that first language maintenance is not important *nem lennének magyarok* 'there would be no Hungarians'.

(75) Focus group 5: *Szerintem a leglényegesebb, amiért jó, hogy megtartsuk a magyar nyelvet az az, hogy ha nem tartsuk meg, hogyha most mindenki így gondolkodna, hogy **kimegyek külföldre és nem tartom meg a magyar nyelvet, akkor nem lennének magyarok**. Hogy továbbadjuk a magyar nyelvet. Ez a **kultúránk**...*

'I think that the most important [reason] why it is good to keep the Hungarian language is that if we don't keep it, if everyone thought that "**I'm leaving for a foreign country and I am not keeping the Hungarian language**" then there would be no Hungarians. So that we pass on the Hungarian language. This is **our culture**.'

The first language is considered to be the language through which one's world can become truly valuable, without which linguistic creativity is impossible to achieve and in the absence of which a human being becomes *nyelvi fogyatékos* 'linguistically handicapped'. This perspective is conveyed in excerpt (76):

(76) Journalist, Teacher of the Theory of Drama: *A nyelv önmagában is egy gondolkodásmódot jelent. A nyelv önmagában is befolyással van a személyiségre. Nem mindegy, hogy milyen nyelv perspektívájából ismertük meg a világot. **A világ csak az anyanyelv révén válhat teljes értékű világgá. Csak az anyanyelven vagy képes igazán nyelvi szempontból kreatívnak lenni.** […] Ilyen szempontból az anyanyelvet megkerülhetetlennek tartom, mert az **anyanyelv az alap**. Amikor egy idegen nyelvet tanulok, azt az anyanyelvem alapján tanulom meg. Aki az anyanyelvet alaposan ismeri az lesz képes az idegen nyelvet is jól megtanulni. **Aki az anyanyelvét nem ismeri tisztességesen, az a második nyelvet sem fogja tisztességesen ismerni, az ilyen nyelvi fogyatékos lesz.***

'Language is, in itself, a way of thinking. Language has, in itself, an influence on personality. The language from the perspective of which we get to know the world matters. **The world can only become a wholly valuable world through the mother tongue. It's only through the mother tongue that one can be really creative linguistically.** […] From this point of view mother tongue is unavoidable because **it's one's base**. When I'm learning a foreign language I'm learning it on the basis of the mother tongue. If one knows their mother tongue thoroughly, they'll be able to learn a foreign language well. **If someone doesn't know one's mother tongue properly, they won't know the foreign language properly either and will be linguistically handicapped.**'

The loss of the first language is depicted as a very negative phenomenon in excerpt (77), too, where the interviewee says that language loss, and, most importantly, first language loss, referred to as *pár száz szóra korlátozódik* 'is limited to a few hundred words', *elsikkadt, kiürült* 'gets lost, gets empty' is one of the most tragic forms of identity loss that they can imagine:

(77) Teacher of Hungarian 2: *Elsősorban azért, mert az az anyanyelvük és annál tragikusabb **identitászavart** nem igazán tudok elképzelni, mint mikor **nyelvvesztés** áll be egy ember életében, tehát **sem az anyanyelvét, se más nyelvet nem ismer tulajdonképpen** és az **anyanyelv** is **elsikkadt, kiürült, elsikkadt, pár száz szóra korlátozódik**. Vannak gondolatai, de nincsenek szavak hozzá, hogy kifejezze. Ez nagyon szomorú és tragikus is mert végül is az **anyanyelv ismerete a legfontosabb, mert ezen gondolkozunk, ezen a***

nyelven. […] *Alapvető emberi jogaink közé tartozik az anyanyelvünk használata bármilyen intézményben. Itt, amig itt lakik, itt él, ebben a közösségben nem igazán érzi annak hiányát, hogy nem ismeri az állam nyelvét. De ha bárhová elmegy, elég egy ötven kilométerre Brassóba, akkor már bajban van.*

'First of all because it's our mother tongue and I can't imagine any other more tragical form of **identity crisis** than **language loss** in a person's life, so **they know neither their mother tongue nor another language**, as a matter of fact and even the mother tongue **gets lost, gets empty, gets lost and is limited to a few hundred words**. The person has ideas but they don't have words through which they could share them. This is very sad and also very tragical, in fact, because the knowledge of **the mother tongue is the most important because this is how we think, in this language**. It is part of our basic human rights to use our mother tongue in any institution. Here, as long as one lives here, in this community, one won't feel the absence of not knowing the language of the state. But if one goes away anywhere, not more than fifty kilometers to Braşov/Brassó, one will be in trouble.'

First language competence is also portrayed in comparison with other languages. As is depicted in the excerpts (78 and 79), first language skills in grammar and literature are also the basis and source of foreign language learning:

(78) Teacher of German: *Ha az anyanyelvét mindenki jól tudja, az anyanyelvét megőrzi, akkor azzal megőrzi a kultúráját, a hagyományait, a történelmi emlékeit. Humboldtnak van egy mondása, nem pont szó szerint idézek, hogy "az anyanyelvedben van a hazád is". A szépen megőrzött anyanyelvvel lehet továbbvinni a kultúrát, hagyományt és történelmet. Ez **ad alapot** arra, hogy **megtanuljál egy másik nyelvet** jól. [...] **Ha nem ismerik az anyanyelvnek a nyelvtanát, a népdalaival együtt, akkor nehéz arra építeni egy idegen nyelvet.***

'If everyone knows their mother tongue well and keeps their mother tongue, then they will also keep their culture, their customs and historical values. Humboldt has a saying, I'm not quoting the exact words, that "your native land is in you language". By properly keeping your mother tongue you can take the culture, the customs and the history further. **This gives you the basis for learning another language properly**. […] **If they don't know the grammar of the mother tongue, with all its folksongs, then it's very difficult to build a foreign language on it**.'

(79) Teacher of Hungarian: *Erre a kérdésre annyira magától érthetődő a válasz. Mindenek elött azért, mert nyelvben gondolkodunk. Egészséges, **épen gondolkodó ember anyanyelvi készségek nélkül nincsen**. Eleve **fogyatékos lesz az**, akit az **anyanyelvének a tisztességes ismeretétől megfosztanak**. Voltaképpen bármilyen **idegen nyelv az anyanyelvnek az ismeretére épül**. Az anyanyelvének a tanulmányozásával szerzi meg a **nyelvi tudatosságunk** azt a szintjét, amelyre aztán bármilyen **idegen nyelvnek az elsajátítása ráépül**. Az, hogy az anyanyelvi kultúrába belépjen. Ez az identitásunknak egy rendkívül fontos eleme.*

'The answer to this question is self-evident. First of all, because we think in a language. **There is no healthily and wholly thinking person without skills in the**

mother tongue. They **will be handicapped** from the beginning if **they are deprived of their mother tongue**. As a matter of fact the **knowledge of any foreign language is based on the knowledge of the mother tongue**. It is through the investigation of the mother tongue that one can gain such a **level of linguistic consciousness** on which one could **build any foreign language**. That they can enter the culture of the mother tongue. This is a very important element of our identity.'

Moreover, as the interviewee in excerpt (80) asserts, there is a close link between mother tongue maintenance, identity and cultural maintenance. The issue of identity loss is closely linked, as the interviewee asserts, with language loss:

(80) Teacher of German 2: *A kisebbségi magyarság szempontjából az anyanyelvnek nagyon nagy szerepe van, mert az **anyanyelv megőrzése jelenti az identitás, a kultúra megőrzését**. Én úgy látom, hogy **ez szorosan összekapcsolódik. Aki már nem beszéli a magyar nyelvet, az valahogy beolvad a román közösségbe és akkor fokozatosan elveszti identitását is**.*

'From the point of view of minority Hungarians the mother tongue has a very important role because **mother tongue maintenance means keeping identity and culture**. As far as I see it **these two strongly stick to each other**. **If one doesn't know the Hungarian language any more, one is assimilated somehow, to the Romanian community and then one slowly loses one's identity**.'

Indeed, as is indicated in excerpt (81), the mother tongue is considered to be a key element of the Hungarian national culture, national maintenance and self-determination:

(81) Head of Hungarian Cultural Center: *Az embernek az **önazonosságához** hozzátartozik, **a nemzethez való hovátartozása** is, ami többek között a nyelv által is kifejeződik, a **közösség** akihez tartozik, illetve **az egész értékrend, az egész kultúra, amiben felnőtt, ennek egy alapeleme**. Enélkül nem is létezne talán az egész. **Az által is vagy én én, hogy magyarul beszélhetek**, és nem japánul, mondjuk. Ez az **önmeghatározásnak** egy adott szintje. Magától érthetődő.*

'It is part of one's **self-identity** and **nationhood**, which, among other things, gets manifested through language, too, the **community that one belongs to** and the **whole value system**, the whole **culture** that **one has been raised in**, it's a **basic element** of this. Without this nothing would exist. **You are you through speaking Hungarian**, **that I can speak Hungarian** and not Japanese, for example. This is one of the levels of **self-determination**. It's self-evident.'

As considered by the interviewees in excerpts (82), (83) and (84), without mother tongue there is no "mother tongue culture" and, without this, a nation does not have a future. This idea is inferred by the phrase *nyelvében él a nemzet* 'a nation lives through its language'.

(82) School Principal 2, Teacher of English: *Nagyon fontosnak tartom és alapvető emberi jognak. Én úgy gondolom, hogy semmit nem lehet olyan szinten elsajátítani (más nyelven), amilyen szinten anyanyelven lehet, lehet az technika, tudomány vagy bármi. Másrészt [...]* **nyelvében él a nemzet. Ha nincsen anyanyelv akkor nincsen anyanyelvi műveltség.** *Márpedig* **anélkül egy egészséges nemzet nem tud élni és nincsen jövője.**

'I consider it very important and a basic human right. I don't think one can acquire something as profoundly in another language as in the mother tongue, be it technology, science or anything. On the other hand […] "**a nation lives through its language**". **If there is no mother tongue, then there is no mother tongue culture**. **Yet, a healthy nation cannot live without it and has no future.**'

(83) Teacher of French: *Természetesen nagyon fontos. A* **nemzeti öntudat**, *elsősorban, amit meg kellene őriznünk. Egyáltalán,* **biztosítani Erdélyben a magyarság folytonosságát**.

'Of course it's very important. National consciousness, first of all, is what we have to keep. Make the continuity of Hungarians in Transylvania/Erdély safe.'

(84) Focus Group 8
A: **Kevesen vagyunk magyarok és meg kellene a nyelvet őrizzük, és ápoljuk mert ha nem, kihal a nyelv, és akkor egyben a magyarság is kihal ezzel együtt.**
B: *Azzal,* **ha megőrizzük az anyanyelvünket, megőrizzük a saját kultúránkat**.
C: *Egy népnek a* **fennmaradásához** *szüksége van az* **anyanyelvre** *is elsősorban, az* **megőriződjön, tisztán megmaradjon** *és* **igyekezzünk továbbadni**.

'A: **There is very few of us Hungarians, and we should keep the language, and take care of it because if we don't, then the language dies and with this Hungarians will also die**.
B: **If we keep our language, we also keep our culture**.
C: For a nation **to survive** it needs **the mother tongue**, so that it is **kept**, **purely kept** and so **that we are trying to pass it on**':

According to the interviewee quoted in excerpt (85), the first language is the language that one needs to *otthonról hozni kell* 'bring from home' and one needs to *ápolni* 'take care of'. The idea of language loss is inferred by the phrases *nem szabad elfelejteni* 'you mustn't forget'. The high value of the first language is further stressed by the use of the phrase *a legtökéletesebben az anyanyelvet kell tudni* 'it is the mother tongue that you have to know the best' both at the beginning and the end of this excerpt. Furthermore, the interviewee switches to use the term *magyar* 'Hungarian' instead of the term *anyanyelv* 'mother tongue' and continues to stress the importance of it by explaining that *egy magyar ember azt tudja* 'a Hungarian knows this', *szépen tudja beszélni* 'can speak it nicely', *helyesen tudja beszélni* 'can speak it correctly' and *azt tudja a legtökéletesebben* 'knows it

the most perfectly'. Finally, speaking another language than one's first language better than one's mother tongue itself the interviewee considers to be a shameful thing, this view being indicated by the phrase *az nagy szégyen, ha valaki jobban beszél angolul, németül, románul, mint a saját anyanyelvén* 'it's a great shame if you speak better English, German, Romanian than your mother tongue':

(85) Teacher of History: *Az **anyanyelv** az, amit **otthonról hozni kell**, amit **ápolni kell**, amit azért, mert megtanulsz millió idegen nyelvet, **nem szabad elfelejteni**. Sőt, **a legtökéletesebben az anyanyelvet kell tudni**. Az nagy szégyen, ha valaki jobban beszél angolul, németül, románul, mint a saját anyanyelvén. Nagyon fontos a többi is, de a magyar nyelvet… egy magyar ember azt tudja a legjobban és szépen tudja beszélni, helyesen tudja beszélni, és azt tudja a legtökéletesebben.*

'The mother tongue is what you have to **bring from home**, what you **have to take care of**, what **you mustn't forget** just because you learn many other languages. Moreover, **it is the mother tongue that you have to know the best**. **It is a great shame if one speaks English, German, Romanian better that their mother tongue**. Other languages are also important but **the Hungarian language… a Hungarian knows that the best** and can speak it **nicely** and **correctly** and knows it the most **perfectly**.'

As far as the choice between first language shift or maintenance is concerned, the interviewee in excerpt (86) considers that it is not something that can work "de jure", coming top-down as a regulation, but it can only work "de facto" if people want it and there are circumstances that make it possible to keep the first language. The interviewee defines top-down policy for language maintenance, which s/he also depicts by the phrase with connotation *na én most jövök és megmentem az anyanyelvet* 'I'm coming now and I'm going to save the mother tongue' as a *humbug* 'eyewash' since, as s/he stresses, what is relevant is being aware of the role that the members of the Hungarian community have in passing on the Hungarian language:

(86) Parent 1: *Egy nyelv megőrzése nem azon múlik, hogy egy szűk réteg, papok, politikusok, tanárok, akik ebből élnek, kijelentik, hogy ezt meg kell őrizni, hanem valahol azokon a szinteken, ahol titkosan eldőlnek ezek a dolgok, hogy marad-e az anyanyelv, vagy kicserélődik a nyelv, **ott meglesznek-e azok a feltételek, lesz-e egy olyan belső igény, hogy ez megmaradjon. Mert felülről sosem fog ez menni, ez csak humbug, hogy "na én most jövök és megmentem az anyanyelvet".***

'Keeping a language doesn't depend on a small group, priests, politicians, teachers – those who make a living from it – stating that we have to keep it, but on the levels where things are secretly decided, down in the deep, whether the mother tongue stays or goes, will there be conditions, **will there be an inner wish for it to stay**. **Because this isn't**

ever going to work from the top, it is just eyewash to say that "**I'm coming now and I'm going to save the mother tongue**"'.

The importance of the awareness of passing on the mother tongue is also emphasized by the interviewee quoted in excerpt (87) by the phrases *fontosnak tartom* 'I consider it important', *nagyon fontosnak tartom az anyanyelv megőrzését* 'I consider it very important to maintain the mother tongue', and the phrase *ezt tudatosítani kell a gyerekekben már egészen pici kortól* 'you have to make the child aware of this from an early age'. Also, this interviewee considers that it does not matter where one lives, one needs to pass on the mother tongue from generation to generation.

(87) Teacher of Hungarian 4: ***Fontosnak tartom, nagyon fontosnak tartom az anyanyelv megőrzését. Elsősorban azért, mert ez az anyanyelvünk, ezt kell tudni, szépen kell tudni, ezt adjuk tovább a gyermekeinknek, én is a gyerekeimnek, ők is majd a gyerekeiknek így adják tovább. Ezt tudatosítani kell a gyerekekben már egészen pici kortól. Most lényegtelen az, hogy most hol élnek. Az anyanyelvüket mindig meg kell tartsák.***

'**I consider it important, very important to keep the mother tongue**. First of all because it's our mother tongue, you have to know it, you have to know it properly, this is what **we pass on to our children**, **I to my children**, **then they to their children**, **this is how they pass it on. You have to make the child aware of this from an early age. They will always have to keep their mother tongue**.'

In summary, the language ideologies connected to the first language indicate the sentimental value that the interviewees attribute to the Hungarian language[74]. Undoubtedly, interviewees consider Hungarian to be closely linked with the Hungarian culture. As a matter of fact, Hungarian is the language in which and through which interviewees describe the maintenance of Hungarians as a homogeneous (minority) community in Szeklerland and within the borders of the Romanian state.

In this chapter I outlined, on the basis of interview excerpts, interviewees' language policy views and language ideologies related to multilingualism[75], including their perceptions related to the Romanian, English and Hungarian language. I described, with special focus on the ideology of language territoriality, the reasons for which interviewees considered first language maintenance, second and foreign language learning important as far as the effective development of multilingualism is concerned.

Chapter 6. Discussion

6.1. Language ideologies

Grin (2003) designed a comprehensive proposal for practical policy evaluation in his book entitled *Language policy evaluation and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*. Out of the numerous tools he offers for language policy analysis, I have selected the one I consider to be the most suitable for the goals of my research. As such, I have adopted the policy evaluation path that Grin (2003: 43-45) includes among the three main conditions for a language to be living: *capacity* (i.e. adequate degree of competence in a language and the opportunity to learn it in case of inadequate competence in it); *opportunity* or the chance to use a language both in the private and the public spheres of life, and *willingness* defined as the will to choose to use a certain language when doing something instead of another language. I have used Grin's framework to analyze and comment on the language ideologies of Hungarians living in Szeklerland. According to the analysis, there is a considerable difference between the languages in focus (Hungarian, Romanian, English and other foreign languages) as far as the circumstances and conditions for their use is concerned.

Extra and Gorter's (2008) recommendations for the promotion of multilingualism in Europe suggest the introduction of three languages for all children, namely, the official standard language as a main school subject and main medium of instruction of other school subjects; second, English as a lingua franca for international communication, and third, a language selected from the national, regional or local level. The hierarchy of languages suggested by the authors quoted above are the reverse in case of the perspective of the Szeklerland Hungarian interviewees of the present research since they consider their L1 to be of primary importance, the state language they perceive as occupying the second place, while English or another foreign language as the third place. As a matter of fact, the discourse on language policy reveals a strong demonstration of consensus about the relevance of multilingualism with Hungarian maintained as a first language, competence in Romanian as a second language, and fluency in English or another worldwide language as foreign languages.

On the whole, Hungarian is not only considered to be the language of everyday communication but the national language that represents an important means for Szeklerland Hungarians to reproduce themselves as a national and cultural minority in

Romania. As such, Hungarian plays a major role in shaping group loyalty, preserving the Hungarian cultural heritage, in making distance from others, in distinguishing "us" from "them". All of the three conditions for the Hungarian language to survive in Szeklerland − capacity, opportunity, and willingness − are lively enough to serve the development of multilingualism with Hungarian as the first language. As a matter of fact, the interviewees considered their mother tongue to be so relevant as far as their national identity, culture and historical continuity is concerned, that, as has been shown in section 5.4., when it came to discussing the Hungarian language, they did not understand why they had to talk about it. Also, oftentimes they stressed that they considered the possibility to identify, learn and use their mother tongue a basic human right since their mother tongue was their most valued resource.

In case of the Romanian language none of the three major conditions for the Romanian language to be "living" is totally unproblematic. First, since both the degree of Romanian language competence and the opportunity[76] to learn the Romanian language are fairly inadequate in Szeklerland, the first of the three main conditions which make, in Grin's (2003) view, a language living, cannot be considered to be fulfilled. As far as the second condition, opportunity, is concerned, the ideology of territoriality indicates that Szeklerland is not considered to be a linguistic environment which facilitates the use, practice and development of the Romanian language in either the private or public spheres of life. Nevertheless, but not in contrast with the first two conditions, there is a relevant degree of willingness in Szeklerland Hungarians' attitude to be able to effectively communicate in the state language. This is indicated, among other things, by the use of the term *foreign* as denoting the call for teaching Romanian with a methodology that is different from the one used before the modification of the *Law on Education* in 2011.

The term "foreign" does not refer to the Romanian language itself, but to a foreign language methodology which aims to facilitate the development of communicative competence in Romanian according to the principles of multilingualism and multicompetence (as opposed to the present methodology which treats all children as if they were native speakers of Romanian). As interviewees declared, there is an urgent need for the first two conditions, that is, *capacity* and *opportunity*, to be addressed within the framework of a multilingual educational language policy in order for the third condition, namely, *willingness*, to be reconceptualised.

Ideologies related to the state language indicate that people's attitudes towards the Romanian language are influenced by their views of state language policy, which suggests

a less positive and distant attitude. Also, their views about the state language are closely related to the symbolic power and the dominance of Romanians as the majority group. Learning the second language is considered to be something obligatory, imposed from above, a not necessarily voluntary response to a top-down language policy which interviewees evaluate as wrongly conceptualized. Even more, resistance to the symbolic domination of the state language seems to be intertwined with the culture and the social group this language symbolizes. As understood by the subjects, this attitude was and is being transmitted from generation to generation. For this reason, the Romanian language is valued as the state language which is a necessary, practical instrument for survival in a country where it is the official language. It is interpreted as a tool for succeeding in life, on the labor market or in education. These results are in agreement with the perspective promoted in the scholarly literature (described in Chapter 2, which discusses the sociolinguistic background of the Hungarians living in Szeklerland) according to which competence in Romanian is considered to be to everyone's advantage not only for reasons of work, education and social integration but also because of citizenship.

By and large, the most substantial aspect of the discourse on foreign language learning is the articulation of English as a lingua franca. As interviewees indicate, there is both willingness and capacity, but no or far too little opportunity to use it. Nevertheless, English is a very important tool of communication (internet, travelling), facilitating mobility on the labor market and in education. In addition, it contributes to the development of intercultural tolerance and openness towards foreign cultures. As far as willingness is concerned, English is the first in the hierarchy of foreign languages and, as such, interviewees consider it as a language that everybody needs to speak. Not only teachers and school-principals but students and parents, too, consider that English is the most important working language not only in Europe but all over the world. English is considered to be "the language" of information flow and computers, the most effective medium of communication, a language of economic importance in the international market and economy and a very useful instrument of entertainment including films and music.

And yet, while it is valued as a helping factor in future career building, it is also represented as a language that contributes to the ideological positioning of multilingualism as the source of inequality of languages with English in the top position. As a matter of fact, the "English language at every step" ideology in foreign language learning is identified in the interview data as being a source of inequality in the constellation of the languages of the world. For this reason, adjacent to English, but not in competition with it,

other European languages such as German and French are also considered to be important foreign languages. In fact, interviewees expressed their regret about the detrimental position these languages occupy due to the dominance of English. These results are in agreement with Phillipson's (2003: 176) view on multilingualism, who considers the triumph of English over all the other European languages and its consequences such as marginalization and polarization to be part of the *laissez faire* language policy at both the supranational and national levels. According to his view, the factors that contributed to the dominance of English can broadly be grouped as structural and ideological (2006: 351). Among the structural factors he lists the British and American promotion of English, the interlocking of English with global economy and military, industrial and financial matters, and, also, the teaching of English in education systems. As far as the ideological factors are concerned, he considers that the connotation of English that has been created through the media as to promote English as an icon of the elite culture, vitality and success has strongly contributed to the ideological positioning of English as the favored language. As a consequence, English functions as a tool of linguistic imperialism that legitimates the privilege of one language and gives way to the naturalization of unequal rights in communication (2006: 348-353). Phillipson (2003: 177) calls attention to the need of introducing what he calls "best-case scenarios" which he describes as being characterized by an increased level of willingness in Europeans learning each other's languages, both on the national (minority and majority languages within a state) and supranational (neighboring states) level; the use of more lingua francas; the importance of language in the maintenance of cultural diversity; and introducing a wider range of languages as mediums of education.

To conclude, the language ideologies related to Hungarian, Romanian, English and other foreign languages stand for the mother tongue, the state language as the second language plus two foreign languages conceptualization of multilingualism. On the whole, a very positive positioning of Szeklerland Hungarians towards multilingualism is detectable in the data with multilingualism being conceived of as a tool of integration into the European community and global society.

6.2. Language policy

In order to frame the evaluation of interviewees regarding the language policy of the Szeklerland Hungarian minority schools, I have adopted the language as a right, as a

resource and as a problem framework presented by Ruiz (1984) and Kontra et al. (1999) and the 'three elements' language policy evaluation grid (capacity, opportunity and willingness) described by Grin (2003) in his suggestions referring to the effective planning of the implementation of the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*.

The adaptation of the Ruizian (1984, language as a right, as a resource, as a problem) trichotomy focused on exploring interviewees' perspective on how language, language learning, language use and language rights are connected to the ideology of territoriality. The framework has been integrated in the present dissertation in several ways. First, by exploring the ways in which interviewees' conceptualization of multilingualism is shaped by the language as a resource view. For this reason, the dissertation contains a detailed description of what languages interviewees consider necessary as far as multilingualism of the Hungarian minority in Szeklerland (plus in Romania, and on the international level) is concerned and also of the reasons for which they consider these languages important. Second, the language as a problem principle was outlined by a detailed presentation (by reference to academic literature, official documents and excerpts from the semi-structured interviews recorded by myself) of why the Romanian as a first language and English as the dominant foreign language policy is considered to be problematic[77] as far as the development of multilingualism of Szeklerland Hungarians is concerned. As far as the third element – language as a right – of the Ruizian framework is concerned, the dissertation shows the ways in which the ideology of linguistic territoriality has led to a different conceptualization of language rights. Hence, the Hungarian minority in Szeklerland calls for language rights in the Romanian as second language policy based on the views that (a) Szeklerland is a territory of Romania where the language environment is predominantly Hungarian, (b) state language use is reduced to formal domains, and (c) learning the state language according to the Romanian as a first language principle violates the linguistic human rights[78] of the minority Hungarian population in Szeklerland since its teaching methodology does not follow the Hungarian minority's specific linguistic needs (that is, the Romanian as a second language perspective). In contrast, the Romanian majority refuses the ideology of linguistic territoriality as understood by Hungarians and redefines it as to support the unitarity and monolinguality of the Romanian state with only one official language, Romanian. Accordingly, the data analysis presented in this dissertation demonstrates that the more the Hungarian minority in Szeklerland and the Romanian majority of Romania identify their national language and the patterns of language use as markers of culture and identity, the

more the national language and the rights associated with it become a milestone of national reproduction, and, as Csergo (2007) calls it, the symbol of "national homeland". Thus, the ideology of linguistic territoriality is born and becomes the basis of conflict and divisiveness as far as sovereignty over particular territories of the Romanian state is concerned. As a matter of fact, the ideology of linguistic territoriality gives birth to the issue of legitimacy of language use, language learning and language rights within the borders of Szeklerland as opposed to the whole of the Romanian state. The ideology of linguistic territoriality, being evaluated in different ways by the Hungarian minority and the Romanian majority, becomes the potential space for conflicting evaluations of the language environment in Romania. Here, while the Romanian majority conceives of the whole of Romania as being a predominantly Romanian monolingual environment, the Hungarian minority evaluates Romania as a country that has a considerably large territory (Szeklerland) where, as a matter of fact, at least two languages are spoken, namely, Hungarian (to a greater degree) and Romanian (to a lesser degree). Accordingly, while the Hungarian minority aspires to decentralize language rights as far as state language policy in education is concerned, the Romanian majority seeks to restate unity and the one nation – one language – one state ideology by evaluating Romania as a monolingual state with only one official language, Romanian. Through the ideology of linguistic territorialism the Hungarian minority in Szeklerland aims to reproduce and maintain a strong sense of separate nationhood with Hungarian as its first language and Romanian as a second language while the Romanian majority rejects the idea of a separate nation within the Romanian state and aims to strengthen the conceptualization of Romania as a linguistically monolingual nation state. On the whole, the linguistic territoriality ideology is made use of by both nations. Nevertheless, while in case of the Romanian majority it is used to underlie the unitarity of the Romanian state as a nation state with only one official language, the Hungarian minority conceptualizes it as a basis for seeking language rights related to state language teaching.

Kontra et al. (1999: 2) stress that the respect for linguistic human rights is the essential tool of preventing language conflicts in a society and, also, the condition of preventing the unequal divisions of power relations. Furthermore, they argue that the linguistic human rights perspective approximates language(s) on the ground of the "both-and" dichotomy and it excludes the "either-or" view which necessarily involves one language but excludes other(s) (Ruiz, 1984; Kontra et al., 1999: 2). Similarly, Phillipson et al. (1995: 2) claim that observing linguistic human rights implies not only the right to

learn, to be educated in and to use the mother tongue but also the right to learn (at least one of) the official language(s) of the state one is a resident of.

According to the analytical frameworks referred to above, the linguistic human rights of Szeklerland minority Hungarians are being violated on several grounds as far as state language learning is concerned. First, minority Hungarians are not given the right to learn the state language as a second language (i.e. an L2 as an L2) but have no choice but to learn it as if it was their first language. Second, they cannot fulfill the expectations of the educational and labor force system due to their underdeveloped state language skills which is the result of the Romanian as a first language methodology, or, in other words, the outcome of the violation of their linguistic human rights. Thus, state language learning has several consequences as far as their social integration in the Romanian mainstream society is concerned and is the source of the state language as a problem construct. Third, and in contrast with the first two elements named before, since there is a relevant degree of openness to learn the state language, interviewees suggest the adoption of the Romanian as a second language methodology in Szeklerland Hungarians' schools which they conceive of as a bottom-up language policy that is based on local needs and one that would change the state language as a problem status quo in the direction of the language as a resource view.

Furthermore, the state language policy is evaluated as non-adapted and inadequate to the linguistic needs of the Hungarian-speaking population of Szeklerland. My findings suggest that the teaching of the state language (the official language of the given country) to Szeklerland Hungarian children is unsatisfactory on several levels. One argument against the state language policy is that it does not take into account that Szeklerland Hungarian children often enter school with minimal or a total lack of knowledge of the majority language. In sharp contrast, however, in formal education Romanian language classes are targeted at teaching minority Hungarians the grammar and literature of the majority language assuming the existence of native or near-native proficiency at the beginning of secondary education. As an outcome, instead of receiving instruction to learn the majority language through the use of second or foreign language teaching methodology with focus on the development of everyday vocabulary and conversational strategies, students are taught to analyze grammar and to interpret and appreciate the literary texts not written for second and foreign language learners of Romanian but for native speakers. As such, state language policy is perceived of, first, as a factor that inhibits the productive development of Hungarian-Romanian bilingualism. Second, it is evaluated as a constant

source of conflict between the Hungarian minority and the Romanian majority. Accordingly, the conflation of Romanian as a first language and Romanian as a second language policy is depicted as malevolent as far as the linguistic integration of the Szeklerland Hungarian population of Romania is concerned. Moreover, state language policy is portrayed as a discriminatory language policy since it contradicts the principles of language equality and creates power asymmetries.

If we view the above mentioned issues from the point of view of linguistic human rights, there are several relevant conclusions that we can make as far as the violation of the rights of the Hungarian minority in Szeklerland is concerned. As can be seen in the interview data, the interviewees are not experts in linguistic human rights. However, there are arguments they bring in order to show those elements of the Romanian minority education system where their linguistic needs as a minority are not taken into consideration. Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1995, 71-110) differentiate between necessary and enrichment oriented human rights. As far as necessary human rights are concerned, they consider that the right to identify with, learn and use the mother tongue and to acquire the official language in one's country of residence belongs to one's necessary linguistic rights, whereas the right to learn and use foreign languages is a granted, enrichment oriented right that can be benefited from to serve professional purposes and international understanding. As far as the first language and foreign languages of the Hungarians in Szeklerland are concerned, they have the right both to use and to learn Hungarian or any other foreign languages. However, the Hungarians in Szeklerland are deprived of their right to acquire the majority language, Romanian, according to their specific needs through the obligation to use the instruction methodology of teaching the Romanian language as a first language, that is, in a way that is contrary to what scholarly evidence indicates. As a result of this absence, Hungarians in Szeklerland are not granted the right to acquire a linguistic repertoire which is necessary for their social, economic and political participation. Accordingly, their possibility to become additive bilinguals is prevented. This is what Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson call a form of linguicism (1995: 71).

With these in mind, interviewees consider that either the objectives of Romanian language planning (including the expected outcomes) or the means of implementation of the language policy need to be reconsidered since there is a clash between the theory and the practice of language policy.

6.3. Language policy and language ideologies

Post-communist European nation states underwent changes both in terms of territorial borders and in terms of power relations of dominance or subordination (Csergo, 2007: 7). Even though an overwhelming number of states organized along the principles of national languages and territoriality have joined the European Union where they are continuously being faced with the importance of transnational integration, the ideology of the reproduction of national cultures through language is still of great influence (Csergo, 2007: 10). More than that, the European Union itself reflects the hierarchy of languages since it elevates state languages to the status of national languages, while minority languages are referred to as *lesser used languages*, *minority languages* or *regional languages* (Csergo, 2007: 11). Through this, linguistic power relations are established in a way that minority languages are unequivocally included and potentially dominated or, even worse, excluded (Csergo, 2007: 12). Since, through culture, language and culture are the manifestations of its speakers, the status of languages reflects the status of its speakers (Csergo, 2007: 13).

The "national territories" are a very important factor for the different geopolitical actors of Central Europe for their correspondence or non-correspondence with state territory. This is the case in Romania, too, where there have always been severe power rivalries between the state and minorities as far as the sovereignty over such well-defined territories is concerned as is Transylvania (Pataki, 2002: 249).

Csergo (2007: 8-9) argues that the success of nationalism in Romania is based on both the majority and the minority groups assigning a crucial role to linguistic territoriality, and, as such, to the relationship between language and sovereignty. Nevertheless, she says, the order which members of the two groups set up for languages is adverse since for the majority group language is an essential element of titularity, while the minority group rejects the notion of national hierarchy and aims to include language in self-government. What the two opposing views have in common is that they both define a state model which is the embodiment of the linkage of national language and culture within a well-defined territory (Csergo, 2007: 9). Indeed, this perspective is illustrated in the data of the present dissertation, too. Namely, Szeklerland is conceived of by interviewees as a linguistically different territory within the territory of the monolingual Romanian state. As a matter of fact, through its language ideological conceptualization, it becomes a geographical space of contestation. In other words, Szeklerland is territorially positioned as the space of the

Hungarian language and as opposed to the rest of Romania as the territory of the Romanian language. To a certain degree, both Szeklerland and Romania are conceptualized as monolingual territories, the former as mainly a monolingual Hungarian one while the latter a monolingual Romanian one. However, even in Szeklerland competence in Romanian is perceived to be absolutely necessary for integration of minority Hungarians to the Romanian mainstream society. As such, a relevant degree of openness to the Hungarian-Romanian bilingualism of the Hungarian speaking population is also signaled by interviewees. Accordingly, Szeklerland is positioned as a linguistic territory that is the space of constant contestation between the Romanian majority, which regards Szeklerland as part of the Romanian state where competence in the official language is obligatory and of absolute importance, and the Hungarian minority, which perceives of Szeklerland as a linguistic island in Romania which is dominated by the Hungarian language. For all these, there is also a clash between the Romanian monolingual norm imposed by the state and Szeklerland Hungarians' construction of Szeklerland as a mainly Hungarian territory with an "accepted obligation" to learn the Romanian language as a second language. This, naturally, results in unequal power relations and power asymmetries.

In general, it is the ideology of linguistic territoriality that serves as the basis for conceptualizing the language policy related to multilingualism both for the Romanian majority and the Hungarian minority. A relevant question that needs to be answered is, then, what are the ways through which ideology influences policy? In fact, this question needs to be addressed in the other way round, too. Namely: how does language policy affect language ideologies? Since the present dissertation addresses a very relevant linguistic matter – the multilingualism of the minority population in a nation state – the formerly proposed questions are inevitably related to linguistic human rights matters. As a matter of fact, these questions can be merged and conceptualized also as follows: how do the (absence of) linguistic human rights issues get reflected in the relationship between language ideologies and language policies? Basically, the whole controversy between the minority Hungarian and majority Romanian communities has its focal point in whether or not to give equal rights to the Hungarian minority population in state language learning in a state that conceptualizes itself as a one language – one nation state. By means of legal documents (the *Constitution* and the *Law on Education*) the ideology of nationalism is promoted in (minority) education (too) and naturalized in the form of Romanian as a first language ideology. By this, language ideology is embodied in and legalized in language policy through an official tool, the law. Accordingly, state language policy promotes the

state language, Romanian, as the only language that has primacy in the territory of Romania. As such, state language policy represents the ideology of one language – one state – one territory.

The ideology of linguistic territoriality implicitly infers the ideology of nationalism in the whole of the data presented in the dissertation mainly through the use of the variations of the terms *itt* 'here' and *idegen* 'foreign'. Accordingly, as presented on pages from 81 to 107, the place adverb *itt* 'here' is used to refer to (a) the status of Hungarians and Romanians in Szeklerland and in Romania as the (local) minority or the (local) majority population, (b) the conceptualization of Szeklerland or of Romania as a national homeland, (c) the fundamental priority and the status of the Romanian language as the official language of the state that must be learnt (expressed by the terms *kell* 'must'/'has to' and *kötelező* 'obligatory'. Similarly, the term *idegen* 'foreign', conceived of as being far too provocative by Romanians when used in the context of the Romanian language, induces (a) the conceptualization of the Romanian language as a foreign language in contrast to Hungarians' first language (Hungarian) and (b) the call for a state language policy that allows the Romanian as a second language methodology. As a matter of fact, the ideology of linguistic territoriality, inferred by the Romanian as a second language policy, becomes an arena for opposition to a nationalist government which promotes the Romanian as a first language policy. Furthermore, the controversy related to the use of the term *idegen* 'foreign' expresses, on the one hand, Hungarians' public resistance against the Romanian as a first language policy, a policy that sustains the gap between reality and nationalism through the promotion of a language learning methodology that is ineffective in its outcome as far as the development of multilingualism is concerned. On the other hand, Romanians' reaction to the use of the term *idegen* 'foreign' in relation to the Romanian language expresses the demand of the nationalist state towards its minority population in which it is exclusively adherence to prescribed roles that are acceptable and allowed in order to create a minority population that obediently practices a language policy that homogenizes its population according to the one state – one language – one nation ideology. It is in such a type of nationalist society that the rationality of state language learning policy is suppressed by the fear of losing state unity and authority. As such, the use of the term *idegen* 'foreign' in the context of the Romanian language plays an important role in exacerbating ethnic tensions and its use by minority Hungarians is interpreted as an attack from the inside leading to the loss of the sovereignty, unity and indivisibility of Romania.

Martel (1999: 52) claims that law is a powerful tool of naturalizing ideology through policy. Indeed, the basis of such a relevant linguistic human right issue as the one described in this dissertation lies in the law. As such, regardless of whether it is the minority or the majority who does not agree with the existent form of linguistic human rights as codified in the law, it is the law which stands for official legal basis that needs to be addressed, and, if needed, modified. In this respect, Martel also (1999: 50-51) considers that any movement that has the capacity to overcome local interests to empower groups of people within the larger vision and that can use the law in order to affect social change can be called an activism. According to this, the interviewees and authors of academic literature cited in this dissertation can be considered members of a linguistic human right activist group. In fact, they are individuals who represent the interests of their own community and attempt to influence the decision-making processes of the state by giving voice to their views. Their perspectives are dominated by the numerous forms of the language ideology of territoriality and, furthermore, multilingualism, that were born as a reaction to the minority language policy and the status quo of linguistic human rights in Romania. In addition, their views are nuances of their own language policy as the conceptualizations of linguistic human rights based on language ideologies of territoriality and multilingualism. One should not forget that the question is not whether it was language ideologies that gave birth to language policy or vice versa but whether language policy and language ideologies can be used as tools initiating innovation and reconsideration of the legal basis for a more democratic representation of the linguistic rights of the Hungarian minority in Romanian decision making on the level of the official law. For this to take place, both the Hungarian minority and the Romanian majority should overcome ideologies of oppression and exclusion as on the basis of the territoriality principle and to turn towards creating a legal framework that embodies and promotes participation for both groups in creating possibilities of social cooperation. What has been going on for decades now is aimless conflict in the educational matters in which the Hungarian minority has been suppressed and made powerless through the promotion of language laws which violated their basic human rights but that were, however, positioned as unquestionable values due to being ratified in the *Law on Education* and the *Constitution*. Nowadays, however, calling for minority language rights in education and challenging the discourse of the state (as represented by the law) dominates the discourse of the Hungarian minority both on the folk or people's level (interviewees' perspectives) and the level of academic literature. What the Hungarian minority in Szeklerland calls for is giving meaning and

substance to what is their basic human right and also the condition of the successful membership in the worldwide community: multilingualism. In addition, their demand is the same as the one prescribed by the law as a requirement of citizenship in Romania: the ability to speak the official language of the state. What Hungarians call for is a new conceptualization of the law that allows meaningful implementation of this requirement in a way that recognizes the principles of basic linguistic human rights, that is, according to the specific needs of the Hungarian minority. There is a need for modifying the law in a way that it gives space to democratic communication, negotiation and resolutions, tolerance in managing confrontation and disagreement as well as openness for compromise that bridges the gap between national and local interests in linguistic human rights.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

The general purpose of this dissertation is to outline, on the basis of the interview discourse on multilingualism of unofficial agents (stakeholders in the educational process, teachers, parents, students) of the minority Hungarian educational system of Szeklerland (Romania), what language ideologies and language policy views the interviewees of the present dissertation have as far as multilingualism with Hungarian as a first language, Romanian as a second language, and English as a third language is concerned. A second objective is to examine whether the existing state and foreign language policy efforts of the Romanian state respond to the linguistic needs faced by the Hungarian minority in Szeklerland. Accordingly, the possible discrepancies between language policy in theory vs. in practice are also investigated.

The chapters of the present dissertation draw on the author's empirical research in a variety of educational settings including interviews carried out with school principals, teachers, parents, focus group interviews with students, official educational policy documents and linguists' discussions of language policy and language teaching practices. A content analysis of the interview excerpts was carried out to show the conceptualization of language policy as an object of constant reconceptualization and to highlight the ideological stance of discourse on language as a tool in promoting or discrediting multilingualism.

The theoretical and methodological framework is based on an interdisciplinary approach drawing on the concepts and methods of language policy and language ideologies since, as Ricento (2006b,c: 44, 131-132) claims, for those who work in language policy and planning it is impossible to explore social processes and structures without a look at ideologies.

In the present dissertation the focus is on describing the aspects of multilingual language policy and the language ideologies connected to multilingualism with reference to the first language of the Hungarian minority in Szeklerland (Hungarian), to the Romanian language, and to the foreign language that is most of spoken by the Hungarians in Szeklerland: English.

As far as the Romanian language is concerned, the interviewees outline the reasons for which they consider that Romania's state language policy is a defective language policy that makes the possibility of bilingualism and the development of Hungarian-Romanian bilingualism impossible. The causes for which the interviewees challenged the

efficiency of Romania's top-down language policy which does not allow a Romanian as a second language policy and which disregards the linguistic needs of the Hungarian minority in Szeklerland are also described. As a matter of fact, the interviewees identify the Szeklerland language environment as one that does not facilitate the acquisition of other languages than Hungarian in everyday situations. Thus, the most important reason for which interviewees consider the Romanian as a first language policy ineffective in Hungarian-medium schools is that it does not contribute to Szeklerland Hungarians' development of communicative competence in Romanian. As the interviewees claim, students can solve exercises of grammar but they can't communicate. Also, when they are expected to deliver their personal opinion they cannot handle the challenge of speaking freely due to the absence of vocabulary necessary for the speaking task. Accordingly, interviewees believe that the fact that students cannot meet the communicational challenges they encounter in their everyday life highlights the failure of the language educational policy that focuses on teaching literature analysis but does not teach language in use. Last but not least, interviewees emphasize that what is achieved by the Romanian as a first language policy is in sharp contrast with what motivation for target language learning would be. Namely, students show resistance towards speaking the state language and conceive of learning the Romanian language as an obligation imposed by citizenship in Romania.

Regarding the English language, the interviewees highlight the fact that English, though it is a very useful language, also plays the role of a linguistic cuckoo in today's' state-of-the-art of multilingualism. The ideology that the English language is a tool of succeeding in life is justified by several facts. To summarize, interviewees conceive of the English language as the prestigious language that opens doors and facilitates mobility and success. Education, travelling, tourism, science, technology, computers, films, music and entertainment are considered to be the sources that stimulate English language learning and use. English language skills are considered to be desirable requirements that are absolutely unavoidable and indispensable as far as competitiveness in national and international professional environments and the labor market are concerned. Nevertheless, interviewees underline that besides competence in the English language, skills in other European foreign languages are also important. Another relevant point in interviewees' perspective is that according to them the dominance of English in foreign language teaching does not necessarily contribute to the promotion of multilingualism.

The interviewees consider the importance of the first language to be self-evident. Eventually, the first language is viewed as the basis of the ability of human beings to think, talk, feel and understand. What is more, it is considered to be the only language one can truly express themselves in. Interviewees stress that the importance and primacy of mother tongue needs to be kept even if this is not considered to be useful. The loss of the first language is depicted as a very negative phenomenon, that is, one of the most tragic forms of identity loss that interviewees can imagine. Moreover, the interviewees assert that there is a close link between mother tongue maintenance, identity and cultural maintenance. All in all, the language ideologies connected to the first language indicate the sentimental value that the interviewees attribute to the Hungarian language. Undoubtedly, interviewees consider Hungarian to be closely linked with the Hungarian culture. As a matter of fact, Hungarian is the language in which and through which interviewees describe the maintenance of Hungarians as a homogeneous (minority) community in Szeklerland and within the borders of the Romanian state.

The analysis of interview data indicates that language ideologies underlie language policy theory and implementation and are, furthermore, the source and the initiators of language policy reconsideration. In fact, ideology is further elaborated as the guiding principle in language policy making, and it plays a fundamental role in the construction of discourses surrounding the use of languages in informal contexts at the micro-level of everyday talk. Ideology guides people's attitudes and determines the way they position themselves when they are required to talk about their views on language learning and multilingualism. This finding is in agreement with both Spolsky's (2004, 2007) and Shohamy's (2006a,b) views on language ideologies as mechanisms that emerge at the grassroots and that underlie language policy procedures from the bottom up.

This study demonstrates that in spite of the fact that during the past half a century the process of modernization has gained influential significance in Europe, partly through the transnational character of the European Union, language ideologies and language policies of nationalism remain an organizing principle of the different societies, both on the micro-regional and on the macro-state level. As shown by the data of the present dissertation, this is the case in Romania, too, where the ideology of linguistic territoriality proves to be an influential factor of the language policy of both the Hungarian national minority and that of the Romanian majority. Both of these groups conceive of language not only as a marker of culture but also as a marker of ownership over well-defined territories. Accordingly, the borders of Szeklerland are linguistically constructed through the frequent

use of the adverb of place "here" as referring to the space of monolingual Hungarian linguistic practices and as a linguistically uniform Hungarian geographical unit. In fact, Szeklerland is constructed as being in contrast with the territory outside the borders of Szeklerland as the space of the monolingualism of the Romanian language. Also, state language learning is associated with the guarantee of social integration on the part of the Hungarian minority and as a site of authority, sovereignty and dominance on the part of the majority. However, due to the clash between the interests of a majority and a minority group that coexist in Romania, state language policy becomes a divisive factor between the Hungarian minority and the Romanian majority where the former promotes a bottom-up language policy of Romanian as a second language whereas the latter imposes the Romanian as a first language top-down policy. These findings support Fairclough's (1992, 1995) and Woolard's (1994, 1998) perspectives on language ideologies according to which language ideologies exist in a society characterized by different types of relations of dominance and that language ideologies are not about language but about how the role of language in society is conceptualized, contested and reconceptualized.

In this study, the focus is also on how top-down and bottom-up language policies and language ideologies shape views of multilingualism of the Hungarian minority in Szeklerland. The study demonstrates how the national interests of the two groups, organized along the lines of the demand of institutional autonomy and minority rights (in case of the national minority) and that of the state stability (in case of the national majority) are able to divide a society. Second, it outlines that official language policy and the actual use of the various linguistic resources are often far apart. Third, it illustrates the ways in which the different dimensions of language policy are in tension and, furthermore, that it is not always the case that there is complementarity between them. As such, the results of the present dissertation also demonstrate the power of bottom-up language policy in activities aimed to challenge or undermine top-down language policy goals. Nevertheless, findings also demonstrate openness on the part of the Hungarian minority in Szeklerland towards multilingualism and multiculturalism as a possibility that could bridge solutions on the often conflicting debates that arise between Hungarians and Romanians as cohabitants of Szeklerland. In addition, it shows that it is important for the effectiveness of any minority language policy designed and imposed from the top-down that it gives space for the voice of those from the bottom-up since it is only in this way that the cultural reproduction of the minority group is organized in such a way that it clashes with neither the rights of the minority nor the (sense of) security of the dominant majority. Accordingly,

the emphasis of the recommendations of the interviewees of the research is on conceptualizing a language policy that meets the Szeklerland sociolinguistic reality, which exposes multiplicity and diversity instead of stubborn persistence on uniformity. As the interviewees hold, in the absence of such a view, language in education remains a continuous field of contests between a majority group which feels the need for proclaiming territorial sovereignty through a national canon and a minority which is kept in the process of ever-lasting fight for cultural reproduction.

Given these facts, on the basis of the results of the research presented above, it is reasonable to conclude that in Szeklerland multilingualism is an indispensable necessity of everyday life that can only be attained, on the one hand, if there is capacity, opportunity and willingness, on the part of both the Romanian and Hungarian communities, to reasonably conceptualize it, and, on the other hand, if implementation is aimed at realizing multilingualism as a right and a resource of cohabitance, not as a problem.

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Appendix

Language policy in Transylvania
Guiding questions for the semi-structured interview

1. **Multilingual language policy**
   1.1. What does multilingualism mean in the Transylvanian minority Hungarian context today?
   1.2. Do you consider that multilingualism is of major importance for Transylvanian Hungarians?
   1.3. Are current language policies of Transylvanian Hungarian minority schools built on the local linguistic needs instead of seeking a panacea?
   1.4. Does the language taught in Romanian, English and other language classes correspond to the real communicational contexts of students?
   1.5. What effects does the current language policy have on students' attitudes towards language learning and towards multilingualism?

2. **Motivation for language learning**
   2.1. What is the motivation for Transylvanian people for learning Hungarian, Romanian, English and other languages in Transylvania?
   2.2. What are the advantages/disadvantages of speaking/not speaking Hungarian, Romanian, English and other languages?
   2.3. Is it a necessity to learn certain languages? Why?
   2.4. What consequences does it have if one does not speak any language beside their first language? Can one manage without language skills beyond their first language today?
   2.5. What are the effects of major languages such as English on language learning?
   2.6. Did you take economic considerations (language as a capital) into account when designing the language policy of the school?
   2.7. What languages do you need in Transylvania today to apply for well-paid jobs?

3. **Language competence**
   3.1. Have you ever felt embarrassed because you do not speak Hungarian, Romanian or English at the expected level?
   3.2. In what way should language policy be changed to more effectively promote the development of multilingualism?

4. **Teachers as policy makers**
   4.1. Do teacher training programs include language policy courses?
   4.2. Do you think language learning is important? Why and which languages should be learnt?

Tables

Table 1. The percentage of qualified language teachers in Romania in the year 2000

Foreign languages /Total positions	Qualified (%)	Other qualifications (%)	Unqualified (%)
French - 152,609	61.3%	15.96%	23.12%
English - 98,061	59.70%	16.53%	23.77%
Russian - 40,269	55.02%	20.72%	24.26%
German - 21,600	60.69%	17.16%	21.71%
Spanish - 1,261	87.87%	6.90%	5.23%
Italian - 1,181	79.68%	14.65%	5.67%

Source: Ministry of National Education, EFA Assessment (Unesco Country Report), 2000

Table 2. The percentage of qualified language teachers in rural and urban areas in the year 2000.

	Qualified Rural	Qualified Urban	Other Qualifications Rural	Other Qualifications Urban	Unqualified Rural	Unqualified Urban
French	35.99%	88.03%	23.53%	9.60%	40.48%	8.37%
English	19.66%	68.95%	24.63%	14.65%	55.60%	16.40%
Russian	37.45%	88.39%	27.64%	7.57%	34.91%	4.03%
German	27.04%	72.97%	26.03%	14.52%	46.93%	12.51%
Spanish	82.35%	88.02%	17.65%	6.60%	0.0%	5.38%
Italian	31.03%	82.19%	62.07%	12.20%	6.90%	5.61%

Source: Ministry of National Education, EFA Assessment (Unesco Country Report), 2000

Table 3. The number of respondents by location, time, and status

	Time of data collection				
	From April 2007 to the beginning of 2008		From November 2008 to January 2009		Total
Location	Miercurea Ciuc/Csíksze-reda	Sfântu Gheorghe/ Sepsiszentgyörgy	Miercurea Ciuc/Csíksze-reda	Sfântu Gheorghe/ Sepsiszentgyörgy	
Stakeholders in the educational process	0	0	2	4	6
School (vice) principals	1	3	0	3	7
Teachers	6	11	5	11	33
Students	0	0	1 focus group	8 focus groups	9 focus groups (41 students)
Parents	0	0	1	5	6
					93

Table 4. Ideologies related to multilingualism

The absence of multilingualism	1. we are pushing ourselves to the periphery 12[79]. 2. the end of a ranking list 12.
Multilingualism as insight into other cultures	3. we can know each other's cultures truly only through language 10. 4. you know more cultures 9. 5. are more open to and towards otherness 2. 6. to know other people's culture, literature 7. 7. tool of getting insight into foreign cultures 6.
Multilingualism is important	1. it gives you a sense of safety and liberty 10. 2. helping factor 2. 3. is a virtue 2. 4. gives basic freedom 6. 5. the necessity 6. 6. is very important 7. 7. there is a great need for multilingualism 2. 8. it is needed 2. 9. it is important that Hungarians in Transylvania, like any other community, be multilingual 4. 10. I find multilingualism to be advantageous from all points of view 5. 11. it is very important 9. 12. it is important 8. 13. there is a need for multilingualism 6.
Multilingualism and jobs	1. would make it easier to get a job 4. 2. it's easier to look for a job 5.
Multilingualism represented in a proverb	1. you are more valuable as a person 10. 2. the more languages you know, the more "persons" you are 10. 3. every person is worth as much as many languages they know, as many persons 9. 4. the more languages you know, the more valuable a person you are 8. 5. the more languages you speak,

		the better 8.
	6.	the more languages one knows, the wider the world becomes for one 6.
	7.	the more languages we know, the more valuable we are 74.
	8.	you become more through this, if you know more 7.
Multilingualism as a tool of succeeding	1.	Spain, Italy- it's much easier to succeed there, if one knows the language 5.
	2.	so that they can succeed as people in their own right in Europe 6.
	3.	you have more possibilities to succeed than a person who knows one language 9.
	4.	so that one could be successful in a scientific field 72.
Multilingualism involves speaking more than one language, namely:	1.	everyone should know Romanian and a foreign language 3.
	2.	there are individuals who are multilingual and are fluent speakers of both Hungarian and Romanian 4.
	3.	they also speak a foreign language and here we can talk about multilingualism to a certain degree 4.
	4.	the use and knowledge of a foreign language 4.
	5.	the knowledge of English and German 7.
	6.	world languages 7.
	7.	you need some French and German next to English 66.
	8.	in most of the cases English, and to a lesser extent German and French to an even lesser extent 67.
	9.	at the European level English is not enough any more, but there is need for German, French and Spanish 67.
	10.	not really managing without English and German even in this region 68.
	11.	everybody has to learn all of

	the three world languages, so French, German and English on the basic level 69.

Table 5. Ideologies related to Romanian

Romanian: the absence of the development of communication skills	1. textbooks don't concentrate on communicative language use 22. 2. they should rather teach children how to communicate in Romanian 21. 3. rather language, the Romanian language 21. 4. a whole lot of things are taught to the students that they cannot make use of in everyday life and in everyday communication 23. 5. they don't communicate 23. 6. instead of real language skills and competences 24. 7. to make themselves understood in Romanian, to communicate in Romanian they can't 25. 8. the school expects you to do things that are very different from what happens in real life 20.
Romanian as a first language policy	1. defective educational policy 12. 2. deprives children who live here of the possibility of bilingualism 12. 3. the material makes language learning impossible 12. 4. this really shows you the shortcomings and misconceptions of the system 20. 5. we aren't able to advance 13. 6. vague language policy and strategy 13. 7. the principle that does not handle the Romanian language as a foreign language 24. 8. Romanian educational policy equates individuals who speak a language as a mother tongue 13. 9. Romanian is not taught as a foreign language 23. 10. this level is the mother tongue level 21. 11. they teach the Romanian language at the level they have for Romanian mother tongue students 21. 12. this is too high 21. 13. the textbooks that we use were written for Romanian

	students 22.
	14. it is not facts that things are based on 25.
	15. like this, no way 25.
Romanian as a foreign language	1. when I say foreign language I am thinking of Romanian 11.
	2. not in the sense that it is a foreign language 11.
	3. since it cannot be compared with English, French or Russian 11.
	4. but in the sense that it's not a mother tongue 11.
	5. even the word sounds awful 25.
	6. in the parliament their hair stands on end 25.
	7. it would be much more effective if Romanian were to be treated as a foreign language 25.
	8. they are really really being grated on their nerves by the word "foreign" 25.
	9. "Well that is the language of the state, it can't be a foreign language" 25.
	10. this thing would be good, that they would handle it as a foreign language 25.
	11. if they are afraid of the word, you don't have to attach "foreign" 25.
	12. "unknown" 25.
	13. it always creates great disturbance 58.
	14. we say that Romanian should be taught to Hungarian people, Hungarian mother tongue people foreign language 58.
	15. it is not that it has to be considered a foreign language 58.
	16. as some people think, wrongly 58.
	17. the methodology that has to be used is the one that teaches a person English in six months 58.
	18. it is here for them a foreign language 59.
	19. unfortunately, Romanian is not considered to be a foreign language 60.
	20. there is no such thing as Romanian as a foreign language 60.
	21. this is the most appalling idea 60.
	22. should one say something like this

	at the level of the ministry, half the ministry [of education] would get a heart attack, that, what foreign language? 60. 23. they consider Romanian to be natural for us to learn it from the first grade on as a mother tongue 60. 24. it does not work but… oh well 60. 25. if it is not their mother tongue, then, of course it's a foreign language 59.
Romanian: learning strategy	1. they memorize it [gender concord] 14. 2. when they have to talk or say the topic of a lesson in Romanian, then they can't say it in their own words 14. 3. they cram it up 14. 4. they say what is written down in the copybook 14. 5. word by word, from the beginning to the end 14. 6. our students learn by heart everything that they have to know for the exams 22.
Romanian: the absence of understanding	1. they don't understand even the connecting text 16. 2. many times because they don't understand them 16. 3. we have to translate many words for them during the class since they don't understand them 17. 4. they don't understand what they are learning 17. 5. they don't understand Romanian 19.
Romanian: grammar and literature analysis	1. interpretations of texts 20. 2. literary interpretations 20. 3. complex analyses in the Romanian language and literature cl: 20. 4. not who wrote what, when and how 21. 5. it's not literature that should be in predominance 21. 6. learn about a great range of grammar issues 23. 7. regionalisms 23. 8. archaisms 23. 9. children really won't have anything

	to do with later in life 23.
	10. don't make them learn Romanian any better 23.
	11. they face texts whose language points are unnecessary and very difficult to remember for them 24.
	12. they learn linguistic fossils 24.
	13. things that they absolutely don't need 24.
	14. things that are to be learnt even by a Romanian child 24.
	15. the Moldavian dialect 24.
Romanian as an obligation	1. it requires that 1.
	2. it is a requirement 1.
	3. one has to know Romanian 1.
	4. an obligation 2.
	5. everyone should know Romanian 3.
	6. we made Romanian obligatory 5.
	7. so that we have to learn it 5.
	8. you have to be able to communicate in Romanian 12.
	9. we live here in this country, so we are forced to know that 41.
	10. to a certain degree it is a duty 42.
	11. this is the national language 42.
	12. we've been living here for more than a decade doesn't mean that we don't have to know that language 4
	13. the Romanian language is an obligation 43.
	14. we have to understand it 43.
	15. we live in Romania 43.
	16. the general expectation throughout Romania 44.
	17. a Hungarian mother tongued person should know Romanian is legitimate 44.
	18. it's not that it's legitimate 44.
	19. it has to be natural for a Hungarian 44.
	20. here in Romania it is necessary that we learn Romanian 44.
	21. that we use it 44.
	22. as long as we live in Romania it is an obligation to know how to communicate in Romanian 45.
	23. Romanian is the language of the state 46.
	24. that is what you have to learn 46.

	25. it has become obligatory 47.
	26. whether you like it or not, that you have to learn it 47.
	27. you count as half a person if your Romanian doesn't work 47.
	28. they take it as an obligation 47.
	29. we have to speak the Romanian language 48.
	30. knowledge of the language is obligatory to a certain degree 53.
	31. "the language of the state must be learnt 55.
	32. that it is the language of the state 56.
	33. the language of the state has to be known 56.
Romanian: underdeveloped language skills	1. the absence of language skills [in Romanian] is an obvious problem 15.
	2. in the use of Romanian they are very very subdued 15.
	3. their knowledge of Romanian is of quite a low level 16.
	4. in Szeklerland the knowledge of Romanian is rather imperfect 17.
	5. [The level of Romanian] is not suitable, not suitable at all [for teac History and Geography in Romanian]
	6. their knowledge of Romanian is very weak 17.
	7. the level of knowledge of Romanian is very low 19.
	8. they have basic problems communicating in everyday life 20.
	9. they are, to put it mildly, in trouble as far as their language skills are concerned 20.
	10. they can implement it [gender concord] in practice 14.
	11. they can't spell them correctly 16
	12. the children have such a narrow vocabulary 17.
	13. their vocabulary is very poor 18.
	14. my colleagues of Romanian complain that they can't do anything them 19.
	15. they can't compose a simple sentence in Romanian in my history either 19.
	16. they don't know it, anyway 25.
	17. it's a fact that they don't know it 25.

	18. the knowledge of Romanian is of quite a low level here 33.
	19. knowledge of the state language doesn't necessarily work 34.

Table 6. Ideologies related to English

English as a tool of imperialism	1. I don't know whether this is good or not 3. 2. I feel sorry about the loss of interest in French 6. 3. has displaced other languages 61. 4. unfairly, maybe 62. 5. other languages, mainly French, have been pushed into the background 62. 6. I don't consider this to be right 62. 7. French and even German have been forced to the background due to English 62. 8. I don't consider it to be fortunate 63. 9. not a well-considered and well-advised policy 63. 10. definitely outweighing everything 69. 11. learning other foreign languages would also be important but this is pushed into the background due to the influence of English 70. 12. the only problem I have with English is that it should not squeeze German out 71.
English is important	1. this is part of it 5. 2. knowledge of English is the most important for this 6. 3. it is important 8. 4. everybody knows English 8. 5. everybody learns English 3. 6. first of all 61. 7. this is unquestionable 61. 8. you have to know it 61. 9. fundamental today 61. 10. you need English 61. 11. you face the English language at every step 61. 12. the first by all means 61. 13. it is there 61. 14. no question 70. 15. you have to learn it 70. 16. this is not a big deal today 71. 17. that one has to know English this is for sure since 71. 18. nowadays almost everybody knows some English 71.
English is useful in travelling,	1. anywhere you go, if you know

communication, the use of the internet, entertainment, education and succeeding	English, you can succeed 6. 2. succeeding 62. 3. it's a fact that they can succeed with it 62. 4. if they speak English, at least at the intermediate level, they can manage 65. 5. with song lyrics, on the internet 61. 6. people go, travel 70. 7. for jobs 70. 8. as tourists 70. 9. cross the borders 70. 10. spoken elsewhere 70. 11. not only in English speaking countries 70. 12. especially from the point of view of communication 69. 13. if we have to communicate 69. 14. if we need to download information from the internet 69. 15. many of the things are available in English 69. 16. the language of computers 71. 17. watch films and cartoons in English 71. 18. should we go anywhere, it is spoken there 71.
English is a world (fashionable, favored, etc.) language	19. a world language 1. 20. English as an intermediary language 1. 21. European fashion languages, English 5. 22. English is the big fashion 8. 23. already totally fundamental 61. 24. hot language 62. 25. the fashionable foreign language 63. 26. English has become such an exceptionally treated 63. 27. an almost fetishistic 63. 28. a favored language 63. 29. nowadays it is rather English 65. 30. in most of the cases English 67. 31. the most dominant 67. 32. the most important foreign language 69 33. is a good tool 70. 34. this is its big advantage 71.

Table 7. Ideologies related to Hungarian

Hungarian as the basis for learning foreign languages	1. when I'm learning a foreign language I'm learning it on the basis of the mother tongue 76. 2. if someone doesn't know one's mother tongue properly they won't know the foreign language properly either 76. 3. gives you the basis for learning another language properly 78. 4. the knowledge of any foreign language is based on the knowledge of the mother tongue 79. 5. on which one could build any foreign language 79.
Hungarian as a basis of thinking	1. thinking, feeling, talking and processing information in the brain in one's mother tongue 72. 2. I don't see it as a rounded whole phrase, only if it's in Hungarian 73. 3. the world can only become a wholly valuable world through the mother tongue 76. 4. it's only through the mother tongue that one can be really creative linguistically 76. 5. it's one's base 76. 6. this is how we think, in this language 77. 7. we think in a language 79. 8. there is no healthily and wholly thinking person without skills in the mother tongue 79. 9. it's a basic element 81.
Hungarian as a symbol of national identity and culture	1. from the point of view of my identity and integrity 72. 2. that is your language, your identity, your life, it belongs to you 74. 3. this is your language 74. 4. "your native land is in you language 78. 5. take the culture, the customs and the history further 78. 6. a very important element of our identity 79. 7. this is our culture 75. 8. then they will also keep their culture, their customs and historical values 78.

	9. enter the culture of the mother tongue 79. 10. no mother tongue, no mother tongue culture 82. 11. a healthy nation cannot live without it 82. 12. a nation lives through its language 82. 13. national consciousness 83. 14. make the continuity of Hungarians in Transylvania/Erdély safe 83. 15. part of one's self-identity and nationhood 81. 16. the community that one belongs to 81. 17. the whole value system 81. 18. without this nothing would exist 81. 19. you are you through speaking Hungarian 81. 20. one of the levels of self-determination 81. 21. it's self-evident 81. 22. self-evident 79.
Hungarian is important	1. I think it's needed 74. 2. I think it's so important [the mother tongue] 72. 3. it's almost not worth talking about it 72. 4. the mother tongue is the most important 77. 5. the mother tongue has a very important role 80. 6. of course it's very important 83. 7. I consider it very important 82.
Hungarian language environment in Szeklerland	1. Hungarians who live in blocks (compact areas) in Szeklerland 12. 2. our children aren't in such a language environment where they could spontaneously learn Romanian 17. 3. they don't speak Romanian 17. 4. a natural learning environment doesn't really exist for them 17. 5. in Sfântu Gheorghe/ Sepsiszentgyörgy, where the language environment is such that we and they are among Hungarians 17. 6. they don't use the [Romanian] language in the family 18.

	7. for Szekler children in this Szekler environment Romanian is an entirely foreign language 25.
	8. they have never used Romanian with people around them 25.
	9. never even heard Romanian spoken outside the school 25.
	10. Hungarian communities in Romania are extraordinarily colorful 29.
	11. there are considerable differences even between Covasna/Kovászna and Harghita/Hargita counties 29.
	12. diasporic regions 29.
	13. in Szeklerland there are localities where people can happily live without speaking even a word of Romanian 29.
	14. Hungarians who live in blocks in Szeklerland 30.
	15. here there are Hungarians living in blocks 32.
	16. there really isn't a chance for the child to hear Romanian 32.
	17. in our region, in Szeklerland, most of the people talk in Hungarian 33.
	18. Hungarians live in a block the Szeklerland dialect is the spoken lang 33.
	19. in our region, here in Covasna/ Kovászna county, it is still the min languages that are the most dominant 34.
	20. the chance of mixing is not that great here as it is in other regions 34.
	21. in Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy it is rather Romanian which is the minority language 34.
	22. this makes the situation of Hungarians very difficult from the poi view of language learning 34.
	23. as far as Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy is concerned or in other, mainly Hungari cities 35.
	24. we are not in need of speaking Romanian or another foreign language 35.
	25. we mainly use Hungarian 35.

	26. communities that are geographically more isolated 36.
	27. the geographical factor, that they aren't forced to use the Romanian language 36.
	28. they don't need to use the Romanian language at all 36.
	29. there are mainly Hungarian speakers living in this region 37.
	30. there isn't really an occasion to intensively learn Romanian 37.
	31. the child is raised in a Hungarian language environment 38.
	32. they don't learn Romanian in actual situations 38.
	33. they won't use it anywhere 38.
	34. they speak Hungarian in the other village, too 38.
	35. they speak only Hungarian in Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda 38.
	36. and the policeman speaks enough Hungarian 38.
	37. they can make themselves understood 38.
	38. the child who lives in this environment doesn't have a place to use Romanian till a certain point 38.
	39. we are raised in Hungarian language environment 42.
	40. if we go out of Harghita/ Hargita and Covasna/Kovászna counties it's obligatory that we speak Romanian 48.
Hungarian language maintenance	1. Hungarian has to be the most important language for us 72.
	2. you have to maintain it under all circumstances 72.
	3. its importance, its priority even if it's not useful 72.
	4. I have to stick to my mother tongue 72.
	5. you have to take it along with you 74.
	6. So that we pass on the Hungarian language 75.
	7. properly keeping your mother tongue 78.
	8. mother tongue maintenance means keeping identity and culture 80.
	9. we should keep the language 84.

	10. take care of it because 84.
	11. so that it is kept, purely kept 84.
	12. we are trying to pass it on 84.
	13. you have to bring from home 85.
	14. you have to take care of 85.
	15. you mustn't forget just because you learn many other languages 85.
	16. you have to know the best 85.
	17. the Hungarian language… a Hungarian knows that the best 85.
	18. can speak it nicely and correctly 85.
	19. knows it the most perfectly 85.
	20. keeping a language doesn't depend on a small group 86.
	21. on the levels where things are secretly decided 86.
	22. down in the deep 86
	23. whether the mother tongue stays or goes, will there be conditions 86.
	24. will there be an inner wish for it to stay 86.
	25. because this isn't ever going to work from the top 86.
	26. it is just eyewash to say that "I'm coming now and I'm going to save the mother tongue" 86.
	27. I consider it important, very important to keep the mother tongue 87.
	28. this is what we pass on to our children 87.
	29. this is how they pass it on 87.
	30. they will always have to keep their mother tongue 87.
Hungarian language loss	1. linguistically handicapped 76.
	2. any other more tragical form of identity crisis than language loss 77.
	3. they know neither their mother tongue nor another language 77.
	4. the mother tongue gets lost, gets empty, gets lost 77.
	5. is limited to a few hundred words 77.
	6. they don't have words through which they could share them 77.
	7. very sad 77.
	8. very tragical 77
	9. they will be handicapped if they are deprived of their mother tongue 79.
	10. then one slowly loses one's identity 80.

Table 8. Timetable for 6th grade students for the academic year 2012/2013

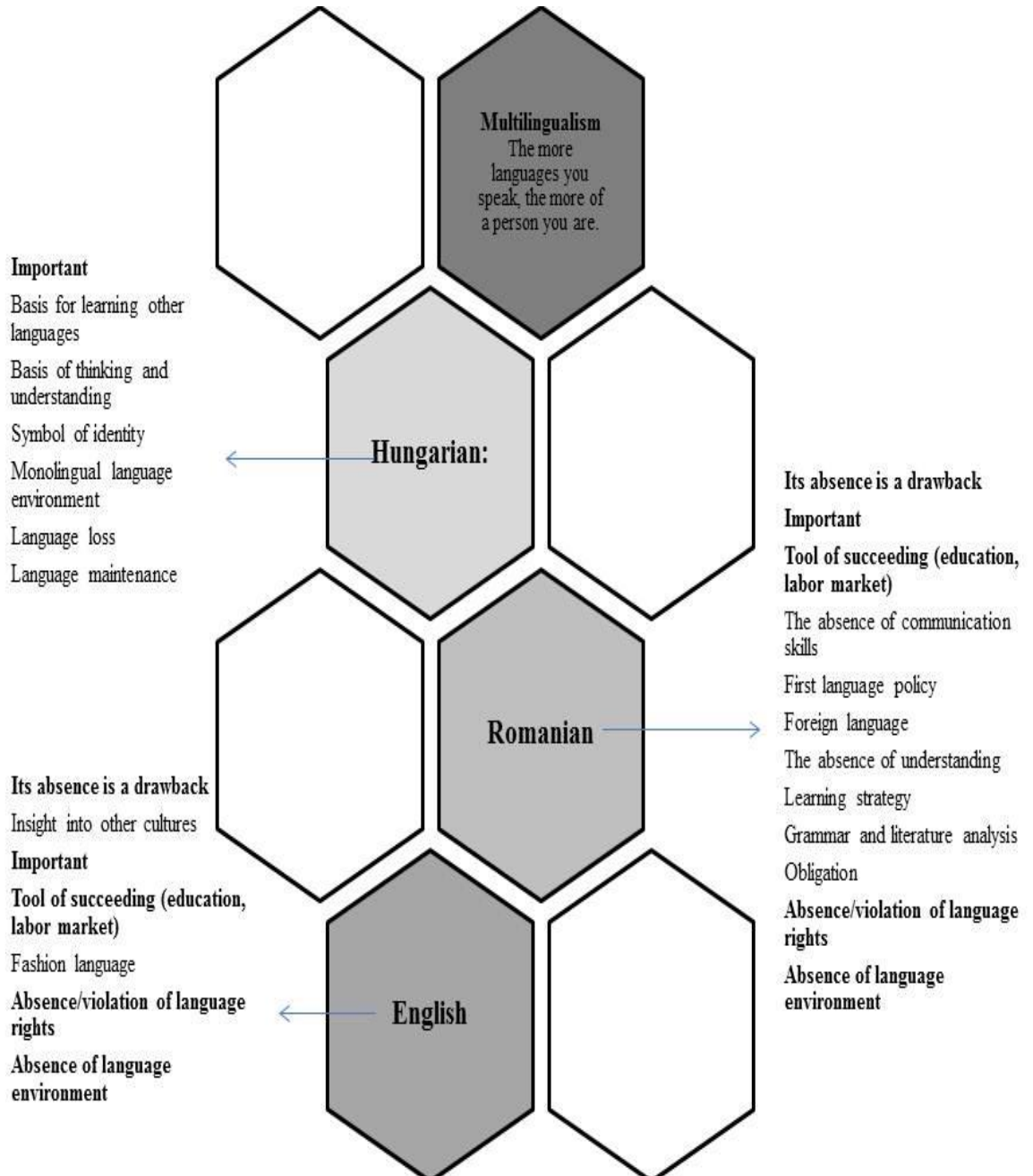| Time / Day	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8-9	Romanian	Romanian	Mathematics	Hungarian	Technology
9-10	Mathematics	Hungarian	Mathematics	Romanian	English
10-11	Hungarian	Romanian	Romanian	Mathematics	German
11-12	Biology	Gym	English	German	Music
12-13	Romanian	Mathematics	History	Geography	Mathematics
13-14	Physics	Religion	Biology	Physics	Gym
14-15	Consultation	Hungarian History	Hungarian		German (study circle)
15-16			Arts		
16-18					Swimming (from springtime)

Note: This table is an example of a timetable used by minority Hungarian 6th grade students in one of the Hungarian medium schools in Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy. According to the timetable, students enrolled in this class have 35 classes per week out of which 24 (68.5%) are in Hungarian and 11 (31.5%) are in Romanian, German or English. Out of the 11 classes that are taught through the medium of a language other than their mother tongue, 6 are in Romanian, 3 in German and 2 in English.

Source: http://mikos5asok.mindenkilapja.hu/html/18690577/render/orarend
Date of access: 7 October 2012.

Diagrams

Diagram 1. Ideologies and policies related to multilingualism.

Multilingualism
The more languages you speak, the more of a person you are.

Hungarian:

Important
Basis for learning other languages
Basis of thinking and understanding
Symbol of identity
Monolingual language environment
Language loss
Language maintenance

Its absence is a drawback
Important
Tool of succeeding (education, labor market)
The absence of communication skills
First language policy
Foreign language
The absence of understanding
Learning strategy
Grammar and literature analysis
Obligation
Absence/violation of language rights
Absence of language environment

Romanian

Its absence is a drawback
Insight into other cultures
Important
Tool of succeeding (education, labor market)
Fashion language
Absence/violation of language rights
Absence of language environment
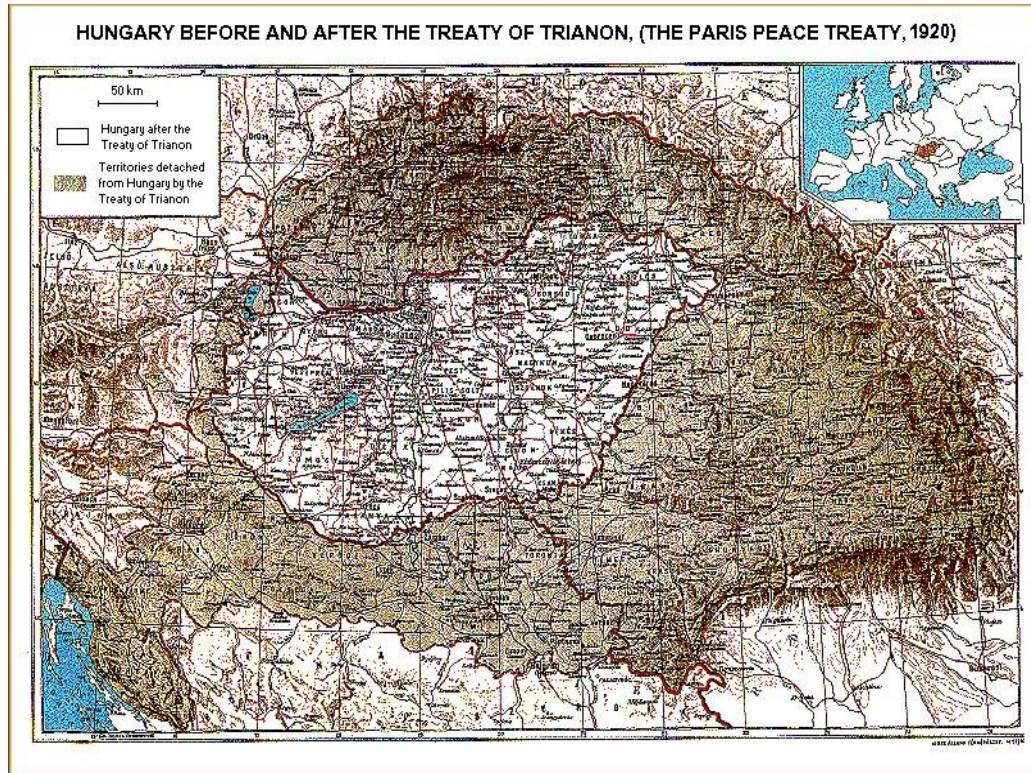
English

Note: the bold parts of the text represent the ideologies and policies that are connected to all of the languages in focus, that is, to Hungarian, Romanian and English.

Maps

**Map 1.** Hungary in the 20th century (Magocsi, 2002: 147)
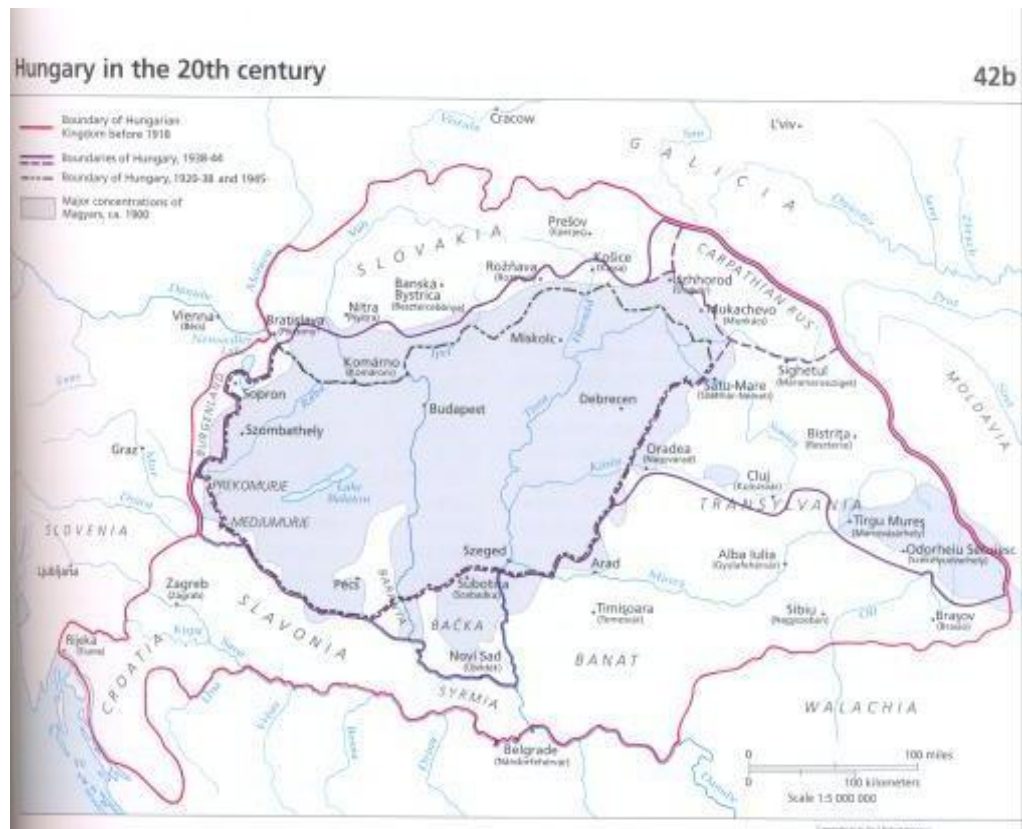
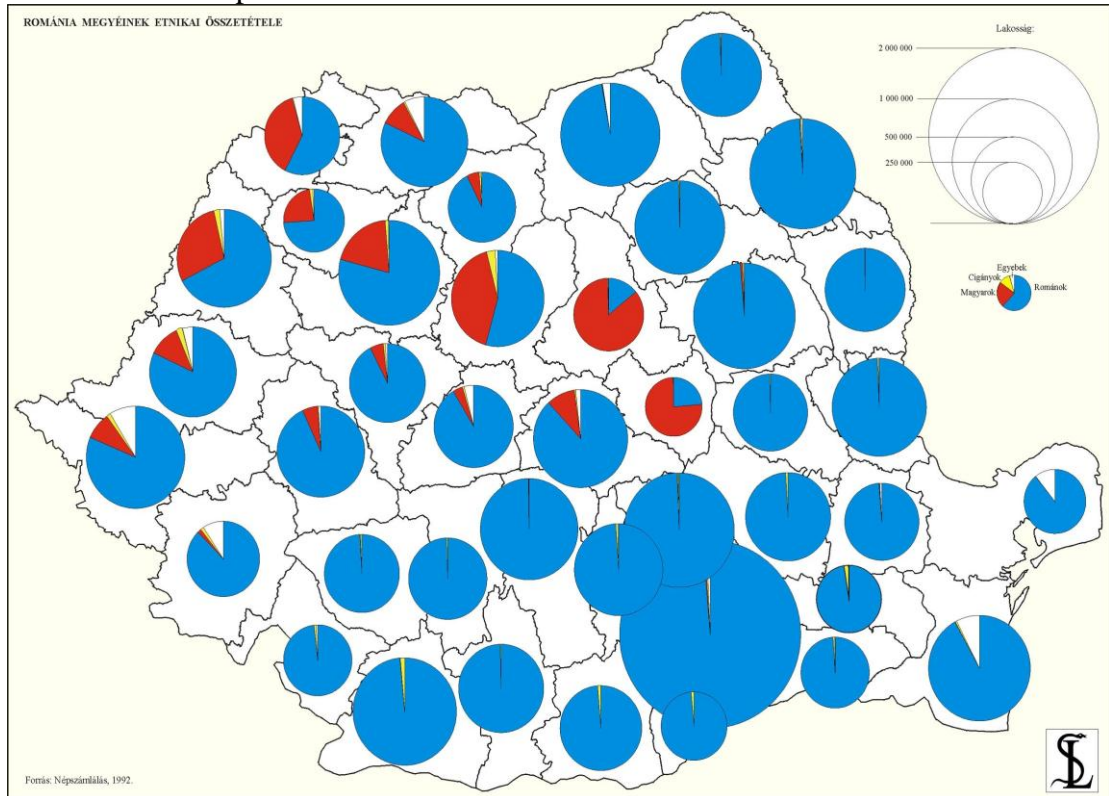**Map 2.** Hungary before and after the Treaty of Trianon

Source: *Hungarian Electronic Library*. Downloaded from:
http://mek.oszk.hu/00000/00099/00099.jpg. Date of access: 10 Septermber 2012.

Map 3. Ethnic composition of Transylvania by the 2002 census

Source: 2002 national census. Downloaded from:
http://sebok1.adatbank.transindex.ro/terkep1.php. Date of access: 10 September 2012.

Map 4. The number of Hungarians in Transylvania in cities and towns
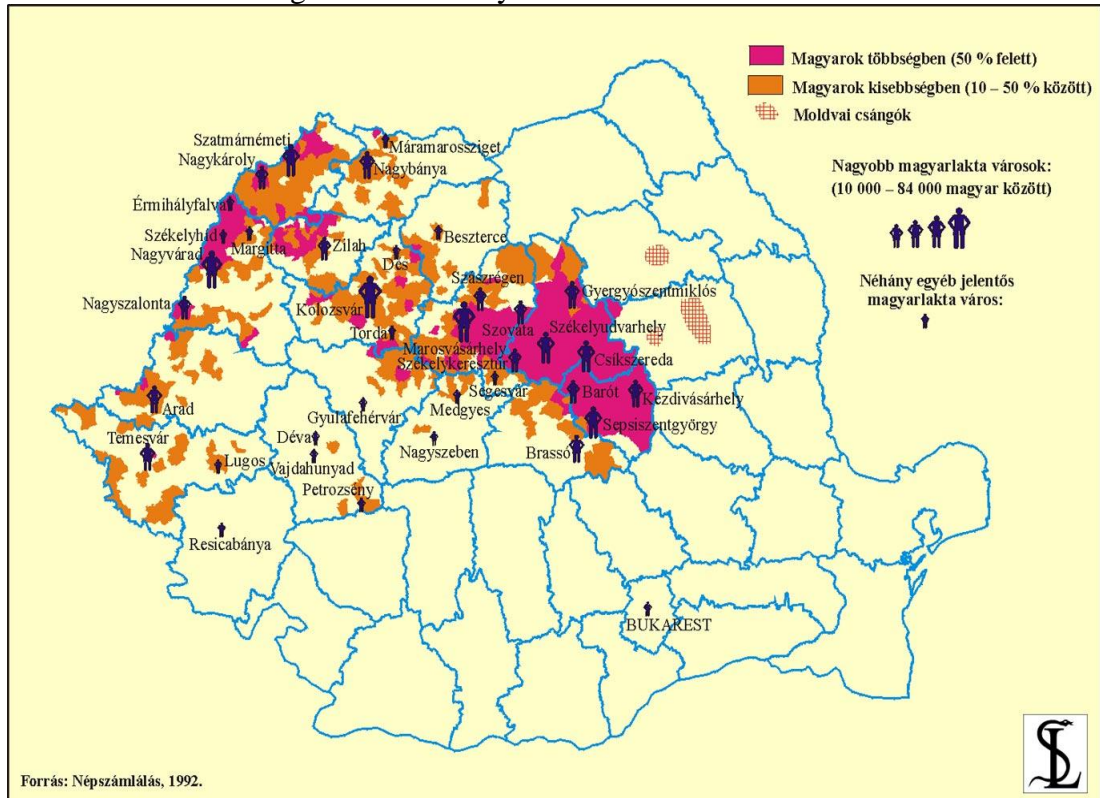
Source: 1992 national census. Downloaded from:
http://sebok1.adatbank.transindex.ro/legbelso.php?nev=rmagy1. Date of access: 10 September 2012.

Map 5. The ethnic composition of the counties of Romania

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Notes

[1] Due to the reason that from the point of view of the topic of the present dissertation (aspects of language policy and language ideologies connected to multilingualism of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania) the most relevant part of the history of the Hungarian nation is the cession of Transylvania to Romania, when Hungarians living in Transylvania became a minority in Romania, the section entitled *Historical background* does not discuss historical processes that took place before the cession of Transylvania to Romania. For a comprehensive description of the history of Transylvania, see Köpeczi (1988).

[2] Concerning the scholarly publications that discuss the sociolinguistic background of Hungarians in Transylvania, after the changes that took place in the political arena of Romania at the end of the 20th century, several studies aimed to explore the educational situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania, mainly in Transylvania. Since the views in the scholarly literature on the topic are so varied, it would be very challenging to give a systematic review of all the articles that have been published so far. Also, it is not the aim of the present study to synthesize these publications. As such, it is exclusively the articles and books that are of outstanding relevance to the topic of language policy and language ideologies in Transylvania that are used as sources of literature for the present dissertation, these being referred to mainly in chapters 2, 3 and 4.

[3] The data for this study was collected between April 2007 and January 2009. The author finished most of the writing of the present dissertation by November 2010. Significant changes have taken place in the minority language policy of Romania when the modifications of this country's *Law on Education* came into force in January 2011. For this reason, what the interviewees and the author of this dissertation say in connection with the drawbacks of state language policy was adequate before the modifications of the *Law on Education* came into force in Romania in January 2011. As such, by now the interviewees' and the author's critique as far as the disadvantages of the Romanian as a first language policy in teaching *Romanian language and literature* and the medium of instruction and examination of *The Geography of Romania* and *The History of Romania* is no more valid as far as Romania's post-2011 state language policy is concerned. For more details on the modification of the new *Law on Education*, see note 21 of the present dissertation.

[4]In describing the linguicist aspects of the Romanian legislative framework, I limit my discussion to Romania's minority educational policy. Also, I narrow my focus onto the Hungarian minority living in Szeklerland. Official modifications in minority language policy and academic literature published before January, 2009, are discussed. Changes in the minority policy of Romania that took place after January, 2009, are indicated but not discussed in detail due to the fact that no academic literature has been published so far that analyses the implementation of the modifications of the new *Law on Education* that came into force in January 2011.

In this region of Transylvania Hungarians constitute a local majority (Péntek and Benő, 2005: 108). For more information about the legislative framework of the minority language use in public administration, see Benő and Szilágyi (2005), Péntek and Benő (2005), and Horváth and Scacco (2001).

[5] According to Bakk (2003: 94), in the Romanian constitution the ideology of sovereignty has its roots, first, in the continuity of unifications that the Romanian state has undergone and, second, in the fact that the modernization of the Romanian state has been envisioned as in accordance with the ideology embodied by the French state, that is, unitarity and indivisibility. As such, the role of the state as a central element of the nation has become one of the most powerful traditions of Romanian constitutional law.

[6] Nationalism promotes individual rights and is skeptical about collective rights since it considers that it is only individual rights, that is, the ones connected to everyone's own citizenship that can be attributed in democratic states. Due to this, minorities can argue for their group-related language rights only with extreme difficulty (May, 2008: 19-20).

[7] While for the majority group the idea of collective national identity was accepted as valid, the same idea was rejected in relation to the minorities living in the territory of Romania (Csergo, 2007: 60). As such, the call of the Hungarian elite for a state form which reflects multinationalism and multilingualism on the constitutional and institutional level has also been rejected (Csergo, 2007: 60).

[8]According to the 2002 census, 10.5% of Romania's total population was comprised of ethnic minorities which exhibit a wide variety of political, demographic and cultural profiles. Hungarians represent 19.60% of the total population of Transylvania.

[9] The text of the law:

> *România este stat naţional, suveran şi independent, unitar şi indivizibil.*
> ('Romania is a sovereign, independent, unitary and indivisible national State').

[10] Language, through disciplines such as historiography, geography and national literature, is a key link for connecting individuals with nations and national homelands (Csergo, 2007: 5). That is, language functions as the most important tool of national reproduction (Csergo, 2007: 5). In a similar way, language is a key element of linguistic territoriality, a concept that is the product of the nationalism which perceives the national language as the fundamental principle of national and state homogenization (Csergo, 2007: 5-6). The continuity of national sovereignty and authority is ensured by the national language which, through the educational system, socializes people in the spirit of national ideology (Csergo, 2006: 6). Thus, the main tools of the ideology of being connected to a nation are the national literature, historiography and geography (Csergo, 2006: 6).

[11] The text of the law:

Învăţământul de toate gradele se desfăşoară în limba română. În condiţiile legii, învăţământul se poate desfăsura şi într-o limbă de circulaţie internaţională.

('Education at all levels shall be carried out in Romanian. Education may also be carried out in a foreign language of international use, under the terms laid down by law').

[12] This restriction suggests the hierarchy of languages in Romania with Romanian as the dominant language and all the other minority languages of the state being, in the best case, tolerated (Péntek, 1999: 9-83; Péntek and Benő, 2005; Benő, 2005; Horváth, 2008b).

[13] The text of the law:

Învăţarea în şcoală a limbii române, ca limbă oficială de stat, este obligatorie pentru toţi cetăţenii români, indiferent de naţionalitate.

('Learning the Romanian language, as the official language of the state, is obligatory for all the Romanian citizens, regardless of nationality').

[14] During the state formation processes in the 18th and 19th centuries many languages were not given official status in the states that were just being established (Extra and Gorter, 2008: 9). As a consequence, the existence and maintenance of languages that were, first, excluded from the state level and, second, minoritised, was threatened by the ideology of *one nation − one state* (Extra and Gorter, 2008: 9). At the same time, the demographic changes brought about by minoritisation challenged the traditional *one state − one nation* identity of these nation states (Extra and Gorter, 2008: 8). Processes of state formation took place in the neighboring countries of Hungary, as well as in the former Yugoslavia, Slovakia, Ukraine and Romania. Accordingly, Hungarian is the dominant official language

in Hungary and is also spoken in the states adjacent to Hungary, such as Romania, Slovakia, Serbia or Ukraine (Extra and Gorter, 2008: 11).

[15] The text of the law:

România este patria comună şi indivizibilă a tuturor cetăţenilor săi, fără deosebire de rasă, de naţionalitate, de origine etnică, de limbă, de religie, de sex, de opinie, de apartenenţă politică, de avere sau de origine socială.

('Romania is the common and indivisible homeland of all its citizens, without any discrimination on account of race, nationality, ethnic origin, language, religion, sex, opinion, political adherence, property or social origin').

[16] The text of the law:

Statul recunoaşte şi garantează persoanelor aparţinând minorităţilor naţionale dreptul la păstrarea, la dezvoltarea şi la exprimarea identităţii lor etnice, culturale, lingvistice şi religioase.

('The State recognizes and guarantees the right of persons belonging to national minorities to the preservation, development and expression of their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity').

[17] For a detailed description of the typology of minority education in Romania, see Murvai (2004).

[18] The text of the law:

Dreptul persoanelor aparţinând minorităţilor naţionale de a învăţa limba lor maternă şi dreptul de a putea fi instruite în această limbă sunt garantate; modalităţile de exercitare a acestor drepturi se stabilesc prin lege.

('The right of persons belonging to national minorities to learn their mother tongue, and their right to be educated in this language are guaranteed; the ways to exercise these rights shall be regulated by law').

[19] Parts of the text of the law:

'Examenul naţional de bacalaureat constă în susţinerea a două, respectiv trei probe comune' these being the following: *'a) limba şi literatura română, scris şi oral; b) una dintre limbile moderne de circulaţie internaţională studiate în liceu; c) limba maternă, scris şi oral, pentru elevii care au urmat studiile liceale într-o limbă a minorităţilor naţionale'.*

('The school leaving examination consists of two, respectively three subjects' these being the following: 'a) Romanian language and litarature, written and oral; b) one of the

modern languages of international circulation that have been learnt at school; c) mother tongue, written and oral, for the students who attended secondary education through the medium of a minority language').

[20] For the list of officially approved textbooks for secondary education for the year 2009, see: http://www.calificatif.ro.

[21] This perspective suggests at least two things. First, it creates the view that learning the mother tongue is an extra burden for the minority, which it willingly carries. Second, it suggests that ethnic Romanians do not have a mother tongue since they take the school leaving examination in *Romanian language and literature* and not in their mother tongue and its literature. For a detailed discussion of the topic, see Kontra and Szilágyi (2002).

[22] The text of the law:

Disciplina Limba română se predă în învăţământul primar după programe şcolare şi manuale elaborate în mod special pentru minoritatea respectivă. În învăţământul gimnazial disciplina Limba şi literatura română se predă după programe şcolare identice cu cele pentru clasele cu predare in limba română şi manuale specifice. În învăţământul liceal disciplina Limba şi literatura română se predă după programe şcolare şi manuale identice cu cele pentru clasele cu predare în limba română.

('In primary education *Romanian language* is to be taught following the programs and textbooks designed specially for the minority in focus. In gymnasiums *Romanian language and literature* is to be taught following the programs that are identical with the ones designed for students enrolled in Romanian medium education and using special textbooks. In lyceums *Romanian language and literature* is to be taught following the programs and using textbooks that are identical with the ones designed for students enrolled in Romanian medium education').

[23] Csergo (2007: 148) considers that the centralized educational system of Romania and the teaching of a unitary national canon in history, geography and literature are the tools of the Romanian state to socialize minority students and their way of seeing themselves in the world according to the values and views of the majority culture.

[24] In the nation state mass education plays a very important role as far as cultural and linguistic homogeneity is concerned for it necessarily conceives of its education in terms of one specific language and culture, and this can be no other but that of the majority nation (May, 2008: 17). As such, it is through legitimation (formal recognition) and

institutionalization (language is accepted as official in a wide range of formal and informal contexts) that a common national language is established (May, 2008: 18).

[25] Tódor's study (2008b) reports on the features of asymmetrical bilingualism based on the results of a questionnaire survey carried out on a sample of minority Hungarian secondary school students who live in a monolingual Hungarian language environment. The author herself states that the data sample is considered to be representative for the predominantly monolingual school population in Romania ("*eşantion reprezentativ pentru populaţia maghiară din medii predominant monolingve*"). However, she does not give any other background information on data collection, participants and data analysis in the article.

[26] On 23 February 2008, during his visit to Covasna/Kovászna in Szeklerland, the president of Romania acknowledged, as a result of his discussion with the locals, that the Romanian language should be taught in a different way for Hungarian mother tongue students. According to the Hungarian *Duna TV Channel* in Hungary:

Traian Băsescu szerint egy olyan új oktatási törvényre van szükség, amely lehetővé teszi, hogy a magyar anyanyelvű gyermekek számára idegen nyelvként tanítsák a románt.

'According to Traian Băsescu there is a need for a new *Law on Education* which makes it possible that the Romanian language is taught as a foreign language to Hungarian mother tongue children'.

Information by *Duna TV Channel* downloaded from:

http://www.dunatv.hu/magyarsag/Basescu_egyseg.html (date of access: 23 February 2008).

A Romanian online newspaper (*Eziare*) reports on the event with the following words:

În urma vizitei de anul trecut în judeţul Covasna, şeful statului a ajuns la concluzia că cetăţenii aparţinând minorităţilor naţionale trebuie ajutaţi să înveţe mai uşor limba română şi a lansat ideea studierii limbii oficiale a statului după aceeaşi metodă de predare a celor străine. Preşedintele a spus că sunt copii maghiari, îndeosebi din mediul rural, care pâna au intrat la şcoală nu au avut ocazia de a vorbi în limba română, prin urmare trebuie să deprindă mai întâi noţiunile de bază şi abia apoi să fie trataţi la nivelul celor care provin din familii de români.

('During his visit in Covasna/Kovászna county, the president of Romania has come to the conclusion that those citizens of Romania who belong to national minority groups should be helped to learn the Romanian language in an easier way and has launched the

idea of studying the official language of the state according to the principles followed in teching foreign languages. The president has said that there are Hungarian children, mainly in the rural areas, who have not had the possibility to speak Romanian until they started primary education and, as such, they have to acquire the basics and can only then be handled as children coming from Romanian families'.

The term that the president used to denote the way that Romanian should be taught in Hungarian minority educational settings was 'according to the principles followed in teaching foreign languages'. Several other Romanian newspapers (*Evenimentul Zilei*, *România Liberă*) have also commented on the president's visit in Covasna/Kovászna county but they do not mention anything related to the issue of Romanian language teaching in minority education. A part of the Romanian intellectuals agreed with the president's claim, others considered it totally inconceivable (Péntek, 2009b: 173). The reaction of the Hungarian intellectuals, who were suspicious of the consequences of this claim, was the most realistic since, as a matter of fact, no changes have been made in the methodology of Romanian language teaching in minority Hungarian schools until January 2011, that is, for three more years after the president's visit in Szeklerland. Information downloaded from *Eziare*: http://www.eziare.com/stire/presedintele-traian-basescu-in-vizita-la-covasna,202396.html (date of access: 23 February 2008).

[27] In case of the minority students who are supposed to become users of the Romanian language, we can distinguish between two main sites of socialization. On the one hand, there is the school context where they have *Romanian literature and language* classes on a regular basis, that is, four to six hours a week. For example, this is the case in Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár where students have possibilities for informal Romanian language learning in the different communication situations that they encounter in their everyday life (Horváth, 2008a: 45). On the other hand, in case of the absence of a significant bilingual language environment (Szeklerland, for instance), which goes beyond the borders of official institutions, the Romanian language learning of the minority students is limited to the formal context. Consequently, there are no sites for the use and practice of the Romanian language outside the formal context. This absence eliminates two major factors of language learning, namely, the complementary and reciprocity of formal learning and informal language acquisition. It is a matter of the ethno-demographic characteristics of a region whether the Romanian language is present in the environment of a minority student or not. To conclude, as Horváth (2008: 46) asserts, there is a great difference between a

minority Hungarian student living in Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár and one living in Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda as far as playing and communicating with ethnic Romanian students is concerned. Also, he continues, the linguistic landscape in Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda is dominated by Hungarian advertisements. Further, as Horváth (2008: 46) underlines, the importance of the Romanian language as official language is not necessarily relevant when it comes to choice of code in the private or public spheres of life.

[28] Both the Romanian language, as the medium of instruction of these subjects, and the ideological values promoted through the school subjects of *The History of Romania* and *The Geography of Romania* were aimed at constituting and reconstituting Romanian national identity (Horváth, 2008a: 42) and, at the same time, at degrading the national identity of the minority by decreasing their sense of attachment to Hungarian culture (Péntek, 2009a: 70). In such a way, the ideology of nationalism, which flourished in the period between the two World Wars and in the decades of communism, got covertly infiltrated in the whole of the official Romanian education system even after the fall of the communist regime, including minority education (Horváth, 2008a: 42). Since it was only and exclusively ethnic Romanian teachers who were allowed to teach these two subjects, minority students became the audience of the discourse of ethno-nationalistic identity which had no resonance in any of their other sites of socialization like, for example, family and friends (Horváth, 2008a: 42). Moreover, these two school subjects, where the language of the examination was Romanian, became another ground of discrimination in the educational system since in case of the school leaving examinations, where minority students were already discriminated against. In one subject (*Romanian language and literature*), they were expected to have similar accomplishments to their Romanian colleagues (Péntek, 2009a: 78).

On 5 January 2011 a new *Law on Education* was ratified which allows that *The History of Romania* and *The Geography of Romania* be taught in the language of the minorities in minority educational institutions. According to Article 46, Paragraph 8 of the new law:

În învăţământul primar, gimnazial şi liceal cu predare în limbile minorităţilor naţionale, disciplinele Istoria şi Geografia României se predau în aceste limbi, după programe şcolare şi manuale identice cu cele pentru clasele cu predare în limba română, cu obligaţia transcrierii şi a însuşirii toponimiei şi a numelor proprii româneşti şi în limba română.

('In primary education, in grammar schools and lycées with the minority language as medium of instruction the school subjects *The History and Geography of Romania* are to be taught in these languages, following curricula and using textbooks that are identical with the ones used in Romanian medium education and with the obligation of transcribing and acquiring Romanian geographical and surnames in Romanian, too' (translation by the author).

The new *Law on Education* also allows that *Romanian language and literature* is to be taught according to the curriculum and using textbooks that have been designed according to the specific interests of a certain minority population. According to the new law, Article 46, Paragraph 2:

Disciplina Limba şi literatura română se predă pe tot parcursul învăţământului preuniversitar după programe şcolare şi manuale elaborate în mod special pentru minoritatea respectivă.

('Throughout pre-university education Romanian language and literature is to be taught following curriculums and textbooks designed especially for the minority concerned').

[29] Péntek (2011: 24) considers that it is part of the "Romanian cannot be a *foreign* language in Romania" stereotype that it is only the minorities in Romania who have to be bilinguals (italics in the original). As a matter of fact, Hungarian-Romanian bilingualism is asymmetrical because the common mode in communication between Hungarians and Romanians is mainly Romanian, since most Hungarians are more or less bilingual (Benő and Szilágyi, 2005: 145). Horváth's (2003) study indicates that 29.36% of the Hungarians in Szeklerland can make themselves understood in Romanian in most of the cases but only with difficulties (this category was indicated in the Hungarian language as follows: *az esetek többségében meg tudom értetni magam, de csak nehézségekkel*), very well (22.98%) or perfectly (9.79%). The latter categories were indicated in the Hungarian language as follows: *nagyon jól beszélek, de akcentussal; tökéletesen beszélek.* In comparison, 16.49% of the Romanians in Szeklerland declared they didn't understand a word of Hungarian (*Egy szót sem értek*), 27.02% declared they understand only a few words (*Aligha egy pár szót értek*) and only 12.63% considered they spoke very good Hungarian. On the Transylvania level, 70.8% of the Romanian respondents indicate no skills in Hungarian at all.

[30] For more information on the underdeveloped language skills of Hungarians in Romania see the newspaper articles by Bíró (2009) and Ambrus (2009).

[31] Horváth (2005: 172) states that the sample is representative 'for the Hungarian population in Transylvania' ("az erdélyi magyar népességre reprezentatív"). Data was collected through the means of a questionnaire in 73 localities in Transylvania, N = 1215.

[32] Even though there have been several studies which measured the Romanian language skills of the Hungarian minority in Szeklerland based on a self-assessment questionnaire (e.g. Horváth 2005, Tódor 2008b), up until now, 2012, there has not been any study which investigated Szeklerland Hungarian students' level of Romanian based on a test designed along the guidelines and levels proposed by the Common European Framework of Reference.

[33] Baker and Jones (1998: 12) and Bartha (1999: 184–186) distinguish between balanced bilingualism in case of which an individual has age-appropriate competences in two languages, and dominant bilingualism in case of which an individual's language use is dominated by one of the languages s/he masters.

[34] According to the principle of substantive equality, in case the circumstances of a minority group are different from the ones of the majority group, in order to achieve a relationship of true equality between the two groups, there is a need for the creation of different conditions for the members of the minority group (de Varrenes 1996: 119 cited in Grin 2003: 82). This is, as a matter of fact, the condition for the minority group to be able to enjoy the same conditions as the majority group does (ibid.).

[35] See Péntek (2009a), Kiss (2008, 2011a, 2011b), for instance.

[36] See note 3.

[37] Horváth (2008a, 2008b) criticizes the layers of vocabulary that the present day *Romanian language and literature* subject promotes since, he explains, it is dominated by archaic linguistic forms and a considerable amount of stylistic elements which are rarely used in everyday communication. Horváth's opinion stresses the problems that have already been discussed in detail by Szilágyi (1998).

[38] For more information on the quality insurance system of the Hungarian minority education in Romania, see the journal *Regio* (2004/2).

[39] Research carried out by the Szabó T. Attila Language Institute (Szabó T. Attila Nyelvi Intézet, http://www.sztanyi.ro/) and the Termini Research Network (Termini Kutatóhálózat, http://ht.nytud.hu/index.php?option=com_frontpage&Itemid=1) is very

important as far as minority Hungarian language planning and policy in Transylvania is concerned. It is the aim of these institutions to create a data base that aims to describe the demographic, legal, sociolinguistic and educational aspects of Hungarians in Transylvania.

[40] For a detailed discussion of the history of Hungarian medium education in Transylvania, see Péntek and Fóris-Ferenczi (2011).

[41] For more information on the history and status quo of the Hungarian higher education in Romania, see Benő and Szilágyi (2005); Horváth and Scacco (2001).

[42] Csergo (2007: 180) regards this policy to be related to the idea of national space.

[43] In this article Cocora describes the sources, the manifestation and future prospects for the resolution of the Hungarian-Romanian ethnic conflicts in Transylvania.

[44] On the decentralization processes and the quality assurance system of the Romanian education system, see Mandel and Papp (2007).

[45] Kontra (2001: 175) differentiates between local-minority settlements where Hungarians comprise less than 30 percent of the population and local-majority settlements where they constitute over 70 percent of the population.

[46] The Romanian term *diasporă/grup ethnic dispersat* emphasizes that it is due to dispersion that national minorities live in communities that have different language and denomination from their own. It is exactly this interpretation that the national minority Hungarians in Romania don't accept as denoting the status of the minority Hungarians in Romania since Hungarians, who live, at present, in *szórvány* did not get there as a result of dispersion but as a result of the breaking off from their own indigenous ethnic groups due to historical and political reasons. As a matter of fact, Romanians don't take into consideration the possibility of breaking off from ethnic blocks as a possible reason of living in *diaspora*. Accordingly, what Romanians call *diasporă/grup ethnic dispersat,* Hungarians call *emigrated communities* (Bodó, 2009: 101–108).

Generally speaking, the Hungarian terms *diaszpóra/szórvány* refer to a group of people who have wedged in a foreign language area and among people who have different language and denomination from their own (Bodó, 2009: 101). However, in academic literature Hungarian linguists differentiate between the term *diaszpóra* and the term *szórvány*. While *szórvány* refers to communities who have not changed their place of residence but whose number is decreasing due to historical and social reasons, the term *diaszpóra* refers to communities that have come into being as a result of migration aimed at facilitating personal fulfillment (Bodó, 2009: 157).

[47] For further details, see the information in Table 1, based on the country report of the Ministry of National Education called *Education for All 2000 Assessment*, page 136.

[48] For further details, see the information in Table 2, based on the country report of the Ministry of National Education called *Education for All 2000 Assessment*, page 137.

[49] Until the early 1960's, it was obligatory in Romania to learn Russian. Afterwards, while in Transylvania German as a foreign language was more popular, French dominated the rest of foreign language teaching in Romania due to the priority of political and cultural relationships between Romania and France (Péntek, 2009c: 112).

[50] The participants of Tódor's (2008b) study were 9th and 10th grade secondary education students who live in a predominantly Hungarian language environment, come from Hungarian families and attend schools with Hungarian as the medium of instruction. Data was collected through the means of questionnaires administered in Hungarian. Data evaluation took place by the collaboration of teachers of *Romanian language and literature* who participated in the Bolyai Summer Academy organized in 2007 and 2008. The author herself states that the data sample is considered to be representative for the predominantly Hungarian monolingual school population in Romania ("eşantion reprezentativ pentru populaţia maghiară din medii predominant monolingve"). However, she does not give any other background information on data collection, participants and data analysis in the article.

[51] For patterns of language use in Szeklerland, see Tódor (2008b).

[52] Further details of the results of Tódor's (2008b) will be discussed in the data analysis part of the present dissertation in the sections entitled *Learning Romanian: A territory-imposed obligation?* and *The English language: "the English at every step" policy is "not enough"*.

[53] This section presents exclusively the results of publications that report on research carried out in Transylvania and ones that are based on empirical data collection carried out through interviews. Also, it does not discuss ideologies other than the ones related to multilingualism.

[54] Grin (1995: 34-36) assumes that the personality and territorial principle are two very important problems when designing language policy. While the former implies that, irrespective of geographical position, language rights attach to individuals, the latter emphasizes the protection of collective rights and it decides which languages are granted official status. Due to the fact that the territorial principle is often the embodiment of the

idea of monolingualism, Grin (1995: 36-46) proposes the concept of territorial multilingualism which devotes particular attention to mother tongue medium education and aims at maintaining linguistic diversity.

[55] Dégi's respondents were teachers, mainly language teachers, from Slovakia, Romania and Serbia. Data was collected through means of semi-structured interviews as part of the LINEE Project in 9 schools in Slovakia (28 respondents), 22 respondents in 17 schools in Romania, and 28 respondents from a total number of 8 schools in Serbia.

[56] Grin (2003: 49) claims that this definition is the combination of the definitions given by Cooper (1989).

[57] Woolard and Schieffelin (1994: 58) emphasize that cultural conceptions are partial, contestable, and interest-laden.

[58] Phillipson et al. (1995: 10) define the concept of first language as the language of the "close community and primary, ethnolinguistic identity" that is learned first as far as the chronological sequence of language learning in general is concerned.

[59] An example of a timetable used in the academic year 2012/2013 for 6th grade students is given in Table 8.

[60] May (2008: 20) considers that a key point in addressing the educational philosophy of bilingual education is related to its goal, that is, whether it aims to promote additive or subtractive bilingualism. He defines the additive approach to bilingualism as a view that aims to add another language to the student's existing language repertoire while by subtractive approach to bilingualism he understands an approach that facilitates the shift to monolingualism in the dominant language.

[61] Due to the agreement made between the participants and the interviewer, according to which their identity (name, workplace and town) is not revealed in any forms, background information other than the subject(s) that they teach will not be given related to the participants.

[62] Linguistic human rights involve the possibility to positively identify with, learn, develop and use one's mother tongue both on the individual and the collective level. They also implie the right to establish autonomous institutions to manage intergroup matters as far as education, religion, culture, financial and social matters are concerned and the right to learn at least one of the official languages in one's country of residence. Depriving people of their linguistic human rights means the violation of their linguistic human rights, which may lead to preventing people from enjoying their other human rights. Therefore, the

codification of linguistic human rights should constitute an integral part of national and international law (Phillipson et al., 1995: 2).

[63] In this excerpt, as in the following ones, the key points (words or phrases) focused on in the analysis given are highlighted in bold. However, all the parts of the excerpt are also considered to be important for understanding.

[64] Interviewees, when talking about the ability to speak or use a language X, use the Hungarian term *tudni* 'know'. For this reason, the English translation also uses the term 'know' as to refer to the ability to speak or use a language X even though it would be a better English translation for the phrase *tudni [beszélni] egy nyelvet* 'to speak/use a language'.

[65] For a more systematic presentation of the ideologies related to multilingualism, see Table 4.

[66] László Németh (1901–1975) was a famous Hungarian essayist, writer and literary translator.

[67] See note 3.

[68] In Romania the grading system runs on a ten grade scale. 10 stands for the best grade while 1 stands for the worst grade. Five stands for the passing grade.

[69] Declarations that contained the opinion this interviewee labels as "stigma" were made in Romania at the beginning of the 90s. Electronic (internet) resources are not available for that time as far as parliamentary matters and newspapers are concerned. For these reasons, I was not able to identify when exactly this declaration was made, by whom and how the media reacted to it.

[70] The term *farcs* is a variation of the standard Hungarian word *fals* ('false'). According to the *A Magyar Nyelv Történeti-Etimológiai Szótára* [*Historical and Etymological Dictionary of the Hungarian Language]* it has its origins in the German word *falsch* ('false').

[71] For a more systematic presentation of the ideologies related to Romanian, see Table 5.

[72] The participants of Tódor's (2008a) study were secondary education students who live in a predominantly Hungarian monolingual language environment. The author herself states that the data sample is considered to be representative for the predominantly monolingual school population in Romania ("eşantion reprezentativ pentru populaţia maghiară din medii predominant monolingve", page 77). However, she does not give any other background information on data collection, participants and data analysis in the article.

[73] For a more systematic presentation of the ideologies related to English, see Table 6.

[74] For a more systematic presentation of the ideologies related to Hungarian, see Table 7.

[75] Diagram 1. shows the ideologies and policies related to multilingualism.

[76] See note 3.

[77] See note 3.

[78] See note 3.

[79] The number after each phrase represents the number of the interview excerpt it was taken from.