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Hungarian Minorities in Romania, Slovakia and Serbia: Schoolchildren's Attitudes to their Languages (minority vs. majority languages vs. EFL) and Teaching these Languages in School¹

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Abstract

This paper explores the attitudes minority Hungarian students have towards and the values they attach to the various languages they use (i.e. the minority language – its regional variety vs. the standard variety – vs. the state language vs. English as a foreign language). The source of data for this study is an attitude survey along the lines of the modified matched guise technique. The study has been carried out among primary and secondary school students (n=990) in three regions with large minority Hungarian populations: Transylvania, Romania; Southern Slovakia, and Vojvodina, Serbia. The results show that in all three regions, varieties of English (the native varieties closely followed by Hungarian accented English) are the most highly rated, that Hungary Hungarian is valued more highly than the respective local variety of Hungarian, and that the state language is rated the most negatively or the second most negatively.

Keywords: Hungarian, minority, language attitudes, education, English.

1. Introduction

Language attitudes expressed in a bilingual context carry important information on how speakers relate to speakers of the languages in question, both themselves and others, since the attitudes express social and linguistic evaluations (Fasold 1984). This is especially true of attitudes of bilinguals living in a minority context (Wölck 2004). The present paper explores such attitudes as expressed by minority Hungarian primary and secondary school students in Transylvania, Romania; Southern Slovakia; and Vojvodina, Serbia, towards the languages they use in their schools, that is, (i) their mother tongue, Hungarian

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(its regional variety vs. that used in Hungary), (ii) the state language of the country they live in (Romanian, Slovak, and Serbian, respectively), and (iii) English, studied by them as a foreign language. The study was carried out in the context of the school, which for all of the subjects was a school in which Hungarian is the language of instruction, with the state language being used only in classes teaching the grammar and literature of that language and, in some cases, the history and geography of the given country. All students studied English as a foreign language.

The school context constitutes an extremely important domain of language use in general, and even more so for minority students: education has a highly symbolic role in communities' lives and also provides the primary context for the production and reproduction of group ideologies (Heller 2001 and Smitherman 2004), thereby often making the educational arena a venue for confrontations. Seen from this perspective, students' attitudes expressed in the context of education about the languages used in education carry especially important information about the social and linguistic evaluation of speakers of the languages in question.

The study of language attitudes among groups of minority language speakers has special importance because it provides insight into the opinions of groups about other groups (Preston 2002), and also because the language attitudes of majority and minority groups affect the success or failure of minority language planning strategies (Ó Riagáin 2006: 329). In the educational context, language attitudes also play a role in motivating or failing to motivate language learners and, consequently, affecting the level of their attained proficiency through the process of identification (or the lack of it) with target language speakers, which is present in all language learning processes (Gardner 2002: 160).

Hungarian is the largest minority language in Central and Eastern Europe, spoken in six countries neighboring Hungary, that is, in Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia, and Austria. The Hungarian populations in these countries constitute autochthonous minorities who found themselves outside Hungary as a result of the Treaty of Trianon in 1920 following World War I. Minority speakers of Hungarian currently total 2.5 million, cf. Table 1 below.

Table 1. Hungarian national minorities in the countries neighboring Hungary at the time of the latest censuses (source: Gyurgyik and Sebök 2003)

Country (region within country)	Latest census: Hungarian minority population; % of country total (% of region total)
<u>Slovakia</u> :	2001: 520,000, 10%
Ukraine (Subcarpathia):	2001: 151,000, 3% (24.2%)
<u>Romania</u> (Transylvania):	2002: 1,434,000, 6.6% (19.6%)
<u>Serbia</u> (Vojvodina):	2002: 290,000, 3.91% (14.3%)
Slovenia (Prekmurje):	2002: 7,000, 0.4% (4.5%)
Austria:	2001: 40,000, 0.5%

For the present study, minority Hungarians from Romania, Slovakia, and Serbia were investigated, the countries where the Hungarian minority populations are the largest. (There are over 1.4 million people in Romania, over half a million in Slovakia, and nearly 300 thousand in Serbia.)

For Hungarian young people in the Carpathian Basin (in Hungary and in the minority Hungarian communities in countries neighboring Hungary), ethnic and cultural identity is defined first and foremost through language: for 90% of the respondents, a Hungarian is identified as such based on the ability to speak Hungarian (Szabó et al. 2002). Previous investigations in the minority Hungarian educational context have confirmed that Hungarian is “the most important language” for minority Hungarian educators (Ódry 2009) and, generally, the language to which the greatest importance is attached in this context (Szabó Gilinger et al. 2008). Fluency in/knowing/being able to use the official or state language of the country where minority Hungarians live is recognized by them as both a very important economic need as well the key to advancement and the language of the majority culture (Kiss 2009). The learning and use of international European languages such as English and German is given full attention (Dégi 2009), much in line with the European Commission’s recommendations of desired language proficiency in “mother tongue plus two”, where one of the two languages should be an internationally used European language. While the teaching of Hungarian and of English has also been found to be adequately serving the needs of minority Hungarian students in the schools that use Hungarian as a medium of instruction (Szabó Gilinger et al. 2008), the teaching of the state language to minority Hungarian students is lacking in appropriate school curricula, textbooks and examination criteria to such an extent that the existing practices actually hinder the development of proficiency in students. This happens most clearly in Romania (Kiss 2011), but also to a great extent in Slovakia and Serbia (Szabó Gilinger et al. 2008).

2. Theoretical framework

One of the most prominent lines of research in the investigation of language attitudes is the indirect, social psychological approach known as the matched guise technique. In this method, subjects listen to speech samples from different languages and/or varieties – produced, in the case of the traditional matched guise, by the same speaker, and, in the case of verbal guise, by different speakers – and then rate the speakers on the basis of various characteristic traits. The matched guise technique, originally developed by Lambert and his associates (see, for example, Lambert et al. 1960, and Lambert 1967) for the study of English–French bilingualism in Canada, has been used in numerous studies in the past decades (cf. Giles and Coupland 1991, Milroy and Preston 1999). This technique is most often used together with the semantic differential scale introduced by Osgood et al. (1957): the two opposite ends of a 5-, 6-, or 7-point scale contain a positive trait and its opposite (e.g. *interesting* vs. *boring* or *successful* vs. *unsuccessful*), and subjects mark the point on the scale which they think best characterizes the speaker with regard to the given trait. They mark the most positive point if they think a speaker is maximally *successful*, for example, and a middle point if they consider them neither truly *successful* or truly *unsuccessful* etc. The marks are converted by the researcher into numerical values on which statistical tests can then be carried out.

This method aims to uncover speakers' attitudes indirectly, and the given results are likely to better reflect real speaker opinions than do findings of studies using direct methods, which tend to provide socially expected responses (see, for instance, Baker's studies, e.g. 1992).

The matched guise technique (MGT) was further developed as the verbal guise technique (VGT) – cf. work by Gallois associates, e.g. Gallois and Callan (1981), Callan et al. (1983), or McKenzie (2008): under the latter the tested speech samples are recorded not by the same speaker but by different speakers who are, however, very similar to each other in their social characteristics. The VGT allows for a study of attitudes to more than two languages or varieties and, therefore, a multi-component comparison.

3. Methods

3.1. Methods of data collection

This study sought the answer to the following question: what attitudes do minority students have towards the languages they speak, namely, (i) the minority language, (ii) the majority language, and (iii) English?

To address this question, the verbal guise technique was used. In each of the three investigated regions (Transylvania, Southern Slovakia, and Vojvodina), a total of six different varieties of three languages were tested for, recorded from five speakers: (1) Hungary Hungarian, (2) the regional variety of Hungarian

of the given region, (3) Hungarian accented English, (4) British English, (5) American English, and (6) the state language of the country where the region is situated. The Hungary Hungarian and Hungarian accented English speech samples were provided by the same speaker. These as well as the two native English samples were used in all three regions uniformly. In addition to these, in each region one sample each was recorded of a local Hungarian speaker and of a majority language speaker (a native speaker of Romanian, Slovak, and Serbian, respectively) and tested alongside the other four samples: for instance, in Vojvodina the speech samples tested were Vojvodina Hungarian, Serbian, Hungary Hungarian, Hungarian accented English, British English, and American English.

All speech samples were provided by university educated males between the ages of 35 and 50, with no marked speech or voice characteristics (e.g. slurred speech or a nasal twang etc.). All were native speakers of the variety they were asked to produce, with the exception, by definition, of the Hungarian accented English speaker, who was a native speaker of Hungarian. The Hungary Hungarian speaker's speech did not contain regional traits and can be described as educated standard Hungarian. Similarly, the speech of the American and British speakers was free of marked regional traits of United States and British English, respectively.

The speech samples contained instructions about how to get from the starting point (START) to the castle, obtained with the help of a simple drawing (see Figure 1 below). Thus, the speech samples used for the study were samples of spontaneous speech rather than passages read aloud, as is typical in classic MGT investigations: they were examples of naturalistic and casual speech with topic, age and gender natural content, allowing for lexical, phonological, syntactic and discourse variation, and between 55 and 90 seconds long.

Figure 1. The drawing used to elicit speech samples (Source: McKenzie 2008).



The subjects were asked to rate the speakers on six status traits and six solidarity traits, the former being characteristics having to do with competence and social standing, and the latter being characteristics centered around personal integrity and social attractiveness (Edwards 1999). The status traits used were *educated, successful, rich, ambitious, prominent* and *confident* paired with their polar opposites, while the solidarity traits were *honest, reliable, likeable, nice, generous, and interesting* as well as their opposites.

3.2. Data analysis

During the analysis, evaluations by subjects were turned into a 7-point Likert scale, where the more positive an evaluation was, the lower the number was that it received. This is somewhat counter intuitive in that positive evaluations tend to usually equal a higher score and was the result of placing the positive traits on the left hand side, their negative opposites on the right hand side, and assigning scores from left to right. The data were analyzed with SPSS and ROPStat (the latter developed by Hungarian statisticians Vargha and Bánsági, cf. Vargha 2008), using analyses of variance and comparing rank means.

Factor analysis confirmed that the traits used in the study cluster in two groups (with the Cronbach alpha value being greater than 0.7 in each case), namely, those of status traits vs. solidarity traits.

In the present paper, I compare data from the three investigated regions. In the study, differences based on the size and type (i.e. majority Hungarian vs. minority Hungarian) of the settlements where the students went to school were also compared, but these are not discussed here.

3.2. Subjects

The subjects of the study were primary and secondary school students, all of them minority Hungarians with Hungarian as their first language in Transylvania, Romania; Southern Slovakia; or Vojvodina, Serbia. All of the subjects live in communities bilingual in Hungarian and the majority state language of their respective countries, Romanian, Slovak, and Serbian.

All subjects were students in schools in which Hungarian was the primary language of instruction. The primary schools in all three investigated regions were generic 8-year schools, which children enter at the age of 6. The secondary schools where data were collected for this study were all 4-year high schools (*gimnázium*), typically geared towards training students who will go on to study in higher education.

The total number of subjects used in this study was 990, of which 379 were from Transylvania, 301 from Southern Slovakia, and 310 from Vojvodina. Of the total, 545 were primary school students from 7th and 8th grades, that is, the last two years of primary school, who were typically 13 or 14 years old. The remaining 445 subjects were secondary school students from 11th and

12th grades, the last two years of secondary school, and were 17 or 18 years old. Slightly more than half of the subjects, 54%, were girls (n=532) and 46% were boys (n=458).

Data collection was carried out during class time in the 2008/2009 academic year in the classrooms where the students were scheduled to be at the time.

Even though all of the schools where data were collected were “Hungarian schools”, that is, schools with Hungarian as the language instruction, in all of the regions students studying in these schools study the majority language and its literature in the given language. In addition, in Romania the *History of Romania* and *Geography of Romania* were also taught exclusively in Romanian until 2010. In the three regions, minority Hungarian students’ classes in the majority language typically constitute 4-6 hours of classroom time a week, with the remaining time (of 24-26 hours) taken up by subjects studied in Hungarian. All students participating in the study have studied English as a foreign language: the primary school students typically for 3 or 4 years, the secondary school students for between 3 and 8 years.

The subjects of the present study came from twelve different locations in three countries: the locations are listed in Table 2 below together with the number of subjects from each location. The locations are marked in Map 1 below by their numbers, as given in Table 2.

Table 2. The list of locations of data collection.

* Names of places are given in their traditional Hungarian version and official version.

Country:	Location:*	Population: total (% Hungarians)	Number of subjects:
Serbia: n=301	1. Szabadka / Subotica	99,800 (38%)	62 primary 52 secondary
	2. Magyarkanizsa / Kanjiza	10,200 (86.5%)	32 primary 37 secondary
	3. Újvidék / Novi Sad	381,000 (6%)	13 primary 51 secondary
	4. Óbecse /Becej	14,500 (26%)	22 primary 32 secondary

Country:	Location:*	Population: total (% Hungarians)	Number of subjects:
Slovakia: n=310	5. Komárom /Komárno,	36,000 (60%)	35 secondary
	6. Fülek /Fiľakovo,	10,500 (64%)	49 primary 64 secondary
	7. Dunaszerdahely / Dunajská Streda,	26,000 (79%)	49 primary
	8. Almágy / Gemerský Jablonec,	690 (89%)	45 primary
	9. Rimaszombat/ Rimavská Sobota	24,400 (35%)	44 primary 24 secondary
Romania: n=379	10. Sepsiszent- györgy/ Sfantu Gheorghe	61,500 (75%)	95 primary 82 secondary
	11. Marosvásárhely / Targu Mures	150,000 (46%)	47 primary 50 secondary
	12. Marosludas/ Ludus	18,700 (25%)	59 primary 46 secondary

Map 1. The locations of data collection for the present study.
(For the names of places marked by the numbers, please refer to Table 2.)



The present paper does not analyze variation in the subjects' attitudes that is due to social factors such as their age (primary school vs. secondary school), gender, type of location (locally minority vs. majority), or size of location. (For some discussion of these, see Fenyvesi 2010.) The discussion is limited to analyzing findings about attitudes to the targeted varieties and languages on the basis of the status traits vs. solidarity traits and making some observations that compare results from the three studied regions.

4. Results

4.1. Status traits

Status traits, as already mentioned above, characterize people on the basis of their competence and social status, that is to say, through characteristics achieved and attained by them as social beings.

The results of numerous MGT studies show that speakers of non-standard varieties are often evaluated more negatively on status traits than speakers of standard and/or high prestige varieties. For instance, speakers of southern American English were more negatively rated than those of region neutral American English in Soukup's 2001 study, just as speakers of Appalachian English were in comparison with Standard American English speakers studied by Luhman (1990). In parallel with this, speakers of standard and/or high prestige varieties are evaluated more negatively than non-standard speakers by those who speak the non-standard variety as their vernacular: such a configuration was reported in relation to British Received Pronunciation vs. Welsh English in Wales in Creber and Giles (1983).

As the overall results for the three Hungarian minority regions combined demonstrate in Figure 2 and Table 3, the highest evaluations on status traits were given to the three English speakers (on all traits except *confident*, on which the Hungary Hungarian, or HH, speaker was rated higher than the Hungarian accented English, HaccE, speaker and just as positively as the British English, BrE, speaker). This clearly signals the high prestige of the English language among the Hungarian students of the three regions. This finding, however, is not unprecedented: in a study investigating language attitudes of teenagers in Brazil, El-Dash and Dusnardo (2001) found that their subjects rated the speaker of English more positively than that of Brazilian Portuguese, their mother tongue. (That study also found that about half of the subjects rated the two speakers similarly on solidarity traits as well.)

Among the three varieties of English, as rated by the minority Hungarian students, the order is as follows: American English (AmE) was rated highest, followed by British English, and then by Hungarian accented English – exactly the same order as in McKenzie's (2008) findings among Japanese students, where the same two native English varieties and Japanese accented English

were tested for. (In the present study, the difference between the ratings of British vs. American English was not significant only in the case of the trait *educated*, whereas the ratings of British vs. Hungarian accented English did not differ significantly on the trait *rich*.)

Of the three non-English speakers – that is, the speakers of Hungarian and of the majority language – the Hungary Hungarian speaker was rated by far the highest, while the regional Hungarian (RegH) speaker and the majority language (MajLg) speaker were very similar in being rated the most negatively of the six speakers. The rather more positive rating of Hungary Hungarian than of the regional Hungarian varieties indicates a higher prestige of the former. A similar precedent in the language attitude literature is found in Bayard (1991) for the relationship of British Received Pronunciation vs. New Zealand English in the ratings of New Zealanders: still perceived as a standard variety by New Zealanders in the 1980s, RP was rated higher by them than their own variety of English.

Figure 2. Ratings of speakers on status traits in the three regions combined.

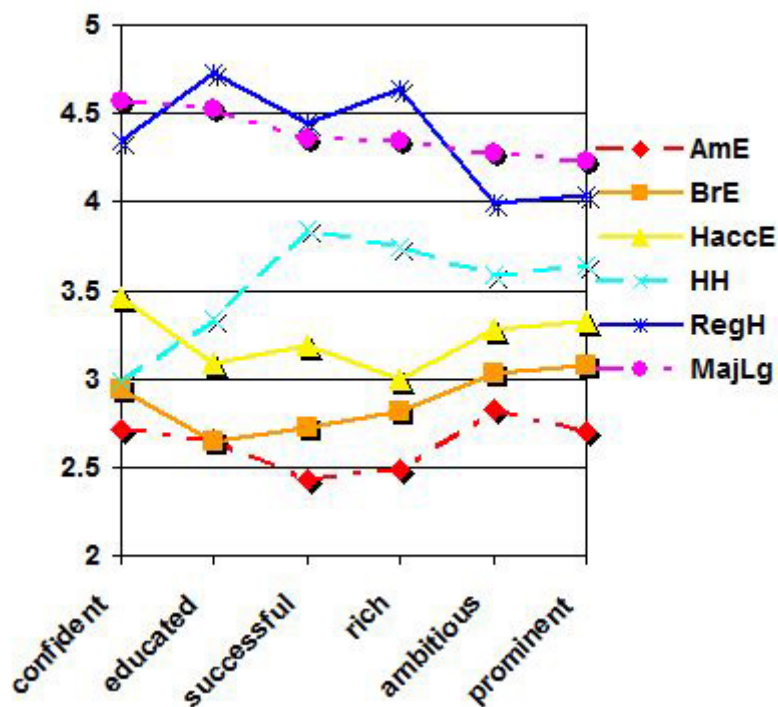


Table 3. The ratings given to speakers on status traits in the three regions combined*

	<i>confident</i>	<i>educated</i>	<i>successful</i>	<i>rich</i>	<i>ambitious</i>	<i>prominent</i>
American English (AmE)	2.71	2.66	2.43	2.49	2.83	2.70
British English (BrE)	2.94	2.64	2.72	2.82	3.03	3.07
Hungarian accented English (HaccE)	3.46	3.09	3.19	3.00	3.28	3.32
Hungary Hungarian (HH)	2.98	3.34	3.85	3.74	3.59	3.64
Regional Hungarian (RegH)	4.34	4.73	4.45	4.64	3.99	4.04
Majority language (MajLg)	4.57	4.52	4.36	4.53	4.28	4.23

* The analysis of variance has shown that the differences between rank means are statistically significant ($p < .1$) in all but the following pairs:

confident: HH - BrE; educated: BrE - AmE; successful: RegH - MajLg; rich: BrE - HaccE; ambitious: BrE - AmE; prominent: RegH - MajLg.

Although a similarly detailed examination of the ratings given in each region separately would be beyond the scope of the present paper, I want to at least mention the most considerable difference between the three regions. While in Transylvania the rating of the regional Hungarian variety is statistically significantly more positive than that of the majority language (Romanian), the opposite is true in Southern Slovakia (except on the trait *ambitious*, where the two ratings do not differ in a statistically significant way), while ratings of the two are approximately the same in Vojvodina (with the majority language speaker being slightly but statistically not significantly more positively rated).

4.2. Solidarity traits

While status traits center on the achieved social position of the speaker, solidarity traits concern the social acceptance of the speaker in the community.

The ratings of speakers on the solidarity traits (see Figure 3 and Table 4 below) are more complex than is the case with the ratings on status traits, and fewer clear tendencies emerge. The most positive ratings, very generally, were

given to the American English speaker again: his ratings were highest on three traits (*nice*, *likeable* and *interesting*), while on the other three traits (*honest*, *generous*, and *reliable*) his ratings were on a par with (not statistically significantly different from) those of the Hungary Hungarian speaker.

Figure 3. Ratings of speakers on solidarity traits in the three regions.

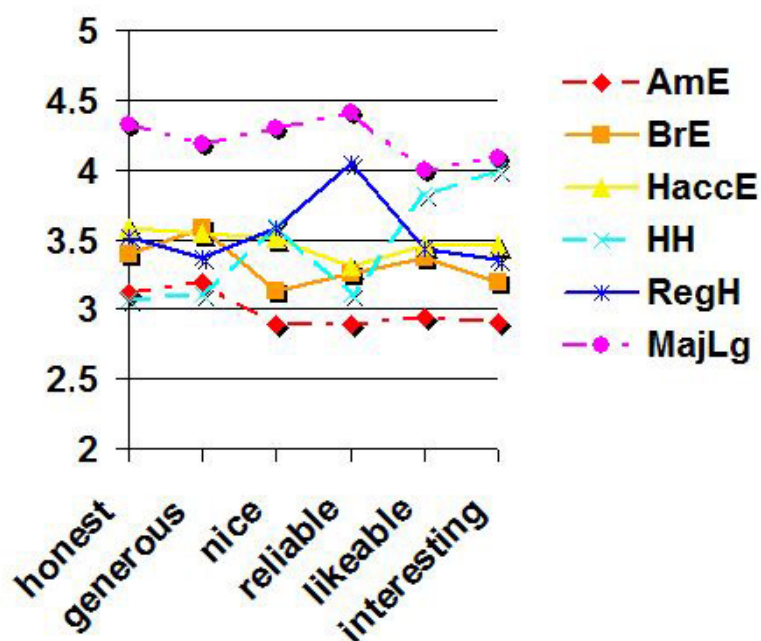


Table 4. Ratings given to speakers on solidarity traits in the three regions*

	honest	generous	nice	reliable	likeable	interesting
American English (AmE)	3.12	3.19	2.89	2.89	2.94	2.90
British English (BrE)	3.39	3.58	3.13	3.25	3.37	3.19
Hungarian accented English (HaccE)	3.58	3.55	3.51	3.31	3.45	3.46
Hungary Hungarian (HH)	3.06	3.11	3.59	3.10	3.82	4.00

	honest	generous	nice	reliable	likeable	interesting
Regional Hungarian (RegH)	3.52	3.37	3.58	4.04	3.43	3.36
Majority language (MajLg)	4.32	4.19	4.30	4.41	4.00	4.08

* The analysis of variance has shown that differences between rank means are statistically significant ($p < .1$) in all but the following pairs:

honest: HH - AmE, BrE - RegH, BrE - HaccE, RegH - HaccE; generous: HH - AmE, BrE - RegH, BrE - HaccE, RegH - HaccE, RegH - AmE; nice: HH - RegH, HH - HaccE, RegH - HaccE; reliable: HH - BrE, HH - HaccE, HH - AmE, BrE - HaccE; likeable: HH - MajLg, BrE - RegH, BrE - HaccE, RegH - HaccE; interesting: HH - MajLg, BrE - RegH, RegH - HaccE.

Unlike in the case of ratings on status traits, on solidarity traits the most negatively rated speaker was the majority language speaker. This tendency is the strongest in Transylvania (see Figure 4 and Table 5 below) – just like the tendency to rate the regional Hungarian speaker the most positively was also strongest here: the regional Hungarian speaker is rated similarly positively as the American English speaker on three traits (*interesting*, *honest*, and *generous*). Other inter-region differences, however, cannot be discussed here due to limitations of space.

Figure 4. Ratings of speakers on solidarity traits in Transylvania.

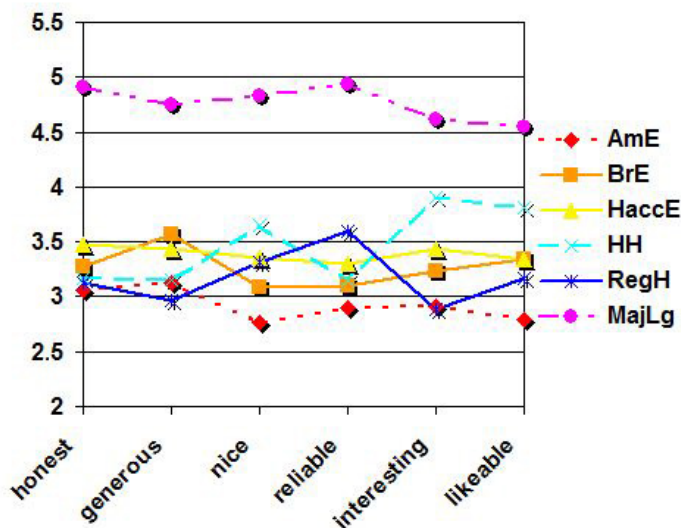


Table 5. Ratings given to speakers on solidarity traits in Transylvania*

	<i>honest</i>	<i>generous</i>	<i>nice</i>	<i>reliable</i>	<i>likeable</i>	<i>interesting</i>
American English (AmE)	3.06	3.13	2.76	2.90	2.79	2.91
British English (BrE)	3.27	3.57	3.09	3.10	3.34	3.24
Hungarian accented English (HaccE)	3.48	3.43	3.35	3.30	3.34	3.43
Hungary Hungarian (HH)	3.17	3.15	3.65	3.15	3.81	3.90
Regional Hungarian (RegH)	3.12	2.96	3.32	3.60	3.17	2.89
Majority language (MajLg)	4.91	4.75	4.83	4.94	4.55	4.62

* The analysis of variance has shown that differences between rank means are statistically significant ($p < .1$) in all but the following pairs:

honest: HH – BrE, HH – RegH, HH – HaccE, HH – AmE, BrE – RegH, BrE – HaccE, BrE – AmE, RegH – AmE; *generous*: HH – RegH, HH – HaccE, HH – AmE, BrE – HaccE, RegH – AmE, HaccE – AmE; *nice*: HH – RegH, HH – HaccE, BrE – RegH, BrE – HaccE, BrE – AmE, RegH – HaccE; *reliable*: AmE – BrE, HH – RegH, HH – AmE, BrE – HaccE, BrE – AmE, RegH – HaccE; *likeable*: BrE – RegH, BrE – HaccE, RegH – HaccE, RegH – AmE; *interesting*: BrE – HaccE, BrE – AmE, RegH – AmE.

The same ordering is found among the three varieties of English as in the case of status traits: American English is rated highest, followed by British English, and then by Hungarian accented English. The differences in ratings between American English and British English are statistically significant for all six traits, whereas those between British English and Hungarian accented English are significant in the case of only two of the six traits, *reliable* and *interesting*. Even though the difference in ratings between British vs. Hungarian accented English is, thus, less pronounced here, all in all across both groups of traits, subjects did tend to rate the native speakers of English higher than the non-native speaker, assigning greater value to the native norm than to solidarity with the Hungarian speaker of English.

Compared with the ratings of speakers on the status traits, the ratings on solidarity traits show a more positive attitude towards both varieties of Hungarian, that is, Hungary Hungarian and regional Hungarian. Also, the regional Hungarian variety received a much more positive rating than did Hungary Hungarian on two traits (*likeable* and *interesting*) and a similarly positive on

a third one (*nice*). Both of these findings indicate at least some importance assigned to the subjects' own, regional variety within the community.

The fact that regional Hungarian is given more positive ratings on solidarity traits than Hungary Hungarian can be evaluated as a clearly positive tendency since it shows a positive community level self-evaluation. In Friesland, where the Frisian language plays an important role in the maintenance of the minority community's cohesion, its ratings on solidarity traits were much higher than those of the majority language, Dutch (Jonkman 1990). Findings are similar for the role and ratings of the Ladin language among Ladin speakers in Northern Italy (cf. Fenyvesi and Irsara 2009), and in the case of New Zealand English vs. RP in New Zealand (Bayard 1991).

The fact that varieties of Hungarian received more negative ratings than did varieties of English overall even on solidarity traits indicates, again, the very high prestige given to English among students. As has been pointed out above, however, this is not unprecedented in the literature (cf. a similar evaluation of English vs. Brazilian Portuguese among Brazilian students in El-Dash and Busnardo 2001).

5. Conclusion

All in all, it can be concluded that the most notable finding of the study concerns the very – and possibly surprisingly – high rating of the English language varieties among the students of the three minority Hungarian regions. The prestige of the English language (both of the native varieties and of the non-native variety) is high, and this might be well explained by the globalization of the English language and its increasingly important role in everyday life. The more positive rating of American English over British English might be the result of the influence of American popular culture (music, film, and the internet), despite the fact that in all three regions British English is traditionally taught in schools (Zsuzsanna Dégi, Zsuzsanna Kiss, Ágnes Ódry, and István Rabec, personal communication, 2010).

A finding that stands out considerably concerns the very negative rating of the majority language, Romanian, in Transylvania: its speaker's status and solidarity traits have been ranked most negatively among all speakers.

The more positive evaluation of Hungary Hungarian than of regional Hungarian on status traits indicates a high prestige of the former among minority Hungarians outside Hungary, possibly as a result of traditional norm centeredness among Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin in general. The more positive rating of regional Hungarian than Hungary Hungarian on solidarity traits in Transylvania can by all means be regarded as a positive tendency on the level of the regional community.

The findings discussed in this paper constitute only a small fragment of the findings of the entire study. A comprehensive and detailed discussion of all the findings will require further attention elsewhere.

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Appendix.

The English translation of the questionnaire used in the study. Tasks 1 and 2 were repeated 6 times in the questionnaire, for each speaker that the subjects listened to.

Questionnaire

I need the following data for scientific research. There are no right or wrong answers, I am interested in what you think. I will treat the data confidentially – your teacher will not see your answers. Thank you very much for your helping me in my work.

1. Date:
2. You are: (a) female (b) male
3. Your age:
4. The town/village you live in:

5. Your school:..... your grade:
6. Your nationality: Hungarian – [majority]² – Both – Other:
7. Your mother tongue: Hungarian – [majority language]³ – Both – Other:
8. What is the language you speak most during the day?
9. Which of these two labels describes you better? Circle: Urban -- Rural
10. For how long have you been learning English and how good are you at it? how long: Beginning / Intermediate / Advanced / Native
11. Have you spent any time in an English-speaking country?
 (a) yes
 (b) no
12. If yes, in which country/ies were you and for how long?

13. What other language(s) besides your mother tongue and English can you speak and how well? And how good are you in them?
 Language (i): Beginning / Intermediate / Advanced / Native
 Language (ii): Beginning / Intermediate / Advanced / Native
 Language (iii): Beginning / Intermediate / Advanced / Native

Task 1. Now, you will hear 6 speakers. Listen to them and answer the questions for each of them. You will be asked first to rate them on some traits: for instance, if you think the speaker sounds nice, circle one of the letters closer to *nice* (the nicer he sounds, the letter closer to the word, like in the example below), or if he sounds unpleasant, circle a letter closer to *unpleasant*.

nice a b c d e f unpleasant

The first speaker:

successful	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	unsuccessful
nice	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	unpleasant
tall	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	short
likeable	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	unlikeable
entertaining	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	boring
educated	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	uneducated
reliable	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	unreliable
rich	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	poor
honest	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	dishonest
prominent	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	average
smiley	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	glum

² In each region, the respective majority group was given.

³ In each region, the respective majority language was given.

ambitious	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	unmotivated
confident	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	notconfident
generous	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	selfish

Task 2. Now, please answer the following questions.

(i) What language or dialect does this speaker speak? Try to define it as closely as you can (e.g. *Bucharest Romanian*, *Csángó Hungarian*, *Australian English* etc.):

(ii) Do you speak it? yes – no

(iii) If yes, do you like speaking it? yes – no

(iv) If not, would you want to speak it? yes – no

(v) In your opinion is it valuable to speak it in [region]?⁴

(vi) In your opinion is it important to speak it in [region]?

(vii) What is the ethnicity of the speaker?

(viii) What country is he from?

(ix) What is this speaker's highest level of education? Put an X by your answer.

() primary school

() secondary school

() college/university

(x) What do you think this speaker's occupation is? Put an X by your answer.

() doctor or lawyer

() engineer

() teacher

() computer programmer

() entrepreneur

() carpenter

() welder

() stone mason's assistant

⁴ In this and the next question the respective region was given.