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Linguistic Attitudes and Ideologies of the Students of the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania

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Abstract. The paper aims at presenting the linguistic attitudes and the underlying ideologies of the students of the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania towards their mother tongue and the Romanian language. It provides a brief summary of the most important theoretical aspects entailed (definitions and an overview of the Hungarian sociolinguistic research on linguistic attitudes and ideologies) with special regard to István Lanstyák's classification of linguistic ideologies. The paper continues with the presentation of the University, of the population and the sample used in the research, and the distribution of the respondents by faculty, sex, age, place of origin, nationality and mother tongue. In the following chapter, the perceived Romanian competence and the attitudes of the students towards the Romanian language is discussed. The last part of the paper gives a qualitative analysis of the responses to the question *Where do you think is the most beautiful Hungarian spoken?*, focusing on the issues of linguistic attitudes of the students and the ideologies behind them regarding their opinions on the most beautiful variety of the Hungarian language.

Keywords: linguistic attitudes, linguistic ideologies, university students, language loyalty, language preservation

Introduction

The study of linguistic attitudes and ideologies is a fairly new and emerging research area in international and Hungarian sociolinguistics (see e.g. Benő 2011; Fenyvesi 2011; Lanstyák 2009, 2011). The two terms represent interdisciplinary fields of study, linking linguistics with psychology and sociology, with culture, identity, aesthetics, morality and epistemology. Ideologies of language or language ideologies are significant for both social and linguistic analysis as they are "not

simply about language" (see Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 55). Attitudes, on the other hand, play an important role in determining one's behaviour and may also be viewed as reflections of behaviour (see Borbély 2011: 41).

Linguistic attitudes and ideologies play an important role in the language use and language choice strategies of speakers, and this is even more relevant in bilingual and multilingual settings. In bilingual, especially minority contexts, the attitudes of the speakers and the ideologies formulated within the community bear important information on the way the speakers regard such languages or language varieties, as well as on the social and linguistic judgements they formulate (Fenyvesi 2011: 228). Positive or negative attitudes towards their own language variety can be a valid tool of assessing ethnolinguistic vitality of certain minority languages and language varieties. In Baker's words: "in the life of a language, attitudes to that language appear to be important in language restoration, preservation, decay or death" (Baker 1992: 9).

The present paper discusses the linguistic attitudes and ideologies of the students learning at the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (in the following: Sapientia HUT). The first part of the paper outlines the theoretical framework of the study identifying and presenting the terminological apparatus applied, including the most important results of the research conducted in the field of linguistic attitudes and ideologies regarding the different varieties of the Hungarian language. The second part of the paper includes the results of a survey carried out with the help of an online semi-structured questionnaire filled by the students of the Sapientia HUT, focusing on how they evaluate their knowledge of foreign languages, of Romanian and the attitudes towards Hungarian language varieties formulated as a response to the question: *Where do you think the most beautiful Hungarian is spoken?* This is followed by the presentation of the responses given to the following open question: *Why do you think the most beautiful Hungarian is spoken there?*, aiming at identifying and outlining the ideologies of the student regarding the different varieties of the Hungarian language.

Definitions and theoretical issues entailed

According to its broadest definition, linguistic or language ideology is the way we think about language; it is also a set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use (Silverstein, quoted by Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 57). Linguistic ideologies contain the category of opinions rationalizing linguistic experience, and at the same time they are collective and universal for the whole language community (see Bodó 2012).

According to Lanstyák (2009), linguistic ideologies have a broad and a narrow definition: in the narrow sense, they include thoughts and systems of thoughts

which serve to explain and validate the facts regarding the state of the linguistic community, of the relationships between languages, etc. In a broader sense, language ideologies also include beliefs of the speakers regarding the language, which have not yet been formulated or made aware, but can be outlined based on the behaviour of the speakers (see Lanstyák 2009: 28). In this approach, linguistic ideologies are closely connected to the culture of a community, having a significant impact upon the way people think about language as well as upon their linguistic behaviour, influencing linguistic change as well (Lanstyák 2009: 28).

As mentioned above, "attitude is an interdisciplinary term, bridging psychology and sociology, but it has become also a term of linguistics, in particular in psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics" (Borbély 2011: 41), and as such it is a topic of social psychology as well. Linguistic attitudes are opinions regarding language or language varieties, positively or negatively assessing a certain language or language variety. There is a general consensus about the existence of a relationship between linguistic attitudes and linguistic behaviour; however, several interpretations of the way they influence each other can be identified in the scholarly literature (see Kovács Rácz 2011: 11).

Linguistic ideologies and attitudes – as their definitions and the issues entailed show – are closely connected. They both are interdisciplinary fields of study, involving cultural and personal conceptions of language and language varieties, they link language to a group and a personal identity, they involve the issues of prestige, standards and aesthetics, and – most importantly – they refer to what people think and take for granted about a certain language. However, a distinction needs to be made: "individual opinions, beliefs, thoughts about language, dialects, linguistic phenomena are not ideologies by themselves; these opinions become linguistic ideologies as they are formulated universally, being accepted by the community" (Irvine–Gal, qtd. in Bodó 2012: 33).

Our study aims at including both aspects in the analysis below, as our results show that language attitudes, in our case, expressing a preference regarding the most beautiful language variety of the Hungarian language, and even the attitudes towards the Romanian language, are rooted in some kind of ideology regarding that particular language variety, which function as justification for the choice made. It is also interesting that although there were no questions about the least preferred variety (the question only referred to the language variety the respondents liked the most and the reasons for this), the choice of the particular variety was frequently justified by expressing a negative opinion regarding another language variety (usually the Hungarian spoken in Budapest or in Hungary).[1]

1 Wardhaugh defines language varieties as specific sets of linguistic items or as "human speech patterns (sounds, words, grammatical features) which can be associated with some external factor (geographical area or a social group)" (Wardhaugh 2006: 22).

An overview of the sociolinguistic research on linguistic attitudes and ideologies: the case of Hungarian language varieties

The study on linguistic attitudes and ideologies in the Hungarian context is vast and various. Questions on the speakers' perception of the beauty of the different language varieties was part of early dialectological research as well (see Imre 1963); however, it has become one of the most widely discussed issues in sociolinguistics.

One of the first sociolinguistic surveys carried out in the mid-1990s was the Sociolinguistics of Hungarian Outside Hungary project, which also included questions regarding linguistic attitudes. As a part of this project, the same questionnaire was administered to Hungarians in the six countries neighbouring Hungary (see Kontra 2005), and thus a cross-regional comparison of Hungarian language use and linguistic attitudes was made possible. Several studies analysing the results of these questionnaires also discuss the issue of attitudes (see, e.g. the articles published in Fenyvesi 2005).

The Hungarian sociolinguistic scholarly literature features a number of studies on linguistic attitudes and ideologies, authors such as: István Lanstyák (2009, 2011), Ágnes Domonkosi (2007), László Kálmán (2004), Miklós Kontra (2006), Ádám Nádasdy (2004), Klára Sándor (2006), Anna Borbély (2011), Anna Fenyvesi (2011), Csanád Bodó (2012), Attila Benő (2011), Csilla Bartha (2007), Laihonen Petteri (2009) and many others (selective bibliography). Studies on the prestige and classification of the varieties based on the attitudes of the speakers have also been published (e.g. Kontra 1997; Fodor–Huszár 1998).

Several of these studies focus on language attitudes and ideologies of minority speakers of Hungarian. It is also common to analyse the linguistic attitudes of high-school students or pupils, and – although much less frequently – those of university students. This paper aims at presenting the results of a research carried out among university students in a minority context regarding their linguistic attitudes and the ideologies underlying these attitudes.

István Lanstyák has discussed the issues of linguistic ideologies as they are manifested in linguistic and language cultivation texts; however, such ideologies can be traced through the way in which the users of the language covertly or overtly express them to explain, validate, and thus rationalize their choice of language varieties and forms of language use.

In his 2011 article, Lanstyák identifies 87 linguistic ideologies in connection with the Hungarian language, their varieties and language use, classifying them into 6 content groups: 1) Ideologies with a political background; 2) Ideologies regarding the essential characteristics and nature of language and language functioning; 3) Ideologies regarding the attitudes towards language and language

varieties; 4) Ideologies regarding the way in which language is used, as well as the relationship between language user and language use; 5) Ideologies regarding language change and influencing language change; 6) Ideologies of correctness.

Our paper focuses on the attitudes and ideologies regarding the different varieties of the Hungarian language as well as on language change and correctness as understood by a specific group of language users, the university students at the Sapientia HUT. The analysis below aims at tracing the way in which the respondents express and rationalize their choice of the place where they think the most beautiful language variety is spoken, focusing on the recurrent topics and ideas in the responses. One goal of this analysis is to identify the strategies by which linguistic and local loyalties of the students are formulated, and to emphasize the way in which attitudes towards their own language variety and other language varieties are expressed. We argue that linguistic attitudes and ideologies underlying the responses function to strengthen and establish local and linguistic identities and loyalties of the young adult generation, the future intellectuals of the Hungarian community of Transylvania, and as such indicate future trends of language preservation and language use. As we have mentioned above, positive attitudes towards one's own language variety also strengthen the ethnolinguistic vitality (see e.g. Fishman–García 2010: 24–25) of a language or language variety, and this is of utmost importance from the point of view of preserving or even revitalizing the Hungarian language in Romania.

About the institution

The Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania was established in 2001 as an independent Hungarian tuition higher education institution in Romania. The University functions in three towns with 4 faculties: Cluj-Napoca (Faculty of Sciences and Arts), Miercurea Ciuc (Faculty of Economic and Human Sciences and Faculty of Technical and Social Sciences) and Târgu-Mureş (Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences). In the academic year 2013/2014, 2,109 students are enrolled in 28 BA and 7 MA programmes, 1,989 on the BA level and 120 on the MA level.[2] The largest faculty of the University is the Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences of Târgu-Mureş with 1,111 students enrolled in 11 BA and 4 MA programmes in the academic year 2013/2014.

837 students of the university (39.68%) study humanities and social sciences, while 1,272 (60.31%) students are enrolled in science and technical science programmes.

2 It is important to mention that MA-level education was first organized in the academic year 2013/2014, following the accreditation of the institution by the Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance in Higher Education.

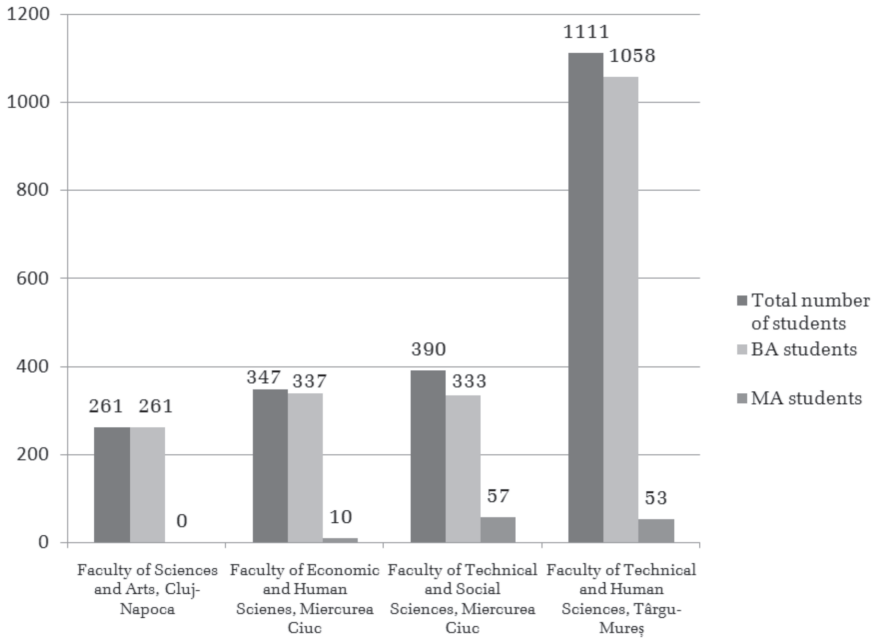


Chart 1. *Total number of students enrolled in the different faculties of the Sapientia HUT (academic year 2013/2014)*

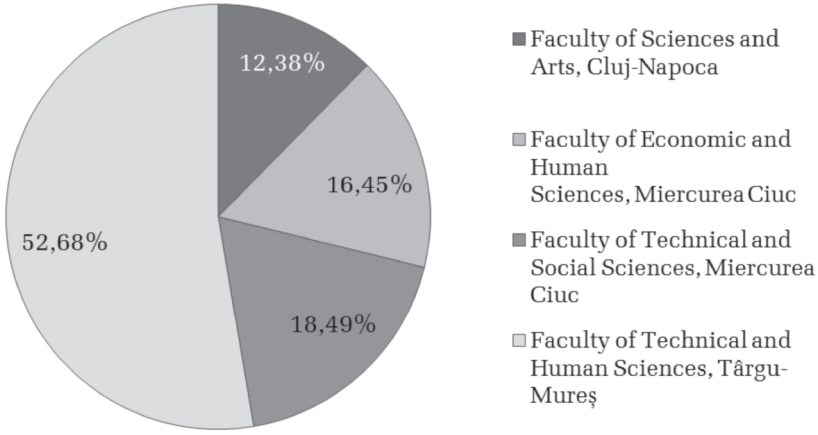


Chart 2. *Distribution of students by faculty*

The majority of students are from the "three Hungarian counties": Harghita, Covasna and Mureş. However, there are students from other regions of Transylvania as well as from neighbouring countries (such as Hungary, Slovakia etc.).

The research: sample and population

The research was carried out in March 2014; a Google Form online semi-structure questionnaire was applied including several sets of questions. A random sample of university students of the Sapientia HUT (N = 294, representing 13.94% of the total number of students).[3]

The first part of the questionnaire included questions regarding the sex, age and geographical provenance of the respondents, the language of tuition of the previous educational stages (kindergarten, elementary school, high-school), the faculty and study programmes they attend, their nationality and mother tongue. Separate sets of questions were formulated regarding their perceived knowledge of the Romanian language and their attitudes towards it and its usage, a self-assessment of their knowledge of foreign languages, their experiences regarding language use in minority settings. The final set of questions focused on the beauty of language varieties used in the different regions of Transylvania, including choosing between rural and urban language use, as well as the places where the most beautiful Hungarian is used (including all regions where the language is spoken).

In the following, we will focus on the questions that are closely connected to the linguistic attitudes of the students either towards their own language variety, towards other varieties of the Hungarian language as well as the underlying ideologies overtly or covertly expressed by the responses.

The respondents

Distribution by faculties, locations and study programmes

As we have mentioned above, the responses were gathered via simple random sampling: the online questionnaire was distributed on social media sites dedicated to the students of the Sapientia HUT, and the number and distribution of respondents was determined by their willingness to respond. Every answer was evaluated separately, and only the valid ones were taken into consideration (valid meaning that there was an actual answer to the question and that it could be interpreted within the context of the research). As the students indicated the faculty they attend, we can determine the participation of students in the sampling as follows (with 289 valid responses to this question):

3 However, it needs to be mentioned that not all respondents chose to respond to every question. The exact number of valid responses will be given at every question.

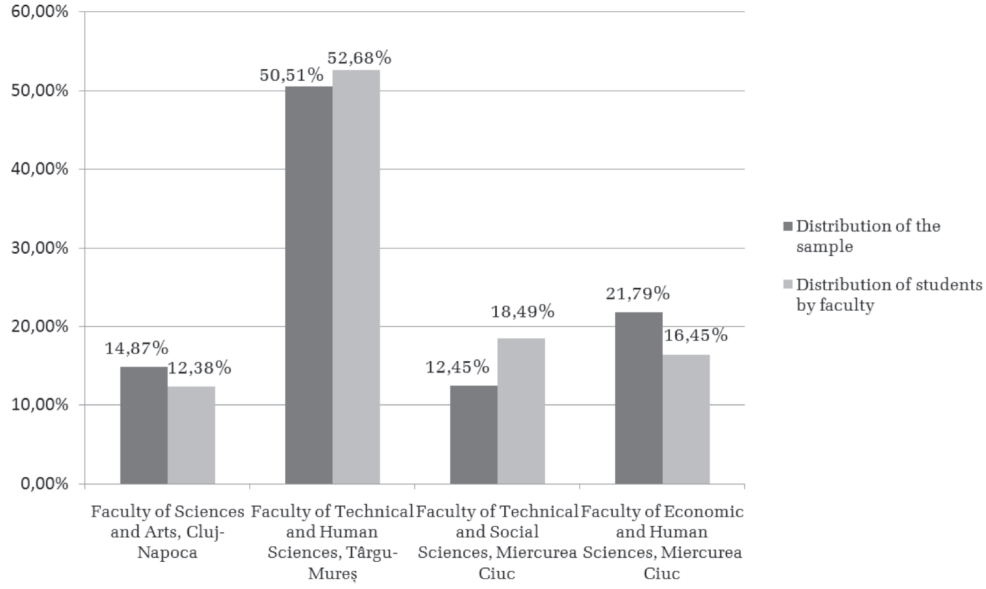


Chart 3. *Distribution of students by faculty and the participants in the sampling*

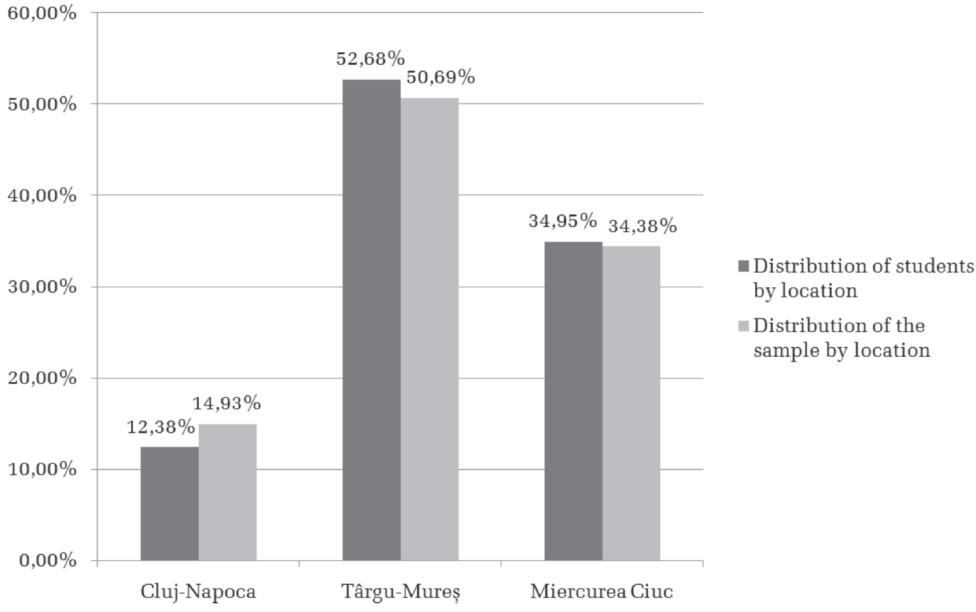


Chart 4. *Distribution of students and the distribution of the sample*

Chart 3 shows a higher willingness to respond in the case of the Faculty of Sciences and Arts, Cluj-Napoca as well as the Faculty of Economic and Human Sciences, Miercurea Ciuc. However, if we consider the locations of the faculties, the distribution is much more balanced.

Regarding the willingness to respond of the students enrolled in the different programmes, the highest number of respondents are students of Translation and Interpretation Studies at the Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences, Târgu-Mureş (42 respondents), followed by students of Communication and Public Relations of the same faculty (33 respondents). The question regarding the study programmes was answered by 289 respondents: 153 students of humanities and social sciences (52.9%), and 136 studying sciences and technical sciences (47.1%). If we correlate this data with the number of students in the different academic fields, it becomes obvious that the willingness to respond of students in humanities and social sciences is significantly higher than that of students of sciences and technical sciences.

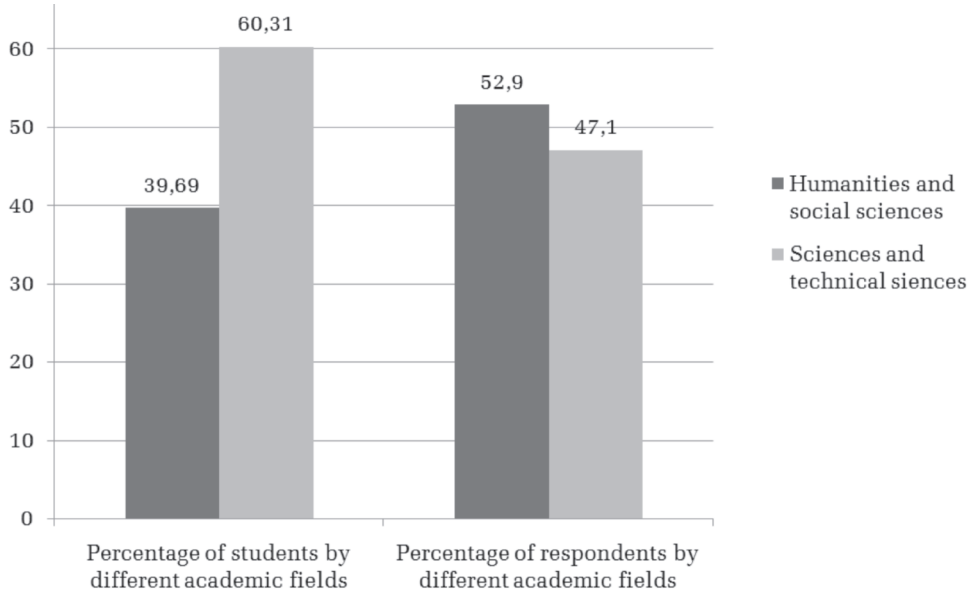


Chart 5. *Percentage of students by academic fields*

This also means that the survey is not representative in terms of distribution by academic field.

Age, sex and place of origin

The distribution of the respondents based on sex is the following: the sample includes 115 male and 173 female respondents. 5 respondents did not indicate their sex. The results indicate a higher willingness to respond in the case of women; however, it also needs to be mentioned that the proportion of women enrolled in humanities and social sciences programmes is higher than that of men, thus the sample probably indicates the gender distribution of these fields.

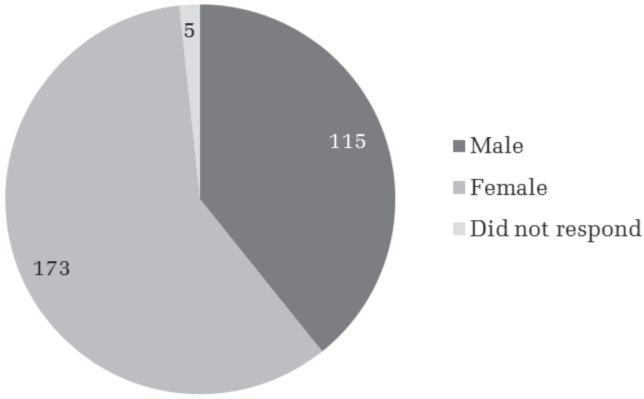


Chart 6. *Distribution of respondents by sex*

There are 289 valid data regarding the age of the respondents as 2 respondents indicated 2014 as their year of birth, while 2 chose not to answer the question. The age of the respondents varies between 19 and 49, the largest group being represented by students between 19 and 24 (258 respondents). The 25–34 age group includes 34 respondents, while the 35–49 age group only 4.

Regarding the place of origin, we received 289 valid answers: 4 of the respondents are from outside Romania (3 from Hungary and 1 from Slovakia). The majority of the respondents (265, more than 91%) are from the three counties with the highest proportion of Hungarian inhabitants (Mureş, Harghita and Covasna), while only 24 are from other Romanian counties (Satu Mare – 6, Alba – 6, Bihor – 3, Cluj – 3, Braşov – 2, Sălaj – 2, Sibiu – 1, Bistriţa Năsăud – 1). Unfortunately, during our research, we did not receive the data regarding the provenience of the students of the university, and thus we cannot compare them with our data. Based on the high percentage in the random sample, however, we can state that the majority of the students of the Sapientia HUT come from counties with a Hungarian majority, and this is an important factor both regarding their knowledge of the Romanian language and of foreign languages.

Nationality and mother tongue

From the point of view of our study, it is interesting to mention an unexpected result regarding the responses to the question: *What is your nationality?* There were 291 valid responses, in 55 cases of which (representing almost 19%) the respondents indicated Romanian or Romanian and Hungarian as their nationality. This is most probably due to the fact that as a result of Romanian policy, there is no clear distinction between the concepts of nationality and citizenship.

The case in which the students indicated both Romanian and Hungarian may also be the result of the fact that – as the Hungarian National Assembly approved the amendment of Act LV of 1993 on Hungarian citizenship and started the vast procedure of simplified naturalization of non-Hungarian citizens in 2011 – by April 2013 more than 420,000 foreign citizens applied for simplified naturalization, including more than 280,000 Romanian citizens.[4] As this is a fairly new and highly symbolical development in the life of the Hungarian community in Romania, the respondents might have considered it important to mention. The fact that there is a confusion regarding the concept of nationality and citizenship is also corroborated by the fact that in very many cases the respondents who chose Romanian as their nationality considered their mother tongue to be Hungarian and their knowledge of the Romanian language poor.

The responses regarding the mother tongue(s) are much less ambiguous: out of the 289 valid responses, only one respondent mentioned both the Romanian and Hungarian language as her mother tongue, the rest indicated Hungarian.

Perceived Romanian language competence and attitudes towards Romanian

Romanian language teaching for the national minorities is still a highly debated topic in Romania. It is a fact that in the case of the Hungarian majority regions the teaching of the Romanian language has proven to be ineffective, and this is supported by the poor results obtained in national tests. Consequently, there has been a heated debate on whether to continue teaching it as a mother tongue – which has proven not to be useful and successful in the Romanian language acquisition of Hungarian minority pupils –, or teach it as L2 or foreign language, which has stirred heated arguments among the Romanian majority (see, e.g. Benő 2012; Péntek 2009; Péntek–Szilágyi 2009).

Because of the failure of Romanian language teaching for Hungarian pupils in Romania, it is important to stress that the Hungarian mother-tongue pupils

4 For further information, consult: http://www.allampolgarsag.gov.hu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=251:hirek1304042&catid=1:friss-hirek&Itemid=50 (Retrieved on 15 June 2014).

who graduate from a high school with tuition in the Hungarian language have problems regarding their knowledge of the Romanian language and have low Romanian language competence.

Neither of the respondents of our questionnaire graduated from a Romanian tuition school: 248 indicated that they continued their studies in the Hungarian language, while 37 indicated Romanian and Hungarian. In the second case, the responses are most probably due to the fact that Romanian is taught on every level of education, and this was interpreted by the respondents as having learnt in Romanian.

Regarding their perceived Romanian language competence, the majority of the respondents (155, that is 54% of the 287 valid answers) indicated that they do not speak Romanian very well, but in the majority of the cases they can make themselves understood. The responses are as follows:

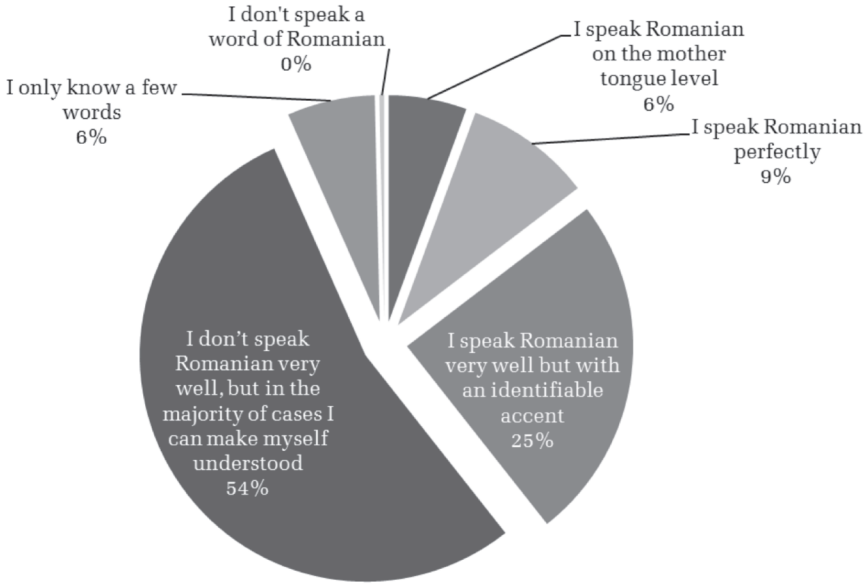


Chart 7. *The distribution of the responses to the question: Which statement applies to you regarding your knowledge of Romanian?*

The respondents were also asked about what they thought the reason for their low Romanian language competence was (in case they thought that their Romanian language competence was not satisfactory). This was a multiple answer question: 215 respondents answered it, and we received 343 responses. The vast majority (179, which is 83% of the number of respondents) indicated that they had problems speaking the Romanian language because they never had to use it outside of school. Another frequent answer referred to the fact that the Romanian

language teacher was not good (55, which is 25.5% of the respondents), and that the Romanian teacher also spoke Hungarian during Romanian classes (53 responses, 24.65% of the respondents).

Linguistic attitudes and ideologies were also expressed by this multiple answer question: only 14 respondents think that the Romanian language is a hard language and that they do not understand its grammar. This indicates that the majority of the respondents do not consider Romanian a difficult language to learn.

42 responses express a somewhat negative attitude towards the Romanian language: 18 respondents chose the answer *Because I didn't think it was necessary for me to learn it*, which in a way is closely connected to the answer *I didn't have to use it outside of school*, however, it expresses a more accentuated personal opinion and choice. 10 respondents indicate that they are not interested in learning Romanian, while 14 respondents state that they do not want to learn Romanian at all.

All in all, we can state that based on these answers the respondents have a rather neutral attitude towards Romanian: they do not consider it a difficult language to learn; however, as there was no need to use it outside of the school, they decided not to learn it well. A certain defence mechanism of the students can also be traced as many of them lay responsibility for the failure of having learnt Romanian well on the institutional teaching of the language. Nevertheless, this is significant from the point of view of the importance of Romanian language teaching in schools: as students from Hungarian majority regions do not have to use the language outside the classroom, their acquisition of Romanian solely depends on the institutionalized teaching of Romanian.

This is another reason why special Romanian language curricula and teaching materials must be created for the speakers of minority languages. This is corroborated by the results of the responses to the statement *I would like to know Romanian better:* out of the 286 valid choices 254 (88.8%) answered with *I agree*, and only 32 (11.2%) with *I don't agree.*

Where do you think the most beautiful Hungarian is spoken? Attitudes towards Hungarian language varieties

The 2009 sociolinguistic survey conducted by the Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities among the Hungarian minority in Romania also featured the question *Where do you think the most beautiful Hungarian is spoken?* This question has been included in almost all sociolinguistic surveys as it unveils the prestige of the different language varieties as well as some stereotypes and ideologies underlying such attitudes. The survey was conducted on a representative sample of more than 4,000 respondents, 74.8% of whom stated that the most beautiful Hungarian was spoken in Transylvania (see, e.g. Benő 2011). Our research shows very similar results: out of the 285 valid responses to

this question, 214 (75.08%) chose Transylvania. 52 (18.24%) respondents chose the variety *I don't know / I don't want to answer*, while 6 chose Budapest, 8 chose large towns of Hungary, 4 chose villages of Hungary, and 1 chose Vojvodina (Serbia). These responses show a high degree of loyalty to their own language variety, while almost 20% chose not to answer this question. Some of them explained their choice not to answer:

"Túl relatív a kérdés." ['The question is much too relative.']

"Legszebben? Ez egy esztétikai kategória?" ['The most beautiful? Is this an aesthetic category?']

One of the respondents, although making a decision and expressing a choice, considered the question regarding why that particular variety is the most beautiful a stupid one.

150 respondents explained their choice regarding the place where the most beautiful Hungarian language variety is spoken. In the following, we will attempt to create an outline of the most important attitudes and ideologies underlying the responses given when explaining their choice of the most beautiful language variety, by applying István Lanstyák's classification. We are not going to label each language ideology, only trace the ideologies that can be grouped into one or another content group determined by Lanstyák. We are going to focus only on the cases in which the respondents chose Transylvania.

1) Ideologies with a political background

"Authentic Hungarians, authentic Hungarian": One of the most common ideologies expressed in the responses regarding the language variety used in Transylvania is that it is being spoken by "real Hungarians": this means that the respondents consider the Hungarians living in Transylvania to be the real representatives of the Hungarian nation, often in opposition with the Hungarians living in Hungary. These responses represent this group of Hungarians as the most authentic of all Hungarians, preserving the ancient character of the language and of the nation. We consider these politically charged ideologies as they are closely connected to the dominant social and political discourses or those of the opposition. Some examples:[5] "*Mert itt vannak az igazi magyarok"* ['Because the real Hungarians live here']; *"ok igazi magyarok"* ['They are real Hungarians']; "*Azért mert Erdély egy igazi magyar település*" ['Because Transylvania is a real Hungarian settlement']; *"Mert itt az őshonos haza"* [Because here is the motherland]; "*A székelyek miatt*" ['Because of the Szeklers']; "*Mert használnak ősi magyar szavakat…*" [Because they use ancient Hungarian words].

Conservatism is also a politically determined linguistic ideology, according to which language varieties with more ancient, more archaic forms and usage are more

5 The examples are given exactly as the respondents wrote them, they are not corrected or altered in any way.

valuable than those which are more modern, which show more signs of change (due to external influences). Some examples: "*Mert a nyelvjárások ellenére, próbálják megtartani a magyar szavakat és nem átvenni jövevényszavakat*" ['Because despite of the dialects they try to preserve the Hungarian words and not to include loanwords']; "*Mert ott megőrződtek a nyelvi hagyományok, és a regionalizmusokon kívül ritkán kerülnek be idegen eredetű szavak vagy a tolvajzsargon szavai*" ['Because linguistic traditions are preserved there, and besides regionalisms, few words of foreign origin are included, or words of the thieves' Latin']; "*Mert eredeti állapotában maradt meg a magyar nyelvismeret*" ['Because the knowledge of Hungarian has been preserved in its original state']; "*mert itt maradta meg a magyar nyelv a legepebben*" ['Because the Hungarian language is preserved most intact here'].

2) Ideologies regarding the essential characteristics and nature of language and language functioning

In rationalizing their choices regarding the most beautiful language variety, very many respondents used ideologies which refer to some essential characteristic of the language, to its hypothetical nature and functioning. These ideologies include linguistic pluralism, according to which the diverse, varied language varieties are more valuable than the others. Some examples: "*mert változatos*" ['because it is diverse']; "*A nyelv sokszínűsége miatt*" ['Because of the diversity of language']; "*bővebb szókincs*" ['a more varied vocabulary']; "*Itt nagyon sokszínűen beszélik a magyart (táj nyelv) ami a többi területi egységre ennyire nem jellemző*" [Here, Hungarian is used in a very diverse way (dialect), which is not characteristic of the other regions]; "*mert sok szinu, tajszolastol elkezdve a mindennapi beszed is eredeti*" ['because it is diverse, from the dialects to the everyday language use, it is original'].

A similar ideology is linguistic elegantism, according to which elegant language use is more highly valued than other ways of language use: "*választékosság*" ['elegance']; "*Választékosabb, mint bárhol máshol (rokonaim nyelvhasználata)* […]" ['It is more elegant than anywhere else (my relatives' language use)']; "*Választékosabb a szókincsük*" ['Their vocabulary is more elegant'], etc.

Another ideology regarding the essential characteristic of the language refers to its originality, purity, savour (the ideology of linguistic singularism), which make it the more valuable language variety: "*merd 'eredeti*"; "*mert eredeti*" ('because it is original'); "*Az adott tájszólás miatt, különlegesebbé teszi az önmagában is páratlan magyar nyelvet*" ['Because of the given dialect, which makes the already unique Hungarian language even more special']; "*Ropogós a beszéd, ízes*" ['the speech is crisp and savoury']; "*eredeti, tiszta, nem a divat határozza meg*" ['it is original, clear, not determined by fashion']; "*Eredeti, régi nyelvjárás, Budapesten rég elfeledett régi magyar kifejezéseket még használnak Erdélyben, ezért szép dolog ez, hogy még megmaradt!*" ['An original, old dialect, old Hungarian

expressions long forgotten in Budapest are still used in Transylvania; that is why it is such a beautiful thing that it has been preserved'].

3) Ideologies regarding the attitudes towards language and language varieties

The most important ideology that can be identified in the responses is a specific form of linguistic nationalism implied by the loyalty the respondents express towards the choice of their own language variety. It needs to be mentioned that this is the most frequent answer. Some examples: "*Mert az a szülőföldem :D*" ['Because that is my homeland :D']; "*Azért gondolom úgy, hogy Erdélyben beszélnek a legszebben magyarul, mert magam is erdélyi vagyok és az én szívem számára a székely nyelvjárás a legszebb zene*" ['I believe that Hungarian is spoken most beautifully in Transylvania because I am from Transylvania, and for my heart the Szekler dialect is the most beautiful music']; "*Mert az erdélyi magyar az anyanyelvem, a legtermészetesebb nyelvhasználat* […]" ['Because the Hungarian from Transylvania is my mother tongue, the most natural use of language']; "*Mert én itt lakom, s úgy látom, hogy itt beszélnek a legszebben*" ['Because I live here and I see that here they speak the language most beautifully'].

Another ideology that can be traced in the answers is standardism: many respondents consider their language variety to be the most beautiful (and as such, more valuable) because it is similar to standard Hungarian or the so-called "literary language": "*szerintem itt többnyire a sztenderd nyelvet beszéljük*" ['in my opinion, here we speak more or less standard Hungarian']; "*Mert a beszélt nyelv nagyon közel áll az irodalmihoz*" ['because the spoken language is very close to the literary language']; "*Sokan irodalmi nyelven beszelnek*" ['many speak the literary language']; "*a legkozelebb all az irodalmi nyelvhez*" [it is closest to the literary language]. This ideology also implies that the most valuable and the most appreciated language variety of the Hungarian language is the standard or literary language, which also corroborates the fact that Hungarian is a highly norm-centred language.

4) Ideologies regarding the way in which language is used as well as the relationship between language user and language use

These ideologies can be identified in the way language users think about other language users and the conclusions they draw regarding the speakers based on the way they speak the language. A very interesting characteristic of the responses to this question is that in many cases the fact that the Hungarian language spoken in Transylvania is more valuable than any others is overtly expressed through a very negative attitude towards the Hungarian language used in Hungary and the Hungarians who live in Hungary. Some examples: "*Mert itt, nálunk az emberek nem szlengesítették el az anyanyelvüket, mint az anyaországban élők, még az elrománositás hatására sem*" ['Because here the people do not use as much slang as the ones living in the motherland, not even as a result of Romanization']; "*Mert*

sokkal jobban kihasználják a magyar nyelv kifejező erejét mint Magyarországon" ['Because they make a much better use of the expressive power of the Hungarian language than in Hungary']; "*nem modernizáljuk a nyelvet annyira mint Magyarországon (angol szavak stb.)*" ['because we do not modernize the language as much as in Hungary (English words, etc.)']; "*Mert ugy itt viccesen ki tudják fejezni magukat az emberek nem olyan nyálasan mint a magyarországiak azon belül is a városiak*" ['Because here the people can express themselves in a funny way, not as slimily as the Hungarians, especially in towns'].

This ideology is very closely connected to "the myth of the watchman", who lives on the border areas and defends and preserves a culture long lost in the centre. Also the idea that staying Hungarian in a minority situation is much more difficult, and that is why the language variety is more valuable, is also present: "*Az anyaországi teruleteken kivul jobban megoriztek a magyar nyelv autentikussagat és eredetiségét*" ['In the areas outside the motherland, the authenticity and originality of the Hungarian is better preserved']; "*Mert ápolják a hagyományokat* […]" ['Because they cultivate the traditions']; "*Azért, mert nekünk többet kell küzdenünk a nyelvünk megmaradásáért*" ['because we have to strive more for the preservation of our language']. These responses suggest that the Hungarian language used in Transylvania is more valuable than the one spoken in Hungary because it is harder to preserve it and to pass it on to the next generations. It is also more valuable because the speakers take care of it and do not use slang.

5) Ideologies regarding language change and influencing language change

The ideology of linguistic decadentism can be traced in a number of answers, according to which language change is a predominantly negative process, and the language variety which resists language change is more valuable than the ones undergoing modernization and change. Change can also come from other languages through contact, this however is also rejected: "*Mert nem torzitjak a nyelvet furcsa 'nyelvujitasok'* ['because the language is not distorted by strange neologisms']"; "*Mert megmaradt nagyjabol a magyar szotar, nem szineztek itt annyira a nyelvet idegen szavakkal* […]" ['Because the Hungarian vocabulary is mainly preserved, they did not colour the language as much with foreign words']; "*Nem keresgélik a magyar szavakat, igegen nyelvek nem befolyásolják a nyelvhasználatot*" ['They do not search for Hungarian words, foreign languages do not influence language use']; "*nem torzul, ferdül a nyelv*" ['because the language is not distorted or perverted'].

6) Ideologies of correctness

Correctness is one of the most frequently mentioned topics in rationalizing the choices of the respondents regarding the most beautiful language variety. The Hungarian community is highly norm-centred, and that is why it is common to see

language varieties which are considered correct more valuable than others. In such statements, contrasts are frequently formulated: Transylvanian Hungarian language use is more beautiful because it is more correct than the language used in Hungary or anywhere else: "*Mert helyesen beszelnek*" ['because they speak correctly']; "*nyelvtanilag helyes*" ['gramatically correct']; "*helyesebben használják a nyelvet*" ['they use the language more correctly']; "*Mert Magyarországon már nem használják a leghelyesebben ezt a nyelvet*" ['Because in Hungary the language is not spoken most correctly anymore']; "*Nyelvtanilag a leghelyesebb*" ['The most correct from the grammatical point of view']; "*megőrzik a helyesírást, helyes használatot*" ['they preserve the correct spelling, the correct use']; "*Mert ápolják a hagyományokat, a helyesírást* […]" ['Because they preserve the traditions, the correct spelling']. It is interesting how the correct spelling or the orthography is conceptualized as something that needs to be protected and as something that determines the value of a language variety. This also confirms the fact that in very many cases the users of the Hungarian language consider the written variety of the standard the most valuable language variety and all others are seen as less valuable.

Attitudes towards the dialects of the Hungarian language

Several respondents mentioned the issues of the dialects in their answers. The general attitudes towards dialects, that is the regional varieties of the language, are positive: dialects are seen as the expression of the diversity of the language, as valuable assets of the language: "*fúzió, sok nyelv és nyelvjárás keveredik, ezért él a nylev is*" ['fusion, many languages and dialects are mingling, that is why the language is alive']; "*a székely dialektus különösen érdekes*" ['the Szekler dialect is especially interesting']; "*a tájszólások végett*" ['because of the dialects'].

Four terms are used to denote the concept of the dialect: *tájszólás* 'dialect, lingo', *nyelvjárás* 'dialect', *dialektus* 'dialect' and *akcentus* 'accent'. The first three usually express a positive attitude towards dialects, while in the case of the fourth one, *akcentus*, two types of attitudes can be identified: the first one is positive, in which *akcentus* probably means 'dialect' as a whole, while in other cases, when the word refers to accent as a peculiarity of pronunciation which differentiates one group of speakers from another (sometimes due to contact with the Romanian language), we can trace negative attitudes as well: "*nem érződik semmiféle akcentus, nincs hatással a román nyelv*" ['One cannot sense any accents, the Romanian language has no effect on it']; "*Szatmáron érezhető jelentősen a román akcentus*" ['In Satu Mare, the Romanian accent is significantly perceptible'].

According to another answer, they thought the Hungarian language spoken in Transylvania was the most beautiful because that was what they heard from others: "*Több, különböző régiókban élő magyarok véleménye alapján gondolom így*" ['This is what I think based on the opinions of Hungarians living in several different regions'].

Conclusions

As a first conclusion of our research, we can state that the attitudes of respondents, the students of the Sapientia HUT, regarding their mother tongue is very positive, featuring a number of ideologies that are recurrent in the folk knowledge on the language and its varieties. Based on Lanstyák's classification of linguistic ideologies, it becomes clear that these ideologies are present not only in linguistic and language cultivation articles but also in the systems of thoughts of everyday speakers. That is why this research proved to be a successful one: it has demonstrated that the young adult Hungarian generation of Transylvania fits into the profile of the entire community from the point of view of their choice of the most beautiful language variety. They formulate opinions and rationalizations which are determined by linguistic ideologies present in most of the Hungarian community: linguistic nationalism, purism, linguistic decadentism, singularism, standardism, etc., which have all been described in Lanstyák's classification. One of the most important conclusions of the research is that these ideologies seem to be true for most speakers: they seem to be transmitted from generation to generation and determine the way in which the young generation conceptualizes their mother tongue and their linguistic and cultural loyalties.

Another important conclusion is that very often the respondents of the survey explained their choice of a particular language variety by degrading another or several other language varieties, either the one spoken in Hungary or others. This also demonstrates that in this case the varieties of the Hungarian language are perceived as a hierarchical structure with the standard at the top, while the speakers of certain dialects try to position their language varieties as close to the standard as possible.

A third conclusion that can be drawn based on the survey is connected to the Romanian language: the respondents had a rather neutral or controversial attitude towards the Romanian language; however, they wish to know and speak it better. This is probably due to the fact that as students they have been faced with the fact that Romanian language knowledge is important and a necessity, and that is why they think it would benefit them. We also aimed at presenting a new perspective on the importance of Romanian language teaching to minority pupils.

These data are also important from the point of view of language preservation: it seems that the loyalty towards the local variety of the Hungarian language is very much present, which is significant from the point of view of ethno-linguistic vitality and intergenerational language transmission. Based on these information, we can presume that these young adults in that particular setting are likely to preserve their language and pass it on to their children, as they consider their language variety to be something valuable, beautiful and worthy to be held on to.

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