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SOCIETAL MULTILINGUALISM IN SZEKLERLAND IN A LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH

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Abstract

The aim of the present paper is to investigate the success of communication events when English is used as a mediating language by a non-local interlocutor in Székelykeresztúr. The small town is located in Szeklerland and it is home to the Youth Association from Transylvania, which has now been organising a volunteering programme for foreign volunteers for 10 years. The data is collected through semi-structured qualitative interviews conducted with representative members of the local population who have been in contact with volunteers from abroad. The topics discussed include: attitudes towards Romanian, towards foreign languages, societal multilingualism, communication strategies in multilingual settings, etc. The results show a strong correlation between the success of communication and the age of the local resident involved in communication in a foreign language. As a major conclusion it should not be ignored, that communication in English in a small town in Szeklerland, where the majority only speaks Hungarian, is not without difficulties, but there is a growing openness from the part of the local community.

Keywords: societal multilingualism, linguistic attitudes, linguistic accommodation, communication strategies, globalisation

Introduction

Linguists have always been interested in the diverse subject of multilingualism. In this research, the focus is on societal multilingualism in a small town with a Hungarian majority in Szeklerland. The paper begins with a literature review, briefly discussing globalization as a factor of societal multilingualism, followed by an overview of societal multilingualism, which can be related to linguistic accommodation. In addition to linguistic accommodation, the role of interethnic accommodation and norms in intercultural communication is emphasised. Lastly, the literature review ends with a discussion of linguistic attitudes. This will be followed by a presentation of the research and methodology, including an introduction to the town where the research was carried out. Next comes a description of the association that works with international volunteers, thus playing a significant role in the development of multilingualism in the town. The research was conducted through qualitative, semi-structured interviews with representative members of the local population. Results concerning the English and Romanian languages are presented separately in the data analysis section, complemented by the significant findings that emerged during the interviews. The paper ends with conclusions and a short summary, including a suggestion for further research.

Literature Review

Globalization

Our world is constantly changing; according to some sociolinguists, globalization has turned it into one big village. However, the Belgian sociolinguist and linguistic anthropologist, Jan Blommaert argues that it is a much more complex process, a “tremendously complex web of villages, towns, neighbourhoods, settlements connected by material and symbolic ties in often unpredictable ways” (Blommaert 2010:1). The developments of economic and technological infrastructure have affected the mobility of people, thus the mobility of linguistic and sociolinguistic resources. ‘Sedentary’ or ‘territorialized’ patterns of language use are complemented by ‘translocal’ or ‘deterritorialized’ forms of language use, and the combination of the two often causes sociolinguistic effects that we might not expect (Heller 2003, quoted in Blommaert 2010). There are two paradigms related to these developments. One is established, the sociolinguistics of distribution; and one is emerging, the sociolinguistics of mobility. The sociolinguistics of distribution focuses on language-in-place, while the sociolinguistics of distribution is based on language-in-motion, where different spatiotemporal frames interact with each other. These frames are called ‘scales’ and the language patterns are organized on various, vertically layered scale-levels (Blommaert 2010). In this paper, a linguistic situation is

explored in which languages can be described in terms of language-in-place, but there is also an increasingly strong language-in-motion perspective (see media, social media and the mobility of people). This aspect is important because I am researching an organisation which involves international volunteers (details below).

Societal multilingualism

Multilingualism is known as an interdisciplinary field of study of the acquisition and use of more than one language by an individual or a community (Aronin–Hornsby 2018). In today's usage, the term “multilingualism” refers to “various forms of social, institutional and individual usage as well as individual and group competence, plus various contexts of contact and involvement with more than one language” (Franceschini 2009:29). Regional languages, minority languages, migration languages, language varieties and the official languages of a country are all covered by the study of multilingual phenomena (Franceschini 2009). Bolmmaert (2010) proposes that in the age of globalization, the view of ‘truncated’ multilingualism is the most accurate reflection of reality, because we only know bits and pieces of a language, we never know everything, and the same applies to our mother tongue.

Furthermore, multilingualism can be studied as a societal phenomenon. There are multiple factors leading to societal multilingualism and the most obvious one is migration. Other reasons why societies may become multilingual are the followings: cultural contact, annexation and commercial, scientific, and technological dependence (Sridhar 1996). Different types of societal multilingualism are known. The most common type occurs when a country or region is made up of numerous language groups, each of which is predominately monolingual. In such a condition, the nation is multilingual overall, but not every person is necessarily multilingual. This situation has been defined as the territorial principle of multilingualism. However, multilingualism can also be based on the personality principle. In this case multilingualism is a country's official policy and the majority of people are multilingual. In reality, a combination of these two types are reflected by most multilingual nations (Grosjean 1982, pp. 12–13 cited in Sridhar 1996).

As mentioned above, migration represents a leading factor to societal multilingualism. For a long time, migration was seen only as the immigration and emigration of people. During this process, people have left their homes and moved to another country, taking their language and culture with them. Far from their country of origin, they were pressured to accommodate to the host society (Blommaert 2010). This approach is essential for understanding the context and environment of the research.

Linguistic accommodation

A speaker's attitude towards another speaker in communication might affect the way he or she talks. Since the early 1970s, the British language psychologist, Howard Giles and his colleagues have developed the Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT). In today's usage it is more commonly known as Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT). The aim of this theory is to explain why speakers accommodate during interactions (Giles et al. 1991). Linguistic strategies, such as convergence, divergence and maintenance applied by interlocutors, are the main concepts of CAT. Convergence refers to "adjusting one's communicative behaviours to be more similar to another's", while divergence "refers to adjusting one's communicative behaviours to be more dissimilar to another's" and maintenance is a strategy used to maintain an individual's "default" level of communication, without adjusting to others (Giles et al. 2016:36). As presented by Giles et al. (2016), convergence and divergence may occur in various forms. Upward adjustment refers to changes towards a more prestigious variety of speech, whereas downward adjustment is the shift towards a less prestigious variety. Another type is partial adjustment, for example when the speaker switches code for a few words, but if the speaker switches to a completely different language, it is called full adjustment. Symmetrical and asymmetrical adjustment refers to whether or not the communicative moves of one person is reciprocated by the other. Unimodal adjustment occurs when there is a shift in only one dimension (e.g., accent), whereas in multimodal adjustment, there is a shift in multiple dimensions simultaneously (e.g., accent, posture, eye gaze). Adjustments can vary in duration and therefore the following two types are called short-term or long-term adjustments.

Researchers of intercultural communication have long recognised that norms and their violations play a crucial role in communication between groups (Gallois–Callan 1991). Communication Accommodation Theory is essential in the study of intercultural communication and the role of norms in social situations, as well as social rules. According to CAT, "speech convergence reflects a speakers' or a group's need for social integration or identification with another" (Giles et al. 1991:18), while divergence can be a strategy of intergroup distinctiveness used by individuals seeking a positive social identity. Gallois and Callan (1991) point out one of the reasons for misunderstandings between ethnic groups is that people tend to see their own norms as natural and morally powerful. They stress that these misunderstandings could be avoided if people were aware of the norms of their own culture and those of other cultures. Cross-ethnic linguistic accommodation and language use strategies have shown interesting results in my research, which you can read more about below.

Language attitudes in multilingual settings

Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) say that various matched-guise experiments conducted by certain social psychologists have shown that speakers' code choices also reflect how they want others to view and evaluate them. Based on linguistic cues, listeners tend to stereotype immediately the personal and social attributes of speakers. This stigmatisation is not only present in certain languages, but also when two or more languages are mixed. There is a monoglossic ideology saying that languages should not mix. People who believe in this ideology often use derogatory terms to describe the phenomena of mixing two languages, such as Spanglish (Spanish and English in the USA). By contrast, pluralist ideology values multiple ways of speaking and being.

In Hungarian literature there have been numerous studies on language attitudes and ideologies of minority speakers of Hungarian, such as Miklós Kontra (2005), Csanád Bodó (2005), István Lanstyák and Gizella Szabó Mihály (2005) Attila Benő (2011), Anna Fenyvesi (2011), etc. All these studies reflect the importance of language attitudes, especially in a minority context, and since my research is conducted in a minority community, it is important to keep in mind this aspect. My research explores the attitudes of the Hungarian population of Székelykeresztúr towards Romanian and English (see the data analysis section of this paper).

Presentation of research and research methods

Aim of the study

The research is carried out in a small town in Széklerland, called Székelykeresztúr. It focuses on the study of multilingualism and the ways in which local speakers engage in multilingual communication situations, which in this case means, communication in English and Romanian. The use of English as a mediating language by foreigners might not always result in effective communication, as very few people speak the language other than young people. The aim of the current study is to find out how effective the use of English as a mediating language is in a small town in Széklerland, and what difficulties people encounter when using a foreign language. It also intends to explore the attitudes of the local population towards communication in a foreign language and the communication strategies used in such situations.

A brief introduction to Székelykeresztúr

Despite the fact that most foreigners identify it only with Dracula, Transylvania is home to a diverse culture, from the smallest villages to the largest cities. This is also the case in

Székelykeresztúr. This town is located in the south-eastern part of the Transylvanian Basin, in the south-western part of Harghita County.¹

It should not be ignored that the local Hungarian community has a strong sense of national identity. In addition to being an ethnic minority region, the national consciousness of the community is strengthened by the local cult of Petőfi. Historians believe that the Hungarian national poet and key figure of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, Sándor Petőfi spent his last night in the town before going off to battle.²

According to the 2011 census, the total population of Székelykeresztúr and its settlements (Fiatfalva and Betfalva) was 9.650. The table below (Table 1.) provides an overview of the ethnic distribution of the town.

Ethnicity	Population	Percentage of the population
Hungarian	8923	95%
Roma	253	2.7%
Romanian	201	2.1%
German	7	0.1%
Other	4	0.0%
No data	262	

Table 1. Distribution of ethnicities

The following table (Table 2.) illustrates the distribution of Székelykeresztúr's population by mother tongue in 2011.

Mother tongue	Person	Percentage
Hungarian	9163	97.9%
Romanian	189	2.0%
Roma	0	0.0%
German	8	0.1%
Other	0	0.0%
No data	288	

Table 2. Population by mother tongue

This table shows that the Hungarian-speaking community makes up 97.9% of the town's population, which makes the study of multilingualism even more challenging.

¹ <https://keresztur.ro/hu/>, Last accessed on: 11 April 2023.

² <https://mek.oszk.hu/19100/19139/19139.pdf>, Last accessed on: 11 April 2023.

About the Youth Association from Transylvania

Székelykeresztúr is home to an association that plays an important role in this research. The Youth Association from Transylvania, often referred by locals as ATA, was founded in 2011.³ The association's goal is to make it possible for young people from the Transylvanian region of Romania to participate in European projects as hosts and sending organizations. By organizing volunteer-based social, cultural, sporting, educational, recreational, and professional training activities, they hope to support the growth, promotion, and representation of the general interests of the communities in Transylvania. This encourages young people to actively participate in upholding ethnic, national, and European values.

The association has four main objectives. Their first objective is to represent the interests of personal, social, civil, professional, economic, sporting and recreational youth in Transylvania. The second one is to ensure youth involvement in conserving traditional, folk, cultural and ethnic values in Transylvania, and to promote these values on a national and international level. The third objective is to improve youth access to opportunities offered for young people on a national, European and international level and offer information on this in our region. The last one is to collaborate and form partnerships with other groups, associations and foundations in Transylvania, Romania, in the European Union and worldwide.

ATA is a completely independent organization with no ties to any racial, political, or religious bodies. Every year, the association gives several foreign volunteers the opportunity to gain an insight into life in the small Transylvanian town. In return, multiculturalism and solidarity with other nations is strengthened in the town.

Researcher positionality

Before I present the research, in the spirit of self-reflexivity, I acknowledge my standpoint as a young adult who grew up in the town where the research was carried out. Since I volunteered at the Youth Association from Transylvania during my high school years, I already had a basic understanding of the local community's attitude towards multilingual communication situations, but I wanted to learn more and get a more complex picture of the current state of multilingualism in the town. Being a member of the Hungarian community helped me in the data collection process, as I could more easily earn the trust of the respondents when conducting the interviews. I acknowledge my privilege in being able to access resources, and I try to remain mindful of my own biases and recognize how these may shape my research.

³ <https://www.ata-ro.eu/en/#home-section>, Last accessed on: 11 April 2023.

Data collection procedure

The research uses semi-structured qualitative interviews to gain insights into the situation of multilingualism from the perspective of the local population. It is organised around a set of predetermined open-ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee. The interview is divided into two parts, the first half focusing on the locals' attitudes towards English, while the second half focuses on the Romanian language.

The questions on English (ENQ) were formulated as follows:

ENQ1: What is your personal attitude towards foreign volunteers in the town?

ENQ2: Do you initiate communication with the volunteers?

ENQ3: How do you communicate with foreign volunteers and what communication strategies do you use?

ENQ4: What do you think is the attitude of the town's population or your age group or colleagues towards foreign volunteers?

ENQ5: In your opinion, is it possible to communicate effectively in English with the locals?

The questions on Romanian (ROQ) were formulated as follows:

ROQ1: What is your personal attitude towards the Romanian language and Romanian-speaking people?

ROQ2: What do you think is the attitude of the town's population or your age group or colleagues towards Romanian language and Romanian speakers?

In addition, other relevant findings that emerged during the research will be presented in detail at the end of each section.

Participants of the research

The research has a total of seven participants, all of whom are native Hungarian speakers and representative members of the local community who have been in contact with foreign volunteers or native Romanian speakers. All respondents come into contact with foreign language speakers either in their daily lives, through their work or through joint projects.

The first participant (P1) is a doctor in her forties who, by her own admission, speaks the following languages and at the following level: Romanian (intermediate) and English (beginner).

The second participant (P2) is a media worker in her thirties and a managing director of a well-respected local association. She declares that she speaks the following languages at the following levels: Romanian (advanced), English (intermediate).

The third participant (P3) is a sixteen-year-old student who speaks Romanian (beginner), English (beginner), German (beginner).

The fourth participant (P4) is a member of the Youth Association from Transylvania, and deals with the coordination of volunteers from abroad. She is in her early thirties and according to her, she speaks the languages mentioned below: Romanian (intermediate), English (advanced) and French (beginner).

The fifth participant of this research (P5) is in her mid-fifties and works as a public service employee at the local library.

The sixth participant (P6) is a commercial salesperson in her forties and speaks Romanian at an intermediate level.

The seventh participant (P7) is a policeman in his mid-forties and speaks the following languages: Romanian (advanced), English (beginner), German (intermediate), French (beginner).

For better transparency, the table below (Table 3.) summarises the participants of the research.

Identifier of the participant	Job of the participant	Age of the participant	Gender of the participant	Foreign languages spoken by the participant
P1	doctor	40	F	Romanian (intermediate), English (beginner)
P2	media worker	36	F	Romanian (advanced), English (intermediate)
P3	student	16	F	Romanian (beginner), English (beginner), German (beginner)
P4	volunteer coordinator	33	F	Romanian (intermediate), English (advanced), French (beginner)
P5	public service employee	56	F	Romanian (advanced), English (beginner)
P6	commercial salesperson	43	F	Romanian (intermediate)
P7	policeman	46	M	Romanian (advanced), English (beginner), German (intermediate), French (beginner)

Table 3. Summary of participants

Data analysis and results of the study

The respondents' answers on their personal attitudes towards foreign volunteers (ENQ1) all show a high degree of positivity and openness. In several cases, they responded enthusiastically and recalled very good experiences with volunteers.

Excerpt 1

P1: *Jó tapasztalataim vannak, nincs semmi probléma velük, szoktak ide jönni a kórházhoz (...) Vagy például látom, hogy segítenek időseken, vagy ilyesmi, idős betegen.*

P1: I have good experiences, I don't have any problems with them, they usually come to the hospital (...) Or I see them helping the elder people, for example.

Excerpt 2

P2: *Mindenképpen pozitívnak gondolom, hát első sorba azért is, mert önkéntesen úgy tevékenykednek, hogy azokat az egyesületeket, intézményeket segítik, ahol esetleg a munkaerő kevesebb vagy hiányosabb, és ugye tudnak segíteni a mindennapi munkánkba. S nyilván önkéntesen, úgyhogy az akkor jót tesz ezeknek a szervezeteknek. Egy felől tehát ezért gondolom jónak, másrészt pedig úgy a városnak is ad egy másfajta pezsgést. (...) ad a kisvárosnak egy ilyen másmilyen fejlettebb feelinget. És az, hogy ők nem beszélnek magyarul, ez megint ad egy egyfajta ilyen előrehaladást a városnak, mert az üzletek meg kell szokják, az elárúsítók, hogy vannak külföldiek. Valahogy kell boldoguljanak, már az egy kuriózum tud lenni nekik is.*

P2: I think it's positive, first of all because they volunteer to help those associations and institutions where there may be less staff, and they can help us in our everyday work. And obviously they do it voluntarily, so it's good for these organisations. So, on the one hand this is why I believe it's good, and on the other hand it gives the town a different kind of buzz. And the fact that they don't speak Hungarian gives the town a feeling of progress, because the shops have to get used to the fact that there are foreigners. They have to manage somehow. It can be a curiosity for them too.

Excerpt 3

P3: *(...) hűű váó, de érdekes, megismerném, milyen a személyisége, biztos különleges.*

P3: (...) wow, how interesting, I'd like to know what their personality is like, it must be special.

Excerpt 4

P5: *Nagyon jó véleményünk van, nem csak nekem, hanem mindenkinek, aki körülöttem dolgozik is. Abból tudom, hogy felvillan mindenkinek a gondolatában, hogy kérjük meg az önkénteseket, ide is elhívhatjuk az önkénteseket, vajon az önkéntesek nem segítenének? (...) És a családban is.*

P5: We have a very good opinion, not only for me but for everyone who works around me. I know from the fact that it flashes in everybody's mind: ask the volunteers, we can invite the volunteers here, wouldn't volunteers help? And in the family, too.

Excerpt 5

P6: *Én élvezem őket. Mondom, én élvezem, hogy olyan mosolygósak, olyan kedvesek, olyan aranyosak. (...) nincsen semmi negatív tapasztalatom.*

P6: I enjoy them. I mean, I enjoy that they're so smiling, so nice, so kind. (...) I don't have any negative experiences.

Despite this positive attitude and openness, as reflected in their response to question ENQ2, the majority of participants do not initiate communication with volunteers. You can read more about why they think this is the case below, after the examples.

Excerpt 6

P1: *Hát, nem, nem kommunikálok velük, nem. Csak simán, hogyha ide bejönnek. De az úton, ha látom, akkor úgy eszembe jut, hogy ő volt a sürgősségin. De nincs is nagyon hol találkozzak velük. Annyira nem látom őket így az úton, csak ha ide bejönnek.*

P1: Well, no, I don't communicate with them, no. I just do, when they come in here. But when I see them on the road, I remember that they were in the emergency room. But I don't really have any place to meet them. I don't see them so often on the road, unless they come in here.

Excerpt 7

P2: *Én annyira nem, vagy nem volt rá még példa, hogy... Nem, mert hogyha vannak projektjeink, akkor úgy is találkozunk. Így is, úgy is kapcsolatban vagyunk velük, de úgy magára az úton nem szólítom meg őket.*

P2: I do not so much, or there hasn't been an example of that... No, because if we have projects, we meet anyway. We're in touch with them anyway, but I don't just address them on the road.

Excerpt 8

P3: *Hát őszintén nem, de követni követem az eseményeiket...*

P3: Well, honestly, no, but I follow their events...

Most people do not initiate communication because they cannot overcome their inner fear. They think they will not be understood or even laughed at if they mispronounce words or say something incorrectly.

Excerpt 9

P3: *Annyi, hogy nem tudom, mennyire tudnék kommunikálni velük...* [It's just that I don't know how well I could communicate with them...]

Interviewer: *Ez visszatart?* [Is that holding you back?]

P3: *Egy kicsit. Igen, mert nem annyira tudok angolul.* [A little. Yeah, because I don't speak English that well.]

Excerpt 10

P6: *Akkor úgy van, hogy én így fejemben úgy el tudnék akármit mondani. Csak úgy vagyok, hogy ha nem jól ejtem ki... (...) És félek, hogyha rosszul ejtem ki akkor kikacag, vagy nem érti, vagy mit tudom én mi.*

P6: So it is that I could say anything in my head. It's just that if I don't pronounce it right... (...) And I'm afraid that if I pronounce it wrong, he'll laugh or he won't understand or whatever.

When it comes to communication in English, the answers to the third question (ENQ3) revealed that there are cases when locals use Hungarian words mixed with English when speaking. In addition, gesticulation is also frequently used and every effort is made to communicate successfully. Furthermore, it is quite clear that the use of technological tools has become an essential part of communicative interactions. There is almost no case where a mobile phone is not used as an aid. Locals admit that communication works well when such smart devices are used.

Excerpt 11

P1: *Mondom magyarul is, amit tudok mondom angolul, magyarul s mutogatok is.*

P1: I also speak Hungarian, what I know I say in English, in Hungarian and I also gesture.

Excerpt 12

P2: *Hát mivel hogy én sem vágom annyira az angolt, mint ahogy kellene, minél egyszerűbben, tehát igyekszem az egyszerűsége törekedni. (...) Én szerintem mutatom, hogyha van körülöttem egy olyan dolog ami az, vagy hasonló akkor inkább az, vagy lerajzolni, vagy például lehet azt is csinálni, az is egy egyszerű megoldás, hogy hamar telefonon a Google Translate-be pötyögöd be a szót, s akkor eszedbe jut. Hát igen, a technika egyet segíti azért. Vannak ezek a feldiktálás fordító applikációk, azzal is könnyen lehet.*

P2: Well, since I don't speak English as well as I should, I try to keep it as simple as possible, so I try to keep it simple. (...) I think I point at something around me if it is similar, or draw it, or it's a simple solution, for example to type the word into Google Translate on your phone and it will pop

into your head. Yes, technology does help. There are these translator apps, you can easily use that too.

Excerpt 13

P5: *Egy pár mondat erejéig működik, azután kézzel-lábbal, akkor felteszünk egy-egy fordítóprogramot, vagy a Google-nél.*

P5: It works for a few sentences, then we gesture, then we use a translator program or Google.

Excerpt 14

P5: *Voice translator, ez az utolsó, amit feltettem, de még nem használtam. De pont azért, hogy velük tudjak beszélni.*

P5: Voice translator, this is the last one I installed, but I haven't used it yet. But only so I can talk to them.

Excerpt 15

P6: *Legtöbbször most már a fordítóba beírják, amit keresnek. És akkor jönnek, s mutassák, hogy ő mit keres.*

P6: Most of the time, they now type what they are looking for into the translator. And then they come and show me what they're looking for.

Another important factor in communication is that if it is not an everyday activity (such as shopping), in most cases there is an interpreter from the association to help with language mediation. This person is not a qualified interpreter, but an employee or a local volunteer who takes on the role of interpreter in cases where one is needed. Locals say that at times his/her help is needed and his/her assistance is useful.

Excerpt 16

P1: *(...) elég jól ki tudják fejezni, úgyhogy nem szokott probléma lenni. Vagy a tolmácsnak elmondják inkább jobban, és akkor van, amit megértetek, s akkor már nem kell a tolmács, és van amit meg lefordít.*

P1: (...) they can express it quite well, so usually there is no problem. Or they can explain it better to the interpreter, and then there are things that I understand, and I don't need the interpreter, and then there are things that require translation.

Excerpt 17

P2: *(...) volt velük mindig valaki, aki beszélt magyarul, és hogyha véletlen nem tudtuk volna egymást megérteni, akkor az illető kisegített.*

P2: (...) there was always somebody with them who spoke Hungarian, and if by chance we couldn't understand each other, they would help us out.

Excerpt 18

P4: *Hát igyekszünk valamelyikünk ott lenni (az egyesület egyik alkalmazottja)*

P4: Well, we'll try to make sure one of us is there (an employee of the association)

Excerpt 19

P5: *Egymást kiegészítjük, egy-egy olvasó, ha itt van, akkor segít. Vannak a magyar önkéntesek, akik egy-egy nagyobb programhoz azért eljönnek, ők segítenek.*

P5: We complement each other, some readers, if they are here, help. There are Hungarian volunteers who come to help with some bigger events

Excerpt 20

P7: *Hát próbálsz. De hát ugye ott is ott vannak a magyar ajkúak, az alkalmazottak, és akkor rajtuk keresztül is, hogyha már egy kicsit bonyolultabb, komplikáltabb kérdések, már csak azért is, hogy az ember helyesebben megértse magát.*

P7: Well, you try. But there are Hungarian-speaking people there too, the employees, and then with the help of them, if the questions are a bit more complicated, then in order to make people understand you better.

Asked about the town's attitude towards volunteers (ENQ4), I received conflicting answers. Most said that the town's residents are very open to volunteers and are happy to help them. Locals consider it a very good and beneficial thing that they are here doing activities in town and learning about their traditions, despite the fact that a few years ago everyone found it strange that there were foreign volunteers in town. They think that the volunteers have a very good relationship with the people of the town, and are the most popular among children.

Excerpt 21

P2: *Van egy nyitottság a város részéről, igen. Tehát az elején úgy furcsállták, viccesnek találták, de most már megszokták. Már nem tűnik ilyen kivételesnek, hogy jönnek-mennek a fiatalok. Az elején azért úgy mindeki... főleg mikor valaki egy kicsit másabb, azért látszik rajtuk, hogy más világból jöttek, nem idevalósiak, de most már úgy szerintem nem, nem kapják fel az emberek a fejüket.*

P2: There is an openness on the part of the town, yes. So, at the beginning they found it strange, funny, but now they're used to it. It no longer seems so exceptional that young people come and go. At the beginning, everybody... especially when someone was a little bit different, you could see that they were from another world, not from here, but now people don't care so much.

Excerpt 22

P3: *Szerintem mindenki nyitott feléjük. Mindenki örül, hogyha idejönnek, mert érdekeli a szokásaink.*

P3: I think everyone is open with them. Everybody is happy when they come here because they are interested in our traditions.

Excerpt 23

P4: *Mindenhova, ahova elmennek, a gyermekek imádják őket, szelfizni akarnak velük, beszélgetni, Instagramon fölvenni, és akkor így az angol az valahogy... muszáj, hogy gyakoroljon.*

P4: Everywhere they go, the children adore them, they want to take selfies with them, talk to them, follow them on Instagram, and then so the English is somehow... they have to practice.

Excerpt 24

P5: *Az önkénteseknek nagyon jó hírük van a városban. Óvodák hívják őket, tevékenységeket tartani, gyógynövényesek hívják tevékenységeket tartani.*

P5: The volunteers have a very good reputation in the town. Kindergartens invite them to do activities, herbalists invite them to do activities.

Excerpt 25

P5: *Nagyon jó kapcsolatuk van a városiakkal. Azt is látom, hogy például vásárolok a LIDL-ben, és most egyik srácnak ilyen furcsán befont haja van, és egyszerűen intenek neki és rámosolyognak ismeretlenek is. S ő visszaint.*

P5: They have a very good relationship with the people of the town. I also see, for example, I'm shopping in LIDL and now one of the guys has his hair in this weird braid and they just wave and smile at him even strangers. And he waves back.

Excerpt 26

P6: *És azért szerintem mindenki kedves ott nálunk is velük. (...) Tényleg mindegyik segít.*

P6: And I think everyone there is nice to them. (...) Really, they all help.

Excerpt 27

P6: *És mindegyiktől megkérdezi, hogy honnan vagytok, s ő aztán erősen szeret velük beszélgetni. (egy kolléga)*

P6: And he asks each of them where they're from, and he really likes to talk to them (a colleague).

According to an association employee, volunteers also face negative attitudes, mostly due to cultural differences. Less intelligent residents tend to show offensive behaviour towards them

and use degrading expressions. However, little is known about this by the majority of locals, which suggests that it is not very common, but it is present.

Excerpt 28

P4: (...) *nem egyszer fordult elő olyan sztori, hogy álltam a bankban az önkénteseimmel sorban, és ugye hosszú volt a sors, akkor mondták, hogy itt vannak (név) a migránsai, és akkor jöjjön vissza később, mert ez hosszú lesz.*

P4: (...) more than once there were stories where I was standing in line at the bank with my volunteers, and it was a long line, and they said, here are the migrants of (name), and you should come back later, because it's going to take a long time.

Excerpt 29

P4: *Vagy miért van az, hogy az önkéntesek nem állnak sorba, nem úgy állnak sorba a LIDL-ben ahogy. Úgyhogy ilyen abszolút banális dolgok, amik legtöbbször kulturális különbségek voltak.*

P4: Or why volunteers do not stand in line the way they should in LIDL. So, it's absolutely banal things like that, which were mostly cultural differences.

Excerpt 30

Interviewer: *Elítélik például a másságukat?* [Do they judge them for being different?]

P4: *Hát volt rá példa, persze.* [Well, there have been examples, of course.]

Interviewer: *És ennek hangot is adnak?* [And do they give voice to it?]

P4: Van, hogy igen. Volt, hogy beszólogattak nekik, igen. Vagy bulikba, vagy hát inkább tudod, az a réteg, aki... Tehát nem az értelmesebbje. [Sometimes they do. They've been told off, yes. Or at parties, or rather, you know, the class that... So, it's not the intelligent people.]

While doing the interviews, I noticed that the attitude towards English as a foreign language is extremely positive. People think it is useful to know English and they try to encourage English learning in the library, for example. Many people emphasised that they didn't have the opportunity to learn English in the past, but the current generation is in a much easier position, with more opportunities to learn the languages.

Excerpt 31

P2: *A gyerekek pedig kimondottan szerintem jobban boldogulnak, mint a felnőttek, azt látom. Mert, hogy fogékonyabbak is, meg most nekik intenzívebb ez a nyelvtanulás mint követelmény. Nálunk nem volt épp ennyire ilyen...*

P2: And I think children are doing better than adults, I can see. Because they're more receptive, and now they have more intensive language learning as a requirement. We didn't have that...

Excerpt 32

P7: *Mert nekiünk ugye annak idején (...) még nem volt ez a szintű angol tanulás, mint most, ahogy van. Most a fiatalok azért sokkal jobban tudnak angolul.*

P7: Because at that time (...) we didn't have the level of English learning that we have now. Now the youth know English much better.

Excerpt 33

P5: *Mi nem tanultunk kolléganővel soha, hanem a filmekből, s innen-onnan, s mindegyre megpróbáljuk a Duolingót, s ezt-azt, de nem megy.*

P5: We never learned with my colleague, we learned from the movies and from here and there, and we always try to learn on Duolingo, and this and that, but it doesn't work.

Excerpt 34

P6: *Ez egy olyan dolog, ez az angol tudás is, hogy ennek csak hasznát tudod venni. Most akárhova elmész, most akármelyik országban, vagy akárhol, ha tudsz angolul, akkor már érvényesülsz.*

P6: It's one of those things, this knowledge of English, that you can only benefit from. Now wherever you go, in any country or wherever, if you know English, you're already effective.

Excerpt 35

P5: *Ez volt egyik közös projektünk, hogy "Gyere, tanulj angolul a könyvtárban!", vagy "Gyere, beszélj angolul a könyvtárban!" Kaptunk egy csomó adománykönyvet külföldről, angol nyelvűt, és leraktuk az asztalra a végén, és mindenki vihetett is haza egy angol könyvet. Tehát így úgy érzem, hogy a tanárok is, a diákok is nagyon pozitívan fordulnak a nyelvek felé is, különösen az angol nyelv felé, az önkéntesek felé is.*

P5: This was one of our joint projects, "Come, learn English in the library!" or "Come, talk English in the library!". We got a bunch of donation books from abroad, English language books, and we put them on the table at the end and everyone could take an English book home. So I feel that the teachers and the students are also very positive towards languages, especially English, and towards volunteers.

The openness towards English in the town was influenced by another very specific factor. The town's Unitarian Church has a partner church in the United States, with whom it maintains regular contact and they visit each other frequently. Interestingly, the older generation, especially the retired, has been greatly influenced and as a result, their need to learn English

has increased. This openness is also noticeable on the part of the Americans, who have recently been very keen to spend more time with the people of Székelykeresztúr.

Excerpt 36

P4: *Ami még érdekes terület lehet Keresztúron, az az unitáriusoknál. Van ez a Concordi testvérgyülekezet, ők évek óta járnak ide, és az egyház tagjai is voltak odakint, és hogy amit meg lehetett figyelni, hogy ezek az idősebb személyek, de tényleg nyugdíjasokra gondolok, hogy milyen szinten fejlődtek angolul. Hogy mennyire nyitottak lettek, és mennyire akartak tanulni angolul. Éppen azért, mert minden második évben találkoztak az amerikaiakkal, most ők fognak jönni, és már rá vannak görcsölve, hogy na akkor veszik az ilyen kétnyelvű társalgási könyveket, s lapozzák. Most ne úgy képzeld el, hogy a 3000 lélekből 2500 ezt teszi, de mondjuk 40-50 ember, ami már elég nagy arány. Főleg így a nyugdíjasnál. Ott már az egymásra, az ösztönzés... Hogyha az egyik elkezdte, a másik is akarja. Ha az egyik fogadott amerikait, akkor már ő is kell. Ami nagyon érdekes lett az amerikaiakkal kapcsolatosan, hogy mindezidáig ők idejöttek, voltak két napot a helyi közösséggel, és a többi napokat kirándulták, csakugyan egy részével a helyi közösségnek, de inkább az a része, aki beszélt angolul. De most? Az utóbbi években az amerikaiak kikérték maguknak, hogy oké, szívesen elmennek Kolozsvárra a reptérrel, megnézik Kolozsvárt, még esetleg elmennek Bögözre vagy Bözödre, vagy mit tudom én, de hogy ők a hátralévő 12 napban itt akarnak lenni. Főzni akarnak, kertészkedni akarnak, táncolni, énekelni együtt a helyiekkel. Ami ugye már úgy megzavarta a népet, mert nekünk aztán mindig ilyen kutyakész kötelességünk, tálcán mindent. El se tudják képzelni, hogy mi az, hogy az amerikaival közösen főzöd meg az ebédet. De meg kellett csinálják. (...) és most egyre többet csak erre van igény, hogy akkor együtt csináljuk meg.*

P4: Another interesting area in Keresztúr is that of the Unitarians. There's this partner church in Concord, they've been coming here for years, and the members of this church have also been there, and what you could observe is that these older people, but I mean retired people, how they've improved in their English. Just because they met the Americans every two years, now they're going to come and the locals are already excited and they're buying bilingual conversation books. Now, don't think that 2,500 out of 3,000 souls doing that, but let's say 40 or 50 people, that's a pretty big number. Especially among the retired. There's the encouragement to each other... If one has started, the other wants too. If one has welcomed an American, then he wants to do the same. What became very interesting about the Americans is that up to now they came here, they had two days with the local community and the other days they went on excursions, indeed with part of the local community, but mostly with the part that spoke English. But now? For the last few years the Americans have been insisting that okay, they're happy to go to Cluj-Napoca from the airport, they'll see Cluj-Napoca, they might even go to Mugeni or Bezid or whatever, but they want to spend the remaining 12 days here. They want to cook, garden, dance, sing with the locals. Which has already confused the people, because we always have the duty to serve everything on a plate. They can't imagine what it is to cook lunch with the Americans. But they had to do it (...) and now more and more there is a demand to do things together.

As it appears in the literature, Blommaert (2010) argues that the impact of societal multilingualism on speakers' linguistic repertoires has to be seen in a more dynamic way, showing that their repertoires are truncated. This was also revealed during the research, as in several situations it appears that the language knowledge of the locals is limited to certain areas, they do not know the whole language, but only certain parts that are important in their jobs and in their everyday life. The following two examples illustrate this phenomenon perfectly.

Excerpt 37

P5: *Mert jönnek azért is, hogy beírnak egy Excelbe egy csomó könyvet. Azért is, hogy cipeljenek letről föl, föntől le néhány dobozt. Ezeket el tudjuk mondani és mutogatni nekik.(...) De senki nem, az önkéntesek különösen nem nevettek ki soha, tehát tényleg rendesek.*

P5: Because they also come to introduce a lot of books into Excel. They also come to carry a few boxes from downstairs to upstairs. We can tell and show them these things. (...) But no one, the volunteers in particular, has ever laughed at us, so they're really nice.

Excerpt 38

P6: *Például odajönnek, s most, ha valami olyasmit kérdez, ha ilyen hétköznapi dolgot keres, hogy mit tudom én, tojás vagy akármi, én azt értem, meg tudom mondani, hogy van, vagy nincs, vagy akármi. De viszont már azt lehet, hogy nem tudom neki angolul elmondani, hogy most menjél a négyes sorra az utolsó izére, és a harmadik polcon, akkor azt mondom, hogy jöjjön velem, s jön, és odavezettem, és megmutatom.*

P6: For example, if they come to me, and if they ask me something, if they're looking for something ordinary like, I don't know, eggs or whatever, I understand that, I can tell them if we have it or don't or whatever. But I may not be able to tell them in English that you have to go to the last thing on the fourth row, and on the third shelf. I ask them to come with me, and they come, and I lead them there, and show them.

But even if they have difficulties in communicating, that doesn't stop them, because they always find a way to understand each other. Either they ask someone else for help, or they keep trying until they succeed.

Excerpt 39

P5: *Mindenki békésen vihog egyet, ha nem sikerül, és próbál egy más módszert.*

P5: Everyone giggles peacefully when it doesn't work out and try another method.

Excerpt 40

P6: *Így is, úgy is megértjük. Mert én, ha nem értek, abszolút semmit se, akkor tudom, hogy ez többet tud nálam, és akkor azt mondom a fülesbe, hogy gyere légy szíves ide egy kicsit, mert nem értem, hogy mit akarnak (...) olyan, hogy ők úgy elmenjenek az üzletből, hogy nem tudtak érvényesülni, olyan nincs. Nincs. Olyan nincs.*

P6: We understand them either way. Because if I understand absolutely nothing, I know that this person knows more than I do, and then I say into the earpiece, please come here for a moment, because I don't understand what are they saying (...) there is no such thing as leaving the store without being able to make themselves understood. No. There is no such thing.

It is also important to mention that it is not only the locals who make efforts to communicate successfully, but the volunteers as well. They also try to adapt and are open to learning Hungarian. According to Giles and Coupland (1991), communication accommodation can be used to express the desire to belong to a group, in this case to the Hungarian community. Sometimes the volunteers also use simple Hungarian expressions when meeting the locals, and this is noticed and appreciated by the locals.

Excerpt 41

P5: *(...) jönnek, magyarul köszönnek, magyarul köszönnek meg dolgokat.*

P5: (...) they come, they greet you in Hungarian, they say thank you for things in Hungarian.

Excerpt 42

P6: *De tudod-e olyan aranyos, kedves arcúak, s mosolyognak mindig. Nem olyan nagyképűek, vagy valami. És akkor mondják, hogy: "Card, card". És akkor mikor aztán, mikor kifizeti, mert ugye van, amikor mondom, hogy "Thank you!", és akkor mikor mondom, hogy "Thank you!", akkor mondja, "Köszönöm." S akkor én arra: "Jaj, szívesen!"*

P6: But you know, they have such sweet, kind faces and are always smiling. They're not arrogant or anything. And then they say, "Card, card". And then when they pay, because there are times when I say, "Thank you!" and then when I say, "Thank you!" they say, "Köszönöm" [Thank you!] And then I'm like, "Jaj, szívesen" [Oh, you're welcome!]

The positive attitude of people towards English and volunteers, and the high level of adaptability of volunteers, may be the reason why communication is mostly successful despite the difficulties (ENQ5). Overall, the interviewees believe that those who use English can make themselves understood in the town, but there are still gaps where they may encounter difficulties. These include small corner shops, or another difficulty may be interacting with the older age group as few speak English.

Excerpt 43

P1: *Angolt egyáltalán nem beszélnek ők. Egyáltalán. (a kollégák) - A doktornők szerintem igen.*

P1: They don't speak English at all. Not at all. (the colleagues) - I think the doctors can speak English.

Excerpt 44

P2: *Szerintem azok, akik üzletben dolgoznak, azok nem igazán tudnak velük kommunikálni, de például az olyan helyeken, mint a Bistróban vagy Baby`O-ban, ott már ugye olyan fiatalok vezetik ezeket az egységeket, akik már beszélnek angolul. Nincsen baj az ilyen helyeken. Most azt, hogy bemennek a Kedvenc ABC-be (kis helyi üzlet) és ott próbálnának beszélni, ott ott nem hinném, hogy tudnának velük kommunikálni. (...) És az iskolákban pedig boldogulnak, mert azt látom hogy folyamatosan hol a napköziben, hol az iskolákban vannak nekik ilyen-olyan foglalkozásaik. S ott a tanítókkal is tudnak, pedagógusokkal többnyire azért tudnak valahogy beszélni. A gyerekek pedig kimondottan szerintem jobban boldogulnak, mint a felnőttek, azt látom. (...) amikor a gyerekekkel foglalkoztak, akkor is annyira ilyen explicit módon magyaráznak, hogy azért úgy lehet érteni. Úgy látom, hogy a fiatalok, sulisok jobban beszélnek is vagy jobban értik az angolt, mint például itt a felnőttek a városban. Az idősekkel egyáltalán nem tudnak boldogulni.*

P2: I think that people who work in shops cannot really communicate with them, but in places like Bistro (bistro in the city centre) or Baby`O (club and lounge), for example, there are young people who are running these places who can speak English. There is no problem in those places. I don't think that if they went to Kedvenc ABC (small local shop) and tried to have a conversation, they could communicate with them. And in the schools they manage, because I see that they are constantly having activities in the kindergarten or in the schools. And there they can also talk to teachers. And I think that the children are doing better than the adults. (...) when they are having activities with children, they explain in such an explicit way that it can be understood. I see that young people, students, speak or understand English better than, for example, adults in the town. With the elderly, they cannot manage at all.

Excerpt 45

Interviewer: *És akkor város szinten mit gondol erről, hogy mennyire tudnak érvényesülni az angollal mondjuk, hogyha elmennek vásárolni?* [And at the town level, what do you think about this? To what extent can they use English, let's say when they go shopping?]

P5: *Az az érzésem, hogy jobban, mint amennyire mi gondoljuk. Mert akik most kerültek ki a Zeykből (helyi szakiskola) elárusítók például, azok másképp viszonyulnak, már az idősebbek, lehet, hogy még ridegebbek, de segítőkészek ők is segítőkészek. De a mostani fiatalok, azok nagyon ügyesen próbálkoznak.* [I have the feeling that they do better than we think. Because the people who just came out of Zeyk (local vocational school) for example, the salesmen, they have a different attitude, now the older ones, they might be colder, but they are helpful too. But the younger generation now, they are very good at trying.]

Excerpt 46

P6: *Úgy gondolom, hogy egy ilyen nagyobb üzletben sokkal jobban érvényesülnek, mint egy kis sarki boltban.*

P6: I think they are much more effective in a larger store like this than in a small corner shop.

Most of those interviewed were enthusiastic about the many positive impacts volunteers have on the town. Besides giving the town's residents the opportunity to learn about other cultures, they are also valuable in helping local people in different activities. Furthermore, as one interviewee in Excerpt 2 expressed it, they create a certain kind of buzz in the town and push people out of their comfort zones by encouraging them to speak English.

Excerpt 47

P1: *azért jó, hogy látják, hogy itt is mi van, és például ne ítélkezzenek. Például, hogy itt milyen emberek vannak, s azért ne ítéljenek el bennünket se, az ittenieket főleg.*

P1: it's good that they can see what's going on here and not judge, for example. For example, what kind of people there are here, so that they don't judge us, especially the people here.

Excerpt 48

P3: (...) *nyitott akkor így a mi generációnk, jobban nyit a világ felé.*

P3: (...) our generation will be more open, more open to the world.

Excerpt 49

P4: *Azt gondolják az önkéntesek, hogy semmit nem csinálnak itt. Vagy nem hasznos. De tudod, hogy itt vagyok velük a kezdetektől (...), de hatalmas nagy dolgokat csináltak az önkéntesek az elmúlt 10 évben. Tehát nagyon-nagyon sok mindent, ami változik. Tehát a nyitottság az emberek részéről is. Anno én kellett könyörögni az iskoláknak, légszi engedjétek be őket egyszer-egyszer. Most pedig szednek szét. Júniusig le vannak foglalva az önkéntesek.*

P4: Volunteers think they are doing nothing here. Or that it is not useful. But you know I've been here with them since the beginning (...), but they've done great things in the last 10 years. So there are many, many things that are changing. The openness from people as well. I used to have to beg schools, please let them in some time. Now they're tearing me apart. The volunteers are all booked up until June.

Excerpt 50

P5: *Azt is látom, hogy a napközisek is azt mondják, az óvó nénik és a szülők is, hogy a szülők azt mondják, a gyerekek olyan lelkesen mennek haza, hogy voltak önkéntesek.*

P5: I also see that the children in the kindergarten, the kindergarteners and the parents say that the children are so enthusiastic when they go home because the volunteers were there.

Excerpt 51

P5: *Tehát a gyerekek szívesebben jönnek ide, mert volt tevékenységük. (a könyvtárban) Vagy mi bátrabban csinálunk tevékenységeket, tartunk mindenféle olyasmit, amit eddig nem mertünk volna vállalni. De ha tudjuk, hogy itt vannak az önkéntesek, és fél órára rájuk lehet bízni, akkor mi is bátrabban és egyebeket is bevállalunk, mint eddig. Ebből a szempontból biztos, hogy direct-indirekt fejlődött a könyvtárlátogatottsága is, az önkénteseknek köszönhetően.*

P5: So, the children are more willing to come here because they had activities (in the library), or we are more willing to do activities, to do all kinds of things that we wouldn't have dared to do before. But if we know that the volunteers are here and we can leave it to them for half an hour, then we are more courageous and we do other things than before. From this point of view, direct-indirect has certainly improved the number of visitors to the library, thanks to the volunteers.

Excerpt 52

P5: *Biztos, hogy mindenhol adtak hozzá a városhoz. A napközikhez biztos, iskolákhoz biztos, nyelvtudáshoz biztos, nyitáshoz biztos, mert ahogy az elsőket, akik idejöttek, kezdték látni a keresztyúriak, szívesebben elengedték saját gyerekeiket (külföldre).*

P5: I'm sure they've contributed to the town in every aspect. To daycare for sure, to schools for sure, to language skills for sure, to opening up for sure, because as they started to see the first people who came here, the people of Keresztúr were more willing to let their own children go (abroad).

A detailed analysis of the data related to the English language has been presented above. In the following part of this paper I will focus on the presentation of the data concerning the Romanian language. The participants' answers were different in terms of their personal attitude towards Romanian and Romanian speakers (ROQ1). Some respondents claimed to have no problems with it, while others expressed negative opinions based on their negative experiences. Overall, most people find it difficult to communicate in Romanian, but I will come to that later.

Excerpt 53

P2: *Végignézek én akármilyen filmet vagy a híradót, mindent megértek, de hogyha már neki kell fogjak beszélni, akkor már én is nyelek nagyokat, hogy akkor koncentrálok, hogy jól mondjam, helyesen mondjam.*

P2: I can watch any movie or the news, I can understand everything, but when I have to start speaking, I get stressed out, so I concentrate on saying it right, saying it correctly.

Excerpt 54

P3: *Hát azok olyan is-is, mert szerintem az én generációmban már azok kicsit jobbak, tehát, hogy nyitottabbak. Viszont a régi generációk azok lenézők a magyarokkal.*

P3: Well, they are so-so, because I think that in my generation they are a bit better, so they are more open. But the old generations are more contemptuous of Hungarians.

Excerpt 55

P4: *Én nem beszélek románul, nem tudok. De miért? Mert nem is volt érdekem. A szüleim kommunizmusban nőttek föl, én a kommunizmus végére születtem, de hogy sose hallottam azt, hogy a románok de jó emberek. (...) Szóval én valószínűleg a gyermekem már másképp fogom nevelni, de tanítani már nem fogom tudni, mert én sem tudok.*

P4: I don't speak Romanian, I can't. But why? Because I had no interest. My parents grew up under communism, I was born at the end of communism, but I never heard that Romanians were good people. (...) So I will probably raise my children differently, but I will not be able to teach them, because I don't speak Romanian either.

Excerpt 56

P5: *Nincs bennem kimondott román gyűlölet, de magyar híreket hallgatok a tévében. Vagy román könyvet sem olvasok el, azért mert nehezebb a nyelv. Olyan nagy bajom sohasem volt, mégis valahol belül bennünk van.*

P5: I don't have a declared hatred for Romanians, but I listen to Hungarian news on TV. Or I don't read Romanian books because the language is more difficult. I never had that big a problem with it, but it's still inside us somewhere.

Excerpt 57

P6: *Az a helyzet, hogy mikor valaki beáll a sorodba, és azt mondom, hogy "Jó napot!" Legtöbbje nem mond semmit. És akkor, mikor mondom, hogy mennyi az ára, akkor így néz, és azt mondja, hogy "Spuneți în limba română, pentru că nu înțeleg!" ["Mondja románul, mert nem értem!"] (...) Van, aki azt mondja, hogy: "Cât? Nu înțeleg." ["Mennyi? Nem értem."] És akkor váltok át románra. De ebben csak az zavar engem, nem az, hogy a románul beszélgessek, mert a románokkal románul beszélgetünk. Ebben az egészben az zavar, hogy amikor odajön és mondod, hogy "Jó napot!", nem szól egy szót sem. És akkor a végén azt mondja, hogy ő nem érti. Hát akkor mondd azt, hogy „Bună ziua” [“Jó napot!”], és akkor tudom, hogy milyen nyelven kell beszélgetni...*

P6: The thing is, when someone comes in your queue and I say, "Jó napot!" (Greeting in Hungarian) Most people don't say anything. And then, when I tell them how much it is, they just look and say "Spuneți în limba română, pentru că nu înțeleg!" ["Say it in Romanian, because I don't understand!"] (...) Some people say, "Cât? Nu înțeleg." ["How much? I don't understand."] And then I switch to Romanian. But that's what bothers me, not the fact that I'm speaking Romanian, because with

Romanians we speak Romanian. What bothers me about this is that when he comes and you say “Jó napot!” (Greeting in Hungarian), he doesn’t say a word. And then he ends up saying that he doesn’t understand. Well, say “Bună ziua!” [“Greeting in Romanian”], and then I know what language to speak...

Interestingly, when I asked the participants what they thought about the attitude of their colleagues, their peers and the town towards Romanian language and Romanian speakers (ROQ2), all of them without exception mentioned negative attitudes. Many times it came back that participants divided the local community, either by age group or by studies. In all cases, negative attitudes were associated with the older generation and the less educated, while the younger generation was seen as more open-minded and attitudes of educated people were clearly positive.

Excerpt 58

P1: *Az asszisztens nők kevésbé tudnak románul. Főleg azért, mert szerintem ők idevalósiak, másképpen tanulták a románt, vagy más a hozzáállás. Nem is mernek beszélni, még ha meg is értik is. Azt látom, hogy azért nagyjából megértik, hogy mit mond a beteg, de nem tudnak beszélni, nem tudják kifejezni magukat.*

P1: The assistants speak less Romanian. Mainly because I think they are from here, they have learned Romanian differently or have a different attitude. They are afraid to speak, even if they understand. I can see that they understand a lot of what the patient is saying, but they can’t speak, they can’t express themselves.

Excerpt 59

P1: *Város szinten észrevettem, hogy nem nagyon szeretik talán a románokat.*

P1: At the town level, I’ve noticed that perhaps they don’t like Romanians that much.

Excerpt 60

P2: *A rádiónál tapasztaltuk azt, hogy mivel elég gyakran raktunk román zenéket, vagy szoktunk rakni román zenéket, a fiatalok azt szeretik, merthogy a román zenék elég jók, nincs azzal baj. Viszont van egy-egy ilyen megrögzött, berögzött hallgatónk, akitől kapjuk folyamatosan az ilyen szidalmazó üzeneteket, hogy miért megy román zene? Vannak, akik még így a román hang vagy nyelv hallatára már kapnak egy kisebb frászt vagy már húzzák fel magukat. Úgyhogy ez a teljes mértékben való elutasítás, az ilyen nagyon negatív hozzáállás az egész nyelvvel szemben vagy az egész nemzettel szemben.*

P2: What we found at the radio studio is that because we put Romanian music quite often, young people like it, because Romanian music is quite good, there’s nothing wrong with that. However, we have some of those obsessive listeners who keep sending us these insulting messages about why

are we playing Romanian music? Some people get a little freaked out or pissed off at the very sound or language of Romanian. So there is this total rejection, this very negative attitude towards the whole language or the whole nation.

Excerpt 61

P2: Én a fiatalok körében nem látom, hogy ez a probléma lenne. Inkább az idősebb korosztály az, aki nem beszélnek vagy nem akarnak, s abból is inkább az iskolázatlan vagy a kevésbé iskolázott réteg az, aki ilyen; s akiknek például van egyetemük, azok jobban tudnak, mint mi. Jobban tudnak, mint a fiatalabb generáció.

P2: I don't see this as a problem among young people. It's more the older age group who don't speak or don't want to, and of that it's more the uneducated or less educated who are like that; and those who have a university degree, for example, they know better than we do. They know better than the younger generation.

Excerpt 62

P5: Tehát a fiatalok próbálják, a felnőtt korosztály olyan utálattal beszél a románokról és a nyelvről, hogy visszafogják őket.

P5: So the young people are trying, the adults are talking about Romanians and the language with such hatred that they are holding the younger generation back.

Excerpt 63

P7: Hát most, véleményt megosztanak, tudod. Tehát, rendőrt, magyar vidéken sosem néztek jó szemmel. És nem néznek jó szemmel. Mert van egy ilyen előítélet, hogy a milicista. Tehát ez van. Ezt hozta a korszak. (...) De hát ez, ahogy az idő telik, és jönnek a fiatalabb generációk, ez úgy változik. Mert ugye ők azt nem élték, nem tudják, hogy mi volt úgymond a kommunizmusban, nem tapasztalták meg, és akkor most azért másabb a felfogás a fiatalabb generációnál. Sokkal nyitottabbak, sokkal másabbak, mint az akkori generáció.

P7: Well, now, they share opinions, you know. So, policemen, in the Hungarian countryside, were never looked upon favourably. And they judge you. Because there is such a prejudice that the militiaman. So that's what it is. That's what the times have brought. (...) But it changes as time goes on and younger generations come along. Because they didn't live through it, they don't know what communism was like, they didn't experience it, and now the younger generation has a different perception of it. They are much more open, much different than the generation of that time.

In the following, as I mentioned above, I will discuss what the locals think is the reason why people in the town do not speak Romanian so well. Most believe that the root of the problem lies in Romanian language teaching. They believe that the teaching methods are not suitable for teaching the use of the language. There are also respondents who believe that people in the town

do not speak Romanian well because they do not need to use it or it is not in their interest to learn it (see for example Excerpt 55).

Excerpt 64

Interviewer: *És mi lehet az oka, hogy itt nem beszélnek az emberek olyan jól románul?* [And what is the reason why people here don't speak Romanian so well?]

P3: *Minden boltban itt magyarok vannak, és akkor nem vagy rászorulva, hogy használjad.* [There are Hungarians in every shop, and then you don't need to use it.]

Excerpt 65

P4: *A román még mindig maradt ott a régi tankönyveivel, a leckéivel, elolvassátok, lediktálják a tartalmat, te megtanulod, bemagolod, és annyi.*

P4: Romanian is still there with its old textbooks, its lessons, you read it, they dictate the content, you learn it, you memorise it, and that's it.

Excerpt 66

P5: *Az iskolai tanulás olyan steril, hogy nem tanít meg arra, hogy hogy kommunikálj, hogy beszéljess, hogy boldogulj...*

P5: School learning is so sterile that it doesn't teach you how to communicate, how to talk, how to get along...

Despite the fact that there is a lot of antipathy towards Romanian speakers and Romanian in the town, there are still some people who have a positive orientation and realise that not all Romanians are the same and that you cannot stereotype a nation by what you experience on a few occasions.

Excerpt 67

P5: *Tehát nem lehet egy egész nemzetre haragudni, azért mert két-három ember valami hülyeséget csinál. Legfeljebb a gyerekeinknek elmondhatjuk, hogy ez és ez volt, ez és ez történt, nem te vagy a hibás, nem a padtársad, a román hibás, hanem régen történt. (...) Ez a székely vendégszeretet felülírja azt, hogy én most kéne utáljalak téged. Hogy úgy is megmutatom, hogy én rendesebb vagyok, mint az, aki a magyarokat szidja a románok közül.*

P5: So, you can't be angry at a whole nation because two or three people do something stupid. The best we can do is tell our children that this happened, it's not your fault, it's not your Romanian classmates's fault, it happened a long time ago (...) This Székler hospitality overrides the fact that I should hate you. I'll show you that I'm better than the one among the Romanians who criticizes the Hungarians.

Excerpt 68

P6: *Most nem azt mondom, hogy mindegyik olyan, mert vannak itt is olyanok, amelyek tényleg normálisok. Van olyan román is, aki följön ide a magyarokhoz vásárolni. Úgyhogy nem lehet egy kalap alá venni őket se, mert van, amelyik normális és kedves. (...) Csak mondom, hogy már alapból ők nem úgy állnak hozzá, mert mi lehetnénk velük ennél jobb kapcsolatban is.*

P6: Now I'm not saying they're all like that, because there are some that are actually normal. There are Romanians who come here to buy from Hungarians. So, you shouldn't treat them all in the same way, because some of them are normal and nice (...) I'm just saying that they do not have the right attitude, because we could have a better relationship with them.

It can be observed that in all cases, the past is blamed for the development of current negative attitudes. There was no interview during which the word “communism” was not mentioned (see also the previous example in Excerpt 55). The sources of the negative evaluation are “in the deep layers of historical consciousness, and they are fed by the nationalism and xenophobia of the modern age. These are irrational factors which are difficult or even impossible to deal with rationally” (see Péntek–Benő 2020:252).

Excerpt 69

P5: *Az is, hogy ugye nálunk a román Kommunista Párt az egyenlő volt a románokkal. Tehát mi úgy éreztük, hogy a magyarok közül is néhányan, akik pártba léptek, azok a románokat szolgálják. Tehát annyira rossz véleménynel voltunk. Inkább azonosítottuk ugye, hogy Románia a rosszakat a románokkal, és a néhány magyart a jóval.*

P5: Also the fact that the Romanian Communist Party was equal to the Romanians. So we felt that even some of the Hungarians who joined the party were serving the Romanians. So we had such a bad opinion. We rather identified Romania with the bad with the Romanians and the few Hungarians with the good.

Excerpt 70

Interviewer: *És akkor melyik lenne az a korosztály, aki ennek az ellentéte?* [And then what would be the opposite age group?]

P7: *Hát a régi, úgy mondjam, az a generáció, akik még a kommunizmust javában élték, a kommunista rendszert.* [Well, the old generation, so to speak, the generation who lived through communism, the communist system.]

Interviewer: *És ők ezt hogy mutatják ki?* [And how do they express this?]

P7: *A bezártsággal. A bezártsággal. Tehát nem kommunikálnak, ha valamit kérdezel, vagy... Tehát nem, sokkal bezártabbak, nem... Sokan nem is segítenek, inkább nem hallottam, nem tudom, nem érdekel. Tehát így nyilvánítsák ki.* [By being closed. By isolation. So, they don't communicate, if

you ask them a question, or... Well, no, they're much more closed, no... Many people don't even help, I'd rather not hear, I don't know, I don't care. So that's the way it is expressed]

During the research, while conducting the interviews, I had an enthralling discovery, which I think deserves a special place in this paper. According to one respondent, there are Hungarian-speaking police officers in the town, who deliberately speak Romanian to the locals to show their superiority. This suggests that there is a very strong negative perception of the police by the locals, and this was confirmed by a police officer too (see Excerpt 63).

Excerpt 71

P2: (...) ilyen felsőbbrendűségből, hogy ők aztán rendőrök, s az ország nyelvén beszélnek, s akkor kikövetelik, hogy mindenki tisztelje meg őket ezzel. [(...) out of superiority, that they are policeman, that they speak the language of the country, and then they demand that everyone should respect them with this.]

Interviewer: Például, hogyha ellenőrzésre megállít valakit, akkor is? [For example, even if they stop someone for a control?]

P2: Biztos, hogy románul szólal meg. Sőt, nekem van rendőr ismerősöm, aki magyar anyanyelvű, de hogyha rendőrként állít meg valakit az úton, hiába hogy tudja, hogy az illető biztos, hogy magyarul fog beszélni, úgyis ő románul beszél. [He will certainly speak in Romanian. In fact, I have a policeman friend who is Hungarian, but if he stops someone on the road as a policeman, even though he knows that the person will speak Hungarian, he speaks Romanian anyway.]

This made me really curious and I thought I would ask the other side what their position was. The answer was surprising, and it turned out that apart from the possibility of the previous statement, there is a reason why Hungarian policemen speak Romanian:

Excerpt 72

Interviewer: És milyen a rendőrségnek a hozzáállása a nyelvi kérdésekhez? Meséltek emberek arról, hogy a rendőr románul beszél, miközben magyar, és hogy ennek mi az oka? Van ilyen, hogy az emberekkel románul kell beszélni? [And what is the attitude of the police to language issues? I have heard people say that the policeman speaks Romanian to them when he is Hungarian, and what is the reason for that? Is there such a thing as speaking to people in Romanian?]

P7: Nincs, de viszont hogyha egy kollégával dolgozol együtt, és ő román ajkú, akkor már a kollégával szemben a tisztelet, hogy románul, hogy ő is megértse. Na most, hogyha vannak esetek, amikor a személy nem tud románul, akkor te magyarul beszélsz, és próbálsz fordítani a kollégának dióhéjban, hogy miről is van szó. Tehát ez az oka, hogy amiért románul próbálunk meg egyszer beszélni az emberekkel, mert hogyha valaki már... ha egyedül vagyok, akkor nem, akkor egyértelmű, hogy akkor magyarul beszélgetek, de kollégát tisztelve, aki román ajkú, és hogy ő is megértse, hogy miről van

szó, ezért románul. [No, but if you work with a colleague and he or she is Romanian-speaking, then you respect your colleague by speaking Romanian so that he or she can understand. Now, if there are cases when the person doesn't know Romanian, you speak Hungarian and try to translate to the colleague in a nutshell what it's about. So this is the reason why we try to talk to people in Romanian, because if someone is already... if I am alone, then I am not, then it is clear that I will speak in Hungarian, but out of respect for a colleague who is Romanian-speaking, and so that he understands what is going on, I will speak in Romanian.]

According to Giles and Coupland (1991) communication accommodation can help to achieve solidarity with a conversational partner. "Solidarity is a feeling of equality that people have with one another. They have a common interest around which they will bond" (Wardough–Fuller 2014:32). In this case, the common interest of colleagues is effective work, which is why the Hungarian-speaking police officer speaks Romanian to express his solidarity with his colleague. This accommodation is also present from the other person's side, and there are examples of Romanian police officers learning the language and integrating into the Hungarian community after several years of work. Even though there are examples of some of them with negative attitudes, P7: *"a többsége, s a tapasztalat azt mutatja, hogy igenis próbálnak alkalmazkodni."* ["the majority of them, and the experience shows that they do try to adapt"]

Excerpt 73

P7: Amelyik közülük is, amelyik itt marad, az ugyanúgy beépül a társadalomba, és ugyanúgy nagyon sokan megtanulnak magyarul közülük, mert van rá példa, hogy amelyik kollégák itt vannak már 5-6 éve, már nagyon sokat tudnak, olyan is van, aki szinte beszél magyarul. Nem azt mondom, normálisan, de beszél magyarul.

P7: Those of them who stay here are also integrated into society, and many of them learn Hungarian, because there are examples of colleagues who have been here for five or six years and already know a lot, and some of them almost speak Hungarian. I am not saying that they speak Hungarian fluently, but they do speak Hungarian.

Another interesting discovery during the research was that there are cases when native Hungarian speakers use English as a mediating language when communicating with native Romanian speakers. This suggests a lack of knowledge of Romanian on the part of the locals, but it also shows that there is an interaction between the two nations and that they are able to communicate in a third language in order to overcome language barriers. This phenomenon is most typical of the younger generation, as the following two excerpts illustrate.

Excerpt 74

P5: *És mentek előttünk, és láttuk, hogy vásároltak labdát, másik oldalon papucsot, és volt egy sor elárúsító hely, és utolértük őket, egyszer hallgatjuk, hogy angolul kérik. Első, második volt. Nem tudtak románul egy szót se. Megtanulták a verset, mindent megtanultak ügyesen, amit mi tanítottunk nekik. Nem tudták, semmit nem tudtak használni. És az angolt azt valahonnan, nem is tudom, hogy honnan.*

P5: And they were walking in front of us and we saw them buying a ball, slippers on the other side and there was a row of stands and we caught up with them, and we hear them asking in English. They were first- or second-graders. They didn't know a word in Romanian. They learned the poem, they learned everything we taught them. They didn't know, they couldn't use anything. And English from somewhere, I don't know where.

Excerpt 75

P7: *És a fiatalokkal mondtam, ők is barátkoznak az itteni fiatalsággal, kapcsolatokat szereznek. Ha nem tudnak magyarul kommunikálni, akkor térnek az angolra, s angolul beszélgetnek.*

P7: And I was saying with the young people, they're also making friends with the young generation here, making contacts. If they can't communicate in Hungarian, they switch to English, and they talk in English.

When comparing attitudes towards English and Romanian, it is clear that locals, especially the younger generation, have a much more positive attitude towards English than Romanian. Similar conclusions were drawn in an earlier study by Anna Fenyvesi (2011), in which she investigated the linguistic attitudes of Hungarian primary and secondary school students from Transylvania, Vojvodina and Southern Slovakia towards their mother tongue, the state language and English. According to her, these results reflect the very high prestige of English, which is compounded by the negative perception of the majority language in Transylvania.

Excerpt 76

Interviewer: *A román fele nyitottabb lennél?* [Would you be more open about Romanian?]

P3: *Hát inkább az angol. (Határozott kijelentés) Inkább az angol fele...* [Well, I'd prefer English. (Categorical statement) I'd rather go for English...]

Excerpt 77

P2: *Úgy látom, hogy a románnal kicsit elutasítóbbak az emberek, mint az angolal.*

P2: I see that people are rejecting Romanian more than English.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the research confirms the fact that mobility plays an important role in the town's multilingualism and multiculturalism. The association studied has improved the spread of English by involving international volunteers. It also proves that the Hungarian community in a small town in Transylvania does not reject communication situations in a foreign language, but they do not initiate communication if it is not necessary. When communicating with young people, children and students, English can be used without difficulties, but there is a very slight chance of successful communication with older people even though there is a growing openness on their part over the years. Perhaps the most striking result of the research is that while attitudes towards English are significantly positive, attitudes towards Romanian are strongly negative. All this is only scratching the surface, getting more in-depth knowledge could be the subject of another research project, in which, for example, the perspectives of foreign volunteers through participant observation would be explored. Participant observation would consist of working with volunteers and observing the events in a participatory way in different situations to get more insightful information on the topic of multilingualism and communication accommodation.

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