

## **PART I. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH**

### **Appendix 1**

## **STAGE 1. Self-concept questionnaire**



### **STUDY 1**

#### ***Self-concept questionnaire***

**Subject:**

**Sex:** Female

#### ***Task 1***

Please define the concept of cultural identity.

#### ***Task 2***

How do you identify yourself culturally?

## Appendix 2



### STUDY 1

### *Self-concept questionnaire*

**Subject:**

**Sex:** Male

***Task 1***

Please define the concept of cultural identity.

***Task 2***

How do you identify yourself culturally?

## Appendix 3



### BATTERY 1

#### *Self-concept questionnaire*

**Subject: 1**

**Sex: Male**

#### *Task 1*

Please define the concept of cultural identity.

*Cultural identity is the way we perceive our selves spiritually. Each person has his own perception of his cultural identity and it may alter according to his beliefs and principles.*

#### *Task 2*

How do you identify yourself culturally?

*Culturally, I am Moldovan.*

## Appendix 4



### BATTERY 1

#### *Self-concept questionnaire*

**Subject:** 2

**Sex:** Female

#### *Task 1*

Please define the concept of cultural identity.

*Cultural identity is something related to our self concept and our ethnicity.*

#### *Task 2*

How do you identify yourself culturally?

*I perceive myself as Romanian even my parents are Russian ascendants. I speak Russian at home but I identify with Romanian culture, because I have studied in this language. I communicate with my friends. I love being Romanian and I am proud of being so.*

## Appendix 5



### BATTERY 1

#### *Self-concept questionnaire*

**Subject:** 3

**Sex:** Male

#### *Task 1*

Please define the concept of cultural identity.

*Cultural identity is a complex concept. It integrates the national history and language.*

#### *Task 2*

How do you identify yourself culturally?

*I define myself culturally as Moldavian, but my language, Romanians share the same culture, history and customs.*

## Appendix 6



### BATTERY 1

#### *Self-concept questionnaire*

**Subject:** 4

**Sex:** Female

#### *Task 1*

Please define the concept of cultural identity.

*It is very important to know what your cultural identity is, because it is the essence of human being. Cultural identity is an hereditary element.*

#### *Task 2*

How do you identify yourself culturally?

*I am Moldovan.*

## Appendix 7



### BATTERY 1

#### *Self-concept questionnaire*

**Subject: 5**

**Sex: Male**

#### *Task 1*

Please define the concept of cultural identity.

*Cultural identity may be defined as a set of values of a person.*

#### *Task 2*

How do you identify yourself culturally?

*I am a Russian person. Even if was born in Republic of Moldova adher at Russian culture, because my parents are Russians. I speak better English than Moldovan.*

## Appendix 8



### BATTERY 1

#### *Self-concept questionnaire*

**Subject: 6**

**Sex: Female**

#### *Task 1*

Please define the concept of cultural identity.

The most important pillar of our cultural identity is language, history and traditions. Cultural identity is something we take from our parents and our ancestors. ~~It~~

#### *Task 2*

How do you identify yourself culturally?

I identify myself with Romanian cultural identity, but sometimes I do not know who I really am.

## Appendix 9



### BATTERY 1

#### *Self-concept questionnaire*

**Subject:** 7

**Sex:** Male

#### *Task 1*

Please define the concept of cultural identity.

*Cultural identity is our self-concept of pertaining to a nation, group of people, to a particular society. In general, cultural identity is expressed by the same religion and ethnicity.*

#### *Task 2*

How do you identify yourself culturally?

*I consider myself Russian and Romanian because our Moldavian culture is a set of cultural Romanian and Russian influences. We altered our collective identity to national identity after Soviet Union collapsed.*

## Appendix 10



### BATTERY 1

#### *Self-concept questionnaire*

**Subject: 8**

**Sex: Female**

#### *Task 1*

Please define the concept of cultural identity.

*Our identity is the keystone of our culture. Cultural identity is a part of our national identity. In general people from a nation should have the same sense of belonging.*

#### *Task 2*

How do you identify yourself culturally?

*I consider myself Romanian because our history is unique for the two states, Moldavia and Romania. Russian culture has also a great role in our educational background.*

## Appendix 11



### BATTERY 1

#### *Self-concept questionnaire*

**Subject: 9**

**Sex: Female**

#### **Task 1**

Please define the concept of cultural identity.

*Cultural identity represents the way of being of a nation, it differentiates from nation to nation. It may crystallize just in time.*

#### **Task 2**

How do you identify yourself culturally?

*I believe I am Moldavian because I was born in Republic of Moldova and our nation has specific particularities which distinguishes from other nations.*

## Appendix 12



### BATTERY 1

#### *Self-concept questionnaire*

**Subject: 10**

**Sex: Female**

#### *Task 1*

Please define the concept of cultural identity.

It is something related to nationality but also to human essence, to people beliefs and his role on the planet.

#### *Task 2*

How do you identify yourself culturally?

I identify myself culturally - a citizen of Moldova

## Appendix 13



### BATTERY 1

#### *Self-concept questionnaire*

**Subject: 11**

**Sex: Male**

#### **Task 1**

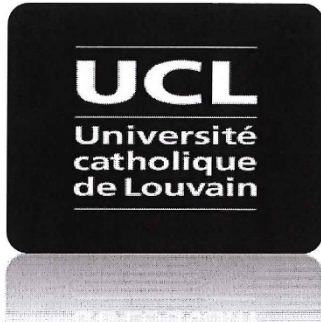
Please define the concept of cultural identity.

*Cultural identity may contain a multitude of things; for example customs, national celebration, beliefs and so on. In my opinion cultural identity has moral character along with customs and religious / moral things of a person and the country of a person.*

#### **Task 2**

How do you identify yourself culturally?

*I define myself culturally as Moldavian. My parents are from Iran, but I was born here, I talk in Romanian / Moldavian dialects with my friends.*



**BATTERY 1**

***Self-concept questionnaire***

**Subject: 12**

**Sex: Female**

***Task 1***

Please define the concept of cultural identity.

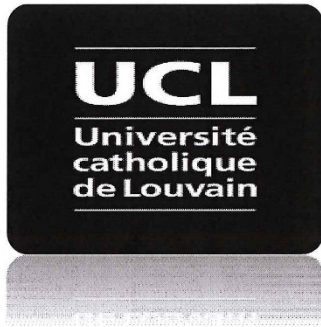
Cultural identity is the ability of human beings to identify themselves as a part of a bigger group which shares the same background, religion and education.

***Task 2***

How do you identify yourself culturally?

Culturally speaking, I am Russian. I was born in Republic of Moldova and I adhere to Russian culture, because have interest in developing this culture because my native language spoken at home is Russian. I pertain to Russian culture -

## Appendix 15



### BATTERY 1

#### *Self-concept questionnaire*

**Subject: 13**

**Sex: Male**

#### *Task 1*

Please define the concept of cultural identity.

I think that cultural identity is a constellation of principles which affects people. Cultural behavioural is related with educational and social conduct.

#### *Task 2*

How do you identify yourself culturally?

My culture is Moldova. Our country is the door to understand our culture and of course → cultural identity. Romanian language is our national language.

## Appendix 16



### BATTERY 1

#### *Self-concept questionnaire*

**Subject: 14**

**Sex: Female**

#### **Task 1**

Please define the concept of cultural identity.

I believe that cultural identity is the ramification of national identity which is ~~definitely~~ definitely linked deeply to the country to the nation and ethnic pertainance and membership.

#### **Task 2**

How do you identify yourself culturally?

Sometimes I do not know who I really am. I speak both dominant languages of Moldova - Romanian and Russian. It's difficult to say that I am Moldovan because I speak two distinct languages. Moldovan language does not exist and Moldovan ethnicity also doesn't exist.

## STAGE 2. Semi-structured Interview

### Semi-structured Interview Steps

- 1. Sending a recruitment email including the topic of the interview and attached questionnaire**
- 2. Scheduling the interviews to prospective respondents**
- 3. Introducing myself, defining the research objectives of the study**
- 4. Describing each step of conducting the semi-structured interview**
- 5. Providing, briefly, information about confidentiality, recording (if applicable), estimated length of the interview and responding to the eventual questions of the interviewees**
- 6. Asking profile information about participants**
- 7. Interview itself: asking several questions about cultural identity aspects**
- 8. Ending the interview and expressing appreciation for the conducted interview**

## Appendix 18

### *Recruitment email*

Dear Participant,

My name is Olesea Cegodari, and I am a student from *Université catholique de Louvain*, who is infinitely passionate about language and cultural identity phenomenon. I invite you to take part in my project.

**Your role:** I would like you to answer a questionnaire about your cultural identification and language identity.

All question answers are confidential and self-paced. Therefore, you may response the questionnaire in the privacy of your own home, at a time of your convenience and send afterwards the completed answers to the email address written below.

**Benefits:** The main benefit of your participation is to contribute considerably to identity elucidation as an analytical construct, help the researcher understand how Moldavian people define the concept of language identity and how they identify themselves culturally.

Please find attached herewith a copy of our *Semi-structured Questionnaire* (see enclosure).

Please do not hesitate to contact me should you require any further information about our research.

Thank you in advance for your participation, commitment to our research and your precious input!

Best wishes,

Olesea Cegodari

[olesea.cegodari@student.uclouvain.be](mailto:olesea.cegodari@student.uclouvain.be)

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## Appendix 19

### *Semi-structured Interview Questions*

1. **What is your mother tongue?**
2. **How is your mother tongue perceived in Moldavian society?**
3. **Do you think that there is a controversy over linguistic and cultural identity in Moldavia?**
  - If yes, support your idea with an argument.
  - If not, support your idea with an argument.
4. **Do you think each person needs a well-defined cultural identity?**
  - If yes, why?
  - If not, why?
5. **Could you provide a definition of cultural identity?**
6. **Could you provide a definition of language identity?**
7. **Do you think that cultural identity and language identity can be divided?**
  - If yes, why?
  - If not, why?
8. **Do you think that cultural identity is related to the national identity?**
  - If yes, support your idea with an argument.
  - If not, support your idea with an argument.
9. **What factors may influence the identity construction?**
10. **Do you think that history and political situation within the country play a great role in identity construction process?**
  - If yes, support your idea with an argument.
  - If not, support your idea with an argument.

## Appendix 20

### *Demographic Profile of Respondents*

Please complete the Demographic Information Form.

- 1) **Age:**
- 2) **Gender:**
- 3) **Nationality:**
- 4) **Level of education:**
- 5) **Specialty:**
- 6) **Mother tongue(s):**

Thank you for the completed input fields!

## Appendix 21

### Interview with Participant 1

#### 1. What is your mother tongue?

My mother tongue is Romanian.

#### 2. How is your mother tongue perceived in Moldavian society?

The idea “I am Moldovan and I speak Moldovan” is common among the rural people. In Chisinau city the idea “I am Romanian and I speak Romanian” is a shared feeling. The feeling of being Romanian and the idea of speaking Romanian are principal among educated people. It seems that there is a connection between the level of education and attitudes of perceiving one’s cultural identity. Personally, I think that Romanian language is the language we speak and rural people do not understand that because they create the differences between Romanian and Moldovan by inserting Russian expressions.

#### 3. Do you think that there is a controversy over linguistic and cultural identity in Moldavia?

Yes, I do. The identity issue in Moldova is derived from the question on how the impact of different eras construed the beliefs of people from Moldova concerning their linguistic and cultural identity. The Moldovans, who claim that their language and identity is Moldovan do not tend to relate to historical events which marked our history. I speak here about times when Moldova was under Romanian rule and times when Moldova was under Soviet Empire. Those times made history, changed mentalities and established cultural identity. If we get informed from historical chronicles we see clearly that there is no Moldovan nation, there is only Romanian and this identity should be attributed to us.

#### 4. Do you think each person needs a well-defined cultural identity?

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

Yes, I do. We have such a mess in Moldova, three kinds of “identities”: Russian, Romanian, and Moldavian. The question “How do the Moldovans perceive themselves” could not be answered with exactness. For me it is clear that Moldavian identity is an imagined idea, because Moldovan identity is a fragment of Romanian identity. Statistics will not show the exact views of Moldova people about their attitudes, beliefs towards identity. In order to stop this misunderstanding, we must have a well-defined cultural identity and this must begin at a very early age.

#### 5. Could you provide a definition of cultural identity?

Of course. It is the identity of being a part of a culture and the concept of how to differentiate among others.

#### 6. Could you provide a definition of language identity?

It seems a little difficult. For some people, language seems the essential indicator when shaping their personal identity. For others, it is ancestral origin. And it's not that different from cultural identity definition. Sometimes language and national identity are interconnected.

**7. Do you think that cultural identity and language identity can be divided?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

As I mentioned, they can be related. That depends on a lot of facts: where you live, where you have been/travelled or lived, sometimes you live in Great Britain, you speak English, but your basic language identity is Romanian or Russian, whatever. And you think is your mother tongue. You may change your behaviour or attitude, but you cannot change your identity, whatever its culture or language.

**8. Do you think that cultural identity is related to the national identity?**

That depends on many facts. They seem undivided at first sight. This relation is expressed by national heritage, cultural thesaurus, etc. And we don't have to forget about history.

**9. What factors may influence the identity construction?**

This may include many reasons:

- Radical career change;
- Gender identity transformation;
- National changes, etc.

**10. Do you think that history and political situation within the country play a great role in identity construction process?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

History is a very huge phenomenon, where wars, political affairs, occupation, etc. took place and threw a big influence on identity construction. In Moldova, this fact is very visible, taking into consideration the Russian (communism) influence. As for our grandparents, they have a totally different view on life and matters. But I cannot say anything about political situation, because it's a circus in our country.

## Appendix 22

### Interview with Participant 2

#### 1. What is your mother tongue?

Moldavian.

#### 2. How is your mother tongue perceived in Moldavian society?

It is perceived positively. I was born in a period where many things changed in our society, but anyway Moldavian is my language.

#### 3. Do you think that there is a controversy over linguistic and cultural identity in Moldavia?

Let us split this question into two separate sub-questions and reformulate them: What are people's attitudes about the ethnonym "Romanian" in Republic of Moldova? The second question: What are the identifying instruments in Republic of Moldova?

Currently, there are two identifiers (Moldovan and Romanian) until Soviet authorities tried to remove the "Romanian" identifier. The ethnonym "Romanian" persisted during our history process but people must change this injustice, because we have changed our attitudes toward language and national identity as well.

The attitudes toward Romanian identifier are built at kindergartens, schools, universities that propagate "romanianism" every single day. I remember my experience as well, when Romanian teachers argued during our lessons that Romanian is our language and we live on Romanian land.

The controversy is deeper than we think. People must understand that we have another identity, another thinking in comparison with Romanians. Even foreigners say that and perceive our culture separately.

#### 4. Do you think each person needs a well-defined cultural identity?

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

People do not have a well-structured and well-formed identity because everything referred to humans is relative, subjective and changing. Because of this, humans do not need a well-formed identity; they exist, and will exist without a well-formed identity.

#### 5. Could you provide a definition of cultural identity?

Cultural identity is a road we go in order to destroy certain propagandas and evade other's opinions about our language, culture and identity.

#### 6. Could you provide a definition of language identity?

Language identity is the flow of historical changes which change people's attitudes over language.

**7. Do you think that cultural identity and language identity can be divided?**

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

Yes, and no.

Cultural identity needs to be divided from language identity when for instance a person has a different language compared to other people from a given community. It cannot be divided if people have the same language as other people from a given community.

**8. Do you think that cultural identity is related to the national identity?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

National identity cannot be isolated. It implies the culture of a nation, which is why it cannot be disunited.

**9. What factors may influence the identity construction?**

History, environment and personality changes.

**10. Do you think that history and political situation within the country play a great role in identity construction process?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

History is a crucial factor in identity construction. We can state that history gave rise to inferiority complex for Moldavians. When Moldavians go to Romania feel this complex because when they start talking they are ashamed of their pronunciation and try not to make linguistic errors. They believe they are neither fully Romanians, nor fully Russians and this perception is drawn in their subconscious stratum. For this reason, Moldavian identity is like a comfort zone, where they feel good.

## Appendix 23

### Interview with Participant 3

#### 1. What is your mother tongue?

The language I got from birth was Russian, but I went to Romanian kindergarten, followed a Romanian school and studied at university Romanian and English philology.

I can assume that my mother tongue is Russian jointly with Romanian. Paradoxically, since my kindergarten period, there were cases when I mixed the two languages while speaking at home. Sometimes, my parents addressed questions in Russian and I answered in Romanian.

#### 2. How is your mother tongue perceived in Moldavian society?

My two basic languages are dominant in Moldavian society. I can state that the two instruments mentioned above constitute the Moldavian culture. It is very difficult to portray an authentic view of how the languages are perceived, because each person sees their mother tongue as the most important in the country, superior to others.

#### 3. Do you think that there is a controversy over linguistic and cultural identity in Moldavia?

I believe that existent linguistic identity emerged a long time ago since Moldavia was part of Soviet Union and Russian was imposed as the national language. Though, Romanian was the most dominant language and resisted over time.

The controversy over cultural identity is still present nowadays in our state, because Russian, which is lingua franca in Moldavian state is formed as an alternative identity, wherein people from Russian communities and Transnistria claim their own Russian identity.

#### 4. Do you think each person needs a well-defined cultural identity?

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

I think that every person has a developed identity and tends to protect this identity during the whole life. Of course, there are cases when we ask ourselves questions concerning our identity.

There are days in which we may change our identities, as culture is always changing.

#### 5. Could you provide a definition of cultural identity?

Cultural identity is the view of our culture endowed in us, which regulates our life, thinking and behaviour.

#### 6. Could you provide a definition of language identity?

Language identity is our representation about the language we speak.

#### 7. Do you think that cultural identity and language identity can be divided?

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

No, cultural identity entwines with language identity. When we speak about cultural identity language emerges subconsciously in our mind.

**8. Do you think that cultural identity is related to the national identity?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

Yes, without doubts. If cultural identity is the representation of our culture, then national identity is representation of our nation and is reflected in our behaviours.

**9. What factors may influence the identity construction?**

The factors which may influence the identity construction are: language, society, life principles, etc.

**10. Do you think that history and political situation within the country play a great role in identity construction process?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

I think that history and politics play a role but not the most important in identity formation. Identity is formed inside people. Ordinary people are not aware of all the historic events of a nation. People do not construct their identity looking in the manuals of history. Moldavia was enclosed as a part of Soviet Union and Romania but were able to develop a new identity.

## Appendix 24

### Interview with Participant 4

#### 1. What is your mother tongue?

My mother tongue is Moldavian.

#### 2. How is your mother tongue perceived in Moldavian society?

I think Moldavian language is perceived not as it deserves. Majority of local people define Moldavian identity with which they comply with, but do not do anything to enrich it.

#### 3. Do you think that there is a controversy over linguistic and cultural identity in Moldavia?

There is a controversy over the influence of Russia and the former USSR on the language and culture of Moldavia.

#### 4. Do you think each person needs a well-defined cultural identity?

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

I am sure that it is nice to have a well-defined cultural identity. But I don't think that each person needs it. That is probably depending on the person. I can imagine that if you have problems, it can help to see yourself as part of a greater culture.

#### 5. Could you provide a definition of cultural identity?

The definition of groups or individuals (by themselves or others) in terms of cultural or subcultural categories. This can include language, religion, gender, etc.

#### 6. Could you provide a definition of language identity?

The definition of groups or individuals in terms of the language that they are speaking.

#### 7. Do you think that cultural identity and language identity can be divided?

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

Yes, I think they can be divided. In some cultures, the members of this cultural group speak different languages. For example, there exists a Swiss culture and Swiss People speak German, French, Italian and Romania. They have the same cultural identity but not the same language identity. The same thing happens in Moldavia, people speak several languages and their opinions about culture and language identity are divided.

#### 8. Do you think that cultural identity is related to the national identity?

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

Yes, because an important part of the culture are the traditions and the history of the country from where a culture originally is.

**9. What factors may influence the identity construction?**

Education (school, parents), contact with other people from the same culture or a different culture, journalism (press), political system.

**10. Do you think that history and political situation within the country play a great role in identity construction process?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

Yes, because politicians can encourage identity building or try to avoid it. Furthermore, I can imagine that if cruel things happened in history (for example the holocaust for the Jews), the members of a cultural group try to protect their culture and cultural identity.

## Appendix 25

### Interview with Participant 5

#### 1. What is your mother tongue?

My mother tongue is Moldavian.

I declared that Moldavian is my mother tongue because it is the dialect which my parents spoke to me. Moldavian language differs acoustically from Romanian. Gradually I learned a healthy Romanian language from school and university because I was always passionate about languages and linguistic issues in Moldavia.

#### 2. How is your mother tongue perceived in Moldavian society?

Moldavian is an identity already formed. The Moldavian language, identity and culture, is a continuation of Romanian culture. The continuation of Romanian culture has formed differently, because people cannot control the formation of a culture. Yes, they may contribute but never control the formation process of a culture.

Therefore, it should be mentioned that the continuation of Romanian culture implies diverse components of extended traditions, customs, dialects, food, etc. which makes Moldavian culture a little bit different from Romanian one.

#### 3. Do you think that there is a controversy over linguistic and cultural identity in Moldavia?

Undoubtedly, yes. The controversy over language is overwhelming. It was the major premise of triggering the war in Transnistria. The cultural identity concept delimitates different language groups in the country. Cultural identity in Moldavia is always under question: some people claim they are Romanians, some Moldavians, and some Russians and so on.

#### 4. Do you think each person needs a well-defined cultural identity?

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

I believe that every person has a cultural identity but is to develop it during the whole life.

#### 5. Could you provide a definition of cultural identity?

Yes, cultural identity is a process which every person is engaged in. It is the core of every person. Without cultural identity people cannot exist and reach fulfilments in their life. Cultural identity may be defined as a process of claiming who you are, what do you belong to, and what are your beliefs about your origin, culture, language and history.

#### 6. Could you provide a definition of language identity?

Language identity is something linked to our language and to our 'self'. It incorporates our principles and judgements about the languages we speak and learn.

**7. Do you think that cultural identity and language identity can be divided?**

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

No, language and cultural identities are splitless. The both are important and each of them depends upon the other.

**8. Do you think that cultural identity is related to the national identity?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

Cultural identity is linked to the national identity and is a part from national identity as members are the parts of the country.

**9. What factors may influence the identity construction?**

The primary factor I believe is religion. Through religion people express their beliefs and emotional state. An identity builds and processes from religious convictions.

**10. Do you think that history and political situation within the country play a great role in identity construction process?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

I consider that history of a nation generates the changes in political situation of a country. Identity construction is therefore influenced by history and politics. The two are combined and represents the actual Romanian history. Moldavian history is just a constituent in Romanian history, as we can notice in Romanian history books.

If we look for example at the soviet experience Moldavia passed through, we may see the linkage of politics and history, because the political situation changed the history of our country.

## Appendix 26

### Interview with Participant 6

#### 1. What is your mother tongue?

Romanian.

#### 2. How is your mother tongue perceived in Moldavian society?

First of all, I don't believe in existence of Moldavian society or Moldavian identity. We speak Romanian language in Moldavia, hence the identity is also Romanian.

After the World War II, Romania as other European countries started to build a unified national identity based on language and cultural similarities of different regions, whereas Moldavia (Bessarabia that time) was a region of Romanian Empire. This is a natural process necessary for survival and for the economic development of the country. So, building a national identity serves, as well, to determine political and economic purposes of a country. Loyalty to Romania, language, cultural peculiarities and uniformity are absolutely necessary ingredients for our country to develop properly.

#### 3. Do you think that there is a controversy over linguistic and cultural identity in Moldavia?

There is a linguistic controversy in Moldavia which should be illuminated. Language has always been a very controversial issue in Moldavia, because Moldavia has been perceived as a country "in between", namely, between Romania and Russia.

Accordingly, talking about Moldavian identity of the inhabitants of this territory is actually an error. Most Moldavians have never perceived themselves as Romanians. Moldavian identity is a political manipulation. Moldovans do not have to create a new identity, because history showed that there is Romanian blood in all Moldavians.

#### 4. Do you think each person needs a well-defined cultural identity?

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

Every person must have a defined cultural identity because every person must be aware of who he/she is.

#### 5. Could you provide a definition of cultural identity?

It is the concept of how we see our identity and culture.

#### 6. Could you provide a definition of language identity?

It is the way every person sees his mother tongue and other languages.

#### 7. Do you think that cultural identity and language identity can be divided?

- If yes, why?

- If not, why?

No, I don't think so. Cultural identity and language identity are formed together.

**8. Do you think that cultural identity is related to the national identity?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

As I mentioned earlier, Moldavia is a part of Romanian cultural space and all people of Moldavia have Romanian national identity. From this statement we may notice that national identity relies on cultural identity.

**9. What factors may influence the identity construction?**

World views, the way people see the things, language and history.

**10. Do you think that history and political situation within the country play a great role in identity construction process?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

History is the basic factor in constructing an identity and always has been. There are a lot of examples which show that an identity cannot be constructed without an historical approach.

Let us take the example of Soviet period, when Russian was an instrument to control people's desires and thoughts. Everybody had to speak this language; other language was inadmissible. By this example we can see how a historical era could transform somebody's native language.

## Appendix 27

### Interview with Participant 7

**1. What is your mother tongue?**

Romanian.

**2. How is your mother tongue perceived in Moldavian society?**

I think that Romanian language has the most influential status in our country. Whether it's called Romanian or Moldovan it is the most spoken language in our state.

**3. Do you think that there is a controversy over linguistic and cultural identity in Moldavia?**

There is a controversy over language identity which inevitably involves our cultural identity. They are interknitted and interact in every country in the world. It is based on political views and trends.

**4. Do you think each person needs a well-defined cultural identity?**

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

Yes, every person needs to have an established cultural identity in order to be confident about who is he/she, but also to be balanced psychologically.

**5. Could you provide a definition of cultural identity?**

Cultural identity is the expression of people's culture, language and origin and is specific for each country, state, group.

**6. Could you provide a definition of language identity?**

Language identity is the expression of the language of a people and multilingualism in a given society.

**7. Do you think that cultural identity and language identity can be divided?**

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

Yes, maybe, but not all the time. When you grow up and realize what is your language and understands what your identity is you can make connection between your own identity and language identity.

**8. Do you think that cultural identity is related to the national identity?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

No, national identity is the expression of the nation's views and cultural identity is the expression of individual's views.

### **9. What factors may influence the identity construction?**

Probably, the specific peculiarities of a society, culture are the major elements which can influence identity construction and people's thinking. Other factors which also are very important are: language and family, because at home children get to know who they are and develop their personality.

### **10. Do you think that history and political situation within the country play a great role in identity construction process?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

History and politics are not so important when speaking of identity, because it starts and comes out from people's interior world; therefore, it is very important to mention that every person is unique and may construct his identity differently from other persons.

## Appendix 28

### Interview with Participant 8

#### 1. What is your mother tongue?

Russian is my mother tongue.

#### 2. How is your mother tongue perceived in Moldavian society?

It is perceived by our society like the language of the nation. Even though there are a lot of Russian natives, Moldovan language plays a very important role in all spheres of society. We can admit that Russian is more used in mass-media from Moldova, Moldovan language is promulgated in educational institutions like schools, colleges, universities.

#### 3. Do you think that there is a controversy over linguistic and cultural identity in Moldavia?

The controversy over cultural identity is particular in our society. Moldovans try to impose the idea of a specific Moldovan cultural identity that's why other minority identities tend to be vanished.

#### 4. Do you think each person needs a well-defined cultural identity?

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

No, I think that each person can live without a well-defined cultural identity.

#### 5. Could you provide a definition of cultural identity?

It is pretty challenging to embrace all the elements of culture and identity by only one definition. For me, cultural identity term refers to contextual, cultural and social habits and practices of a specific group or society.

#### 6. Could you provide a definition of language identity?

It is very problematic to formulate a notion of language identity because it starts from psychology and you need to have psychological knowledge to formulate the notion of language identity.

#### 7. Do you think that cultural identity and language identity can be divided?

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

No, they co-work together and redevelop each other.

#### 8. Do you think that cultural identity is related to the national identity?

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

### **9. What factors may influence the identity construction?**

An essential factor which regulates identity is history of a nation. History has always been an indicator of one's society. It tracks a lot of events which are significant for identity construction and which can determine the present and the future of a people.

### **10. Do you think that history and political situation within the country play a great role in identity construction process?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

Yes, history and politics are important but not decisive. The power of politics is not as big as to change completely the mentality of people. People decide what to believe in and how to express their individuality through their identities.

## Appendix 29

### Interview with Participant 9

**1. What is your mother tongue?**

Romanian.

**2. How is your mother tongue perceived in Moldavian society?**

Romanian and Russian language are acceptable in Moldavian society. Russian is a very strong language that is why it resists in many post-soviet states.

**3. Do you think that there is a controversy over linguistic and cultural identity in Moldavia?**

Controversy over Moldovan language exists since long time ago and I believe it is a normal process. Sometimes a controversy is constructive for a country, it leads to success and wellbeing.

**4. Do you think each person needs a well-defined cultural identity?**

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

It is not necessary, because it is more related to anthropology and research. People do not take into account someone's cultural identity.

**5. Could you provide a definition of cultural identity?**

The sense of belonging to a country.

**6. Could you provide a definition of language identity?**

I have never heard about it, but I suppose language identity is the expression of one's language or declaring one's language.

**7. Do you think that cultural identity and language identity can be divided?**

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

Yes, definitely. You can speak French, but your nationality or identity may be Canadian or Belgian.

**8. Do you think that cultural identity is related to the national identity?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

Although for me it is not clear what language identity is, from my point of view they are somehow related.

**9. What factors may influence the identity construction?**

Family, environment, genes.

**10. Do you think that history and political situation within the country play a great role in identity construction process?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

Yes, if you are proud of your country and its president reinforces national identity, if not – one may even be ashamed to reveal his/her nationality or identity.

## Appendix 30

### Interview with Participant 10

#### 1. What is your mother tongue?

I hesitate to tell you my mother tongue. I have a dilemma between saying Romanian or Moldavian.

#### 2. How is your mother tongue perceived in Moldavian society?

It is very difficult to describe the phenomenon of Moldavian language in our society, because people perceive Moldavian language differently in our language communities. In Romanian community, Moldavian language is considered a mistake because people plead for national Romanian language. Moldavian nationalists fight for officializing Moldavian language. In another community, Gagauzia Moldavian language is a form of Russian.

#### 3. Do you think that there is a controversy over linguistic and cultural identity in Moldavia?

Yes, sure, because as I mentioned earlier our country is delimited in several communities and of course there is a controversy over language identity, particularly. Language controls our country that's why the cultural identity in Moldavia is somehow problematic. People don't know how to identify culturally because we have different traditions from two completely distinct cultures: from Russia and Romania.

#### 4. Do you think each person needs a well-defined cultural identity?

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

It is necessary for human beings because they must know who they are and how they must continue and contribute to their culture.

#### 5. Could you provide a definition of cultural identity?

Cultural identity is expressed by the feeling of pertaining to a particular nationality and culture.

#### 6. Could you provide a definition of language identity?

It is similar to the notion I provided above, the only difference is that language identity is connected to language, bilingualism and multilingualism.

#### 7. Do you think that cultural identity and language identity can be divided?

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

No, they cannot be divided, because they are so mixed and because languages are parts of culture.

#### 8. Do you think that cultural identity is related to the national identity?

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

Yes, cultural identity is strongly related to national identity because each person lives in a nation and it is linked to a particular nation.

**9. What factors may influence the identity construction?**

I think that the most principal factors are society, and education. For example higher education make more clear identity construction, customs and others.

**10. Do you think that history and political situation within the country play a great role in identity construction process?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

Yes, because politics can influence the beliefs of people and can be representative for the society.

## Appendix 31

### Interview with Participant 11

#### 1. What is your mother tongue?

Russian language.

#### 2. How is your mother tongue perceived in Moldavian society?

Russian is one of the most spoken language after Romanian and has an important position in Republic of Moldova. It can be seen everywhere: press, street, library, television and so on.

#### 3. Do you think that there is a controversy over linguistic and cultural identity in Moldavia?

Yes, there is a huge controversy over linguistic situation in our country. People claim that our language is Romanian without having any arguments. Some people say that the language of our nation is Moldavian but our history is Romanian.

#### 4. Do you think each person needs a well-defined cultural identity?

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

Yes, but only for people who represent the country: politicians, researchers, and others. Regular people do not need it, they have other necessities like financial independence to raise their families.

After satisfying their basic necessities, people will focus on cultural identity and linguistic problems.

#### 5. Could you provide a definition of cultural identity?

It is very hard to write a definition of cultural identity because it embodies a lot of components from people's culture and it resides in cultural aspects.

#### 6. Could you provide a definition of language identity?

Identity of language is when a person has certain views on the language he speaks and its salience.

It also may be related to the identity of a group as a global acknowledging of their language.

#### 7. Do you think that cultural identity and language identity can be divided?

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

Yes, they must be divided. They have many things in common but they can be divided. If a person goes abroad and settle down and makes his family there, it is normal that his children will have another cultural and language identities.

**8. Do you think that cultural identity is related to the national identity?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

Due to globalization, national identity becomes less important, since people become more developed culturally they do not care very much about nation. They may modify their cultural views and their views on national identity. So, they do not relate too much nowadays.

For example, I live in Russia and during my sojourn I modified my views on my cultural identity. Living abroad with different people, I realized that Moldovan is also an identity and became more tied to my country and culture.

**9. What factors may influence the identity construction?**

Travelling, and customs and traditions of a culture.

**10. Do you think that history and political situation within the country play a great role in identity construction process?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

In every culture history plays a great role, but people do not care too much about politics when processing their identities.

## Appendix 32

### Interview with Participant 12

**1. What is your mother tongue?**

Moldovan is my mother tongue.

**2. How is your mother tongue perceived in Moldavian society?**

Moldovan is the language of our country. It is not the official, but everybody thinks that Moldovan is our language, even if it sounds exotic. If we take into consideration historical point of view, our country and Romania has the same lexical background but also changed by the introduction of Russian terms.

**3. Do you think that there is a controversy over linguistic and cultural identity in Moldavia?**

Our country is very poor compared to other European countries in Europe. That is why politicians do not pay attention to linguistic controversies and I say that in plural because there are a few controversies in Moldova. Economical aspect shadows the linguistic issues and politicians do not give importance to it very much.

**4. Do you think each person needs a well-defined cultural identity?**

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

No, I think that every person forms his cultural identity from childhood. It is developed along with the formation of his personality. It may change and develop till the end of his life.

**5. Could you provide a definition of cultural identity?**

Cultural identity is a photo of you. It shows how you differentiate among others and but also positions you as a participant of a nation. It shows who you are and reflect what your culture is.

**6. Could you provide a definition of language identity?**

Language identity is like a linguistic passport of a person. Language presents himself and he represents the language. There is an internal dialogue between language and human beings.

**7. Do you think that cultural identity and language identity can be divided?**

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

They cannot be divided because they are important elements for each person. Cultural identity comprises language identity of people as a group. Language identity is extracted from the cultural context of people.

**8. Do you think that cultural identity is related to the national identity?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

National identity is more general term. I think it dictates the commitment to cultural identity of a group.

**9. What factors may influence the identity construction?**

Factors that influence identity are: economy of the country, society itself, education and language.

**10. Do you think that history and political situation within the country play a great role in identity construction process?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

History and politics are very important in national and cultural identity construction. They both lead people to take decisions about their cultural identity, principles in life and they may introduce new things which may change completely their identities.

## Appendix 33

### Interview with Participant 13

#### 1. What is your mother tongue?

Romanian.

#### 2. How is your mother tongue perceived in Moldavian society?

Romanian is the official language in Moldovan society. It was introduced officially two years ago.

#### 3. Do you think that there is a controversy over linguistic and cultural identity in Moldavia?

The controversy regarding our language identity is exuberant. There is no compromise between our linguistic communities like in other civilized countries. The most important controversy is related to Moldavian dialect, which is conceived as a language and this is not a fact. It should be analysed from historical perspective.

People do not differentiate Romanian language and Moldovan identity. Our local language or local identity is a form of Romanian, I would call it – a continuation of Romanian identity and culture. Republic of Moldova reflects the language and some customs of Romania.

#### 4. Do you think each person needs a well-defined cultural identity?

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

Yes, each person needs a cultural identity which would characterize and guide him in life.

#### 5. Could you provide a definition of cultural identity?

Cultural identity is something which our parents teach us. We raise up and form ourselves through the intermedium of what we see, hear and feel. Our cultural identity depends upon the way we see our society, culture but also our world perspectives.

#### 6. Could you provide a definition of language identity?

Language identity is represented by the way we see the world through the languages we speak.

#### 7. Do you think that cultural identity and language identity can be divided?

- If yes, why?
- If not, why?

Language and cultural identity may be separated. For instance, I feel that I am a part of Moldavian culture, Moldavian cultural identity but speak Romanian language.

#### 8. Do you think that cultural identity is related to the national identity?

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

Cultural identity is something different from national identity, because national identity is more linked to ethnicity but cultural identity is more linked to culture.

**9. What factors may influence the identity construction?**

School is one of the most essential factors. There you find who you are, who you want to be in life, you become more confident about your identity, origin and your personality.

**10. Do you think that history and political situation within the country play a great role in identity construction process?**

- If yes, support your idea with an argument.
- If not, support your idea with an argument.

History – yes, but politics – not so much. For example, I said that at school people gain fundamental knowledge and during our primary and secondary periods you are not interested in politics a lot and you are not aware of political situation in the country.

## **PART II. QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH**

### **Responses from *Language Attitudes and Cultural Identity Questionnaire***

#### **Appendix 34**

##### **1. How do you identify yourself?**

1. Romanian
2. Moldavian
3. Romanian
4. Romanian
5. Moldavian
6. Moldavian
7. Moldavian
8. Romanian
9. Romanian
10. Moldavian
11. European
12. Moldavian
13. Romanian
14. Moldavian and Romanian
15. Moldavian
16. Moldavian
17. Moldavian
18. Moldavian
19. Moldavian
20. Romanian
21. Moldavian
22. Moldavian
23. Moldavian
24. Moldavian
25. Moldavian
26. Moldavian
27. Moldavian
28. Moldavian
29. Moldavian
30. Moldavian
31. Romanian
32. Moldavian
33. Russian
34. Ukrainian
35. Moldavian
36. Romanian

37. Romanian
38. Romanian

## Appendix 35

### 2. What is/are your mother tongue(s)?

1. Romanian, Russian
2. Romanian
3. Romanian
4. Romanian
5. Romanian, Russian
6. Russian
7. Romanian
8. Romanian
9. Romanian
10. Romanian
11. Romanian
12. Romanian
13. Romanian
14. Romanian
15. Romanian
16. Romanian
17. Romanian
18. Romanian
19. Romanian
20. Romanian
21. Romanian, Russian
22. Romanian, Russian
23. Romanian
24. Romanian
25. Romanian, Russian
26. Romanian
27. Romanian
28. Romanian, Russian
29. Romanian
30. Romanian, Russian
31. Romanian
32. Romanian
33. Russian
34. Ukrainian
35. Romanian
36. Roumanian
37. Moldovan

38. Romanian

## Appendix 36

**3. Please write/fill in the blank the language(s) you use at home the most often. If you cite several languages, indicate their respective frequency. (i.e. 1. French, 2. English).**

1. 1. Russian, 2. Romanian
2. Romanian
3. Romanian
4. Romanian
5. 1. Russian, 2. English
6. 1. Russian, 2. Romanian, 3. English, 4. French
7. 1. Romanian, 2. Russian
8. Romanian
9. Romanian
10. 1. English, 2. French, 3. Romanian
11. 1. English, 2. Romanian, 3. French
12. 1. Romanian, 2. Russian, 3. English
13. Romanian
14. 1. Romanian, 2. English, 3. Russian
15. French, Romanian, English, Russian
16. 1. Romanian, 2. English, 3. Russian
17. 1. Romanian, 2. English, 3. Russian
18. 1. Russian, 2. French,
19. 1. Romanian, 2. Russian, 3. French, 4. English
20. Romanian
21. 1. Romanian, 2. Russian, 3. English
22. 1. Romanian, 2. English
23. 1. Romanian, 2. Russian
24. Romanian
25. Romanian
26. Romanian
27. 1. Romanian, 2. French
28. English
29. 1. Romanian, 2. English, 3. Russian
30. 1. Romanian, 2. French
31. Romanian
32. Romanian
33. Russian
34. 1. Ukrainian, 2. Russian
35. English
36. Romanian
37. 1. Romanian, 2. French

38. Romanian

## Appendix 37

**4. What are the language(s) your parents use at home? If you cite several languages, please indicate them (i.e. 1. French, 2. English).**

1. 1. Russian 2. Romanian
2. Romanian
3. Romanian
4. Romanian
5. Russian
6. Russian
7. Romanian
8. Romanian
9. Romanian
10. 1. Romanian, 2. French
11. Romanian
12. 1. Romanian, 2. French
13. Romanian
14. Romanian
15. Romanian
16. 1. Romanian, 2. Russian
17. 1. Romanian, 2. Russian
18. 1. Romanian, 2. Russian
19. 1. Romanian, 2. Russian
20. Romanian
21. 1. Romanian, 2. Russian
22. 1. Romanian, 2. English
23. 1 Romanian, 2. Russian
24. Romanian
25. Russian
26. Romanian
27. Romanian
28. 1. Romanian, 2. Russian
29. Romanian
30. Romanian
31. Romanian
32. 1. Moldavian, 2. Russian
33. Russian
34. Russian, Ukrainian
35. Romanian
36. Romanian
37. Romanian, Russian
38. 1. Moldavian, 2. Romanian

## Appendix 38

**5. When you are surrounded by your friends, you prefer to speak...Please write/fill in the blank the language(s) depending on usage frequency. (i.e. Always 100% - English; Mostly 75% - French; Frequently (50%) - Russian; Occasionally (25%) -Spanish).**

1. 75% Romanian, Russian; 50% English
2. French
3. Mostly Romanian, occasionally Russian, occasionally English
4. English
5. In Belgium: 80% English 20% Russian; In Moldova: 80% Romanian 20% Russian
6. 25- russian 25- french 25-romanian 25- (english and Dutch)
7. Romanian, English, French, Dutch
8. Romanian
9. 100% - Romanian
10. English-100%, French-50%, Romanian-50%
11. English
12. Always- Romanian, mostly -English, frequently-Russian, occasionally- French
13. 100%-Romanian, Occasionally 25% - Russian, Occasionally 25%- English
14. English, Romanian, Russian
15. French, English, Romanian, Russian
16. Always-Romanian,Occasionally-Russian and English
17. English, Romanian, Moldovan (it's a dialect basically, but we use it a lot among my Moldovan friends)
18. English(70%) russian(80%) Romanian (20%) french(30%)
19. Romanian, Russian, French
20. Romanian
21. frecuently - romanian and english, occasionally russian
22. 100% romana 50 % rusă
23. 50% ROM, 25%rus 25%eng
24. Romanian
25. Romanian 100%
26. 100 % Romanian
27. 50%Romanian 25% English 15%Russian 10%French
28. English mostly sometimes Romanian
29. 100% -Romanian; occasionally - Russian
30. Mostly 75% - Romanian, Occasionally 25% - French
31. Mostly Romanian and English at university
32. Always 100% - Romanian
33. Russian
34. Russian
35. Mostly English
36. Roumanian

37. French - mostly 75%
38. Always 100 % - Romanian

### Appendix 39

**6. Have you ever been exposed to a second language from an early age? If yes, please state/fill in the blank the language(s).**

1. No
2. French and Russian
3. Russian, English
4. Yes, Russian
5. Bilingual from childhood, studied french and english starting from 2nd grade (7 years old)
6. Yes, romanian
7. Yes, Russian
8. Russian
9. Russian
10. russian
11. Russian
12. Russian
13. Russian
14. Russian, English
15. Russian
16. Russian
17. In my family we always spoke Romanian, but I was exposed to Russian - due to living in Moldova (TV, radio, media, in the street)
18. No
19. Russian
20. Russian
21. Russian, English
22. Russian, French
23. Russian
24. French
25. English
26. Russian
27. Russian
28. English
29. No
30. Russian
31. No
32. Russian
33. No, only Russian
34. Yes, Russian
35. Yes
36. English , French and russian

37. Russian
38. Yes, Moldovan, super different than Romanian when I talked

## Appendix 40

**7. According to you, the language(s) that best describe(s) the Moldavian culture is/are? Please state/fill in the blank the language(s).**

1. Romanian
2. Romanian
3. If Moldavian refers to the actual territory of the Republic of Moldova only and the total population, regardless of ethnicity, then the languages are Romanian and Russian.
4. Romanian
5. Romanian with a Moldovan dialect
6. Moldavian
7. Romanian
8. Romanian
9. Romanian
10. romanian
11. Romanian, Russian
12. Romanian
13. Romanian
14. Wtf is this question
15. Romanian
16. Romanian
17. Moldovan - haha. Though it is not a real/separata language, it is definitely a dialect that describes Moldovan culture - mainly because it is a mix of Romanian and Russian words, as well as adaptations of the words into the other language that in the end gain a meaning that only a Moldovan would understand.
18. /
19. Romanian
20. Romanian
21. romanian
22. Romana
23. Romanian and Russian
24. Romanian
25. Romanian
26. Romanian
27. Romanian
28. Romanian
29. Romanian with a Moldovan speech
30. Moldavian
31. Romanian definetely
32. Moldovan
33. Moldavian, Russian and Ukrainian

34. Russian, Moldovan, Ukrainian
35. Romanian
36. Roumanian
37. Moldovan
38. Romanian and Moldovan in villages

## Appendix 41

### **8. According to the majority of the people in Moldavia, the language(s) that best describe(s) the Moldavian culture is/are?**

1. Romanian, Russian
2. Romanian
3. As far as I remember from previous polls, the answer is “Moldovan”. But some polls showed Romanian as well.
4. Romanian
5. Not sure
6. Romanian
7. Romanian
8. Romanian
9. Romanian
10. romanian.
11. Romanian (Moldovan dialect), Russian
12. Romanian
13. Romanian
14. Poorly written questikn
15. Romanian
16. Moldavian?
17. Romanian. But it depends on who you ask. Other might say Moldovan.
18. Romanian
19. Romanian
20. Moldovan
21. romanian and russian
22. Română
23. Romanian
24. Romanian
25. Moldavia :)
26. Moldavian
27. :( Moldovan (inexistent)
28. Romanian
29. Moldovan speech
30. Romanian
31. Moldavian - a kind of Romanian
32. Romanian

33. Romanian
34. Romanian, Russian
35. Moldovian
36. Roumanian
37. Romanian
38. Moldovan

## Appendix 42

### 9. According to the main political and media elite discourse, the language(s) that best describe(s) the Moldavian culture is/are?

1. Romanian, Russian
2. Romanian
3. Romanian
4. There are no elites in Moldova.
5. Depends on political adherence, not sure
6. Jewish
7. Moldavian
8. Romanian
9. Romanian
10. Romanian
11. Romanian, Russian
12. Romanian
13. Romanian
14. ...
15. Russian
16. Romanian
17. Romanian? Not sure, didn't follow up on them local politics lately. The political discourse changes every time the leaders change.
18. /
19. Romanian
20. Romanian
21. Russian
22. Romanian and Moldavian
23. Romanian
24. Romanian & Russian
25. Romanian
26. Romanian
27. divide:Romanian & Moldovan
28. Romanian and Russian
29. Romanian
30. Romanian
31. Romanian

32. Romanian
33. Russian
34. Romanian, Russian
35. Romanian
36. Roumanian
37. Romanian and Moldovan dialect
38. Romanian

## Appendix 43

**10. To achieve high professional achievements in Moldavia you would better master? Fill in the blank the language(s).**

1. Romanian, Russian, English
2. Romanian, Russian
3. English, maybe German also
4. Romanian, English
5. Romanian, Russian, English
6. Russian
7. Romanian, Russian, English, German
8. Romanian, English, Russian, French
9. Romanian
10. Romanian
11. Romanian, Russian, English
12. Romanian, Russian
13. Romanian, English
14. Romanian
15. Romanian
16. Romanian
17. Romanian, Russian, English
18. English, French
19. Romanian, English, French
20. Romanian, English
21. Romanian and Russian
22. Romana și engleza
23. Romanian, Russian and English
24. Romanian
25. If it is regarding the laguage, both language would be perfect to master.
26. Romanian, Russian, English, French, German
27. Romanian/Russian/English/French
28. Romanian
29. Romanian/ Russian
30. Romanian and English
31. Romanian and Russian

32. English and Russian
33. Russian, French and English
34. Romanian, English, German, French, Russian
35. Romanian
36. Roumanian
37. Romanian, English, Russian
38. Romanian not Moldovan, English for sure

## Appendix 44

### 11. Besides Moldavian, which language(s) should Moldavians imperatively learn?

1. Romanian
2. Russian
3. English
4. English, French and Russian
5. Romanian
6. Romanian, russian, english
7. Russian, English, French, Spanish, Italian, German, Chinese, Gagauz
8. There is no Moldavian language
9. English
10. English, French
11. There is no "Moldavian" language
12. Romanian is the language that Moldovian speak!
13. English
14. English
15. Russian
16. Russian and English
17. English, French - depending on the school
18. Wherever they want
19. English, French, German
20. English, Russian
21. english
22. Engleza, Franceza, Germana
23. English and French
24. Russian, English, French
25. There is is no Moldavian language. I would consider "Moldavian language" as a slang.
26. English
27. At least English.or At least one more.
28. Moldavian is not a language first place, Moldovan is a dialect. Moldovans (not Moldavians) should learn English
29. English/ French/ Spanish/ German

30. Russian, English
31. English and Russian
32. English
33. Russian
34. English
35. English, French
36. English
37. Russian
38. Russian

## Appendix 45

**12. According to you, to be a 'real' Moldavian you should definitely speak...Fill in the blank the language(s).**

1. Romanian
2. Romanian
3. Romanian
4. Romanian
5. Romanian and Russian
6. No one language good
7. Romanian, Russian, Gagauz
8. Romanian
9. Romanian
10. Romanian
11. Romanian
12. Romanian
13. Romanian
14. Romanian
15. Romanian
16. Romanian
17. All 3: Romanian, Russian and Moldovan
18. There's no real moldavians....
19. Romanian
20. Romanian and Russian
21. romanin
22. Romana româna
23. Romanian
24. Romanian
25. I still cannot the connection between real and language, which causes a debate for me. I know both languages and it never made me think of not being real Moldavian. I cannot choose only one, as this will represent my identity.
26. Romanian
27. ROMANIAN

28. Romanian and Russian
29. Romanian
30. Romanian
31. Moldovan - a kind of Romanian
32. Moldovan
33. Russian
34. Romanian
35. Romanian and Russian
36. Roumanian
37. Moldovan dialect
38. Romanian (good level)

## Appendix 46

### **13. According to the majority of the people in Moldavia, to be a 'real' Moldavian you should definitely speak...**

1. Romanian
2. Romanian
3. I don't know what the majority says in this regard
4. Romanian
5. Romanian with a Moldovan dialect
6. Moldavian
7. Romanian/Russian
8. Romanian
9. Romanian
10. A inexistent language: moldavian
11. Romanian
12. Romanian and Russian
13. Romanian, Russian
14. Romanian
15. Romanian
16. Moldavian
17. Moldovan, I guess?
18. how is the real Moldavian ??
19. Romanian, Russian, English
20. Romanian
21. romanian and russian
22. Romana
23. Romanian
24. Moldovian & Russian
25. Romanian
26. Moldavian and Russian

27. Moldovan
28. Romanian
29. Russian
30. Romanian
31. Romanian or Moldovan with friends
32. Romanian
33. Romanian
34. Moldovan, Russian and Ukrainian
35. Romanian and Russian
36. Roumanian
37. Moldovan dialect
38. Moldovan

## Appendix 47

**14. The language that impacted your education (be it at school, university, etc.) the most is...Fill in the blank the language (only one).**

1. Romanian
2. Romanian
3. English
4. Romanian
5. Romanian
6. Russian
7. Romanian
8. Romanian
9. Romanian
10. romanian
11. English
12. French
13. Romanian
14. English
15. Romanian
16. Romanian
17. Romanian and  
English
18. No one
19. Romanian
20. Romanian
21. romanian
22. Franceza
23. Romanian
24. French
25. English

26. Romanian
27. Romanian
28. English
29. English
30. Romanian
31. Romanian
32. Romanian
33. Russian
34. Russian
35. Romanian
36. Romanian
37. Romanian
38. Romanian

## Appendix 48

**15. If you had the opportunity to teach one single language or educate your child (in only one language) what would it be?`**

1. English
2. French
3. Romanian
4. Romanian
5. English
6. English
7. Romanian
8. Romanian
9. RomanianMostly
10. English
11. Romanian
12. Already eduvating in 3 languages
13. Romanian
14. English
15. English
16. Romanian
17. That would not be an opportunity - but a limitation! If I had to choose - I guess Russian, as it is more practical in today's world.
18. French
19. Romanian
20. English
21. English
22. Romana și engleza 100%
23. Romanian
24. Romanian

25. Romanian, only because my partner prefers to talk this language
26. Romanian
27. Romanian
28. Romanian
29. English
30. English
31. French
32. Romanian
33. Russian
34. Russian
35. English
36. Roumanian
37. French
38. English

## Appendix 49

**16. In which language(s) do you listen to the music the most? Please write/fill in the blank the language(s) depending on usage frequency. (i.e. Always 100% - English; Mostly 75% - French; Frequently (50%) - Russian; Occasionally (25%) -Spanish).**

1. 50% Russian, English, Romanian
2. French-50%; English- 30%; Russian-20%
3. Mostly English and Romanian, occasionally Russian.
4. English and Romanian
5. 95% English; 5% Romanian
6. 50/50 russian/english
7. English, Italian, French, Romanian Russian
8. English
9. Mostly English; occasionally Romanian
10. english:100%  
Portuguese:90%
11. English, French, Italian, Romanian
12. English, Romanian, Italian, Russian
13. Frequently 50% - Romanian, Frequently 50% - English
14. English
15. English, Russian, French, Romanian
16. occasionally-Romanian,English and Russian
17. 80% English, 70 Spanish, 30 Romanian, 20 Russian
18. English(80%) Russian (50%) romanian(20%)
19. English 50%, French 40%, Russian-Romanian 10%
20. English and Russian
21. mostly - english, frequently - romanian, occasionally - russian
22. 100% romana

23. 85% English, 10% Russian, 5% Romanian
24. Russian, French, English, Romanian
25. Mostly English. The rest is in Romanian or Russian
26. 50% English, 30% Romanian, 15% Russian, 5% others (French, Spanish, Portuguese)
27. 75%English 50% French 25%Russian
28. English
29. Always - English; mostly - Romanian, Occasionally-Russian
30. English - 75%, French - 25%
31. English - 75%, Romanian -25%
32. Mostly - English, Occasionally - Russian, English
33. Russian and English
34. Mostly Russian, Occasionally Ukrainian
35. Mostly English
36. 100%- roumanian .75%- russian .25% english
37. English - mostly 75%, French - ocaasionally 25%
38. Frequently (50%), Occasionally (25 %) - Romanian, Occasionally (25 %) - Russian

## Appendix 50

**17. In which language(s) do you think/reflect? Fill in the blank the language (only one).**

1. Russian
2. French
3. Romanian
4. It depends on the context, generally people reflect in concepts,not in words.
5. English (sometimes Romanian)
6. Russian
7. Romanian
8. Romanian
9. Romanian
10. romanian
11. English
12. Romanian
13. Romanian
14. Multiple languages
15. Romanian
16. Romanian
17. English
18. Romanian and russian
19. Romanian
20. Romanian

21. romanian
22. Romana
23. Romanian
24. French, Romanian
25. Mostly English, but it all depends. Sometime in Romanian/Russian.
26. Romanian
27. Romanian
28. English
29. Romanian
30. Romanian, Russian
31. Only Romanian
32. Romanian
33. Russian
34. Ukrainian
35. English
36. Roumanian
37. Romanian
38. Romanian forever

## Appendix 51

**18. In which language(s) do you pray? (if applicable). Fill in the blank the language (only one).**

1. Russian
2. Romanian
1. If I pray, I do it in Romanian
2. Romanian
3. I don't pray but I only know the prayer in Romanian and English
4. I don't pray
5. Romanian
6. Romanian
7. NA
8. Romanian
9. Romanian
10. NA
11. Romanian
12. NA
13. NA
14. Romanian
15. N/A
16. NA

17. Romanian
18. Romanian
19. NA
20. Romanian
21. Romanian
22. Romanian
23. NA
24. Romanian
25. meditate in Romanian
26. Romanian
27. Romanian
28. NA
29. Romanian
30. Romanian
31. Russian
32. Ukrainian
33. Romanian
34. Roumanian
35. I am not very religious
36. Romanian

## Appendix 52

**19. What is the language (only one) you would like to improve? Why? Please provide arguments in this regard.**

1. French
2. English
3. German. I did study it in school, I have some vocabulary and a bit of grammar so it would be a good basis if I have the time to learn it better. It would surely make me more competitive on the labor market.
4. German
5. French, I live in Belgium
6. Mandarin, cause it's one of the most popular languages in the world
7. French (because I need it for work and studies)
8. French
9. Russian - to have access to the culture of a large minority in our society
10. english, french, Portuguese
11. French, German and Dutch, because I live in country where these are the official languages
12. Netherlands ( I need)
13. English. I need to improve it for my professional career
14. French
15. English - first International language

16. English-because I live in English speaking country
17. Russian - I am living abroad for 5 years now, and I don't practice it enough, so I'm losing my fluency.
18. French( not fluent yet)
19. French, because I live in Belgium
20. English and French
21. french, never managed to learn it in school
22. Romana
23. French (I need it for my work)
24. Dutch
25. Romanian, only because my partner prefers to speak in Romanian.
26. English, because it's the most used in every field
27. English - my working language
28. Russian
29. Italian
30. Russian
31. French
32. French
33. English
34. Ukrainian and Romanian
35. French
36. English
37. French
38. Romanian

## Appendix 53

**20. According to you, what language(s) should the government employees from Moldavia use? Why? Please provide arguments in this regard.**

1. Romanian, Russian - internal collaboration; English - external collaboration
2. Romanian as it is the official language of the country
3. Romanian because it is the state language. But I do not see why other languages could not be used in parallel at local level (Gagauzia) or even small towns outside the autonomy where a compact ethnic minority group lives.
4. Romanian
5. Romanian and Russian, although romanian is the national language, it would be unfair to marginalize the second majority of the population that speak and conduct their daily life in Russian
6. Romanian/Russian/găgăuz cause a lot of people are native speakers
7. Romanian, Russian, because the majority of the population speak these two languages.
8. Romanian
9. Romanian. It is the official language of the country and an EU official language. As such, they can easily have access to EU acquis.

10. Romanian, of course.  
Because its our language, its even in the constitution wrote about this.  
I'd like to see everyone talking romanian, and not russian or moldavian.
11. Romanian, as it is the Constitutional language of the country
12. Romanian
13. Romanian as the official language
14. Whatever they want
15. Romanian - correct Romanian, our language.
16. Romanian
17. Both languages
18. Depends of the market and external relationship, but at least English
19. Romanian , it's evidently
20. Romanian
21. romanian, because it is the official language of the country
22. Romana și engleza
23. Romanian (using one language makes sense)
24. Romanian, Russian the two most common languages in Moldova
25. Both languages (russian/romanian). The language is a debate for such a long time.  
We will always continue to disgust one another for not knowing one or the other language.
26. Romanian, because it is the state language
27. Romanian (language of the nation) and partly Russian (the most used inter-ethnic language)
28. Romanian because it is the only official state language
29. Romanian, as it is our official language and my mother language
30. Romanian
31. Romanian and Russian
32. Romanian
33. Russian and Moldovan
34. Romanian (Moldovan), Russian and Ukrainian
35. Romanian
36. Mainly roumanian because it is the mother language amd then probably english and russian
37. Romanian, because it's the most influential language in our country
38. Romanian and Russian

## Appendix 54

### 21. According to you, which official language(s) of the Republic of Moldova should be?

1. Romanian
2. Romanian
3. Romanian
4. Romanian

5. Both Romanian and Russian
6. Russian and romanian
7. Romanian
8. Romanian
9. Romanian
10. It is already. And it's romanian.
11. Romanian
12. Romanian
13. Romanian
14. Romanian
15. Romanian
16. Romanian
17. Romanian
18. Romanian
19. Romanian
20. Romanian
21. Romanian
22. Romana
23. Romanian
24. Romanian
25. Romanian and Russian
26. Romanian only!
27. Romanian
28. Romanian
29. Romanian
30. Romanian
31. Romanian
32. Romanian
33. Russian
34. Russian
35. Romanian
36. Roumanian
37. Romanian
38. Romanian and Russian

## Appendix 55

### **22. What is the language (only one) that defines yourself the most?**

1. Russian
2. French
3. Romanian
4. Romanian
5. Romanian

6. Russian
7. Romanian
8. Romanian
9. Romanian
10. romanian, english
11. Romanian
12. Romanian
13. Romanian
14. English
15. Romanian
16. Romanian
17. Moldovan mixed with English
18. There's no such thing
19. Romanian
20. Romanian
21. romanian
22. Romana
23. Romanian
24. Romanian
25. Romanian
26. Romanian
27. i am not defined by only ones language as I am an integrated migrant. But if I absolutely uave to choose, than it's Romanian.
28. Romanian
29. Romanian
30. Romanian
31. Romanian
32. Romanian
33. Russian
34. Russian
35. Romanian
36. Roumanian
37. Romanian
38. Romanian

## Appendix 56

**23. What is your 'fight language'? More precisely, what is the language you use when you are confronted in a fight/argument ?**

1. Russian
2. French
3. It depends on the language of the discussion
4. It depends whom am I fighting.
5. English, but I feel quite comfortable arguing in Romanian too

6. Russian
7. Romanian/Russian/English
8. Romanian
9. Romanian
10. depends. If i argue with my husband, friends, i confront them in english. And if its someone from the family i was born in, then romanian, of course.
11. English
12. Romanian
13. Romanian
14. Romanian
15. Romanian
16. Romanian
17. If I bump my toe in the edge of the table I will be swearing in Russian. If I am frustrated or mad - I use Russian or Moldovan. If I am in an argument with someone else - I will speak the language of my interlocutor.
18. Russian
19. Romanian
20. Romanian
21. romanian
22. Romana
23. Romanian
24. French, Romanian
25. Russian, because they most poetic words :)
26. Romanian
27. Various. Frequently Romanian
28. Romanian or English (depending on the context)
29. Romanian/ Russian
30. Romanian
31. Romanian and French
32. Moldovan sub-dialect
33. Russian
34. Ukrainian
35. English
36. Roumanian
37. Romanian
38. Moldovan

## Appendix 57

### 24. What is/are the language(s) you watch or read the news?

1. Romanian, English, Russian
2. English
3. Romanian, English, Russian.
4. Romanian, English, French and Russian
5. English, sometimes Romanian

6. Russian/french /english
7. Romanian/Russian/English/French/Dutch
8. Romanian, Russian, English
9. Romanian
10. english, french, Romanian
11. English, Romanian, French, Russian
12. French, Romanian
13. Romanian, English, Russian
14. English
15. French, English, Romanian, Russian
16. Romanian, English, Russian
17. English, Dutch, Romanian
18. English, french,Romanian
19. Romanian, Russian, French
20. French and English
21. english
22. Romana și engleza și franceza
23. Romanian Russian and English
24. French, Dutch
25. Englis/Russian/Romanian/Dutch
26. Romanian, Russian, English
27. Français/ English
28. English, Romanian
29. Romanian/ English
30. Romanian, English
31. English on BBC
32. Romanian and English
33. Russian
34. Ukrainian, Russian, English
35. English
36. Roumanian
37. French
38. Romanian, English, Russian

## Appendix 58

**25. How would you define yourself? Please fill in the blank.**

1. Mixt
2. Polyglot
3. Bad at defining myself)
4. Romanian
5. 100% Moldovan
6. Man of earth

7. A person who speaks many languages
8. Romanian, Moldovan, from the territorial point of view
9. Romanian
10. Energetic person.
11. European
12. Romanian
13. Moldovan Romanian
14. Caucasian male
15. A moldavian person born in Moldova and speaks Romanian (like Belgians or Canadians who speaks French)
16. ...
17. Human? Moldovan, in love with her culture, but from distance.
18. Human
19. I'm a person who lives in 2 countries and I respect the both countries and their customs
20. Romanian
21. ??? very vague question
22. Moldoveanca
23. Creative
24. Moldovian
25. I would define myself as a hard working mom, at home and work, who always looks to help other people.
26. Intelligent
27. I am a romanian speaking moldovan migrant.
28. I don't understand the question, what do you mean by define?
29. Flexible and positive persone
30. Incredibly Moldovan and proud of my nation!!!
31. I am super Moldovan and sometimes I feel Belgian, as I live here.
32. I am Moldovan but live in France
33. I have Russian blood.
34. Ukrainian living in Moldova
35. Romanian
36. Definety a proud citizen of Moldova who speak such a beautiful language as roumanian.i am so confiedent abiut that and nobody can take this away from me
37. It's a really difficult question! I am from Moldova
38. I define myself a Romanian lover (FOREVER)

## Appendix 59

**26. How would other people define you? Please fill in the blank.**

1. Mixt
2. Polyglot
3. Difficult to answer

4. Moldovan
5. 100% Moldovan
6. Same
7. A good person (I hope)
8. Moldovan, Romanian
9. NA
10. Funny, creative
11. ?
12. Romanian
13. Moldovan
14. Caucasian male
15. Moldavian
16. ...
17. Sassy Cold Easter European
18. Persévèrent human
19. A person who can adapt itself
20. Romanian
21. ??? very vague question
22. Moldoveanca
23. Active
24. Moldovian
25. Friendly and good person
26. Modest
27. Moldovan
28. same as above, unclear question
29. Open and always smiling
30. Moldovan culturally, I think
31. Super Moldovan and a little crazy about my country.
32. Moldovan and sometimes French
33. Russian and very profoundly proud of Russian culture.
34. Ukrainian and Moldovan I think
35. Romanian
36. Ask them :)))
37. Moldovan living in France
38. I don't know. Maybe Moldovan, because I live here.

## Appendix 60

**27. How can you establish if someone is Moldavian, Romanian, Russian, etc. in Moldavia? On what criteria will you base your judgement? Please provide your arguments in this regard.**

1. It is so pizza in our society :) difficult to understand
2. On their attitude
3. Generally, you can assume based on the language that they speak. But you never know unless you ask. Assuming that someone is Russian because you hear them speak Russian would, in most cases, be incorrect, as we often have Ukrainians, Jews, Belarusian and even Gagauzia as well as Bulgarian that speak Russian outside their families the majority of the time.
4. Self-identification
5. It depends on how each person identifies themselves
6. Clothes: different style
7. After the family origin.
8. By Earings and the way of walking, gestures
9. Citizenship (every citizen of Moldova is a Moldovan), ethnicity (71% of Moldovans are Romanians by ethnicity), language (there is no Moldovan language).
10. the way they treat the others.  
I live abroad, so, here its super easy to see who's from Moldova. Not all of us, but mostly, moldavians think they are some kings here. They disrespect the others. They always try to find easy ways to win money, but not working.
11. You cannot really establish how does one self-identify, except if discussing this matter with the person
12. I feel it ;) and the accent
13. Language accent
14. By their passport
15. I never thought about
16. I try to respect all people.
17. By the way they talk - there is a slight accent in the Native Romanian speakers when they speak Romanian, or in Native Russian speakers when they speak Romanian.
18. There's no judgment, there's only cultural environment
19. Russian is a language itself, Romanian-Moldavian is the different accent between
20. By accent
21. based on the language they are speaking and their accent
22. După cum vorbește
23. Just because government uses "Moldavian" and "Romanian" as different languages it doesn't mean it's true. We are Moldavians, we come from Moldova, but we speak Romanian cause it's Romanian language, at least this is how I was thought at school. I would call someone Romanian, because in Romania they have a different accent, but the grammar and spelling are the same. Russian I call all the people speaking Russian and especially those who were even born in Moldova but still unable to learn or refuse to speak Romanian.
24. Language that the person speak
25. Language. The accents that can be identified
26. By what language she/he speaks: Russians will speak only Russian, Romanians only Romanian and Moldavians will speak both, sometimes mixing the languages
27. Language spoken and person's judgement of own identity
28. by asking them how they identify themselves
29. Taking into account the behavior and facial features

30. On what language they speak and how they behave culturally, traditions and life attitudes
31. On what language speak they and their friends, parents. Because it is normal, the language they speak show their origin and even character. Russians in Moldova you even understand from their look!
32. I will establish this from the way they look. I can distinguish people who is Moldovan and Russian.
33. I distinguish Moldovan from Russian from their speech and where they study: if they studied in a Russian school they are more Russian and if they studied in a Romanian school they HAVE tendency to love more Romanian culture. The Romanian teachers speak a lot about Romanian history and culture.
34. They are very different starting from clothing and language, their culture.
35. Accent
36. Mostly after their accent but also after their behavior and judgment
37. Language and character of course
38. I judge people by the way they think and speak. More than that, people who don't speak Romanian in public spaces are no doubts Russian, because they steal think Russian has the same role in Moldova as 30 years ago.

## Appendix 61

**28. What are the defining features which would best describe the Moldavian people? Please provide arguments in this regard.**

1. A lot of food :)
2. Corrupted
3. Moldavians = ethnic group or citizens of Moldova?
4. Xxxx
5. Hospitality, zealousness and close mindedness
6. Don't know
7. Naïve, poor, believers, rich in history, good people, in many cases not very intelligent.
8. Earrings and clothes styles
9. Stubbornness, resilience.
10. Im gonna say about the best part of moldavians.  
We are hardworking people. Very generous. We stay stick together, and help each other.
11. Undecided
12. Good people
13. Multi cultural
14. N/A
15. Hospitality, kindness, workers
16. Hospitality, Hard working, Friendship.
17. Adaptable
18. No arguments
19. They are really good people and hardworking

20. Welcoming and warm people
21. honest and eager to help
22. Meleagurile și plaiul natal
23. Hard working
24. Open, kind, simple
25. Hospitality. Since I remember we were always considered as a hospitable population
26. Kind and hospitable, they will always help in hard situations
27. Historically oppressed; lost in regards to their own identity and language; politically immature; clever, but lazy - because we are a very young state and learning to be independent, govern ourselves and the country.
28. Kind, hospitable, oppressed
29. Open persons, but same time very judges regarding other ethnicities and nationalities.
30. Hardworking, intelligent, proud of their wonderful culture.
31. they are very hardworking and culturally rooted about the language, history, etc.
32. brilliant mind and ability to speak fluently a lot of languages.
33. They love parties and holidays! They are very educated and nationalist about their food and Moldovan language - a way too much.
34. They are very corrupt and poor.
35. Speaking Romanian mixed with Russian
36. They are beautiful people who know to cook tasty and to have fun with any occasion .also they love their country and are proud about it
37. They are very flexible, as they adapt to each country they move.
38. They are very nationalist but are obliged to emigrate because of the corruption and poverty.

## Appendix 62

**29. Are there any representative people who illustrate the Moldavian people? Then, how would you characterize them? Please write 3 key ideas.**

1. Hardworking, innovative, musical
2. Dodon - a joke
3. Same as above.
4. Xxxx
5. Talented, knowledgeable and corrupted
6. No idea
7. Patriots, intelligent, honest
8. Not exactly. We are neither only blonds, neither dark hair people
9. Stephan the Great, mythic ruler; Mihai Eminescu, poet. Nevertheless, they are also Romanian and using them to create a dichotomy Moldovan/ Romanian is a diversion.
10. Hospitality. Brave. Hard working
11. N/A
12. Maria Dragan - singer . Creative, patient and fatalistic
13. O
14. Em what?

15. Fighters, optimist, romantic
16. Mihai Eminescu, Eugen Doga, Grigore Vieru
17. Kind and warm, hospitable, always up for a drink and good food in good company
18. -
19. EUGEN Doga, open minded, hardworking, honesty
20. Brave, talented and flexible
21. Eugen Doga - brilliant composer and musician  
Maia Sandu - smart and determined woman who fights for preserving the Romanian language and culture and liberation of Moldova of filthy oligarchs and politicians who have been milking it for decades  
Dodon Igor - arrogant, filthy, despicable, sexist, racist and homophobic as\*hole who has been in charge of our country for the past 4 years
22. Agricultura și vinărie din rep Moldova
23. Wise, hard working and cheerful
24. I don't know
25. Nata Albot - ambitious, smart and has sense of humor
26. Peasants - hardworking, mafia - those who are governing, simple people - that work for life
27. there sure are. Adaptable/ Resistant/ Perseverant.
28. Brave, vocal, entrepreneurial
29. Eugen Doga/ Catalin Josanu/ Pasa Parfeni  
activism, patriotism, culture
30. Dan Balan and all Moldovans across the world.
31. Me
32. National singers: Lautarii
33. Russian speakers, because they were a part of Soviet Union.
34. the president Igor Dodon - an icon of Moldovan people, I think.
35. Singers and Politics  
Talented and the way to manage the priorities
36. There are bad and good people who represent the country .i admire the good ones for their effort and work to get there and make us proud of them .certainly they are ambitious ,talented and loveable people
37. Stefan cel Mare, Dan Balan and Maria Biesu, Maia Sandu. They speak Romanian and they are great personalities. Maia Sandu, our new president is a representative person.
38. Nelly Ciobanu - a Moldovan singer, Eugeniu Coseriu - one of the best linguists of all of times and of course Eugen Doga, the most important composer of the country and his Unesco Watz.

## Appendix 63

**30. Do you think one person can be Moldavian and Russian at the same time/at once? If yes, please state your main argument(s). If not, please state your main argument(s).**

1. Yes. We have a lot of mixed families, so kids are bilingual, bicultural..

2. You're Moldavian or Russian, you can't be both (except if one of your parents has another nationality of course)
3. Anyone can be whatever they want to be, and have the freedom to identify themselves as they wish.
4. No.
5. Yes, Each person can identify themselves however they see fit
6. Yes, it's close nations
7. Yes, can be, if we talk about the citizenship
8. No
9. Yes, citizen of Moldova of Russian ethnicity or, mostly, by language.
10. If the person has the origins from Moldova, and Russia, yes.  
But, if someone was born from both parents moldavians, then, no.  
Its like me, i was born in Moldova. I cant say im half american, only because im a enlgish talker.
11. Yes, as a Moldovan citizen of Russian descent
12. It can be. It was raised in both cultures
13. He could be Russian by nationality and Moldovan by citizenship, and vice versa
14. Why not, if they got 2 citizenships
15. Yes, if you have the double nationality.
16. Yes if this person has double citizenship.
17. Yes, if the Moldovan has traveled/interacted enough with the (genuine) Russian culture.
18. The question it is unclear, what does it mean this différenciation??
19. Yes, if he speaks fluently the 2 languages
20. Yes
21. yes, if they have been speaking both languages since an early age and have been exposed to both cultures
22. Dacă sa născut moldovean și în copilărie a vorbit în rusa
23. Usually are those who have parents from both nationalities.
24. Yes
25. Definitely yes. We have such a big influence from Russian culture and we just cannot disregard this.
26. No, you are Moldavian if you were born in Moldova or Russian if born in Russia, and yes - otherwise you have 2 citizenships
27. It's not clear your question. A person can speak 2 languages and have two nationalities and love/hate both home coutries the same way.
28. what kind of question is this? yes if you have double nationality or identify with both, or your parents are from both these countries
29. Yes, only if they have double citizenship
30. Yes, I feel like this.
31. Yes, because you watch movies in Russian, you have lived in Russian culture, films, but speak and study in Russian.
32. Yes, absolutely. There are Russian people who were established in our country and they speak only Russian, they even don't study Romanian or other languages. It's quite strange.
33. No, if you are Russian you cannot be Moldavian.
34. Yes, if they feel this, they can.

35. Yes, having arents that represents their etnicitt and implanting both culture in the child's lifestyle
36. Yes .you are a moldavian because you were born in Moldavia but if you live for more than 10 years in another country for ex Russia ,with other people and other traditions you can say that u are a russian.it is like that countru adopted and raised you .you can't deny tgat it is ur parent even though not biological
37. Yes, because we were a part of Soviet Union and Greater Romania, so we are Moldovan
38. Yes, they can be if they have the same level of both languages. If not, they are or Moldovan or Russian.

## Appendix 64

**31. Do you think one person can be Moldavian and Romanian at the same time/at once? If yes, please state your main argument(s). If not, please state your main argument(s).**

1. Moldavian by citizenship, or place of birth, but Romanian by culture. A lot of families were separated after the II world war...
2. Same as for Moldavian and Russian. We should be proud of our identity.
3. I do not see a Significant difference between the two culture-wise. And someone can be both also by holding two passports.
4. Yes.
5. Yes, Each person can identify themselves however they see fit
6. Yes, it's mostly same nation
7. Yes, if we talk about the citizenship
8. No
9. Yes, Moldovan by citizenship, Romanian by cultural identity.
10. Yes.  
Recording to the history i studied at school, Moldova and Romanian, were one country. But, they felt apart.  
But, i prefer to say we are moldavians. Only because of the zone we grew up, the specific regionalism of the language we talk.  
In my soul, i know we are the same. We are brothers, not only by frontiers, but even by blood.
11. Yes, as a Romanian citizen of Romanian descent
12. Yes! We are same nation.
13. Yes. It is almost the same thing
14. Why not, if they got 2 citizenahips
15. Legally yes, double passport, double nationality. Bit culturally no, we are the same.
16. Yes if this person has double citizenship.
17. Yes, in some ways. A Moldovan can be a Romanian, but a Romanian can't be a Moldovan (from Republic of Moldova).
18. The same as above
19. Yes, it's the same language, the accent is different
20. Yes
21. yes, if they have been exposed to both cultures for a long time, the language is the same

22. Vorbim doar o singură limba, și este limba română
23. Usually are those who have parents from both nationalities.
24. Yes
25. Yes. People want to see themselves as Romanians
26. Yes, because Moldova was a part of Romania and the Moldovans are now great-grandchildren of Romanian people
27. the same as above. You can have both nationalities and be attached to these countries with the same intensity. Easier here as you speak the same language.
28. also weird question. but yes, because Moldova was a historical part of Romania
29. Yes, same, only if they have double Cirese ship
30. Yes, I feel myself Romanian, Moldovan and Russian
31. Yes, you can be Moldovan as nationality but Romanian in your heart for those who have Romanian descendants.
32. Yes, there are Romanian people who were established in our country and they speak only Romanian.
33. "Moldavian and Romanian are the same.
34. Yes, if they feel this, they can.
35. Yes
36. Yes . We all are roumanian kind . We speak the same language and we share the same history .there may be a line between the countries but shouldn't be between people
37. No, I think Romanian is the language we speak and Moldavian is our nationality, state, government
38. Yes they are actually. Moldovan people and Romanian are brothers!

## Appendix 65

### 32. According to you, what is the most beautiful language in the world?

1. Every mothertongue language is the most beautiful
2. Romanian
3. Difficult to answer.
4. Romanian, of course :)
5. Italian
6. Italian
7. Mother tongue
8. Italian
9. Romanian
10. hard to say. But, i think the most common language. English
11. Romanian
12. Impossible
13. Italian
14. Arabic
15. For everyone is their mother tongue.
16. All languages are beautiful in own ways.

17. Pfff.. I don't know them ALL, but from the ones I am familiar with - French, and Spanish
18. French-italian
19. Each language in the world is beautiful
20. Italian
21. Romanian
22. Romanian, Spanish, English
23. Romanian :)
24. All languages are beautiful
25. Italian
26. Romanian!
27. all are
28. Italian
29. Romanian
30. Romanian
31. Romanian and French
32. Romanian
33. Russian
34. Ukrainian and Russian
35. Love
36. Definetly roumanian .there is no other language that is more beautigul and melodious than roumanian langauge
37. French
38. Romanian, of course

## Appendix 66

### 33. What is the month and year of your birth?

1. June, 1977
2. March 1997
3. May 1989
4. August 1986
5. February 1997
6. May, 1995
7. March 1983
8. April 1982
9. 111988
10. 6, 1997
11. July 1992
12. March, 1973
13. April 1992
14. Mar 1994
15. July 1992

16. 10/04/1985
17. 07/1991
18. July 1988
19. January 1985
20. 5,1988
21. april 1999
22. Septembrie 1985
23. August 1986
24. April 1992
25. 21.05.1990
26. April, 1986
27. 07/1984
28. march, 1992
29. June, '88
30. 04/1986
31. 12/2000
32. 12/03/1985
33. 05/1978
34. 09/2000
35. February, 1986
36. July 1978
37. 23/12/1984
38. 02/1987

## Appendix 67

### 34. What gender do you identify as? i.e. female

1. Female
2. Female
3. Male
4. Female
5. Female
6. Male
7. Female
8. Female
9. Male
10. Female
11. Female
12. Female
13. Female
14. *Attack helicopter*
15. Female
16. Female

17. Female
18. Female
19. Female
20. Female
21. female
22. Femeie
23. Female
24. Female
25. Female
26. Female
27. female
28. female
29. Female
30. Female
31. Male
32. Male
33. Female
34. Female
35. Female
36. Female
37. Female
38. Female

## Appendix 68

### 35. What is your birth country?

1. Soviet Union ( at this moment - Moldova, Republic of)
2. Moldova
3. Moldova
4. Russia
5. Moldova
6. Moldavie
7. Moldova
8. Moldova
9. Moldova
10. Moldova
11. Moldova
12. Moldova
13. Moldova
14. Moldova
15. Moldova
16. Moldova

17. Moldova
18. Moldova
19. Chisinau
20. Moldova
21. Moldova
22. R Moldova
23. Russia
24. Moldova
25. Moldova
26. Moldova
27. Moldova
28. Republic of Moldova
29. Republic of Moldova
30. Moldova
31. Moldova
32. Moldova
33. Russia
34. Ukraine
35. Moldova
36. Moldavia
37. Moldova
38. Moldova

## Appendix 69

### 36. What is your current country of residence?

1. Moldova, Romania
2. Belgium
3. Moldova
4. UK
5. Belgium
6. Belgium
7. Belgium
8. Belgium
9. Belgium
10. France
11. Belgium
12. Belgium
13. Moldova
14. Belgium
15. Belgium
16. UK
17. Belgium

18. Luxembourg
19. Belgium
20. Belgium
21. Netherlands
22. E Moldova
23. Belgium
24. Belgium
25. Belgium
26. Moldova
27. Belgium
28. Belgium
29. Republic of Moldova
30. Belgium
31. Belgium
32. France
33. Moldova (Republic of)
34. Moldova
35. Canada
36. Roumania
37. France
38. Moldova - forever

## Appendix 70

### 38.What is your current level of education? i.e. master degree

37. PhD
38. Bachelor degree
39. Master degree,
40. PhD
41. Master's Degree
42. Bachelor degree
43. University degree
44. Master
45. Master
46. BAC
47. MSc
48. MBA
49. Master degree
50. Bachelors
51. Bachelor degree
52. Master Degree
53. Master's
54. Master degree

55. English
56. Master degree
57. bachelor
58. Master
59. Master
60. High School (Haute Ecole : bachelier de type court)
61. Master degree
62. PhD
63. 2× international master degrees
64. PhD
65. Master degree
66. Master after Master
67. bachelor degree
68. Master degree
69. University degree
70. university degree
71. Master degree
72. Master degree
73. PHD
74. university degree

## Appendix 71

### *Language Attitudes and Cultural Identity in Moldavia Questionnaire*

1. How do you identify yourself?
  - a) Moldavian
  - b) Romanian
  - c) Russian
  - d) Ukrainian
  - e) Gagauz
  - f) Other
2. What is/are your mother tongue(s)?
3. Please write/fill in the blank the language(s) you use at home the most often. If you cite several languages, please indicate their respective.
4. What are the language(s) your parents use at home? If you cite several languages, please indicate their respective frequency. (i.e. 1. French, 2. English).
5. When you are surrounded by your friends, you prefer to speak...Please write/fill in the blank the language(s) depending on usage frequency. (i.e. Always 100% - English; Mostly 75% - French; Frequently (50%) - Russian; Occasionally (25%) - Spanish).
6. Have you ever been exposed to a second language from an early age? If yes, please state/fill in the blank the language(s).
7. According to you, the language(s) that best describe(s) the Moldavian culture is/are? Please state/fill in the blank the language(s).
8. According to the majority of the people in Moldavia, the language(s) that best describe(s) the Moldavian culture is/are?
9. According to the main political and media elite discourse, the language(s) that best describe(s) the Moldavian culture is/are?
10. To achieve high professional achievements in Moldavia you would better master? Fill in the blank the language(s).
11. Besides Moldavian, which language(s) should Moldavians imperatively learn?
12. According to you, to be a 'real' Moldavian you should definitely speak...Fill in the blank the language(s).
13. According to the majority of the people in Moldavia, to be a 'real' Moldavian you should definitely speak...?
14. The language that impacted your education (be it at school, university, etc.) the most is...Fill in the blank the language (only one).
15. If you had the opportunity to teach one single language or educate your child (in only one language) what would it be?
16. In which language(s) do you listen to the music the most? Please write/fill in the blank the language(s) depending on usage frequency. (i.e. Always 100% - English; Mostly 75% - French; Frequently (50%) - Russian; Occasionally (25%) - Spanish).
17. In which language(s) do you think/reflect? Fill in the blank the language (only one).

18. In which language(s) do you pray? (if applicable). Fill in the blank the language (only one).
19. What is the language (only one) you would like to improve? Why? Please provide arguments in this regard.
20. According to you, what language(s) should the government employees from Moldavia use? Why? Please provide arguments in this regard.
21. According to you, which official language(s) of the Republic of Moldova should be?
22. What is the language (only one) that defines yourself the most?
23. What is your 'fight language'? More precisely, what is the language you use when you are confronted in a fight/argument ?
24. What is/are the language(s) you watch or read the news?
25. How would you define yourself? Please fill in the blank.
26. How would other people define you? Please fill in the blank.
27. How can you establish if someone is Moldavian, Romanian, Russian, etc. in Moldavia? On what criteria will you base your judgement? Please provide your arguments in this regard.
28. What are the defining features which would best describe the Moldavian people? Please provide arguments in this regard.
29. Are there any representative people who illustrate the Moldavian people? Then, how would you characterize them? Please write 3 key ideas.
30. Do you think one person can be Moldavian and Russian at the same time/at once? If yes, please state your main argument(s). If not, please state your main argument(s).
31. Do you think one person can be Moldavian and Romanian at the same time/at once? If yes, please state your main argument(s). If not, please state your main argument(s).
32. According to you, what is the most beautiful language in the world?
33. What is the month and year of your birth?
34. What gender do you identify as? i.e. female
35. What is your birth country?
36. What is your current country of residence?
37. What is your current level of education? i.e. master degree.