

“Traditional and innovative approaches to ethnolinguistic vitality”

Special issue on Ethnolinguistic Vitality

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Introduction: Tradition and innovation in Ethnolinguistic vitality theory

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Over 30 years has passed since the introduction of the notion of ‘Ethnolinguistic Vitality’ by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977). During this time a substantial body of research has accumulated, including a couple of collective volumes (Rodrigue Landry & Réal Allard 1994; Kindell & Lewis 2000); the theory has seen a few advancements, such as the introduction of the notion of subjective vitality (Bourhis, Giles & Rosenthal 1981), the conceptualization of subjective vitality as a belief system (Allard & Landry 1986) and the proposal for a framework of vitality assessment (Harwood, Giles & Bourhis 1994) to name a few most significant ones. The theory has also evoked discussions from time to time (Husband & Saifullah Khan 1982; Johnson, Giles & Bourhis 1983; Haarmann 1986; Hamers & Michel 1989; Edwards 1994). However, in general the interest towards ethnolinguistic vitality theory has remained sparse (see Abrams, Barker & Giles 2009) and the framework has not yet managed to establish itself as a genuine field of study bridging sociolinguistics, cultural studies and social psychology.

There could be several reasons for this, both methodological as well as theoretical. For example, the theory has changed very little over the 30 years time. The three main factors proposed initially as the determining factors for group vitality have remained essentially the same (Bourhis 2001; Abrams et al. 2009), and although some alternative models have been proposed (Rodrigue Landry & Réal Allard 1994; Ehala 2009), this has not lead to substantial development and refinement of the theory. Partly this may be due to methodological difficulties which have not enabled systematic falsification of hypotheses and comparison of different models.

Also, there seems to be a gap between the central notion and the work conducted in social psychology in related issues. Provided that ethnolinguistic vitality is “is that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations” (Giles et al. 1977), it is essentially the feature of groupness of a ethnic community. In this way the notion of vitality is close to the notion of entitativity which is “the extent to which a group is perceived as being a coherent unit in which the members of the group are bonded together in some fashion” (Lickel, Hamilton & Sherman 2001). In social psychology, entitativity has attracted a substantial attention over the last fifteen years and several different aspects of group identification have been outlined (Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy & Eidelson 2008). It is likely that the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality could benefit from the insights from these studies.

Despite the methodological and theoretical issues that need to be elaborated, the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality has a great heuristic value and it has been used as a reference point in several related fields. For example, it has been applied to issues of cross-cultural communication (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey 1990), language maintenance (Giles, Leets & Coupland 1990); second language learning (Clement, Baker & MacIntyre 2003), acculturation (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senecal 1997) and media studies (Moring & Husband 2007). These applications indicate that the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality has been found useful in explaining phenomena in these studies, but this research can also feedback to the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality, providing crucial insights to the

interrelations between vitality and other factors. As influences are rarely unidirectional in social domains, the applications of vitality theory bear direct relevance to the development of the theory itself.

Bearing in mind these circumstances this special issue on theoretical aspects and applications of ethnolinguistic vitality seeks to address the range of issues, such as:

- What other factors beside demographic, status and institutional support play a role in affecting ethnolinguistic vitality.
- Is it possible to generalize over a vast range of factors influencing ethnolinguistic vitality to a limited set of crucial ones or does it depend too much on the case at hand?
- How the problems of multiple and hybrid identities could be approached within vitality framework?
- Is a uniform methodology achievable for assessing ethnolinguistic vitality or should the method correspond to the particular social setting?
- How to adopt a triangulated methodology in the investigation of ethnolinguistic vitality and ethnocultural identity?
- How various applications of the notion of vitality could be used to elaborate and test the theory?

Most of the contributions to this special issue are based on papers presented at the colloquium “Scrutinizing Ethnolinguistic Vitality: Some new data and approaches” on the XII International Conference of Minority Languages, 28-29 May 2009 in Tartu, Estonia.

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Does Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory Account for the Actual Vitality of Ethnic Groups? A Critical Evaluation.

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Abstract

Ethnolinguistic vitality theory asserts that Status, Demographic, Institutional Support and Control factors make up the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups. An assessment of a group's strengths and weaknesses in each of these dimensions provides a rough classification of ethnolinguistic groups into those having low, medium, or high vitality. (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977). Low vitality groups are most likely to go through linguistic assimilation and may not be considered a distinctive collective group (Bourhis, Giles, & Rosenthal, 1981). On the other hand, high vitality groups are likely to maintain their language and distinctive cultural traits in multilingual settings. Compared to other models, EVT and its accompanying instruments provide a broader and more inclusive framework for the investigation of language maintenance and shift. However, the empirical evidence obtained in a number of contexts point to an underestimation of the actual vitality of some minority groups. In this paper, based on the findings on ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions of Turkish immigrants in Australia, France, Germany and the Netherlands, a critical evaluation of EVT will be presented.

Introduction

Ethnolinguistic vitality and its relationship to language maintenance and shift of minority languages have been researched in different multilingual contexts. In line with the aims of this Special Issue on Ethnolinguistic Vitality, the purpose of this article is evaluating the Turkish immigrant vitality in four national contexts: Australia, France, Germany and the Netherlands. By means of this comparative examination, an evaluation of intergroup dynamics and the role of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions on the language maintenance or shift of immigrant groups will be possible.

Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory

In order to investigate systematically ethnic minority language contexts, various language use typologies have been proposed. The typologies of Ferguson (1966), Haugen (1972), Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor (1977), Haarman (1986), and Edwards (1992) are some of the well-known and frequently cited works. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) proposed the model of ethnolinguistic vitality as a framework for integrating the role of socio-structural variables in intergroup relations, cross-cultural communication, second language learning, mother tongue maintenance, language shift and loss. The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group was defined as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (Giles, *et al.*, 1977: 308).

According to Giles *et al.*, (1977), Status, Demographic, Institutional Support and Control factors combine to make up the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups. A group's strengths and weaknesses in each of these domains could be assessed so as to provide a rough classification of ethnolinguistic groups as having *low, medium, or high vitality*. It is argued that low vitality groups are most likely to go through linguistic assimilation and 'cease to exist as a distinctive collectivity'. On the other hand, the high vitality groups are likely to maintain their language and distinctive cultural traits in multilingual settings.

In Giles *et al.*'s (1977) framework, the Status variables involve the economic, social, sociohistorical, and language status of the group within or outside the mainstream community. Demographic variables are those related to the number and distribution patterns of ethnolinguistic group members throughout a particular region or national territory. Demographic variables also include the birth rate, the group's rate of mixed marriages, and the patterns of immigration and emigration. Institutional Support factors refer to the extent to which a language group enjoys formal and informal representation in the various institutions of a community. Institutional support has to do with the degree to which an ethnolinguistic group receives formal and informal support in the various institutions: mass-media, education, government services, industry, religion, culture, and politics.

The model argues that these variables shaping vitality provide an 'objective' picture of the group as a collective unit. However, Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal (1981) proposed that group members' subjective vitality perceptions may be as important as the group's 'objective' vitality. In order to take into account the individuals' perceptions of the societal conditions influencing them, Bourhis *et al.*, (1981) constructed the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality questionnaire (SEVQ) to measure how group members actually perceive their own group and outgroups along important vitality dimensions. The key prediction of EVT is that community languages with high ethnolinguistic vitality will be retained, while those with low EV will tend to be replaced by the mainstream language. Compared to other models, EVT and its accompanying instruments provide a broader and more inclusive framework for the investigation of language maintenance and shift. However, the empirical evidence obtained in a number of contexts point to an underestimation of the actual vitality of some minority groups. In this paper, by comparing the objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Turkish immigrants in Australia, France, Germany and the Netherlands, a critical evaluation of EVT is presented.

Community profile of Turkish in the Immigration Context

The year 2011 marks the 50th anniversary of Turkish migration to Western Europe. In spite of a half century in European countries, Turkish integration still dominates the social and political agendas of the receiving societies. The signing of the labour agreements with various western countries in the 1960s was the first step of Turkish migration to Europe. Unlike many other European immigrant workers, Turkish workforce migration was a highly planned one. There were bilateral agreements between

Western European and Turkish governments. From the beginning, it was made clear that these workers were to be employed for some limited period and they were subject to bilateral agreements between the governments. Recruitment agreements were signed with Germany in 1961, with the Netherlands, Belgium, and Austria in 1964, with France in 1965 and with Australia and Sweden in 1967. Presuming that these immigrants are ‘guest-workers’ and one day they would have to leave, west European governments did not take any serious measures. Most of the Turkish immigrants were left on their own; they mostly received help and guidance from each other. In this period, language problems played a serious role in the settlement process. Education of children also turned out to be a major obstacle in the integration process. Turkish immigrants constitute the largest immigrant groups in Austria, Germany, and the Netherlands. Table 1 presents the number of Turkish immigrants in various immigration countries.

Table 1 Numbers of Turkish immigrants in various countries

COUNTRY	Population	COUNTRY	Population
Germany*	1.738.831	Switzerland	73.861
France	423.471	Australia	64.500
The Netherlands	364.333	Denmark	54.859
USA	250.000	Great Britain	52.893
Saudi Arabia	120.000	30 Other countries	436.738
Austria	113.635	TOTAL	3.693.121

* This figure does not include the naturalised Turkish in Germany. Total number of Turkish speakers in Germany is around two and a half million.

The number of Turkish nationals living in the European Union (EU) is equal to half of the population of Denmark, six times that of Luxembourg, two-thirds that of Ireland, and more than one-fourth of the population of Portugal or Greece. Even though EU countries put strict bans on accepting new immigrants from Turkey, a trend of increasing immigration is observed by way of family formation. This constant flow of new first-generation immigrants from Turkey enhances first language maintenance in the domestic context. Given the space limitation, an extensive profile of Turkish communities cannot be presented here (for specific details see Yagmur et al. 1999 for Australia; Yagmur & Akinci, 2003 for France; Yagmur, 2004 for Germany; and Yagmur, 2009 for the Netherlands). Below, a brief account of most relevant issues surrounding Turkish immigrants in the four immigration contexts will be given.

Turkish immigrant profile in Australia differs from the European countries due to educational qualifications of the immigrants. Turkish immigrants in Europe mostly come from rural backgrounds and they have very little education. Most of the educated Turks immigrated to Australia and to the USA. Even though educational profile of second and third-generation Turkish in Europe has improved considerably, still high levels of school dropouts and unemployment rates are used to characterize the Turkish immigrants. International developments such as 9/11 and the rise of political Islam led to heightened group boundaries between Turkish immigrants and the receiving societies. By constantly labelling Turkish immigrants by their ascribed religious identity, ‘us’ and ‘them’ distinction is reinforced and, as a result, they are more and more excluded from the

mainstream society. Irrespective of religious affiliation or personal differences, all Turkish immigrants are stigmatized equally in the media. Language maintenance is reported to be very strong among Turkish immigrants in all immigration contexts. Even among the second and third-generation Turkish is used extensively and Turkish turns out to be most vital immigrant language among youngsters in the European context (Extra & Yagmur, 2004).

Analysis of Turkish Ethnolinguistic Vitality in four Countries

In order to reflect on language maintenance and shift patterns of Turkish immigrants, a series of investigations were conducted in four different immigration contexts. Full details of these studies can be found in Yagmur et al. (1999) for Australia; Yagmur & Akinci, (2003) for France; Yagmur, (2004) for Germany; and Yagmur, (2009) for the Netherlands.

One of the basic tenets of EVT is that low vitality groups are most likely to go through linguistic assimilation. In these studies, the relationship between subjective ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions of Turkish immigrants and their language use, choice and attitudes were investigated. In the present analysis, subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Turkish immigrants in the four countries will be compared to each other. The Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (SEVQ) involved rating the receiving society and Turkish immigrants to the four countries on 24 items, measuring group vitality along the three dimensions of Status, Demography, and Institutional Support dimensions. Original version of SEVQ as developed by Bourhis *et al.* (1981) was adapted and translated into Turkish and the mainstream language in each immigration context. The informants rated Turkish immigrant vitality and host society vitality using 7-point Likert scales. In Table 2 Turkish informants' subjective evaluations of Demographic factors are presented.

Table 2 Subjective evaluation of Demographic factors in four countries

Vitality variables	Australia	France	Germany	Netherlands
Proportion of population nationally	1.53	2,61	3,09	2.66
Proportion of population locally	3.25	3,50	4,29	3.76
Birth rate	3.48	3,85	4,70	4.41
Endogamy	5.33	6,01	5,93	5.97
Immigration	2.04	2,64	3,33	3.28
Emigration	2.24	2,20	2,89	2.18
Average of Means	2.97	3.46	4.03	3.71

Informants' subjective ratings of Turkish vitality along demographic factors are in line with the objective profile of the group in the four countries. Turkish immigrant group is the largest in Germany followed by the Netherlands, France and Australia. Turkish immigrants are known for their endogamous marriage pattern, which is also closely reflected in informants' ratings. Turkish birth rates in the immigration context are higher compared to the host society, which is again accurately reflected in informants' responses in the four contexts.

Turkish immigrants are usually portrayed as a low status and an economically disadvantaged group in the media. This is more or less the same in the four immigration contexts. Local circumstances and the international prestige of the host language of course play a role in shaping the subjective vitality perceptions of the informants. Accordingly, Turkish vitality turns out to be the least in the English speaking Australian context. Both locally and internationally informants give very low ratings to Turkish. Even though the language status ratings in France and the Netherlands are lower, informants in Germany allocate more than average vitality to Turkish. This is in line with the objective vitality profile of the community in Germany as Turkish is used in most public signs in large Turkish concentration cities like Berlin and Hamburg. Turkish group's political representation in the Netherlands is the highest in the four immigration context. Four Turkish speakers hold a seat in the 150-member Dutch parliament. Also in the local politics, Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands are very active. Political representation in France and Germany is much lower compared to the Netherlands. It is almost non-existent in Australia. Accordingly, the findings reported in Table 3 are highly in line with the actual situation in the four countries. Overall findings suggest average vitality for the Turkish in Germany and the Netherlands; while low vitality ratings are given for Status factors in Australia and France. Again, the subjective ratings are highly in line with the actual situation in the four contexts.

Table 3 Subjective evaluation of Status factors in four countries

Status factors	Australia	France	Germany	Netherlands
Language status locally	1,50	3,15	3,80	3,17
Language status internationally	1,42	2,41	3,32	3,17
Groups' control over economics and business	1,82	2,36	3,17	3,11
Groups' status	2,20	3,22	3,39	3,65
Groups' political power	1,28	2,15	2,71	2,82
Group's pride of cultural history and achievements	5,43	5,41	6,06	6,22
Group's cultural representation	2,50	2,46	3,62	3,28
Groups' strength and activity	2,40	3,29	3,74	3,89
Groups' wealth	2,70	3,45	5,18	3,71
Groups' future strength and activity	3,75	4,22	4,78	4,93
Average of Means	2,5	3,21	3,98	3,79

Concerning the Institutional Support Factors, Turkish vitality appears to be the lowest in all four contexts. These findings are highly in line with the national Institutional Support structures in each country. Mainstream institutions do not cater for most immigrant minorities. Mostly, the social services and education are in the national languages. Because informants evaluate respective vitalities of the receiving society and the Turkish immigrant group, Turkish vitality turns out to be very low compared to the host society.

Table 4 Subjective evaluation of Institutional Support factors in four countries

Institutional support factors	Australia	France	Germany	Netherlands
Language used in government services	1,43	1,59	2,77	1,86
Language used in mass media	1,38	1,97	3,21	2,28
Language taught in schools	1,60	2,44	2,68	1,89
Language used in business institutions	1,33	2,18	2,82	2,24
Language used in places of religious worship	4,53	5,79	5,00	5,31
Average of Means	2,06	2,8	3,3	2,7

As opposed to Demographic and Status factors in EVT, Institutional Support factors are not accurately assessed by SEVQ. Because only the institutional support factors offered by the mainstream institutions are evaluated by the informants, the actual vitality of the ethnic groups' own institutional support factors are not included in this assessment. With the present content of the SEVQ, the actual strength of ethnic institutions cannot be fully estimated. Turkish might not receive extensive support from the mainstream institutions but Turkish organizations seem to fulfil this need very competently. Earlier studies in these four contexts have shown that Turkish group is extremely well organised and there are a number of institutional structures that promote solidarity and co-operation between community members. In this respect, religious organizations play a significant role in creating a rich social network in which Turkish language maintenance is facilitated. Large numbers of Turkish immigrant organizations play an indisputable role in the construction, maintenance and intergenerational transfer of 'Turkish immigrant identity' which is in many respects different from the 'Turkish identity' in the homeland. In the face of ethnic discrimination and disadvantage in mainstream institutions, the Turkish immigrant associations manipulate social discontent among community members and contest cultural assimilation. By bringing the community members together, they evoke solidarity and positive self-esteem among younger generations.

Heritage language education is highly important for first language maintenance. In certain immigration contexts, such as France and the Netherlands, mother tongue instruction is not offered by the mainstream schools. Either Turkish community organizations or Turkish state organize mother tongue classes. Because the Dutch government does not have a bilateral agreement with the Turkish state, Turkish teachers sent by the Turkish government are not allowed to teach in the Netherlands. Turkish

community organizations employ teachers from the available persons resident in the Netherlands to conduct such teaching in community organizations or in mosques. In this way, one crucial service of language maintenance is provided by ethnic Turkish institutions.

Mainstream versus Immigrant Vitalities

In the Dutch contexts, informants from the host society were included in ethnolinguistic vitality investigation. In order to see the differences in evaluations of the mainstream Dutch and Turkish immigrant group, the inclusion of Dutch informants was necessary. Reflecting on subjective vitality perceptions of the host and immigrant groups provide further insight into the nature of intercultural contact between the two groups.

Table 5 Differences in Vitality perception of Dutch and Turkish informants (*t-test* results based on total vitality scores)

	Informant	N	Mean	Std. D.	T	P
Turkish Vitality	Dutch	104	78,81	14,49	-2,703	,007
	Turkish	89	85,29	18,78		
Dutch Vitality	Dutch	104	115,82	13,25	-,020	,984
	Turkish	89	115,86	12,61		

Minimum vitality score is 23, while maximum vitality score is 161

The findings presented in Table 5 provide valuable insight into intergroup dynamics; while both the Turkish and Dutch informants agree upon Dutch vitality, they differ in their evaluations of the Turkish vitality. Dutch informants perceive Turkish vitality to be much smaller compared to the Turkish informants, which might be interpreted as such that Dutch and Turkish groups do not agree on the status and position of Turkish immigrant group in the Netherlands. It might be the case that Turkish group exaggerates its own group vitality; or the Dutch group underestimates Turkish group vitality in the Netherlands. In either case, there is an imbalanced vitality perception concerning the Turkish group. Because the mainstream organisations and the state control all the institutions in the society, it is normal that subjective vitality perceptions will be in favour of the host group. Having low vitality on its own would not lead to linguistic assimilation of the ethnic group. Turkish immigrant vitality in the four contexts seem to rather low; however, Turkish immigrants are shown to be highly language maintenance oriented people in each national context.

Discussion and Conclusions

As discussed in detail in the article by Ehala (this Volume), ethnolinguistic vitality theory and its accompanying instrument alone cannot account for the language maintenance and shift observed among ethnic minorities. In all four studies conducted in Australia, France, Germany, and the Netherlands, sociolinguistic survey instruments are used to account for language use, choice, preference and attitudes. Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality survey simply provided the attitudinal factors which were taken into consideration in

combination with the other results. Only by means of the sociolinguistic survey results, we have a better understanding of the factors that support Turkish language maintenance. The findings show that Turkish is mostly spoken in the domestic domain and in the neighbourhood with other Turkish immigrants. In the four immigration contexts, Turkish immigrants concentrate in certain working-class suburbs, which provide them with an extended network of Turkish speakers. Moreover, Turkish community organizations such as religious associations -especially mosques-, sports clubs or cultural institutions enlarge that social network. Even though there is very little institutional support from the mainstream community for first language maintenance, Turkish language mass media are readily available in the four countries (less in Australia due to distance to homeland). Turkish maintains its dominant role in the domestic domain and children born into those families most commonly acquire Turkish as their first language.

With present content of the SEVQ, the actual strength of ethnic institutions cannot be fully estimated. Turkish might not receive extensive support from the mainstream institutions but Turkish organizations seem to fulfil this need very competently. Various studies, e.g., Van Heelsum & Tillie (1999) have shown that Turkish group is extremely well organised in most immigration contexts and there are a number of institutional structures that promote solidarity and co-operation between community members. Our findings support this claim that Turkish in-group solidarity is very high. Religious organizations play a significant role in creating a rich social network in which Turkish language maintenance is promoted.

Turkish immigrants in the four immigration contexts have different vitality ratings for the in-group. Thus, ethnic groups develop more than one strategy in language contact settings. They may systematically minimize or exaggerate the vitality of their own or other groups, depending on how much they identify with their own group, their degree of social interaction with in- and out-group members, their language choice in various settings, and whether they see intergroup settings as positive or negative (Bourhis et al., 1981; Leets & Giles, 1995; Sachdev et al., 1987). Furthermore, it is suggested that group survival and language maintenance are dependent on the perceptions and the behaviour of succeeding generations of minority groups (Sachdev, et al., 1987). The findings of all four studies show that irrespective of the receiving society language policies, Turkish immigrants are keen on first language maintenance. Findings based on a large-scale home language survey by Extra & Yagmur (2004) have shown that Turkish is the most vital immigrant language in the European context. The findings of Extra et al. (2002) also showed that Turkish youngsters' language preference and dominance change over time and that there is not always a one-to-one correlation between dominance and preference.

Demographic, Institutional Control, and Status factors shape group members' perceptions of ethnolinguistic vitality. Because language is bound up with social identity, subjective perceptions of language vitality influence whether people promote, maintain, or lose their distinctive language or culture. On the basis of the subjective data, Turkish vitality seems to be much lower compared to mainstream vitalities. However, on some important status factors such as religion, historical consciousness, and solidarity (family cohesion) between community members, Turkish group has much higher vitality. According to

Smolicz (1981) each group has specific cultural values that are basic to their continued existence as a group, and language is such a value to some groups. As pointed out by Fishman (1985) language attitudes do not always lead to language maintenance. If language is intertwined as a core value with other core values such as religion and historical consciousness, language maintenance can be achieved. It is argued that, in spite of low EV perception, a minority group might find an adequate strategy for the survival of the group, only if the group members identify strongly with their community (Bourhis, 1984; Saint-Blancat, 1985). Recent Turkish community initiative to organise Turkish language classes in primary schools shows the group's commitment for first language maintenance. As a reaction to Dutch government's decision to abolish language classes in primary schools, Turkish community organised itself to continue mother tongue education in schools with their own financial resources. Based on the objective data, Turkish group vitality can be assessed higher compared to informants' subjective vitality ratings. Demographic (largest ethnic group, higher birth-rates, concentration patterns, high rates of endogamous marriage) and institutional support factors (extensive support network of ethnic institutions) contribute to this vitality.

Finally, the claim that low vitality groups are most likely to go through linguistic assimilation and 'cease to exist as a distinctive collectivity' cannot be supported by Turkish vitality findings in four different national contexts. On the basis of evidence obtained in various contexts, the following can be proposed:

- EVT does not contain the traits of a coherent model. It does not yield meaningful results on its own. Unless, additional conceptual models and instruments are used, SEVQ on its own does not provide the insight into language maintenance and shift observed in ethnic communities.
- SEVQ does not give consistent results. It needs to be used in combination with other instruments. Reliability analyses give low scores. Besides, factor analysis leads to non-interpretable factor solution.
- As a highly positive aspect, SEVQ taps the attitudes of individuals, which is highly necessary in documenting intergroup relations.
- Most serious criticism is the fact that SEVQ takes the mainstream institutions as its focus. Ethnic minority institutions are ignored, which results in underestimation of the actual vitality of ethnic groups.
- Application of EVT with indigenous and immigrant minorities yield in different outcomes, mostly due to institutional support factors.
- With the present content of the SEVQ, the actual capacity of ethnic institutions cannot be fully estimated.
- In contexts, where immigrants do not receive any support from the state, they set up their own ethnic institutions.
- EVT ignores the crucial cultural dynamics such as collectivistic-individualistic nature of groups and the relevance of core group values. In this respect, actual dynamics of language maintenance are overlooked.

The research results in the four national contexts show that ethnic groups develop more than one strategy in language contact settings. They may minimise or exaggerate the vitality of their own or other groups, depending on how much they identify with the in- or

out-group members. Ethnolinguistic vitality theory on its own does not provide the responses we need for exploring the relationship between receiving society policies and immigrant group reactions. Bourhis et al.'s (1997) interactive acculturation scale in combination with sociolinguistic survey instruments and SEVQ might result in more generalisable findings. Finally, we need standardised measures for utmost comparability between different ethnic groups in various national settings.

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The impact of interethnic discordance on subjective vitality perceptions

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Abstract

Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality expresses a group's perception of its own ability to act as a distinctive collective entity in intergroup encounters. Although subjective vitality questionnaires have proved to be reliable instruments of measurement, there has been criticism that they underestimate the actual vitality (see Yagmur, this issue). A possible reason for this might be that there are other factors present that can potentially affect vitality. For example, high perceived interethnic discordance may enhance group vitality by reducing permeability of group boundaries and strengthening emotional attachment to the ingroup by identity threat. In our paper, we hypothesize that the higher the perceived discordance is, the higher the subjective vitality perceptions are. To measure interethnic discordance, a questionnaire was developed consisting of two interrelated factors: legitimacy of intergroup situation and perceived intergroup attitudes. A large scale survey (N=460) among representatives of the Russian speaking community in Estonia was conducted, focusing on both the discordance and subjective vitality phenomena. Contrary to the predictions there was a negative correlation between the discordance factor and subjective vitality perception. The implications of this finding to the notion of subjective vitality are discussed.

Key words: legitimacy, dehumanization, interethnic situation, Estonians, Russians

1. Introduction

Traditionally, ethnolinguistic vitality is understood as group's ability to act as a distinctive collective entity in intergroup settings (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977, 308). This ability is affected by both objective and subjective factors. Objective factors are group status, its demographic properties and the level of institutional support it enjoys. The main subjective factor influencing vitality is the group's perception of its objective vitality (Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981). For an overview of the main principles of ethnolinguistic vitality theory (EVT) see Yagmur (this issue).

Although vitality theory was heavily criticized in 80ties for its factors being "gross and inexact tools of analysis" (Husband and Saifullah Khan 1982), it has remained one of the major theories of language shift (see Clyne 2003), being applied both in novel empirical settings (Yagmur and Kroon 2006; Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007; Gogonas 2009, to name just a few) as well as inspiring new theoretical developments (Allard and Landry 1986; Giles and Johnson 1987; Harwood, Giles, and Bourhis 1994; Bourhis et al. 1997; Ehala 2010).

Traditionally, subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV) is measured quantitatively using the subjective vitality questionnaire (SVQ), although more recently, combination of quantitative and qualitative methods has been introduced (Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007). As subjective vitality is assumed to be based on the perception of objective vitality, SVQs have, with a few exceptions, such as Allard and Landry (1986),

included questions for the perceptions of status, demographic and institutional support factors (Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981; Giles, Rosenthal, and Young 1985; Currie and Hogg 1994; Yagmur 2001; Abrams, Barker, and Giles 2009).

However, statistical factor analyses of the data obtained by SVQs have mostly failed to confirm the theoretical distinction between status, demographic and institutional support factors (Abrams, Barker, and Giles 2009): data has grouped to different number of factors, and the pattern has not been consistent across studies. Although these findings clearly weaken the theoretical distinction between the status, demographic and institutional support factors, it does not mean, that the SVQ as such is ineffective. In fact, Abrams, Barker, and Giles (2009) have found that if SEV is seen as one-dimensional measure, it has a high internal consistency.

Thus, the SVQ certainly measures the perception of a group's standing in respect of its strength, power and/or status, but it is not very clear that this dimension is subjective vitality. For example, Giles and Johnson (1987) reported that, for Welsh bilingual adolescents, subjective vitality perceptions were not correlated to the strength of identification with Welsh identity, allegiance to the Welsh Nationalist Party, nor to their linguistic differentiation from English. If SVQ measured the ability to act as a collective entity, such correlation ought to be present. Further, Yagmur (this issue) has provided strong evidence that, in several cases, the vitality studies have underestimated the actual sustainability of several minority groups.

A possible reason for this might be that there are other factors present that affect vitality. For example, high perceived interethnic discordance may enhance group vitality by reducing permeability of group boundaries and strengthening emotional attachment to the group by inducing identity threat. If this is so, subjective vitality would not depend only on strength, power and status perceptions measured by SVQ, but could be enhanced by the perception of discordance, too. This would mean that subjective vitality is a more complex social psychological phenomenon than assumed by SVQ, namely that it includes further important factors that affect collective behavior. The goal of the current paper is to explore the feasibility of this hypothesis by specifying a possible correlation between subjective vitality perceptions and perceptions of interethnic discordance. This paper argues that the phenomenon measured by SVQ is not subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (i.e. the belief about group's ability to act collectively – SEV), but just a perception of the strength of the ingroup; and this perception is dependent on the sense of interethnic discordance. Although the phenomenon measured by SVQ is a component of subjective vitality, it is just one of several components jointly determining the belief of the group's ability for collective action (see Ehala 2010).

The paper first outlines some important results of previous studies on the correlation between subjective vitality perceptions and other social psychological factors. It is suggested that the feeling of outgroup aversion and legitimacy of intergroup power relations combine to form the factor of interethnic discordance (D) which interacts with the SEV (the outcome of SVQ). In the second section, the notion of intergroup discordance is defined and operationalised in the form of a survey questionnaire. The third section presents the results of an empirical study of SEV and D in Russian speaking community in Estonia. The implications of the findings to the ethnolinguistic vitality theory are discussed.

2. Interaction of vitality perceptions with other beliefs on intergroup matters

During the 30 year long existence of SVQ, researchers have sometimes combined this instrument with other tools measuring various factors related to intergroup behavior and language use. For example, Giles and Johnson (1987), addressing the Welsh-English intergroup setting, combined SVQ with four other set of questions measuring identification with the ethnic group, cognitive alternatives to the current interethnic power setting, salience of the ethnic group membership, and linguistic differentiation from the dominant group's language. Focusing on the Italian-Australian English setting, Hogg and Rigoli (1996) compiled a four section questionnaire from existing questionnaires. It contained parts for subjective vitality, ethnic identification, competency and use of the subordinate group language, interpersonal network of linguistic contacts, and perception of educational and media support for the subordinate language. Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho (2007) combined six measures to assess the relationship between subjective vitality and intergroup attitudes in the Swedish-Finnish intergroup setting in Finland. Their questionnaire included a Beliefs in Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ, Allard and Landry 1994), and sections for perceived future ingroup vitality, perceived legitimacy of present ingroup vitality, perceived discrimination, ingroup identification, and intergroup attitudes.

The first two studies explicitly hypothesized an influence of SEV on other factors, such as linguistic differentiation from dominant language (Giles and Johnson 1987) and minority language competence and use alongside ingroup identification (Hogg and Rigoli 1996). Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho (2007) hypothesized that perceived illegitimacy of present low vitality and perceptions of future high vitality are related to more negative intergroup attitudes; and that perceived discrimination is related to negative intergroup attitudes among those who perceive low SEV. Next, we will provide an overview of the main findings of these studies, concentrating on the relationships of SEV to other factors measuring intergroup attitudes and behavior.

The correlation analysis of the factors in Giles and Johnson (1987) study revealed that Welsh SEV was not correlated to other measures, such as strength of ethnic identification, linguistic differentiation from the English language or perception of hard intergroup boundaries. Giles and Johnson (1987) hypothesized *post hoc* that SEV and ethnic identification might be orthogonal and they ran a further analyses to find out how these two measures relate to the Welsh subjects' linguistic differentiation from the English language. Thus, they divided the subjects into four groups based on their score on the strength of ethnic identification and on the score on SVQ. The median value was taken as the dividing point. A 2 x 2 ANOVA test indicated a statistically significant difference in the scores of linguistic differentiation (Giles and Johnson 1987, 76), summarized in Table 1:

Ethnic identification and subjective vitality		Linguistic Differentiation
Strong identifiers	Low SEV	70.38
	High SEV	64.75
Weak identifiers	High SEV	54.75
	Low SEV	40.50

Table 1. Interaction between SEV and Linguistic Differentiation

The scale for linguistic differentiation ranged from 9 to 90 and the higher scores indicated the higher level of differentiation. The index was a summary of nine items. The items included questions like *When served by shop assistants who speak to you in English, how often do you reply in Welsh? How often do you change from Welsh to English with someone who does not speak Welsh well? I feel completely at ease speaking Welsh in public places or whenever I want to.* Thus, the high scores of the index indicate a lack of willingness to accommodate to the outgroup member language (English) even in the cases when the latter might not be able to communicate in Welsh. As this behavior is likely to be interpreted as “low tolerance for what we shall call *societal norms* imposed by the dominant group, such as use of English in their presence” (Giles and Johnson 1987, 83), one could say that the index actually expresses indirectly the respondents aversion to the outgroup.

Interpreting the results, it seems natural that those who identify more strongly with the ingroup are less accommodating towards the outgroup: for them, the choice of language is part of intergroup competition. The relationship of the SEV to linguistic differentiation is paradoxical: it might be expected that the higher is the SEV score the more likely are the subjects to differentiate from the outgroup, but this is true only for low identifiers. For high identifiers, the low SEV subgroup had actually higher linguistic differentiation score than high SEV. Giles and Johnson (1987, 82) interpret this as strong identifiers being “very committed to the group when they perceive ... their group’s vitality to be low”. Giles and Johnson (1987, 93) further suggest that the perceptions of ethnic threat and the legitimacy of intergroup status hierarchy may interfere with identification and perceptions of vitality.

The results of Hogg and Rigoli (1996) confirmed the findings of Giles and Johnson (1987) that there is no significant correlation between SEV and ethnic identification. Their study of Australian Italians also showed that SEV did not predict either the competency or usage of Italian. Instead, the use and competence in Italian was predicted by educational and media support to Italian. These results are in strict inconsistency with the main assumption of the EVT that subjective vitality perceptions may be an important factor predicting intergroup behavior, for example language maintenance. Hogg and Rigoli (1996, 87) hypothesized that the relationship between SEV and ethnic identification is positive for weak identifiers, but there is a discontinuity and, for strong identifiers, the relationship flips around “such that the increasing identification is

associated with increasingly pessimistic (realistic) SEV". The findings of Giles and Johnson (1987) presented in Table 1, are consistent with this hypothesis. Therefore, it may be suggested that SEV is a predictor of language and identity maintenance in some conditions, but is a dependent factor in other conditions. The results of the Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho (2007) study of Swedish speaking minority in Finland suggest that affective factors, such as the perception of legitimacy and discrimination may be conditioning SEV.

Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho (2007, 413) address the question to what extent the SEV affects the relationship between perceived discrimination and intergroup attitudes. They find that the higher were SEV perceptions the more legitimate the ingroup vitality was perceived ($r = 0.5, p < 0.001$), the higher were the vitality expectations for future ($r = 0.22, p < 0.001$), the lower was perceived discrimination ($r = -0.21, p < 0.001$), and the better the intergroup attitudes ($r = -0.19, p < 0.001$). In other words, those subjects who had high SEV saw the situation as legitimate, their ingroup future positive, did not feel much discrimination and had positive intergroup attitudes.

Still, the regression analysis of the variables reveals interesting relations. The most important finding is that the effect of SEV on intergroup attitudes and perceived discrimination disappears when perceptions of legitimacy and future vitality were introduced to the model. The model uncovers significant intercorrelations between the perception of illegitimacy and discrimination, sad future for the ingroup, and negative intergroup attitudes (Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho 2007).

To conclude, the results of these three studies are in some contradiction with the EVT basic assumption according to which SEV is an independent variable that could be used to predict the effects of other phenomena related to language and identity maintenance. However, the findings of Giles and Johnson (1987, 82) and Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho (2007) indicate that SEV perceptions are related to other variables such as linguistic differentiation, discrimination, and legitimacy, although the direction of their relationship may "flip around" for weak and strong identifiers. The goal of the current study is to explore the nature of this relationship further.

3. Design of the study and the sample

The previously reviewed studies (Giles and Johnson 1987; Hogg and Rigoli 1996; Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho 2007) indicate that SEV perceptions are related to a number of variables which are also mutually interrelated, i.e. perceptions of legitimacy, future vitality, discrimination, intergroup attitudes, and linguistic differentiation. Although all these studies make assumptions about which of these variables are explanatory and which are dependent, the correlation analysis itself does not show causal relationships. For example, perceived discrimination may lead to worse intergroup attitudes, but it could also be that bad intergroup attitudes lead to increased level of (perceived) discrimination. The prevision of pessimistic ingroup future may reinforce perceptions of illegitimacy or *vice versa*. It is also possible that these factors are mutually reinforce without any single unambiguous causal force. This last assumption was taken as a basis for designing a measure we call interethnic discordance (D). The goal of the study is to look at the correlation of this measure to SEV. For this purpose, a 30-item questionnaire with Likert-scale statements, was developed and tested for internal

consistency in a pilot study. The D and SEV components of the questionnaire, their operationalisation and descriptives for the items forming the scales for measuring these concepts will be presented in Sections 4 and 5.

The study is based on a sample of 460 Russian-speaking persons in Estonia. The sample was drawn by a professional survey company from five different sociolinguistic regions in Estonia (see Table 2).

Regional concentration of sociolinguistic communities	Proportion of Russian speakers in the area (%)	N
rural settlements	1–10	50
towns and settlements	10–20	70
West Tallinn	30–50	70
East Tallinn	50–80	120
towns in East Estonia	80–100	150

Table 2. Design of the Sample Selection

Quite naturally, these different sociolinguistic regions vary considerably on the grounds of how much support a particular setting is providing for the usage of the Russian language. For example, in rural settlements, there are no Russian language schools, the number of Russian speakers is too low for developing cultural activities, and there is no ethnic enterprises and ethnic entertainment, except television with Russian channels, local Russian Radio and Internet. The setting is slightly more supportive in Estonian dominated towns which usually have a Russian language school or schools and some ethnic Russian societies. Tallinn is a balanced bilingual city with schools, Russian theatre, Russian films in cinemas and frequent social events featuring artists and singers from Russia. The density of Russian speakers is large enough for building purely monolingual social networks. The cities in East Estonia provide virtually monolingual Russian social, cultural and economic environment, except Estonian language street signs, bilingual (and sometimes predominantly monolingual Estonian) advertisements and bilingual municipal government documentation that is allowed by Estonian Language Act (1995)¹.

Such high diversity provides a promising ground for studying a possible influence of regional concentration of sociolinguistic communities on perception of SEV and D. A written survey questionnaire was used for data collection in May 2008. The data was analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 14.0.

¹ According to Place Names Act (2004) that regulates the establishment and use of street names, place names are documented in the Estonian-Roman alphabet. See also Zabrodskaia (2009a) on Estonian Linguistic Landscapes.

4. Interethnic discordance

Based on Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho (2007) and Giles and Johnson (1987), it is hypothesized that perceptions of legitimacy and intergroup attitudes were mutually reinforcing and that this cluster of beliefs has effect on perceptions of future vitality as well as linguistic differentiation. Thus, D is conceptualised as consisting of four components: 1) the extent of illegitimacy of the interethnic situation, 2) the extent of the lack of confidence in outgroup, 3) the perceptions of outgroup's willingness for intergroup cooperation 4) the extent of outgroup dehumanization. As Haslam (2006, 252) points out, the concept of dehumanization has rarely received systematic theoretical treatment: e.g. in social psychology, it has attracted only scattered attention. Struch and Schwartz (1989, 365) postulate that the stronger the conflict is and hence the motivation to harm, the more the groups tend to dehumanize each other. Here, dehumanization includes such phenomena as whether the outgroup is considered to behave under the influence of their lowest instincts and how its aggressiveness is perceived by ingroup. A 17 item questionnaire was designed to measure these four subcomponents (eight items measuring legitimacy and nine items measuring the other three components, three items each). All items used Likert-type scales allowing for the following choices: 1 – totally agree, 2 – agree, 3 – rather agree, 4 – rather disagree, 5 – disagree, and 6 – totally disagree.

The validity and reliability of the scale were tested in a pilot study of 159 Estonian- and Russian-speaking students of Tallinn University in March 2008 (Zabrodskaia 2009b). It was found that only four statements out of eight adequately measured the factors that play a role in legitimacy perception and were included in the revised questionnaire. An analysis of the other nine items showed that the proposed three components, in fact, constitute one, which can be characterised as the perceived level of intergroup distrust (see Zabrodskaia 2009b, 156–158). These six statements expressing the extent of mutual distrust were incorporated into the final questionnaire.

As legitimacy is a highly abstract notion, the items that were used to measure this variable were designed so that they would be maximally context sensitive, i.e. having direct relevance for this particular intergroup setting. The items for legitimacy and the descriptives of the main study are presented in Table 3.

No	Statement	Mean	Median	Std. D	N
1	Russian should be the second official language in Estonia.	1.94	1.00	1.214	457
2	The Estonian Republic does not have to assure the maintenance of the Russian community's language and culture in Estonia.	4.78	5.00	1.158	454
3	The situation of the Russian community in Estonia corresponds to international norms.	3.72	4.00	1.337	455
4	Concerning the Russian community, the Estonian Republic follows European democratic principles.	3.87	4.00	1.263	456

Table 3. Perceived Legitimacy of the Status of Russian Speaking Community in Estonia

The main findings can be interpreted as follows. Russian-speaking informants agreed that Russian should be the second official language in Estonia, disagreed that the Estonian Republic did not have to assure the maintenance of the Russian community's language and culture in Estonia, and rather disagreed that the situation of the Russian community in Estonia corresponded to international norms and that, concerning the Russian community, the Estonian Republic followed European democratic principles.

Six items representing intergroup aversion and their descriptives are represented in Table 4. Four statements expressed positive characteristics of the outgroup members, in which case disagreement indicates aversion to the outgroup, two statements expressed negative statements, agreement was taken as indication of aversion.

No	Statement	Mean	Median	Std. D	N
5	Estonians are helpful as cultural go-betweens.	3.35	3.00	1.219	457
6	Estonians are reliable.	3.43	3.00	1.120	449
7	Estonian Russian-speakers are regarded well by Estonians.	3.47	3.00	1.072	457
8	Estonians wish to cooperate with Russian-speaking dwellers in Estonia.	3.42	3.00	1.103	456
9	Estonians behave under the influence of their lowest instincts.	4.29	4.00	1.217	448
10	Estonians are aggressive.	4.54	5.00	1.118	454

Table 4. Perceived Aversion

As the data indicate, the subjects in average show quite a low level of aversion: in four items the averages were close to the neutral point of the scale (3.5). For statements expressing negative characteristics, the average disagreement level is even higher.

In order to calculate the summary index for D, the items were reversed so that the higher scores for individual items indicated higher levels of illegitimacy (item 1 reversed) and aversion (items 9 and 10 reversed). As the Cronbach alphas of both components were on an acceptable level ($\alpha = 0.697$ for illegitimacy and $\alpha = 0.788$ for aversion) two summary scales were calculated. As expected, the summary scales for illegitimacy and aversion were correlated in a statistically significant level ($r = 0.368$, $p < 0.01$). This allowed the summary scale for D to be calculated as the arithmetical average of the scales for illegitimacy and aversion. This method gives the same results as if all the 10 items (some of them appropriately reversed) would have been used to calculate D values directly. Actually, the Cronbach alpha for the whole 10 item set was even higher ($\alpha = 0.790$) than the alphas for illegitimacy and aversion scales. This strong interrelatedness of these factors provides a strong support to the initial assumption that the perceptions of

legitimacy, discrimination and intergroup attitudes form one tightly related and mutually reinforcing set of beliefs that could be summarised to one measure – intergroup discordance.

5. Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality

The subjective vitality questionnaire was introduced in the early eighties (Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981) and the instrument has been used with slight modifications in diverse intergroup settings, having been proved to be a reliable research instrument (for an overview, see Abrams, Barker, and Giles 2009) for measuring the SEV perceptions. For this reason, a modified version of SVQ, containing 10 questions pertaining to the vitality of the ingroup was adopted for the study at hand. The descriptives for individual items are presented in Table 5 where the responses on Likert scales range from 1 (the highest possible level of the property) to 7 (the total absence of the property).

№	Item	mean	Std. D
2	How much is the Russian language appreciated in Estonian society?	4.92	1.646
3	How many famous cultural persons (writers, actors, artists, singers, scientists and journalists) are there among the Russian-speaking people?	4.56	1.534
1	How much is Estonia's Russian culture and tradition appreciated in Estonian society?	4.49	1.636
6	How much is the Russian language used in Estonian education (nurseries, schools and universities)?	4.36	1.635
10	How strong will the Russian language and culture be in 20 to 30 years in comparison with the present?	4.30	1.652
7	How would you estimate the population of Russian-speaking people?	4.19	1.235
8	How active and strong are the Russian-speaking people in Estonian society?	4.13	1.584
9	How affluent are the Russian-speaking people?	4.06	1.256
4	How many wealthy employers and businessmen are there among the Russian-speaking people?	3.68	1.424
5	How much is the Russian language used in Estonia's media (newspapers, radio, TV and the Internet)?	3.78	1.635

Table 5. Russian-speakers' Perceptions of SEV

The questions in Table 5 are sorted on the mean value, starting with the weakest assessment to the strongest. As seen in Table 5, the weakest are the perceptions on

valuing the Russian language and culture in Estonia, as well as the perception of cultural weakness (items 2, 1 and 3). The economic standing (item 4) and media support (item 5) was assessed as the highest. The Cronbach alpha for the 10 item set representing SEV was sufficiently high ($\alpha = 0.758$). Due to that, the summary scale for SEV was calculated as the mean value of individual items.

6. The results

To enhance interpretability, the summary scales for D and SEV were transformed to a percentage scale (from 0 to 1). For the SEV, the value 0 would correspond to the lowest possible mean score for SEV (1.0) and 1 would correspond to the highest possible score (7.0). The usage of this common scale helps to interpret the scale value. The same transformation was conducted with the scale of the D: the value 0 corresponded to the minimal mean value in the Likert scale (1.0) and 1 corresponded to the maximal value (6.0). There was one important methodological difference, which is explained below.

While the D-factor measures the level of aversion towards the outgroup, there is evidence that in some cases some groups can show outgroup favouritism (Sachdev and Bourhis 1991; Jost, Banaji, and Nosek 2004; Batalha, Akrami, and Ekehammar 2007). As the Likert scale format enabled answers to range from strong outgroup favouritism (agreement with positive statements) to strong outgroup aversion (disagreement with positive statements), the questionnaire used in the study was able to account for this phenomenon. Therefore, one could claim that D values from 0 to 0.5 would indicate outgroup favouritism and the values from 0.5 to 1 outgroup aversion.

The problem of this scale is its symmetrical nature, as if the feelings of outgroup favouritism could, in principle, have a similar magnitude of affect as the feelings of outgroup aversion. This is an unlikely assumption. Without entering into a detailed justification, the evidence from interethnic relations all over the world (for example in the Northern Ireland, Rwanda or Middle East) suggest that the feelings of aversion towards outgroups can have many times higher magnitudes than any feeling of sympathy towards an outgroup ever could reach. Therefore, the scale expressing feelings from strongest possible outgroup favouritism to strongest possible aversion should reflect this asymmetry. This could be modelled by squaring the components of the D factor. While the range of the whole scale remains the same (from 0 to 1), the point of neutrality (0.5 on the initial scale) is shifted to 0.25 by the squaring operation. This means that the initial values indicating outgroup favouritism (0 to 0.5) are squeezed into the range of 0 to 0.25, and the values indicating outgroup aversion range from 0.25 to 1. To facilitate interpretation further, the scale was shifted down so that the value indicating neutral feeling (0.25) would be equalled to 0. By this, the scale ranged from -0.25 to 0.75, whereas zero indicated the point of neutrality. Accordingly, the negative values from -0.25 to 0 indicated outgroup favouritism and positive values from 0 to 0.75 would indicate discordance.

To test the summary scales, the mean values for the SEV and D scales were calculated for each sociolinguistic region. Previous research has indicated that the intergroup attitudes of Russians in the areas of high percentage of Estonian speakers (rural areas, small towns) are more positive than the attitudes of Russian speakers in the areas of their high concentration (Lauristin 2008). Also, one would expect that the SEV perceptions

would be higher in areas where there is high concentration of Russian speakers and therefore, better institutional support for their language and culture. Thus, it was hypothesised that the higher is the concentration of the Russian speakers in the area, the higher are the values for SEV and D scales. The results are presented in Table 6.

	Regional concentration of Russian speakers				
	Towns in East Estonia (more than 80%)	East Tallinn (50-80%)	West Tallinn (30-50%)	Towns and settlements (10-20%)	Rural settlements (less than 10%)
SEV	0.45	0.47	0.46	0.48	0.43
D	0.15	0.09	0.09	0.04	0.04

Table 6. Mean Values for Subjective Vitality and Discordance Scales

As Table 6 shows, the differences between SEV values in different sociolinguistic environments do not differ much: they vary within 5 percentage points. The one way ANOVA analysis revealed these differences between means of regions with different concentration of sociolinguistic communities reported in Table 6 are not statistically significant. Thus, it appears that the immediate sociolinguistic environment does not have any significant impact on the SEV perceptions. This is to some extent surprising as the educational and media support for Russian language is much stronger in predominantly Russian speaking towns in East Estonia. Contrary to expectations their mean assessment was one of the lowest amongst regions.

This may be caused by the fact that citizens of segregated areas have some kind of special regional identity connected to imagined community; we would describe it as “in-between situation” (this is especially true in North-Eastern Estonian located on the border with Russia). Johnstone (2004, 69) proposes that ‘regions have come to be seen as meaningful places, which individuals construct, as well as select, as reference points. Identification with a region is identification with one kind of “imagined community”.’ Zabrodskaia (unpublished data) who conducted a qualitative study alongside quantitative study at hand shows that the informants from Narva town have a very strong local identity who can claim:

“Я нарвлянка, у нас особый микроклимат, здесь нельзя сказать, что существуют какие-то острые противоречия между эстонцами и русскими, да, Нарва-это русский город, но как это сказать, очень трудно выразить свою мысль, в том плане что нарвляне – это не русские, но не эстонцы, это особый микромир”. ‘I am a Narva citizen, we have a special microclimate here, here I cannot say that exist something like sharp contradictions between Estonian and Russians, yes, Narva is a Russian town, but how to express that, it is very difficult to express my thought, in this respect that Narva citizens are not Russians nor Estonians, it is a special microcosm’.

Respectfully, we might suggest that representatives from East Estonia expect more threat from the transition of Russian medium upper secondary schools (grades 10 to 12) to Estonian medium studies, new language testing and assessment system (see Zabrodskaia

2009c) etc because they see every such Estonianisation effort as a new danger to their ethnolinguistic identity and vitality.

The mean values for the D scale were in the predicted direction: the sense of discordance was the strongest in the segregated East Estonian areas and the lowest in these areas where the proportion of the Russian speakers was the lowest. The ANOVA test confirmed that the highest discordance value for East Estonia was significantly different from all other sociolinguistic regions ($F = 8.35$; $p < 0.05$). Therefore, the D scale accurately replicated previous findings (Lauristin 2008) that the intergroup attitudes of Russian speakers are more positive in areas where Estonians constitute a significant majority. This finding confirms what was said in the previous paragraph. The bigger the concentration of the Russian speakers is, the higher is D towards Estonians and the lower is SEV as numerous steps to Estonianise such region are interpreted/perceived by Russian speakers as an **encroachment on their linguistic and cultural vitality**.

As the summary scales SEV and D were calculated over 10 items using 7 point or 6 point Likert scales, the summary scales have sufficiently large range of values. This enables one to use parametric statistical tests to study the correlations between these variables. Previous studies (Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho 2007) have indicated that the higher is the perception of SEV the better are the intergroup attitudes ($r = -0.19$; $p < 0.001$). Giles and Johnson (1987) have also found that for those who identified strongly with Welsh, high SEV perception was associated with less linguistic differentiation. The Pearson correlation analysis of this sample revealed a medium strong negative correlation between the SEV and D means ($r = -0.416$; $p < 0.001$). In other words, the lower were the SEV scores, the higher was the perceived discordance.

As both SEV and D are summary scales, it would be informative to look at what components within D and SEV contribute the most to this correlation. Such an analysis may lead to a refinement of the SVQ to increase its independency which would make it easier to assess its genuine impact on ethnolinguistic vitality.

As the D scale consisted of two related scales for legitimacy (L) and aversion (A), first the correlations of these scales with SEV were measured, both in their plain untransformed form as well as after squaring (L^2 , A^2). The results are presented in Table 7.

	SEV	
	r	p
D	-0.416	0.001
L	-0.407	0.001
L^2	-0.400	0.001
A	-0.256	0.001
A^2	-0.248	0.001

Table 7. The Correlations of SEV with the Components of D

As Table 7 indicates, the legitimacy component contributes the most to the overall correlation between D and SEV, although the aversion component adds its small unique contribution. For this reason the composite scale D has the highest correlation with SEV. Although the supremacy of D is marginal, compared to its non-squared subcomponent

measuring legitimacy, these results fully support the construct validity for D. Therefore in further analyses D was used and its subcomponents discarded.

To find out what components in SVQ contributed the most to the correlation, we measured correlations of all 10 items in SVQ to the summary scale D. The analysis revealed that D was in the strongest correlation with two items: *How much is the Russian language appreciated in Estonian society?* ($r = 0.44$; $p < 0.001$); and *How much is Estonia's Russian culture and tradition appreciated in Estonian society?* ($r = 0.421$; $p < 0.001$). This may not be surprising as the D scale had two items that also pertained directly to the status of the Russian language and culture in Estonia (*Russian should be the second official language in Estonia. The Estonian Republic does not have to assure the maintenance of the Russian community's language and culture in Estonia*). The correlations for the rest of the items in SVQ and D values were relatively weak ($r < 0.25$), but still statistically significant.

It should be noted that the items in SVQ addressing the appreciation of minority language and culture do not express perceptions of objective vitality of the ingroup, but reflect the perceived status of their group in the society. As argued in Ehala (2010), status is not an objective characteristic of a group, but a socially constructed assessment of power differences. A group's status perceptions may therefore differ from their actual objective vitality, i.e. demographic and institutional support characteristics. Consequently, it may be that SVQ would be a more accurate measure of perceived objective vitality, if it would exclude the items measuring status. To test this hypothesis, we calculated a new summary scale for SEV, containing only 8 items from SVQ.

The removal of two items did not affect the reliability of the scale much: for the new scale (SEV2), $\alpha = 0.714$ (for SEV, $\alpha = 0.758$). Also, the mean values for the regions with different concentration of sociolinguistic communities did not change much (within 3 percentage points) and the differences were not statistically significant. The correlation of SEV2 and D was weaker than between SEV and D, but it was still noticeable ($r = 0.31$; $p < 0.001$). To conclude, the correlation between D and SEV is not caused by the questions pertaining to the status of the Russian language in Estonia only, but it holds also between the perception of seemingly objective characteristics of reality and the sense of discordance.

7. Discussion and conclusion

The results of the present study confirmed the findings of previous studies (Lauristin 2008) that intergroup attitudes of Russian speakers (measured here by D) are less favorable in segregated areas of East Estonia. The analyses also gave support for the construct validity of D as a composite scale of legitimacy and aversion, squared to model the asymmetry between different affective strengths of outgroup favouritism and outgroup aversion.

The study also showed that the nature of regional concentration of sociolinguistic communities had no effect on the perceptions of SEV: respondents from all sociolinguistic regions assessed the SEV fairly similarly. Instead, there was a medium strong negative correlation between the sense of intergroup discordance and SEV. Thus,

the perception of SEV seems to be more influenced by the intergroup attitudes the person has rather than the region he or she lives in. The negative correlation between SEV and linguistic differentiation, perception of discordance and intergroup attitudes has been reported previously as well (Giles and Johnson 1987; Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho 2007), but commonly it has been assumed that the latter are affected by the perceptions of SEV.

The correlation between D and SEV weakened slightly, but remained statistically significant when the SQV was modified to exclude the items that had the largest conceptual overlap with the items constituting D. The fact that correlation remained significant indicates that the perception of discordance is related even to the perception of seemingly objectively measurable reality (such as *How much is the Russian language used in Estonian education*, *How much is the Russian language used in Estonia's media* and *How active and strong are the Russian-speaking people in Estonian society?*).

Even though the respondents' immediate surroundings which are quite different in terms of a concentration of sociolinguistic communities had no statistically significant effect on the perception of these aspects, there is still a medium strong correlation with perception of discordance. We conclude that it is not the perception of the objective reality that affects the perception of discordance, but the other way around: the feeling of discordance influences the perception of reality, so that the ingroup appears weaker on SEV scale if the person has a high sense of discordance. It is also possible that both SEV and D are affected by a third factor. We hypothesise that this factor may be identity threat (Ehala 2009). According to that, a high D level signals threatened identity; the feeling of threat also affects the SEV perceptions, causing subjects to see reality in dimmer shades than it really is.

If SEV perceptions are mediated by other factors such as D in a significant way, SEV could not be a direct measure of a group's objective vitality as perceived by the group members. This would also mean that the common assumption in vitality research (Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981; Giles and Johnson 1987; Hogg and Rigoli 1996; Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho 2007) that SEV is an explanatory variable that affecting other factors is not a viable one. For example, a high discordance level is likely to enhance groups collective vitality, as it motivates the group for mobilization and collective action against the outgroup. As discordance is in a reverse relationship with SEV, it will lower the SEV perceptions. That is why, if a researcher uses only SVQ to assess the vitality of a group, the results may be strongly misleading: the SEV scores for a group who has high discordance level and potential for collective action would, according to SVQ results, have a rather low vitality. For this reason SVQ results are likely to underestimate the group's actual vitality as argued by Yagmur (this issue).

To summarize, the study showed that the SEV perceptions are significantly influenced by other social psychological factors and therefore cannot be taken as a direct measure of SEV. Rather, it is possible that SEV is a sum of a much larger set of different beliefs and perceptions on intergroup relations. It is possible that SEV measured by SVQ has its unique contribution to the SEV amongst other factors such as D. For example, Giles and Johnson (1987) find that for weak identifiers, SEV perceptions seemed to predict linguistic differentiation. Thus, it may be that in the case of low affective commitment to the group, the perception of group's strength, measured by SVQ may have influence on

language maintenance. Hogg and Rigoli (1996) hypothesise that the relationship of SEV may change direction for strong identifiers. As the strength of identification was not measured by our study, this question remains unanswered here. Further studies scrutinizing the relationship of SVQ results with other factors are needed to determine its contribution to the SEV.

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Understanding and Forecasting Ethnolinguistic Vitality

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Abstract

As ethnolinguistic vitality is intrinsically complicated, not at all subject to quantitative measurements, assessing ethnolinguistic vitality is an intrinsically complicated task. It is akin to predicting the outcome of a team sports match; it forecasts the results of a future contest that has many different and varied influencing factors (competing languages are the “teams” in this contest). This being the case, “forecasting” or “predicting” correlates much better with “ethnolinguistic vitality” than does “assessing”, “determining” or “measuring”.

As one would need to very well understand a game, and the individual assets of the players (among other things), in order to attempt to predict the outcome of a match, a forecasting of ethnolinguistic vitality can only be done within a well functioning descriptive and explanatory model of the dynamics of language stability and shift. The Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift (Karan 2001), used with a taxonomy of language shift motivations (Karan 2008), provides that model. Both this model and the field’s progress in understanding ethnolinguistic vitality point to observable language use and language attitude patterns as the most important predictors of ethnolinguistic vitality.

This present work explains the Perceived Benefit Model of Language (Stability and) Shift, providing insight into the social dynamics intrinsic to ethnolinguistic vitality. It then presents best practices in gathering, managing and analyzing language use pattern and language attitude data in order to most accurately predict ethnolinguistic vitality.

Introduction

Assessing ethnolinguistic vitality is an intrinsically complicated task. Ethnolinguistic vitality is directly tied to language shift, or rather to the absence of language shift. Language shift occurs when a community is in the process of using more and more of a particular language at the expense of another language. History has repeatedly demonstrated that “language shift is the rule, not the exception” (Edwards 1985:96).

Language shift has been studied at the macro-societal level and at the micro-societal level. Fasold (1984) provided an early example of a macro-societal study of language shift, where community factors such as industrialization, urbanization, migration, proletarianization, and government policies were examined in order to shed light on language shift. In that study, he stated that there has been “very little success in using any combination of [these factors] to predict when language shift will occur” (Fasold 1984:217).

Edwards (1985) provided an early example of language shift viewed from the micro-societal level. He didn’t deal with macro-societal factors such as industrialization and

urbanization, rather he dealt with factors that are directly related to individuals' motivations and goals.

Edwards attributed code choice, and ultimately language shift, to "pragmatic decisions in which another variety is seen as more important for the future" (1985:71). He stated that "pragmatic considerations" such as power, social access, and material advancement are what need to be studied in understanding language use and shift patterns. He also maintained that in any language planning activity, these pragmatic considerations are the major determinants of success (1985:94). Edwards summarized his statements by saying that the only way to influence language shift is to alter the entire social fabric of the language community (1985:98).

Karan (2001:26), in summarizing an overview of different approaches to language shift, notes that, "It is evident . . . that those who approached language shift from the individual motivation perspective, in general, were much less pessimistic about the current state of the field than those who approached language shift from a macro-societal level."

Language shift and ethnolinguistic vitality need to be addressed from the micro-societal view, where individual motivations are key, and where language shift is viewed as the compilation of individuals' daily decisions concerning language use. But as the values which are behind individual motivations are best understood, and even perhaps influenced, when they are treated as belonging to the society, and not the individual, language shift and ethnolinguistic vitality also need to be studied from the macro-societal view. Ethnolinguistic vitality then is best studied and understood through a combined micro- and macro-societal view.

As ethnolinguistic vitality is intrinsically complicated, assessing ethnolinguistic vitality is an intrinsically complicated task. It is akin to predicting the outcome of a team sports match; it forecasts the results of a future contest that has many different and varied influencing factors. Competing languages are the "teams" in this contest, and the societal and individual values and motivations are the players, the many different and varied influencing factors. This being the case, "forecasting" or "predicting" correlates much better with "ethnolinguistic vitality" than does "assessing", "determining" or "measuring".

Variation

As one would need to very well understand a game, and the individual assets of the players (among other things), in order to attempt to predict the outcome of a match, a forecasting of ethnolinguistic vitality can only be done within a well functioning descriptive and explanatory model of the dynamics of language stability and shift.

A large step toward understanding the dynamics of language stability and shift was taken when Karan (2001), through a substantial quantitative study of language spread in Central Africa (n. = 706) observed that the same patterns of variation that are found in synchronic language change studies are also found in language shift studies. As a terminology reminder, *language change* refers to a language changing internally over time (phonetically, morphologically, syntactically, or semantically), and *language shift* refers to a speech community using less and less of one language and more and more of a different language.

Labov (1965) demonstrated how individuals' choice of speech style is influenced by different individual, social and situational factors, such as participants in the conversation, location, degree of formality, and any social aspirations or motivations of

the speaker. Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) demonstrated that all language change (the process of a language evolving over time) involves variation. Different speakers adopt individual sound, lexical, or syntactic changes at different stages of the change process. And this variation is able to be statistically correlated with different social factors such as age, education, social class, occupation, wealth, gender, and place on the urban-rural continuum. For example, women and the young are usually more on the forefront of change than are men or the old. Change diffused from larger population centers to other large population centers, and then only later to smaller population centers (Trudgill: 1974). This non-random, quantitatively observable variability was shown to be the synchronic manifestation of diachronic language change. A language's changes over time could be observed in the present through quantitative studies. Regular significant patterns of social subgroups of the population having tendencies to adopt changes before other subgroups were observed. Gal (1979) and many others later verified their hypotheses.

Based on this understanding of how a language's change over time can be observed in the here-and-now through correlating the population's social factors with the different variants of an item undergoing change, much progress and understanding about the dynamics of the change process was brought about. For example, the role of change innovators, and the importance of the social networks was revealed (Milroy & Milroy: 1985). Labov (2001) described the social function and location of leaders and innovators of change.

When Karan realized that the change processes in language change and the change processes in language shift were one and the same (because they quantitatively correlated with social factors in the same way), he was able to combine the insights gained from studies of the dynamics of language change with insights gained from his studies of language shift. He noticed that a common factor in all was a motivation of the speakers to seek their own perceived good in all their language related choices (language code or change variant). From this, he developed and proposed the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift (Karan 2001).

The Perceived Benefit Model of Language (Stability and) Shift

Based on the similarities between the mechanisms of language change and language shift, and building on Edwards (1985) and Bourdieu (1982), Karan introduced the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift (2001). In this model of shift and stability, individuals select from their linguistic repertoire the language variety or varieties (languages) that will best serve their interests in particular speech environments or domains. Individuals' linguistic repertoires include the languages that people have at their disposition. Societal language shift is the result of many individual language choice decisions, with those individually made decisions based on motivations having to do with what will benefit the people making the decisions. When the motivations to use a new or different language variety in a particular speech environment or domain outweigh the motivations to use the variety normally used in that domain, language shift happens. And when it happens, the vitality of the language that people are deciding not to use lessens.

In this Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift, individuals also seek to increase their linguistic repertoire with language varieties they think will well serve their interests.

People will generally learn and then use the languages that they think will profit them. The opposite also happens. When individuals perceive that the use of, or association with, a language is toxic to their personal good, they will not only stop using that language, they will often cognitively, socially, and emotively distance themselves from that language so that it becomes less and less part of their linguistic repertoire.

The language choice decisions (as well as language acquisition/repertoire decisions) that are at the heart of the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift are made based upon a limited and fairly standard set of motivations. Financial well being and social prestige are motivations that are often found in language shift situations, but the entire gamut of motivations goes well beyond those two. The motivations behind the decisions that make up language shift were classified by Karan (2001:97-99) as communicative, economic, social (solidarity or prestige), and religious. Later, in the interest of being able to better understand and better discuss these motivations, he expanded that simple classification into a basic taxonomy of motivations that influence language shift (Karan 2008).

Taxonomy of Motivations Influencing Language (Stability and) Shift

Taxonomies organize sets of information for particular purposes. They are useful to discuss and better understanding related phenomena. The taxonomy of motivations influencing Language Shift was expanded and discussed in Karan (2008) and is presented below in order to be instrumental in better understanding and discussing the motivations that are implicit in language shift situations. These motivations, and the facility to well discuss and understand them, become crucial in assessing or predicting future ethnolinguistic vitality.

Language choice motivations are often combined motivations. For example, when there is financial motivation to use a specific language, social prestige motivations to use the same language is also often present. The taxonomy of motivations presents the different individual motivations with the understanding that motivations are often complex and combined.

Communicative Motivations

As language is communicative and cooperative, people will make both language use and language acquisition choices that best facilitate communication. This is exemplified by an immigrant learning the languages of his or her new location. And this is also exemplified by the use of Swahili in East Africa, where people from many different language groups use Swahili for daily inter-ethnic group communication.

People normally choose to use a language understood by their interlocutors. This pattern is a basic example of communicative motivations influencing language use decisions.

People who speak minority languages often choose to learn and use the language of wider communication. This pattern is a basic example of communicative motivations influencing language acquisition decisions.

Economic Motivations

With Economic motivations, the prospects of financial advancement or profit are in focus. Economic motivations for language use and acquisition can be job related, trade related or network related.

Job related

Job related Economic Motivations are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language variety in order to obtain or maintain an employment.

Trade related

Trade related Economic Motivations are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language variety in order to facilitate or improve the success of their trade.

Network related

Network related Economic Motivations are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language variety in order to create or maintain networks that will be financially beneficial to them.

Social Identity Motivations

Social Identity motivations are in effect when people want to be, or to not be, identified with a group or individual. Social Identity motivations for language use and acquisition can be prestige group related, solidarity related, distance related, or hero/villain related.

Prestige Group related

Prestige related Social Identity motivations are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language variety in order to associate themselves with a prestige group who normally uses that language variety. They are also present when people choose to not use or not acquire a language variety in order to disassociate themselves with a low prestige group who normally uses that language variety.

Solidarity related

Solidarity related Social Identity motivations are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language variety in order to create or maintain a solidarity bond with an individual, group, culture or sub-culture.

Distance related

Distance related Social Identity motivations are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language variety in order to create or maintain a distance between themselves and an individual, group, culture or sub-culture. This is connected to Goffman's (1967) concept of negative face: a person's desire to remain autonomous.

Hero/Villain related

Hero/Villain related Social Identity motivations are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language variety in order to associate themselves with a well known individual who normally uses that form. They are also present when people choose to not use or not acquire a language variety in order to disassociate themselves with a well known individual who normally uses that form.

Language Power and Prestige Motivations

Language Power and Prestige motivations have to do with cases where languages or dialects themselves are associated with power and prestige, or lack of power and prestige. Language Power and Prestige motivations differ from Social Identity, Prestige Group related motivations in that with Language Power and Prestige motivations, the prestige or power is perceived to be in the language variety itself. In Social Identity, Prestige Related

motivations, the prestige, or lack of prestige is found in the group normally speaking the language variety.

A good argument could be made for collapsing these Language Power and Prestige Motivations with Social Identify, Prestige Group motivations, as in most cases prestigious and powerful languages or dialects are associated with prestigious and powerful groups who use those language varieties. The rationale for not collapsing these types of motivations is the conviction that certain societies do in fact attribute or associate power and prestige, or the lack of power and prestige, to certain language varieties.

High language forms

Some languages, such as the High languages in diglossic situations, are accorded prestige by the societies using the languages. Language Power and Prestige motivations are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language form accorded this kind of power and prestige in order to gain power or prestige.

Low language forms

Language Power and Prestige motivations are also evident when people avoid using or acquiring a language form that is non-prestigious and non-powerful, in order to not be associated with that lack of power and prestige.

Nationalistic and Political Motivations

When language choice is influenced by the association between a nation and a language, Nationalistic motivations are in effect. Sometimes language choice is a declaration of national affinity or pride. In some places and cases, certain language choices are advantageous in order for the locator to be perceived as being a good citizen.

In the 1990s in the Central African Republic, Sango was associated with national good and being a good citizen and anti-tribalism. Thus people regularly over-reported their ability in Sango in censuses and multilingualism surveys. To say, “no, I don’t speak Sango” was somewhat culturally analogous to saying, “I’m not a good citizen. I support tribalism.”

There can also be associations between language forms and political camps or parties. Thus language choice, and even language acquisition, can be motivated by political motivations.

Religious Motivations

When language choice is influenced by the association between a greater being and a language, or a religion and a language, religious motivations are in effect. This can be manifested in several ways:

Pleasing or Appeasing Greater Being

Language code choice can be influenced by a belief that a greater being has certain linguistic preferences.

Language Designated as Sacred

Some religions have special places for certain languages. Languages themselves are seen as special or sacred. Supporters of the religions then make language code choices based on these associations.

Access Sacred Writings

People choose to acquire and use languages in which their sacred writings are available.

Religious Communication (Proselytizing) Purposes

Desires or directives to communicate religious ideas can influence language use and acquisition choices.

Summary of Motivations

1. Communicative
2. Economic
 - a. Job related
 - b. Trade related
 - c. Network Related
3. Social Identity
 - a. Prestige Group related
 - b. Solidarity related
 - c. Hero/Villain related
 - d. Distance related
4. Language Power and Prestige
 - a. High language forms
 - b. Low language forms
5. Nationalistic and Political
6. Religious
 - a. Pleasing or Appeasing
 - b. Sacred Language
 - c. Access Writings
 - d. Religious Communication

The Perceived Benefit Model of Change

The dynamics and motivators of language shift presented in this paper, extend beyond language choice and subsequent language shift. As discussed above, they are most probably the same dynamics and motivators that are involved in internal language change. In that realm, the individual decisions made for the individual perceived good would be not of languages, but of words, pronunciations, and styles of speech. The linguistic repertoires that people exploit, modify and expand to gain perceived benefit not only include languages, but also dialects, styles, registers, sets of (new) vocabulary, and ways of pronunciation. Thus, *The Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift* might be better named *The Perceived Benefit Model of Language Choice*.

Going further, the dynamics and motivators of language choice discussed above are likely the same dynamics and motivators that are present in many aspects of human behavior. People not only seek their perceived economic, social, communicative, etc. benefit in what they say, but also in how they dress, what they buy, and how they act. For example, extending the dynamics and motivators discussed above into areas such as why people choose the clothing and automobile styles that they choose, it quickly become evident that the understanding of, and communication about, changes in fashion and purchase pattern behaviors are greatly facilitated. Perhaps the model should be named *The Perceived Benefit Model of Change*.

Predicting Ethnolinguistic Vitality

Language Use

Patterns of language use in a speech community are some of the most important areas to research when predicting future ethnolinguistic vitality. These patterns can be observed

through participant observation, and researched through self-report techniques. Sampling a speech community with a self-report sociolinguistic questionnaire, which includes language use questions, is often the best way of getting a clear picture of the community's language use patterns. A combination of observation and speech community and self-report is recommended, because occasionally self-report on language will be influenced by perceptions of relative prestige of the languages in question.

Edwards (1985:67) said that the best predictor of language shift is the past language shift history of the speech community. I maintain that evidence of present language shift in the speech community is a better predictor of future language shift. This evidence of present language shift can be found in the patterns of social variation a speech community will have in their language use. The most straightforward of these is the age factor. If there is a difference between the use patterns of the old and the young, it is often the case, but not always, that a shift is in progress, with the direction of the shift shown by what the young are doing. Other social factors pertinent to variation in language use often include class, education, wealth, gender, occupation, and place on the urban-rural continuum.

We can expect typical patterns of variation to help us see where language use is going in the future. Thus variation in language use can help us predict future use. The language use of the subsectors of the society that are in the forefront of change-in-progress are indicative of future use patterns.

Sampling a speech community with a self-report sociolinguistic questionnaire, which includes language use questions and social information on the subject, can provide valuable data on the socially defined language-use variation present in the speech community (providing the sample is large enough). Evidence of present language shift in a speech community can often be found in the conscious knowledge of the members of the speech community, because, in general, people are aware of language shift. Change in progress is a good predictor of future change. Present shift often predicts future shift. The lessening of ethnolinguistic vitality often predicts future loss of ethnolinguistic vitality.

Motivations

Although a history of past language shift is a good predictor of future ethnolinguistic vitality, and present language shift is an even better predictor of future ethnolinguistic vitality, the best predictor of future ethnolinguistic vitality lies in the area of motivations. Motivations determine use. Language use has to do with actions, actions are the results of decisions, and decisions are shaped by values and motivations. Thus motivations are key in understanding and predicting ethnolinguistic vitality. When a community has a motivational fabric in favor of a particular language, unless that motivational fabric is changed they will act on it. They will make the many individual language choice decisions that will result in increased ethnolinguistic vitality of that language. And the natural result of that will be the lessening of the ethnolinguistic vitality of the other language(s) in the community.

Gathering data on motivations is very similar to gathering data on attitudes. Henerson, Morris, and Fitz-Gibbon, in *How to Measure Attitudes* state that:

"Self-report procedures represent the most direct type of attitude assessment and should probably be employed unless you have reason to believe that the people whose attitudes you are investigating are unable or unwilling to provide the necessary information . . ."

If the people whose attitudes you are investigating are able to understand the questions and have sufficient self-awareness to provide you with the necessary information, and IF they are likely to answer honestly and not deliberately falsify their responses . . . use SELF-REPORT PROCEDURES. (1978:21, 39)

Karan and Stalder (2000:192), in their article, *Assessing Motivations: Techniques for Researching the Motivations behind Language Choice*, recommend using certain “guised” techniques to verify self-report data. Guised techniques, based on the *matched guise* technique introduced by Lambert (1967), are where people think they are evaluating something, but are really providing data on something else. Lambert asked subjects to evaluate people based solely on recordings of their voices, but he was really comparing the responses to the same bilingual speaker who made recording in two different languages, thus gathering language attitude data. An example Karan and Stalder (2000:196) presented was where people thought they were comparing possible future husbands for a young lady, but what they were really revealing was their attitudes toward the languages those prospective marriage partners spoke.

The variation patterns that are typical of language change and language shift are also present in language motivation studies. For example the motivations of the subsectors of the society that are in the forefront of change-in-progress, the young and educated and urban and higher class, are most often closer to the motivations of the future than are the motivations of the older and less educated and rural and lower class. Thus we can in a way predict the trend, if not the future of the motivational fabric of a community. And motivations determine use. Thus if we are able to assess the language motivations of large enough samples of a community, we can observe the socially defined variation in the motivations, and be able to see what the motivational trends in the community are. Gaining insight into the future motivational fabric of a community is of utmost importance to predicting ethnolinguistic vitality.

The actual dynamics of the language shift process involves language use and language motivations. Motivations influence use. Cross-time (diachronic) aspects of both language use and language motivations can be observed through social variation studies. Certain social segments have more advanced language use and language motivation patterns than other social segments. In order to accurately predict future language vitality, one must observe not only the present use and motivation patterns, one must consider, through social variation studies, the predicted future use and motivation patterns.

In Support of the Model

The Circumstances of Language Shift and Death in Southern Africa (Batibo 2008) presents the endangerment and death of Khoesan languages during the Bantu expansion into Southern Africa. He mentions how the Bantu populations were demographically larger and had superior technology, were more socioeconomically sustainable, and more politically organized (208:53). The Khoesan groups became economically and politically subjugated to the Bantu groups.

“A system of serfdom and servitude, known as Bothanka, arose in which the Khoesan communities were under the economic control of the Bantu (Gadibolae 1999; Silberbauer and Kuper 1996)”. Consequently, many Khoesan languages became stigmatized, with their speakers shying away from them (Crawhall 2005; Vossen 1997). They easily lost self-esteem and started

considering themselves as inferior. Situations of 'marked' or asymmetrical bilingualism (Batibo 2005:103) arose in which most Khoesan groups became bilingual in Bantu languages, while the Bantu remained monolingual in their own languages. Gradually, this evolved into language shift at the expense of the Khoesan languages." Batibo 2008:53

Here we have a case study where we can see the loss of ethnolinguistic vitality, and also see many of the factors involved. When we apply the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift to this case study, we can easily see how the Bantus' superior technology and demographic size contributed to the Bantu groups claiming and being accorded a higher social status than the Khoesan groups. This social status inequality would provide the background and rationale for the Khoesan groups having a social status motivation to use more and more of the Bantu languages. Similarly, the more advanced technology, such as iron making (Inskeep 1979), and larger size of the Bantu groups would normally create a situation where there were economic and communicative motivations associated with learning and using the Bantu languages.

The Bantu groups also had more advanced centralized governance systems, which would give them advantages related to conquest and assure that the governance system of the joined Bantu and Khoesan groups was Bantu dominance and governance. This situation would provide the scenario for the power/prestige and political motivations that contributed to the loss of the Khoesan languages.

From the factors described by Batibo, the communicative, economic, social, language identity, power/prestige, and political motivations that were driving this language shift situation are readily seen. We have the results, we can readily deduce the motivations, and thus we can validate the model in seeing how the motivators that were present in the past would have predicted the actual results.

Another interesting case study is found in *Globalization and Language Vitality: Perspectives from Africa* (Mc Laughlin. 2008). In this article, Mc Laughlin discusses how Wolof "emerged as an urban vernacular and national lingua franca" (2008:144) of Senegal. She presents many different factors and circumstances that helped bring this to pass. Among these factors were the early military and political strength of the Wolof (2008:150), a Wolof speaking influential métis society (Searing 2005), the peanut trade in the city of Dakar (Mc Laughlin 2008:513), and the association of Wolof to a valued urban identity (Mc Laughlin 2001).

The early political and military strength of the Wolof would normally lead to the Wolof holding a higher social class, and thus the social status motivation to learn and use Wolof, the language of power and influence, would be established. Along with this would be communicative motivations to use Wolof. The Wolof speaking influential métis society which developed in later years would also normally lead to social status and communicative motivations to use Wolof. The peanut trade in Dakar would provide economic motivations to continue to use Wolof. And the valued Wolof urban identity would be the basis for solidarity based social motivations to continue to use Wolof.

Mc Laughlin (2008:150) attributes the geographic location of the Wolof as a major factor leading to the emergence of Wolof as a lingua franca in precolonial times. She states: "the Wolof occupied an extensive area at the center, rather than the periphery, of the ethnolinguistic territory of Northern Senegal". This central location would lead to communicative motivations for using Wolof.

Again, applying the model to the case study, the motivations that were active in the past can be easily seen from the description of different factors, and these motivators would have predicted the results that actually occurred.

In the Central African Republic, younger people and urban people used Sango more than older and rural people (Karan 2008). This social distribution indicated that the future trend in use is toward more Sango use. Not only do these younger and urban people use Sango more, their motivation patterns toward Sango use are stronger than those of older and more rural people. Thus, this social distribution indicates that the future trend in motivation patterns is toward more motivation to use Sango. The trend in growing use of Sango, and the trend in growing motivation to use Sango, has been going on for decades, as has been the very dynamic shift to use more and more Sango. The trend of use and the pattern trend of motivations are continuing to predict the actual situation.

Extensibility of the Model

One last argument for the Perceived Benefit Model is how well other models can be discussed and compared by using this model. The model has strong descriptive and predictive efficacy. And strength of descriptive and predictive efficacy is often an indicator that the model and the actual dynamics of the process are very close.

As an example, Ehala and Zabrodska (this issue) demonstrate the impact of interethnic discordance on subjective ethnolinguistic vitality. They hypothesize that:

“high perceived interethnic discordance may enhance group vitality by reducing permeability of group boundaries and strengthening emotional attachment to the group by inducing identity threat. If this is so, subjective vitality would not depend only on strength, power and status perceptions measured by SVQ, but could be enhanced by the perception of discordance, too.”

The Perceived Benefit Model would predict that discordance between populations representative of languages in the larger community’s repertoire would indeed have different impacts on the language vitality and language shift situations. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) introduced the concept of bounded solidarity. Bounded solidarity is a feeling of unity that normally arises from threats (real or perceived) to the group. Bounded solidarity brings about an increase of trust among community members, and is brought about by the recognition of a common threat. A social identity (solidarity type) motivation, such as this, would encourage the choice of the in-group language.

Thus the model predicts that vitality is affected by discordance, and perceptions of discordance. When a group is at odds with another group that represents a L2 in the first group’s repertoire, that first group will increase its use of its L1. Bounded solidarity motivations would contribute to this happening. Economic, communicative, and power/prestige motivations that had previously contributed to a shift toward the L2 would be drastically reduced during a time of strife, as the strife would naturally decrease the economic activity and social interaction. This too would help explain the impact that discord and strife would have on language vitality situations.

Conclusion

As stated above, forecasting ethnolinguistic vitality can only be done within a well functioning descriptive and explanatory model of the dynamics of language shift. The Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift, used with the taxonomy of language shift motivations, provides that model. In order to forecast ethnolinguistic vitality, it is crucial to understand the motivations that are behind the language choices that when combined

make up language shift. The actual dynamics of the language shift process, and the corresponding model, point us to the observation that language use and language attitudes, and the social variation patterns of language use and language attitudes (language use motivations), are the most important data sets needed in order to accurately forecast ethnolinguistic vitality.

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The Value of Adopting Multiple Approaches and Methodologies in the Investigation of Ethnolinguistic Vitality

Lisa J McEntee-Atalianis

Abstract

The concept of ‘ethnolinguistic vitality’ (EV) has received variable acceptance and support within academic investigations since its introduction by Giles, Bourhis & Taylor (1977). It has especially proven to be a valuable heuristic in studies of language maintenance and shift. However, the reliability and validity of the instruments used to investigate EV, especially questionnaires used to test subjective vitality, have proven to be more problematic and have dominated much of the discourse in recent years. For example, Abrams et al (2009), investigating the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire, confirm its validity as a ‘uni-dimensional’ measure but lack of validity in assessing the discrete underlying factor structure of ‘status’, ‘demography’ and ‘institutional support’. This position paper introduces some of the issues that have been considered as problematic in the conceptualisation, investigation and application of EV and will suggest possible areas for further development. Drawing on a study of language attitudes, shift and the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Greek-Orthodox community in Istanbul (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007) this paper argues that there is much to recommend the tripartite conceptualisation of the EV framework in assessing both subjective and objective vitality via quantitative and qualitative methods. It is further argued that in addition to questionnaires, studies of EV can be enriched by the use of ethnographic/observational approaches and discourse analytic frameworks, particularly when investigating issues such as hybridity, and therefore greater consideration and space should be given to the latter in the research literature. The adoption of both etic and emic approaches facilitate a more detailed engagement with key constructs, e.g. complex identities, and gives greater voice to the research subject. The latter will not only benefit the study of EV but potentially facilitate a rapprochement between researchers from different disciplines, drawing them into ever greater dialogue thereby broadening academic interest in the study of vitality.

Key words: discourse analysis; essentialism; ethnography; ethnolinguistic vitality; questionnaires; social constructionism; identity

Introduction

The concept of ‘ethnolinguistic vitality’ (EV) (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977) has received variable treatment in the academic arena since its initial introduction. A plethora of studies have sort to test, either explicitly or implicitly, its explanatory and predictive capabilities and apply it, or its constructs, in studies as diverse as: age vitality (Giles et al, 2000); language maintenance and shift (e.g. Gogonas, 2009; Hatoss & Sheely, 2009; Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007; Yagmur et al, 1999; Yagmur, 2009); language loss (e.g. Landry et al, 1996); revitalisation (e.g. Yagmur & Kroon, 2003); acculturation (e.g. Clachar, 1997; Sayahi, 2005); language planning and policy (e.g. Atkinson, 2000); and language learning and proficiency (e.g. Ceuleers, 2008). However despite its widespread appeal, particularly to social psychologists and sociolinguists, its

heuristic, ontological and instrumental value continues to be questioned by researchers from a range of disciplinary backgrounds.

This paper will consider some of the issues which have been identified as problematic in the conceptualisation and application of EV and possible avenues for further investigation. Initially, it will briefly consider concerns expressed recently in the literature, including those expressed by the originators of the theory themselves, (see for example, Abrams et al, 2009), in relation to how subjective vitality is measured or assessed using questionnaires, and how researchers may construct instruments that are valid, applicable and replicable across a range of contexts. Taking up their critical approach and desire to fashion replicable instruments, the main focus of the paper will address the concerns and limitations identified by researchers trained in disciplines such as anthropology, sociolinguistics and sociology, and in particular will challenge current thinking in relation to how key constructs, including social structures and categories, are to be conceptualised, defined, and assessed under the broad umbrella of EV.

Drawing on a meta-critical analysis of a study of language attitudes, use and EV in Istanbul (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007) and focussing the discussion on one key variable, 'identity', it will be argued that although EV has proven to be a very useful framework, its development, particularly with respect to investigating subjective vitality, has been constrained by a social-psychological bias, and as such, research on EV will benefit from a more sophisticated engagement with the 'ethnographic', 'sociological' and 'cultural' nature of the study, by considering recent work in cultural theory and social constructionism. The paper calls for a consideration of cross-disciplinary research and the adoption of broader research tools necessary to examine the 'tripartite conceptual structure' (Abrams et al 2009:69) first suggested by Giles et al (1977). This approach may also make the framework more powerful and comprehensive, and appealing to a wider audience of researchers. More specifically, it is proposed that the study of EV and EV theory will benefit from the application of ethnographic/observational approaches and discourse analytic frameworks. These approaches and analytical tools could not only contribute to the development of current methodologies, including the development of traditional instruments, such as questionnaires, but also establish new frameworks of analysis, potentially giving greater 'voice' to the 'researched' and their social environment, and a more sophisticated analysis of multilingual/multicultural contexts and hybrid/complex identities.

In light of the proven explanatory value of EV as a unidimensional measure, the paper argues therefore for the continued heuristic value of the framework but for a reconsideration and re-conceptualisation of constructs therein, and the broadening of methodological approaches and disciplinary dialogue. The latter will offer a more sophisticated and comprehensive picture of vitality and could also potentially bridge the gap between the research agendas and the philosophical and ideological differences of scholars across and within related disciplinary fields. It will be demonstrated that different approaches and methods offer valuable data and perspectives, not only when data is considered in isolation and comparison, but also when instruments are under construction, and when conclusions are drawn from the data gathered.

Background

The notion of ‘ethnolinguistic vitality’ first arose from social-psychological interest in complex intergroup relations between linguistic communities. Giles et al (1977: 308) proposed that the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group could be defined as ‘that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in inter-group situations’, further suggesting that three related sociostructural factors impact on group vitality: status; demography; and institutional support. Assessments based on each of these parameters, (with each parameter encapsulating several variables), were argued to provide an indication of low, medium or high vitality. Such that if a group’s vitality is assessed as ‘high’, it is hypothesised that they are likely to maintain their language and cultural autonomy in multilingual contexts, in contrast to those assessed as ‘low’, who are considered more prone to linguistic and cultural assimilation into a more dominant language group, unless willing and/or able to challenge the pervasive social conditions and perceptions of group members. In the latter case, if successful, distinctive cultural groups will remain.

Assessment of vitality was proposed along two dimensions, using objective and subjective measures designed to incorporate both collective and individual accounts of identity, language and inter-group relations. These recommendations have subsequently been taken up in a number of studies. Objective evaluations were proposed as measurable structural factors that may influence the vitality of a group, such as, population statistics (including figures for endogamous/exogamous marriage, immigration/emigration, for example), educational resources/institutions, and presence of a language in the media etc. Subjective evaluations are based on self-perceptions of vitality garnered from group members. These have been tested using a variety of instruments including, for example: Bourhis et al’s (1981) ubiquitous ‘Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire’ (SEVQ); Allard & Landry’s (1986) ‘Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire’ (BEVQ); Ehala and Niglas’s (2007) recently expanded model applied to an examination of Võro; and an array of instruments designed to assess informants’ perceived language use and attitudes towards in-group and out-group(s) vitality. Through an examination of subjective vitality, researchers have shown that a group’s perception of their own vitality may differ to the results derived from the analysis of objective data (e.g. Kraemer & Olshtain, 1989; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1993), and that subjective vitality may impact positively or negatively on group vitality. The importance of analysing subjective data has been emphasised and much recent research devoted to its study.

The original EV framework (as illustrated above), has therefore been expanded and refined over the years to include new factors and suggestions for their operationalisation. Although it has been argued that there is ‘strong empirical support for the social psychological nature of the concepts of both objective and perceived EV’ (Yagmur & Kroon, 2003: 323) the concept of EV, its constructs and associated instruments have been problematised and scrutinised by researchers from social psychology and other disciplinary perspectives (see for example, Edwards, 1994; Husband & Saifullah Khan, 1982, Johnson et al, 1983; Williams, 1992). Criticisms have targeted diverse issues but one of the main criticisms levelled at the EV framework has been that the choice of

variables affords a rather crude framework, in which some of the variables correlate strongly, whilst others weakly or even provide contradictory results. As a result researchers have often independently attempted to ‘improve’ the explanatory and predictive value of their instruments in light of their investigations of specific contexts, and this has led to a disparate and complex handling of the subject matter, such that there is still a lack of agreement as to the best methods and approach to employ. For example, in recent years, emphasis on the importance of measuring subjective vitality (in particular, scrutinising the factors examined and their operationalisation) has led to diverse enquiry. Some have developed innovative frameworks incorporating and applying new measures (e.g. Ehala & Niglas, 2007); whilst other, well established instruments, notably the SVQ, have been put to the test (see Abrams et al, 2009) and found to be wanting, in particular with respect to the validity of the underlying factor structure of the three variables of status, demography and institutional support. Indeed, Abrams et al, (2009), Hogg et al, (1994) and Kraemer et al (1994) have all found that items do not always load onto their expected factor.

In contrast, comparatively few sociolinguists, cultural theorists and bilingualism specialists have been concerned to engage with the validity of the quantitative instruments, but have rather attempted to apply a range of methods in their investigation of EV or constructs therein. Some have been critical of the conceptual, terminological and methodological limitations of the approaches traditionally adopted by social psychologists, which they find can be too limiting and reductive in outlook (see discussion of Pavlenko & Blackledge’s 2004, critique below). A case in point relates to discussions surrounding the treatment of ‘identity’ within the framework.

‘Identity’ as a Key Variable

One of the key variables in EV theory is social and ethnic identity. This variable is noted to interact with a number of others to determine group vitality. The concept of ‘identity’ has been traditionally appropriated from Tajfel & Turner’s ‘Social Identity Theory’ (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1982), in which it is suggested that people categorise their social world, and themselves, in relation to memberships and groupings; perceiving themselves, in turn, as members of specific groups (e.g. African American; Hispanic; a teacher; a mother). This sense of group belonging is defined as one’s ‘social identity’. Group members may evaluate their membership positively or negatively in comparison to other out-group members in the light of psychological processes of evaluation, including social categorization; identification and comparison. High self-esteem and distinctiveness are achieved by comparing oneself on measures that are highly prized by the in-group, which leads to positive perception and pride in ones’ social identity. In enhancing this perception of positive self-image, group members may discriminate or exercise prejudice against those they consider as external to their social group; therefore adopting strategies (including linguistic) which assert their identification with members of the in-group and distinction from the out-group, e.g. speaking in a certain accent; adopting the in-group language. Negative social identity, in contrast, may lead to a weakening of group membership, leading to the adoption of strategies which lead to social mobility. This may result in dwindling self-esteem and a limited desire for distinctive recognition. Under

these circumstances, the distinctive qualities of another group may be appealing and this may lead to the adoption of out-group identity/behaviour.

The strength of group identification with in- or out-group members is noted to be an important factor in one's ethnolinguistic identity and it has also been proposed, in discussions of EV, that ethnic identification is important for group members. The maintenance or loss of member's language/speech style is considered partially or largely dependent on one's ethnic identity (Clachar, 1997; Giles et al, 1990). It has been suggested that if one's ethnic identity is weak, one is more likely to shift to the linguistic behaviour of an out-group, however if it is strong, one is more likely to retain one's in-group language.

Social identity theory therefore conceives of 'identity' as an internalised stable property of individuals and social groupings which both determine and reflect psychological and social reality. Within this paradigm, the individual, and social structures, are conceived as independent forms; individuals being influenced by social structures via socialisation leading to the internalisation of social influences. This gives rise to demographic/identity labels considered to represent pre-existing and bounded biological and social structures, such as: social class and ethnicity. These representations have been used by researchers as explanatory variables, to index and predict linguistic behaviour by speakers, whereby the relationship between an individual's/group's identity (e.g. 'ethnic' identity) and their language use is seen as causal.

This concept of 'identity' within studies of inter-group relations has been criticized however for being too simplistic and essentialised. Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004) recently offered an interesting critique, arguing that the social-psychological perspective of identity assumes a neat 'correlation' between language use and identity, and also treats community members as homogenous and bounded. They suggest that the desire to arrive at broad generalizations means that researchers fail to engage theoretically and methodologically with: the complexity and heterogeneity of identity performance by community members in different social contexts, e.g. the fact that speakers might index multiple identities in any one exchange, or privilege ethnic identity above all other realizations and possible influential constellations which may impact on language use (e.g. gender; role relations); that they also fail to engage with social and ideological influences on individuals e.g. power differentials; and the fact that high or low levels of proficiency in a language do not necessarily correlate with group identity. They further argue, as many others (e.g. Delgado et al, 1999; Dörnyei, 2007; Lemmon & Goggin, 1989; McKinney & Priestly, 2004), that methodologically, the heavy reliance on questionnaires leads to a number of problems, including the distillation of complex issues and experiences into a limited number of assessable constructs; the assumption that all informants will equally understand and engage with the concepts/constructs assessed via a questionnaire (e.g. equally 'understanding' references to 'culture', 'identity') and that there is an 'over-reliance' on subjective evaluations, which may not reflect actual performance or account for the variables which influence language use in reality (e.g. due to inappropriate comparisons, or susceptibility to social desirability). Many social-psychological studies, they argue, effectively silence, 'the way in which local hegemonic

structures may oppress or legitimize particular ethnic groups or identities' and therefore the ability of the researcher to tap into the myriad of social and psychological influences which may limit or liberate the expression and negotiation of multiple identities in any setting/context. Moreover, they see the Achilles' heel of inter-group studies as a 'monolingual and monocultural bias' (p.5) in which in the construction of instruments and in the analysis of the data, community members are viewed as the sum of two (potentially competing) monolingual/monocultural identities rather than the sum of hybrid identities. This forces a simplified view of identity, group membership, and linguistic competence and performance, one not necessarily expressed by informants or evident through observation. (Indeed, Nora (2009:3) provides the example '...of a multiethnic person [in Canada, who] might conceive of herself as multiethnic at home but in the company of her Japanese grandmother ... may perceive of herself in terms of her Japanese heritage.. [as] ..the social context has the potential to affect how a multiethnic person views his or her ethnic identity.')

More recent writings on identity (e.g Benwell & Stokoe, 2007; Burr, 2008; Tracy, 2002) not only challenge the more traditional 'essentialist' approaches but are useful in that they conceive of identity as an external (public/social) rather than an internal (private), pre-discursive phenomenon. Identity is viewed as an inter-subjective construction, enacted through discourse (both spoken and written). It is therefore conceived as something which may be *brought about* in social interaction (conversation/text) rather than a pre-determined individual or social reality or state, *brought to* the conversation/text. As such, identity is viewed as complex and fragmentary. It may be multiply constructed or manipulated in and through discourse and other semiotic systems. It is a resource through which subjects are created and projected.

Viewing identity through this lens and taking on the perspective of critical, cultural theory and theories of performativity (Butler, 1990) one might argue that category labels invoked in the study of bilingual speakers (e.g. 'Greek' and 'Turkish' when studying the Greek-Orthodox community in Istanbul, as described below), may be inexact, broad, fixed and crucially determined *a priori* by researchers, thereby influencing the examination, interpretation and conceptualisation of 'identity'. Thus attempting to make correlations between demographic categories and language use may be fallacious. For example, just because an individual speaks Greek at home in Istanbul does not necessarily index a 'Greek' identity but may more accurately index the performance of a particular speech act, when telling a joke for example, or when attempting to accurately quote from a previous exchange. Social constructionists assert that 'identity' is not something we 'have' – a stable property (in time and space) determined by the individual or the analyst, but something we 'do' and (co-)construct in social action and should therefore be analysed through an examination of 'language in use' and textual analysis. Through an examination of 'performance' we can conceive of identity in a far more complex way than the essentialist perspective: as something mobile, fluid and negotiable. A subject's/group's identity may therefore be differently represented on different occasions and when influenced by personal and social circumstance. As such 'group identity and subject positions become (conversational/[discourse]) categories that may be invoked as a resource in discursively produced identities' (Benwell & Stokoe 2007:29).

Research adopting the social constructionist perspective has given rise to both micro- and macro-methods and analyses of situated identity formation and representation. Researchers approach the study of identity from different methodological and ideological bases and each has something to offer in the consideration of EV. For example, micro-analyses of conversational data draw on ethno-methodological and conversational analytic approaches to examine how identity is discursively constructed through ‘talk-in-interaction’. Researchers focus on how identity is made relevant and ‘oriented to’ procedurally by speakers in conversation, and how it is used as a resource by participants, for example, to categorise or label subjects; to present themselves/others favourably or disfavouredly; to mark category membership (e.g. see Moores, 2006 study of adolescent identity performance, chapters in Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998). This allows researchers to investigate how participants draw on, or challenge, normative features and categorisations in the casting or altercasting of identity/ies through interaction. In contrast, Critical Discourse Analysis permits a different examination of spoken and written texts. Its focus is on identifying the way in which identities are constructed, performed and positioned and how powerful agents and discourses regulate and control social ideology, e.g. the way in which we ‘think about’ groupings (of which we may, or may not be members) and how this becomes ‘naturalised’ through the institutions of education; the media; government etc. This work attempts to uncover unequal or oppressive attitudes or practices and the motivations behind their realisation, for example, to discriminate against minority groups (e.g. see Van Dijk, 1989).

This representation of identity as a discursive construction, rather than a pre-discursive ‘reality’ presents an alternative description and conceptualisation of identity to that proposed by Tajfel & Turner (1979), and challenges the notion that there is necessarily a link between an individual’s language use and their ‘ethnic identity’. It also calls for a review of the instruments used to examine identity in the EV framework and the assumptions underlying their construction. In line with social constructionist and post-structuralist perspectives therefore, and the recommendations of Pavlenko and Blackledge (op. cit.), it is proposed that researchers investigating issues of identity need to consider approaches and methods which look beyond an ‘essential’ consideration and examination of this construct. These methods will also enable researchers to identify possible anomalies or ‘discontinuities’ (p.26) in the data gathered (e.g. see Atkinson’s, 2000, account of his difficulty in applying EV in the context of hybrid Catalonian identities, and Heller’s, 2003, account of the impact of globalization on the construction and ‘commodification’ of language and how this may be distinct from identity), and also tap into the complexity of language in use and the fluidity of ‘identities’ in different social contexts and through different media. This may be analysed through an examination of personal narratives; observational studies in naturalistic settings and via an analysis of ‘identity’ representations in public and private texts e.g. newspaper/community publications; visual media; policy documents. The latter support an investigation of cultural subjectivities and cultural ideologies which may impact on group members’ perceptions of vitality and may prove to be an interesting consideration when evaluating subjective vitality empirically and non-empirically.

In recent empirical studies of EV in diverse communities, researchers have hinted at the power of discourse in constructing identity and influencing social ideology. Ehala & Niglas, (2007:429) observe perceptively that ‘although the actions of individual group members are influenced by reality, the perception of that reality is often to a large extent created discursively.’ Yagmur (2009:220) makes reference to the literature discussing state ideologies and the way in which they have the power to ‘shap[e] integration and language policies of immigrant receiving societies’. Moreover, other studies investigating group identity (without reference to EV, e.g. Ceuleers, 2008; Nora, 2009) have begun to adopt a social constructionist perspective taking on such approaches and theories as ‘Ecological theory’ and ‘Situating Social Identity Theory’; demonstrating that ethnic identity is not a fixed categorisation or construct but a fluid multiple realisation and construct. To date however, few have attempted to carry out detailed case studies or consider how this perspective might impact on research tools already in existence (e.g. questionnaires) in studies of EV, due to a combination of reasons, including scepticism and/or lack of necessary awareness or training in ethnographic/observational studies and discourse analytic techniques.

Assessing Identity, Vitality & Intergroup Relations via Multiple Methodologies

In recent years (in addition to those studies mentioned above) there have been some investigations of intergroup relations and identity using multiple methods and approaches. Findings from these studies suggest that an ‘essentialist’ and predominantly etic approach may be too limiting (e.g. Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007). How then might one combine approaches to enrich the examination of group EV? And what are the benefits and limitations of both approaches and the difficulties in combining two distinct ideological paradigms? To make this discussion concrete this paper will reflect briefly on our recent study of the Greek-Orthodox community in Istanbul.

A Case Study

In 2007, we (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis) reported on the language attitudes, shift and the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Greek-Orthodox community in Istanbul, providing a preliminary overview of the status of the Greek Orthodox community and their language.

The community has long existed in Istanbul; however despite the rapid decline in its population (to approximately 1000 members) it has been largely unexplored. The aims of our study were:

- '(1) to form a picture of current language use and competence in Greek;
- (2) to examine the sociolinguistic parameters and language attitudes at play along the broad lines of an ethnolinguistic vitality framework;
- (3) to investigate the link between language and identity to see whether this may be an important factor in the preservation or otherwise of Greek in Istanbul; and
- (4) to explore whether these factors together may underpin the survival of Greek in the Community; and, in particular, to probe whether the symbolic status of Greek, allied with feelings of ethnic identity, might be so strong as to overcome the highly adverse demographic background' (pp368-9).

Data was collected via a combination of methods. Information regarding the demographic status of the community and issues relating to educational and institutional support for the Greek language were gathered via interviews and textual/discourse analysis. Information relating to reported language use, competence and attitudes towards status and institutional support were solicited via a questionnaire and interviews. (The design of the questionnaire drew on a number of previous studies e.g. Hoare, 2000; Karahan, 2004; Landry et al., 2006; McEntee-Atalianis & Pouloukas, 2001. Please see Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis 2007, for details of the structure and design.) These were supplemented via observational data. Interviews were broadly structured according to the questions posed in the questionnaire, although informants were additionally encouraged to expand on issues of interest to them and related to their experiences.

We found that adopting multiple methods of data collection allowed us to: replicate and confirm findings across different sources of data; pursue issues in more depth; open up new areas of investigation; whilst also identifying apparent anomalies or contradictions in our data and limitations in our instruments. Moreover we also found that different methods afforded variable degrees of control and authority over the type, presentation and interpretation of the data by the researcher and the researched, and permitted an exploration of macro and micro-processes permitting both a broad and narrow interpretation of the data. The latter is illustrated below via a meta-critical analysis of our investigation of 'identity' and 'social status'.

Investigation of identity

Quantitative results

In our examination of ethnocultural identity, the following results were derived from the questionnaire (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis 2007:382):

Table 1: Identity Questions

	Valid n	Not at all or more Greek than Turkish (%)	Equally Greek and Turkish (%)	Completely or more Turkish than Greek (%)	Mea n	Standard deviation
ID1: How Turkish do you feel?	53	78.3	10.0	0.0	4.4*	0.69
	Valid n	Agree or strongly agree	Indifferent	Disagree or strongly disagree	Mea n	Standard deviation
ID2: To be a true Istanbul Greek, it is necessary to speak Greek	60	71.7	16.7	11.6	3.9	1.09
ID3: I feel proud to be an Istanbul Greek	58	78.3	11.7	6.6	4.2	1.02
ID4: Speaking Turkish weakens our identity	58	11.6	10.0	75.0	3.8	0.99

Note: percentages are of total sample, not just of valid responses

** indicates statistical significance at the 5% level*

89% of informants reported in response to ID1 that they felt completely Greek or more Greek than Turkish; slightly fewer (78%) reported pride in being ‘Istanbul’ Greeks (ID3) and approximately 72% agreed that it is necessary for individuals to speak Greek in order to be considered ‘Constantinopolite’ (an Istanbul Greek). We found answers to ID4 to reflect comfort by the majority of informants in their ability to negotiate their complex identity reporting confidence in their ability to speak Turkish whilst retaining a distinct ethnic identity.

A two-factor analysis of the effects of age and subject’s main language on the answers to questions ID1 and ID2 was performed and revealed a significant effect of main language on strength of perceiving oneself to be more Greek than Turkish ($F_{1,52}=8.0, p < 0.01$), with no effect for age.

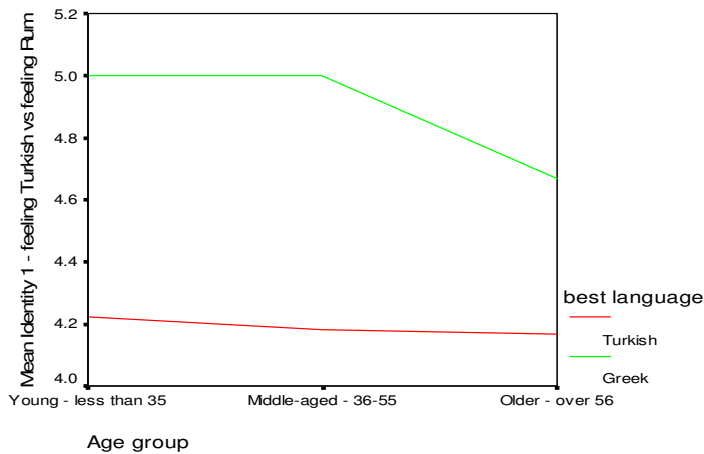
The marginal means were as follows:

Table 2: Marginal means for feeling of identity by main language

Best language	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Turkish	4.190	.141	3.903	4.477
Greek	4.889	.279	4.321	5.457

The effect is also illustrated graphically below:

Figure 1: Effect of main language on feeling of identity



This suggested that the better the informant’s competence in Greek, the stronger the feeling of Constantinopolite Greek identity. We suggested that this may reflect a possible weakening of Greek identity over time if Greek competence declines within the community.

Qualitative results

Data derived from the questionnaire alone provided a limited conceptualization and profile of ‘Community’ identity however. The statements presented informants with binary choices in which Greek and Turkish, both languages and ethnic identities, were presented as ‘essential’, oppositional and polarized constructs – as two separate linguistic and cultural systems, e.g.:

ID2: To be a true Istanbul Greek, it is necessary to speak Greek.

ID4: Speaking Turkish weakens our identity. (p. 381).

In contrast, interviews permitted informants to engage in extended self-reflection and explanation and revealed an alternative ‘self-naming’ identity to the one constructed by the researchers and presented via the questionnaires. Interviewees presented themselves as ‘Istanbulites/Constantinopolites’, unequivocally describing a hybrid identity (see more detailed discussion below), realized through the performance of a complex linguistic repertoire, including code-switching and variable language preferences. This was further supported by observational data in which actual language performance testified to the enactment of code-switching and variable language use in different contexts in the performance of different speech acts. The questionnaire therefore identified general patterns of dominant language use and presented informants with discrete language choices based on concept of ‘standard Greek or Turkish’ languages or restricted notions of ‘identity’, but interviews and observation permitted a more refined and complex examination of multilingual practice and identity presentation.

Arguably, the essentialised and polarized nature of Greek and Turkish ‘identity’ presented in the questionnaire also proved to be difficult for some informants, particularly given the political sensitivity of Greek-Turkish relations (see Komondouros

& McEntee-Atalianis 2007:367 for more details) and the unique historical status of Greeks in Istanbul. Obtaining completed questionnaires proved difficult, especially with the older generation who were reticent to complete or return them. Questions relating to ethnocultural identity were found to be extremely sensitive and provocative. It was through interviews and subsequent narrative analysis that we were able to tap this sensitivity and also explore the narrative construction of individual and group identities. These narratives proved to be sites of negotiation and contestation. They revealed variable positionings of individuals and groupings relative to historical events, and (multi-) cultural, social norms and events.

Informants almost uniformly reported that they were Istanbul Greeks and Turkish nationals, which gives them a distinct ethnocultural identity described as consisting of hybrid characteristics, including, the Greek language, Greek culture and traditions, the Greek Orthodox community but also significantly being proud members of Istanbul, with deep roots and historical ties to the city and to Turkish society. In contrast, the questionnaire invited interviewees to report and reflect on their Turkish/Greek identity in a binary fashion, e.g. 'ID1: How Turkish do you feel?' these statements proved crude and insensitive instruments of measurement for some when compared against informants' own characterizations presented through their narrative accounts, in which the concept of an 'Istanbulite/Constantinopolite' identity was stressed as a defining characteristic. Informants constructed an account that was neither of an essentialised 'Greek' nor 'Turkish' identity. Moreover, many informants highlighted distinct boundary markers and cast and altercast others in an enlightening fashion, for example, noting that that when in contact with mainland Greeks, they felt quite different and distinct, for example, reporting that on visiting Greece that they felt 'different' in 'character' and 'psychology', in addition to obvious linguistic variation in accent and style.

Investigation of social status

A similar picture emerged in our investigation of other variables. In our examination of the subcategory of the 'social status' of Greek in Istanbul, a complex picture emerged. Textual analysis revealed that under the Treaty of Lausanne, Greek theoretically enjoys the same rights as Turkish, however reported long-standing tensions between Greece and Turkey has meant that there have been frequent infringements of the Treaty and pressures applied on the community and its status (see Alexandris 1983 and Bahcheli, 1990). A similar picture is presented in the historical literature of the Turkish-speaking minority in Thrace. In the case of the Istanbul Greeks this involved such pressures as: the movement to impose the use of Turkish on all citizens (Sarioglu, 2004); economic pressures via taxation on businessmen; and restrictions imposed on Greek minority schools. The difficult political situation has been reported to lead to the heavy emigration, the majority of citizens leaving to take up residence in mainland Greece.

Qualitative results

Qualitative data derived from interviews and observation depicted mixed perceptions. Some interviewees reported that during the worst periods of Greek-Turkish relations, for example at the height of the 'Citizen speak Turkish' movement, many would avoid speaking Greek in public for fear of intimidation however they noted that this was no

longer the case, e.g. two informants reported independently: ‘today I feel more comfortable’; ‘today the Greek language in Turkey is spoken freely and nobody obstructs it.’ Younger informants noted that they felt comfortable speaking Greek in public.

Quantitative results

Results (see Table 3 below) derived from the questionnaire confirmed the views expressed in the interviews and observations of language use. More than 80% of informants reported that they did not feel uncomfortable speaking Greek publicly however almost 52% felt that Greek had an inferior status to Turkish, (this was unsurprising given its minority status).

Table 3: Social status statements

	Valid n	Agree or strongly agree (%)	Indifferent (%)	Disagree or strongly disagree (%)	Mean	Standard deviation
SS1: Greek has inferior status in Turkish society to Turkish	52	51.6	8.3	26.6	2.6	1.43
SS2: Greek does not have same social status that it used to	58	68.4	11.7	16.7	2.3	0.99
SS3: Speaking Greek hinders one’s social advancement	58	5.0	5.0	86.7	4.2	0.74
SS4: I do not feel comfortable speaking Greek in public	58	16.7	11.7	68.4	3.8	1.14

Note: percentages are of total sample, not just of valid responses

Subsequent analysis revealed that the effect of age was significant overall at the 5% level on the perceived social status of Greek (SS1), ($F_{2,49} = 3.73, p = 0.03$). A significant difference was found (via a Bonferroni adjustment) between the mean for those aged less than 35 and the mean for those aged 56 or over, suggesting differences in perception, with the younger generation not perceiving Greek as having an inferior status to Turkish.

Observational data permitted a more detailed understanding of actual language use and identified anomalies in the data. Results from the questionnaire allowed us to construct a general picture of reported language use in various domains with various interlocutors. Informants reported that they would mostly speak Greek with close friends for example, however it was observed anecdotally that this was not always the case, for example, two community members (in their twenties) spoke Greek whilst at work at a Greek-Orthodox Church but when returning home would characteristically switch to Turkish. This phenomenon was also observed amongst the older generation when an interviewee (aged approximately 70 years) reported that she always spoke Greek with her Greek friends in

Istanbul and then promptly telephoned a friend to enquire if he would be willing to participate in the study, and switched immediately to Turkish when he answered the telephone and maintained this language choice throughout the conversation.

Implications & Reflections

This brief meta-analysis illustrates two key points which will be expanded on below:

- i. We found overall compatibility in the results derived across our instruments: questionnaire results were indicative and it was through the use of rigid categories that an interesting macro-picture of the situation in Istanbul emerged. As an instrument it also provided a very useful platform from which to discuss key issues less formally with informants via semi-structured interviews and informal discussions. It also highlighted discontinuities, discrepancies and areas of possible hybridity and transition (e.g. reported code-switching) which were in need of further, more detailed exploration using qualitative methods;
- ii. Observation and interviews helped us to explore at a micro-level: reasons behind informant responses; reactions to rigid categorizations and terminology used in questions/statements within the instrument itself, and the nature of stable, hybrid and transitory forms.

We found most significantly that in using both quantitative and qualitative methods, the tripartite model of EV was invaluable, permitting us to identify shifts in categories, e.g. demographic decline; areas of stability (e.g. sense of ‘Constantinopolite identity’); whilst also identifying hybrid and transitory forms – some apparently influencing vitality (e.g. decline in the use of Greek by the younger generation and shifts in institutional support); whilst other hybrid forms appeared to reflect stability rather than shift, e.g. bilingualism and code-switching, which were historically and continued to be part of the linguistic repertoire of the community.

More specifically, data derived from interviews provided rich and detailed accounts of the constructs under investigation and also enriched our understanding of the socio-political context, informing our understanding of subject sensitivities but also helping us to identify limitations in our instruments. Arguably an extended ethnographic and observational study of the community prior to the construction of our empirical instruments might have allowed us to construct more ‘sensitive’ measures of the ‘identity’ variable and to have targeted the multiplicity and recombinant nature of ‘Constantinopolite/Istanbulite’ identity, as narrated by informants in interviews. Moreover, the opportunity for informants to ‘self-report’ using open-ended questions might also have broadened the scope of the questionnaire considerably and helped to identify intra-group variability. These are issues that might be taken up in further studies invoking EV.

Our research illustrates that multiple approaches and methods should be used to inform the development of each other, and as such, they should be treated as dynamic, fluid and in dialogue. In the case of questionnaire development for example, focus group work, interviews and observations in the community setting prior to the construction of the questionnaire may help to inform the development of key constructs and questions posed

to the larger population in any setting, enabling both the researcher and the researched to contribute to the refinement of instruments and the identification of salient variables (see Abrams 2009:69). In turn, responses to questions posed by the questionnaire may help to guide focus group or interview discussion. This does not necessarily imply that instruments cannot be replicable but that they should be context sensitive.

This research has also opened up new avenues of investigation. For example, an area still in need of further extensive investigation is a critical analysis of public and private publications/written texts, e.g. media; policy and community documents. The impact of these cultural and political products on ideology is a significant area of study; one that is not easily measurable and may be comparatively time-consuming, but arguably influential and important to examine when considering issues of vitality. Such analysis would involve a critical investigation of texts but also methodologically call for further data collection through focus group and interview work.

Adopting different methodologies therefore permits researchers within a range of disciplinary paradigms to examine communities (however defined - be they ethnic/gender speech communities or communities of practice) both from a macro and micro-perspective and an etic/emic approach. By their very nature different theoretical perspectives and methodological choices limit, ignore, and even obscure issues which may be of relevance to EV researchers. Adopting a multi-method approach to EV offers rich data which may be subjected to multiple analyses and scrutiny by researchers from a range of disciplines. Such data will not only engage those interested in EV but also those interested in examining related issues, such as 'identity', particularly at a time in history in which increased mobility (social/political/geographic) is leading to the formation of new and 'imagined' (Anderson, 1983) communities.

These recommendations do not ignore the fact that there are fundamental philosophical, ideological and methodological differences between the traditional social psychological and the social constructionist paradigms and that these must be understood and engaged with. The fact that traditionally social psychologists view 'attitudes' and 'identity' as essential constructs which are a property of the individual or social group, and work with predominantly empirical tools designed to control variables, measure outcomes and predict behaviour; as opposed to social constructionists, who postulate that behaviour and thoughts 'have their origin not in the person's private experience, but in the discursive culture that people inhabit' (Burr 2008: 65) such that one needs to account for multiplicity and fluidity, and that they work with 'non-measurable' instruments and case studies, is a major division between these paradigms and one that needs further cross-disciplinary exploration and debate. However, the study of EV may be an interesting arena in which to challenge these approaches and bring researchers together in order to benefit from their respective virtues. It is through the study of EV that researchers know that shifts in categories are not absolute and that hybridity is ubiquitous – understanding what/which aspects of hybridity influence vitality, and which do not, is an area still in need of debate and exploration. I argue that it is only in invoking multiple methodologies that this issue can be resolved and that universal or community-specific features can be identified.

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Media use and ethnolinguistic vitality in bilingual communities

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Introduction²

This article addresses the relationships between media, media use and language retention. In pursuing this aim, we will explore the utility of ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) as a fruitful conceptual tool. The extant research on the relationship between the media and language retention and development provides an encouragement to pursue in more detail the role of media in this process: in other words to address more explicitly the features of media operation, and their relationship to audiences, which interface with the dynamics of ethnolinguistic vitality.

In a world where ethnic and linguistic diversity within nation states has blossomed in response to processes of nation building and contemporary flows of international migration this article explores the role of the media in maintaining cultural and linguistic diversity. In this context, it is troubling that the research seems to suggest that the overall effect of media tends to undermine rather than support the vitality of minority languages and related cultures (Fishman, 2001, pp. 473-474, Busch, 2001: p. 35 ff; Cormack, 2007). It is evident that minority language media, in many cases, performs mainly a restitutionary function (Moring & Dunbar, 2008) as a defensive tool that balances the impact of media in the language(s) that dominate(s) the media environment.

We are looking at different situations of language use within an international comparative framework. Empirically, we base our arguments on the results from a series of studies of interrelations between identity (in terms of subjectively identified identity); media (in terms of completeness in supply); media use (in terms of choice of language); and EV among bilingual speakers of minority languages; the article builds on studies that are carried out among German speakers in South Tyrol, Hungarian speakers in Romania, Swedish speakers in Finland, Finnish speakers in Sweden and Polish speakers in the UK.

² The authors recognize that their article has been written as part of the project *Bilingualism, Identity and the Media in Inter- and Intra-cultural Comparisons* (BIM). This project has received financing from the Academy of Finland.

From a methodological point of view our analysis builds on studying the, aforementioned, relations in different contexts. We restrict our different studies to minorities that have access to locally produced, as well as cross border media. However, the differences in contexts are still much too many to bridge in order to build stable empirical models on the basis of comparative data. Thus, whilst our effort is comparative, our approach at this stage is explorative, inspired by the strategy of the *most different systems design* that seeks similarities between different situations, in order to detect regularities.³

In spite of a relative richness of theoretical reasoning, accompanied by case studies and language-specific research, little effort has been made to establish firm empirical evidence regarding the relation between media and linguistic vitality within this field (see, for example, Landry and Bourhis, 1997; Reid, et al. 2004). However, the relations between language, identity, and media have been a subject of analysis (see, for example, Abrams et al., 2003; Busch, 2001, Moring and Husband, 2007).

Ethnolinguistic vitality

Ethnolinguistic vitality theory has developed around the perceived role of three independent variables which cumulatively shape a language community's linguistic energy and survivability. These include:

- *Status factors*, such as the recognition of social status in intra-group and inter-group dynamics, and the status of groups' communicative codes
- *Demographic factors*, such as the geographic distribution of group members, the relative proportion of group numbers, and rates of births, deaths, and intermarriage
- *Institutional factors*, such as: the group's insertion in the central political systems of the state, and their position vis-à-vis the media, both in terms of institutional infrastructure, and in terms of the organizational control and influence over media systems.

These three socio-structural factors, in their initial formulation (Giles et al., 1977; Bourhis et al. 1981), were seen as having both *objective* and *subjective* forms.

³ This methodological distinction leans on J.S. Mill's work *A System of Logic* 1843, distinguishing between the method of agreement and method of difference. It was developed for comparative research between social and political systems by Adam Przeworski and Henry Teune (1970).

Objective Vitality

Objectively, these three factors represent the major socio-structural forces framing social identities and the institutional presence of languages in a specific context. They tap a sociological and political reality that meshes well with a political economy approach to mass media analysis. (McChesney, 1997; Mosco, 1996; Molnar & Meadows, 2001). The political economy approach seeks to reveal the location, and forms of power, that shape media systems, and raises prior questions of ownership and control in order to make problematic the audiences' engagement with *the media that is available to them*.

The variables listed under the rubric of objective ethnolinguistic vitality mesh comfortably with this tradition of media studies, and consequently it leads to an inherent incapacity to take any media environment as given. Thus within this approach one may ask novel questions about media effects. We argue that a relative research neglect of objective ethnolinguistic vitality has contributed to a compromised understanding of the power of these relationships.

The contemporary radical transition in media infrastructure has meant the creation of new opportunities for consumer choice which constitute a significant change in the objective ethnolinguistic vitality of minority ethnic communities. The emergence of transnational diasporic communities has been extensively complemented by satellite, web-based and print media that have made access to culturally compatible media a reality for many (Bailey et al., 2007).

However, a significant element of this media infrastructure is likely to be transnational in origin, and will consequently tend to sustain the distinctive cultural and ethnic identity of minorities with diasporic and transnational affiliations. In such instances the demographic and cultural strength of the minority population is likely to be critical in enabling it to constitute a viable community that, in addition, can sustain a minimum of locally produced culturally and linguistically relevant media supply. These situations would occur in situations of relatively recent immigration, such as for many Finnish speakers in Sweden or the Polish speakers in Britain; both groups included in our study.

The empirical realities of objective vitality may also be such that long established national minorities find themselves with a concentrated demography and well

established institutional support; which in turn is accompanied by consolidated positive status. In such circumstances it may be appropriate to question whether considering them a minority is entirely appropriate, or whether within their own specific territorial bounds they constitute a *de facto* majority, with consequent implications for their perception of the legitimacy and stability of their situation. Such would be the situation for certain German communities in Italy, or Hungarian communities in Romania, also included in our study.

Most communities where minority languages are spoken would reside between these extremes, typically the Swedish speakers in Finland, also studied here. As would be expected, our findings indicate that subjective vitality may take on quite different meanings depending on the societal and historical context in which the language community is located.

Subjective vitality

Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality, in its' conception was seen as a necessary analytic complement to objective vitality. It starts from recognition of the fact that actors' *perceptions* of their status may differ significantly from the objective reality in a specific inter-group context. As Giles (2001, p. 1) observed: "...the real intent, and challenge, of the vitality framework was, however, to provide subjective assessment of how members of ethnic collectivities judged societal conditions impinging on their own and relevant outgroups." Indeed, as the literature reveals, subjective perceptions of vitality do significantly shape intergroup behaviours (Liebkind et al., 2007), and reciprocally intergroup postures impact upon the perception of objective circumstances (Turner, 1999).

However, the political economy perspective questions aspects of the initial formulation of the ethnolinguistic model itself (Giles et al., 1977). The factors identified above as constituting the essential elements of ethnolinguistic vitality, namely status, demographics and institutional support, were presented as independent variables whose individual impact could be measured and assessed. However, this claim was challenged early on as unsustainable, given the nature of the socio-political forces that shaped these

individual variables; which consequently rendered them highly mutually interactive (Husband and Saifullah-Khan, 1982).

This critique did not impede the development of a significant body of research employing the concept of *subjective* ethnolinguistic vitality and its analytic elements. Indeed, a large and diverse body of empirical literature has accumulated around this model. It is therefore somewhat salutary that Abrams and colleagues (Abrams et al., 2009) have recently carried out an analysis which indeed does indicate that the core variables of the ethnolinguistic model, when employed within the standard empirical tool, the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ), are not stable, nor necessarily independent of each other. This is itself an unobtrusive measure of the necessary dynamic linkage between the empirical social realities that determine objective ethnolinguistic vitality, and the personal perspective that is subjective ethnolinguistic vitality. The socio-political realities, and their attendant ideologies, frame the possible individual perspectives at the heart of subjective vitality.

Inherent in the concept of bilingualism is the question whether language groups are stable, to what extent boundaries are permeable (Brubaker, 2004); and, as we will see, also the question whether new groups may form in the conjunction of established ethnicities.

Vitality and media

Following from the discussion of the overall effect of the media system with respect to EV, the question emerges whether, under what conditions, and to what extent media in a minority language may perform a *restitutionary function* (Moring and Dunbar, 2008). In their theoretical discussion of possible effects of television on group vitality, Abrams et al. (2003) present a series of seven propositions, derived from cultivation theory, uses and gratifications research, and social identity gratification. In their view, the social identity gratification perspective is central as an intermediate vehicle for media effects in non-dominant groups (such as linguistic minorities). Using media for reasons of social identity gratification would coincide with higher levels of subjective vitality, lesser assimilation and social competition strategies (Abrams et al., 2003).

However, for such conditions to be met, some further prerequisites have to be in place. This is why we must pay particular attention to the *institutional* and *functional* completeness of the media (Moring, 2007). Choice of media is conditioned by the *objective institutional* factor of existing supply over a range of media platforms and genres. Only then may the *subjective status-related factor*, the strict preference condition be met. In simplified terms, this condition requires that all other things being equal, the minority language audience must display a preference for using media in the minority language rather than in the majority language. Thus, institutional completeness is a necessary, yet not sufficient condition for functional completeness to emerge.

The empirical studies

In this part of the paper we will present results of empirical research conducted in five countries, representing a range from communities with traditionally established language communities with a strong demographic position for the minority language to communities with a weak position of (migrant) languages. Our cases are South-Tyrol in Italy where German is traditionally spoken and Transylvania in Romania where Hungarian is traditionally spoken by regional majorities; two regions in Finland where the language balance is negotiated, Uusimaa and Ostrobothnia; and two language communities with a weak position of the languages: Finnish in Sweden is spoken traditionally by a small minority and also by more recent migrants, Polish is spoken in UK by a migrant minority that has formed through several waves of immigration.

Case 1. A comparison of four European regions

Our first case will present some results of comparative empirical research conducted in four European regions. These are South Tyrol in Italy where German is a minority language that regionally is a majority language; Transylvania in Rumania where Hungarian is a minority language that in some parts of the region is a regional majority language; the region Ostrobothnia in Finland with an extensive media supply from Sweden and an even demographic balance between the nationally dominant Finnish language and the other national language, Swedish; and the region of Uusimaa (Uusimaa/Nyland, where also Helsinki/Helsingfors resides) where Finnish dominates.

Objective vitality in the four settings

In the autonomous province of South-Tyrol both Italian and German are official languages and have equal rights in almost every aspect of life. The status of the languages is ensured by special regulations. According to the census of 2001 about 70 percent of the 420,000 inhabitants of South-Tyrol are German-speaking. When considering the influx of German language media from neighbouring countries, the media landscape can be considered institutionally complete. Locally, there are two German dailies. There are also some local weeklies and monthlies in German, and the press products from Austria and Germany are available as well. The Italian Public Service Broadcaster has a regional studio, which broadcasts both TV (1-2 hours a day) and radio (13 hours a day) programmes in German. There are several private, German-speaking commercial radio channels. The cross border media play an important role: the public broadcasting service Rundfunkanstalt Südtirol (RAS) relays public radio and TV channels of Austria, Germany and Switzerland. As public broadcasters from Austria, Germany and Switzerland allow RAS to relay their programmes without any cost, the provincial citizens do not have to pay extra license fees.

The census of 2002 found that 6.6 percent of the population of Romania, that is 1,434,000 people are ethnic Hungarians. The Hungarian minority lives in Transylvania, a traditionally multilingual territory, making up a fifth of the population of the region. The Hungarian language has no official status in Transylvania. However, according to the Romanian public administration law (2001/215), local administrative authorities should allow the use of the minority mother-tongue in their affairs in administrative units where more than 20 percent of the population belongs to a minority group. However, as many studies have pointed out (Péntek, 2003, 2005; Péntek and Benő, 2003; Demeter, 2007; Veress, 2005), the effect of laws is generally very weak in Romania. There are 13 Hungarian dailies published in Romania. Additionally, there are several weeklies and journals in Hungarian in Transylvania. Despite the considerable size of the Hungarian community, Transylvania does not have independent, state financed TV and radio channels. The Romanian public television airs 6.5 hours a week in Hungarian (which is 1 percent of the total air time); and its regional channels air a total of 3 hours a week in

Hungarian. Still, there are several private radio channels which broadcast in Hungarian. In TV viewing the channels coming from Hungary play an important role.

The Swedish-speaking population in Finland (numbering to somewhat less than 300,000, ca. 5.5 percent of the population) is at a personal level predominantly bilingual in Finnish and Swedish. The Swedish-speakers live in three different regions that are far from each other and featured by different language patterns. The Swedish-speakers live blended into the majority population, maintaining their community mainly through cultural autonomy supported by unilingual Swedish institutions. These enjoy official status due to the fact that Finnish and Swedish are both by constitution national languages in Finland.

The Swedish media landscape in Finland is close to being institutionally complete. There is a rich assortment of media in Swedish: 8 daily newspapers, two radio stations and (for 10 years, emerging with the digitalization of the Finnish television system) one Swedish language television channel. The access to media from Sweden differs depending on in which region in Finland you live. The Sweden-Swedish outlet is big and varied in Ostrobothnia, on the western coast, but relatively scarce in Uusimaa, on the southern coast of the country.

Findings

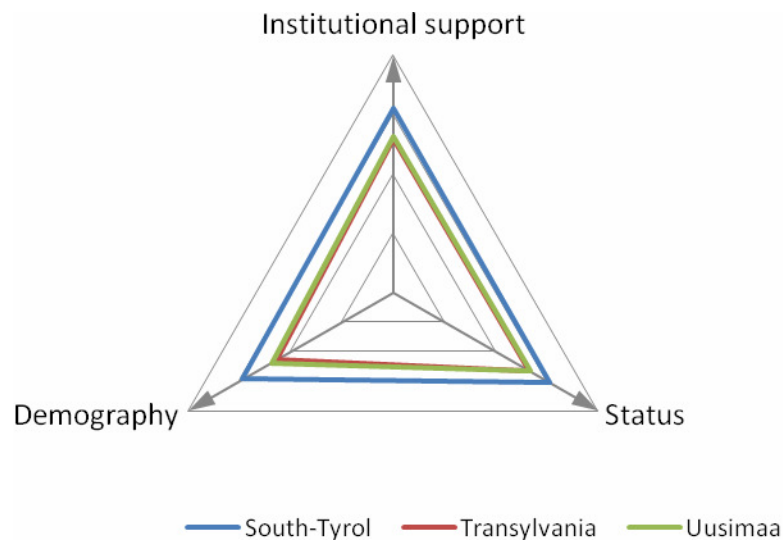
Data was collected in the four regions in May and August of 2008 among 16 to 19-year-old school students (N= 3.400). The students were divided into two groups based on their different background regarding language socialization: (1) minority language speakers and (2) bilinguals. The first group is made up of students whose family *only* used the minority language in the home; the second group contains students whose family used *both* the minority and the majority language at home.

Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality

Subjective EV was measured by Likert-scales. The difference between monolinguals and bilinguals was measured by Independent Samples Test; the results showed there was no significant difference between the monolingual and bilingual students; in other words they perceived the demographic patterns, the institutional support and the status of their

language groups very similarly. In order to illustrate the differences between the regions, the different status, institutional support and demographic variables were added together composing three larger scales. As the chart below shows, the subjectively perceived vitality is the strongest among the South-Tyrolese youngsters in the case of all the three dimensions of ethnolinguistic vitality. Students in Transylvania and Uusimaa perceived the vitality of their language group very similarly. This is most surprising in the case of status and institutional support, since Swedish is one of the two official languages of Finland with a broad institutional network, while the Hungarian language has no official status in Romania and the institutional representation of Hungarian is also far weaker than that of Swedish in Uusimaa.

Figure 1 Subjective Ethnolinguistic vitality (NOTE TO THE EDITOR: further results from Ostrobothnia will be ready 1th of September, and can then be added to figure 1 and table 3)



Media use

The use of the traditional media types was measured by a five-grade scale, where category 1 referred to the use of a given media type only in the majority language, whereas category 5 to media use only in the minority language. In this respect the results

show that in general South-Tyrol is the strongest region and Uusimaa is the weakest one from the point of view of minority language media use, in the case of both minority language speakers and bilingual students. The difference between the two regions is most significant as regards minority language television and radio use. In respect to the other two regions, it can be said that minority language media use plays a greater role for the monolinguals of Ostrobothnia and the bilinguals of Transylvania. (table 1).

Table 1 In what language do you use the following media types? (Average of ratings)

		<i>Newspaper language</i>	<i>TV language</i>	<i>Radio language</i>
South-Tyrol	German-speakers	4,6	4,6	4,6
	Bilinguals	3,8	3,6	3,4
Transylvania	Hungarian-speakers	4,3	4,0	3,8
	Bilinguals	3,6	3,2	3,0
Ostrobothnia	Swedish-speakers	4.6	4.0	3.8
	Bilinguals	3.5	2.7	2.5
Uusimaa	Swedish-speakers	4,2	2,9	3,4
	Bilinguals	2,9	2,0	2,1

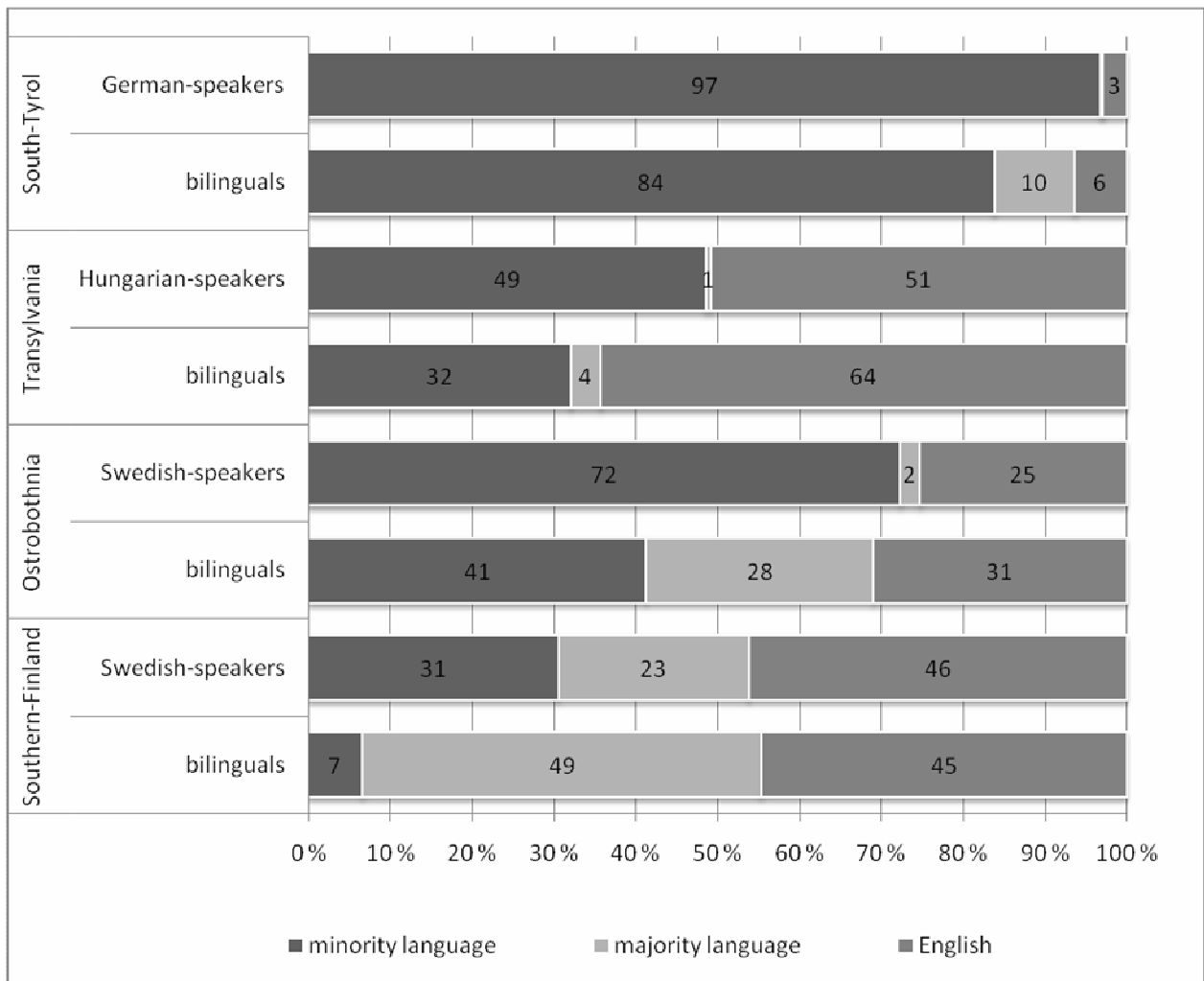
- 1 = Only in the majority language
- 2 = More in the majority language (but also in the minority language)
- 3 = In both languages equally often
- 4 = More in the minority language (but also in the majority language)
- 5 = Only in the minority language

Regarding Internet it was supposed that the dynamics of language use of this type of media in bilingual scenes may be particularly multifaceted, because English enters the field generally dominated by two languages and turns into a three-dimensional context.

Consequently, the students could choose between three categories: “mainly in the minority language”, “mainly in the majority language” and “mainly in English” (figure 2). It should be underlined that these categories do not refer to a monolingual Internet use but an Internet use which is dominated by one language while not excluding other languages.

The German-speaking students in South-Tyrol almost only use the traditional media in German, whereas the bilinguals use them in both languages but their media habits are dominated by German. The German language also dominates the Internet use of both German-speaking and bilingual students.

Figure 2 In what language do you use the Internet? (percent)



The Hungarian-speaking students in Transylvania use the media in both languages; however, the language weight point in their media use is nearer to Hungarian. The bilingual students in Transylvania tend to use media in both languages equally often. Only among bilingual students is Internet more widely used in Romanian, and only to a limited extent; it is also noteworthy that students of the region use the Internet more in English than in Hungarian.

The two Finnish regions differ from the patterns observed above. The Swedish-speaking students in Ostrobothnia read newspapers almost only in Swedish, whilst using the electronic media in both languages, although the language weight point in this use is towards the Swedish language. The bilingual students in the region use the media in both languages: with respect to newspaper reading the language weight point falls nearer to Swedish, and regarding the television and radio it falls nearer to Finnish. In Ostrobothnia Swedish-speaking students tend to use the Internet mostly in Swedish and in smaller part in English; the bilinguals use the web in English almost as frequently as the Swedish students do, but their share of Swedish in Internet use is smaller while in Finnish it is bigger.

The Swedish-speaking students in Uusimaa use the media in both languages: when it comes to reading newspapers, Swedish language plays a bigger role; whilst Finnish dominates TV-viewing and both languages are used equally when listening to the radio. The bilingual students in the region read newspapers in both languages to the same extent, but watch TV almost only in Finnish and listen to the radio mostly in Finnish. In Uusimaa the role of Swedish in the Internet use of both groups lags behind the role of English and Finnish.

Background of media language choice

The statistical connection between the media language and the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality scale-variables were measured by correlations (in the case of the three traditional media types) and by associations using the Cramer's V symmetrical measure (in the case of internet).

Looking at South-Tyrol, Transylvania and Uusimaa, it can be seen that out of the 72 relationships between subjective EV and media use, only 16 were statistically significant.

Internet use was only in one case correlated with vitality variables (among the Hungarian-speakers in Transylvania). Furthermore, none of the three vitality variables associate (1) with radio use among the bilinguals in South-Tyrol, (2) with the radio use among Hungarian-speakers in Transylvania, (3) with the newspaper and TV use among the bilinguals in Transylvania and (4) with the newspaper use among the Swedish-speakers in Uusimaa. Approaching the connections from the perspective of vitality variables, we find that perceived institutional support plays no role at all in the media use among the German-speakers in South-Tyrol and a very small role among the Hungarian-speakers in Transylvania. Similarly, there is no correlation at all between the perceived status and the media use among the bilinguals in South-Tyrol and Transylvania and among the monolinguals in Uusimaa. Finally, the respondents' perception of their demographic status does not relate to the media use at all in Transylvania (regarding both groups) and among the bilinguals in South-Tyrol.

Table 3 Relation between media use and variables portraying subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (see text for details)

South-Tyrol								
	German-speakers				Bilinguals			
	Newspape r	TV	Radi o	Interne t	Newspape r	TV	Radi o	Interne t
Institutional support	,069	,098	,050	,118	,282*	,271	,104	,177
Status	,109	,088	,110*	,110	,129	,023	,206	,121
Demography	,166**	,184*	,105	,135	,101	,005	,124	,151

Transylvania								
	Hungarian-speakers				Bilinguals			
	Newspape r	TV	Radi o	Interne t	Newspape r	TV	Radi o	Interne t
Institutional support	,087*	,096	,073	,080	,177	,167	,226*	,242
Status	,049	,042	,046	,169**	-,142	,032	,062	,231
Demography	,046	,046	,035	,130	-,046	,061	,125	,127

Uusimaa

	Swedish-speakers				Bilinguals			
	Newspaper	TV	Radio	Internet	Newspaper	TV	Radio	Internet
Institutional support	,089	,171*	,098	,130	,162*	,095	,091	,156
Status	,019	,006	,072	,175	,141*	,130	,146*	,159
Demography	,156	,311*	,195*	,223	,096	,189*	,129	,238

Thus, these results show only a weak support for the role of subjective ethnolinguistic factors in determining language/media use.

Case 2. Media use among bilinguals in Uusimaa

This case-study focuses on young bilingual persons in Uusimaa. Previous research has shown that a majority (65 percent) of bilingual families send their children to Swedish-language schools. It seems that parents want to support their children's knowledge of Swedish, as Finnish usually is the dominant language in their environment. This can also be seen as an aim to preserve the viability of the ethnic group. (Lojander-Visapää, 2001)

This has led to the emergence of individuals with a bilingual ethnic identity, who make independent choices. They tend to describe their (ethnic/ language/ social) identity to evolve around the *competence* to change languages, which also could mean a competence to switch ethnic identities; they have access to both groups, as they master the cultural codes that function as ethnic markers.⁴

This study looks at the patterns formed by different choices related to language use in the family and choice of language for higher education, with a particular focus on how competence in both ethnicities affect the choice of language when reading newspapers, and how this choice contributes to identity formation over time.⁵ The first

⁴ The study builds on a two-round panel. The first set of data was gathered in 2004, within a cohort born in 1981. The second round was gathered in 2009 among those who previously had given their acceptance. The sub-sample that is analyzed consists of 166 persons who have spoken both Finnish and Swedish at home. The sample consists of young people in higher education, thus its representativity with respect to a broader demography is limited. However, within-sample differences may be considered representative with respect to the frame population.

⁵ Media language was measured according to frequency of newspaper reading (*daily* and *often*) in a particular language. In other parts of the BIM project it is shown that people tend to resort to mother tongue more frequently when reading newspapers and listening to radio, compared to television viewing and use of Internet. Thus this variable may be considered indicative for a choice of media language close to identity.

round of interviews where made with 22 year olds, the interviews were repeated at the age of 28. The findings are comprised into a matrix (table 4) that shows the dominant outcome of the different choices.

Table 4 Identity development of bilinguals at 28 years of age as a function of educational languages and choice of media language– a simplified tentative conceptualization; the content of the cells refers to language use (dominant categories are bolded)

Language in education	Media at 28 years of age		
	Finnish	Swedish	Both Finnish and Swedish
Finnish school + Finnish higher education	Finnish	-	Double
Finnish school + Swedish higher education	Double	Double	-
Swedish school + Finnish Higher education	-	-	Double
Swedish school + Swedish higher education	-	Swedish	Double

Legend: The table is based on a stepwise analysis of respondents (N=166) with two home-languages (Finnish and Swedish) at 22 years of age, interviewed again at the age of 28 years of age. Within this sample 65 persons have shifted identity in the six years that have passed.

We found that among bilingual persons the choice of Swedish as school language, Swedish as language in higher education and Swedish as newspaper language (30 percent of the group) predominantly leads to a Swedish identity at the age of 22 years. Although this group maintains both Finnish and Swedish as home languages at the age of 28 years, their newspaper use is predominantly Swedish and their identity is Swedish. The group

that has Swedish as a school-language, higher education in Swedish and read Finnish papers at the age of 22 (70 percent of the group) has a double identity at the age of 22. At 28, also this group predominantly maintains two home languages; they are reading both Finnish and Swedish papers parallel at home and have a double identity.

Thus, still at the age of 28, and irrespective of background, those interviewed predominantly tend to use both Finnish and Swedish media at home. This indicates that choice of media language in many ways relates to the identity process; it is not only a consequence of a person's background, but also a vehicle for identity maintenance. Interestingly enough, our analysis indicates that among bilinguals not only the minority language (Swedish) is compensated by the choice of newspaper language, but also the majority language (Finnish), in cases where Swedish otherwise is prevalent.

The use of both languages as media languages and the surge in our sample towards a bilingual identity leads to the conclusion that this type of identity is, at least to a certain extent, a stable category. Whilst this bilingual group does not enjoy a formal status comparable to established ethnic groups, subjectively it can be considered to establish a group in its own right. The stability of the bilingual group arises from the two parallel mother-tongues, and a deliberate effort to balance them so that neither takes over. However, its characteristics are difficult to portray from the point of view of established ethnolinguistic markers.

Our observations regarding newspaper use among the bilinguals indicates that media are instrumental in keeping up the competence in both the ethnicity and the language. In this sense it would be quite wrong to conclude that the use of media in both languages on the same basis would be a sign of lower vitality in one or the other language. On the contrary, our analysis indicates that when one of the languages is used less frequently, it will have to be compensated so that a balance in competences prevails. In this case, for the minority language, the relatively strong Swedish language press appears to serve such a function. The process is, evidently, dependent on a relatively high degree of institutional completeness of the media that allows for carrying out relevant functions in this language. Our findings need to be controlled against use of other, less equally offered media such as television and the Internet.

The Migrant Condition: two cases of complementary use

The following two cases are based on qualitative interviews among Finnish-speakers in Sweden (40 interviews) and Polish-speakers in Bradford (60 interviews). Whilst qualitative in design, also these studies have been inspired by conceptualizations of ethnolinguistic vitality. Based on the assumption that these explorative studies can be of use in developing further, more formalized, research, and also due to their relevance in a broader context of identity politics, we here include some of our findings.

The influx of Finnish speakers in Sweden is of ancient origin, as Finland was part of Sweden until 1809. However, a strong influx of migrants from Finland to Sweden occurred in the 1950s and '60s, due to imbalance in the Finnish labour market after World War II. The size of the Finnish minority is difficult to estimate, but descendants of Finnish origin is estimated to be more than 600,000 people, most being immigrants from the post-war period. In 1999 a law was passed granting Finnish, the related Meän Kieli, and three other languages (Sami, Romani and Yiddish) the status of national minority in Sweden.

The Polish migration to UK predominantly appeared in three waves: after WWII, in the '60-'70s, and after Poland joined the EU. There is no reliable number of the Polish population in Britain, but in Bradford, where our study was conducted, the estimated number ranges from seven to ten thousand. The status of the Polish speakers is not specifically regulated in the UK

Case 3. Finnish in Sweden

The Finnish speakers in Sweden have two different sources of Finnish media. First, there is the media produced in Finland. With modern technology one can get access to (at least Internet versions of) Finnish newspapers, listen to radio and watch Finnish television programmes. There is also a compilation channel called FTV (Finland TV) that contains a pick of programmes from the three main television channels in Finland.

The second source is the Finnish media produced in Sweden. This is quite narrow and produced with little resources. The supply is far from institutionally complete; consequently minority language media produced in Sweden play mainly a complementary function in the media use of the Finnish speakers.

The Swedish public service broadcasting companies (Sveriges Radio, Sveriges Television and Swedish Educational Broadcasting Company) take a major responsibility for providing programmes in minority languages, according to requirements in their broadcasting licenses. Other media supply is a weekly newspaper and some amateur magazines. The informants' motives to use Finnish media produced in Sweden differ from their motives to use media from Finland. The motives for using Finnish media are often linked to language and specific types of information (Finnish domestic news) whereas use of Finnish media produced in Sweden is motivated by a sense of belonging to a group or to get access to group specific information.

"I guess it is like that, when you feel you belong to a group. You like to limit yourself a little and read about news concerning that group." (Jessica, 35)

Almost half of those interviewed said that when they use Finnish media produced in Sweden, they are interested in news with a special angle, concerning the Finnish speakers in Sweden. Whilst not a frequent TV viewer, one of the interviewed notes that she deliberately seeks out Finnish programmes. She also prefers to watch the daily news broadcast in Finnish, and not the Swedish ditto that airs 15 minutes later:

"I watch Uutiset because I think they will give me a complete picture of the news of the day. It is not only because I only want to hear news about Swedish Finns or about our things. It's because I want a Swedish Finnish angle on news that concerns the whole society." (Hanna, 34 years)

This quote exemplifies the sentiment repeated in many of the interviews. The choice to use Finnish media produced in Sweden is based on the wish for a particular angle, including in-group information, news concerning "our matters". But also a wider perspective is required. Finnish language media in Sweden is expected to cover major news events, but from a specific angle.

Many informants expressed an urge to get access to life stories of people who are in their situation; speaking Finnish but living in Sweden. Knowing that there are “others like me” seem to be comforting.

“It feels cosy, because I can hear that there is a network of Finnish people who are sending each other their regards here and there. I would not want to take part in it myself, but it feels good to know that it exists.” (Erika, 37)

The informants are here referring to both people they know and to unknown people. Many of the informants refer to times when they have watched a program, read a newspaper or listened to the radio where someone they know was interviewed. This aspect of *retour information* appears to catch also a younger audience.

“I listen because it is in Finnish. And I want to hear who gets congratulated (in the radio)... ...And I want to hear if any of my pals have been interviewed. It’s always fun.” (Markus, 25)

All the informants quoted above were critical towards the quality of the content of Finnish media produced in Sweden. Apparently, knowing people who take part in the programmes had a compensating effect. Losing this aspect may lead to detachment:

“There is nothing (in the newspapers) that interests me and therefore I don’t know why I should subscribe... ...When I was younger there were always many people that I knew, in the newspapers. But that has changed.” (Edvard, 24)

Case 4. Polish in Bradford

The Polish language media environment in Bradford is very extensive, and allows for access to both British produced and Polish media. The arrival of new Polish migrants has revived the sense of identity as well as the language use among the settled Polish community. The “core Polish community”, people who actively participate in the life centred around the Polish Parish Club, have mixed experiences with the recent migrants,

and have usually encountered those less educated, people with little knowledge of English and often in the need of help. Whilst they thus may have a biased attitude to the new migrants, they certainly have ample opportunities to use Polish thanks to the arrival of new migrants.

“I still feel Polish but this is feeling like, we have come first, we kind of have been accepted, this is how we are. And suddenly, a different sort of people is coming. They are younger, perhaps more sure of themselves, louder. And we are a bit frightened, that we will be counted with those newcomers as Polish, besides being accepted before. On the other hand, the church was nearly empty. And I was thinking that eventually the church will be closed. Elderly people died off, their children spread off. Now we have some new blood, new people. That’s a good thing. So I’m ambivalent about it.” (DB, second generation female)

But there is also another group, those who despite having Polish descent have not been actively involved in the life of the Polish community. For many of those, the arrival of Polish migrants has boosted their interest in Poland, encouraged to take Polish classes and organise trips to Poland.

The recent migrants feel relaxed about their Polishness, they do not feel uncomfortable speaking Polish in public spaces when among Polish speakers and do not try to be more English than the English. At the same time, they do not feel inferior to the British and enjoy many aspects of living in the UK. Such attitudes are conducive to their becoming not only bilingual but also bicultural.

Initially, immigrants tend to be more concerned about their knowledge of English and their media use pattern is strongly determined by a desire to improve their English. However, after several years in the UK many feel a need to take more care of their Polish language skills, and often consciously use Polish-language media in order to maintain their active knowledge of Polish.

“ Now I feel I need to work on my Polish. It is very frustrating when I cannot find the right word... I am worried about my Polish now. When I lived in Poland, I could be proud

of my Polish. But now, even when I talk to my Polish friends I do not feel very free.”
(Magda, new migrant sample)

Many have also discovered Polish-language media for themselves, something they have not used before. Polish media also provide bonding opportunities with friends and family “back home” – they feel they need to keep some grasp of what is going on in Poland in order to have meaningful conversations with relatives and friends, especially when they go back to Poland for short trips. Internet-based media are particularly important for the new migrants to maintain their ties with family and friends. In this sense, their situation is completely different from that of the first and second generation of Polish post-war migrants. Recent Polish migrants pay much attention to their children’s Polish skills. It is important for them that children grow bilingual – the motivation is both symbolic “we are Polish, so we need to know our language” as well as practical – “the kids need to be able to talk to their grannies and cousins”.

Another important factor is a possible return to Poland at some point. This again puts the cohort of recent migrants apart from their counterparts from the post-war period. Even if “the myth of return” was rather strong among post-war migrants, it largely remained a myth. Media are important for young parents to help their children keep an adequate level of Polish skills – resources and opportunities provided by the Internet play an extremely important role here as well, children are not only encouraged to watch Polish cartoons or films available on the Internet, but also communicate with their family members via communicating techniques on Internet. Use of chats also provides children with an opportunity to write.

Conclusions

The studies presented in this paper indicate that media use in the context of ethnolinguistic vitality can be interpreted more from an objective than a subjective perspective. In a broad comparative study that was carried out among young people in four different and distinct communities, we found that minority language speaking youngsters in monolingual as well as in bilingual families perceive the status, the demography and the institutional support of the minority language group rather similarly.

This holds true irrespective of the fact that they use the media in quite different ways from the point of view of languages. This finding suggests that their media behaviour could be explained mainly by background variables relating to the objective aspects of ethnolinguistic vitality and to the completeness of the media supply, and less by the subjectively perceived ethnolinguistic vitality factors. The latter did only rarely associate with choice of media language.

Based on a longitudinal study of newspaper use among bilinguals in Uusimaa, we found that media can be a vehicle with an independent role in strategies for maintenance of (desired) language competence, irrespective of the vitality factors. Whilst this does not establish an ethnic group in any traditional sense, it points to the possibility of new, relatively stable groups emerging from the permeability of paralleling ethnicities.

With respect to our studies in two (migrant) communities, we found that in contexts where the media offerings on the local market are sparse and the community has a weak ethnolinguistic vitality, media can still be commonly in active use as vehicles to support language and ethnolinguistic belonging. However, there appears to be a clear difference in functions between locally offered media and diasporic media from kin-states or mother cultures.

All these findings suggest, that media can be an important vehicle in the maintaining and supporting ethnolinguistic vitality, however, the extent to which this can be reached depends mostly on objective factors, first of all, on the offerings provided by the minority language media landscape.

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Hot and cold ethnicities: modes of ethnolinguistic vitality

Martin Ehala

1. Reflective summary

The complexity of language maintenance issues has provoked an immense volume of research over the last half a century. This special issue has added another set of papers. In this context, it is inevitable that the question arises what is the unique contribution of this particular collection, what is its message that has not been said before in some or another form. A straightforward answer is that this special issue proposes a set of related arguments about the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality. Although all of the contributions in this issue are critical to the established version of vitality theory, particularly to the concept of subjective vitality, the collection does not aim to refute the theory, but to make a step forward refinement of its principles.

Four of the papers in this volume have used Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaires (SEVQ) as part of their empirical research. The sociolinguistic settings studied were diverse: Yagmur reported comparative data on Turkish minorities in Australia, France, Germany and Netherlands; Ehala and Zabrodskaja studied the Russian speaking community in Estonia, McEntee-Atalianis the Greek community in Istanbul, Moring et al the German community in North Italy, Hungarian community in Romania and Swedish community in Finland. Altogether the performance of SEVQ is assessed in nine minority communities with different size, origin, and state support.

In general, the SEVQ results published in this volume (Yagmur, 2011; Ehala and Zabrodskaja 2011; and Moring et al. 2011) indicate that the instrument differentiates between communities of different objective vitality quite adequately. In Yagmur (2011), the lowest SEVQ scores were in Australia where the Turkish community is the smallest, amongst the four communities studied. The score was the highest in Germany, as would be expected, considering that German Turkish community is the largest. The score for Netherlands was quite close to that of Germany; and the score for France was slightly weaker. The scores of Russian speakers in Estonia reported in Ehala and Zabrodskaja (2011) were close by magnitude to Turkish scores in Netherlands and France. This is in the range of reasonable expectations, given the more or less comparable size and status of these groups. Not surprisingly, in Moring et al. (2011) the highest SEVQ scores were obtained amongst Germans, the regional majority in the Northern Italy. Hungarians in Romania and Swedish in Finland showed lower results, which were, however, quite close to each other. This finding is surprising given that the Swedish has much higher institutional support in Finland than Hungarian has in Romania. Still, this fact itself is not problematic to SEVQ, since this instrument is meant to measure subjective perceptions and these need not always reflect the objective reality fully objectively. Actually, the surprisingly low scores for Swedish in Finland may adequately reflect the community members' perception of the inner weakness of their community despite of the state support it is enjoying.

What is much more needing an explanation are the findings that the SEVQ scores underestimate the actual language maintenance behavior (Yagmur 2011), do not depend

on the nature of the immediate sociolinguistic environment (Ehala and Zabrodskaja 2011), are not correlated to ethnic media usage and the extent of bilingualism (Hogg and Rigoli 1996, Moring et al 2011), yet are correlated to the perceptions of interethnic discordance (Giles and Johnson 1987, Ehala and Zabrodskaja 2011). These findings seem to suggest that the vitality scores are not correlated to the subjects' ethnolinguistic behavior. As the whole idea of this instrument is to differentiate between subjects who are likely to maintain language and those who might prefer social mobility into the dominant majority, its inability to do so is critical to the validity of the instrument. Furthermore, if interethnic discordance is an attitude that strengthens group members disposition towards collective action, its reverse impact on SEV perceptions found by Ehala and Zabrodskaja (2011) would significantly distort the mean values of the community's actual subjective vitality if it is measured by SEVQ.

As these controversial findings have been persistent over time in different studies, an explanation is needed for SEVQ to have a meaningful use. The critical question is what does SEVQ actually measure. The fact that the mean results of SEVQ are correlated to the size of the linguistic communities which are being assessed indicates that SEVQ might measure the perception of the strength of the ethnolinguistic group where *strength* could be summarized as the demographic strength of the group, its institutional support and its status, i.e. what is commonly called the objective ethnolinguistic vitality. In fact, in EVT literature the term *vitality* is often used interchangeably with the term *strength* (see Harwood, Giles and Bourhis 1994; Abrams, Barker and Giles 2009).

As SEVQ asks about the subjects perceptions about these phenomena, it is reasonable that the results would indicate just this: the perception of how strong the group is. But if ethnolinguistic vitality is understood as "the property what makes a group to behave as a distinctive entity in intergroup situations", SEVQ is not an adequate instrument for vitality since it is not able to differentiate between subjects with different ethnolinguistic behavior. It is not to say that the perception of group strength has nothing to do with the attitudes facilitating group behavior. Very likely the perception of strength constitutes one aspect in this belief system, but as numerous studies, including those in this collection, have shown it is not the main aspect.

The question whether ethnolinguistic behavior is more influenced by the social structural properties of groups (objective vitality) or social psychological factors such as beliefs and motivations were discussed in the contributions of Moring et al. (2011) and Karan (2011). Karan (2011) presents the principles of Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift, and argues convincingly that the choice of one or other language in a range of communication settings depends on motivational factors that affect the behavior of individual language users. These motivations may be communicative, economic, identity related, religious or cultural.

Moring et al. (2011) address this issue in the terms of institutional and functional completeness of the media. Media usage depends on the first place on the existing supply of media platforms. They argue that only if the institutional completeness condition is satisfied, the subjective attitudinal factors that will influence the subject's choice of media from the range that is available to them come to play. In this way institutional completeness is a necessary yet not sufficient condition for functional completeness. The latter can emerge only if the minority language audience displays a preference for using

media in the minority language rather than in the majority language. Although this preference is an attitudinal phenomenon, Moring et al. (2011) show that it is more strongly related to social structural phenomena such as the language of education than subjective vitality.

In a first glance, it seems that the claims that Moring et al. (2011) and Karan (2011) make are conflicting, as Moring et al. argue that media behavior is better explained “mainly by background variables relating to the objective aspects of ethnolinguistic vitality and to the completeness of the media supply, and less by the subjectively perceived ethnolinguistic vitality factors” while Karan claims that “in order to forecast ethnolinguistic vitality, it is crucial to understand the motivations that are behind the language choices that when combined make up language shift”. After deeper consideration, this controversy may just be apparent, because Moring et al. mean by subjectively perceived ethnolinguistic vitality the perception of group strength measured by traditional SEVQ. It is not very surprising that the perception of group strength does not play a major role in ethnolinguistic behavior, since it may be just one factor influencing the motivations, not a direct expression of these motivations.

What the complementary contributions of Moring et al. (2011) and Karan (2011) highlight is the interactive and reinforcing dynamics of structural and social psychological factors in shaping groups ability to behave as a collective entity in intergroup encounters. The motivational fabric of individuals is shaped to a large extent by their socialisation, beginning in the family and continuing in the school, church and public space. This is well illustrated by the finding of Moring et al. that the educational choices influence one’s media preferences later in life. These preferences in turn sustain the audience for the very same media and educational system. Therefore, a group needs its social institutions and structures to create the social psychological willingness for the group members to act as a distinctive collective entity. If this willingness is present the group is able, in turn, to sustain the same institutions that are used to maintain group’s vitality, i.e. its ability to act collectively.

Because of the mutual feedback loop between social structural and social psychological sides of language and identity maintenance, the system is characterized by a considerable inertia which to some extent allows assessing or predicting sustainability of speech communities. The stronger are the structural factors, i.e. the overall strength of the group the more likely it is able to socialize its members to have the social psychological disposition to contribute to the group. The weaker is the group, the less likely it is to happen. If it were always so, nothing new would have been said compared to the predictions of Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977).

However, as Yagmur (2011) well argues, Turkish immigrant communities in some European countries maintain their language and groupness much better than could be expected from their objective institutional support as well as the perceptions of their group strength measured by SEVQ. The results of Ehala and Zabrodskaja (2011) suggest that this discrepancy may be due to perceived interethnic discordance which has an effect to mobilize the group yet to lower the perceptions of their ingroup strength. This means that the strength of the group would not always determine the extent to which its members are to act as a collective entity. There are cases where the vitality of the group exceeds their strength and in these cases the general prediction that the strong become

stronger and the weak get weaker does not apply. These conditions are of the primary interest to the theory of language maintenance and shift as these are the moments that shed light to the active processes of group mobilization, i.e the unexpected rise of ethnolinguistic vitality. Knowing of the mechanism how does it happen, it is possible to actively to engage in effective language revitalization.

2. The nature of of ethnolinguistic vitality

This brings us to the crucial question what makes a large number of individuals behave as a distinctive collective entity. Giles and Johnson (1987:89) in outlining the theory of ethnolinguistic identity argue that this ability is determined by subjective vitality, perceived hardness and closedness of ethnic boundaries and the strength of ethnic identification. While the subjective vitality perceptions have failed repeatedly to predict the tendency for ethnolinguistic behavior (Hogg and Rigoli 1996; Ehala and Zabrodskaia 2011), the strength of ethnic identification has shown to be related to group behavior. For example Giles and Johnson (1987) report that the strength of the Welsh young people the strength of ethnic identification was correlated to the importance of Welsh language, to the learning of Welsh language by their future offspring, linguistic differentiation from English speakers in wide array of communicative situations, and support to Welsh Nationalist Party.

This suggest that the level of ethnolinguistic vitality, understood as individuals ability to act as a distinctive entity is related to the strength of their shared ethnic identity. This leads to the question what makes an identity strong or weak. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979) whose theory of social identity lies behind the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality as well behind the theory of ethnolinguistic identity, social identity is “that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel 1978, p.63). Ellemers, Kortekaas and Ouwerkerk (1999, 386) argue that these three components of social identity – cognitive, evaluative and emotional – are conceptually distinct aspects of identity; and that only the “group commitment appears to be the key aspect of social identity which drives the tendency for people to behave in terms of their group membership.” Therefore it could be argued that the emotional attachment to one’s ethnic group is the key figure that influences individual ethnolinguistic vitality: the more a person is emotionally attached to their ethnic group, the more likely is this person to to participate in this group actions.

While in traditional writings of social psychology, identity is accounted for in fairly essentialist terms and the same tradition has characterized work done within the EVT framework, too, McEntee-Atalianis (2011) argues convincingly for a broader approach in which identity is seen as publicly constructed rather than an internal pre-discursive phenomenon. She argues that identity “may be multiply constructed or manipulated in and through discourse and other semiotic systems. It is a resource through which subjects are created and projected”. Only if this dynamic understanding is adopted, it becomes possible to explain the sudden increases in ethnolinguistic vitality of some ethnic groups, usually known as ethnic/national awakenings.

A detailed model of the process of how group commitment and emotional attachment to a social identity is created by Thomas, McGarty and Mavor (2009), who present the necessary conditions that are required for the emergence of social identities oriented towards collective behavior. According to their theory, a sustainable social identity is based on the alignment of three types of collectively shared normative beliefs: shared emotions, shared norms for collective action and shared beliefs on group's efficacy. For example a group whose members share a emotion that their position is unjust and their group is efficacious is significantly more ready for collective behavior than a group who does not have a shared emotion or does not feel itself enough effective. Thomas et al. (2009) claim that collectively shared emotions is the key factor that creates emotional attachment to the group which in turn is one of the pivotal elements in ethnolinguistic vitality.

The level of emotional attachment seems to have a substantial effect on how the group the group perceives its existence and how it operates. Giles and Johnson (1987), Hogg and Rigoli (1996) and Ehalá and Zabrodskaja (2011) have all reported that vitality perceptions depend on affective factors: subjects who perceive high levels of interethnic discordance and/or are strongly attached to their ingroup tend to perceive their ingroup vitality lower than subjects who have lower levels of affective involvement, Hogg and Rigoli (1996) suggested that the relationship between SEV and ethnic identification is positive for weak identifiers, but there is a discontinuity and, for strong identifiers, the relationship flips around. This suggests that there might be different modes of vitality for groups whose members have high emotional commitment as compared to those which members have low level of commitment.

3. Modes of ethnolinguistic vitality

In social psychology, identification with groups is studied in a range of frameworks such as the theory of social identity (Brown 2000); collectivism-individualism (Triandis and Gelfand 1998), studies of nationalism (Bar-Tal 1993) etc. In different paradigms, the phenomenon is accounted for in different ways, but there seems to be a wide consensus that identification with groups is a multidimensional phenomenon with several distinct facets (Ashmore et al. 2004). Different research paradigms differ on how many dimensions there are, but almost all theories agree that identification has at least a cognitive and affective side (Roccas et al 2008).

Based on this, it is likely that for each individual, their tendency to participate in group's collective action is affected by both emotional and rational motivations, but the level of their commitment depends on the particular combination of these motivations. For example, people may contribute to the group goals, because of the personal benefits they receive through the institutions and social networks of this group; or they may do so, because of noncompliance or freeriding would trigger sanctions; or they may do so because of inner sense of duty caused by strong emotional attachment to the group and its goals. It is evident that strong emotional attachment may cause a very strong commitment – to the extent of sacrificing their lives for the group. It is likely that rational motivations could not provide basis for this high commitment: a possible profit motivates people only to the extent than it is likely to exceed possible risks, and the fear of sanctions is effective

only to the extent that the possible danger is less than the severity of punishment for abstaining from the action.

Based on the strength of emotional attachment of members to their group, ethnic groups could be categorized into two prototypes: hot and cold. A hot ethnic group is such whose members have a high emotional attachment to their group. These groups use the high emotional climate to mobilize their members for collective behavior. Cold ethnic groups are such whose members' emotional attachment to the group is low, absent or latent. Members of such groups are willing to participate in collective action on the basis of rational calculation – if it is beneficial for them or to avoid sanctions from free-riding.

3.1. Ethnolinguistic vitality of cold groups

In the cold mode of operation, the emotional attachment and emotional alignment are low amongst the group members. They categorise themselves cognitively as members of this particular group, but this fact does not hold emotional significance and is not important for their self concept. In this situation the relationships of the members to the group are based on rational calculation of costs and benefits – if the group is able to provide access to resources for life and provides a positive social identity, the person is satisfied and is not seeking to shift the group membership through social mobility.

This means that the ethnolinguistic vitality of the cold group is guaranteed by its social institutions which provide goods and set sanctions for its members. By the system of benefits and sanctions the system motivates its members for coordinated action. In general, the stronger is the group i.e. the more numerous economically, politically, culturally and militarily powerful it is, the easier it is to motivate its members for collectively coordinated behavior purely on rational grounds. Also, strong ethnic groups usually do not have any existential dangers which could lead them to the hot operating mode. For this reason, a strong ethnic group is vital even if it is operating in a cold mood. For example, most of the western welfare societies function on fairly cold moods.

It is different with small ethnic groups and minorities whose ethnic social institutions are weak, economic and cultural power modest and demographic numbers small. Such ethnic groups are not able to provide a fully functional system of benefits and sanctions to motivate their members to act collectively to the benefit of the group. Also, weak groups are not able to provide collective pride and positive social identity. For this reason these groups are threatened by language shift and assimilation if they are operating in the cold mood, because their members, following purely rational logic of argumentation may find some other groups providing better possibilities for personal success and even a more rewarding social identity. This means that small ethnicities need its members stronger emotional attachment to the group in order to remain ethnolinguistically vital than strong ethnicities.

3.2. Ethnolinguistic vitality of hot groups

When an ethnic group is in the hot state of operation its members emotional attachment to the group are high. Emotional attachment is created discursively through alignment of collective emotions (see Thomas et al. 2009). The nature and number of these emotions can be different, depending on the socio-historical context (see David and Bar-Tal 2009), but the effect of this processes to the intragroup behaviour is fairly uniform.

Generally it may be claimed that the higher is the emotional attachment of the members to their group, the more rigid and impermeable become the boundaries of this group, the more clear becomes the group distinctiveness from the outgroups and the more negative become the attitudes towards the outgroups.

All these properties are created discursively. Often the hot state of operation is achieved by construction of interethnic threat, in which case it is accompanied by the perception of weakness of the ingroup in comparison with the treathening outgroups (see Ehala and Zabrodskaia, 2011, Giles and Johnson 1987). The same goes for group distinctiveness. Barth (1969) has argued that group distinctiveness is not based on entirely empirical differences between the members of two different ethnic groups, but the differences are constructed. The hotter is the mode of operation for a group, the more distinct it becomes from outgroups. For example the distinctiveness between Serbs and Croats is achieved among other things by quite small linguistic differences. These two processes are leading to the eintergroup boundaries becoming more rigid and impermeable.

When in the hot state of operation, the issue of traitory becomes a further factor contributing to the vitality of the group. In the hot mode of operation when the boundary between ingroup and outgroup is sharpened, these members showing ambivalent features or expressing ambivalent positions become criticized and forced to comply to the prevalent views and actions of the group. Thus in the hot state of operations, even those members who have a low emotional attachment to the group or who are not emotionally aligned to the hegemonic mood of the majority have no option but to contribute as the opposite would trigger social stigmatization.

In the situation of tense relationships, the possibility of social mobility is further reduced by the fact that the dominant majority outgroup would also be more reluctant to accept new members from a subordinate group. In this way hot mode of operation would stop the processes of social mobility and enforce all members of the group to contribute to group action.

As a consequence particularly high ethnolinguistic vitality is achieved. History has shown that in the case of strong ethnicities this mode of operation is often used for ethnic aggression. In the case of weak groups, this could be the only sustainable way to avoid inevitable assimilation that would happen if such group would be operating in a cold mood. Seemingly a good solution is complicated by the fact that it is not easy to achieve a hot state, being in a hot state increases the likelihood of destructive developments; and eventual cooling down may bring the group into a worse situation than before the transformation into the hot state. This makes the discussion of dynamics of ethnolinguistic vitality inevitable.

4. Dynamics of ethnolinguistic vitality

It is argued above that ethnolinguistic vitality is achieved by substantially different means by hot and cold groups: for hot groups the vitality is achieved by the strength of the collective emotions (supported by rational arguments, too); for cold groups vitality is the consequence of its members rational decisions. Even if the vitality is achieved by different means in hot and cold groups a hypothesis set forward here is that there is a set

of conceptional dimensions which are used in the formation of social psychological state of ethnolinguistic vitality (see for example Ehala 2005; David and Bar-Tal 2009), and this set is the same for both types of groups. The difference between the cold and hot modes of vitality lies in whether these meanings are interpreted only cognitively or emotionally, too.

Based on my earlier works on ethnolinguistic vitality (Ehala 2010a, 2010b) I propose that there are at least four partly interdependent dimensions, but possibly more: group strength; interethnic discordance; utilitarianism-traditionalism; and interethnic distance. If the meanings in these dimensions are processed cognitively the individual ethnolinguistic vitality of a person is in the cold range; if at least on one dimension the information is processed affectively, the person's individual ethnolinguistic vitality reaches a hot stage.

4.1. Group strength

Perception of group strength is formed on the basis of three major groups of factors 1) groups' economic, social and cultural status; 2) group's demographic strength (absolute numbers, density migration); 3) strength of social institutions. Perceived group strength is what traditional SEV questionnaires (Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal 1981) measure. In traditional EV literature, it is assumed that this perception is relevant for a group's vitality, i.e. its members' ability to act as a distinctive collective entity.

It is hypothesed here, based on the results of Giles and Johnson (1987); Hogg and Rigoli (1996) and Ehala and Zabrodskaia (2011) that perception of strength is affecting group members' ethnolinguistic behavior only in the cold mode of operation. In this mode, group members participate in group actions only this far as it is rationally reasonable. If a majority group provides better conditions for personal livelihood, and changing group membership is easy, members of the weaker group may decide to change their group affiliation. In a hot state of operation, the perception of strength loses its power, because the members of the group are committed to their group on emotional grounds. As Ehala and Zabrodskaia (2011) have argued, in a hot mode of operation, group members' perceptions of their ingroup strength may even be lowered.

Perception of group strength is by its nature a cognitive category, but it can be manipulated so as it to become unrealistically high or unjustifiably low. Such extreme comparison results can be basis for alignment of collective emotions, for example an extremely high strength perception may be connected to the emotional belief of superiority, and extremely low perception of strength may be related to strong feeling of collective inferiority. The first condition may cause a group to transit to the hot mode of operation; the extreme feeling of collective weakness may trigger the so called 'cascade of assimilation' (Laitin 2007).

4.2. Interethnic discordance

The dimension of interethnic discordance expresses the perception of the legitimacy and trust in intergroup relations (see Ehala and Zabrodskaia 2011, forthcoming). The more legitimate are considered the intergroup power relations and the more trustful are intergroup attitudes, the lesser is the level of perceived discordance. Usually the perception of legitimacy and trust are interrelated (Ehala and Zabrodskaia, forthcoming).

The perception of discordance is also a cognitive category, but if the perception of illegitimacy and distrust towards the outgroup(s) is high, it is particularly easy to use this perception for aligning collective emotions of injustice and anger. It should be mentioned that the past injustice done to other groups can also be used to align a collective emotion of shame on this dimension. For example, a large scale study of national pride (Rose 1985) showed that while as many as 96% of the citizens hold a sense of pride in their country, only 59% of the citizens of West-Germany did so.

If the collective emotion of injustice and anger are high the group reaches the hot mode of operation. If the emotions are aligned around the feeling of shame, this may promote a wish to dissociate oneself from this particular group identity which in turn may reduce a group's ethnolinguistic vitality.

4.3. Utilitarianism-traditionalism

The third dimension expresses the extent the members of an ethnic group value their culture, language and traditions and their intergenerational transmissions or how much they are open to change and overall modernization that may be necessary for personal economic success but often at the expense of discontinuing heritage linguistic and cultural practices (See Ehala 2009). There are groups such as Amish or Russian old-believers which are so traditional that reject all innovations that are so traditional that they have been successful in their cultural and linguistic continuation for considerable period of time, despite being minority groups amongst very powerful and economically attractive outgroups.

As the previous dimensions, the traditionalism-utilitarianism dimension is cognitive, too, but as it is the case with previous dimensions, the extreme values on the scale are likely to be related to alignment of shared emotions. For example, high traditionalism may be related to an emotional worship of the group's god, ruler, homeland, language or other phenomenon that could be characterized as this group's "core value" (see Smolics 1981, 2001). The utilitarian end of the scale could be associated with the collective emotion of hedonism which sets personal enjoyment and satisfaction higher to any possible collective goals.

4.4. Intergroup distance

Interethnic distance is a perception racial, ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences between one's ingroup and a prototypical member of an outgroup. The larger are the perceived differences between the characteristic features of the members of both groups the larger is the perceived interethnic distance. The larger are the perceived differences between two groups, the harder it is for a member of one group to become a member of the other group. Consequently, the high intergroup distance enhances group's ethnolinguistic vitality. When the groups are perceived as similar, individual social mobility is relatively easily attainable which may reduce groups members will to act collectively in intergroup situations.

Similarly to other dimensions, interethnic distance can be manipulated. According to Barth (1969) the groups use actual empiric differences differently to construct group boundaries. Only these features that are culturally marked as important count for the intergroup distance. It often happens that when the intergroup relations worsen even the

slightest differences may be interpreted as significant to make the two groups more distinct. Hornsey and Hogg (2000, 147) report a number of cases of symbolic actions to reduce intergroup contact and to stress the cultural differences in the situations of intergroup conflict. In such situations group differences may be used to align collective emotions such as disgust.

4.5. Change of group's temperature

These four vitality dimensions: perceived group strength, intergroup discordance, utilitarianism-traditionalism and intergroup distance are not fully independent, but mutually connected. For example the perception of group strength seems to be related to the perception of intergroup discordance (Ehala and Zabrodskaia, 2011). Also the different dimensions have different impact on group's vitality (See Ehala 2010a, 2010b). Although their mutual relationships may be complex, it is proposed here that in each dimension, the processing of the information by individuals may be conducted either cognitively only, or also affectively. The latter happens usually in the case that the perceived value on one dimension is significantly out of a neutral range. In such a case, the extreme value receives public attention in the community and it is used deliberately or unintentionally to align collective emotions such as superiority, outgroup derogation, anger of injustice, worship of group symbols or religious values. This alignment of emotions may lead the group to enter the hot mode of operation when the group members' actions are primarily motivated affectively.

The transition to a hot mode of operation is achieved by aligning collective emotions (see Thomas et al. 2009). It is a hard to achieve collective psychological state in an ethnic group consisting of rationally behaving members who have a low emotional attachment to the group or may even have a wish to dissociate themselves from this group. Therefore, to start the heating process a initial sparkle is needed, for example a shocking or threatening event such as the fire of Rigstag, 9/11 catastrophe, public humiliation of collective symbols (such as the relocation of the Bronze Soldier monument in Estonia, see Ehala 2009b) that would help to align collective emotions. Perhaps because of the evolutionary history of humans, emotional alignment is more easily achieved by negative events than by positive ones (see Spoor and Kelly 2004).

In the lack of such events, construction of negative future developments can serve the same purpose. As the future is uncertain and there could always be constructed alternative scenarios that are more positive, the success of such attempts depends on the persuasiveness of argumentation. A possible source for a group heating could be a prolonged social injustice the perception of which could be discursively sharpened. Resistance to injustice could significantly increase vitality and stop social mobility to the dominant group. For example, the injustice of the communist regime certainly was the major factor that prevented the members of Baltic nations from assimilating to the Russian mainstream and made it very easy for them to mobilize ethnically as soon as the regime showed its signs of weakness.

An alternative for conflictual ways to transition to hot state, small minority communities may have no other option for increasing their vitality than to align their emotions around the core values of the group. This is particularly effective in the case of ethno-religious

communities whose strength of their religious practice is so tightly connected to their ethnicity that this would keep their group vital.

In whatever way an ethnic group achieves its hot state, it might still not be a sustainable solution as it may bring about an ethnic conflict that may end in an economic and demographic catastrophe the effects of which are much more devastating than the possible long term assimilation. In any case, prolonged low intensity hostility is a costly strategy that could not be continued forever. Lack of success and loss of resources may bring about disillusionation and a cooling down process. When the hot state is achieved by worshipping the groups values and traditions it would by necessity mean a rejection of modernization. This would lead the group to the exclusion from the mainstream society which is a very high price for increased vitality, indeed.

The same happens also in cases when the ethnic awakening accompanied by the transition to the hot mode of operation has been successful – the goals are achieved, the cause for becoming hot eliminated, collective emotions have fulfilled their goal. But if the group has not enough symbolic and economic capital to provide an overall positive social identity, and the ethnic institutions are too weak to ensure high vitality for the group in the cold mode, it may still face assimilation even if there are no immediate danger for this, or maybe just because of the lack of it (see Smith 1999).

Conclusion

Research has convincingly shown that ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions as measured by standard methodology are not reliable indicators of actual vitality (Yagmur, 2011). There is evidence that vitality perceptions depend on affective factors (Ehala and Zabrodskaia 2011; Giles and Johnson 1987): subjects who perceive high levels of interethnic discordance and/or are strongly attached to their ingroup tend to perceive their ingroup vitality lower than subjects who have lower levels of affective involvement.

On the other hand, social psychological studies have provided evidence that group entitativity, i.e group's ability to behave as an active collective entity depends on the emotional attachment of its members to this collective identity Ellemers et al. (1999) which is created by normative alignment of collective emotions (Thomas et al. 2009). This suggests that when high vitality is achieved by affective involvement, the rational arguments based on the benefits of being aligned to one or the other group, lose their force. This does not mean that the rationality based vitality models such as SEVQ (Bourhis et al. 1981) or The Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift (Karan, 2011) are inadequate. Evidence shows that they are correct in forecasting the vitality of groups whose members have no strong collective emotions and therefore a low affective commitment.

This suggests that groups have two prototypical modes of operation (“hot” and “cold”) or a scale of modes between these extremes; and that ethnolinguistic vitality is achieved at least to some extent by different means in different modes. This has serious implications to the methodology of ethnolinguistic vitality research: as the affective factors cannot be well accounted for by quantitative surveys, a more complex methodology is needed (McEntee-Atalianis, 2011). Also the research on institutional support should not only describe the situation, but also focus how the collective emotions and group affiliations are actually constructed by these institutions (Moring et al., 2011).

In this perspective the transitional processes from the cold mode of operation to the hot mode become the crucial point of attention in language maintenance and ethnolinguistic vitality research, because this is the key for a successful maintenance of heritage ethnic identity and the linguistic and cultural practices characteristic to it.

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