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Towards a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations[1]

H. Giles, R. Y. Bourhis and D. M. Taylor

Language is a highly structured and sophisticated but flexible, subtle process which capitalizes on man's most significant resources including thought, symbolism and emotion. It was this realization which prompted questions to be raised at the outset of this volume about the role of language for ethnicity and intergroup relations. The preceding chapters have illustrated the importance, complexity and varied functions of language for understanding inter-ethnic group relations. We have seen that ingroup speech (and sometimes even ingroup-influenced outgroup speech) can serve as a symbol of ethnic identity and cultural solidarity; language is often the major embodiment of this ethnicity. It is used for reminding the group about its cultural heritage, for transmitting group feelings, and for excluding members of the outgroup from its internal transactions. In addition, language is flexible enough to be used to emphasize and signal ingroup membership under conditions of ethnic threat by use of accent, content (disparaging and humorous) and certain lexical items. Moreover, feelings of ingroup solidarity in some of these ways can be socialized at a very early age. Of course, dominant groups do not lay idle when their distinctiveness and status are beginning to be threatened. They can manipulate language in many ways by introducing ethonphaulisms, keeping the group in a subordinate linguistic position by use of rational arguments, helping them achieve scholastic success but by assimilationist strategies, and sometimes even enforcing

their linguistic values on subordinate groups by large-scale legislation. From the chapters in this volume, it is clear that language plays an important role in ethnicity and intergroup relations. However, the nature of the relationships are complex and often conflicting depending upon the example chosen to demonstrate a particular relationship.

This final chapter presents a theoretical framework for understanding the interrelationships among language, ethnicity and intergroup relations and is divided into three parts. The first deals with the context in which the dynamics of a particular intergroup situation operate. Relations between ethnolinguistic groups do not occur in a vacuum and they are influenced by a host of situational and structural variables which often dictate the sociopsychological climate in which such relations occur. In this first part, we will present a descriptive taxonomy of the structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic groups. In the second part, Tajfel's theory of intergroup relations and Giles's theory of speech accommodation will be presented since together they form the basis of our theoretical framework. In the third part, the two theories will be integrated and discussed in the context of the descriptive taxonomy to be presented in the first part with the hope that together they may provide some overall perspective to the variety of concepts and findings presented in this volume.

Ethnolinguistic vitality: a structural analysis

The purpose of this part is to systematize the many situational variables operating in a given intergroup situation which provide the important bases needed for any understanding of the course intergroup relations may take. There are certain political, historical, economic and linguistic realities which must be considered independent of social psychological theorizing if we are to understand the similarities and differences among, for example, French Canadians, American Blacks and Welshmen.

Our structural analysis focuses on three variables which may combine to at least permit an ethnolinguistic community to survive as a viable group. The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations. From this, it is argued that ethnolinguistic minorities that have little or no group vitality would eventually cease to exist as distinctive groups. Conversely, the more vitality a linguistic group has, the more likely it will survive and thrive as a collective entity in an intergroup context. It follows, too, that ingroup members would turn

more to one another in intergroup situations rather than functioning as isolated individuals. The structural variables most likely to influence the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups may be organized under three main headings: the Status, Demographic and Institutional Support factors. The Status variables are those which pertain to a configuration of prestige variables of the linguistic group in the intergroup context. The more status a linguistic group is recognized to have, the more vitality it can be said to possess as a collective entity. The Demographic variables are those related to the sheer numbers of group members and their distribution throughout the territory. Ethnolinguistic groups whose demographic trends are favourable are more likely to have vitality as distinctive groups than those whose demographic trends are unfavourable and not conducive to group survival. Institutional Support variables refer to the extent to which a language group receives formal and informal representation in the various institutions of a nation, region or community. The vitality of a linguistic minority seems to be related to the degree its language is used in various institutions of the government, church, business and so forth. It is our contention that these three types of structural variables (see Fig. 1) interact to provide the context for understanding the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups (cf. Deutsch, 1966; Kloss,

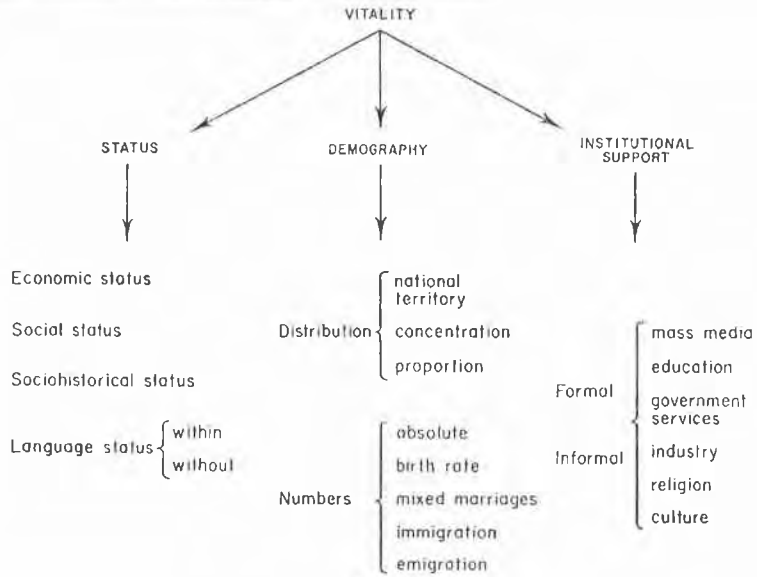

Fig. 1

A taxonomy of the structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality.

1969; Verdoodt, 1973). It is also suggested that linguistic minorities can be meaningfully grouped according to this three-factored view of vitality. At the same time, however, it is important to stress that we do not consider our analysis of the factors involved in vitality to be in any sense exhaustive or that the individual variables themselves are necessarily mutually exclusive. Despite its limitations, the present taxonomy seems useful when applied to the context of language and intergroup relations.

STATUS FACTORS

Four factors can be listed under this heading and will be discussed in turn: economic status, ascribed status, sociohistorical status and language status.

Economic status

This refers to the degree of control a language group has gained over the economic life of its nation, region or community. In determining the vitality of a linguistic minority, it is important to gauge the group's degree of control over its own economic destiny (Hocevar, 1975). For example, Jewish communities in Diaspora have succeeded, and do succeed, in maintaining themselves as distinct collective entities by, amongst other things, sound economic control of their immediate environment. In contrast, however, we have seen that French Canadians (Chapters 4 and 12), Mexican Americans (Chapter 2), Albanian Greeks (Chapter 7) and migrant workers (Chapter 10) have little economic control over their respective situations.

Social status

Very closely aligned to economic status, and perhaps an equally potent factor, is social status. This refers to the degree of esteem a linguistic group affords itself; often, this amount of group self-esteem closely resembles that attributed it by the outgroup (cf. Milner, 1975). Low self-esteem on the part of the ingroup can sap its morale whereas high self-esteem is more likely to bolster it.

Sociohistorical status

This is an important third variable as linguistic groups can be distinguished from each other on the basis of their respective histories (see Chapter 9). The histories of many ethnolinguistic groups contain periods in which members of such groups struggled to defend, maintain or assert their existence as collective entities. Regardless of the outcome of

these struggles, historical instances can be used as mobilizing symbols (see Coser, 1964; Chapter 1) to inspire individuals to bind together as group members in the present. For some linguistic groups, the past offers few mobilizing symbols, while for others, the past may offer only demobilizing symbols leading individuals to forget or hide their linguistic identity thereby diluting the vitality of the group as a collective entity. As regards the latter, the potential association of the Albanian immigrants (in Chapter 7) with a communist past (and present) by the indigenous Greek community may lead some immigrants to keep overt symbols of Albanian identity (and perhaps language is one of these) well-hidden. Yet, for groups that have a rich history as a collective entity, it is often convenient for them to highlight particular historical events as symbols of struggles, oppression or moral and physical valour. In England, for example, many symbols of glory and struggle from the days of the great Empire were used to mobilize individuals as group members during the two World Wars. Not so in Wales, where only symbols of linguistic oppression abound for some Welshmen, such as the 1870 Education Act which made English (to the exclusion of Welsh) the sole medium of instruction in Wales. Except for the teaching of the Bible in Welsh from the pulpit, there are few symbols of linguistic glory in Wales. Nevertheless, symbols of linguistic oppression may sometimes carry as much mobilizing power as those of victory. It could be suggested then that the number and type of historical symbols salient to ethnolinguistic group members can be conducive to feelings of group solidarity, and as such, can contribute to the vitality of the group.

Language status

The fourth factor is the status of the language spoken by the linguistic group both within and without the boundaries of the linguistic community network. As it happens in this century, languages such as English (see Chapters 3 and 8), French and Russian have international importance as media of technology, business, science, culture and communication. Linguistic minorities such as the Québécois (see Chapter 4), and to a certain extent the Mexican Americans (see Chapter 2), who speak an international language of high status are no doubt advantaged in terms of their group vitality. Yet groups which speak a language of lesser international status are well-represented in this volume including the Welsh, the Irish, the indigenous ethnic groups in Kenya, the Albanian immigrants in Greece, the Greek immigrants in Canada, the

Black immigrants in Britain and the various migrant workers across Europe and elsewhere. A language's history, prestige value, and the degree to which it has undergone standardization may be sources of Pride or shame for members of a linguistic community, and as such may again facilitate or inhibit the vitality of a given ethnolinguistic group. On the other hand, within the boundaries of a certain territory, the respective statuses of the languages used by the ethnolinguistic groups in contact may influence the nature of the intergroup situation. We have seen that French has high international status, but within Québec it has low status compared to English. Thus, language status within, and language status without, are important variables and the advantages of one may be cancelled out by disadvantages of the other. However, minorities whose languages are more prestigious than that of the dominant outgroup will have more vitality as group entities than minorities whose languages are less prestigious than that of the outgroup (see Chapter 10).

The four variables described above represent some of the factors, although clearly not all, which can determine the extent to which a group will have the vitality to survive and behave as a distinctive group entity in an intergroup context.

DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Eight demographic variables are described here as contributing to the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups, and these will be discussed under two headings (see Fig. 1), namely, group distribution and group numbers factors.

Group distribution factors

Three factors will be discussed under this heading: national territory, group concentration and group proportion.

National territory is related to the notion of ancestral homeland (Suttles, 1970; Oliviera, 1976). Through wars, allegiances, pacts and promises, the traditional homelands of linguistic groups have often been divided or enlarged to suit the immediate needs and ambitions of distant rulers and empires (Olorunsola, 1972). The divisions and amalgamations of territories have also been politically engineered to eliminate or recreate linguistic minorities or majorities within more convenient and governable administrative units or regions. It may be that ethnolinguistic groups split apart by such imposed frontiers or dispossessed of their

traditional homeland have had through the ages less success in maintaining their vitality as distinctive collective entities than groups that still have their traditional homeland, such as the Québécois, the Welsh and more recently, the Israelis. Indeed, Lieberson (1972) has shown that immigrant linguistic minorities usually assimilate more quickly into the dominant culture by losing their language than indigenous linguistic minorities who still occupy their traditional homeland.

The concentration of ethnolinguistic group members across a given territory, country or region also contributes to group vitality. Widespread diffusion of minority group members as individuals may discourage group solidarity as often is the case with migrant workers (see Chapter 10). Minority group speakers who are concentrated in the same geographic area may stand a better chance of surviving as a dynamic linguistic community by virtue of the fact that they are in frequent verbal interaction and can maintain feelings of solidarity (Driedger and Church, 1974). In Canada, for example, many isolated French Canadian families living outside Québec in contact with English Canadians have lost their knowledge and feelings for the French language and its culture within only a few generations (Vallee and Dufour, 1974; Castonguay and Marion, 1976).

The proportion of speakers belonging to the ethnolinguistic ingroup compared with that belonging to the relevant outgroup is a third factor likely to affect the nature of the intergroup relationship. A one-to-ten proportion between ingroup and outgroup speakers is likely to produce a different intergroup relations situation than a fifty-fifty proportion or a three-way split.

Group numbers factors

Five factors will be discussed under this heading: absolute numbers, birth rate, mixed-marriages, immigration and emigration.

Absolute numbers simply refers to the numbers of speakers belonging to an ethnolinguistic group. It can be argued that the more numerous the speakers of a group are, the more vitality they will exhibit and the better will be the chances for that group to survive as a collective entity. Conversely, one could suggest that as the absolute numbers of a linguistic group fall below a certain minimum threshold, the potential for survival of that group will drop significantly until it reaches a point of no return (Driedger and Church, 1974).

A group's birth rate in relation to that of the outgroup's can also be an

important factor in assessing its vitality. For instance, the fact that an outgroup is increasing its numbers at a greater rate than the ingroup, is providing the latter with a more substantial entity with which to contend. Indeed, French Canadians in the nineteenth century placed a great value on having large families. This was in part a deliberate tactic ("La Revanche des Berceaux") to counteract the flow of English immigrants coming from England after the conquest, and to increase the size of the group so that sometime in the future French Canadians would at least number as many as their English counterparts (Henripin, 1970).

Increases in the proportion of ethnolinguistically-mixed marriages between ingroup and outgroup can also affect a group's vitality. In such situations, it appears as though the high status variety has a better chance of surviving as the language of the home, and hence of child-rearing, than the low status variety. For instance, Mougeon and Savard (in press) have found that an increase in marriages between the French and English in Ontario has had an accelerated effect on the displacement of French by English as the native language of the children in certain communities there. The consequent effect on language behaviour of mixed-marriages (and other) factors can be gauged objectively from "language retention ratios" (Fishman *et al.*, 1966); this ratio is the extent to which a language is used from one generation to the next.[2] Subordinate groups then are likely to have more vitality when their language retention ratio is high, and when the incidence of ethnolinguistically-mixed marriages is low or favourable to the subordinate group.

Immigration patterns are another factor which may enhance or decrease the vitality of a linguistic minority group. For instance, the influx of large numbers of one linguistic group may swamp another numerically through planned or unplanned immigration. Immigration laws can be designed to keep certain linguistic groups in a minority or majority (see Chapter 9). Migrant and indigenous populations can be manipulated and moved about so that no single linguistic group can become sufficiently large in one area or region to challenge the supremacy of the dominant linguistic group. Migrants who move in an area where linguistic groups are in overt or covert competition appear to be willing (for obvious economic reasons) to adopt the language and culture of the dominant rather than that of the subordinate linguistic group. In this sense, migrant groups often appear as a threat to linguistic groups whose collective future is in jeopardy in the intergroup context. For example, many immigrant groups settling in Québec, including the

Greek community in Montreal, have been considered a threat by French Canadians because they have learned English rather than French as a means of advancing their socioeconomic condition in the province (cf. Chapter 12). Migrants can either contribute to the strengthening of a linguistic subordinate group by assimilating into it, or they can contribute to its weakening by assimilating into the linguistic dominant group.

Emigration can also affect the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups. Adverse social and economic conditions can force vast numbers of young and active members of linguistic minorities to leave their traditional communities in search of better occupational and economic opportunities elsewhere. In addition to reducing the numbers of ingroup speakers in the traditional linguistic community, such emigrants will often need to learn another language and eventually lose their own mother tongue. Such has been the case at the turn of the century for many Welsh speakers who had to emigrate to England or to the more anglicized and industrially developed areas of South Wales in order to find jobs. After less than two generations, most of these emigrants' families had lost the Welsh language. This type of depopulation and its linguistic consequences have been observed in Scotland, Brittany and Corsica. Economic pressures have not been the only cause of group emigration. In the eighteenth century, it has been argued that British authorities in Lower Canada deported many French-speaking Acadians so as in part, to clear the land for incoming English colonisers. In 1970, Britain deported more than 1,000 Diego Garcia islanders to Mauritius to make way for an American base in the Indian ocean. Uganda, a former British colony, expelled many of the Asians who traditionally had served as the middle men between the former White British colonialists and the Black African population. More recently, White Rhodesians have become concerned about the decreasing immigration, but increasing emigration patterns in their country. Extreme measures such as genocide have also been used this century against minority groups such as the Armenians, Biafrans, Jews and the Romani people. Induced or enforced emigration then can seriously affect the vitality of linguistic minority groups long after the main wave of depopulation or extermination has receded.

INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT FACTORS

Institutional support refers to the degree of formal and informal support a language receives in the various institutions of a nation, region or community (cf. Breton, 1971). Informal support refers to the extent to

which a minority has organized itself in terms of pressure groups. Simply put, our guess is that minority groups which have organized themselves to safeguard their own interests, as exemplified by the Greek community in Montreal (see Chapter 12), would have more vitality than linguistic minorities who have not organized themselves in this fashion, such as many migrant workers (Chapter 10) and the Albanian Greeks (Chapter 7). Indeed, it is through such organization that linguistic minorities can in the first instance exert pressure on the outgroup to safeguard their interests in the intergroup situation (cf. Chapter 11). At a more formal level, it would seem that groups which have little representation at the decision-making levels of State, business and cultural affairs would be less able to survive as distinctive linguistic entities than those who have organized themselves as political entities seeking permanent representation at the State's legislative and executive levels.

It is suggested that a linguistic minority is vital to the extent that its language and group members are well-represented formally and informally in a variety of institutional settings. These domains of usage include the mass media, parliament, governmental departments and services, the armed forces and the State supported arts. Of crucial importance for the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups is the use of the minority language in the State education system at primary, secondary and higher levels. Indeed, the number of minority language medium schools and the number of speakers they produce are often scrutinized by linguistic minority group members who often feel that "une langue qu'on n'enseigne pas est une langue qu'on tue" (cf. Chapter 11). Also of importance to the vitality of a group is the degree to which the language is used as the language of religion (cf. Chapters 2, 3, 7 and 12), work and advancement in both the public and private sectors of the economy.

We have described how various types of structural variables can affect the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups. Three factors were singled out as especially relevant, and it must be noted that their relative weights require further research. In addition, other factors at a more macro-level may assume salience from time to time. For instance, Inglehart and Woodward (1972) have described how a rapid rate of modernization in an underdeveloped country can change dramatically the lot of linguistic minorities, such that some may suddenly gain complete control of the economy, while others find themselves without their traditional rights or privileges. Traditional linguistic elites through industrialization and modernization may suddenly find that they must

share power with new modernizing elites (cf. Chapter 1; Fishman, 1972). Uneven rates of industrial development in different regions may cause massive population movements which may upset the traditional balance of power between ethnolinguistic groups. Sudden depressions in world or regional economies may occur such that linguistic minority services are eliminated or seriously reduced in government affairs.

It is, however, only by carefully evaluating the combined effects of the three main (and possibly other) factors that one can determine the relative vitality of an ethnolinguistic group. For instance, an ethnolinguistic group may be low on Status and Institutional support factors, but very strong in terms of the Demographic variables. In such a case, one could say that overall, the group has medium vitality. Another ethnolinguistic group might be very weak in terms of all three factors, and in this category we might find a number of groups depicted in this volume, such as the migrant workers and the Black immigrants in Britain. By analysing ethnolinguistic group situations in terms of vitality factors, one could classify groups on a continuum of vitality ranging from very high to very low. This can be illustrated speculatively in Table 1 by considering five other ethnic groups figuring prominently in the

TABLE 1

Suggested vitality configurations of five ethnolinguistic groups

Group	Status	Demography	Institutional support	Overall vitality
ANGLO-AMERICAN	High	High	High	High
FRENCH CANADIAN	Low-Medium	High	Medium	Medium-High
WELSH	Medium	Medium	Low-Medium	Medium
MEXICAN-AMERICAN	Low	Medium	Low-Medium	Low-Medium
ALBANIAN-GREEK	Low	Low	Low	Low

previous chapters, namely, Anglo-Americans, French Canadians, Welsh, Mexican Americans and Albanian Greeks. By use of this scheme, it is possible to chart changes in vitality of various ethnic groups and thereby be able to better understand the complex dynamics of ethnic group relations (cf. Chapter 9). It is also important to point out that our discussion of vitality factors has been in more or less objective terms;

whether group members perceive subjectively their situation along exactly the same lines is an empirical question worthy of further exploration. Indeed, it could be argued that a group's subjective assessment of its vitality may be as important as the objective reality. Hence, it is possible for dominant groups to manipulate the information reaching subordinate groups through the mass media (if not the factors directly themselves) in such a manner as to attenuate their perception of vitality (cf. Dominant group strategies; see also Chapter 9).

It has already been suggested that individuals in ethnolinguistic groups which have little collective vitality cannot be expected to behave in the same way in an intergroup situation as individuals whose groups have much vitality. The types of sociopsychological processes operating between ethnolinguistic groups in contact may well differ according to whether the groups in question have high, medium or low vitality. Indeed, before investigators examine the sociopsychological processes operating between ethnolinguistic groups in contact, it may be useful for them to clearly identify the types of groups they are dealing with on the basis of the vitality factors just discussed. Having now discussed the structural factors affecting ethnic group members in an intergroup context, we will attempt to present a theoretical framework for studying the sociopsychological processes that can act upon them.

Intergroup relations and speech accommodation: sociopsychological analyses

Our theoretical framework for studying the role of language in ethnic group relations derives from two independent conceptual systems, namely, Tajfel's theory of intergroup relations and social change, and Giles's theory of interpersonal accommodation through speech. It is worthwhile pointing out that both theories are conceptually at the development stage and have therefore no pretentions of providing complete understandings of the processes involved. Nevertheless, both theories have proved to be useful in understanding intergroup relations and interpersonal speech modifications. In this Part, we will sketch the basic concepts of each theory since they will form the basis of the integration to be presented in Part Three.

TAJFEL'S THEORY OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Tajfel's (1974; 1974a; in press) theory of intergroup relations is a general one and not limited to ethnic group contexts. In its simplest terms, the theory involves an exposition of a sequence which is described as:— social categorization-social identity-social comparison-psychological distinctiveness. As in the work of Kelly (1955) and Lambert and Klineberg (1967), individuals are depicted as active from the moment they are born in defining both themselves and the world. Categorization is one of the cognitive tools with which individuals can achieve this, and among the most significant entities categorized are ourselves and other people (e.g. into Blacks and Whites, English and French Canadians). People's knowledge of their membership in various social (and in the present case, ethnic) categories or groups of people, and the value attached to that membership by them in positive or negative terms is defined as their social identity, and forms part of the self-concept. Social identity, however, only acquires meaning by comparison with other groups, and it is suggested that individuals have a desire to belong to groups which give them satisfaction and pride through membership. These intergroup social comparisons will induce individuals to perceive and act in such a manner as to make their own group favourably and psychologically distinct from other groups with which they may compare it. In other words, group members will attempt to make themselves superior on valued dimensions to members of a relevant outgroup in terms of material possessions, social power, abilities, personal attributes and so forth. Such positive distinctiveness from the outgroup will allow ingroup members to share a satisfactory or adequate social identity.

Following the basic postulates of the theory, two important issues emerge. First, under which conditions will group members attempt to change the intergroup situation, and second, if change is desired, what are the means by which change can be brought about? In terms of the theory, change will be desired when the existing intergroup situation provides members of a group with an inadequate or negative social identity. People who are members of superior or dominant groups and who thereby derive a positive social identity will not of course be motivated to change the relationship between their group and the subordinate outgroups. By contrast, members of subordinate groups whose social identity is inadequate will desire change in an attempt to attain a more adequate and positive social identity. However, an inadequate social identity is not by itself a sufficient condition for advocating and provoking change. Not only must members derive a negative social identity from their membership in a particular group, they must also be aware, or become aware that cognitive alternatives to the existing status rela-

tionship between it and the superior group are possible. Without the awareness of cognitive alternatives, members of a group may accept, albeit reluctantly, a negative social identity at least in terms of their membership with that particular group.

Central then to understanding intergroup relations are the processes by which members of subordinate groups come to be aware of cognitive alternatives. Turner and Brown (in press) propose that two independent factors contribute to this awareness: the perceived stability-instability and legitimacy-illegitimacy of the existing intergroup situation. Perceived stability-instability refers to the extent to which individuals believe that their group's position in the status hierarchy can be changed or even reversed. Perceived legitimacy-illegitimacy refers to the extent to which individuals construe their group's position in the status hierarchy to be fair and just.

Tajfel proposes that in the case where no cognitive alternatives are perceived, members of a group will do nothing to change their group situation but may well adopt individualistic actions as a means of attaining a positive social identity. Traditionally, Blacks and women in western societies have found themselves in such a position. Tajfel suggests at least two ways of achieving a more positive distinctiveness via self-oriented actions. One solution might be to compare one's individual condition with other ingroup members rather than with that of the dominant group; that is, interindividual, intra-group social comparisons. An alternative solution might be to attempt to leave the group if at all possible which is causing such disatisfaction and pass into the superior one; a strategy termed social mobility (see also Chapter 1). This might be achieved by modifying one's own cultural values, dress and speech styles so as to be more like that of the dominant group's.

However, once group members who have an inadequate social identity become aware of cognitive alternatives, how do they proceed to bring about change so as to attain a positive social identity? Under these circumstances, Tajfel proposes three group strategies which subordinate groups may adopt in order to achieve these ends; strategies of social change. The first of these (which a group is considered to adopt often initially) is for the group as a whole to assimilate culturally and psychologically with members of the dominant group. A second strategy might be to redefine the previously negatively-valued characteristics of the group (e.g. skin colour, hair style, dialect) in a more positive, favourably-perceived direction. The third strategy might be the creation of new

dimensions not previously used in intergroup comparisons on which the group may assume a new positive distinctiveness from the other. For example, Giles and Giles (in press) in their analysis of feminism by means of this theory show that members of Women's Movements acknowledge no leadership but rather claim that they have created a cohesive system which does not require the figureheads so prevalent among male-dominated groups (see also Lemaine, 1974). Therefore, armed with more positive images of their own group, the outgroup's dominant position can be challenged more overtly, and competition between them may escalate (Turner, 1975).

As a further strategy, group members may seek a positive social identity through direct competition with the outgroup. An inferior group may through competition attempt to hoist itself in the position of the superior group in order to achieve a satisfactory social identity. The aim of the inferior group in these cases is to improve its social position vis-à-vis the dominant group. To the extent that this process involves the redistribution of scarce resources, Tajfel and Turner (in press) suggest that this strategy would generate conflict and antagonism between the subordinate and dominant groups. It is in this sense that aspects of Tajfel's theory can be considered as dynamic and interactive. It is proposed that social action on the part of one group to assert itself will be met with strong action from the other in an attempt to maintain or restore its superiority or distinctiveness. In other words, the perception of cognitive alternatives by the dominant group to its own superiority will induce group members to accentuate its positive differences on existing dimensions and, or to create new superiorities which justify and bolster the old.

Tajfel's theory then covers a broad range of intergroup situations and clearly has important implications for language and ethnicity. The concepts central to the theory include social categorization, social identity, social comparison, psychological distinctiveness, cognitive alternatives and group strategies, and in the third part we will base our integrative discussion around these concepts.

GILES'S THEORY OF SPEECH ACCOMMODATION

Giles's (1973; 1977) theory of speech accommodation is concerned with the motivation and social consequences which underlie changes in people's speech styles. Speech of course is not a static process and people will alter their style of speaking, often dramatically, depending on the

nature of the setting, topic and person spoken to. A basic postulate of the theory is that people are motivated to adjust their speech styles, or accommodate, as a means of expressing values, attitudes and intentions towards others.

Giles proposes that the extent to which individuals shift their speech style toward, or away from the speech style of their interlocutors is a mechanism by which social approval or disapproval is communicated. A shift in speech style toward that of another is termed convergence, whereas a shift away from the other's style of speech represents divergence.

When two people meet there is a tendency for them to become more alike in their languages, accents, speech rates, pause and utterance lengths and so forth (Giles and Powesland, 1975); in short, to converge. When these interpersonal modifications occur along a linguistic dimension having value and status connotations associated with it, for example, accented speech (see Chapter 2), then convergence towards a high prestige language variety is labelled "upward" and that to a lower prestige variety labelled "downward". When interlocutors of different statuses desire each others' approval, mutual speech convergence will occur where upward convergence from the one will be complemented by downward convergence from the other. Moreover, the more a person desires another's approval, the more that individual will converge his or her speech in the direction of the other up to a certain optimal level (Giles and Smith, in press). However, convergence will of course only occur at a specific linguistic level if speakers have the repertoire which will enable them to do this realistically.

An elaboration of the theory vis-à-vis convergence has been formulated with regard to a number of sociopsychological processes, including similarity-attraction, social exchange, casual attribution, and gain-loss (Giles and Powesland, 1975; Giles and Smith, in press). However, its exposition is unnecessary in the present context. Suffice it to say that people will reduce linguistic dissimilarities between themselves and others, that is converge, if they desire their approval and wish to integrate with them. The latter will react favourably towards those who shift towards them in speech provided they attribute the intent of such convergence positively (Simard *et al.*, 1976).

While convergence has stimulated a good deal of research interest, divergence and the maintenance of one's speech have received little empirical attention. This is an important oversight since non-converging

speech is an important medium often used by ethnic groups as a symbolic tactic for maintaining their identity and cultural distinctiveness. This was exemplified recently when for the first time the Arab nations issued their oil communiqué to the world not in English as they did usually, but in Arabic. Likewise, one witnesses the efforts of many ethnic minorities throughout the world attempting to maintain their own dialects and languages as expressions of cultural pride (Fishman, 1966; see Chapters 2, 4, 5, 6, 11 and 12). In addition, it may well be that under certain conditions, people not only want to maintain their own speech style but wish to emphasize it in interaction with others (cf. Bourhis *et al.*, 1975; Doise *et al.*, 1976). In these cases, speakers want to accentuate the differences between themselves and others (Wolff, 1959; Tajfel and Wilkes, 1963; Lambert and Lambert, 1972), perhaps because of the latter's outgroup membership, undesirable attitudes, habits or appearance. Such a process of social dissociation is that of speech divergence (see Chapter 5) and can also take upward and downward directions on linguistic value dimensions. It is the opposite of convergence in that it involves speakers modifying their speech away from their interlocutors and increasing the communicative distance between them (cf. Peng, 1974).

Thus far, we have discussed the strategies of convergence and divergence as if they were simply binary sociolinguistic choices speakers make depending on their definition of the interactive situation. The situation is however far more complex given that a speaker may converge on a variety of linguistic dimensions separately or in combination. Indeed, Giles *et al.* (1973) found in an analysis of speech in an inter-ethnic context that English Canadian speakers could converge towards a French Canadian listener in at least 14 different ways, even in the socially-sterile atmosphere of a laboratory setting. For example, some speakers would shift totally into French, others would use a mixture of both French and English, others would speak in English but would translate certain key words and concepts into French, while still others would remain totally in English but deliberately slow down their speech rate. The authors suggested that different types of convergence may be tentatively placed along a continuum of perceived effort in accommodation where both speaker and listener might construe a given linguistic strategy as involving high, medium or low social concessions. Some exemplars of speech styles along such a continuum in a bilingual context are speculatively presented in Table 2. As ethnic group speakers in interaction with

TABLE 2

Some increasing variants of convergence and divergence

Linguistic Dimensions	Increasing convergence	Increasing Divergence
(1) Outgroup language with native-like pronunciation	↑	↓
(2) Outgroup language with features of ingroup pronunciation		
(3) Ingroup language with slow speech rate		
(4) Ingroup language with normal speech rate		

outgroup listeners shift from adopting strategy 4 through to strategy 1, they may be making, and often may be perceived to be making, progressively more convergent concessions to the other. In a similar vein, it is likely (see Chapter 5) that there are a host of divergent strategies an individual can select from his or her speech repertoire (Bourhis *et al.*, in press). Table 2 suggests that as ingroup speakers in interaction with outgroup listeners shift from adopting strategy 1 through to strategy 4, they may be making, and again may often be perceived to be making, progressively more diverging dissociations from the other. While we have focused upon a bilingual situation, clearly the same processes operate in any social context, however, the mechanisms for accommodation may involve alternative aspects of speech.

In its simplest terms, accommodation theory suggests that people are continually modifying their speech with others so as to reduce or accentuate the linguistic (and hence social) differences between them depending on their perceptions of the interactive situation.

Language and ethnic group relations: a theoretical analysis

Thus far, the structural factors affecting the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups in contact, Tajfel's theory of intergroup relations and Giles's theory of speech accommodation have been discussed separately. In this third part, we shall attempt to integrate the three topics with the aim of providing a framework for understanding the role of language for ethnicity and intergroup relations which can accommodate the various issues and findings reported in the previous chapters. Since the present volume is ultimately concerned with intergroup relations, the concepts

central to Tajfel's theory will be used as the basis for the discussion. More specifically, the concepts which will form the basis of our integration include social categorization, social identity, social comparison, psychological distinctiveness, cognitive alternatives and group strategies for social change.

SOCIAL CATEGORIZATION

As Tajfel and his colleagues have demonstrated (Tajfel, 1974), social categorization is a fundamental process which serves as a basis for people's attitudes and behaviour towards others. There are a number of bases for categorization but many social groupings in western and other societies are marked by distinct speech styles. For example, the sexes can be characterized by differences on a number of linguistic features as can the young and old, the social classes, and many religious, ethnic and national groupings. Ethnic groups are an example par excellence of linguistic categorization since they are often found to manifest their distinctiveness from each other by means of separate languages or dialects (see Chapter 1). As Parkin (Chapter 8) stated, linguistic categorizations "generally connote ethnic inclusiveness and solidarity to native speakers, and, conversely, exclusion and opposition when used in ethnically mixed contexts". Certainly, a number of studies have shown that listening to the voice of a member of an ethnic in or outgroup member evokes the appropriate cultural stereotype from the listeners (Giles and Powesland, 1975), although Ryan and Carranza's discussion of degrees of accentedness (Chapter 2) shows that the situation is more complicated than this (see also Bourhis and Giles, 1976). It is precisely the complexity of social categorization as it operates in actual intergroup situations which makes language such a central issue. That is, language is one of the human attributes which has associated with it sufficient subtelty and complexity that it can be used as an important marker of group membership (see also Billig, 1976).

SOCIAL IDENTITY

A person's social identity involves self-evaluation which derives from being a member of a specific group. It is often the case that a group's evaluative attachment to its membership is reflected in its feelings about its speech style. For instance, the Québécois, Mexican Americans and American Blacks until quite recently had a relatively negative social identity which was reflected in the evaluations they made of their own

distinctive speech styles. This evaluation of one's own speech is especially important for language spoken as it is often among the most salient dimensions of ethnic identity (Taylor *et al.*, 1973). Fishman (Chapter 1) comments on why language is such a salient dimension of a group's identity:

> it becomes clearer why language is more likely than most symbols of ethnicity to become *the* symbol of ethnicity. Language is the recorder of paternity, the expresser of patrimony and the carrier of phenomenology. Any vehicle carrying such precious freight must come to be viewed as equally precious, as part of the freight, indeed, as precious in and of itself.

Similarly, Davies (1945) claimed that:

> a people without a language of its own is only half a nation. A nation should guard its language more than its territories—'tis a surer barrier, a more important frontier than fortress or river.

In a series of studies using a multidimensional scaling procedure, Taylor and his associates have examined the salience of language as a dimension of ethnic identity in comparison with cultural background and geographic residence (cf. Driedger, 1975; see also Chapter 2). It has been found in Québec, among Franco-Americans in Maine, and in Wales (Taylor *et al.*, 1973; Giles *et al.*, 1976; Giles *et al.*, in press) that ethnic group members identify more closely with someone who shares their language than with someone who shares their cultural background. For instance, Welsh bilinguals would consider themselves more similar to an Englishman who spoke Welsh than to a Welshman who spoke English. It seems that one's behaviour, and in particular one's verbal behaviour, is a truer reflection of one's ethnic allegiance (at least in the eyes and ears of others) than one's cultural heritage as determined by the fortunes of birthright. Indeed, one has no choice over one's ethnicity in terms of heritage, but one can exert more control over which language variety one can learn or use in addition to one's mother tongue. In this sense then, acquired characteristics (patrimony in Fishman's terms, Chapter 1) of one's identity would be attributed by others as truer expressions of an individual's ethnicity than those characteristics ascribed by virtue of birth. Interestingly, from the phenomenological experience of the person him or herself, paternity may be the key to individual ethnicity. However, from the perspective of the dispassionate observer, patrimony may be the key to perceiving ethnicity in others.

Language spoken then can be a very salient dimension of a group's

ethnic identity (cf. Chapters 2, 3, 5, 8 and 11). It does not emerge for all cultural groups studied, however. For instance, it was found that for Franco-Americans in Northern Maine who could only speak English, cultural background emerged as the salient dimension of their ethnic identity using the multidimensional scaling procedure (Giles *et al.*, 1976). The Irish (Chapter 11), Jews in Diaspora, and the Scots are ethnic groups often quoted as examples of collectivities for whom the specific language spoken is not important. Riley (1975), by means of a direct attitude questionnaire, found that people in the Pacific island of Guam did not consider it necessary to profess skills in the ethnic tongue (Chamorro) to be a "good" Guamian. Similarly, Trudgill and Tzavaras (Chapter 7) have also shown that it is not necessary for Albanians in Greece (the Arvanites) to speak Arvanitika in order to be considered "good" Arvanites. The question then arises as to when and in what social contexts language assumes salience, and when it does not for a given ethnic group. It is our view that in actual fact language is, as Fishman suggests, among the most important symbols of ethnicity. Our grounds for advancing this proposition in the light of the above contradictory evidence are two-fold.

First, we must be careful of not taking a too restrictive view of "language". Perhaps we ought to substitute the term "ethnic speech style". Indeed, Jews the world over speak with a distinctive accent in their host languages, and with words and phrases peculiar to their own culture and experiences. Similarly, the Irish and Scots speak with a very distinctive accent that they would be loathe to relinquish. A distinctive language then need not be a necessary or sufficient symbol of one's ethnicity, but some speech style distinctive to one's group might be. In this regard, we might recall Parkin's finding (Chapter 8) that even when two groups in social competition have no discernible differences in the language varieties they use, they let themselves think they do.

Second, some thought ought to be given to the methodological considerations of the types of studies conducted by Riley, and by Trudgill and Tzavaras. People are being asked directly about their attitudes towards their ethnic group and its language. As Parkin points out (Chapter 8), one cannot wholly rely upon verbally-expressed language attitudes to be a true reflection of a person's deeply-rooted feelings (cf. d'Anglejan and Tucker, 1973; Lieberman, 1975). Moreover, to ask people to attribute the essence of their strong feelings of ethnicity to a single entity, a somewhat concrete commodity such as language, could be perceived to

be tantamount to their demystifying the whole phenomenological character associated with ethnicity (see Chapter 1). It is also important to mention, as has Edwards (Chapter 11), that just because language has not emerged as a salient factor does not mean that it will not be reawakened under conditions of strong ethnolinguistic vitality. In this respect, the following editorial statement appeared in the periodical *Carn* (May 1976) which is concerned with the Celtic languages:

> Most Scottish nationalists have still to encounter the idea of an entirely Gaelic-speaking Scotland and, in any case, would probably regard it as preposterous. Despite this, Gaelic remains the key to our personal and national identities. The Gaelic influence lies at the root of almost everything distinctively Scottish and, whether or not most Scots are aware of it, is intimately involved with Scottish nationality. In other Celtic countries the restoration of the national language is seen as an *essential condition* for the survival of national identity . . . *The issue of cultural identity and the restoration of the Scottish language should, and must, be raised to supreme importance.*

All this suggests that ethnic speech style (language, dialect, accent, etc.) is a very important dimension of a group's cultural identity. As to whether it is more or less important than other ethnic cues such as skin colour or religious affiliation is not the question here. Furthermore, a recent study by Christian *et al.* (1976) suggests that a number of components of a group's identity might be important simultaneously, and that ethnic identity is a multidimensional concept (cf. Driedger, 1976; Zavalloni, 1975).

SOCIAL COMPARISON

We have discussed ethnic categorization via speech style cues and the importance of these cues to one's social identity. It is important to point out that one's identity only acquires meaning in relation to other existing or contrasting features of one's ethnic world (see Chapter 8). Indeed, Weinreich (1974) has said:

> It is in the situation of language contact that people most easily become aware of the peculiarities of their language as against others, and it is there that the purity of the standardized language most easily becomes the symbol of group integrity. Language loyalty breeds in contact just as nationalism breeds on ethnic borders.

Chapman *et al.* (Chapter 6) refer to a similar point by citing a study which showed that the strongest feelings of language loyalty among the Welsh were in English-speaking counties of Wales. An ethnic group's

speech style can seemingly only assume salience as a marker of ethnic identity in relation to the existence of a contrasting ethnic group (see Chapter 1). However, the amount and nature of the contact between ingroup and outgroup may be crucial to our understanding of the manner in which ethnic groups perceive each other in general, and of ethnic comparison processes in particular (see Chapter 4).

Ethnic comparison processes can also be seen to be directly relevant in many current language issues. It was only when the French Canadians in Québec started adopting the same yardstick and values as the English Canadians that they realized that they were comparing badly in terms of the status and usage of their language. Indeed, early intergroup linguistic comparisons may lead ethnic group members to compare their situations with the outgroup on other dimensions such as material wealth, power and so forth. In this way, language comparisons can sometimes act as a catalyst for the group to make intergroup comparisons on other non-linguistic dimensions.

PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTINCTIVENESS

The desire for psychological distinctiveness along valued dimensions is the outcome of the interplay among the processes of categorization, identity and social comparison. There are two reasons for the importance of language in this process. First, as we have seen, language is a particularly salient and valued human attribute. Second, as the theory of accommodation illustrates, language is a complex process and is the main vehicle for interpersonal communication which provides individuals with a rich repertoire of behaviour by which to establish and communicate psychological distinctiveness.

Our present concern is with the ways by which ethnic groups dissociate themselves on the basis of language and we can describe them as strategies of "psycholinguistic distinctiveness". An example of this process has been observed at the phonological level by David W. Reed in the southwest of the United States (cited by Sawyer, 1973): where Mexican Americans are a relevant comparison group for Anglo-Americans:

> *patio* with the vowel of father [a] occurs everywhere in the United States—perhaps side by side with *patio* with the vowel of hat [æ]. Only in the Southwest is the [a] pronunciation scrupulously avoided by middle-class Anglos who seem to want to distance themselves from the Spanish pronunciation of that word.

Parkin (Chapter 8) provides an example of putative psycholinguistic distinctiveness. He found that members of adolescent societies and gangs in Nairobi felt a need to make themselves distinct from each other by a claimed use of English and Swahili respectively, even though their language behaviour appeared objectively very similar. Similarly, Bourhis and Giles in Wales (Chapter 5) found that the mere presence of an outgroup speaker asking emotionally neutral questions induced certain ingroup listeners to emphasize their cultural identity in terms of what they said in reply to him (content differentiation). Moreover, when the outgroup speaker then threatened their group identity, such content differentiation was accompanied by accent divergence. Indeed, as implied by our discussion of speech divergence, it may well be that there is a hierarchy of strategies of psycholinguistic distinctiveness, some being more symbolic of ethnic dissociation than others. In this sense, and perhaps both from the perspectives of ingroup encoder and outgroup decoder, putative, pronunciation, and content differentiations may be considered instances of low level psycholinguistic distinctiveness, whereas various forms of accent and dialect divergence may be considered instances of stronger ethnic dissociation. Verbal abuse, the maintenance of or switch to another language in the face of an outgroup speaker (in a bi or multilingual setting) may be among the most potent forms of psycholinguistic distinctiveness (cf. Lukens, 1976; Bourhis *et al.*, in press). The extremely overt, dissociative character of language divergence is illustrated by means of the following extract from the London *Guardian* (July 2nd, 1975):

> Talybont 304 is the telephone number of the Welsh publishing company, Y Lolfa, run by Robat Gruffydd. The man who answers the telephone says "Y Lolfa". So far, so good.
> "Could I speak to Mr. Robat Gruffydd, please?" "*Yn siarad*" (speaking).
> "Have you a moment to talk about your organization, Y Cymru Rhydd?"
> Mr. Gruffydd replies, in Welsh, that he has, but he has no intention of talking about it in English. He allows a pause for his caller to do a quick translation, if he can, and to consider how, if at all, to proceed. A quick question, in English, to gain time. What leads Mr. Gruffydd to presume, thus far, that he is being understood?
> He explains, still in Welsh, that he doesn't. If the Guardian were what he called a "penny-half-penny paper" he might just consider doing a translation as he went along, but since it wasn't, he won't. Since his interrogator has kept up with him—though with some difficulty, so far, Mr. Gruffydd has no need to bend his principles. Questions will be put in Welsh, if, you please. But he agrees to answer them slowly.

> Y Cymru (The Free Welsh), of which Mr. Gruffydd is co-founder, is not an organization, he says, but a movement, the supporters of which will publicly undertake not to speak English outside working hours.
> The other co-founder is Mr. Gwilym Tudor, proprietor of a successful Welsh books and record shop, Siop Y Pethe, in Aberystwyth. Both he and Mr. Gruffydd concede that there might be unfortunate circumstances when they might have to deal with non-Welsh speakers.
> If so, they will start their conversation in Welsh, then translate, sentence by sentence, as they go along.
> Both men, who hope to persuade a hundred others to join them, live in the village of Talybont, near Aberystwyth. One of their objectives is to stem the "deadly" tide of English that threatens to swamp the language of a village that, for 2,000 years, has been Welsh. It is also intended to act as a spur to those who are trying to learn Welsh.

Language spoken can, therefore, be used as a tactic to maximize the differences between ethnic groups on a valued dimension in the search for a positive distinctiveness. The desire of many linguistic groups around the world (see Chapter 11) to maintain, or even to re-establish their ethnic languages can be seen as a process whereby groups are comparing themselves with dominant groups in society and using language as a means of attempting to attain some cultural distinctiveness. It is important to stress that psycholinguistic distinctiveness vis-à-vis a competing outgroup does not in itself mean that an ethnic ingroup has achieved a satisfactory social identity; this might be particularly true in a situation where economic and power disparities still exist between in and outgroup. This is a case where direct group competition may be the only way eventually to restore a group's positive social identity.

COGNITIVE ALTERNATIVES

An important determinant of the dynamics of intergroup relations is the extent to which members of a group perceive cognitive alternatives to the existing intergroup situation. Specifically, activation of the processes of psychological distinctiveness will be affected by whether perceptions of the stability and legitimacy of the intergroup situation elicit the perception of cognitive alternatives. In the case of psycholinguistic distinctiveness, the "vitality" of the ethnic group in question may be an additional factor which determines the extent to which cognitive alternatives are perceived.

In order to understand how the perception of cognitive alternatives might be related to language, it is important to determine first whether

an individual is a member of a dominant or subordinate group and second, whether or not cognitive alternatives are perceived. The classification of persons based on these two criteria yield four cells and these are presented schematically in Table 3. We shall now discuss the likely

TABLE 3

Classification of ethnic groups on the basis of status position and cognitive alternatives

	Subordinate group	Dominant group
No cognitive alternatives perceived	A	C
Cognitive alternatives perceived	B	D

linguistic strategies subordinate and dominant group speakers adopt when interacting with members of the outgroup based on whether or not they perceive cognitive alternatives.

Subordinate group speakers

It has been proposed that when a subordinate group perceives no cognitive alternatives to the existing intergroup situation some individuals may possess a belief structure of social mobility. That is, they will consider the position of their own group vis-à-vis the outgroup as stable and legitimate, and will attribute the blame for their low position in society internally to themselves as a group because of its inferior characteristics. Thus, they will attempt to pass into the dominant group (see Chapter 1). One strategy for achieving this end will be to upwardly converge in their speech patterns towards the dominant group; such speakers would be represented in Cell A. Ryan and Carranza (Chapter 2) talk implicitly of social mobility through individual action and speech convergence in their discussion of certain Mexican Americans who turn away from Spanish to English. In addition, these Mexican Americans also attempt to rid themselves of all traces of a Spanish accent in their English speech. Of interest is the fact that such individuals are not always viewed favourably by members of the ingroup and are often considered cultural traitors. In many cultures, they have an uncomplimentary label for members of the ingroup who adopt linguistic strategies of social mobility; among the Mexican Americans in San Antonio, Texas, the referent is "agringados" (Sawyer, 1973).[3] Indeed, it can also be argued that such self-oriented tactics of social mobility through language (upward speech convergence) will occur more frequently in groups possessing low rather than high ethnolinguistic vitality.

On the other hand, when subordinate group members do perceive cognitive alternatives to the existing status relationship, they are likely to possess a belief structure of social change. That is, they will perceive the position of their own group vis-à-vis the outgroup as quite unstable and illegitimate and blame their low status on repressive measures of the outgroup. It is when individuals come to attribute the cause of their plight externally to the outgroup's unfair advantage over them, and to the fact that the intergroup situation can be changed, that a motivation for distinctiveness is aroused. In the beginning, it might be a highly vocal ingroup minority that blames the outgroup dominators for the plight of the inferior group (Moscovici and Nemeth, 1974; cf. Chapter 12). It is this ingroup minority that articulates the attribution of blame away from self as an inferior individual group member to the dominant group as an agent of oppression. Moreover, it is more likely in conditions of high rather than low ethnolinguistic vitality that there are structural conditions of institutional support favouring the communication of the ideas from this vocal minority to the majority of ingroup speakers. Therefore, when subordinate group members are aware of the illegitimacy of their previous consensual inferiority and perceive that change is possible in the status relationship between them and the dominant group, they will want to achieve a positive social identity through collective group action. Hence, in interaction with the outgroup they will want to be distinctive and will therefore not only maintain their own ethnic speech style but actually may downwardly diverge (see Chapter 5); such speakers would be represented in Cell B. We can also hypothesize that the degree of divergence would be greater (see Table 2) under conditions of high rather than low ethnolinguistic vitality.

Dominant group speakers

When members of a dominant ethnic group perceive no cognitive alternatives to the existing status relationship, then in interaction with members of the subordinate outgroup they are likely to maintain the status quo and hence their own ethnic speech style (non-convergence); such speakers would be represented in Cell C (cf. Lukens, 1976, and the "distance of indifference"). An interesting case of a dominant group maintaining its linguistic superiority over a subordinate group has been reported by Ullrich (1971) in Kannada, India. Ullrich found that the

high status group of Brahmins did not use their caste dialect, Havyaka, with non-Brahmins and thereby limited considerably the possibility of the latter acquiring their high status speech forms.

On the other hand, when dominant group members perceive cognitive alternatives to their existing superiority, maintenance of speech style with an outgroup speaker is unlikely to occur. However, in this complex case, the specific strategy employed by the former may depend on how they construe the intergroup situation. Convergence should occur in interaction with a subordinate group speaker if the dominant group member perceives the status of his or her group to be unjust and or unfair and has a belief structure of egalitarianism. (One perceives a similar process operating in the speech and dress styles of certain upper middle class students in Britain who have adopted liberal or radical ideals and wish to renounce their inherited social advantages). In this sense then, we have a case of dominant group members wishing to pass into the subordinate group and therefore using downward speech convergence as a strategy to this end; such speakers would be represented in Cell D.

In contrast, however, if the dominant group member perceives the intergroup situation as unstable (and maybe even illegitimate as well) yet wishes to maintain the socioeconomic (and other) benefits which accrue from the high status position he or she occupies, the speaker may upwardly diverge and accentuate the speech differences in interaction with a member of the competing outgroup; such speakers would also be represented in Cell D. It can be hypothesized that the dominant group speaker's perception of the ethnolinguistic vitality of the subordinate group in this case could affect the magnitude of this divergence. For instance, the more vitality the subordinate group is perceived to possess (and hence the more threat it holds for the dominant group), the more likely it will be that the dominant group will wish to differentiate linguistically from an outgroup speaker.

The speculations relating to Table 3 are of course empirically testable. The perception of speech strategies of convergence and divergence by the outgroup listener in the above situations will be socially meaningful in such interactive situations and determine subsequently his or her response. Moreover, in all these situations it is likely that the ingroup speaker's perception of his or her interlocutor's belief structure will determine whether the speech strategies proposed will be attentuated or accentuated.

In essence, we have argued here that the awareness of cognitive alternatives in an intergroup situation will influence the speech strategy adopted by dominant and subordinate group speakers in interaction with each other. Using Turner and Brown's (in press) definition of cognitive alternatives, we have taken this to include notions of perceived stability-instability and legitimacy-illegitimacy. However, implicit in our discussion has been the idea that the perception of stability-instability is often gauged from observations of structural changes occurring in the configuration of the ethnic group's vitality factors, such as economic resources, population movements, and so forth. Furthermore, it is our contention that the perception of cognitive alternatives is more precisely formed on the basis of three independent factors: namely, perceived stability-instability, legitimacy-illegitimacy and high-low vitality. For instance, the perception of an intergroup situation as unstable and illegitimate may not be a sufficient condition in itself to induce a subordinate group to differentiate itself from the outgroup unless it perceives itself to have enough vitality to carry this out effectively.

Ryan and Carranza mentioned (Chapter 2) that it is misleading to consider ethnic groups as homogeneous wholes given that various subgroups within them react to an intergroup situation in various, sometimes conflicting, ways (cf. Chapter 8). We have seen that the awareness of cognitive alternatives by subordinate group members may determine whether they will wish to differentiate themselves from the outgroup or not. At a more macrolinguistic level, among those who do (that is, group members in Cell B), some may attempt to achieve a positive social identity by one means while others will attempt quite different strategies. To the outside observer of an ethnic group, the different self and group-oriented strategies which are adopted by ingroup members may appear rather confusing, diffuse and even perhaps irrational. In the next section, we will examine various strategies groups may adopt in their search for a new positive social identity.

GROUP STRATEGIES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

In search of a positive social identity, ethnic groups do not of course limit their strategies of linguistic differentiation to situations of outgroup interactions. Tajfel's theory suggests that an awareness that other possibilities are open to subordinate group members besides legitimized inferiority include the assimilation of the group as whole, a redefinition of previous negatively-viewed characteristics, the creation of new dimen-

sions for intergroup comparison, and group competition. It is readily admitted that often it is difficult to conceive of these strategies as mutually exclusive or, indeed, as the only ones available to group members. Moreover, the specification of conditions under which individuals adopt one or other of these strategies has yet to be worked out and awaits empirical exploration. We shall discuss the linguistic concomitants of these four subordinate group strategies separately, and conclude the section with a consideration of some of the linguistic strategies dominant group members may in turn adopt when they are aware that their superiority is being challenged.

Assimilation

Assimilation refers to a subordinate group as a whole taking on the characteristics of an outgroup in order to achieve equality with that group. This phenomenon is universal and there are numerous examples occurring in the developed countries in the West. Here, certain ethnic groups have emigrated and sought a more positive identity in the context of assimilating into a new host culture. In these cases, they desire the host community's social approval and will want to assimilate culturally and linguistically in order to reap the socioeconomic and other benefits which that society has to offer them (see Chapter 11).[4] This form of group convergence to the linguistic norms of another culture over time can operate very quickly. Giles and Bourhis (1975) have found that it occurred completely within a generation in Cardiff, Wales, among a Black (mostly West Indian) community there. Whites in this city misattributed the voices of West Indians they heard on tape 80% of the time.

Tajfel claims that this is often the first strategy which groups who are redefining their identity will adopt. Usually, it is an unsatisfactory process as experienced by group members. For instance, Lambert (1967) has described how people often have feelings of cultural anomie when they begin acquiring a second language with some fluency. Lambert and Tucker (1972) have found that a group of English Canadian schoolchildren learning French through an immersion programme adopted more anglicized phonological features after a few years in the scheme. Ingroup members are therefore very reluctant to take on too many of the characteristics of the outgroup, and this has been related to the notion of subtractive bilingualism by Lambert (1974) and by Taylor *et al.* (Chapter 4); that is, the acquisition of an outgroup language can

detract from feelings of owngroup loyalty.[5] Similarly, Segalowitz and Gatbonton (in press) found in a phonological analysis of French Canadian learners of English that those who identify less closely with Québécois nationalism were more native-like in certain of their English pronunciations than those who expressed more nationalistic aspirations (cf. Labov, 1963). Interestingly, they claim that "some features of speech (viz./ð/and/ θ/) may matter more than others; that is, they may carry the symbolic load of signalling ethnic affiliation more heavily than do other features" (cf. Chapter 5). They also state that "a community may frown upon mastery of a second language that is too native-like if there is the belief that native-like control of the language is associated with a weakening of identity with the homegroup and a desire to integrate with the other group". Indeed, Giles and Bourhis (1976) speculated that such a rejection of outgroup values and attributes was one of the factors in explaining why Blacks in the United States (unlike those in Britain) had maintained their distinctive ethnolinguistic speech style and had not converged to White linguistic norms.

Another factor which is likely to make subordinate groups feel dissatisfied with an assimilationist strategy is the outgroup's reactions to this process. If a dominant group perceives that the subordinate group is acquiring their characteristic speech style, which can mean a loss of positive distinctiveness, then it is possible that they will actually change the nature of their own language in order to maintain sociolinguistic superiority. What can follow is what Giles and Powesland (1975) have called pursuit convergence, and this can be perceived as a futile exercise by the (pursuing) subordinate group who are subtracting more and more from their own unique identity at each stage.

It may well be that assimilation is perceived ultimately as unsatisfactory for a subordinate group, and probably the stronger its ethnolinguistic vitality, the more dissatisfied group members will feel. Indeed, quite recently, Asian and West Indian leaders in Britain called for their traditional policy of cultural and social assimilation to end because it had not brought the expected rewards of fruitful integration with Whites. Hence, one might expect that Blacks in the above mentioned example of Cardiff will perhaps soon resurrect their ethnic speech styles, or even assume a distinctive Afro-American dialect. Similarly, Gatbonton (1975) found that French Canadian students preferred their representatives to display a distinctive French Canadian accent, rather than an anglicized version, when negotiating with English Canadian students

in English in certain situations. Thus, the speech strategy of divergence proposed for Table 3 may only occur in Cell B when the ingroup speaker has considered assimilation to be an inappropriate tactic.

Redefinition of negative characteristics

Tajfel proposed that another strategy a subordinate group might adopt is to reinterpret their previous negative characteristics in a more positive direction. Language behaviour again figures prominently as an example of this process with the Chicano (Chapter 2), Welsh (Chapters 5, 6 and 11) and Québécois (Chapters 4, 11 and 12) linguistic movements. Until fairly recently, these groups, as well as amongst others the American Blacks (cf. Chapter 8), considered their own speech styles to be inferior to the language varieties of their respective dominant outgroups. A large number of ingroup members now, however, have shed feelings of linguistic self-denigration and are re-evaluating their ethnic speech style in a more positive direction. Pride is suddenly evidenced in the maintenance of the ethnic tongue and dialect, and the ingroup language variety is no longer a feature of group membership of which to feel ashamed. At the same time, the old humiliating attempts at converging towards the speech patterns of the dominant group are rejected. The ingroup speech style is considered at least equal, and for some, even superior to the language of the dominant group. Moreover, it can be argued that the process of group redefinition results in ingroup members using the ethnic speech style increasingly and confidently in more public and formal situations than hitherto had been deemed appropriate. One consequence of this is that in a greater array of social domains, ingroup attitudes and ideas can be more freely expressed through this language variety thereby fostering group solidarity and cohesiveness further.

Social creativity

Tajfel has suggested that the awareness of cognitive alternatives leads subordinate group members not only to redefine existing group attributes more positively but to search for new dimensions on which to compare themselves favourably with the dominant group. This strategy has linguistic analogues and is probably best exemplified in the resurrection of Hebrew by the Israelis from virtual extinction in certain social domains to the status of a national language in a very short period of time (Fellman, 1973). Similar examples can be found in the plans for establishing a standard Romani language to facilitate intra-group communication across the various languages of the Romani group (Hancock, 1975). Also, some members of the Celtic league (e.g. Irish, Breton and Welsh) have voiced the desire to formulate a standard Celtic language for similar purposes (Gwegen, 1975).

In many situations, however, the reassertions of a subordinate group's identity are met with severe sanctions, sometimes violent, from the dominant group. Nevertheless, Holt (1973) has pointed to the extremely creative facility which people have with regard to language even under these conditions. She refers to the phenomenon of "linguistic inversion" engaged in by Black slaves in the last century. The meaning of many phrases (e.g. nigger) when said to a White meant something quite different, and even positive, among the ingroup than the outgroup would ever have taken it for. In fact, Blacks often engaged in what would seem to Whites to be overtly convergent phrases that for other Blacks would appear as covertly diverging. Obrdlik (1942) also points to the use of humorous language (often written as slogans on street walls) by Czechs in defiance of the Nazis during the Second World War. When physical retaliation is impossible, people will use their linguistic talents creatively to establish a positive social identity.

Group competition

Tajfel and Turner (in press) suggest that the "aim of differentiation is to maintain or achieve superiority over an outgroup on some dimensions. Any such act is essentially competitive". In this sense, the strategies of group redefinition and creativity on the part of a subordinate group may develop into strategies of competition between the ingroup and the outgroup. This may be the case especially when there exists between the groups a real conflict of interest based on an unequal distribution of scarce resources such as control over political, economic, cultural and language affairs. In and of itself, direct competition with an outgroup may be a way for group members to establish a positive social identity.

Competition between ethnic groups often occurs over language issues. For example, competition for greater control over the mass media by one language group over the other has been occurring in both Québec and Wales. In Québec, the competition has been between the Francophone Québec authorities and the Anglophone Federal authorities over future control of the telecommunication system in the Canadian provinces. In Wales, competition has centred around the number of channels and hours allocated to Welsh medium programmes on both television and

radio. Welsh speakers have pressurized for more Welsh medium programmes by occupying television stations and studios and by refusing to pay their television licenses.

As regards education, competition over language issues has been rife in almost every area of Western Europe where there are linguistic minorities (see Chapter 10). Here, the competition is for greater numbers of linguistic minority medium schools at the primary, secondary and higher degree levels. In Belgium, this type of linguistic struggle culminated in 1968 at the Université Catholique de Louvain when after much street fighting between Francophone and Flemish students, the national government was forced to transform the University from a bilingual institution to a unilingual Flemish one (Bourhis *et al.*, in press).

Competition may occur between ethnolinguistic groups on other issues such as: the provision of bilingual and multilingual facilities in government and private enterprise services; equal employment and promotion prospects for subordinate groups at the government and private enterprise levels; proportional representation of ethnolinguistic groups in parliament; control of legislation over immigration and language issues (see Chapter 12); funding of religious and cultural activities and so forth. Direct competition with an outgroup on such language issues may be an efficient way for members of a subordinate ingroup to establish a positive social identity on linguistic dimensions.

The capacity of an ethnolinguistic group to engage in direct competition with a linguistic outgroup may depend on the group's vitality. Ethnolinguistic groups with low vitality may be less likely to engage in direct group competition with a dominant outgroup than ethnolinguistic groups with high vitality. Indeed, groups with low vitality may in the first instance, and because of their structural weaknesses, only be able to engage in strategies of group redefinition and creativity as a means of restoring their positive group identity. Ethnolinguistic minorities with low vitality who challenge directly the superiority of a dominant outgroup may pay the price of such a move by losing the few privileges they may have acquired from the outgroup in the past. In contrast, groups with high vitality may be in a better structural position to progress from strategies of group redefinition and creativity to ones of direct group competition with the outgroup. Of course, the decision of a group to engage in direct competition with the outgroup may also depend on the perception of the outgroup's own vitality in the intergroup context.

Competition between ethnolinguistic groups may occur over the

control of one or more of the structural variables that have been described as affecting group vitality in the first part of this chapter. Given the particular patterns of strengths and weaknesses of a group in terms of its dimensions of group vitality, one may eventually be able to predict over which structural variables group competition would be most likely to occur between ingroup and outgroup. For instance, from Table 1 it may be surmized that given the weakness of the Welsh on dimensions of institutional support, this group may find it more important to engage in competition on these dimensions rather on dimensions of status (see Chapter 6). French Canadians, on the other hand, because of their recent successes in establishing better institutional support for their language (Bill 22; see Chapter 12) may find it necessary to engage in strategies of group competition which concentrate on economic, social and language status factors instead.

The notions developed above are tentative and at this early stage may be most useful as tools which may guide further exploration into the types of strategies open to subordinate ethnolinguistic groups who are in search of a more positive social identity.

Dominant group strategies

One of the valuable features of Tajfel's approach to intergroup relations is that it is a dynamic one. It recognizes that the dominant group will not remain passive or idle while the subordinate group attempts to reduce the dominant group's superiority and distinctiveness. For example, Mazrui and Zirimi (1975) discuss how the colonial powers in Africa discouraged the use of a transethnic language, Kiswahili, in order to reduce the indigenous peoples' sense of group cohesiveness and solidarity. In their analysis, they cite the following words from a Ugandan scholar, Tarsis B. Kabwegyere:

> In the light of . . . the African awakening in the post-war period, it is not unreasonable to assert that the stopping of Kiswahili was a strategy to minimise intra-African contact. In addition, intensive anglicisation followed and East African peoples remained separated from each other by a language barrier . . . What this shows is that whatever interaction was officially encouraged remained at the top official level and not at the level of the African populations. That the existence of one common language at the level of the masses would have hastened the overthrowal of colonial domination is obvious. The withdrawal of official support for a common African language was meant to keep the post-war "epidemic" from spreading.

We have in our discussion already noted examples of dominant group strategies, such as the possibility of manipulating ethnolinguistic vitality factors to the detriment of the subordinate group, and the use of upward divergence in the face of subordinate group linguistic assimilation. Moreover, a number of chapters in this volume implicitly describe the strategies which dominant groups may adopt when they feel threatened. Husband (Chapter 9) showed how Whites in Britain could use the printed word through symbolization to maintain their distinctiveness. The use of spoken enthophaulisms is also, of course, a common tactic used by dominant groups in order to demean members of subordinate groups (Kochman, 1975). For instance, Sawyer (1973) has observed how Anglo-Americans in the Southwest sometimes use the derogatory terms "Meskans, pilau, greasers and wetbacks" (pp. 231) in reference to Mexican Americans. Verdoodt (Chapter 10) also exposed the supposedly rational statements a dominant group may make in refusing ethnolinguistic minorities their right to develop their own cultural distinctiveness. Edwards (Chapter 11) showed that even when linguistic rights were thought to have been given to the children of ethnic minorities by means of bilingual programmes in the United States, they were actually designed to promote assimilation rather than cultural pluralism. Also, Smith *et al.* (Chapter 12) describe a situation where a majority group asserts its own linguistic values on to minority groups through government legislation.

Chapman *et al.* (Chapter 6) show how potent the language of humour can be in an intergroup situation even among five year olds. It is often used by dominant groups to ridicule members of the subordinate group who are attempting to assert their identity (Bourhis *et al.*, 1976). They ridicule the subordinate group's efforts as trivial and pathetic through set jokes and rhetoric in order to maintain their superiority through language. In the liberal climate of the 70s, physical aggression is often not favourably perceived, and verbal aggression through humour can be a subtle, yet strong attack on an outgroup (cf. Lukens, 1976; Husband, 1976).

Often however, these humorous strategies may be picked up by the subordinate group as signals that the dominant group is actually being seriously threatened and may be seen by the former as a stimulus for further social competition and action.

Conclusions

At the outset, our concern was to explore the interrelationships among language, ethnicity and intergroup relations. Each of the chapters in this volume, by differing not only in their use of concepts but also in methods and specific ethnolinguistic examples chosen to illustrate these concepts, makes a unique contribution to these issues. In this final chapter, we have attempted to place the various chapters into an overall framework for approaching the role of language in ethnic group relations. Our framework is in no way a replacement for other conceptualizations presented in this volume, but rather represents our own particular approach.

Our theoretical overview involves not a new theory but an integration of three independent elements: a taxonomy of ethnolinguistic vitality, Tajfel's theory of intergroup relations, and Giles's theory of speech accommodation. We have seen that language behaviour plays an important role in each of Tajfel's key concepts; social categorization, social identity, social comparison, psychological distinctiveness and cognitive alternatives. Moreover, speech phenomena have also been found to exemplify all the major strategies which Tajfel proposed group members might adopt in search of a positive social identity. By means of Giles's theory of speech accommodation, it has been possible to examine these strategies in terms of convergence, non-convergence and divergence. Finally, the structural variables which form the backdrop for particular ethnic group contexts have been suggested as important factors influencing the course of sociopsychological processes acting upon group members. The success of this integrative framework can to some degree be gauged from the fact that chapters appearing in this volume were not in any way procured so that they would reflect our theoretical stance. The fact that they can with some ease be discussed in terms of our approach is encouraging.

It is hoped that this chapter will allow researchers a viable theoretical framework in which to study the interrelationships between language, ethnicity and intergroup relations in a wide variety of ethnolinguistic contexts.

Notes

1. We are grateful to Marcia Babbitt, Halla Beloff, Lois Huffines, Wallace E. Lambert, Janet Lukens, Henri Tajfel and John Turner for their comments on earlier drafts of this chapter.

2. The point is often made that minority group members somehow become aware implicitly of language retention ratios as they observe the proportion of their ingroup speakers decrease alarmingly from one generation to another. As an example of this, Khleif (1975) has shown how the progressive decline of the Welsh language in Wales prompted many non-Welsh speakers to learn their ancestral tongue in order to counteract these trends.

3. For a brief discussion of some of the potential linguistic correlates of social mobility in a Mexican American community, and the "hypercorrecting" strategies (Labov, 1966) involved in such actions, see Sawyer (1973).

4. For an historical analysis of how under certain conditions conquered groups in the Ancient World perceived advantages in the whole-hearted acceptance of the dominant power's language, see Brosnahan (1973).

5. Mazrui (1973) has analysed historically how the English, but not the French, language helped develop Pan-Negroism and then Pan-Africanism in the African continent (cf. Weinstein, 1976). Moreover, similar processes have occurred among the indigenous ethnic groups in India and in the Philippines. Hence, under certain conditions, use of the dominant group's language can function to promote intragroup communication and solidarity amongst disparate subordinate groups.

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