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INTRODUCTION

Tradition and innovation in the Ethnolinguistic Vitality theory

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Introduction

According to Google Scholar, the annual number of new publications mentioning 'Ethnolinguistic Vitality' (EV theory henceforth) has been steadily growing during the last 15 years, from 20 in 1995 to 144 in 2009. While these numbers may be influenced by the recent increased electronic availability of research papers and easier access to such articles, there is still reason to believe that the concept of 'EV' is gaining prominence in the twenty-first century.

An obvious reason for the rise in interest seems to stem from the effect that globalisation has on the dynamics of ethnic and linguistic communities. On the one hand, the increased mobility has made a large number of traditional ethnolinguistic groups vulnerable through the invasion of dominant languages, cultures and infrastructures into their previously well-bounded territories. On the other hand, the increased mobility has also caused the emergence of large minority communities in the territories of previously quite homogeneous nation-states in Europe, as well as in North America and Australia, although the settings are, to some extent, different.

The increase in both types of contact has amplified the variety of ways in which EV is manifested. Traditionally, vitality research has been employed to document the low vitality of minorities and the decrease in vitality in connection with language shift. In the contemporary world, the rise of EV in some subordinate groups has also become quite evident through its effects on intergroup relations. In connection with this, the issues of heightening EV have gained more attention. Undoubtedly, this diversity has increased the awareness of scholars of the complexity of the notion of vitality.

However, it is not only in the framework of EV that the issues of ethnic group maintenance and collective identity, group distinctiveness and methods of social mobilisation are addressed. These topics are also increasingly being studied in social psychology, cross-cultural psychology, political science, culture studies and other fields of the social sciences and humanities. This indicates the great interdisciplinary nature of the phenomenon and also a need for a more integrative approach to its study.

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Based on this fact, the current special issue of *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* aims to provide a critical analysis of the current research in the field of EV, as well as to introduce some new ventures to advance it, both theoretically and methodologically.

Ethnolinguistic Vitality (EV) theory: research evidence

In this section, the concept of EV and its relevance to language maintenance, shift and loss is discussed. In order to systematically investigate ethnic minority language contexts, various language-use typologies have been proposed. The typologies of Ferguson (1966), Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977), Haarmann (1986), Haugen (1972) and Edwards (1992) are some of the well known and frequently cited works. In each typology, the authors consider some linguistic and social factors to be essential for an accurate description of language contact situations. Among those factors, 'ethnolinguistics' is taken up by Haugen, Haarmann, Giles et al., and Edwards. However, they differ in their interpretation of the concept of ethnolinguistics. According to Haugen, the attitudes towards a language by its speakers are the subject matter of ethnolinguistics. On the other hand, for Haarmann, the linguistic distance between the contact languages is the domain of ethnolinguistics.

Ethnolinguistics is only one of 10 factors in Haugen's model and one of seven in Haarmann's framework, while Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) framework is solely based on the notion of EV. The EV theory is a social–psychological approach to the relationship between language and identity. Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) proposed the model of EV to develop a framework for investigating the role of sociostructural variables in intergroup relations, crosscultural communication, second language learning, mother tongue maintenance, and language shift and loss. The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group was defined as 'that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations' (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977, 308).

Vitality variables

According to Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977), status, demography, institutional support and control factors combine to make up the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups. A group's strengths and weaknesses in each of these domains can be assessed so as to provide a rough classification of ethnolinguistic groups as having *low*, *medium* or *high vitality*. Low vitality groups are most likely to go through linguistic assimilation and are not considered a distinctive collective group (Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981). On the other hand, high vitality groups are likely to maintain their language and distinctive cultural traits in multilingual settings.

In Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) framework, status variables include the economic, social, socio-historical and language status of a group within or outside the mainstream community. Demographic variables are those related to the number and distributional patterns of ethnolinguistic group members throughout a particular region or national territory. Demographic variables also include birth rate, the group's rate of in-group marriages, and immigration and emigration patterns. Institutional support factors refer to the extent to which a language group enjoys formal and informal representation in the various institutions of a society, the

extent of formal and informal support received in various institutions, in particular mass media, education, government services, industry, religion, culture and politics.

The above are the actual variables shaping vitality which provide an 'objective' picture of the group as a collective unit. However, Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal (1981) proposed that group members' subjective vitality perceptions of each of these variables may be as important as the group's 'objective' vitality. This resulted in the construction of the Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (SEVQ). In order to take into account individuals' perceptions of the societal conditions influencing them, Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal (1981) constructed the SEVQ to measure how group members actually perceive their own group and out-groups on important vitality items. Johnson, Giles, and Bourhis (1983, 258) argue that objective and subjective vitality provide a starting point from which the difficult link between sociological (collective) and social–psychological (individual) accounts of language, ethnicity and intergroup relations can be explored. Johnson, Giles, and Bourhis have suggested that 'the vitality variables were identified as being important on the basis of the existing empirical literature relating to sociological factors promoting and impeding language maintenance and assimilation' (1983, 258). The following are some of the assumptions discussed in the literature on EV theory. Generally it is agreed that:

(1) The EV theory can provide a valuable direction for furthering researchers' understanding of the variables and mechanisms involved in the maintenance, shift or attrition of a minority language in a language-contact setting. Accordingly, by means of EV theory and its accompanying instrument SEVQ, the investigation of language attitudes, intergroup relations, language-use choice, and language maintenance or shift might gain a new perspective.

(2) Subjective vitality perceptions shape ethnic groups' strategies and manifestations of ethnic identity, which are conditioned by the degree of EV of the group. Accordingly, a combination of 'objective' and 'subjective' vitality analysis provides researchers with a sociologically sound profile of the ethnic group being considered.

(3) EV perceptions of one generation will influence the language behaviour of succeeding generations, which might lead either to maintenance or to shift.

(4) Integrative versus segregative attitudes of ethnic groups are determined by the relative ethnolinguistic vitalities of majority vs. minority language groups. By reflecting on both the minority and the majority groups' subjective EV perceptions, acculturative attitudes of respective groups can be explored.

In line with these conceptual assumptions, the concept of EV has received increasing attention as a conceptual tool for investigative issues related to language attitudes (Dube-Simard 1983; Giles and Johnson 1981; Johnson, Giles, and Bourhis 1983; McNamara 1987; Ryan, Giles, and Sebastian 1982; Sachdev et al. 1987), intergroup relations (Allard and Landry 1986; Bourhis 1984; Bourhis and Sachdev 1984; Dube-Simard 1983; Sachdev et al. 1987; Saint-Blancat 1985), language maintenance and shift (Clement 1987; Gibbons and Ashcroft 1995; Giles and Johnson 1987; Taft and Cahill 1989; Yagmur 2004; Yagmur 2009; Yagmur and Akinci 2003; Yagmur, de Bot, and Korzilius 1999), language choice (Lewin 1987; McNamara 1987) and language revitalisation (Yagmur and Kroon 2003, 2006). In addition, a number of studies have tested the usefulness of the concept of EV as a research tool (Abrams, Barker, and

Giles 2009; Bourhis and Sachdev 1984; Giles, Rosenthal, and Young 1985; Pittam, Gallois, and Willemyns 1991; Willemyns, Pittam, and Gallois 1993). The findings of these studies have shown strong empirical support for the social–psychological nature of the concepts of both objective and perceived EV.

The underlying assumption behind EV theory is that there is a two-way relationship between social identity and language behaviour. There are socio-structural variables in a given society and those variables interact in shaping groups' EVs. Saint-Blancat's (1985) study has shown how socio-structural variables directly influence the minority's vitality. Leets and Giles' (1995, 38) argument supports Saint-Blancat's that 'sociological factors not only directly affect a language's survival but also, and just as importantly, shape individuals' sociopsychological and interactional climates'.

In line with the EV theory, low vitality perceptions of group members can either lead to linguistic assimilation or language maintenance. Nevertheless, in some language contact contexts, in spite of low EV perception, a minority group may find an adequate strategy for the survival of the group only if the group members identify strongly with their community (Bourhis 1984; Johnson, Giles, and Bourhis 1983; Saint-Blancat 1985). However, the dominant group's strategies in relation to intergroup encounters is the deciding factor, as it is possible for dominant groups to manipulate the information reaching ethnic groups (through mass media and education) in such a way as to weaken the ethnic group's own vitality. Johnson, Giles, and Bourhis (1983), on the other hand, suggest that, despite dominant group control and manipulations, ethnic groups remind themselves of powerful periods in their own history, so that they can reinforce language maintenance efforts.

Ethnic group members develop more than one type of strategy in intergroup settings. They may systematically minimise or exaggerate the vitality of their own or other groups, depending on how much they identify with their own group, their degree of social interaction with in- and out-group members, their language choice in various settings, and whether they see intergroup settings as positive or negative (Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981; Leets and Giles 1995; Sachdev et al. 1987). Furthermore, it is suggested that group survival and language maintenance are dependent on the perceptions and behaviour of succeeding generations of ethnolinguistic groups (Sachdev et al. 1987).

Critics of Ethnolinguistic Vitality (EV) theory

EV theory has been criticised by some scholars (e.g. Haarmann 1986; Husband and Saifullah Khan 1982; Tollefson 1991) with respect to its specification and application. Husband and Saifullah Khan (1982) have argued that the socio-structural variables identified as determining vitality are conceptually ambiguous. By simply depending on sociological and demographic information, these variables may produce a simplified analysis of ethnolinguistic groups. Husband and Saifullah Khan argue that it is risky to categorise groups as 'low' or 'high' vitality, as the variables proposed are not independent of each other but, rather, are interrelated. Husband and Saifullah Khan question the specification of 'ethnolinguistic' groups because such factors as social class, age, gender and sub-cultural divisions have been ignored. They also consider the operationalisation of the variables to be imprecise and ambiguous.

Husband and Saifullah Khan's (1982), and also Tollefson's (1991) criticisms centre on the claim that the concept of EV is defined in terms of dominant group criteria, and the recognition of the status of an ethnolinguistic community is based, again, on dominant criteria. In the same vein, Husband and Saifullah Khan criticise the specification of institutional support and control factors on the grounds that the institutions belong to the dominant group and the ethnic group's institutional support factors (ethnic schools, religious teaching and so on) are controlled by dominant groups.

Tollefson's (1991) criticisms, too, are structured around hegemony and power issues. He suggests that EV theory derives from Giles's speech accommodation theory, and that it is dominant-centric in nature. Tollefson argues that, according to accommodation theory, ethnic groups have greater vitality if their languages have higher status, favourable demographic variables, such as rising birth rates, and significant institutional support. Accordingly, he comments, the accommodation theory ignores key historical and structural variables that explain the range of choices available and the constraints operating on individuals that determine the meanings of their choices. Tollefson further claims that accommodation theory views language learning and language loss as two types of 'long-term accommodation', and that the accommodation theory attempts to explain language learning and language loss with reference to the EV of groups. He concludes by suggesting that the survival of minority languages is not simply a function of the 'internal vitality' of minority groups, but also of the strength of the dominant group and the historical consequences of hegemony (1991, 75).

Johnson, Giles, and Bourhis (1983) have reconsidered some of the controversial issues and provided responses to some of the criticisms. First of all, they partially recognise the validity of the criticisms regarding the interdependence of socio-structural variables; however, they believe that, on the basis of further empirical studies in various settings, specific links can be made between vitality items. In response to the criticisms regarding the hegemony issue, they suggest that despite dominant group control and manipulations, subordinate group members remind themselves of powerful moments in their own history. Also, in response to the criticism that vitality items were constructed without a theoretical framework, Johnson et al. claim that the vitality variables were developed by reflecting on the present literature on the sociology of language, with a firm theoretical background.

Current perspective

Over 30 years have passed since the introduction of the notion of 'EV' by Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977). During this time, a substantial body of research has accumulated, including a number of collective volumes (Kindell and Lewis 2000; Landry and Allard 1994a, 1994b). The theory has seen a few advancements, such as the introduction of the notion of subjective vitality (Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981), the conceptualisation of subjective vitality as a belief system (Allard and Landry 1986) and the proposal for a framework of vitality assessment (Harwood, Giles, and Bourhis 1994), to name a few significant ones. The theory has also evoked debates from time to time (Edwards 1994; Haarmann 1986; Hamers and Michel 1989; Husband and Saifullah Khan 1982; Johnson, Giles, and Bourhis 1983). Nevertheless, the interest in the EV theory has remained sparse (see Abrams, Barker, and Giles 2009) and the framework has not yet managed to establish itself as a

genuine field of study bridging sociolinguistics, cultural studies and social psychology, due to a number of methodological and conceptual factors. For example, the theory has changed very little over 30 years. The three main factors proposed initially as the determining factors for group vitality have remained essentially the same (Abrams, Barker, and Giles 2009; Bourhis 2001) and, although some alternative models have been proposed (Ehala 2009; Landry and Allard 1994a), this has not led to substantial development and refinement of the theory. Partly, this may be due to methodological difficulties, which have not made possible systematic falsification of hypotheses and the comparison of different models. Also, there seems to be a gap between the central notion and the work conducted in social psychology on related issues. Provided that EV is 'that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations' (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977), it is essentially the feature of groupness of an ethnic community. In this way, the notion of vitality is close to the notion of entitativity, which is 'the extent to which a group is perceived as being a coherent unit in which the members of the group are bonded together in some fashion' (Lickel, Hamilton, and Sherman 2001). In social psychology, entitativity has attracted substantial attention over the last 15 years and several different aspects of group identification have been outlined (Roccas et al. 2008). It is likely that the theory of EV could benefit from the insights from these studies.

Despite the methodological and theoretical issues that need to be elaborated, the notion of EV has great heuristic value and it has been used as a reference point in several related fields. For example, it has been applied to issues of cross-cultural communication (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1990), language maintenance (Giles, Leets, and Coupland 1990), second language learning (Clement, Baker, and MacIntyre 2003), acculturation (Bourhis et al. 1997) and media studies (Moring and Husband 2007). These applications indicate that the notion of EV has been found useful in explaining phenomena in these studies, but these phenomena can also offer feedback to the EV theory, providing crucial insights into the interrelations between vitality and other factors. As influences are rarely unidirectional in social domains, the applications of vitality theory bear direct relevance to the development of the theory itself.

Bearing in mind these circumstances, this special issue on theoretical aspects and applications of EV seeks to address a range of issues, including:

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

Most of the contributions to this special issue are based on papers presented at the colloquium 'Scrutinizing Ethnolinguistic Vitality: Some new data and approaches' at

the XII International Conference of Minority Languages, 28–29 May 2009 in Tartu, Estonia. Some participants in the colloquium at the Tartu conference revised their papers and contributed to this volume. Based on the findings on EV perceptions of Turkish immigrants in Australia, France, Germany and the Netherlands, in combination with language maintenance and shift results, Yagmur offers a critical evaluation of the EV theory and its research application. He basically claims that EV theory underestimates the ethnic institutions created by the ethnic groups themselves to take care of their own group interests. In contexts where the mainstream institutions do not give any formal support, ethnic groups set-up their own institutions to provide all types of services promoting language maintenance.

Ehala and Zabrodskaja discuss the effect of inter-ethnic discordance on the subjective vitality perceptions of Russian speakers in Estonia. They mainly argue that a group's EV cannot be effectively measured on the basis of a single instrument such as a subjective EV questionnaire. They argue that high perceived inter-ethnic discordance may enhance group vitality by reducing the permeability of group boundaries and strengthening the emotional attachment to the group through identity threat. In this way, higher perceived discordance will contribute to higher subjective vitality perceptions. By examining EV in relation to intergroup discordance, group boundaries and ethnic identification, Ehala and Zabrodskaja show that SEV perceptions are significantly influenced by other social-psychological factors and therefore cannot be taken as a direct measure of SEV.

By using the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift (Karan 2001), and his own taxonomy of language shift motivations, Mark E. Karan claims that predicting the EV of ethnic groups is possible. According to Karan, the Perceived Benefit Model predicts that the discordance between populations representative of languages in the larger community's repertoire indeed has different impacts on language vitality and language shift situations.

By drawing on a study of language attitudes and shift, and the EV of the Greek-Orthodox community in Istanbul, Lisa J. McEntee-Atalianis argues that there is much to recommend the tripartite conceptualisation of the EV framework in assessing both subjective and objective vitality via quantitative and qualitative methods, such as ethnographic/observational approaches and discourse analytic frameworks. On the basis of her meta-analysis, McEntee-Atalianis introduces valuable new dimensions to the study of EV.

In their comparative study on media, media use and EV in bilingual communities, Tom Moring, Charles Husband, Catharina Lojander-Visapää, Laszlo Vincze, Joanna Fomina and Nadja Mänty explore the utility of EV as a conceptual tool in investigating the relationship between the media and language retention among German speakers in South Tyrol, Hungarian speakers in Romania, Swedish speakers in Finland, Finnish speakers in Sweden and Polish speakers in the UK. On the basis of their large-scale study, Moring et al. provide valuable evidence of the relationship between EV perceptions of different generations in different ethnic groups and their use in the media. In spite of differences between indigenous minorities and immigrant minorities, this study shows that media can be important vehicles in the maintenance of ethnic language and the supporting EV.

Finally, in his exploratory and summarising article, Martin Ehala introduces a new agenda for the study of EV in different communities. Ehala not only reviews and evaluates the papers presented in this Volume; he also presents an innovative approach for the investigation of language maintenance and shift, and EV in

different settings. Based on the strength of the emotional attachment of members to their group, Ehala categorises ethnic groups into two prototypes: as 'hot' or 'cold'. He suggests that the degree of emotional attachment (high or low) might predict the level of mobilisation (high or low) among group members in terms of their group interests. Ehala argues that EV is achieved by substantially different means in hot and cold groups: for hot groups, vitality is achieved by the strength of collective emotions, and for cold groups, vitality is the consequence of its members' rational decisions. By exploring the dynamics of EV in the dimensions of group strength, inter-ethnic discordance, utilitarianism versus traditionalism, and intergroup boundaries, Ehala presents an innovative approach to the study of EV in different communities.

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Does Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory account for the actual vitality of ethnic groups? A critical evaluation

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

Keywords: ethnolinguistic vitality; ethnic identity; assimilation

Introduction

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

Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT)

In order to investigate systematically ethnic minority language contexts, various language use typologies have been proposed. The typologies of Edwards (1992), Ferguson (1966), Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977), Haugen (1972), and Haarmann (1986) are some of the well known and frequently cited works. Giles, Bourhis, and

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Taylor (1977) proposed the model of ethnolinguistic vitality as a framework for integrating the role of socio-structural variables in intergroup relations, cross-cultural communication, second language learning, mother tongue maintenance, language shift and loss. The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group was defined as 'that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations' (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977, 308).

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

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

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

Turkish community profile in the immigration context

The year 2011 marks the 50th anniversary of Turkish migration to Western Europe. In spite of a half century in European countries, Turkish integration still dominates the social and political agendas of the receiving societies. The signing of the labour agreements with various western countries in the 1960s was the first step of Turkish

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

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

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

Table 1. Numbers of Turkish immigrants in various countries.

Country	Population	Country	Population
Germany[a]	1738.831	Switzerland	73.861
France	423.471	Australia	64.500
The Netherlands	364.333	Denmark	54.859
USA	250.000	Great Britain	52.893
Saudi Arabia	120.000	30 Other countries	436.738
Austria	113.635	TOTAL	3693.121

equally in the media. Language maintenance is reported to be very strong among Turkish immigrants in all immigration contexts. Even among the second and third-generation, Turkish is used extensively and Turkish turns out to be most vital immigrant language among youngsters in the European context (Extra and Yagmur 2004).

Analysis of Turkish ethnolinguistic vitality in four countries

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

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

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

Turkish immigrants are usually portrayed as a low status and an economically disadvantaged group in the media. This is more or less the same in the four immigration contexts. Local circumstances and the international prestige of the host language of course play a role in shaping the subjective vitality perceptions of the

Table 2. Subjective evaluation of demographic factors in four countries.

Vitality variables	Australia	France	Germany	Netherlands
Proportion of population nationally	1.53	2.61	3.09	2.66
Proportion of population locally	3.25	3.50	4.29	3.76
Birth rate	3.48	3.85	4.70	4.41
Endogamy	5.33	6.01	5.93	5.97
Immigration	2.04	2.64	3.33	3.28
Emigration	2.24	2.20	2.89	2.18
Average of means	2.97	3.46	4.03	3.71

informants. Accordingly, Turkish vitality turns out to be lowest in the English speaking Australian context. Both locally and internationally, informants give very low ratings to the Turkish language. Even though the language status ratings in France and the Netherlands are lower, informants in Germany allocate higher than average vitality to Turkish. This is in line with the objective vitality profile of the community in Germany as Turkish is used in most public signs cities having a large Turkish concentration like Berlin and Hamburg. The Turkish group's political representation in the Netherlands is the highest in the four immigration context. Four Turkish speakers hold a seat in the 150-member Dutch parliament. Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands are also very active in local politics. Political representation in France and Germany is much lower than in the Netherlands. It is almost non-existent in Australia. Accordingly, the findings reported in Table 3 are highly in line with the actual situation in the four countries. Overall findings suggest average vitality for the Turkish in Germany and the Netherlands, while low vitality ratings are given for Status factors in Australia and France. Again, the subjective ratings are highly in line with the actual situation in the four contexts.

As seen in Table 4, concerning the Institutional Support Factors, Turkish vitality appears to be the lowest in all four contexts. These findings are highly in line with the national Institutional Support structures in each country. Mainstream institutions do not cater for most immigrant minorities as social services and education are mostly in the national languages. Because informants evaluate respective vitalities of the receiving society and the Turkish immigrant group, Turkish vitality turns out to be very low compared to the host society.

As opposed to Demographic and Status factors in EVT, Institutional Support factors are not accurately assessed by SEVQ. Because only the institutional support factors offered by the mainstream institutions are evaluated by the informants, the actual vitality of the ethnic groups' own institutional support factors are not included in this assessment. With the present content of the SEVQ, the actual strength of ethnic institutions cannot be fully estimated. Turkish individuals might not receive extensive support from the mainstream institutions but Turkish organisations seem to fulfil this need very competently. Earlier studies in these four contexts have shown that the Turkish group is extremely well organised and there are a number of institutional structures that promote solidarity and cooperation between community members. In this respect, religious organisations play a significant role in

Table 3. Subjective evaluation of status factors in four countries.

Status factors	Australia	France	Germany	Netherlands
Language status locally	1.50	3.15	3.80	3.17
Language status internationally	1.42	2.41	3.32	3.17
Groups' control over economics and business	1.82	2.36	3.17	3.11
Groups' status	2.20	3.22	3.39	3.65
Groups' political power	1.28	2.15	2.71	2.82
Group's pride of cultural history and achievements	5.43	5.41	6.06	6.22
Group's cultural representation	2.50	2.46	3.62	3.28
Groups' strength and activity	2.40	3.29	3.74	3.89
Groups' wealth	2.70	3.45	5.18	3.71
Groups' future strength and activity	3.75	4.22	4.78	4.93
Average of means	2.5	3.21	3.98	3.79

Table 4.   Subjective evaluation of institutional support factors in four countries.

Institutional support factors	Australia	France	Germany	Netherlands
Language used in government services	1.43	1.59	2.77	1.86
Language used in mass media	1.38	1.97	3.21	2.28
Language taught in schools	1.60	2.44	2.68	1.89
Language used in business institutions	1.33	2.18	2.82	2.24
Language used in places of religious worship	4.53	5.79	5.00	5.31
Average of means	2.06	2.8	3.3	2.7

Note: The values range from 1 (lowest vitality) to 7 (highest vitality).

creating a rich social network in which Turkish language maintenance is facilitated. Large numbers of Turkish immigrant organisations play an indisputable role in the construction, maintenance and intergenerational transfer of 'Turkish immigrant identity' which is in many respects different from the 'Turkish identity' in the homeland. In the face of ethnic discrimination and disadvantage in mainstream institutions, the Turkish immigrant associations manipulate social discontent among community members and contest cultural assimilation. By bringing the community members together, they evoke solidarity and positive self-esteem among younger generations.

Heritage language education is highly important for first language maintenance. In certain immigration contexts, such as France and the Netherlands, mother tongue instruction is not offered by the mainstream schools. Either Turkish community organisations or the Turkish state organise mother tongue classes. Because the Dutch government does not have a bilateral agreement with the Turkish state, Turkish teachers sent by the Turkish government are not allowed to teach in the Netherlands. Turkish community organisations employ teachers from the available resident community in the Netherlands to conduct such teaching in community organisations or in mosques. In this way, one crucial service of language maintenance is provided by ethnic Turkish institutions.

Mainstream versus immigrant vitalities

In the Dutch context, informants from the host society were included in ethnolinguistic vitality investigation. To assess the differences in evaluations of the mainstream Dutch and Turkish immigrant group, the inclusion of Dutch informants was necessary. Reflecting on subjective vitality perceptions of the host and immigrant groups provides further insights into the nature of intercultural contact between the two groups.

The findings presented in Table 5 provide valuable insights into intergroup dynamics; while both the Turkish and Dutch informants agree upon Dutch vitality, they differ in their evaluations of the Turkish vitality. Dutch informants perceive Turkish vitality to be much smaller compared to the Turkish informants, which might mean that Dutch and Turkish groups do not agree on the status and position of Turkish immigrant group in the Netherlands. It might be the case that the Turkish group exaggerates its own group vitality, or the Dutch group underestimates the Turkish group vitality in the Netherlands. In either case, there is an imbalanced vitality perception concerning the Turkish group. Because mainstream organisations and the state control all the institutions in the society, it is expected that subjective

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

	Informant	N	Mean	SD.	T	P
Turkish vitality	Dutch	104	78.81	14.49	−2.703	0.007
	Turkish	89	85.29	18.78		
Dutch vitality	Dutch	104	115.82	13.25	−0.020	0.984
	Turkish	89	115.86	12.61		

Note: Minimum vitality score is 23, while maximum vitality score is 161.

vitality perceptions will be in favour of the host group. Having low vitality on its own would not lead to linguistic assimilation of the ethnic group. Turkish immigrant vitality in the four contexts was found to be low; however, Turkish immigrants were shown to be highly language maintenance oriented in these national contexts.

Discussion and conclusions

As discussed in detail in the article by Ehala (2011), ethnolinguistic vitality theory and its accompanying survey instruments alone cannot account for the language maintenance and shift observed among ethnic minorities. In all four studies conducted in Australia, France, Germany, and the Netherlands, sociolinguistic survey instruments are used to account for language use, choice, preference and attitudes. The subjective ethnolinguistic vitality survey simply provided the attitudinal factors which were taken into consideration in combination with the other results. Only by means of the sociolinguistic survey results, we have a better understanding of the factors that support Turkish language maintenance. The findings show that Turkish is mostly spoken in the domestic domain and in a neighbourhood of other Turkish immigrants. In the four immigration contexts, Turkish immigrants concentrate in certain working-class suburbs, which provide them with an extended network of Turkish speakers. Moreover, Turkish community organisations such as religious associations — especially mosques, sports clubs or cultural institutions enlarge that social network. Even though there is very little institutional support from the mainstream community for first language maintenance, Turkish language media outlets are readily available in the four countries (to a lesser extent in Australia due to distance to homeland). Turkish maintains its dominant role in the domestic domain and children born into those families most commonly acquire Turkish as their first language.

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

Turkish immigrants in the four immigration contexts have different vitality ratings for the in-group. Thus, ethnic groups develop more than one strategy in

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

Demographic, Institutional Control, and Status factors shape group members' perceptions of ethnolinguistic vitality. Because language is bound up with social identity, subjective perceptions of language vitality influence whether people promote, maintain, or lose their distinctive language or culture. On the basis of the subjective data, Turkish vitality seems to be much lower than mainstream vitalities. However, on some important status factors such as religion, historical consciousness, and solidarity (family cohesion) between community members, the Turkish group has much higher vitality. According to Smolicz (1981) each group has specific cultural values that are basic to their continued existence as a group, and language is such a value to some groups. As pointed out by Fishman (1985) language attitudes do not always lead to language maintenance. If language is intertwined as a core value with other core values such as religion and historical consciousness, language maintenance can be achieved. It is argued that, in spite of low EV perception, a minority group might find an adequate strategy for the survival of the group, only if the group members identify strongly with their community (Bourhis 1984; Saint-Blancat 1985). Recent Turkish community initiatives to organise Turkish language classes in primary schools show the group's commitment for first language maintenance. As a reaction to the Dutch government's decision to abolish language classes in primary schools, the Turkish community organised itself to continue mother tongue education in schools with their own financial resources. Based on objective data, Turkish group vitality can be assessed higher than informants' subjective vitality ratings. Demographic factors (largest ethnic group, higher birth rates, concentration patterns, high rates of endogamous marriage) and institutional support factors (extensive support network of ethnic institutions) contribute to this vitality.

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

- EVT does not have the traits of a coherent model. It does not yield meaningful results on its own. Unless additional conceptual models and instruments are used, SEVQ on its own does not provide the insight into language maintenance and shift observed in ethnic communities.

- SEVQ does not give consistent results. It needs to be used in combination with other instruments. Reliability analyses give low scores. Besides, factor analysis leads to non-interpretable factor solutions.
- As a highly positive aspect, SEVQ records the attitudes of individuals, which is highly necessary in documenting intergroup relations.
- A serious criticism is the fact that SEVQ takes the mainstream institutions as its focus. Ethnic minority institutions are ignored, which results in under-estimation of the actual vitality of ethnic groups.
- The application of EVT within indigenous and immigrant minorities yield different outcomes, mostly due to institutional support factors.
- Within the present content of the SEVQ, the actual capacity of ethnic institutions cannot be fully estimated.
- In contexts where immigrants do not receive any support from the state, they set-up their own ethnic institutions.
- EVT ignores the crucial cultural dynamics such as the collectivistic-individualistic nature of groups and the relevance of core group values. In this respect, actual dynamics of language maintenance are overlooked.

The research results in the four national contexts show that ethnic groups develop more than one strategy in language contact settings. They may minimise or exaggerate the vitality of their own or other groups, depending on how much they identify with the in- or out-group members. Ethnolinguistic vitality theory on its own does not provide the responses we need for exploring the relationship between receiving society policies and immigrant group reactions. Bourhis et al.'s (1997) interactive acculturation scale in combination with sociolinguistic survey instruments and SEVQ might result in more generalisable findings. Finally, we need standardised measures for best comparability between different ethnic groups in various national settings.

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The impact of inter-ethnic discordance on subjective vitality perceptions

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

Keywords: legitimacy; dehumanisation; inter-ethnic situation; Estonians; Russians

Introduction

Traditionally, ethno-linguistic vitality is understood as a group's ability to act as a distinctive collective entity in intergroup settings (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977, 308). This ability is affected by both objective and subjective factors. The objective factors are the group's status, its demographic properties and the level of institutional support it enjoys. The main subjective factor influencing vitality is the group's perception of its objective vitality (Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981). For an overview of the main principles of ethno-linguistic vitality theory (EVT), see Yagmur and Ehala (2011).

Although the vitality theory was heavily criticised in the 1980s because of its factors being 'gross and inexact tools of analysis' (Husband and Saifullah Khan 1982), it has remained one of the major theories of language shift (see Clyne 2003), being applied in novel empirical settings (Gogonas 2009; Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007; Yagmur and Kroon 2006, to name just a few) and inspiring

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new theoretical developments (Allard and Landry 1986; Bourhis et al. 1997; Ehala 2010; Giles and Johnson 1987; Harwood, Giles, and Bourhis 1994).

Traditionally, subjective ethno-linguistic vitality (SEV) is measured quantitatively using a subjective vitality questionnaire (SVQ) although, more recently, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods has been introduced (Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007). As subjective vitality is assumed to be based on the perception of objective vitality, SVQs have, with a few exceptions such as those noted in Allard and Landry (1986), included questions on the perceptions of status, demographic and institutional support factors (Abrams, Barker, and Giles 2009; Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981; Currie and Hogg 1994; Giles, Rosenthal, and Young 1985; Yagmur 2001).

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

Thus, the SVQ certainly measures the perception of a group's standing in respect to its strength, power and/or status, but it is not very clear that this dimension is subjective vitality. For example, Giles and Johnson (1987) reported that, for Welsh bilingual adolescents, subjective vitality perceptions did not correlate with the strength of identification to Welsh identity, allegiance to the Welsh Nationalist Party, or linguistic differentiation from English. If the SVQ measured the ability to act as a collective entity, such a correlation ought to be present. Furthermore, Yagmur (this issue) has provided strong evidence that, in several cases, vitality studies have underestimated the actual sustainability of several minority groups.

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

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

Interaction of vitality perceptions with other beliefs on intergroup matters

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

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

A correlation analysis of the factors in the Giles and Johnson (1987) study revealed that Welsh SEV did not correlate with other measures, such as strength of ethnic identification, linguistic differentiation from the English language or perception of hard intergroup boundaries. Giles and Johnson (1987) hypothesised *post hoc* that SEV and ethnic identification might be orthogonal, and they ran a further analysis to find out how these two measures related to the Welsh subjects' linguistic differentiation from the English language. Thus, they divided the subjects

Table 1.   Interaction between SEV and linguistic differentiation.

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

into four groups based on their scores on the strength of ethnic identification and on their scores on an SVQ. The median value was taken as the dividing point. A 2×2 ANOVA test indicated a statistically significant difference in the scores of linguistic differentiation (Giles and Johnson 1987, 76), summarised in Table 1:

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

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

The results of Hogg and Rigoli (1996) confirmed the finding of Giles and Johnson (1987) that there is no significant correlation between SEV and ethnic identification. Their study of Australian Italians also showed that SEV did not predict either the competency or usage of Italian. Instead, the use of, and competency in, Italian was predicted by educational and media support for Italian. These results are clearly inconsistent with the main assumption of the EVT that subjective vitality perceptions may be an important factor predicting intergroup behaviour, for example language maintenance. Hogg and Rigoli (1996, 87) hypothesised that the relationship between SEV and ethnic identification is positive for weak identifiers, but there is a discontinuity and, for strong identifiers, the relationship flips around 'such that the increasing identification is associated with increasingly pessimistic (realistic) SEV'. The findings of Giles and Johnson (1987), presented in Table 1, are consistent with this hypothesis. Therefore, it may be

suggested that SEV is a predictor of language and identity maintenance under some conditions, but it is a dependent factor in other conditions. The results of the Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho (2007) study of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland suggest that affective factors, such as the perception of legitimacy and discrimination, may condition SEV.

Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho (2007, 413) addressed the question regarding the extent to which the SEV affects the relationship between perceived discrimination and intergroup attitudes. They found that the higher the SEV perceptions, the more legitimate the perception of in-group vitality ($r = .5$, $p < .001$); the higher the vitality expectations for the future ($r = .22$, $p < .001$), the lower the perception of discrimination ($r = -.21$, $p < .001$), and the better the intergroup attitudes ($r = -.19$, $p < .001$). In other words, those subjects who had high SEV saw the situation as legitimate and their in-group future as positive; they did not feel much discrimination and had positive intergroup attitudes.

Still, the regression analysis of the variables reveals interesting relations. The most important finding was that the effect of SEV on intergroup attitudes and perceived discrimination disappeared when perceptions of legitimacy and future vitality were introduced into the model. The model revealed significant inter-correlations between the perception of illegitimacy and discrimination, a sad future for the in-group, and negative intergroup attitudes (Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho 2007).

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

Design of the study and the sample

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

descriptives for the items forming the scales for measuring these concepts are presented in Sections 4 and 5.

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

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

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

Inter-ethnic discordance

Based on Giles and Johnson (1987) and Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho (2007), it was hypothesised that perceptions of legitimacy and intergroup attitudes were mutually reinforcing and that this cluster of beliefs had an effect on perceptions of future vitality, as well as on linguistic differentiation. Thus, D is conceptualised as consisting of four components: (1) the extent of the illegitimacy of the inter-ethnic situation, (2) the extent of the lack of confidence in the out-group, (3) the perceptions of the out-group's openness to intergroup cooperation, and (4) the extent of out-group dehumanisation. As Haslam (2006, 252) points out, the concept of dehumanisation has rarely received a systematic theoretical treatment: in social psychology, it has attracted only scattered attention. Struch and Schwartz (1989,

Table 2.   Design of the sample selection.

Regional concentration of sociolinguistic communities	Proportion of Russian speakers in the area (%)	*N*
Rural settlements	1–10	50
Towns and settlements	10–20	70
Western Tallinn	30–50	70
Eastern Tallinn	50–80	120
Towns in eastern Estonia	80–100	150

365) postulate that the stronger the conflict and, hence, the motivation to harm, the more the groups tend to dehumanise each other. Here, dehumanisation includes such phenomena as whether the out-group is considered to behave under the influence of the lowest instincts of its members and how its aggressiveness is perceived by the in-group. A 17-item questionnaire was designed to measure these four subcomponents (eight items measuring legitimacy and nine items measuring the other three components, three items each). All items used Likert-type scales, allowing for the following choices: 1 – totally agree, 2 – agree, 3 – rather agree, 4 – rather disagree, 5 – disagree, and 6 – totally disagree.

The validity and reliability of the scale were tested in a pilot study of 159 Estonian- and Russian-speaking students of Tallinn University in March 2008 (Zabrodskaja 2009b). It was found that only four statements out of eight adequately measured the factors that play a role in legitimacy perception, and these were included in the revised questionnaire. An analysis of the other nine items showed that the proposed three components, in fact, constitute one, which can be characterised as the perceived level of intergroup distrust (see Zabrodskaja 2009b, 156–8). These six statements expressing the extent of mutual distrust were incorporated into the final questionnaire.

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

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

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

As the data indicate, the subjects, on average, showed quite a low level of aversion: in four items the averages were close to the neutral point of the scale (3.5).

Table 3. Perceived legitimacy of the status of the Russian-speaking community in Estonia.

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

Table 4. Perceived aversion.

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

For statements expressing negative characteristics, the average disagreement level was even higher.

In order to calculate the summary index for D, the items were reversed so that the higher scores for individual items indicated higher levels of illegitimacy (item 1 reversed) and aversion (items 9 and 10 reversed). As the Cronbach alphas of both components were at acceptable levels ($\alpha = .697$ for illegitimacy and $\alpha = .788$ for aversion), two summary scales were calculated. As expected, the summary scales for illegitimacy and aversion correlated at a statistically significant level ($r = .368$, $p < .01$). This allowed the summary scale for D to be calculated as the arithmetical average of the scales for illegitimacy and aversion. This method produced the same results as when all 10 items (some of them appropriately reversed) were used to calculate D values directly. Actually, the Cronbach alpha for the whole 10-item set was even higher ($\alpha = .790$) than the alphas for the illegitimacy and aversion scales. The strong interrelatedness of these factors provided strong support for the initial assumption that the perceptions of legitimacy, discrimination and intergroup attitudes form one tightly related and mutually reinforcing set of beliefs that can be summarised in one measure – intergroup discordance.

Subjective ethno-linguistic vitality

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

The questions in Table 5 are sorted by the mean value, from the weakest assessment to the strongest. As seen in Table 5, the weakest were the perceptions on valuing the Russian language and culture in Estonia, as well as the perception of cultural weakness (items 2, 1 and 3). Economic standing (item 4) and media support (item 5) were assessed as the highest. The Cronbach alpha for the 10-item set representing SEV was sufficiently high ($\alpha = .758$). As a result, the summary scale for SEV was calculated as the mean value of individual items.

Table 5.   Russian speakers' perceptions of SEV (high scores indicating low SEV).

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

Results

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

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

The problem with this scale is its symmetrical nature, as if the feelings of out-group favouritism, in principle, had a similar magnitude of affect as the feelings of out-group aversion. This is an unlikely assumption. Without entering into a detailed justification, the evidence from inter-ethnic relations all over the world (for example in Northern Ireland, Rwanda or the Middle East) suggests that the feelings of aversion towards out-groups can have many times higher magnitudes than any feeling of sympathy towards an out-group ever could reach. Therefore, the scale expressing feelings from strongest possible out-group favouritism to strongest possible aversion should reflect this asymmetry. This can be modelled by squaring the components of the D factor. While the range of the whole scale remains the same (from 0 to 1), the point of neutrality (0.5 on the initial scale) is shifted to 0.25 by the squaring operation. This means that the initial values indicating out-group

favouritism (0–0.5) are squeezed into the range of 0–0.25, and the values indicating out-group aversion range from 0.25 to 1. To facilitate interpretation further, the scale was shifted down so that the value indicating neutral feeling (0.25) was equal to 0. By this, the scale ranged from –0.25 to 0.75, with zero indicating the point of neutrality. Accordingly, the negative values from –0.25 to 0 indicate out-group favouritism, and positive values from 0 to 0.75 indicate discordance.

To test the summary scales, the mean values for the SEV and D scales were calculated for each sociolinguistic region. Previous research has indicated that the intergroup attitudes of Russians in the areas of a high percentage of Estonian speakers (rural areas and small towns) are more positive than the attitudes of Russian speakers in the areas of their high concentration (Lauristin 2008). Also, one would expect that SEV perceptions would be higher in areas where there is a high concentration of Russian speakers and, therefore, better institutional support for their language and culture. Thus, it was hypothesised that the higher the concentration of Russian speakers in an area, the higher the values for the SEV and D scales. The results are presented in Table 6.

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

This may be caused by the fact that citizens of segregated areas have some kind of special regional identity connected to an imagined community; we would describe it as an 'in-between situation' (this is especially true in north-eastern Estonia, on the border with Russia). Johnstone (2004, 69) proposes that 'regions have come to be seen as meaningful places, which individuals construct, as well as select, as reference points. Identification with a region is identification with one kind of "imagined community"'. A qualitative study conducted along with the present quantitative study (see Ehala and Zabrodskaja forthcoming; Zabrodskaja and Ehala 2010) shows that the informants from the town of Narva have a very strong local identity:

Table 6.   Mean values for subjective vitality and discordance scales.

	Regional concentration of Russian speakers				
	Towns in eastern Estonia (more than 80%)	Eastern Tallinn (50–80%)	Western Tallinn (30–50%)	Towns and settlements (10–20%)	Rural settlements (less than 10%)
SEV	.45	.47	.46	.48	.43
D	.15	.09	.09	.04	.04

'Я нарвитянка, у нас особый микроклимат, здесь нельзя сказать, что существуют какие-то острые противоречия между эстонцами и русскими, да, Нарва-это русский город, но как это сказать, очень трудно выразить свою мысль, в том плане что нарвитяне – это не русские, но не эстонцы, это особый микромир'.

'I am a Narva citizen. We have a special micro-climate here. Here I cannot say that something like sharp contradictions between Estonian and Russians exist. Yes, Narva is a Russian town, but how to express that; it is very difficult to express my thought, in this respect, that Narva citizens are not Russians or Estonians. It is a special microcosm.'

Respectfully, we might suggest that representatives from eastern Estonia expect more threats from the transition of Russian-language upper secondary schools (grades 10 to 12) to Estonian-language studies, the new language-testing and assessment system (see Zabrodskaja 2009c) etc., because they see every such Estonianisation effort as a new danger to their ethno-linguistic identity and vitality.

The mean values for the D scale were in the predicted direction: the sense of discordance was the strongest in the segregated eastern Estonian areas and the lowest in those areas where the proportion of the Russian speakers was the lowest. The ANOVA test confirmed that the highest discordance value for eastern Estonia was significantly different from all the other sociolinguistic regions ($F = 8.35$; $p < .05$). Therefore, the D scale accurately replicated the previous finding (Lauristin 2008) that the intergroup attitudes of Russian speakers are more positive in areas where Estonians constitute a significant majority. This finding confirms what was mentioned in the previous paragraph. The bigger the concentration of Russian speakers, the higher D is towards Estonians and the lower SEV is, as numerous steps to Estonianise this region are interpreted/perceived by Russian speakers as an encroachment on their linguistic and cultural vitality.

As the summary scales SEV and D were calculated over 10 items, using seven-point or six-point Likert scales, the summary scales have a sufficiently large range of values. This enables one to use parametric statistical tests to study the correlations between these variables. Previous studies (e.g. Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho 2007) have indicated that the higher the perception of SEV, the better the intergroup attitudes ($r = -.19$; $p < .001$). Giles and Johnson (1987) have also found that, for those who identified strongly with Welsh, high SEV perception was associated with less linguistic differentiation. A Pearson correlation analysis of this sample revealed a medium-strong negative correlation between the SEV and D means ($r = -.416$; $p < .001$). In other words, the lower the SEV scores, the higher the perceived discordance.

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

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

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

Table 7. The correlations of SEV with the components of D.

	SEV	
	r	p
D	−.416	.001
L	−.407	.001
L^2	−.400	.001
A	−.256	.001
A^2	−.248	.001

construct validity for D. Therefore, in further analyses D was used and its subcomponents discarded.

To find out what components in SVQ contributed the most to the correlation, we measured the correlations of all 10 items in SVQ with the summary scale D. The analysis revealed that D was most strongly correlated with two items: *How much is the Russian language appreciated in Estonian society?* ($r = .44$; $p < .001$), and *How much is Estonia's Russian culture and tradition appreciated in Estonian society?* ($r = .421$; $p < .001$). This is not surprising, as the D scale had two items that also pertained directly to the status of the Russian language and culture in Estonia (*Russian should be the second official language in Estonia. The Estonian Republic does not have to assure the maintenance of the Russian community's language and culture in Estonia*). The correlations for the rest of the items in the SVQ and D values were relatively weak ($r < .25$), but still statistically significant.

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

The removal of two items did not affect the reliability of the scale much: for the new scale (SEV2), $\alpha = .714$ (for SEV, $\alpha = .758$). Also, the mean values for the regions with different concentrations of sociolinguistic communities did not change much (within three percentage points) and the differences were not statistically significant. The correlation of SEV2 and D was weaker than between SEV and D, but it was still noticeable ($r = -.31$; $p < .001$). In conclusion, the correlation between D and SEV was not only caused by the questions pertaining to the status of the Russian language in Estonia, as it also held between the perception of seemingly objective characteristics of reality and the sense of discordance.

Discussion and conclusion

The results of the present study confirmed the findings of previous studies (e.g. Lauristin 2008) that intergroup attitudes of Russian speakers (measured here by D) are less favourable in segregated areas of eastern Estonia. The analysis also

provided support for the construct validity of D as a composite scale of legitimacy and aversion, squared to model the asymmetry between different affective strengths of out-group favouritism and out-group aversion.

The study also showed that the nature of the regional concentration of sociolinguistic communities had no effect on the perceptions of SEV: respondents from all sociolinguistic regions assessed SEV fairly similarly. Instead, there was a medium-strong negative correlation between the sense of intergroup discordance and SEV. Thus, the perception of SEV seems to be more influenced by the intergroup attitudes the person has rather than the region he or she lives in. The negative correlation between SEV and linguistic differentiation, perception of discordance and intergroup attitudes has been reported previously as well (Giles and Johnson 1987; Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho 2007), but commonly it has been assumed that intergroup attitudes are affected by the perceptions of SEV.

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

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

If SEV perceptions are mediated by other factors, such as D, in a significant way, SEV cannot be a direct measure of a group's objective vitality as perceived by the group members. This would also mean that the common assumption in vitality research (Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981; Giles and Johnson 1987; Hogg and Rigoli 1996; Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Teräsaho 2007) that SEV is an explanatory variable that affects other factors is not a viable one. For example, a high discordance level is likely to enhance a group's collective vitality, as it motivates the group for mobilisation and collective action against the out-group. As discordance is in a reverse relationship with SEV, it will lower the SEV perceptions. That is why if a researcher uses only an SVQ to assess the vitality of a group the results may be strongly misleading: the SEV scores for a group that has a high discordance level and potential for collective action would, according to SVQ results, have a rather low vitality. For this reason, SVQ results are likely to underestimate the group's actual vitality, as argued by Yagmur (2011).

To summarise, the study showed that the SEV perceptions are significantly influenced by other social psychological factors and, therefore, cannot be taken as a direct measure of SEV. Rather, it is possible that SEV is a sum of a much larger set of

different beliefs and perceptions regarding intergroup relations. It is possible that SEV measured by an SVQ makes a unique contribution to SEV in relation to other factors, such as D. For example, Giles and Johnson (1987) found that, for weak identifiers, SEV perceptions seemed to predict linguistic differentiation. Thus, it may be that, in the case of low affective commitment to the group, the perception of a group's strength, measured by an SVQ, may have an influence on language maintenance. Hogg and Rigoli (1996) hypothesise that the relationship of SEV may change direction for strong identifiers. As the strength of identification was not measured by our study, this question remains unanswered here. Further studies scrutinising the relationship of SVQ results to other factors are needed to determine its contribution to SEV.

Acknowledgements

Note

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

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Understanding and forecasting ethnolinguistic vitality

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Forecasting of ethnolinguistic vitality can only be done within a well functioning descriptive and explanatory model of the dynamics of language stability and shift. It is proposed that the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift, used with a taxonomy of language shift motivations, provides that model. The model, based on individual language choice decisions which are motivated by the speaker's perceived personal benefit, is first explained. The model is then validated through case studies by demonstrating how the motivators which were present in the past would have predicted the language vitality scenarios that actually developed. The possibility of extending the change model beyond language choice is examined. The effectiveness of the model points to observable language use and language attitude patterns as the most important predictors of ethnolinguistic vitality.

Keywords: shift; motivations; perceived benefit; code choice; language use

Introduction

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

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

Edwards (1985) provided an early example of language shift viewed from the micro-societal level. He didn't deal with macro-societal factors such as industrialisation and urbanisation, rather he dealt with factors that are directly related to individuals' motivations and goals.

Edwards attributed code choice, and ultimately language shift, to 'pragmatic decisions in which another variety is seen as more important for the future' (1985, 71). He stated that 'pragmatic considerations' such as power, social access, and material advancement are what need to be studied in understanding language use

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and shift patterns. He also maintained that in any language planning activity, these pragmatic considerations are the major determinants of success (1985, 94). Edwards summarised his statements by saying that the only way to influence language shift is to alter the entire social fabric of the language community (1985, 98).

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

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

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

Variation

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

An important step towards understanding the dynamics of language stability and shift was described in *The dynamics of Sango Language spread* (Karan 2001) where, through a substantial quantitative study of language spread in Central Africa ($n = 706$), it was observed that the same patterns of variation that are found in language change studies are also found in language shift studies. As a terminology reminder, *language change* refers to a language changing internally over time (phonetically, morphologically, syntactically, or semantically), and *language shift* refers to a speech community using less and less of one language and more and more of a different language.

Labov (1965) demonstrated how individuals' choice of speech style is influenced by different individual, social and situational factors, such as participants in the conversation, location, degree of formality, and any social aspirations or motivations of the speaker. Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) demonstrated that all language change (the process of a language evolving over time) involves variation. Different speakers adopt individual sound, lexical, or syntactic changes at different stages of the change process. And this variation can be statistically correlated with different

social factors such as age, education, social class, occupation, wealth, gender, and place on the urban–rural continuum. For example, women and the young are usually more at the forefront of change than are men or the old. Change diffuses from larger population centres to other large population centres, and then only later to smaller population centres (Trudgill 1974). This non-random, quantitatively observable variability was shown to be the synchronic manifestation of diachronic language change. A language's changes over time could be observed in the present through quantitative studies. Regular significant patterns of social subgroups of the population having tendencies to adopt changes before other subgroups were observed. Gal (1979) and many others later verified these hypotheses.

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

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

The Perceived Benefit Model of Language (Stability and) Shift

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

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

The language choice decisions (as well as language acquisition/repertoire decisions) that are at the heart of the Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift are based upon a limited and fairly standard set of motivations. Financial well-being and social prestige are motivations that are often found in language shift situations, but the entire gamut of motivations goes well beyond those two. The motivations behind the decisions that make up language shift were classified by Karan (2001, 97–9) as communicative, economic, social (solidarity or prestige), and religious. Later, in the interest of being able to better understand and discuss these motivations, he expanded that simple classification into a basic taxonomy of motivations that influence language shift (Karan 2008).

Taxonomy of motivations influencing language (stability and) shift

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

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

Communicative motivations

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

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

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

Economic motivations

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

Job-related

Job-related economic motivations are evident when people choose to use or acquire a language variety in order to obtain or maintain employment.

Trade-related

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

Network-related

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

Social identity motivations

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

Prestige group-related

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

Solidarity-related

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

Distance-related

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

Hero/Villain-related

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

Language power and prestige motivations

Language power and prestige motivations have to do with cases where languages or dialects themselves are associated with power and prestige, or lack of power and prestige.

Language power and prestige motivations differ from social identity, prestige group-related motivations in that with language power and prestige motivations, the prestige or power is perceived to be in the language variety itself. In social identity, prestige-related motivations, the prestige, or lack of prestige is found in the group normally speaking the language variety.

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

High language forms

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

Low language forms

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

Nationalistic and political motivations

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

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

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

Religious motivations

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

Pleasing or appeasing a greater being

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

Language designated as sacred

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

Access sacred writings

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

Religious communication (proselytising) purposes

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

The perceived benefit model of change

The dynamics and motivators of language shift presented in this paper extend beyond language choice and subsequent language shift. As discussed above, they are most probably the same dynamics and motivators that are involved in internal language change. In that realm, the individual decisions made for the individual perceived good would be not of languages, but of words, pronunciations, and styles
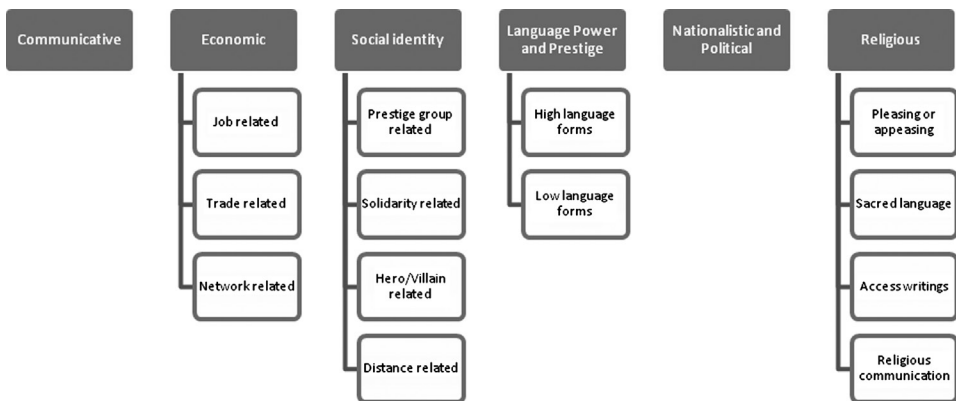

Figure 1.   Summary of language choice motivations.

of speech. The linguistic repertoires that people exploit, modify and expand to gain perceived benefit not only include languages, but also dialects, styles, registers, sets of (new) vocabulary, and ways of pronunciation. Thus, *The perceived benefit model of language shift* might be better named *The perceived benefit model of language choice*.

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

Predicting ethnolinguistic vitality

Language use

Patterns of language use in a speech community are some of the most important areas to research when predicting future ethnolinguistic vitality. These patterns can be observed through participant observation, and researched through self-report techniques. Sampling a speech community with a self-report sociolinguistic questionnaire, which includes language use questions, is often the best way of getting a clear picture of the community's language use patterns. A combination of observation and speech community and self-report is recommended, because occasionally self-report on language will be influenced by perceptions of relative prestige of the languages in question.

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

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

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

often predicts future shift. The lessening of ethnolinguistic vitality often predicts future loss of ethnolinguistic vitality.

Motivations

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

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

> Self-report procedures represent the most direct type of attitude assessment and should probably be employed unless you have reason to believe that the people whose attitudes you are investigating are unable or unwilling to provide the necessary information...
>
> If the people whose attitudes you are investigating are able to understand the questions and have sufficient self-awareness to provide you with the necessary information, and IF they are likely to answer honestly and not deliberately falsify their responses...use SELF-REPORT PROCEDUREES. (1978, 21, 39)

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

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

trends in the community. Gaining insight into the future motivational fabric of a community is of utmost importance for predicting ethnolinguistic vitality.

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

In support of the model

In 'The circumstances of language shift and death in Southern Africa', Batibo (2008) presents the endangerment and death of Khoesan languages during the Bantu expansion into Southern Africa. He mentions how the Bantu populations were demographically larger and had superior technology, were more socioeconomically sustainable, and more politically organised (2008, 53). The Khoesan groups became economically and politically subjugated to the Bantu groups.

> 'A system of serfdom and servitude, known as Bothanka, arose in which the Khoesan communities were under the economic control of the Bantu (Gadibolae 1999; Silberbauer and Kuper 1996)'. Consequently, many Khoesan languages became stigmatised, with their speakers shying away from them (Crawhall 2005; Vossen 1997). They easily lost self-esteem and started considering themselves as inferior. Situations of 'marked' or asymmetrical bilingualism (Batibo 2005, 103) arose in which most Khoesan groups became bilingual in Bantu languages, while the Bantu remained monolingual in their own languages. Gradually, this evolved into language shift at the expense of the Khoesan languages. (Batibo 2008, 53)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Extensibility of the model

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

As an example, Ehala and Zabrodskaja (2011) demonstrate the impact of interethnic discordance on subjective ethnolinguistic vitality. They hypothesise that:

> high perceived interethnic discordance may enhance group vitality by reducing permeability of group boundaries and strengthening emotional attachment to the group by inducing identity threat. If this is so, subjective vitality would not depend only

on strength, power and status perceptions measured by SVQ, but could be enhanced by the perception of discordance, too.

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

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

Conclusion

As stated above, forecasting ethnolinguistic vitality can only be done within a well functioning descriptive and explanatory model of the dynamics of language shift. The Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift, used with the taxonomy of language shift motivations, provides that model. In order to forecast ethnolinguistic vitality, it is crucial to understand the motivations that are behind the language choices that, when combined, make up language shift. The actual dynamics of the language shift process, and the corresponding model, point us to the observation that language use and language attitudes, and the social variation patterns of language use and language attitudes (language use motivations), are the most important data-sets needed in order to accurately forecast ethnolinguistic vitality.

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The value of adopting multiple approaches and methodologies in the investigation of Ethnolinguistic Vitality

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The concept of 'Ethnolinguistic Vitality' (EV) has received variable acceptance and support since its introduction by Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor. It has especially proven to be a valuable heuristic in studies of language maintenance and shift. However, the reliability and validity of the instruments used to investigate EV, especially questionnaires used to test subjective vitality, have proven to be more problematic. This position paper introduces some of the issues that have been considered as difficult in the conceptualisation, investigation and application of EV and will suggest possible areas for further development. Drawing on a study of language attitudes, shift and the EV of the Greek-Orthodox community in Istanbul, this paper argues that there is much to recommend the tripartite conceptualisation of the EV framework in assessing both subjective and objective vitality via quantitative and qualitative methods. It further argues that studies of EV can be enriched by the use of ethnographic/observational approaches and discourse analytic frameworks, particularly when investigating hybridity. The adoption of both etic and emic approaches facilitates a more detailed engagement with key constructs. The latter will benefit the study of EV and potentially facilitate a rapprochement between researchers from different disciplines.

Keywords: discourse analysis; essentialism; ethnography; ethnolinguistic vitality; social constructionism; identity

Introduction

The concept of 'Ethnolinguistic Vitality' (EV) (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977) has received variable treatment in the academic arena since its initial introduction. A plethora of studies have sought to test, either explicitly or implicitly, its explanatory and predictive capabilities and apply it, or its constructs, in studies as diverse as age vitality (Giles et al. 2000), language maintenance and shift (e.g. Gogonas 2009; Hatoss and Sheely 2009; Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007; Yagmur, de Bot, and Korzilius 1999; Yagmur 2009), language loss (e.g. Landry, Allard, and Henry 1996), revitalisation (e.g. Yagmur and Kroon 2003), acculturation (e.g. Clachar 1997; Sayahi 2005), language planning and policy (e.g. Atkinson 2000), and language learning and proficiency (e.g. Ceuleers 2008). However, despite its widespread appeal, particularly to social psychologists and sociolinguists, its heuristic, ontological and instrumental value continues to be questioned by researchers from a range of disciplinary backgrounds.

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

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

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

Background

The notion of 'EV' first arose from social–psychological interest in complex inter-group relations between linguistic communities. Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977,

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

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

The original EV framework (as illustrated above), has therefore been expanded and refined over the years to include new factors and suggestions for their operationalisation. Although it has been argued that there is 'strong empirical support for the social psychological nature of the concepts of both objective and perceived EV' (Yagmur and Kroon 2003, 323), the concept of EV, its constructs and associated instruments have been problemitised and scrutinised by researchers from social psychology and other disciplinary perspectives (see for example, Edwards 1994; Husband and Saifullah Khan 1982; Johnson, Giles, and Bourhis. 1983; Williams 1992). Criticisms have targeted diverse issues but one of the main criticisms levelled at the EV framework has been that the choice of variables affords a rather crude framework, in which some of the variables correlate strongly, while others correlate weakly or even provide contradictory results. As a result, researchers have often independently attempted to 'improve' the explanatory and predictive value of their instruments in light of their investigations of specific contexts, and this has led to a disparate and complex handling of the subject matter, such that there is still a lack of agreement on the best methods and approach to employ. For example, in recent years, emphasis on the importance of measuring subjective vitality (in

particular, scrutinising the factors examined and their operationalisation) has led to diverse enquiries. Some have developed innovative frameworks incorporating and applying new measures (e.g. Ehala and Niglas 2007); while other, well established instruments, notably the SVQ, have been put to the test (see Abrams, Barker, and Giles 2009) and found to be wanting, in particular with respect to the validity of the underlying factor structure of the three variables of status, demography and institutional support. Indeed, Abrams, Barker, and Giles (2009), Hogg, d'Agata, and Abrams (1994) and Kraemer, Olshtain, and Badier (1994) have all found that items do not always load onto their expected factor.

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

'Identity' as a key variable

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

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

shift to the linguistic behaviour of an out-group, but if it is strong, one is more likely to retain one's in-group language.

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

This concept of 'identity' within studies of inter-group relations has been criticised however for being too simplistic and essentialised. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) recently offered an interesting critique, arguing that the social–psychological perspective of identity assumes a neat 'correlation' between language use and identity, and also treats community members as homogenous and bounded. They suggest that the desire to arrive at broad generalisations means that researchers fail to engage theoretically and methodologically with the complexity and heterogeneity of identity performance by community members in different social contexts, e.g. the fact that speakers might index multiple identities in any one exchange or privilege ethnic identity above all other realisations and possible influential constellations which may impact on language use (e.g. gender, role relations); that they also fail to engage with social and ideological influences on individuals e.g. power differentials; and that high or low levels of proficiency in a language do not necessarily correlate with group identity. They further argue, as many others (e.g. Delgado et al. 1999; Dörnyei 2007; Lemmon and Goggin 1989; McKinney and Priestly 2004), that, methodologically, the heavy reliance on questionnaires leads to a number of problems, including the distillation of complex issues and experiences into a limited number of assessable constructs; the assumption that all informants will equally understand and engage with the concepts/constructs assessed via a questionnaire (e.g. equally 'understanding' references to 'culture', 'identity'); and the 'over-reliance' on subjective evaluations, which may not reflect actual performance or account for the variables which influence language use in reality (e.g. due to inappropriate comparisons, or susceptibility to social desirability). Many social–psychological studies, they argue, effectively silence 'the way in which local hegemonic structures may oppress or legitimise particular ethnic groups or identities' and therefore the ability of the researcher to tap into the myriad of social and psychological influences which may limit or liberate the expression and negotiation of multiple identities in any setting/context. Moreover, they see the Achilles' heel of inter-group studies as a 'monolingual and monocultural bias' (5) in which in the construction of instruments and in the analysis of the data, community members are viewed as the sum of two (potentially competing) monolingual/monocultural identities rather than the sum of hybrid identities. This forces a simplified view of identity, group membership, and linguistic competence and performance, one not necessarily expressed by informants or evident through observation. (Indeed, Nora [2009, 3] provides the example 'of a multiethnic person [in Canada, who] might conceive of herself as multiethnic at home but in the company of her Japanese grandmother . . . may perceive of herself in

terms of her Japanese heritage ... [as] ... the social context has the potential to affect how a multiethnic person views his or her ethnic identity'.)

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

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

Research adopting the social constructionist perspective has given rise to both micro- and macro-methods and analyses of situated identity formation and representation. Researchers approach the study of identity from different methodological and ideological bases and each has something to offer in the consideration of EV. For example, micro-analyses of conversational data draw on ethno-methodological and conversational analytic approaches to examine how identity is discursively constructed through 'talk-in-interaction'. Researchers focus on how identity is made relevant and 'oriented to' procedurally by speakers in conversation, and how it is used as a resource by participants, for example, to categorise or label subjects, to present themselves/others favourably or disfavourably, or to mark category membership (e.g. see Moore's 2006 study of adolescent identity performance; chapters in Antaki and Widdicombe 1998). This allows researchers to investigate how participants draw on, or challenge, normative features and categorisations in the casting or altercasting of identity/ies through interaction. In contrast, Critical Discourse Analysis permits a different examination of spoken and written texts. Its focus is on identifying the way in which identities are constructed,

performed and positioned and how powerful agents and discourses regulate and control social ideology, e.g. the way in which we 'think about' groupings (of which we may, or may not be members) and how this becomes 'naturalised' through the institutions of education, the media, government, etc. This work attempts to uncover unequal or oppressive attitudes or practices and the motivations behind, for example, discrimination against minority groups (e.g. see Van Dijk 1989).

This representation of identity as a discursive construction rather than a pre-discursive 'reality' presents an alternative description and conceptualisation of identity to that proposed by Tajfel and Turner (1979), and challenges the notion that there is necessarily a link between an individual's language use and their 'ethnic identity'. It also calls for a review of the instruments used to examine identity in the EV framework and the assumptions underlying their construction. Therefore in line with social constructionist and post-structuralist perspectives, and the recommendations of Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), it is proposed that researchers investigating issues of identity need to consider approaches and methods which look beyond an 'essential' consideration and examination of this construct. These methods will also enable researchers to identify possible anomalies or 'discontinuities' (26) in the data gathered (e.g. see Atkinson's 2000 account of his difficulty in applying EV in the context of hybrid Catalonian identities, and Heller's 2003 account of the impact of globalisation on the construction and 'commodification' of language and how this may be distinct from identity), and to tap into the complexity of language in use and the fluidity of 'identities' in different social contexts and through different media. This may be analysed through an examination of personal narratives, observational studies in naturalistic settings, and via an analysis of 'identity' representations in public and private texts e.g. newspaper/community publications, visual media, and policy documents. The latter support an investigation of cultural subjectivities and cultural ideologies which may impact on group members' perceptions of vitality and may prove to be an interesting consideration when evaluating subjective vitality empirically and non-empirically.

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

Assessing identity, vitality and inter-group relations via multiple methodologies

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

A case study

In 2007, we reported on the language attitudes, shift and the EV of the Greek-Orthodox community in Istanbul, providing a preliminary overview of the status of the Greek Orthodox community and their language.

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

(1) 'to form a picture of current language use and competence in Greek;
(2) to examine the sociolinguistic parameters and language attitudes at play along the broad lines of an EV framework;
(3) to investigate the link between language and identity to see whether this may be an important factor in the preservation or otherwise of Greek in Istanbul; and
(4) to explore whether these factors together may underpin the survival of Greek in the community; and, in particular, to probe whether the symbolic status of Greek, allied with feelings of ethnic identity, might be so strong as to overcome the highly adverse demographic background' (Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007, 368–9).

Data were collected via a combination of methods. Information regarding the demographic status of the community and issues relating to educational and institutional support for the Greek language were gathered via interviews and textual/discourse analysis. Information relating to reported language use, competence and attitudes towards status and institutional support were solicited via a questionnaire and interviews. (The design of the questionnaire drew on a number of previous studies e.g. Hoare 2000; Karahan 2004; Landry, Allard, and Henry 1996; McEntee-Atalianis and Pouloukas 2001. Please see Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007 for details of the structure and design.) These were supplemented by observational data. Interviews were broadly structured according to the questions posed in the questionnaire, although informants were additionally encouraged to expand on issues of interest to them and related to their experiences.

We found that adopting multiple methods of data collection allowed us to replicate and confirm findings across different sources of data, pursue issues in more

depth, and open up new areas of investigation, while also identifying apparent anomalies or contradictions in our data and limitations in our instruments. Moreover we also found that different methods afforded variable degrees of control and authority over the type, presentation and interpretation of the data by the researcher and the researched, and permitted an exploration of macro- and micro-processes permitting both a broad and narrow interpretation of the data. The latter is illustrated below via a meta-critical analysis of our investigation of 'identity' and 'social status'.

Investigation of identity

Quantitative results

In our examination of ethnocultural identity, the following results were derived from the questionnaire (Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis 2007, 382) (Table 1):

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

A two-factor analysis of the effects of age and subject's main language on the answers to questions ID1 and ID2 was performed and revealed a significant effect of main language on strength of perceiving oneself to be more Greek than Turkish

Table 1. Identity questions.

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

Note: Percentages are of total sample, not just of valid responses.
[a]Indicates statistical significance at the 5% level.

($F1,52 = 8.0$, $p = < .01$), with no effect for age. The marginal means were as follows (Table 2). The effect is also illustrated graphically in Figure 1.

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

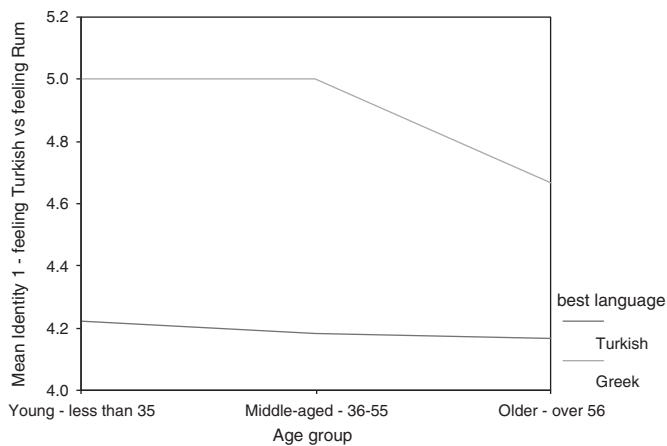| Best language	Mean	Std. error	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower bound	Upper bound
Turkish	4.190	.141	3.903	4.477
Greek	4.889	.279	4.321	5.457

Figure 1.   Effect of main language on feeling of identity.

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

Qualitative results

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

ID2: To be a true Istanbul Greek, it is necessary to speak Greek.
ID4: Speaking Turkish weakens our identity (381).

In contrast, interviews permitted informants to engage in extended self-reflection and explanation and revealed an alternative 'self-naming' identity to the one

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

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

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

Investigation of social status

A similar picture emerged in our investigation of other variables. In our examination of the subcategory of the 'social status' of the Greek language in Istanbul, a complex picture emerged. Textual analysis revealed that under the Treaty of Lausanne, Greek

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

Qualitative results

Qualitative data derived from interviews and observation depicted mixed perceptions. Some interviewees reported that during the worst periods of Greek–Turkish relations, for example at the height of the 'Citizen, speak Turkish' movement, many would avoid speaking Greek in public for fear of intimidation. They noted however that this was no longer the case, e.g. two informants reported independently: 'today I feel more comfortable'; 'today the Greek language in Turkey is spoken freely and nobody obstructs it'. Younger informants noted that they felt comfortable speaking Greek in public.

Quantitative results

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

Subsequent analysis revealed that the effect of age was significant overall at the 5% level on the perceived social status of Greek (SS1), (F 2,49 = 3.73, p=.03). A significant difference was found (via a Bonferroni adjustment) between the mean for those aged less than 35 and the mean for those aged 56 or over, suggesting differences in perception, with the younger generation not perceiving Greek as having an inferior status to Turkish.

Table 3.   Social status statements.

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

Note: Percentages are of total sample, not just of valid responses.

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

Implications and reflections

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

(1) We found overall compatibility in the results derived across our instruments: questionnaire results were indicative and it was through the use of rigid categories that an interesting macro-picture of the situation in Istanbul emerged. As an instrument it also provided a very useful platform from which to discuss key issues less formally with informants via semi-structured interviews and informal discussions. It also highlighted discontinuities, discrepancies and areas of possible hybridity and transition (e.g. reported code-switching) which were in need of further, more detailed exploration using qualitative methods;

(2) Observation and interviews helped us to explore at a micro-level: reasons behind informant responses, reactions to rigid categorisations and terminology used in questions/statements within the instrument itself, and the nature of stable, hybrid and transitory forms.

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

More specifically, data derived from interviews provided rich and detailed accounts of the constructs under investigation and also enriched our understanding of the socio-political context, informing our understanding of subject sensitivities but also helping us to identify limitations in our instruments. Arguably an extended ethnographic and observational study of the community prior to the construction of our empirical instruments might have allowed us to construct more 'sensitive' measures of the 'identity' variable and to have targeted the multiplicity and recombinant nature of 'Constantinopolite/Istanbulite' identity, as narrated by informants in interviews. Moreover, the opportunity for informants to 'self-report'

using open-ended questions might also have broadened the scope of the questionnaire considerably and helped to identify intra-group variability. These are issues that might be taken up in further studies invoking EV.

Our research illustrates that multiple approaches and methods should be used to inform the development of each other, and as such, they should be treated as dynamic, fluid and in dialogue. In the case of questionnaire development for example, focus group work, interviews and observations in the community setting prior to the construction of the questionnaire may help to inform the development of key constructs and questions posed to the larger population in any setting, enabling both the researcher and the researched to contribute to the refinement of instruments and the identification of salient variables (see Abrams 2009, 69). In turn, responses to questions posed by the questionnaire may help to guide focus group or interview discussion. This does not necessarily imply that instruments cannot be replicable but that they should be context sensitive.

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

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

These recommendations do not ignore the fact that there are fundamental philosophical, ideological and methodological differences between the traditional social psychological and the social constructionist paradigms and that these must be understood and engaged with. The fact that traditionally social psychologists view 'attitudes' and 'identity' as essential constructs which are a property of the individual or social group, and work with predominantly empirical tools designed to control variables, measure outcomes and predict behaviour; as opposed to social constructionists, who postulate that behaviour and thoughts 'have their origin not in the person's private experience, but in the discursive culture that people inhabit' (Burr 2008, 65) such that one needs to account for multiplicity and fluidity, and that they work with 'non-measurable' instruments and case studies, is a major division between these paradigms and one that needs further crossdisciplinary exploration and debate. However, the study of EV may be an interesting arena in which to challenge these approaches and bring researchers together in order to benefit from

their respective virtues. It is through the study of EV that researchers know that shifts in categories are not absolute and that hybridity is ubiquitous – understanding what/ which aspects of hybridity influence vitality, and which do not, is an area still in need of debate and exploration. I argue that it is only in invoking multiple methodologies that this issue can be resolved and that universal or community-specific features can be identified.

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Media use and ethnolinguistic vitality in bilingual communities

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This article addresses the relationships between media, media use and language retention. In pursuing this aim, we explore the utility of ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) as a fruitful conceptual tool. The extant research on the relationship between the media and language retention and development provides an encouragement to pursue in more detail the role of media in this process: in other words to address more explicitly the features of media operation, and their relationship to audiences, which interface with the dynamics of EV. Based on four case studies of bilingual communities, the article concludes that media can be an important vehicle in maintaining and supporting EV. The extent to which this can be reached depends mostly on objective factors, such as the institutional completeness of the media landscape.

Keywords: bilingualism; minority language media; regional or minority languages; media and ethnicity; ethnolinguistic vitality

Introduction[1]

In a world where ethnic and linguistic diversity within nation states has blossomed in response to processes of nation building and contemporary flows of international migration, this article explores the role of the media in maintaining cultural and linguistic diversity. In this context, it is troubling that the research seems to suggest that the overall effect of media tends to undermine rather than support the vitality of minority languages and related cultures (Busch 2001, 35; Cormack 2007; Fishman 2001, 473–4). It is evident that minority language media, in many cases, performs mainly a restitutionary function (Moring and Dunbar 2008) as a defensive tool that balances the impact of media in the language(s) that dominate(s) the media environment.

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

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in South-Tyrol, Hungarian speakers in Romania, Swedish speakers in Finland, Finnish speakers in Sweden and Polish speakers in the UK.

From a methodological point of view, our analysis builds on studying the aforementioned relations in different contexts. We restrict our different studies to minorities that have access to locally produced, as well as cross border media. However, the differences in contexts are still much too many to bridge in order to build stable empirical models on the basis of comparative data. Thus, while our effort is comparative, our approach at this stage is explorative, inspired by the strategy of the *most different systems design* that seeks similarities between different situations in order to detect regularities.[2]

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

Ethnolinguistic vitality (EV)

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

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

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

Objective vitality

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

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

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

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

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

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

Subjective vitality

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

However, the political economy perspective questions aspects of the initial formulation of the ethnolinguistic model itself (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977). The factors identified above as constituting the essential elements of EV, namely status, demographics and institutional support, were presented as independent variables whose individual impact could be measured and assessed. However, this claim was challenged early on as unsustainable, given the nature of the socio-political forces that shaped these individual variables and consequently rendered them highly mutually interactive (Husband and Saifullah-Khan 1982).

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

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

Vitality and media

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

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

The empirical studies

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

Case 1. A comparison of four European regions

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

Objective vitality in the four settings

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

The census of 2002 found that 6.6% of the population of Romania, that is 1,434,000 people, are ethnic Hungarians. The Hungarian minority lives in Transylvania, a traditionally multilingual territory, making up a fifth of the population of the region. The Hungarian language has no official status in Transylvania. However, according to the Romanian public administration law (2001/215), local administrative

authorities should allow the use of the minority mother-tongue in their affairs in administrative units where more than 20% of the population belongs to a minority group. However, as many studies have pointed out (Demeter 2007; Péntek 2003, 2005; Péntek and Benő 2003; Veress 2005), the effect of laws is generally very weak in Romania. There are 13 Hungarian dailies published in Romania. Additionally, there are several weeklies and journals in Hungarian in Transylvania. Despite the considerable size of the Hungarian community, Transylvania does not have independent, state-financed TV and radio channels. The Romanian public television airs 6.5 hours a week in Hungarian (which is 1% of the total air time), and its regional channels air a total of three hours a week in Hungarian. Still, there are several private radio channels which broadcast in Hungarian. In TV viewing the channels coming from Hungary play an important role.

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

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

Findings

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

Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality

Subjective EV was measured by Likert-scales. The difference between monolinguals and bilinguals was measured by Independent Samples Test. The results showed that there was no significant difference between the monolingual and bilingual students in any of the four regions; in other words, they perceived the demographic patterns, the institutional support and the status of their language groups very similarly. In order to illustrate the differences between the regions, the different status, institutional support and demographic variables were added together composing three larger scales. As Figure 1 shows, the subjectively perceived vitality is the strongest among the South-Tyrolese youngsters in the case of all the three dimensions of EV. The vitality variables seem to be somewhat weaker in Ostrobothnia, whereas students in
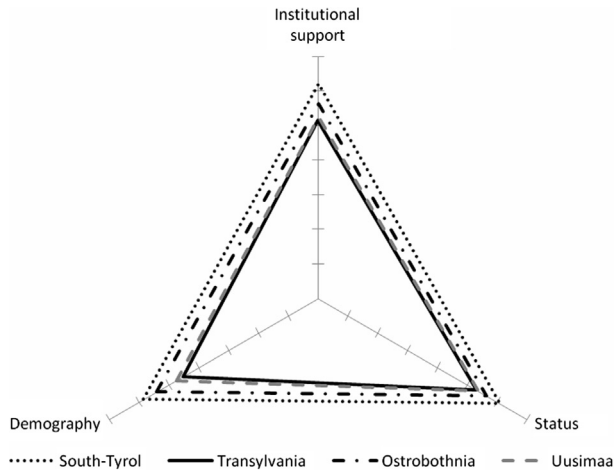
Figure 1.   Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (EV).
Note: Mean values of the three dimensions of Ethnolinguistic Vitality (1–7). The further out, the stronger the perceived demography, status and institutional support.

Transylvania and Uusimaa perceived the vitality of their language group very similarly. This is most surprising in the case of status and institutional support, since Swedish is one of the two official languages of Finland with a broad institutional network, while the Hungarian language has no official status in Romania and the institutional representation of Hungarian is also far weaker than that of Swedish in Uusimaa.

Media use

The use of the traditional media types was measured by a five-grade scale, where category 1 referred to the use of a given media type only in the majority language, whereas category 5 referred to media use only in the minority language. In this respect the results show that in general South-Tyrol is the strongest region and Uusimaa is the weakest one from the point of view of minority language media use, in the case of both minority language speakers and bilingual students. The difference between the two regions is most significant as regards minority language television and radio use. In respect to the other two regions, it can be said that minority language media use plays a greater role for the monolinguals of Ostrobothnia and the bilinguals of Transylvania (Table 1).

Regarding Internet, it was supposed that the dynamics of language use of this type of media in bilingual scenes may be particularly multifaceted, because English enters the field generally dominated by two languages and turns it into a three-dimensional context. Consequently, the students could choose between three categories: 'mainly in the minority language', 'mainly in the majority language' and 'mainly in English' (Figure 2). It should be underlined that these categories do not refer to a monolingual Internet use but an Internet use which is dominated by one language while not excluding other languages.

The German-speaking students in South-Tyrol almost only use the traditional media in German, whereas the bilinguals use them in both languages but their media

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

		Newspaper language	TV language	Radio language
South-Tyrol	German speakers	4.6	4.6	4.6
	Bilinguals	3.8	3.6	3.4
Transylvania	Hungarian speakers	4.3	4.0	3.8
	Bilinguals	3.6	3.2	3.0
Ostrobothnia	Swedish speakers	4.7	4.2	4.0
	Bilinguals	3.2	2.5	2.3
Uusimaa	Swedish speakers	4.2	2.9	3.4
	Bilinguals	2.9	2.0	2.1

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

habits are dominated more by German. The German language also dominates the Internet use of both German-speaking and bilingual students.

The Hungarian-speaking students in Transylvania use media in both languages; however, the language weight point in their media use is nearer to Hungarian. The bilingual students in Transylvania tend to use media in both languages equally often. Only among bilingual students is the Internet more widely used in Romanian, and only to a quite limited extent. At the same time, the use of English on the Internet is remarkable in the case of both groups.

The Swedish-speaking students in Ostrobothnia read newspapers almost only in Swedish, while using electronic media in both languages, although the language weight point in this use is towards the Swedish language. The Swedish-speaking students in Uusimaa use media in both languages: when it comes to reading newspapers, Swedish language plays a bigger role, while Finnish dominates more TV-viewing and radio-listening. The bilingual students use media in both languages
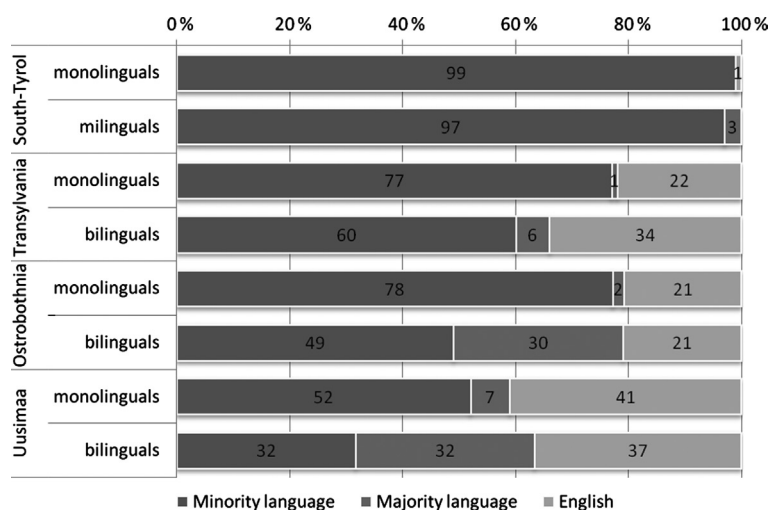

Figure 2.   In what language do you use the Internet? (per cent).

in Ostrobothnia as well as in Uusimaa: with respect to newspaper reading both languages seem to be used in the same amount, while regarding television and radio the weight point falls nearer to Finnish.

In Ostrobothnia Swedish-speaking students tend to use the Internet mostly in Swedish and in smaller part in English; the bilinguals use the web in English as frequently as the Swedish students do, but their share of Swedish in Internet use is smaller while in Finnish it is bigger. Similar patterns can be observed also in Uusimaa; however, the English language seems to be more important regarding Internet use than it is in Ostrobothnia.

Background of media language choice

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

Looking at the four regions, it can be seen that out of the 96 relationships between subjective EV and media use, only 24 were statistically significant (Table 2). Internet use was only in two cases correlated with vitality variables. Furthermore, none of the three vitality variables associate (1) with radio use among the bilinguals in South-Tyrol, (2) with radio use among Hungarian-speakers in Transylvania, (3) with newspaper and TV use among the bilinguals in Transylvania, and (4) with newspaper use among the Swedish speakers in Uusimaa. Approaching the connections from the perspective of vitality variables, we find that perceived institutional support plays no role at all in media use among the German-speakers in South-Tyrol and among both monolinguals and bilinguals in Ostrobothnia, and it plays only a very small role among the Hungarian speakers in Transylvania. Similarly, there is no correlation at all between the perceived status and media use among the bilinguals in South-Tyrol and Transylvania and among the monolinguals in Ostrobothnia and Uusimaa. Finally, the respondents' perception of their demographic status does not relate to media use at all in Transylvania (regarding both groups) and among the bilinguals in South-Tyrol; however, it seems to be more important in the case of both Swedish-speakers and bilinguals in Ostrobothnia.

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

Case 2. Media use among bilinguals in Uusimaa

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

This has led to the emergence of individuals with a bilingual ethnic identity, who make independent choices. They tend to describe their (ethnic/language/social) identity as evolving around the *competence* to change languages, which also could mean a competence to switch ethnic identities; they have access to both groups, as they master the cultural codes that function as ethnic markers.[3]

Table 2. Relation between media use and variables portraying subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) (see text for details).

South-Tyrol

	German speakers				Bilinguals			
	Newspaper	TV	Radio	Internet	Newspaper	TV	Radio	Internet
Institutional support	0.069	0.098	0.050	0.118	0.282*	0.271*	0.104	0.177
Status	0.109	0.088	0.110*	0.110	0.129	0.023	0.206	0.121
Demography	0.166**	0.184**	0.105	0.135	0.101	0.005	0.124	0.151

Transylvania

	Hungarian speakers				Bilinguals			
	Newspaper	TV	Radio	Internet	Newspaper	TV	Radio	Internet
Institutional support	0.087*	0.096*	0.073	0.080	0.177	0.167	0.226*	0.242
Status	0.049	0.042	0.046	0.169**	−0.142	0.032	0.062	0.231
Demography	0.046	0.046	0.035	0.130	−0.046	0.061	0.125	0.127

Ostrobothnia

	Swedish speakers				Bilinguals			
	Newspaper	TV	Radio	Internet	Newspaper	TV	Radio	Internet
Institutional support	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.18	0.04	0.08	0.06	0.31
Status	0.70	0.14	0.12	0.14	0.17	0.26**	0.10	0.39*
Demography	0.26**	0.29**	0.33**	0.12	0.22**	0.34**	0.16**	0.24

Table 2. (*Continued*)

| | Uusimaa | | | | | | | |
| | Swedish-speakers | | | | Bilinguals | | | |
	Newspaper	TV	Radio	Internet	Newspaper	TV	Radio	Internet
Institutional support	0.089	0.171*	0.098	0.130	0.162*	0.095	0.091	0.156
Status	0.019	0.006	0.072	0.175	0.141*	0.130	0.146*	0.159
Demography	0.156	0.311*	0.195*	0.223	0.096	0.189**	0.129	0.238

*p <.05; **p <.01.

This study looks at the patterns formed by different choices related to language use in the family and the choice of language for higher education, with a particular focus on how competence in both ethnicities affect the choice of language when reading newspapers, and how this choice contributes to identity formation over time.[4] The first round of interviews where made with 22-year-olds, the interviews were repeated at the age of 28. The findings are compiled into a matrix (Table 3) that shows the dominant outcome of the different choices.

We found that among bilingual persons the choice of Swedish as the school language, Swedish as the language in higher education and Swedish as the newspaper language (30% of the group) predominantly leads to a Swedish identity at the age of 22 years. Although this group maintains both Finnish and Swedish as home languages at the age of 28 years, their newspaper use is predominantly Swedish and their identity is Swedish. The group that has Swedish as a school language, higher education in Swedish and read Finnish papers at the age of 22 (70% of the group) has a double identity at the age of 22. At 28, this group also predominantly maintains two home languages; they are reading both Finnish and Swedish papers at home and have a double identity.

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

The use of both languages as media languages and the surge in our sample towards a bilingual identity leads to the conclusion that this type of identity is, at least to a certain extent, a stable category. While this bilingual group does not enjoy a formal status comparable to established ethnic groups, subjectively it can be

Table 3. Identity development of bilinguals at 28 years of age as a function of educational languages and choice of media language – a simplified tentative conceptualisation; the content of the cells refers to language use (dominant categories are bolded).

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

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

considered to constitute a group in its own right. The stability of the bilingual group arises from the two parallel mother-tongues, and a deliberate effort to balance them so that neither takes over. However, its characteristics are difficult to portray from the point of view of established ethnolinguistic markers.

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

The Migrant condition: two cases of complementary use

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

The influx of Finnish speakers in Sweden is of ancient origin, as Finland was part of Sweden until 1809. However, a strong influx of migrants from Finland to Sweden occurred in the 1950s and 1960s, due to imbalance in the Finnish labour market after Second World War. The size of the Finnish minority is difficult to estimate, but descendants of Finnish origin are estimated to be more than 600,000 people, most being immigrants from the post-war period. In 1999, a law was passed granting Finnish, the related Meän Kieli, and three other languages (Sami, Romani and Yiddish) the status of national minority languages in Sweden.

The Polish migration to the UK predominantly appeared in three waves: after Second World War, in the 1960s–1970s, and after Poland joined the EU. There is no reliable estimate of the Polish population in Britain, but in Bradford, where our study was conducted, the estimated number ranges from seven to ten thousand. The status of the Polish speakers is not specifically regulated in the UK.

Case 3. Finnish in Sweden

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

The second source is the Finnish media produced in Sweden. This is quite narrow and produced with little resources. The supply is far from institutionally complete;

consequently minority language media produced in Sweden play mainly a complementary function in the media use of the Finnish speakers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

All the informants quoted above were critical towards the quality of the content of Finnish media produced in Sweden. Apparently, knowing people who take part in

the programmes had a compensating effect. Losing this aspect may lead to detachment:

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

Case 4. Polish in Bradford

The Polish language media environment in Bradford is very extensive, and allows for access to both British produced and Polish media. The arrival of new Polish migrants has revived the sense of identity as well as the language use among the settled Polish community. The 'core Polish community', people who actively participate in the life centred around the Polish Parish Club, have mixed experiences with the recent migrants, and have usually encountered those less educated people with little knowledge of English and often in the need of help. While they thus may have a biased attitude to the new migrants, they certainly have ample opportunities to use Polish thanks to the arrival of new migrants.

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

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

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

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

> Now I feel I need to work on my Polish. It is very frustrating when I cannot find the right word...I am worried about my Polish now. When I lived in Poland, I could be proud of my Polish. But now, even when I talk to my Polish friends I do not feel very free. (Magda, new migrant)

Many have also discovered Polish-language media for themselves, something they have not used before. Polish media also provide bonding opportunities with friends and family 'back home' – they feel they need to keep some grasp of what is going on

in Poland in order to have meaningful conversations with relatives and friends, especially when they go back to Poland for short trips. Internet-based media are particularly important for the new migrants to maintain their ties with family and friends. In this sense, their situation is completely different from that of the first and second generation of Polish post-war migrants. Recent Polish migrants pay much attention to their children's Polish skills. It is important for them that children grow bilingual; the motivation is both symbolic – 'we are Polish, so we need to know our language' and practical – 'the kids need to be able to talk to their grannies and cousins.'

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

Conclusions

The studies presented in this paper indicate that media use in the context of EV can be interpreted more from an objective than a subjective perspective. In a broad comparative study that was carried out among young people in four different and distinct communities, we found that minority language speaking youngsters in monolingual as well as in bilingual families perceive the status, the demography and the institutional support of the minority language group rather similarly. This holds true irrespective of the fact that they use the media in quite different ways from the point of view of languages. This finding suggests that their media behaviour could be explained mainly by background variables relating to the objective aspects of EV and to the completeness of the media supply, and less by the subjectively perceived EV factors. The latter did only rarely associate with choice of media language.

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

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

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

Notes

1. The authors recognise that their article has been written as part of the project Bilingualism, Identity and the Media in Inter- and Intra-cultural Comparisons (BIM). This project has received financing from the Academy of Finland.
2. This methodological distinction leans on J.S. Mill's work A System of Logic 1843, distinguishing between the method of agreement and method of difference. It was developed for comparative research between social and political systems by Adam Przeworski and Henry Teune (1970).
3. The study builds on a two-round panel. The first set of data was gathered in 2004, within a cohort born in 1981. The second round was gathered in 2009 among those who previously had given their acceptance. The sub-sample that is analysed consists of 166 persons who have spoken both Finnish and Swedish at home. The sample consists of young people in higher education, thus its representativity with respect to a broader demography is limited. However, within-sample differences may be considered representative with respect to the frame population.
4. Media language was measured according to frequency of newspaper reading (*daily* and *often*) in a particular language. In other parts of the BIM project it is shown that people tend to resort to the mother tongue more frequently when reading newspapers and listening to radio, compared to television viewing and use of Internet. Thus this variable may be considered indicative for a choice of media language close to identity.

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Hot and cold ethnicities: modes of ethnolinguistic vitality

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The paper presents the summary of the special issue of *JMMD* 'Ethnolinguistic vitality'. The volume shows convincingly that ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions as measured by standard methodology such as the Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaires (SEVQ) are not reliable indicators of actual vitality. Evidence that ethnolinguistic behaviour is more affected by social structural factors and by members' motivations than by their subjective vitality perceptions is summarised. Based on these findings, it is proposed that ethnolinguistic vitality, i.e. the group's ability to behave as an active collective entity, depends on the emotional attachment of its members to this collective identity. This suggests that when high vitality is achieved by affective involvement, the rational arguments for being aligned to one or the other group measured by SEVQ lose their force. From this it follows that groups have two prototypical modes of operation, 'hot' and 'cold', or a scale of modes between these extremes; and that ethnolinguistic vitality is achieved at least to some extent by different means in different modes. An overview of factors affecting ethnolinguistic vitality modes is presented.

Keywords: identity; intergroup relations; attitudes

Reflective summary

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

Four of the papers in this volume have used Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaires (SEVQ) as part of their empirical research. The sociolinguistic settings studied were diverse: Yagmur reports comparative data on Turkish minorities in Australia, France, Germany and the Netherlands; Ehala and Zabrodskaja have studied the Russian-speaking community in Estonia, McEntee-Atalianis the Greek community in Istanbul, and Moring et al. the German community in North Italy, the Hungarian community in Romania and the Swedish

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community in Finland. Altogether, the performance of SEVQs is assessed in nine minority communities with different sizes, origins, and levels of state support.

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

What is much more in need of explanation are the findings that SEVQ scores underestimate actual language maintenance behaviour (Yagmur 2011), do not depend on the nature of the immediate sociolinguistic environment (Ehala and Zabrodskaja, 2011, Forthcoming), and do not correlate with ethnic media usage and the extent of bilingualism (Hogg and Rigoli 1996; Moring et al., 2011), yet correlate with the perceptions of inter-ethnic discordance (Ehala and Zabrodskaja, 2011, Forthcoming; Giles and Johnson 1987). These findings seem to suggest that the vitality scores are not directly related to the subjects' ethnolinguistic behaviour. As the whole idea of this instrument is to differentiate between subjects who are likely to maintain their language and those who might prefer social mobility into the dominant majority, its inability to differentiate is critical to the validity of the instrument. Furthermore, if inter-ethnic discordance is an attitude that strengthens group members' disposition towards collective action, its reverse impact on SEV perceptions found by Ehala and Zabrodskaja (2011, Forthcoming) would significantly distort the mean values of the community's actual subjective vitality if it were measured by SEVQ.

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

As SEVQs ask about the subjects' perceptions of these phenomena, it is reasonable that the results would reflect the perception of how strong the group is. But if ethnolinguistic vitality is understood as the property that makes a group 'behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations' (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977, 308), the SEVQ is not an adequate instrument for vitality, since it is not able to differentiate between subjects with different ethnolinguistic behaviour. This is not to say that the perception of group strength has nothing to do with the attitudes facilitating group behaviour. It is very likely that the perception of strength constitutes one aspect in this belief system, but as numerous studies, including those in this collection, have shown, it is not the main aspect.

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

Moring et al. (2011) address this issue in terms of the institutional and functional completeness of media. Media usage primarily depends on the existing supply of media platforms. Moring et al. argue that only if the institutional completeness condition is satisfied will the subjective attitudinal factors that influence the subject's choice of media from the range that is available to them come into play. In this way, institutional completeness is a necessary but not sufficient condition for functional completeness. The latter can emerge only if the minority language audience displays a preference for using media in the minority language, rather than in the majority language. Although this preference is an attitudinal phenomenon, Moring et al. (2011) show that it is more strongly related to a social structural phenomenon, such as the language of education, than to subjective vitality.

At first glance, it seems that the claims that Moring et al. (2011) and Karan (2011) make are conflicting, as Moring et al. argue that media behaviour is better explained 'mainly by background variables related to the objective aspects of ethnolinguistic vitality and to the completeness of the media supply, and less by subjectively perceived ethnolinguistic vitality factors' (p. xx), while Karan claims that 'in order to forecast ethnolinguistic vitality, it is crucial to understand the motivations that are behind the language choices, which when combined make up language shift' (p. yy). Upon closer inspection, this controversy may only be apparent because, by subjectively perceived ethnolinguistic vitality, Moring et al. mean the perception of group strength measured by traditional SEVQs. It is not very surprising that the perception of group strength does not play a major role in ethnolinguistic behaviour, since it may be just one factor influencing motivations, not a direct expression of these motivations.

What the complementary contributions of Moring et al. (2011) and Karan (2011) highlight is the interactive and reinforcing dynamics of structural and social psychological factors in shaping a group's ability to behave as a collective entity in intergroup encounters. The motivational fabric of individuals is shaped, to a large extent, by their socialisation, beginning in the family and continuing in the school, church and public space. This is well illustrated by the finding of Moring et al. that educational choices influence one's media preferences later in life. These preferences,

in turn, sustain the audience for the very same media and educational system. Therefore, a group needs its social institutions and structures to create the social–psychological willingness for the group members to act as a distinctive collective entity. If this willingness is present, the group is able, in turn, to sustain the same institutions that are used to maintain the group's vitality, i.e. its ability to act collectively (for a more detailed account of this dynamics, see Ehala 2010b).

Because of the mutual feedback loop between the social structural and the social–psychological sides of language and identity maintenance, the system is characterised by a considerable inertia, which, to some extent, allows for the assessment or prediction of the sustainability of speech communities. The stronger the structural factors, i.e. the overall strength of the group, the more likely it is to be able to socialise its members so as to have the social–psychological disposition to contribute to the group. The weaker the group, the less likely this is to happen. If this were always so, nothing new would have been added to the predictions of Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977).

However, as Yagmur (2011) clearly argues, Turkish immigrant communities in some European countries maintain their language and groupness much better than would be expected from their objective institutional support, as well as the perceptions of their group strength measured by SEVQs. The results of Ehala and Zabrodskaja (2011, Forthcoming) suggest that this discrepancy may be due to perceived inter-ethnic discordance, which has the effect of mobilizing the group, and at the same time to lower the perceptions of their in-group strength. This means that the strength of the group does not always determine the extent to which its members act as a collective entity. There are cases where the vitality of the group exceeds their strength and, in these cases, the general prediction that the strong become stronger and the weak get weaker does not apply. These conditions are of primary interest to the theory of language maintenance and shift, as these are the moments that shed light on the active processes of group mobilisation, i.e. the unexpected rise of ethnolinguistic vitality. Knowing the mechanism through which this happens, it is possible to actively engage in effective language revitalisation.

The nature of ethnolinguistic vitality

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

This suggests that the level of ethnolinguistic vitality, understood as individuals' ability to act as a distinctive collective entity, is related to the strength of their shared ethnic identity (for a detailed elaboration of this argument, see Edwards 2010). This leads to the question of what makes an identity strong or weak. According to Tajfel

and Turner (1979), whose theory of social identity lies behind the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality as well as behind the theory of ethnolinguistic identity, social identity is 'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups), together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership' (Tajfel 1978, 63). Ellemers, Kortekaas, and Ouwerkerk (1999, 386) argue that these three components of social identity – cognitive, evaluative and emotional – are conceptually distinct aspects of identity, and that only 'group commitment appears to be the key aspect of social identity which drives the tendency for people to behave in terms of their group membership'. Therefore, it could be argued that the emotional attachment to one's ethnic group is the key aspect that influences individual ethnolinguistic vitality: the more a person is emotionally attached to his/her ethnic group, the more likely that person is to participate in group actions.

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

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

The level of emotional attachment seems to have a substantial effect on how a group perceives its existence and how it operates. Ehala and Zabrodskaja (2011, Forthcoming), Giles and Johnson (1987) and Hogg and Rigoli (1996) have reported that vitality perceptions depend on affective factors: subjects who perceive high levels of inter-ethnic discordance and/or are strongly attached to their in-group tend to perceive their in-group vitality as being lower than subjects who have lower levels of affective involvement. Hogg and Rigoli (1996, 87) suggested that the relationship between SEV and ethnic identification is positive for weak identifiers, but there is a discontinuity which, for strong identifiers, 'flips the relationship around'. This suggests that there might be different modes of vitality for groups whose members have high emotional commitment, as compared to those whose members have low levels of commitment.

Modes of ethnolinguistic vitality

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

Based on this, it is likely that, for each individual, the tendency to participate in a group's collective action is affected by both emotional and rational factors, but the level of commitment depends on the particular combination of these. For example, people may contribute to group goals because of the personal benefits they receive through the institutions and social networks of this group, because their noncompliance would trigger sanctions, or because of an inner sense of duty caused by strong emotional attachment to the group and its goals. It is evident that strong emotional attachment may cause a very strong commitment, to the extent of sacrificing one's life for the group. It is unlikely that rational motivations can provide a basis for this level of commitment: a possible benefit motivates people only to the extent than it is likely to exceed possible risks, and the fear of sanctions is effective only to the extent that the possible danger is less than the severity of punishment for abstaining from the action.

This suggests that there are two types of motivations for individuals' behaviour: self-beneficial motivations, and altruistic (group-beneficial) motivations. The self-beneficial motivations are founded on the perceived benefit for the self, more or less as described by Karan (2011). Altruistic motivations are based on the understanding that there are higher principles than the benefit of the self that may motivate a person's behaviour. These goals lie outside of the self, be it the ethnic group, deity or a loved individual. It is suggested here that in the case of high emotional commitment, group-beneficial motivations can gain prominence to the extent that they may bring high costs to the self.

Based on the strength of emotional attachment of members to their group, ethnic groups can be categorised into two prototypes: 'hot' and 'cold'. A 'hot' ethnic group is one whose members have a high emotional attachment to their group. These groups use a high emotional climate to mobilise their members for collective behaviour. Members of these groups may set the group-beneficial motivations higher than self-beneficial ones. 'Cold' ethnic groups are those whose members' emotional attachment to the group is low, absent or latent. Members of such groups are willing to participate in collective action on the basis of rational calculation – if it is beneficial to them, or to avoid sanctions from 'free-riding'.

Ethnolinguistic vitality of cold groups

In the cold mode of operation, the emotional attachment and emotional alignment are low among the group members. They categorise themselves cognitively as members of this particular group, but this fact does not hold emotional significance

and is not important for their self concept. In this situation, the relationships of the members to the group are based on the rational calculation of costs and benefits for the self: if the group is able to provide access to resources for life and provide a positive social identity, the person is satisfied and does not seek to shift group membership through social mobility.

This means that the ethnolinguistic vitality of the cold group is guaranteed by its social institutions, which provide goods and set sanctions for its members. Through a system of benefits and sanctions, the system motivates its members for coordinated action. In general, the stronger the group, i.e. the more economically, politically, culturally and militarily powerful it is, the easier it is to motivate its members for collectively coordinated behaviour purely on self-beneficial grounds. In addition, strong ethnic groups usually do not face any existential dangers which could lead them to the hot operating mode. For this reason, a strong ethnic group is vital even if it is operating in a cold mode. For example, most of the Western welfare nations function in fairly cold modes.

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

Ethnolinguistic vitality of hot groups

When an ethnic group is in a hot state of operation, its members' emotional attachment to the group is high. Emotional attachment is created discursively through the alignment of collective emotions (see Thomas, McGarty, and Mavor 2009). The nature and number of these emotions may differ, depending on the socio-historical context (see David and Bar-Tal 2009), but the effect of these processes on intra-group behaviour is fairly uniform.

Generally, it may be claimed that the higher the emotional attachment of the members to their group, the more rigid and impermeable the boundaries of this group become, the clearer the group's distinctiveness from out-groups becomes, and the more negative the attitudes towards out-groups become.

All these properties are created discursively. Often a hot state of operation is achieved by construction of an inter-ethnic threat, in which case it is accompanied by the perception of weakness by the in-group in comparison with threatening out-groups (see Ehala and Zabrodskaja 2011, Forthcoming; Giles and Johnson 1987). The same goes for group distinctiveness. Barth (1969) has argued that group distinctiveness is not based on entirely empirical differences between the members of two different ethnic groups; rather, the differences are constructed. The hotter the

mode of operation for a group, the more distinct it becomes from out-groups. For example, the distinctiveness between Serbs and Croats is achieved, among other ways, by quite small linguistic differences. These two processes have led to the intergroup boundaries becoming more rigid and impermeable.

In a hot state of operation, the issue of treachery becomes a further factor contributing to the vitality of the group. In a hot mode of operation, when the boundary between in-group and out-group is sharpened, those members showing ambivalent emotions or expressing ambivalent positions are criticised and forced to comply with the prevalent views and actions of the group. Thus, in a hot state of operations, even those members who have a low emotional attachment to the group or who are not emotionally aligned with the hegemonic mood of the majority have no option but to contribute, as a lack of contribution would trigger social stigmatisation and sanctions.

In a situation of tense relationships, the possibility of social mobility is further reduced by the fact that the dominant majority out-group is also more reluctant to accept new members from a subordinate group. In this way, a hot mode of operation stops the process of social mobility and forces all members of the group to contribute to group action.

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

Dynamics of ethnolinguistic vitality

It is argued above that ethnolinguistic vitality is achieved through substantially different means by hot and cold groups: for hot groups, vitality is achieved by the strength of collective emotions (supported by rational arguments); for cold groups, vitality is the consequence of its members' rational decisions. Even if vitality is achieved through different means by hot and cold groups, the hypothesis set forth here is that there is a set of conceptual dimensions which are used in the formation of the social–psychological state of ethnolinguistic vitality (see for example David and Bar-Tal 2009; Ehala 2005), and this set is the same for both types of groups. The difference between cold and hot modes of vitality lies in whether these meanings are interpreted only cognitively or emotionally, too.

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

Group strength

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

It is hypothesised here, based on the results of Giles and Johnson (1987), Hogg and Rigoli (1996) and Ehala and Zabrodskaja (2011, Forthcoming), that perception of strength affects group members' ethnolinguistic behaviour only in a cold mode of operation. In this mode, group members participate in group actions only on the grounds of self-beneficial motivations. If a majority group provides better conditions for personal livelihood, and if changing group membership is easy, members of the weaker group may decide to change their group affiliation. In a hot state of operation, the perception of strength loses its power, because the members of the group are committed to their group emotionally. As the results of Giles and Johnson (1987) and Ehala and Zabrodskaja (2011, Forthcoming) suggest, in a hot mode of operation, group members' perceptions of their in-group strength may even be lowered.

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

Inter-ethnic discordance

The dimension of inter-ethnic discordance expresses the perception of the legitimacy and trust in intergroup relations (see Ehala and Zabrodskaja 2011, Forthcoming).The more legitimate the intergroup power relations are considered, and the more trusting intergroup attitudes are, the less the level of perceived discordance. Usually, the perceptions of legitimacy and trust are interrelated (Ehala and Zabrodskaja, 2011, Forthcoming).

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

If the collective sense of injustice and anger is high, the group reaches a hot mode of operation. If the emotions are aligned around the feeling of shame, this may

promote a wish to dissociate oneself from this particular group identity, which in turn may reduce a group's ethnolinguistic vitality.

Utilitarianism–traditionalism

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

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

Intergroup distance

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

Similar to other dimensions, inter-ethnic distance can be manipulated. According to Barth (1969), groups use actual empirical differences differently to construct group boundaries. Only those features that are culturally marked as important are determinative in intergroup distance. It often happens that when intergroup relations worsen, even the slightest differences may be interpreted as significant in terms of making the two groups more distinct. Hornsey and Hogg (2000, 147) reported a number of cases of symbolic actions to reduce intergroup contact and to stress cultural differences in situations of intergroup conflict. In such situations, group differences may be used to align such collective emotions as disgust.

Change of group temperature

These four vitality dimensions – perceived group strength, intergroup discordance, utilitarianism–traditionalism and intergroup distance – are not fully independent; rather, they are mutually connected. For example, the perception of group strength

seems to be related to the perception of intergroup discordance (Ehala and Zabrodskaja, 2011, Forthcoming). In addition, the different dimensions have different impacts on group vitality (see Ehala 2010a, 2010b). Although their mutual relationships may be complex, it is proposed here that, in each dimension, the processing of information by individuals may be conducted either cognitively only, or also affectively. The latter happens usually when the perceived value on one dimension is significantly out of the neutral range. In such a case, the extreme value receives public attention in the community and it is used deliberately or unintentionally to align such collective emotions as superiority, out-group derogation, anger at injustice, or worship of group symbols or religious values. This alignment of emotions may lead the group to enter a hot mode of operation when the group members' actions may become affected by group-beneficial motivations more than by self-beneficial ones.

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

When such events do not occur, the construction of negative future developments can serve the same purpose. As the future is uncertain and alternative scenarios can always be constructed that are more positive, the success of such attempts depends on the persuasiveness of argumentation. A possible source for a group heating could be a prolonged social injustice, the perception of which could be discursively sharpened. Resistance to injustice could significantly increase vitality and stop social mobility to the dominant group. For example, the injustice of the communist regime certainly was the major factor that prevented the people of the Baltic nations from assimilating to the Russian mainstream and made it very easy for them to mobilise ethnically as soon as the regime showed signs of weakness.

An alternative to conflictual paths of transition to a hot state may occur when small minority communities have no other option for increasing their vitality than to align their emotions around the core values of the group. This is particularly effective in the case of ethno-religious communities whose strength of religious practice is so tightly connected to their ethnicity that it keeps their group vital.

No matter which way an ethnic group achieves its hot state, this might still not be a sustainable solution, as it may bring about an ethnic conflict that may end in an economic and demographic catastrophe, the effects of which are much more devastating than possible long-term assimilation. In any case, prolonged low intensity hostility is a costly strategy that cannot be continued forever. Lack of success and loss of resources may bring about disillusionment and a cooling down process. When a hot state is achieved by worship of the groups' values and traditions, this necessarily leads to a rejection of modernisation. This would lead the group to exclusion from the mainstream society, which is a very high price for increased vitality.

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

Conclusion

Research has convincingly shown that ethno-linguistic vitality perceptions as measured by standard methodology are not reliable indicators of actual vitality (Yagmur 2011). There is evidence that vitality perceptions depend on affective factors (Ehala and Zabrodskaja 2011, Forthcoming; Giles and Johnson 1987): subjects who perceive high levels of inter-ethnic discordance and/or are strongly attached to their in-group tend to perceive their in-group vitality as being lower than subjects who have lower levels of affective involvement.

On the other hand, social-psychological studies have provided evidence that group entitativity, i.e. a group's ability to behave as an active collective entity, depends on the emotional attachment of its members to this collective identity (Ellemers, Kortekaas, and Ouwerkerk 1999), which is created by normative alignment of collective emotions (Thomas, McGarty, and Mavor 2009). This suggests that, when high vitality is achieved by affective involvement, the self-beneficial motivations for being aligned to one or the other group lose their force. This does not mean that rationality-based vitality models, such as SEVQ (Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981) are inadequate. Evidence shows that they correctly forecast the vitality of groups whose members have no strong collective emotions and therefore have a low affective commitment.

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

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

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