

1 Introduction: Bilingualism and language contact

Imagine the history of mankind, not as a history of peoples or nations, but of the languages they speak. A history of 5000 languages, thrown together on this planet, constantly interacting. Imagine the treaty of Versailles not as an event of international diplomacy, but in terms of people putting on their best French to make themselves understood and achieve the greatest advantage. Think of Cortes' conquest of Mexico in 1532 not as an outrageous narrative of bravery, cruelty and betrayal, but in terms of the crucial role of his Indian mistress Malinche, interpreter between Aztec and Spanish. Think of the sugar plantations, where the uprooted slaves were thrown together, as meeting places for many African languages.

Imagining all this, two things come to mind: first, how closely the history of languages is tied up with and is a reflection of the history of peoples and nations. Second, how little we know of languages in contact. Far more is known about the economic consequences of Balkanization, the disintegration of the Austrian empire, than of what happened to all the languages of the *Kaiserliche und Königliche Reich* when it fell apart in 1918. This book tries to provide the concepts needed to understand what it means for two languages to come into contact. What happens in communities where several languages are spoken? How can speakers handle these languages simultaneously? When and why will the different languages actually be used? Which consequences does language contact have for the languages involved? These are the main issues we address here.

In this chapter we will give a bit of background to the discussion by sketching a few of the conceptual problems, listing some of the reasons why researchers have wanted to look at language contact (hoping that these may be valid for the reader as well), describing some of the major types of language contact in the world, giving a brief history of the field and presenting, finally, a sketch of the different contributing sub-disciplines and an outline of the book.

1.1 Bilingualism: concepts and definitions

Language contact inevitably leads to bilingualism. Generally, two types of bilingualism are distinguished: *societal* and *individual* bilingualism. Roughly speaking, societal bilingualism occurs when in a given society two or more languages are spoken. In this sense, nearly all societies are bilingual, but they can differ with regard

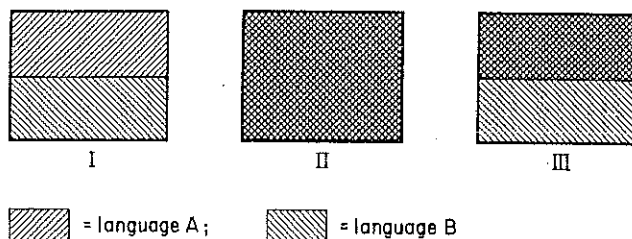


Figure 1.1 Schematically represented forms of societal bilingualism

to the degree or form of bilingualism. Theoretically, the following forms can be distinguished (see Figure 1.1).

In situation I the two languages are spoken by two different groups and each group is monolingual; a few bilingual individuals take care of the necessary intergroup communication. This form of societal bilingualism often occurred in former colonial countries, where the colonizer spoke English, for instance, and the native people a local language. In societies of type II all people are bilingual. Approximations to such a form of societal bilingualism can be found in African countries and in India. Often people have command of more than two languages.

In the third form of societal bilingualism one group is monolingual, and the other bilingual. In most cases this last group will form a minority, perhaps not in the numerical or statistical, but in the sociological sense: it is a non-dominant or oppressed group. Situations like III can be observed in Greenland, for example, where the people who speak Greenlandic Inuit must become bilingual, i.e. learn Danish, while the Danish-speaking group, which is sociologically dominant, can remain monolingual.

Of course, forms I, II and III are only theoretical types which do not exist in a pure form in the world we live in: different mixtures are much more common. The linguistic situation of most countries is far more complex, with more than two groups and more than two languages involved. It is useful, however, to keep the ideal typology in mind when we describe complex bilingual societies.

It is fairly clear what *individual* bilingualism is, but determining whether a given person is bilingual or not is far from simple. Many people in Britain have learned some French in school and practice it on their annual holiday, but are they bilingual in the same way as young Puerto Ricans in New York, who use both Spanish and English with equal ease? To what extent must a speaker have command over the two languages in order to be labelled a bilingual? Must he or she have fluent oral and writing skills in both languages? Must a true bilingual be proficient in productive (speaking, writing) as well as receptive tasks (listening, reading)? Which components of the language are the criteria: vocabulary, pronunciation, syntax, pragmatics?

In the history of the study of bilingualism various definitions have been proposed. We will give two extreme, but well-known variants. Bloomfield made the highest demands. According to him, a bilingual should possess 'native-like control of two or more languages' (1933: 56). At the other extreme, Macnamara (1969) proposed that somebody should be called bilingual if he has some second-language skills in one of

the four modalities (speaking, listening, writing, reading), in addition to his first-language skills.

The problem of a *psychological* definition, in terms of proficiency, seems to be unsurmountable, not because of measurement problems (which are complex enough by themselves), but because it is impossible to find a general norm or standard for proficiency. Therefore we prefer a *sociological* definition, in line with Weinreich (1953: 5), who said that 'the practice of alternatively using two languages will be called here bilingualism, and the persons involved bilinguals'. Somebody who regularly uses two or more languages in alternation is a bilingual. Within this definition speakers may still differ widely in their actual linguistic skills, of course, but we should be careful not to impose standards for bilinguals that go much beyond those for monolinguals. The very fact that bilinguals use various languages in different circumstances suggests that it is their *overall* linguistic competence that should be compared to that of monolinguals. All too often imposing Bloomfield's criteria on bilinguals has led to their stigmatization as being somehow deficient in their language capacities.

With regard to the terminology used in this book, two more things:

(1) The terms *bilingual* and *bilingualism* also apply to situations where more than two languages are involved. Only in obviously appropriate cases will we sometimes use the terms *multilingual* and *multilingualism*. (2) In this book the terms *bilingual/ism* refer to conventionally recognized languages and *not* to dialects of languages (for instance, London Cockney and Received Pronunciation), although we are quite aware of the fact that many research findings and concepts in the study of bilingualism carry over to bidialectism.

Any definition of bilingualism has to come to grips with a central problem in the social sciences: that of scale and of aggregation. Are we talking about individuals, about families, neighbourhoods or whole societies? What can 'language contact' possibly mean, since 'language' is an abstraction? Speakers can be in contact, metaphorically speaking two grammars might be said to be in contact in the brain of an individual, but languages as whole entities? We do find bilingual societies where many individual speakers are not bilingual, particularly societies organized along caste lines, or with very strong social divisions. An example of the latter would be the province of Quebec before the Second World War, where an English-speaking urban bourgeoisie coexisted with a French-speaking farming community (cf. form I in Figure 1.1).

A second problem has to do with our definition of languages as well. Is it meaningful to speak of language contact given the fact that we do not know how to distinguish between languages and dialects? Hindi and Urdu are two, religiously differentiated, varieties of essentially the same language: Hindi is spoken by Hindus and Urdu by Moslems. Is there a possibility of language contact here, or just of dialect mixture? The same holds for Dutch and German along the eastern border of the Netherlands. Where does it become meaningful to speak of the two languages being in contact? How different do the two codes have to be?

A third set of problems has to do with the level of grammatical analysis that we deal with. If we accept the replacement of the central notion of 'language' by that of 'grammar', then we surely should speak of 'grammars in contact'. Then again, if we accept the notion common in generative grammar since the late 1970s that grammars

consist of a number of independent components, (the phrase structure component, the transformational component, the lexicon, the phonological component), then the question is whether we should not be dealing with components of grammars in contact. This problem may seem very academic, but in chapters 10 and 13 we will argue that it is crucial for understanding what is going on.

1.2 Reasons for studying language contact

Turning now to reasons for studying language contact, we can discern strong impulses both from social concerns and from developments in language studies. Countries such as Belgium and Canada, both with language groups that are sometimes opposed to each other, have created centres for the study of bilingualism, stimulated research and produced outstanding scholars. It is hoped that a thorough and dispassionate analysis of bilingual language behaviour will help us to gain insight into the language problems of groups and individuals and thus support language planning and educational policies. This type of research has been recognized as crucial in countries such as India, which faces a combination of languages spoken of daunting complexity, and has become one of the world's centres for language-contact research. Sometimes it is called 'the laboratory of multilingualism'.

In addition to these countries, characterized by a long history of bilingualism, a large number of countries, particularly in the industrialized West, have become bilingual on a large scale in the last 20 years due to migration. The presence of groups of migrants has had a great impact on these societies: suddenly a number of myths about monolingual and monocultural national identity were shattered. The political emancipation and educational needs of the migrant groups have stimulated in turn a whole new series of language-contact studies, both in Europe and in the US and Canada.

It is not only minorities of migrants that have participated in these processes of political and cultural emancipation, however, but also a number of traditional minority groups. These groups have clamoured for political decentralization, recognition of their own language and culture and bilingual education. This, in turn, has led to a number of studies on language-contact issues.

On the level of ideology, these developments have not remained without repercussions. The process of decolonization has left the former colonial powers, one might say, with a lot to think about. A strong tradition of historical research has emerged that focuses on the conditions, processes and consequences of colonialism, both for the colonizing powers and for the Third World. This tradition has enriched our perception of colonization itself considerably, and allows us to look at the propagation and expansion of the European languages in a wider perspective. It also allows us to develop a vocabulary and conceptual model for talking about systems, including languages, influencing each other.

The cultural developments in the West of the 1960s led to a return to the study of the vernacular languages, away from purism, including the spoken languages of minority groups. An early manifestation of this was the emergence of Black and Amerindian studies in the US in the early 1970s, and certainly the study of language-contact phenomena has profited from this development. Here phenomena such as creole languages were involved that clearly did not fit into a purist conception.

When we turn to linguistics itself, the study of language contact has developed into a paradigm for sociolinguistics as a whole. Sociolinguistics as a discipline has stressed the diversity in language use. The study of diversity leads, of course, to a focus on the clearest example of diversity: multilingualism. All the major issues in the sociolinguistic study of the so-called monolingual speech communities reappear in enlarged form in the study of language contact: style shift, linguistic change, code selection and speech repertoire, attitudes, and perhaps variation. Both societal pressures, then, and trends internal to our cultural perceptions and internal to linguistics have fostered the study of language contact from a number of different perspectives. We will turn to these shortly.

1.3 Situations of language contact

In section 1.1 we presented a schematic typology of bilingualism. Here we will attempt to describe what the dominant language contact situations in recent history are. Such a survey can only be very provisional and tentative, particularly because space and time play tricks on us. What seems like a stable situation now may rapidly change in the future, or be the interim result of an extremely drastic change that escapes our view.

A first historical situation of language contact is the linguistic archipelago: many often unrelated languages, each with few speakers, spoken in the same ecosphere. Such situations are rare at this moment, but must have been frequent in the precolonial era. Examples now are the Amazon basin and the Australian desert, where many aboriginal peoples still live in tribal groups. Sociolinguistically these areas are characterized by extensive bilingualism, linguistically by widespread diffusion of words and elements of grammar from language to language.

A second setting for language contact involves more or less stable borders between language families. One such border runs between the Romance and Germanic languages through Switzerland (where French and Romansch are spoken in the South, and Swiss German in the North) and Belgium (where Dutch and German are spoken in the North and French in the South). Another example is the border between the Indo-European and Dravidian languages running through India. It is hard to generalize across these cases: for India extensive borrowing is reported, and this does not seem to exist in Switzerland, and only marginally in Belgium. These differences appear to be due to the very different power and status relationships obtaining between the languages involved. In this book we return to such differences repeatedly. If one thing can be learned from language-contact studies it is how important the overall social context is. Sociolinguistics is not like chemistry, and when you put two languages together the same thing does not always happen.

The third type of situation in which language contact occurs is the result of European colonial expansion. Colonialism has not only created a number of societies in which high-prestige European languages coexist with the native languages of the conquered peoples. New varieties of the colonial languages were created also, resembling the original in the case of English, French, Portuguese and Spanish in the New World and in Australia, but also in often unrecognizable form, as in the Creole languages of the Caribbean, West Africa and the Pacific. Very roughly, the spread of the colonial languages can be represented as shown in Map 1.1.



Map 1.1 Schematic representation of the European colonial expansion

A fourth situation reflects individual pockets of speakers of minority languages, cut off by the surrounding national languages. Examples include Welsh and Gaelic in Great Britain, Frisian in the Netherlands, Basque in France and Spain. Often these groups reflect traditional populations, already in existence when new peoples and languages swept in.

The final situation is in some sense the result of a reverse migratory movement: the influx of people from the post-colonial Third World societies into the industrial world. People from the Caribbean have migrated to North America and Europe, people from Central America predominantly to the US, and people from the Mediterranean predominantly to Western Europe. Again, Map 1.2 gives some idea of these movements.

The result of these migratory patterns has been mentioned already: newly and uneasily multicultural and multilingual societies, faced with hitherto unknown educational problems but also with cultural enrichment and new possibilities.

The history of peoples and languages is very rich. Of many developments and languages all traces have disappeared. These types of language-contact situation are certainly not the only ones. Imagine all the sociolinguistic upheavals caused by the conquests of the Romans or the Mongols. When we look at a region such as the Balkans, which now is relatively stable, we realize how many linguistic changes involving many different languages must have taken place there. Present stability is the result of movement in the past.

1.4 The history of the field

The roots of the linguistic study of language contact go back at least to the comparative and historical tradition of the nineteenth century. William Dwight



Map 1.2 Schematic representation of the post-colonial migration to Europe and North America

Whitney (1881) explicitly discusses the role of borrowing in language change, and we will return to his views on the matter in chapter 14. Hugo Schuchardt documented a number of complex situations of language contact in publications from 1880 onward, and was the founder of modern creole language studies. His most complex contribution to this field, part of *Kreolische Studien IX* (1890), has not been followed up. In the wake of Schuchardt's work a number of other creolists, including Hesseling (e.g. 1899, 1905) and Turner (1949) have continued to develop the linguistic study of language-contact phenomena. Their work will be discussed in chapter 15, on pidgins and creoles.

Finally, work that can be viewed as presenting the first truly comprehensive view of language contact dates from the early 1950s, including both Weinreich's seminal *Languages in Contact* (1953) and Haugen's detailed study, *The Norwegian Language in America* (1953). These contributions can be considered at the same time as laying the foundation for what later came to be called the discipline of sociolinguistics. Quite independent of these scholars, we should mention Marcel Cohen's work in France, who started out as an Arabist and whose work gradually came to include a strong concern for language-contact phenomena, as shown e.g. in his *Pour une sociologie du langage* (1956).

1.5 Contributing disciplines and structure of the book

Bilingualism or *language contact* in itself is not a scientific discipline. It is an issue, a subject or a field of study to which various disciplines can contribute. The disciplines can interact or, on the other hand, function independently, because of differing viewpoints, methodologies or terminologies.

When in a given society languages are in contact this may be of interest for sociologists or social anthropologists. Languages are social phenomena or social institutions, and the division of a society into social groups is often reflected in linguistic divisions. Linguistic behaviour and attitudes towards languages in a bilingual society often give further insight into social norms and values. In most cases, the sociological approach to bilingualism involves a language as a whole, disregarding its different varieties, processes of internal change and structural aspects. In the first part of this book we will deal with data, viewpoints and theories from this 'sociology of bilingualism'.

More general topics such as the relation between language and (social) identity and the functioning of two languages in a community will be discussed in addition to more specific topics such as the position of minority languages in the school, the effects of bilingual education, and the problem of language planning.

Earlier in this chapter we made a distinction between societal and individual bilingualism. The bilingual individual can be profitably studied from the perspective of psychology. The second part of this book, *The bilingual speaker*, discusses psychological aspects of bilingualism, such as the different ways in which the two languages may be stored in the bilingual brain, the way in which a second language is acquired, and the psychological consequences of being bilingual.

The third part of this book is called *Language use in the bilingual community*. Here especially the contribution of sociolinguistics *per se*, i.e. the study of socially governed linguistic behaviour, will be presented. The chapters in this part will contain information on the languages people choose in interaction situations, or how they avoid making a specific choice, on ways in which people with different language backgrounds interact, and on the social consequences of specific interaction patterns.

The discipline of linguistics proper can contribute by discovering what happens to the structure of languages when they are in contact. This linguistic perspective is presented in the last part of this book. Do languages change when they are in contact with other languages? Can they borrow rules of grammar, or just words? Can languages mix, and how can new languages emerge out of language contact?

Distinguishing between sociological, psychological, sociolinguistic and linguistic contributions to the study of bilingualism and language contact is in many ways unsatisfactory and artificial, because they are so intricately interrelated. It is impossible to study a psychological topic such as the cognitive consequences of individual bilingualism without taking social factors into account such as the relative status of the languages involved. In the same way it is impossible to study the phenomenon of transfer in second-language acquisition without making a detailed comparison of the two linguistic systems involved. Therefore we will often refer to chapters in other parts of the book.

The subject matter of this book is a complex one, with societal, psychological and (socio)linguistic aspects that can only be separated on an abstract analytical level. This separation is reflected in the organization of this book because for us it was the only way to present an overview of research results from different disciplines. We hope it will not hinder the reader in developing a coherent view on the subject of language contact. Whatever the reason that there are so many languages spoken in the world (and people have been pondering this question since the Old Testament), the fact is that there are; and another fact is that many people find themselves at the

frontier of two languages. What we try to show in this book is that there are many ways of coping with this situation. The structural characteristics of the languages involved impose an outer limit on the possible linguistic outcomes of language contact. Which strategy is chosen by any one speaker depends on many factors: the relation between the speaker and the languages, and the societal context in which the speaker finds himself. We continue to be amazed at the versatility and resourcefulness of speakers: multilingualism is not just a problem, it can be a triumph of the human spirit.

Further reading

People interested in modern studies of language contact should consult Mackey's *Bilinguisme et contact des langues* (1976), an encyclopaedic survey with much relevant material and Grosjean's *Life with Two Languages* (1982), a highly readable book with many accounts of personal bilingual experiences. Fasold's *The Sociolinguistics of Society* (1984) documents the relations between the study of language contact and sociolinguistics in general. Baetens Beardsmore's *Bilingualism: Basic Principles* (1982) stresses psycholinguistic aspects, and the title of Skutnabb-Kangas's *Bilingualism or not: The education of minorities* (1983) is self-explanatory. In addition there are a number of collections of articles, of which we mention Fishman (1978) and Mackey and Ornstein (1979), both focusing on sociological subjects: demography, language maintenance and language and education, and finally McCormack and Wurm (1979), which contains articles on a variety of subjects, including code switching and language planning.

4 Language maintenance and shift

When Dolly Pentreath died in December 1777, the last native speaker of Cornish passed away. Cornish was formerly spoken by thousands of people in Cornwall, but the community of Cornish speakers did not succeed in maintaining its language under the pressure of English, the prestigious majority language and national language. To put it differently: the Cornish community shifted from Cornish to English (cf. Pool, 1982). Such a process seems to be going on in many bilingual communities. More and more speakers use the majority language in domains where they formerly spoke the minority tongue. They adopt the majority language as their regular vehicle of communication, often mainly because they expect that speaking that language gives better chances for upward social mobility and economic success. As Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977:35) point out in an article on language preservation and death in Brittany (France): 'it is necessary to present oneself as a member of the national majority to acquire positions (like jobs, official functions and educational facilities)'. In such cases the minority language is in danger of becoming obsolescent.

When a community stops speaking a minority language, of course this language will not always be extinguished. For example, if the Gujarati-speaking people in England shifted to English completely, Gujarati would not become a dead language. There are millions of speakers of Gujarati in other parts of the world, especially in India. For the (erstwhile) Gujarati community in England it would be a dead language.

Sometimes it seems that 'shift' can be equated with 'shift towards the majority or prestigious language', but in fact 'shift' is a neutral concept, and also shift towards the extended use of the minority language can be observed. For example, in the last decades French has strengthened its position in Quebec at the expense of English. After a period of shift towards the majority language, there is often a tendency to reverse the process, because some people come to realize that the minority language is disappearing, and they try to promote its use. These defenders of the minority language are often young, active members of cultural and political organizations that stand up for the social, economic and cultural interests of the minority group.

Why does one language survive and another one disappear? In section 4.1. we will give an overview of the factors that govern language maintenance and shift. Knowledge of these factors does not guarantee insight into the process of language shift, since people bring this about in their daily speech, and it is on this level that

explanations for shift must be found. This approach will be outlined in section 4.2.

When a language is reduced in its function, which happens in the case of shift towards the majority language, generally speakers will become less proficient in it, i.e. *language loss* is taking place. Language shift linked up with loss will finally result in *language death*. In section 4.3. we will further discuss these issues.

4.1 Factors influencing language maintenance

In various publications, for instance Glazer (1978), Gaarder (1979) and Clyne (1982) factors influencing language maintenance are discussed. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) have constructed a model to systematize the many factors operating. They propose a combination of three main factors (status, demographic and institutional support) into one factor which they call 'ethnolinguistic vitality'. According to Giles *et al.* (1977:308), '[the] vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations. From this, it is argued that ethnolinguistic minorities that have little or no group vitality would eventually cease to exist as distinctive groups. Conversely, the more vitality a linguistic group has, the more likely it will survive and thrive as a collective entity in an intergroup context.' With respect to the minority language, this implies that high vitality will lead to maintenance (or even shift towards extended use) and low vitality will result in shift towards the majority language, or, in some cases towards another more prestigious vernacular. In this section, we will largely follow the model presented in Giles *et al.* (1977), although it must be noted that the terminology in that model partly seems somewhat circular, and therefore trivial: the more *vitality* a group has, the more likely it will *survive*.

The first main category of factors distinguished by Giles *et al.* concerns *status*.

Economic status is a prominent factor in nearly all studies on language maintenance and shift. Where groups of minority language speakers have a relatively low economic status, there is a strong tendency to shift towards the majority language. For example, most speakers of Spanish in the USA find themselves in the low-income groups. They associate speaking English with academic achievement and economic progress. Spanish gets the stigma of the language of poor people, and parents who themselves sometimes have a poor command of English try to urge their children to speak English, because they have internalized the societal attitudes towards Spanish. Immigrant workers in Western Europe are also more or less forced to believe that their low economic status is mainly caused by the fact that they speak a minority language, for example Turkish, Serbo-Croatian or Greek. Immigrants who want to get ahead in society place a high value on speaking the majority language. This will negatively affect the use of their own language. According to Li (1982), Chinese Americans of lower socioeconomic status tend to be more easily assimilated than are those of higher status. The low-income Chinese Americans show the highest propensity for shift away from the Chinese mother tongue.

Economic changes, i.e. modernization, industrialization and urbanization, are important variables in the description of language maintenance and shift. Rindler Schjerve (1981) in an article on Sardinian notes that this type of economic change has led to a trend to use more Italian, which is associated with 'modern life' and higher

standards of living. In periods of modernization minority languages often suffer a double stigma: they are spoken by poor and traditional, old-fashioned people who cannot fully cope with the reality of modern economic life. However, economic changes might also affect language maintenance positively. Paulsen (1981) writes about the Ferring language, a Germanic language spoken on the islands Föhr and Amrun off the North Sea coast of Germany in the North Sea, and describes economic developments in the sixteenth century. After a strong reduction of the income from the fishing of herring, a school to teach young boys the craft of navigation was founded. The islands were thus able to offer the new Dutch overseas companies many well-trained sailors and officers, mainly for whaling in the Arctic and for the Far East shipping. This resulted in nearly three centuries of economic independence which was a safeguard to the position of Ferring.

Social status is very closely aligned to economic status, and it is probably equally important with respect to language maintenance. A group's social status, which here refers to the group's self-esteem, depends largely upon its economic status. Speakers of Quechua in Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia will generally consider themselves to have low social status, and tend to shift towards Spanish, which has the connotations of higher social status.

Sociohistorical status is derived from the ethnolinguistic group's history. Many groups can refer to periods in which they had to defend their ethnic identity of their independence. These historical instances can be viewed as mobilizing symbols which inspire individuals to struggle for their common interests as members of an ethnolinguistic group, as group members in the past did. The Flemish people, for example, can draw inspiration from their struggle against French domination. The 'Guldensporenslag' (Battle of the Golden Spurs) in 1302 when Flemish troops held their own against French-speaking nobles, still has mobilizing power. Tupac Amaru, the eighteenth-century Peruvian rebel against the Spanish colonial regime, stressed Quechua as a symbol of the glorious Inca past, and gained a large following as a messianic leader.

Language status can be an important variable in bilingual communities. For instance, French, Russian, English and Spanish have a high status as languages of international communication. Therefore it would be easier to preserve French in Quebec than Ukrainian, Vietnamese or Dutch. However, it should be noted that status within a community should be distinguished from status outside the community. French has high status outside Canada, but in Canada English has higher credits. Also, in the Arabic world Arabic has very high status, because it is the language of the Koran, i.e. the language of God. In Belgium, France and the Netherlands, however, Arabic is not held in high esteem by most people.

Language and social status are closely related in the sense that the latter influences the former. The self-ascribed language status will be low especially if the minority group speaks a dialect of the language in question. Many speakers of Spanish in the South-West of the USA have negative attitudes towards their variety of Spanish; they view it as 'only a dialect', or a kind of 'border slang', and not as a real language. This feeling of linguistic inferiority is particularly strong in cases of a minority language which is not standardized and/or modernized (see chapter 5). For this reason, a creole language like Haitian will have a low status in New York where there is a large community of Haitian immigrants and refugees. Languages with low status are in danger of becoming obsolescent. Whether this will happen also depends on the status

of the 'competing language', which will often be the majority language. Immigrants in Denmark will have a weaker tendency to shift towards Danish than immigrants in England towards English, because of the higher status of English compared to Danish generally.

Demographic factors constitute the second main category in the model of Giles *et al.* (1977). They concern the number of members of a linguistic minority group and their geographical distribution. The absolute number of speakers of a certain language becomes important when it decreases. Such a development implies decreasing usefulness of the language in question, which in turn will give rise to language shift away from the minority language. Clyne (1982) studied language maintenance among immigrants in Australia, and he concludes that there is no general correspondence between numerical strength and language maintenance. For one group, the Maltese community, however, such a correspondence could be found when comparing data on language shift in various Australian states. The two states with relatively large Maltese populations turned out to have the lowest rates of shift towards English, and those with very few Maltese immigrants had very high rates of shift (see Table 4.1.).

Table 4.1 Maltese population ratio in four Australian states and language shift towards English in first generation immigrants, i.e. immigrants born outside of Australia (table adapted from Clyne, 1982)

State or territory	% of Maltese born to total population	language shift (%) in first generation
Victoria	0.81	29.29
New South Wales	0.52	28.31
Northern Territory	0.06	66.67
Tasmania	0.02	67.95

The percentage of speakers maintaining a minority language can be strongly influenced by the occurrence of mixed or inter-ethnic marriages. In these marriages, the most prestigious language generally has the best chance to survive as the language of the home, and hence as the first language of the child. Pulte (1979) conducted a household survey in several Oklahoma Cherokee communities in an attempt to obtain data on language maintenance and shift in Cherokee families. Although Pulte concludes that Cherokee is still flourishing in a few communities, he also notes that in every family where a Cherokee-speaker was married to a non-Cherokee-speaker, the children were found to be monolingual speakers of English.

Clyne (1982) also provides data on the effects of marriage between native speakers of English and speakers of other languages, so-called Anglo-ethnic marriages. Table 4.2. (compiled on the basis of two tables in Clyne's study) presents the rate of language shift in the second-generation children of intra-ethnic and Anglo-ethnic marriages.

Table 4.2 shows that shift towards English is nearly complete for children from Anglo-German, Anglo-Maltese and Anglo-Dutch marriages. With respect to other inter-ethnic marriages (with no native English-speaking parent) Clyne states that the number of children born from these is too small to generalize, but it appears that most of them adopt English as their main language, except in cases where one of the parents, particularly when it is the father, is of Italian or Greek origin.

Table 4.2 Rate of language shift in the second-generation children of intra-ethnic and Anglo-ethnic marriages in Australia

Birthplace of both parents or one parent	% language shift of 2nd generation children of intra-ethnic marriages	% language shift of 2nd generation children of Anglo-ethnic marriages
Germany	62.3	96.2
Greece	10.1	68.4
Italy	18.6	78.5
Malta	53.7	94.6
Netherlands	80.0	99.1

The geographical distribution of minority group members generally affects language maintenance and shift considerably. As long as they live concentrated in a certain area, minority groups have better chances of maintaining their language. The importance of this factor can be illustrated with examples from all over the world. Especially in Quebec where many French-speaking Canadians are concentrated, French is a vital language, while in other parts of Canada, where the speakers of French live more dispersed, there is a tendency to shift away from French (cf. Lieberman, 1967). Li (1982), in his study on language shift of Chinese Americans, found that third-generation Chinese-Americans residing in Chinatowns shifted substantially less often towards English than their agemates living outside Chinatowns. For example, less than 30 per cent of the third-generation Chinatown residents aged 20–39 had adopted English as their mother tongue, while this was the case for 50 per cent of the group living outside Chinatowns. In the same way the distribution of minority language speakers can change because of immigration and emigration patterns. Jones (1981) shows that Welsh, which was in Wales unquestionably dominant at the end of the nineteenth century, has been forced back in areas where large-scale immigration of workers from outside Wales took place in the first decades of this century. Emigration during the depression in the 1930s from mining valleys where Welsh was widely spoken has had the same result. With respect to the more recent period, Jones points to tourism and the in-migration of English-speaking retired people and second-home ownership. The consequences were (and are) that the concentration of Welsh speakers is becoming lower, and mixed Welsh-English communities arise with a shift towards English.

Urban-rural differences are important in the analysis of patterns of language shift as well. Generally, rural groups tend to preserve a minority language much longer than urban groups. Hill and Hill (1977) studied language shift in Nahuatl-speaking communities in Central Mexico (Nahuatl is also known as 'Mexicano' or 'Aztec'). They found that the settlement of rural people in cities and industrial suburbs fostered shift towards Spanish. In an article on the survival of ethnolinguistic minorities in Canada, Anderson (1979) concludes that research in Saskatchewan has indicated that members of ethnic groups (such as Ukrainians) living on farms have maintained their language better than those living in small towns and villages, who in turn have resisted shift towards English more strongly than those in large urban centres.

Probably, the geographical distribution in itself is not the causal factor in language maintenance and shift, but related communication patterns and the absence or presence of daily social pressure to use the prestigious language. When residing on a farm, where perhaps the neighbours are members of the same linguistic minority

group, there is not much need to use the majority language. The home is the most important domain of language use, and this domain is reserved for the minority language. On the contrary, people living in urban centres will be forced in various situations to use the majority language daily, which will weaken the position of the minority tongue.

The third main cluster of factors proposed by Giles *et al.* (1977) is that of the *institutional support factors*, which refer to the extent to which the language of a minority group is represented in the various institutions of a nation, a region or a community. Maintenance is supported when the minority language is used in various institutions of the government, church, cultural organizations, etc. In politically well-organized minority groups (such as the Chicanos in the USA) minority languages are often a vehicle of expression.

Mass media can affect language shift considerably. In the above-mentioned study by Hill and Hill (1977), it is argued that the shift from Nahuatl towards Spanish is also brought about by the introduction of electricity and radios in the early 1940s. Nowadays, many ordinary dwellings in the area studied in Central Mexico have high-fidelity stereo consoles, television and radio which will further promote the use of Spanish. Broadcasting in minority languages, on the other hand, can boost these languages, just like the publishing of newspapers, books, etc. in minority languages.

When the minority language is also the language of the *religion* this will be an impetus for its maintenance. For example, German has held a rather strong position in the United States for a long time, compared with immigrant languages like Dutch and Swedish, because it was the language of the Lutheran church. Religion can also be a general divisive force, which among other things affects language maintenance. Kloss (1966) studied the language situation of the Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites of German descent living in Pennsylvania, who speak Pennsylvania Dutch (from *Deutsch* = German) as their mother tongue. According to Kloss, the point of departure for these Old Order groups is their religion rather than nationality or language. 'They maintain their language in order to more fully exclude worldly influences and, perhaps, because change in itself is considered sinful. Neither language nor nationality is valued for its own sake, (Kloss, 1966:206).

Providing *governmental or administrative services* in the mother tongue can stimulate maintenance. In modern societies every individual has to interact frequently with representatives of local or national authorities. If the medium of communication is always the majority language, this will diminish the usefulness of the minority language.

Education is very important with respect to language maintenance. If children's proficiency in the minority language is fostered at school, and they learn to read and write in it, this will contribute to maintenance.

Government activities concerning languages in multilingual communities will be further dealt with in chapter 5, *Language Planning*. One of these activities might concern education, for example establishing facilities for education in the minority language in addition to the majority language. It will be discussed in chapter 6, *Bilingual Education*.

Besides the main factors distinguished by Giles *et al.* (1977), we further mention *cultural (dis-)similarity* as an important variable in the analysis of language maintenance/shift. On the basis of data on language shift of immigrants in Australia, Clyne

(1982) concludes that when the cultures involved are similar there is a greater tendency for shift than when they are less similar. German and Dutch immigrants, who have culturally much in common with the English-speaking Australian community, show a greater shift towards English than Italian and Greek immigrants, who will experience a greater cultural distance.

Before we turn to the next section, in which the process of language shift itself will be discussed, three things must be said about the factors presented thus far.

- 1 The various factors and sub-factors are presented separately, but they may correlate strongly. For example, a group with a low economic status will often have a low sociohistorical status as well; it will not have control over mass media and it will not be able to fight for educational programmes in the minority language.
- 2 Since so many factors (probably interrelated) play a part, it is impossible to predict language maintenance or shift for certain groups. Most research on this issue is purely *post-hoc* and descriptive, and a fully-fledged theory of language maintenance is not available.
- 3 The factors considered do not influence language maintenance and shift directly, but only indirectly via intervening variables, as is represented in Figure 4.1.

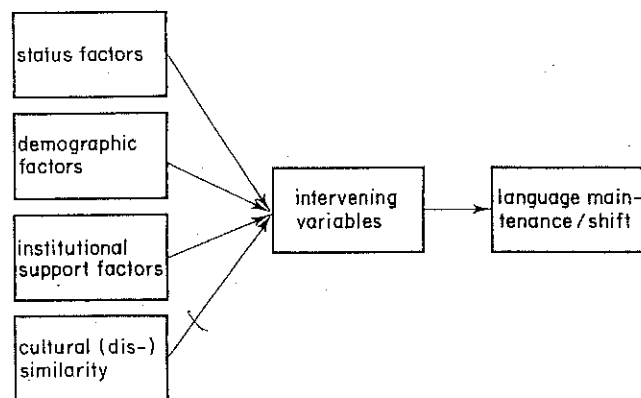


Figure 4.1 Factors affecting language maintenance

The crucial question is of course: what are these intervening variables? How do the large-scale sociological factors influence individual behaviour, and thereby language maintenance/shift? To answer this question, a different type of research is necessary. To this we will turn in the next section.

4.2 The process of language shift

To study language maintenance or shift a researcher can collect data on the factors discussed in the previous section and on the distribution and use of languages in a multilingual community by asking people questions like: Which language do you speak regularly in your home? Which language do you speak regularly at work? Then

the researcher can try to relate information about social factors to the data on language use. This type of research is usually large-scale, and the actual language behaviour and language attitudes of the members of the community are not studied. In another approach the focus of the investigation is on the language behaviour and attitudes of individuals, because it is assumed that only in this way can researchers gain real insight into the process of language shift. (Because multi-lingual situations are never stable, there will always be some kind of *shift*, therefore, we will restrict ourselves in this and the next section to this process; see also chapter 2.) Such studies have to be conducted on a smaller scale, because the researcher must become acquainted with the social life of individuals in the community. Participant observation, i.e. living in the community to be studied and participating in its daily activities like an anthropologist in an African village, is the best method of reaching this goal.

Susan Gal's study of language shift in Oberwart (Austria) is a magnificent example of research along these lines (Gal, 1979). Oberwart (Felsőőr in Hungarian) is a village in Burgenland, a province in the east of Austria, bordering Hungary. Oberwart was a peasant village, and the peasants generally spoke Hungarian. German was only used with outsiders and strangers. However, in the last 50 to 70 years, especially after the Second World War, German has been replacing Hungarian in many instances of everyday interaction. In the 1920s children spoke only Hungarian with each other, while at the time of Gal's stay in Oberwart (she lived there for a year), the use of German between age-mates was quite common for children under 15. Young parents address their children not in Hungarian – like their parents did – but in German, and they switch to Hungarian only occasionally.

The language shift in Oberwart can be related to economic changes. The former more or less 'pure' peasant economy of Oberwart does not exist any more. Since about 1950 industrialization has become important. Agricultural work came to be associated with the past and with a lack of social mobility and economic opportunities. If an Oberwarter did not want to stay on the farm, a good proficiency in German was indispensable. German began to intrude in domains, e.g. the local inn, which were formerly nearly completely reserved for Hungarian. Gal notes that language shift is related, of course, to social-economic change. The real question, however, is '[by] what intervening processes does industrialization, or any other social change, effect changes in the uses to which speakers put their languages in everyday interaction?' (Gal, 1979:3). In answering this question Gal takes two sociolinguistic phenomena into account. The first one concerns the relation between language and identity (see also chapter 2). In post-war Oberwart Hungarian has lost prestige, it has become the language associated with traditional, elderly people, while German has come to be seen as the language of economic progress and modern life. Generally, speakers want to express their social status in their linguistic behaviour, and try to assert their identity by choosing a certain language. Most of the younger people in Oberwart, who had no knowledge of speakers of Hungarian outside the village, therefore adopted German. Hungarian was associated strongly with a stigmatized social group.

The second sociolinguistic phenomenon Gal considers is the importance of social networks, i.e. 'the networks of informal social interaction in which speakers are enmeshed and through which, by pressure and inducements, participants impose linguistic norms on each other' (Gal, 1979:14). It is not only the frequency of social contact which is important, but also the nature of the relationship between the speakers, the social character of the contacts and the purpose of the interaction. In

Oberwart one cannot simply say: that person belongs to the social group of peasants, therefore he or she speaks Hungarian, and that person belongs to the group of non-peasants, therefore he or she speaks German. Again, there is no direct relation between social factors and language use, because the networks in which people participate have a stronger and more direct influence. For example, an industrial worker with a largely peasant network will use more Hungarian than one with a non-peasant network. Figure 4.2. indicates the proportion of German – $(G + GH)/(G + GH + H)$ – used by speakers in three age groups. In each generation the informants are grouped according to the proportion of peasants in their networks. The proportion of German used is computed on the basis of information provided by the speakers on domains in which they spoke German (G), German and Hungarian (GH) and Hungarian (H).

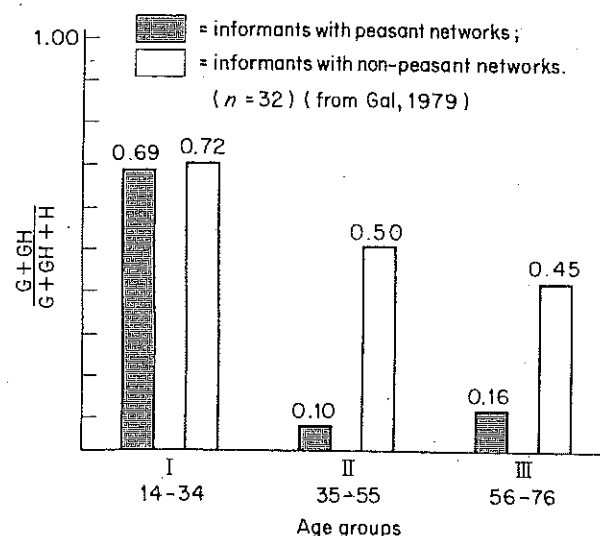


Figure 4.2 Proportion of German used by informants in Oberwart with peasant and non-peasant networks in three age groups

Figure 4.2. shows that speakers in the younger generation in general use more German, irrespective of network, but the people of the middle and the older generation vary their language according to the network they are participating in.

The processes described by Gal are not exclusive to multilingual societies. They can also be observed in monolingual communities, where different linguistic varieties are in use. The form of linguistic change in Oberwart, where Hungarian is gradually being replaced by German, has a direct parallel in a monolingual community where one linguistic variant takes the place of another. The social meaning of the variants considered, the status speakers want to claim in choosing certain variants, and the social networks these speakers are part of, are important factors in explaining linguistic change in this situation as well.

Linguistic change takes place by the gradual spread of the 'new form' in a certain

domain. Language A (or variant A) is never replaced suddenly by language B (or variant B), but language use becomes variable, i.e. A and B are both used in the same social context. After this stage of variable use, the use of B will become categorical. In Oberwart, Gal has observed this variable use of German and Hungarian in social contexts where formerly the use of Hungarian was categorical, and she predicts categorical use of German in the future. Linguistic change, within a language, or in the form of language shift, as in Oberwart, has its source in the synchronic heterogeneity in the speech community. Linguistic diversity is at the same time the reflection of and the impetus for this change.

In many minority communities the ethnic language has had a strong position in informal domains, particularly in family interaction. However, here, the majority language often intrudes, with variable language use as its result. Lieberman and McCabe (1982) studied the relation between domains of language use and mother-tongue shift in Nairobi in the Gujarati-speaking population. They found that many parents used both Gujarati and English in addressing their children, and that much of the shift from Gujarati towards English can be explained by this fact. In interactions in the homes of immigrant workers' families in Western Europe the same pattern can be observed, but there especially the children introduce the majority language.

Language shift is in fact the redistribution of varieties of language over certain domains. If the shift is towards the majority language, this language seems to conquer domain after domain via the intermediate stage of bilingual language use. When the minority language is spoken in fewer domains, its value decreases. This in turn will lessen the motivation of younger people to learn and use it.

In addition to 'domain', an important notion in the analysis of language shift is *generation*. Figure 4.2. already showed clear generational differences in Oberwart related to different social perspectives of the younger group: they often want to claim social status different from that of their parents' generation. Therefore, younger people choose another language as their regular medium of communication. Rindler Schjerve (1981), in an article on bilingualism and language shift in Sardinia, gives an example of a household with family members belonging to four generations. 'An 80-year-old grandmother was illiterate and monolingually Sardinian, the 50-year-old mother, due to insufficient education, had a rather limited proficiency in Italian, the 30-year-old daughter having been to school for eight years spoke Italian well, though not perfectly, and used it when talking to their children, while she used Sardinian with her husband. Her reason for using Italian with her children is to avoid their being discriminated against in school; this, of course, resulted in the 12-year-old schoolboy's having only a limited command of Sardinian and speaking a rather monostylistic and Sardicized Italian' (Rindler Schjerve, 1981:212).

Language shift may come about slowly and go on for several generations, but especially in changing social situations it may be a rather fast process. This is often the case for immigrant groups. Tosi (1984) studied bilingualism and language shift among Italian immigrants in Bedford (Great Britain). The first-generation immigrants generally use a local Italian dialect as the principal medium of communication within the family. Until school age, their children mostly speak this dialect, only occasionally switching to English, and when there are several children in the household they often speak English among themselves. But English really gains influence when the children go to school and become more proficient in it. English will then inevitably be brought into the household: initially for use mainly with other

siblings, but later also in interactions with the parents. A younger person will gradually learn to understand that the two languages are associated with two different value systems, and that these systems often collide with each other. This results in personal and emotional conflicts. Tosi points to the linguistic and cultural conflict between generations. The 'regular' conflict between two generations is accentuated because of differences in values, outlook and aspirations. These differences are symbolized in the language behaviour of the generations, i.e. the preference for Italian (dialect) vs English.

The general pattern for language shift in immigrant groups is as follows. The first generation (born in the country of origin) is bilingual, but the minority language is clearly dominant, the second generation is bilingual and either of the two languages might be strongest, the third generation is bilingual with the majority language dominating, and the fourth generation only has command of the majority language. This is only a general pattern, and the picture for specific immigrant groups is different, largely depending on the factors discussed in section 4.1.

To conclude this section, we want to emphasize one important issue: the literature on language shift sometimes suggests that a whole minority group is in the process of shifting from one language to the other, and differences between individuals are not noticed. However, minority groups are not undifferentiated, monolithic wholes, but comprise different sub-groups with different cultural attitudes and political opinions. These differences may come to surface as differences in language behaviour. Language shift is not inevitable, and (groups of) individuals may promote the use of the minority language in the home environment, aiming at bilingualism. Tosi (1984) witnessed this attitude among a few young people of Italian descent in Bedford.

4.3 Language loss

As a language loses territory in a given community, speakers will become less proficient in it. In linguistic minority groups children will often speak the language of the group less well than their parents. In a study of bilingualism among children of Italian background in South Australia, Smolicz (1983) concludes that their command of Italian and Italian dialect is generally inferior to their command of English. The same holds for the language proficiency of Yugoslavian children in Germany, analysed by Stölting (1980). The children, from Serbo-Croatian speaking families, were born in Yugoslavia, and had been living in Germany for at least two years. Stölting found that the children had only a limited command of Serbo-Croatian, especially the ones who had come to Germany at an early age. Many children spoke German better than Serbo-Croatian, particularly as far as vocabulary was concerned.

Many members from minority groups seem to have word-finding problems. Appel (1983:164) quotes a Moroccan boy of 14 years who had lived in the Netherlands for four years. The boy admitted that with other Moroccan boys he generally used a mix of Dutch and Moroccan-Arabic: 'You have forgotten a few words and then you just say it in Dutch'. Kiers (1982) interviewed Moroccan young men who complained about the fact that the words in their mother tongue seemed 'to fly away'.

The loss of lexical skills in the minority language goes hand in hand with another phenomenon, i.e. the process of relexification: words from the dominant language are replacing words in the minority language. In their analysis of language shift in

Nahuatl-speaking communities in Central Mexico, Hill and Hill (1977) identify massive relexification from Spanish. This influences the attitudes of the people towards Nahuatl negatively. They feel that it is no longer pure and this probably contributes to its decline in use. Jones (1981) also points to the fact that the English relexification of Welsh 'has the effect of undermining attitudes towards the language and encouraging a feeling of Welsh linguistic inadequacy' (p. 49). Furthermore, Jones sees the code-switching and code-mixing he has observed in Wales as a negative phenomenon; it might be an intermediate stage between the usage of Welsh only and English only (see also section 4.2.). However, code-switching can also have other connotations, as we will illustrate in chapters 10 and 11.

Another frequently observed aspect of language loss is the reduction of the morphological system by less proficient speakers. The morphology of the minority language is often simplified, and fluent speakers only apply general rules without knowing the exceptions. Nancy Dorian investigated extensively what she calls a 'dying Scottish Gaelic dialect', East Sutherland Gaelic (ESG) spoken by fewer than 150 people at the time of the study (in the 1970s) (all of them also English-speaking) on the east coast of the county of Sutherland, in the extreme north of mainland Scotland. In addition to other aspects of bilingualism, Dorian analysed the application of morphological rules in three groups of speakers: older fluent speakers of ESG, younger fluent speakers and semi-speakers. The Gaelic of the semi-speakers is imperfect in many ways, in terms of the older group. She asked informants from the three groups to translate sentences from English into ESG, in order to determine whether changes were appearing in the complex morphology of noun plurals and noun gerunds of ESG.

Dorian (1978) distinguishes 11 morphological devices in the formation of the noun plural, simple suffixation being the most simple one; examples of other, more complex devices are changes in vowel length plus suffixation and vowel alternation plus suffixation. She also distinguishes 11 morphological devices in the formation of the gerund, again simple suffixation being the simplest one in addition to more complex devices comparable to the pluralization devices. Table 4.3. presents part of Dorian's results with respect to realization of noun plurals and gerunds.

Table 4.3 Realization of noun plurals and gerunds by three groups of speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic (adapted from Dorian, 1978)

	Speaker group		
	old fluent speakers	young fluent speakers	semi-speakers
% of plurals formed by simple suffixation	50	44	63.5
% of zero plurals	-	0.5	9
% of gerunds formed by simple suffixation	49	46	63.5

The table shows that the less proficient speakers use the device of simple suffixation (for forming plurals as well as gerunds) considerably more than the two other groups who employ more complex devices. Strikingly, the data on plurals and gerunds

almost match one another. Furthermore, zero plurals (i.e. no change in the root noun, where it should be changed) are in fact only present in the language of the semi-speakers. In the title of her article, Dorian uses the expression 'the fate of morphological complexity': there is a clear tendency in less proficient speakers of ESG to drop complex morphological devices, and to restrict themselves to simple rules.

Next to lexical reduction and replacement, and morphological simplification, monostylism is a third aspect of language loss. In general, languages are heterogeneous: different variants of one language can express the same meaning, and the actual choice of a certain variant depends on characteristics of the speech situation. One could also say that a language consists of different styles (although it is impossible clearly to divide a language into them) and that styles are related to situations, i.e. a certain style is considered appropriate in a certain situation. However, in cases of language shift, the language shifted away from will be used in fewer situations. This will entail a reduction of the number of stylistic variants. As Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977) have noted with regard to Breton, the styles will merge with one another, and monostylism is the result. 'The young non-nationalistic speakers of Breton especially cope with formal situations in French; Breton remains restricted to informal events. If such monostylistic Bretons are forced by a nationalist to speak Breton in other situations, they do not have command of a suitable style' (p. 37). Monostylism will further contribute to the decay of a language because it restricts its use value.

Lefebvre (1979) addresses the issue of monostylism by analysing the relation between function and form of a language. Many scholars have shown that in the process of creolization, expansion in function of a language is correlated with expansion of the linguistic structure (see also chapter 15, *Pidgins and Creoles*). Lefebvre demonstrates in her article on the spoken Quechua in the community of Cuzco (Peru) that a loss of function by a language may entail a loss of a specific linguistic distinction. Although the speech community of Cuzco is quite heterogeneous, in general, Quechua is considered as the intimate code, and Spanish the formal code, also for fluent Quechua speakers. In the last decades Spanish has gained in importance over Quechua, because Spanish is associated with formal education and social progress. Lefebvre analysed the use of the first-person plural inclusive in sentence like:

- (1) maymanta wayqi-y ka-n-čis
 where-from brother-my be-1st pers. pl.incl.
 Literally: 'where are we (incl.) from my brother?' – 'Where are you from, brother?'

The first-person plural inclusive is used to indicate respect towards the addressee, it marks distance between the interlocutors, but also tenderness or affection. The alternate form, the second person singular, has no connotations. According to Lefebvre, it is the neutral or unmarked form. In (1a) the speaker does not express his or her relation to the addressee.

- (1a) maymanta wayqi-y ka-nki
 where-from brother-my be-2nd pers. sg.

In the data Lefebvre recorded, the first-person plural inclusive used for addressing a second-person singular only occurred in the speech of the older speakers, and not in

the speech of anybody under 30 years old, except for two radio announcers (who used Quechua in their announcements). A correlation could be observed between use of the first-person plural inclusive and poor Spanish skills. Lefebvre argues that Quechua monolinguals or quasi-monolinguals use the first-person plural inclusive in contexts where bilingual speakers would switch to Spanish. This means that the expanding use of Spanish in formal domains entails the loss of a morphological marker in Quechua; the loss of a function for Quechua correlates with the loss of a form. The fact that the radio announcers still use the 'old form' can even be considered as further evidence supporting this conclusion. On the air, a formal code is used.

Language shift and language loss go hand in hand. The two processes reinforce each other with the ultimate result of language death, when no other community speaks the language in question. But also if the language does not die, because it is still in use somewhere else, for a certain community it may become a dead language. The community loses a strong symbol of identity which will influence the social-psychological conditions and the social life considerably.

Language shift and loss are not inevitable processes, however. Minority groups can experience that shift towards the majority language does not always imply better chances for educational achievement and upward social mobility. A group may 'give away' its language without getting social-economic advantages in return. It is no longer discriminated against because of language, but because of colour, culture, etc. On the basis of such experiences minority group members may develop strategies to foster use of the minority language and to improve proficiency in the minority language, which is then revitalized. That such strategies may succeed is shown by the fact that French has regained a rather strong position in Canada.

Further reading

Fishman's *Language loyalty in the United States* (1966) is an early and classic study on language maintenance and shift of linguistic minorities in the USA. It has found a more recent counterpart or follow-up in Veltman's book *Language shift in the United States*. (1983) Collections of articles on the subject of language maintenance with case studies from different parts of the world can be found in J. Fishman (ed.) *Advances in the study of societal multilingualism* (1978) and the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, no. 25 (1980). In Clyne's *Multilingual Australia* (1982) much information on an extensive study of language maintenance and use of Australian immigrants is presented. Cooper has edited a book with articles on the subject of language spread, i.e. the increasing use of certain languages: *Language spread; Studies in diffusion and social change* (1982). Finally, we want to mention again Susan Gal's excellent study *Language shift; Social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria* (1979) which contains a discussion of various theoretical sociolinguistic issues related to the subject of language shift.