

Reading 5

Sachdev, I. & Giles, H. 'Bilingual Accommodation.' In T.K. Bhatia & W.C. Ritchie (eds) *The Handbook of Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2006.

14 Bilingual Accommodation

ITESH SACHDEV AND
HOWARD GILES

14.1 Introduction

A variety of interdependent processes associated with globalization, including greater geographical, demographic, social and information exchange and mobility, have enabled contacts and communication between cultures and languages to grow almost exponentially. Being bilingual is "a normal and unremarkable necessity for the majority of the world today" (Edwards, 1994, p. 1) and researchers have increasingly focused on the complexities underlying bilingualism in individual, communicational, developmental, and societal perspectives (e.g. Grosjean, 1982; Hamers and Blanc, 2000; Romaine, 1995; this volume). The aim of this chapter is to provide a general overview of a social psychological approach to bilingual communication that springboards from notions of bilingual accommodation.

Consider what happens when a bilingual makes a request (or greeting, etc.) in one language. At least three classes of replies may be observed, those in: (1) the same language as the request; (2) a different language from the request; and (3) a combination of languages. Within and between these three possible general options, there is a complex number of variations. For instance, although interactants may use the same language, they may vary their communication on other linguistic (e.g. accent, lexis), discursial, and non-verbal features. When interactants use combinations of languages, there may be variation in terms of employing two languages in the same sentence, or different languages between sentences, or different languages between speaker turns (see Sachdev and Bourhis, 2001 for examples). In order to understand and model the vast array of acts of multilingual communication, this chapter invokes Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), a view that Giles and his colleagues have been developing over the last thirty years (e.g. Coupland and Giles, 1988; Giles, 1984; Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991; Niedzielsky and Giles, 1996). CAT has been revised many times over the years and has, on occasion, been presented in ever more refined propositional formats (e.g.

Gallois, Giles, Jones, Cargile, and Ota, 1995; Giles, Mulac, Bradac, and Johnson, 1987). In this context, we will resist that kind of approach and present the essence of CAT by purely textual means. The review presented herein is necessarily selective: it focuses specifically on bilingual and multilingual accommodation – and not on other types of accommodation (accent, speech rate, etc.). For the remainder of this chapter, the term “bilingual” includes “multilingual”, unless specifically indicated. After we have provided readers with a flavor of CAT, we shall introduce the components of a modestly revised social psychological model of bilingualism (Sachdev and Bourhis, 2001) which derives, in no small part, from these theoretical beginnings.

14.2 CAT: A Brief Overview of Some Basic Concepts and Processes

There is a substantial body of literature showing that languages and language choices are not just “neutral” means of communication (e.g. Giles and Johnson, 1981; Gumperz and Hymes, 1972; Sachdev and Bourhis, 1990). Which language(s) is or are used, when, why, and by whom, are important questions given the crucial role that language plays as “the recorder of paternity, the expressor of patrimony and the carrier of phenomenology” (Fishman, 1977, p. 25). CAT is presented as a social psychological approach employed to integrate micro-individual aspects with the macro-collective levels of bilingual communication (Bourhis, 1979; Clément and Bourhis, 1996; Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor, 1977). Before we engage the basic strategies and ideas inherent in CAT, let us outline four major assumptions of the theory:

- Bilingual communication is influenced not only by features of the immediate situation and participants’ initial orientations to it, but also by the socio-historical context in which the interaction is embedded (see also Johnson, 2000). For example, language choices occurring in a chance, one-off encounter between a police officer and an immigrant could be influenced (and even marred) by alleged and past hostile relations between other members of these two groups in the neighborhood and/or on the media. Indeed, this facet of CAT is so important that we shall devote a significant proportion of our chapter to such issues in due course.
- Bilingual communication is not *only* a matter of exchanging referential information, but salient social category memberships are often negotiated during an interaction through the processes of accommodation. An example of this has been noted in bilingual Montreal (Canada) where anglophones perceive francophones more favorably when the latter converge toward English rather than continuing in French, and also vice versa. Bourhis (1984a, p. 34), in discussing this situation, notes that “since both . . . interlocutors communicated in each other’s weaker language, this study showed that

mutual language convergence could be used as a strategy to promote ethnic harmony, even at the potential cost of communicative effectiveness."

- Interactants have expectations regarding *optimal* levels of bilingual accommodation. These anticipations can be based on stereotypes about outgroup members, ways of conducting appropriate intergroup business, and the prevailing social and situational norms. Giles, Taylor, and Bourhis (1973) reflected an example provided them by Dell Hymes in which a westerner accommodated to a Tanzanian official (thinking he was being socially sensitive and bilingually competent). However, the official construed this as an (over-accommodating) insult to the extent that it implied the Tanzanian could not speak good English; it was, in contrast, perceived as patronizing and over-ingratiating. In another part of the world, Ross and Shortreed (1990) found that some Japanese were extremely uncomfortable with westerners who were proficient in Japanese. In response, they might intentionally switch to English or adopt a foreigner talk register in Japanese. Calibrating the amount of perceived non-, under-, and even overaccommodating language that one receives can be an important ingredient in withdrawing from an interaction, or continuing with it in a particular way.

There are, of course, an array of reasons why bilinguals switch their languages, including not finding the right word at that moment, allowing others to have practice at one's language, the desire to impart a cosmopolitan identity or a community identity through humor, and so on and so forth (see, for example, Burt, 1994, 1998; O'Driscoll, 2001). CAT attempts to model the motives and evaluations of switching in terms of a balance of social psychological processes focusing on social integration and differentiation.

14.3 Strategies of Convergence and Divergence: Motives and Evaluations

As described above, CAT suggests that individuals use communication, in part, to indicate their attitudes toward each other and, as such, communication is a barometer of the level of social distance between them. This constant movement toward and away from others, by changing one's communicative behavior, is called *accommodation*. Among the different accommodative strategies that speakers use to achieve these goals, *convergence* has been the most extensively studied – and can be considered the historical core of CAT (Giles, 1973; see also Bell, 1984). It has been defined as a strategy whereby individuals adapt their communicative behaviors in terms of a wide range of linguistic (e.g. speech rate, accents), paralinguistic (e.g. pauses, utterance length), and nonverbal features (e.g. smiling, gazing) in such a way that they become more similar to their interlocutor's behavior. It is noteworthy that

even in the apparently socially sterile laboratory setting of Giles, Taylor, and Bourhis's (1973) study, at least 14 different types of bilingual convergence were observed.

For our purposes here, convergence is not only confined to situations where a bilingual objectively moves toward the language preference of another but, importantly, when they *believe* they have accomplished this fact (Thakerar, Giles, and Cheshire, 1982). An undergraduate of one of us resides in a basically anglophone city where a significant proportion of the population is Hispanic. It is not uncommon for her, given her physiognomy, to be addressed immediately in Spanish; an approach that sometimes incurs her consternation. She is actually Russian-American in origin and has no Latina ancestry whatsoever yet, as it happens, is very proficient in Spanish. On occasion, her conversants will never be made aware by her that they were guilty of ethnic miscategorization and that their convergent moves miscarried (see Platt and Weber, 1984).

Conversely, the strategy of *divergence* leads to an accentuation of language (and cultural) differences. Again one of us (an English-only monolingual) recalls many years ago walking into a North Welsh pub to be greeted by the whole clientele switching from English into Welsh as he opened the door. Finally, the strategy of *maintenance* is, as the term implies, an act of not converging (or actively diverging) from another but, instead, sustaining (somewhat purposively) one's own native language usage (see Bourhis, 1979). A classic instance of this was in the 1970s when an Arab diplomat issued a global media communiqué about the Middle East oil situation in Arabic rather than in English, as had traditionally been the case; a forerunner to this event was that the Arab nations cognized their economic muscle in this business domain.

Another important conceptual distinction is whether the convergence or divergence is "upward" or "downward" in terms of its societal valence (Giles and Powesland, 1975). Upward convergence would be illustrated by a French Canadian worker's adoption of the prestige language patterns of an English-speaking (albeit bilingual) manager (see Barkhuizen and de Klerk, 2000; Bourhis, 1991). Upward divergence would be indicated by the latter commencing that interaction in French and then suddenly shifting to English. Downward divergence would be illustrated by one of us shifting to Gujarati in a London store where the English-speaking shop assistant evinced indications of anti-Asian prejudice (see also Nair-Venugopal, 2001).

We will now examine some of the principal motives that lie behind the strategies of convergence and divergence, considering their evaluative demeanor as well as the importance of stereotypes and social norms in defining participants' expectations about how much convergence or divergence a speaker should display. As mentioned above, an important *cause* for convergence, for us, is the desire to gain approval from a recipient (and hence, perhaps, access to the social networks to which the recipient is believed to belong). The premise is that of similarity attraction (Byrne, 1969): the more similar we are to our interlocutor, the more he or she will like or respect us,

and the more social rewards we can expect. Converging to a common linguistic style also improves the effectiveness of communication: this has been associated with increased predictability of the other and hence a lowering of uncertainty and interpersonal anxiety, and gains in mutual understanding (see Gudykunst, 1995).

Convergence by immigrants (and especially with an accommodated accent as well) to the host culture's language is not only expected by many members of mainstream society, but is also regarded as a vivid indication that they have acculturated to the host culture's values (see Kim, 2001). Thus, it would be expected that Latino migrants converge to English-speakers in the United States, and Turkish *gastarbeiter* and their families converge to their hosts in German. Members of the German *dialect*-speaking majority converge to the French-speaking minority in Switzerland. (For a discussion of social normative parameters of CAT, see Gallois and Callan, 1991.) In this sense, accommodation is unidirectional, termed "asymmetric," rather than "symmetrical" or reciprocal (see Gallois and Giles, 1998).

But convergence is not always rewarding (as we have noted above), it may well entail some costs, such as the possible loss of personal or social identity. If a Chinese student – in the days before Hong Kong was handed back to the People's Republic of China (PRC) – converged towards a bilingual western professor's English, the student might be rewarded by the professor, who could perceive him as particularly communicatively competent, but the student might also, nonetheless, feel deprived of his social identity. Members of his ingroup (i.e. other students) who happened to hear him might also perceive him as a "traitor" and label him derogatorily (Hogg, D'Agata, and Abrams, 1989). Accommodative moves are also diversely appreciated by ingroup members, depending on the strength of their attachment to the group. In a study conducted in Hong Kong one year before its handover to the PRC, respondents with a strong identification to Hong Kong evaluated more favorably their ingroup members who, by using Cantonese, diverged more from Mandarin-speaking Chinese people than did respondents who identified themselves with mainland China (Tong, Hong, Lee, and Chiu, 1999).

This is where divergence comes in: the motive lying behind this strategy is precisely the desire to emphasize distinctiveness from one's interlocutor, usually on the basis of group membership. Following the premises of Social Identity Theory (e.g. Tajfel and Turner, 1986), this will likely occur when interactants define a situation more in "intergroup" than "interindividual" terms; the former activates one's shared social identity, the latter a personal identity. Put another way, intergroup communication occurs where individuals treat each other entirely in terms of their social category memberships, whereas interindividual communication takes place when they communicate with each other *entirely* on the basis of their individual differences in temperament and personality – and where their ethnicity, gender, age, and so forth are not at a premium.

Intergroup theorists would contend that intergroup encounters are actually far more common than is usually realized, and that their interindividual

counterparts are much less frequent than they are given credit for in the study of so-called interpersonal communication. Given that ingroup language is often a core dimension of what it is to be a member of an ethnic group (e.g. Fishman, 1977), divergence can be regarded as a very important tactic of intergroup distinctiveness for bilinguals wishing to feel good about their ethnicity, and thereby about themselves. As we belong to many different social groups, we have, thus, multiple social identities that are more or less salient in any interaction. The dynamics of communication are made even more complex by the fact that some of these social identities are shared between the interactants, and some are not. In this vein, Jones, Gallois, Barker, and Callan (1994) showed that the visible, vocal (and potentially potent) intercultural dimension of whether an individual was Anglo- or Chinese-Australian was quite *non*-predictive of their communicative behavior; what was predictive, however, was their occupational group memberships as professors or students.

However, divergence can also be adopted in order to shape receivers' attributions and feelings (Simard, Taylor, and Giles, 1976). For example, a French-speaking student in a tutorial at an English university could purposely say a string of words in French during the conversation in order to remind her peers that she does not belong to the same ethnolinguistic group. By so doing, she signals that her (possibly unsubtle) discourse should be attributed to her linguistic (in)competence rather than to deficient intellectual capacities.

Attempts at social integration, linguistic acculturation or identification by means of convergence have been *generally* accorded positive evaluation by their receivers (Giles, Taylor, and Bourhis, 1973; Bourhis, Giles, and Lambert, 1975). In this sense, it validates the recipients' own ways of expressing themselves. Increasing similarity in communicative behavior can increase both a speaker's perceived attractiveness and their ability to gain addressees' compliance (see also Buller, Le Poire, Aune, and Eloy, 1992). Not only are bilingually converging speakers perceived as communicatively more efficient and as more cooperative, they are also generally viewed more favorably than diverging and maintaining speakers. As a case in point, white English-speaking South African students judged an audiotaped Cape Colored Afrikaans-speaking criminal suspect as being less guilty when he converged in English to his white interrogator than when he either partially or fully diverged away in Afrikaans (Dixon, Tredoux, Durrheim, and Foster, 1994). Being even the receiver of *non*-accommodation tells you that the speaker overtly dares not to value your approval – a stance we, as personal recipients of it, have difficulty applauding! However, there can also be negative outcomes for convergence too (as indicated above). Preston (1981) found that full convergence, in the case of foreign language learning, is not always desired by either the speaker or the addressee. He states that full convergence, or native-speaker-like fluency, is often considered with distrust and seen as controlling by the addressee.

The power variable should not be left aside either: it is generally expected, as we have illustrated above, that people in subordinate positions would

converge to those in superordinate positions (*upward convergence*). In a study of K'iche' speakers in Guatemala using ethnolinguistic vitality (see below), Lewis (2001) observed what he called the "ladino effect" where K'iche' speakers would adopt Spanish when talking to ladinos ("ladino" includes people of European or mixed blood in Guatemala). He noted that "in some communities, this effect was so strong that language use patterns of Mayans were indistinguishable from those of ladinos if a ladino was present as one of the participants" (p. 231, *our italics*; for a discussion of accommodative behaviors in group settings, see Ros and Giles, 1979).

Bilingual behavior as objectively measured, the intent of the initiator of it, and how the addressee perceives the behavior can mean three different things. The latter two of these three levels have been termed *psychological* and *subjective accommodation*, respectively (see Thakerar et al., 1982). Speakers may converge to their listener objectively (as assessed through direct observation of communication behavior), but the intent behind this convergence may not be to show intimacy but, on the contrary, be crafted to indicate social distance. Woolard (1989) reported on a language norm in Spain at that time stating that Catalan should only be spoken between Catalans. Hence, Castilian speakers who attempted to speak Catalan often received a reply back in Castilian. At one level, they were recipients of objective convergence, but the psychological intent here was to keep Castilians in their own social-linguistic space and hence the act was perceived and felt as decisively divergent. Likewise, subjective accommodation does not necessarily correspond with the objective behavior nor with the intent that was behind it (see Thakerar et al., 1982).

As alluded to above, accommodation can vary (e.g. as "full" or "partial") to the extent that speakers approximate the communicative patterns of their receivers (Bradac, Mulac, and House, 1988; Dixon et al., 1994; Street, 1982). A strategy that is neither full convergence nor divergence – yet could be regarded in accommodative terms as "partial accommodation" – involves "the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation," what has been referred to as *code switching* (Gardner-Chloros, 1991; Grosjean, 1982; Milroy and Muysken, 1995; also see Bhatia and Ritchie, 1996). That said, it is noteworthy that code switching, regarded by many researchers as the most common form of bilingual and multilingual communication, has many variants (Hamers and Blanc, 2000; Sachdev and Bourhis, 2001), and its definition is a topic of considerable debate amongst linguists and sociolinguists (e.g. Blommaert, 1992; Eastman, 1992; Myers-Scotton, 1997; Poplack, 1980; Romaine, 1995). Bilingual code switching has often evoked unfavorable evaluations from observers (and even speakers) of it. For instance, many students in Hong Kong claim Chinese-English mixing is "irritating" (Gibbons, 1987), some Moroccans construe French-Arabic code switching to be indicative of "still [being] colonized," and Nigerians regard this phenomenon as a "verbal salad" (Lawson and Sachdev, 2000, p. 1345). Participants in these, and other, studies consider code switching to be an unneeded and disturbing mixture of languages and yet, interestingly, their reports of using code switching are often discrepant

from their attitudes. For instance, in a diary phase of their study, Lawson and Sachdev (2000) found that students reported using this language style pervasively, despite the fact that they had evaluated it as being low in status and solidarity in a matched-guise study; clearly it has some "covert prestige" (Trudgill, 1974). In this sense, and despite the reluctance of users of it to label it so, code switching appears to be a satisfying form of communication because it engages a delicate balance between convergence – to demonstrate willingness to communicate – and divergence – to incur a healthy sense of group identity (see Cargile, Giles, and Clément, 1996). (For further discussion of code mixing and code switching, see chapters 1–4, 6, 10–13, 25, 26, 28, 29, and 31.)

Having outlined some important premises, concepts, and processes associated with CAT, we now move to our larger theoretical schema.

14.4 A Social-Psychologically Oriented Model of Bilingual Accommodation

Based on CAT and Sachdev and Bourhis (2001), figure 14.1 presents a schematic overview of three classes of variables that may be expected to affect bilingual communication: (1) societal intergroup context variables; (2) sociolinguistic setting variables; and (3) social psychological processes. Intergroup context variables are discussed first and include the objective "ethnolinguistic vitality" of groups (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor, 1977; Harwood, Giles, and Bourhis, 1994; Landry and Allard, 1994a; Sachdev and Bourhis, 1993), state language policies (Bourhis, 1984a, b, 2001), and the stability, legitimacy, and permeability of intergroup stratification (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Such macro-level intergroup context factors greatly affect variables associated with the sociolinguistic setting.

Sociolinguistic setting variables, considered next, include normative factors governing language use (Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993, 1998; Scotton, 1983), and the networks of linguistic contacts within and between language groups (e.g. Landry and Allard, 1994b; Milroy, 1980). The next section considers a large variety of social psychological processes as mediators, with the individual as the unit of analysis, while also incorporating the influence of the broader intergroup context and the sociolinguistic setting. Mediating processes explaining and predicting bilingual accommodation include those at the interpersonal level (e.g. similarity attraction, Byrne, 1969) and the intergroup level (e.g. social categorization, Tajfel, 1978).

Various proximal and distal outcomes are presented in figure 14.1. In this chapter, our concerns are restricted to bilingual accommodation as exemplified by convergence, divergence, maintenance, and code switching. Considerations of space preclude discussion of discorsal attuning and non-verbal accommodation (but see Giles and Coupland, 1991; Giles, Mulac, Bradac, and Johnson, 1987; Giles and Noels, 1998; Giles and Wadleigh, 1999; Shepard, Giles, and Le Poire, 2001). Our proximal concerns are expected to contribute to patterns of

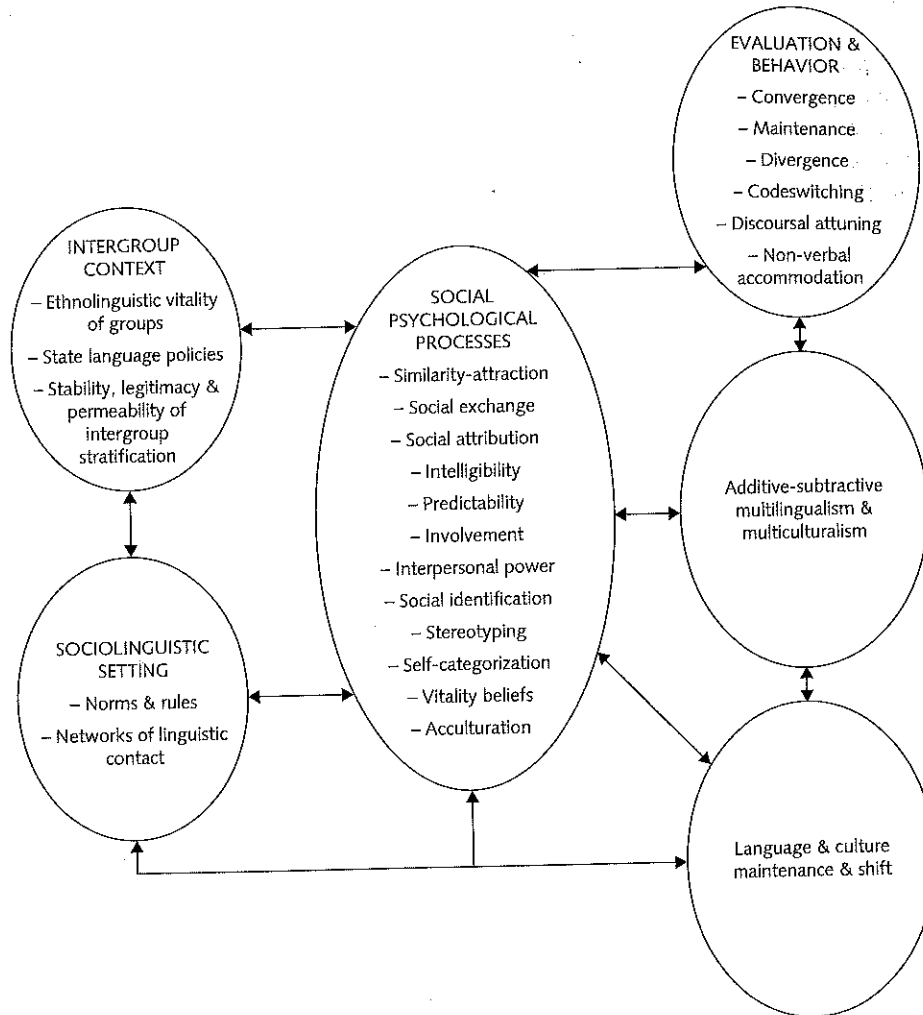


Figure 14.1 Bilingual accommodation model.

additive/subtractive bilingualism (Lambert, 1980) and multiculturalism which, in turn, contribute to the longer-term maintenance and loss of languages and cultures (see Giles, Leets, and Coupland, 1990; Leets and Giles, 1995). This schematic model is considerably broader than the focus of this chapter. It is meant to account for the macro-level language shift across generations, shifts which lead to language loss or "reversing language shift" (Fishman, 1991) in which a minority reclaims its language loss through a language shift towards language maintenance and language revival (see Bourhis, 2000, 2001). In terms of our focus on bilingual accommodation, new patterns of language use towards

first language maintenance rather than convergence to a high-status second language can signal the beginning of a language shift and revival. It is important to note that our model is a dynamic one, with all classes of language outcomes affecting social psychological processes, intergroup context variables, and the sociolinguistic setting (as indicated by feedback arrows in figure 14.1). (For more discussion of language maintenance and shift, see chapters 15, 16, 18, 25, 26, and 28.)

14.4.1 Intergroup context

Bilingual communication generally involves members of different ethnolinguistic groups of unequal power and status within majority/minority settings (Hamers and Blanc, 2000; Johnson, 2000; Sachdev and Bourhis, 2001). The construct of *ethnolinguistic vitality*, introduced by Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) serves as an important heuristic for assessing the impact of sociostructural factors in bilingual communication (see reviews by Bourhis, 2000; Harwood et al., 1994; Sachdev and Bourhis, 1993; see also Kindell and Lewis, 2000). Defining the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups as the ability of groups to behave and survive as distinctive and active collective entities in multi-group settings, Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) examine it using three main sets of variables: demographic strength, group status, and institutional support.

Demographic variables relate to the sheer number of ethnolinguistic group members and their distribution through urban, regional, and national territories. Demographic variables also include the rates of immigration, emigration, and endogamy, and the birth rates of groups. Status variables pertain to the socio-historical prestige and social and economic status of language groups as well as the status of the languages used by speakers locally and internationally. Institutional support variables refer to the representation and control that language groups have in formal and informal institutions in the spheres of education, politics, religion, economy, culture and mass media. Groups' strengths and weaknesses on each of these dimensions, gathered from available sociological, economic, and demographic information, may be combined to provide an overall classification of ethnolinguistic groups as having low, medium, or high *objective* vitality. This can then be linked to bilingual accommodation and other outcome measures shown in figure 14.1. For instance, it might be expected that people would converge (and have more positive attitudes about converging) to the languages of objectively high-vitality groups than to the languages of objectively low-vitality groups.

Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal (1981) and Allard and Landry (1986, 1994) argued for the mediating effect of perceptions and beliefs about vitality in predicting bilingual behavior (see also Bourhis and Sachdev, 1984; Sachdev, Bourhis, Phang and D'Eye, 1987). Studies on the evaluation of bilingual communication in two different vitality contexts (Montreal and Quebec City, Canada) between anglophone and francophone clerks and clients conducted by Genesee and Bourhis (1982, 1988) demonstrate the import of objective

vitality while reinforcing the mediating role of perceptions and beliefs. Specifically, in Quebec City (overwhelmingly francophone), evaluations by high-vitality (francophone) and low-vitality (anglophone) listeners were consensual in evaluating the client's switches to French more positively than switches to English. In Montreal, where anglophones had traditionally enjoyed relatively high vitality and were threatened by language legislation favoring French (Bourhis, 1984b), the findings revealed strong ingroup-favoring evaluations by all groups of anglophone listeners.

In an impressive program of bilingual research across Canada, Allard and Landry gathered evidence from several studies confirming that *egocentric* (self) and *exocentric* (non-self) beliefs about vitality variables are better predictors of bilingual attitudes and behavior than simple general vitality perceptions (Landry and Allard, 1984, 1990, 1994b; Landry and Bourhis, 1997). Perceptions and beliefs about vitality are important components of social psychological processes in the model of bilingual accommodation outlined in figure 14.1.

In their model of multilingual communication, Sachdev and Bourhis (2001) outline how dominant ideologies, in the form of official language policies, influence the conduct of bilingual communication. Language policies may be situated along an ideological continuum ranging from "pluralism" at one pole, through "civic and assimilation" in the middle, to "ethnist" at the opposite pole (Bourhis, 2001). Given our prior discussion of social power, groups in society are expected to adopt the *public* values of the dominant groups under all these clusters of ideologies. Public values include founding principles enshrined in constitutions and codes of "rights and freedoms," and include basic civil and criminal codes of the state.

However, the *private* values of different groups are expected to fare differently under these ideologies. Whereas there may be both official and financial support for minority languages and cultures in states which endorse the *pluralism* ideology (e.g. Canada), states which endorse the *civic* ideology avoid outright official support and provide little or no financial support for the maintenance of minority languages and cultures (e.g. the UK until devolution). Those which endorse the *assimilationist* ideology usually impose conformity to the dominant ethnolinguistic group in the name of a unitary founding myth advocating the equality of all citizens regardless of ethnocultural background (e.g. France, USA). States which endorse the *ethnist* ideology tend to repress linguistic minorities as a way of enforcing assimilation to the dominant language while they may exclude from citizenship targeted minorities deemed undesirable or "incapable" of ever assimilating to the ethnolinguistic "mainstream" (e.g. Germany, Israel). Contrasting language policies situated along this ideological continuum may be adopted at the national, regional, and local levels and, together, contribute to the climate of tolerance or intolerance toward the use of different languages (and varieties), not only in public settings, but also in private settings such as the home and friendship networks.

Official language policies and the permeability of ethnolinguistic group boundaries (allowing "passing" via bilingualism or linguistic assimilation) are

affected by the stability (actual and perceived, e.g. demographic, economic) and the legitimacy (e.g. political power) of the position of ethnolinguistic groups (Giles and Johnson, 1981, 1987; see also Tajfel and Turner, 1986). For instance, demographic changes may lead to changes in language policies from civic to pluralist (e.g. local Education Boards in Vancouver and Toronto, Canada). Equally, active minority agitation may force the dominant language group to change the oppressive assimilationist language policies to more tolerant civic language policies (e.g. UK). However, as in the rise of right-wing lobbies such as the English-Only Movement in the USA, language policies and the general social mood may reverse a civic trend back towards a more assimilationist climate (see Barker et al., 2001; Crawford, 2000; also, Bourhis and Marshall, 1999, for a comparison of USA and Canadian language policies).

Taken together, the intergroup context variables create communication climates that influence the sociolinguistic setting, social psychological factors, and the various outcomes of bilingual communication. For instance, in an unstable intergroup hierarchy under an assimilationist state language policy, divergence by low-vitality linguistic minorities from the dominant language to the minority language in public situations may become more frequent, giving rise to unfavorable discourse content, dissociative non-verbal communication, and reactive divergent language switching by dominant language interlocutors. Based on CAT, Sachdev and Bourhis (2001) suggest that social psychological processes would mediate such dominant group reactions, which are most likely to be voiced by those who wish to exclude and segregate ethnolinguistic minorities. This illustrates how variables of the intergroup context (state-level language policies, intergroup vitalities, and the stability/legitimacy of intergroup situations) combine with social psychological factors (including acculturation orientations (Bourhis, 2001) to predict bilingual behavior. Macro-level factors associated with the intergroup context also affect the normative framework of communication and the networks of linguistic contacts in the sociolinguistic setting (figure 14.1).

14.4.2 Sociolinguistic setting

Sociolinguists have traditionally developed taxonomies of situational norms affecting bilingual communication in terms of variation as a function of the topic of communication, the social setting in which it occurs, the purpose of the communication and the characteristics of the interlocutors (e.g. Fishman, 1972; Gumperz and Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1972; Trudgill, 1974). For example, early research in Israel (Herman, 1961), Tanzania (Beardsley and Eastman, 1971), and Japan (Ervin-Tripp, 1964) showed that bilinguals revert to their native dialect or language when discussing emotional issues or when talking about topics relevant to the cultural contexts in which they live. (For additional discussion of bilingualism and emotion, see chapters 9, 10, and 19.) Similarly, in the Philippines and Paraguay, the use of English and Spanish, respectively, was normative amongst courting couples who, once wedded,

would switch to Tagalog and Guarani respectively (Rubin, 1962; Sechrest, Flores, and Arellano, 1968). In all of these (and numerous other) cultural contexts, the local vernacular is restricted to the role of informal communication in private settings, while the more prestigious cosmopolitan language is considered the voice of intellect and of public formal communication. Similar situational determinants of language choice have been observed in Morocco (Bentahila, 1983), Hong Kong (Gibbons, 1987), Kenya (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Scotton, 1983), India (Pandit, 1979), Singapore (Platt, 1980), and many other settings across the world (see Eastman, 1992; Hamers and Blanc, 2000; Milroy and Muysken, 1995; Romaine, 1995). A variety of bilingual settings mentioned above may be termed diglossic (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1967) or polyglossic (Platt, 1977) in the sense that certain codes are specifically reserved for high-status formal functions, while others serve as modes of communication in private and informal situations. Extensive discussions of the relationships between diglossia and bilingualism may be found in Fasold (1984), Romaine (1995), and Hamers and Blanc (2000); space precludes discussion of these relationships here.

The normative and situationally determined approach to language behavior proposed by traditional sociolinguists led to several critiques (e.g. Sachdev and Bourhis, 2001; Scotton, 1983). Specifically, it was argued that (1) people are not "situational automatons," and languages are often used either in the absence, or in spite, of a normative framework (Bourhis, 1979; Giles, 1977); (2) the existence of multiple and competing situational norms makes interpretation and prediction of language behaviors difficult; (3) normative analyses are often post hoc and potentially tautological; (4) even within normatively constrained settings there may be a wide latitude of acceptable language behaviors; (5) language use may be negotiated creatively to dynamically define and redefine social norms (Giles and Hewstone, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993). The normative bias in traditional sociolinguistics was an important impetus for the development of CAT which sought to account for language use in terms of interlocutors' motives, attitudes, perceptions, and group loyalties (Giles and Powesland, 1975).

Patterns of language use are deeply embedded in the social networks of interlocutors, and networks play an important role in reinforcing normative behavior (Milroy, 1980). In their macroscopic model of bilingual behavior, Landry and Allard (1990, 1994b) propose the notion of *individual networks of linguistic contact* (INLC) as a "bridge between the sociological and psychological levels" (Allard and Landry, 1994, p. 121). According to them, the INLC represents the level where the "individual lives the totality of his ethnolinguistic experiences" (Allard and Landry, 1994, p. 121). It consists of all occasions in which individuals have the opportunity to use their own languages when interacting with family members, friends, neighbors, school peers, co-workers, and others. The INLC also includes occasions to use the ingroup language when consuming services from private- and public-sector bodies including education, culture, municipal and state governments, shops, businesses,

financial establishments, and electronic and printed mass media. In bilingual contexts, the INLC incorporates contact with both ingroup and outgroup language users. High "objective" ethnolinguistic vitality of the ingroup allows wider and stronger ingroup INLC, leading to greater opportunities for speaking the ingroup language (Bourhis, 1991). Conversely, low "objective" ingroup vitality leads to smaller ingroup INLC, and fewer occasions for speaking the ingroup language. The mediating role of INLC, between a group's "objective" vitality, perceptions of group vitality, and patterns of language use by individuals, has received good support in a sustained program of research across Canada (Landry and Allard, 1994b; Landry and Bourhis, 1997).

The INLC notion was adapted by Bourhis (1994a) to study English-French accommodation amongst employees of the Canadian Federal Administration in the officially bilingual province of New Brunswick, where anglophones constitute a two-thirds majority relative to francophones. His findings revealed that the intensity of francophone presence in work contexts was related to bilingual civil servants' self-reports of their use of French and English at work. As expected, environments with a higher intensity of francophone presence were associated with greater use of French than those with low intensities of francophone presence, especially for francophone respondents. Interestingly, differences in accommodation between anglophones and francophones were also observed: convergence to francophones by anglophones (by using French) was significantly lower than convergence to anglophones by francophones (by using English). The high vitality of English as the language of work was thought to underlie this pattern of results, reinforcing the importance of macro-level intergroup context variables in explaining patterns of language choice.

Even in a non-status-stressing setting, such as casual encounters between francophone and anglophone pedestrians in downtown Montreal, Moise and Bourhis (1994) found that while 90 to 100 percent of francophones made the effort to converge to English while giving directions to an anglophone, only 60 to 70 percent of anglophones made the effort to switch to French when giving directions to a francophone. These results were obtained in studies conducted from 1977 to 1991, representing fifteen years of language planning effort designed to increase the status of French in relation to English in Quebec (Bourhis, 1994b; 81 percent of the Quebec population have French as a mother tongue).

Such findings confirm the importance of considering the interactive effects of the intergroup context and the sociolinguistic setting in multilingual communication. Additionally, from a social psychological perspective, it is important to consider how individuals' perceptions and beliefs about the intergroup context and the sociolinguistic setting mediate the impact of the "objective" intergroup context and the sociolinguistic setting.

14.4.3 *Social psychological processes*

Central to CAT is the notion that interlocutors' communications are not only designed to satisfy a variety of motivations, but that accommodative behaviors

have specific evaluative connotations (see above). Motivations and evaluations were discussed above in terms of various social psychological processes thought to be responsible for communication accommodation. Convergence was discussed in terms of processes of social integration, language maintenance and divergence are explained in terms of speakers' desires for differentiation from their interlocutors. Thus, bilingual convergence would be expected to facilitate interpersonal and intergroup interaction where linguistic dissimilarities may otherwise be a barrier to communication (Bourhis, 1979; Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor, 1973; Giles, Mulac, Bradac, and Johnson, 1987). Linguistic convergence is also likely to increase interlocutors' intelligibility (Triandis, 1960), predictability (Berger and Bradac, 1982), and interpersonal involvement (LaFrance, 1979). Clearly, interlocutors are more likely to converge (or diverge) when rewards (e.g. material rewards, social approval) outweigh the potential costs (e.g. linguistic effort, group identity loss) of converging (Homans, 1961; van den Berg, 1986). Moreover, evaluative and behavioral reactions to bilingual accommodation may depend significantly on the attributions of interlocutors (e.g. Hewstone, 1989; Simard, Taylor, and Giles, 1976).

When language becomes the most salient dimension of group identity, language divergence may be used to assert ingroup identification and accentuate intergroup boundaries (Giles and Johnson, 1981; Sachdev and Bourhis, 1990; see also, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Tabouret-Keller, 1997). Divergence to identity threat has been observed in a variety of other bilingual settings including Belgium, Quebec, Wales, and Hong Kong (e.g. Bourhis, 1984a; Bourhis and Giles, 1977; Bourhis, Giles, and Lambert, 1975; Bourhis, Giles, Leyens, and Tajfel, 1979; Giles and Johnson, 1986; Taylor and Royer, 1980; Tong, Hong, Lee, and Chiu, 1999). There is also evidence for divergence in interethnic communication without any apparent threat. For instance, Lawson-Sako and Sachdev (1996) reported that requests (in either Arabic or French) made by an African researcher to Arab pedestrians in Tunisia resulted in greater linguistic divergence (e.g. responding in French to a request in Arabic, and in Arabic to a request in French) than requests made by a European or an Arab confederate (cf. Moise and Bourhis, 1994). Clearly, group identification is an important mediator in bilingual accommodation. However, this study also underlines the importance of stereotyping in communication (Giles and Coupland, 1991; Hewstone and Giles, 1986). The presence of ingroup or outgroup interviewers "switches on" the ethnic identities of participants, leading them to either converge to, or diverge from, the linguistic stereotypes of ingroups and outgroups (Beebe, 1981; also see Clément and Noels, 1992). Accommodation to stereotypes may be conceived in terms of Self-Categorization Theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, and Wetherell, 1987). Since groups primarily exist cognitively in the minds of individuals as social identifications (see also Tajfel and Turner, 1986; Turner, 1982), Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, and Wetherell (1987) describe the process of self-categorization as "the formation and internalization of a social categorization . . . to include the self - and function as a social identification producing group behavior. . . . Thus

self-categorization leads to stereotypical self-perception and depersonalization, and adherence to and expression of ingroup normative behavior" (pp. 101-2). Bilingual convergence and divergence could therefore be conceptualized as individual conformity to language norms through self-categorization and self-stereotyping (Hogg and Abrams, 1988).

The bidirectional transformation that takes place in language groups in contact may be considered under the general rubric referred to as "acculturation." The Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) (Bourhis, 2001; Bourhis, Moise, Perrault, and Senecal, 1997) categorized different types of acculturation orientations that members of dominant and subordinate groups have about responding to the ethnolinguistic and cultural diversity exemplifying societies today. Acculturation orientations are concerned with the sharing and exchange of ingroup/outgroup cultures, values, resources and identities. Integrationists value a plurality and sharing of languages and cultures, while assimilationists expect conformity to dominant values (assimilation). Separatists/segregationists may value plurality, but only if it *does not* involve the sharing of cultural identities between groups. Exclusionist individuals would have orientations that are not only intolerant of other languages and cultures but may also believe that such outgroups can never be incorporated culturally as rightful members of their society. Other acculturation orientations have also been identified in the IAM and include those characterized either by the denial of (and/or by) ingroup and outgroup cultures (marginalization) or by the rejection of group ascriptions *per se* (individualism).

Sachdev and Bourhis (2001) provided some illustrative hypotheses of how acculturation orientations may affect bilingual accommodation. Assimilationist individuals may be expected to use language in line with prevailing language norms and emphasize dominant languages in all aspects of bilingual accommodation (i.e. upwardly converge), while separatists and segregationists may be expected to diverge in *intergroup* yet converge in *intragroup* communication encounters. Segregationists and exclusionists would be expected to diverge in encounters with members of linguistic minorities, be least likely to abide by sociolinguistic norms of intercultural politeness, and be unlikely to converge to minority language greeting or leave-taking expressions. Since individualist orientations involve interaction with others as individuals rather than as members of contrasting social categories, individualists are likely to be linguistic chameleons, ready to accommodate to suit their own motives, agendas, dictates of sociolinguistic norms and/or the linguistic and psychological needs of their interlocutor. It is important to note that the acculturation orientations described above are not reductionistic personality differences but, rather, orientations likely to manifest themselves in person-by-situation circumstances.

Sachdev and Bourhis (2001) also argued that the basic CAT processes governing bilingual behavior are likely to prevail in interaction, though acculturation orientations are likely to interact with social psychological processes postulated within CAT. Taken together, social psychological processes

are likely to be important mediators for the outcomes shown in figure 14.1. Convergence, divergence, and code switching (as well as discourse structures and non-verbal behaviors) are manifest within the immediacy of intercultural encounters at the interpersonal level and affect the climate of communication (Giles and Noels, 1998). Additive-subtractive multilingualism and multiculturalism are developmental outcomes affected by the combined effects of the predictor (and mediator) variables and bilingual accommodation over time, within an individual and across linguistic communities. Perhaps the most distal long-term outcomes of the cumulative effects of all the variables discussed thus far are language maintenance and language shift (loss or reversal). This is measured by examining patterns of bilingual knowledge and use across decades in official census data and also in terms of the inter-generational transmission of languages (Bourhis, 2000, 2001; Fishman, 1991; Sachdev, 1998).

14.5 Conclusion

The focus of this overview and model of bilingual accommodation has been on how social psychological processes provide an understanding of bilingual behavior. In this chapter, previously neglected variables such as state language policies have been included explicitly as macro-level variables, whilst mediator variables such as acculturation orientations have been conceptually integrated with other social psychological processes in a broader model of bilingual accommodation. In addition to the empirical elaboration of aspects of the model on factors that have received little attention in the past (e.g. state language policies, acculturation orientations, vitality; also see Bissoonauth and Offord, 2001, for interesting data on accommodation in Mauritius), further conceptual refinement in terms of the multi-factorial complexities underlying bilingual accommodation is needed.

Much of the previous research presented in this chapter has adopted synchronic methodologies. However, bilingual behavior is not only multi-factorial but also dynamically evolving throughout the course of communication. Future studies adopting a more sequential approach to bilingual communication (see Bourhis, 1985; Lawson-Sako and Sachdev, 1996) and a broader diachronic perspective will be invaluable. For instance, systematic research between 1977 and 1999 allowed Bourhis and colleagues to conclude that it took 20 years of intensive French-language planning in Quebec to raise the status and use of French amongst Quebec anglophones (Bourhis, 1994b, 2000). Moreover, their most recent studies also showed that both anglophones and francophones overwhelmingly converged to each other's languages. Bilingual exchanges in Quebec seem to be losing the intergroup tension that has characterized such intercultural interactions in the past, at least as regards language choices in private face-to-face encounters between anonymous French and English Quebecers (Amiot and Bourhis, 1999; Moise and Bourhis, 1994).

A focus on bilingual (as opposed to monolingual) contexts has contributed significantly to the development of accommodation theory from the very beginning (e.g. Giles et al., 1973). Surprisingly, code switching, "a quite normal and widespread form of bilingual interaction" (Muysken, 1995, p. 177), has not been frequently investigated within the framework of accommodation. Although code switching may be conceptualized as partial accommodation, it may be worth exploring further the importance of code switching as a distinct linguistic and autonomous code having its own special social, psychological and cultural significance, particularly for intragroup communication (Bentahila, 1983; Gibbons, 1987; Lawson and Sachdev, 2000). Relatedly, evaluative aspects of code switching need to be investigated in a systematic manner (see Lawson and Sachdev, 2000; Romaine, 1995). The social psychological approach underpinning accommodation theory is particularly well suited to exploring attitudes to code switching including aspects of ambivalence about code switching and discrepancies between evaluation and actual frequency of code switching (Agnihotri, 1998; Bentahila, 1983; Gibbons, 1987; Lawson and Sachdev, 2000). Furthermore, it would be important to place on the agenda the role of cognitive awareness in evaluations of bilingual accommodation (see Burt, 1998). This issue has been relatively neglected and models of strategic planning in communication (Berger, 1997) on the one hand and information-processing of language attitudes on the other (Cargile and Bradac, 2001) might yield valuable theoretical as well as pragmatic payoffs (see Leets and Giles, 1993).

CAT, with its relatively humble origins in monolingual accent evaluation nearly three decades ago (Giles, 1973), has expanded into an "interdisciplinary model of relational and identity processes in communicative interaction" (Coupland and Jaworski, 1997, pp. 241-2). Research on bilingual communication has been very important for the development of accommodation theory and this chapter presents a revised model of bilingual accommodation. While this conceptualization was never intended to be hegemonic in its invocation of a finite set of (constrained) social motives for bilingual accommodation, it has, nonetheless, focused attention on bilinguals' use of specific communication strategies (in particular, convergence, divergence, code switching) to signal their attitudes toward each other and each other's social groups. In this way, bilingual accommodation is a subtle balance between needs for social inclusiveness on the one hand and differentiation on the other.

REFERENCES

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Agnihotri, R. (1998). Mixed codes and their acceptability. In R. K. Agnihotri, A. L. Khanna, and I. Sachdev (eds.), <i>Social Psychological Perspectives on</i></p> | <p><i>Second Language Learning</i>, pp. 215-30. New Delhi: Sage.</p> <p>Allard, R. and Landry, R. (1986). Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality viewed as a belief system, <i>Journal</i></p> |
|--|---|

- of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 7, 1-12.
- Allard, R. and Landry, R. (1994). Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality: A comparison of two measures. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 108, 117-44.
- Amiot, C. and Bourhis, R. Y. (1999). Ethnicity and French-English communication in Montréal. Poster presented at the 60th convention of the Canadian Psychological Association, Halifax, NS, June.
- Barker, V., Giles, H., Noels, K. A., Duck, J., Hecht, M., and Clément, R. (2001). The English-only movement: A communication analysis of changing perceptions of language vitality. *Journal of Communication*, 51, 3-37.
- Barkhuizen, G. and de Klerk, V. (2000). Language contact and ethnolinguistic identity in an Eastern Cape army camp. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 144, 95-118.
- Beardsley, R. B. and Eastman, C. M. (1971). Markers, pauses, and code-switching in bilingual Tanzanian speech. *General Linguistics*, 11, 17-27.
- Beebe, L. (1981). Social and situational factors affecting the strategy of dialect code-switching. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 32, 139-49.
- Bell, A. (1984). Language style as audience design. *Language in Society*, 13, 145-204.
- Bentahila, A. (1983). *Language Attitudes among Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Berger, C. R. (1997). *Planning Strategic Interaction*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Berger, C. R. and Bradac, J. J. (1982). *Language and Social Knowledge*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Bhatia, T. and Ritchie, W. (1996). Bilingual language mixing, universal grammar and second language acquisition. In W. Ritchie and T. Bhatia (eds.), *Handbook of Second Language Acquisition*, pp. 627-88. New York: Academic Press.
- Bissoonauth, A. and Offord, M. (2001). Language use of Mauritian adolescents in education. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 22, 381-400.
- Blommaert, J. (1992). Codeswitching and the exclusivity of social identities: Some data from Campus Kiswahili. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 13, 57-70.
- Bourhis, R. Y. (1979). Language in ethnic interaction: A social psychological approach. In H. Giles and B. Saint-Jacques (eds.), *Language and Ethnic Relations*, pp. 117-42. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Bourhis, R. Y. (1984a). Cross-cultural communication in Montreal: Two field studies since Bill 101. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 46, 33-47.
- Bourhis, R. Y. (ed.) (1984b). *Conflict and Language Planning in Quebec*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Bourhis, R. Y. (1985). The sequential nature of language choice in cross-cultural communication. In R. L. Street, Jr. and J. N. Cappella (eds.), *Sequence and Pattern in Communicative Behavior*, pp. 120-41. London: Edward Arnold.
- Bourhis, R. Y. (1991). Organizational communication and accommodation: Towards some conceptual and empirical links. In H. Giles, J. Coupland, and N. Coupland (eds.), *Contexts of Accommodation: Developments in Applied Sociolinguistics*, pp. 270-303. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourhis, R. Y. (1994a). Bilingualism and the language of work: The linguistic work-environment survey. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 105-6, 217-66.
- Bourhis, R. Y. (1994b). Ethnic and language attitudes in Quebec. In J. Berry and J. Lapointe (eds.), *Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research*

- Landscape*, pp. 322–60. Toronto: Toronto University Press.
- Bourhis, R. Y. (2000). Reversing language shift in Quebec. In J. Fishman (ed.), *Reversing Language Shift: Can Threatened Languages be Saved?*, pp. 5–38. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bourhis, R. Y. (2001). Acculturation, language maintenance and language loss. In J. Klatte-Folmer and P. Van Avermaet (eds.), *Language Maintenance and Language Loss*, pp. 5–37. Tilburg, The Netherlands: Tilburg University Press.
- Bourhis, R. Y. and Giles, H. (1977). The language of intergroup distinctiveness. In H. Giles (ed.), *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*, pp. 119–35. London: Academic Press.
- Bourhis, R. Y., Giles, H., and Lambert, W. E. (1975). Social consequences of accommodating one's style of speech: a cross-national investigation. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 6, 55–72.
- Bourhis, R. Y., Giles, H., Leyens, J.-P., and Tajfel, H. (1979). Psycholinguistic distinctiveness: Language divergence in Belgium. In H. Giles and R. N. St. Clair (eds.), *Language and Social Psychology*, pp. 158–85. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Bourhis, R. Y., Giles, H., and Rosenthal, D. (1981). Notes on the construction of a "Subjective Vitality Questionnaire" for ethnolinguistic groups. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 2, 144–55.
- Bourhis, R. Y. and Marshall, D. E. (1999). The United States and Canada. In J. A. Fishman (ed.), *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*, pp. 244–64. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bourhis, R. Y., Moise, L. C., Perrault, S., and Senecal, S. (1997). Towards an interactive acculturation model: A social psychological approach. *International Journal of Psychology*, 32, 369–86.
- Bourhis, R. Y. and Sachdev, I. (1984). Vitality perceptions and language attitudes: some Canadian data. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 3, 97–126.
- Bradac, J. J., Mulac, A., and House, A. (1988). Lexical diversity and magnitude of convergent versus divergent style-shifting: Perceptual and evaluative consequences. *Language and Communication*, 8, 213–28.
- Buller, D. B., Le Poire, B. A., Aune, R. K., and Eloy, S. V. (1992). Social perceptions as mediators of the effect of speech rate similarity on compliance. *Human Communication Research*, 19, 286–311.
- Burt, S. M. (1994). Code choice in intercultural conversation: Speech accommodation theory and pragmatics. *Pragmatics*, 4, 535–59.
- Burt, S. M. (1998). Monolingual children in a bilingual situation: Protest, accommodation, and linguistic creativity. *Multilingua*, 17, 361–78.
- Byrne, D. (1969). Attitudes and attraction. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 4, 35–89.
- Cargile, A. C. and Bradac, J. J. (2001). Attitudes toward language: A review of speaker-evaluation research and a general process model. *Communication Yearbook*, 25, 347–82.
- Cargile, A. C., Giles, H., and Clément, R. (1996). The role of language in ethnic conflict. In J. Gittler (ed.), *Racial and Ethnic Conflict: Perspectives from the Social Disciplines*, pp. 189–208. Greenwich, CT: PAI Press.
- Clément, R. and Bourhis, R. Y. (1996). Bilingualism and intergroup communication. *International Journal of Psycholinguistics*, 12, 171–91.
- Clément, R. and Noels, K. (1992). Towards a situated approach to ethnolinguistic identity: The effects of status on individuals and groups.

- Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 11, 203-32.
- Coupland, N. and Giles, H. (eds.) (1988). Communicative accommodation: Recent developments. *Language and Communication*, 8 (double special issue), 175-327.
- Coupland, N. and Jaworski, A. (1997). Relevance, accommodation, and conversation: Modeling the social dimension of communication. *Multilingua*, 16, 235-58.
- Crawford, J. (2000). *At War with Diversity: US Language Policy in an Age of Anxiety*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Dixon, J. A., Tredoux, C. G., Durrheim, K., and Foster, D. H. (1994). The role of speech accommodation and crime type in attribution of guilt. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 134, 465-73.
- Eastman, C. M. (1992). Codeswitching as an urban language-contact phenomenon. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 13, 1-17.
- Edwards, J. (1994). *Multilingualism*. London: Routledge.
- Ervin-Tripp, S. M. (1964). An analysis of the interaction of language, topic and listener. In J. A. Fishman (ed.), *Readings in the Sociology of Language*, pp. 192-211. The Hague: Mouton.
- Fasold, R. (1984). *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ferguson, C. A. (1959). Diglossia. *Word*, 15, 325-40.
- Fishman, J. A. (1967). Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 32, 29-38.
- Fishman, J. A. (1972). Domains and the relationship between micro- and macro-sociolinguistics. In J. J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*, pp. 435-53. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Fishman, J. A. (1977). Language and ethnicity. In H. Giles (ed.), *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup relations*, pp. 15-57. London: Academic Press.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing Language Shift*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Gallois, C. and Callan, V. J. (1991). Interethnic accommodation: the role of norms. In H. Giles, J. Coupland, and N. Coupland (eds.), *Contexts of Accommodation: Developments in Applied Sociolinguistics*, pp. 245-69. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Gallois, C. and Giles, H. (1998). Accommodating mutual influence. In M. Palmer (ed.), *Mutual Influence in Interpersonal Communication: Theory and Research in Cognition, Affect, and Behavior*, pp. 135-62. New York: Ablex.
- Gallois, C., Giles, H., Jones, E., Cargile, A. C. and Ota, H. (1995). Accommodating intercultural encounters: Elaborations and extensions. In R. Wiseman (ed.), *Theories of Intercultural Communication*, 19th International and Intercultural Communication Annual, pp. 115-47. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gardner-Chloros, P. (1991). *Language Selection and Switching in Strasbourg*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Genesee, F. and Bourhis, R. Y. (1982). The social psychological significance of code-switching in cross-cultural communication. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 1, 1-28.
- Genesee, F. and Bourhis, R. Y. (1988). Evaluative reactions to language choice strategies: The role of sociostructural factors. *Language and Communication*, 8, 229-50.
- Gibbons, J. (1987). *Code-mixing and Code Choice: A Hong Kong Case Study*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Giles, H. (1973). Accent mobility: A model and some data. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 15, 87-109.

- Giles, H. (1977). Social psychology and applied linguistics: Towards an integrative approach. *ITL: Review of Applied Linguistics*, 33, 27-42.
- Giles, H. (1984). The dynamics of speech accommodation. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 46, 1-155.
- Giles, H., Bourhis, R. Y., and Taylor, D. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In H. Giles (ed.), *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*, pp. 307-48. London: Academic Press.
- Giles, H., Coupland, J., and Coupland, N. (eds.) (1991). *Contexts of Accommodation: Developments in Applied Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Giles, H. and Coupland, N. (1991). *Language: Contexts and Consequences*. Milton Keynes, UK: Open University Press.
- Giles, H. and Hewstone, M. (1982). Cognitive structures, speech and social situations: Two integrative models. *Language Sciences*, 4, 187-219.
- Giles, H. and Johnson, P. (1981). The role of language in ethnic group relations. In J. C. Turner and H. Giles (eds.), *Intergroup Behavior*, pp. 199-243. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Giles, H. and Johnson, P. (1986). Perceived threat, ethnic commitment, and inter-ethnic language behavior. In Y. Kim (ed.), *Interethnic Communication: Recent Research*, pp. 91-116. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Giles, H. and Johnson, P. (1987). Ethnolinguistic identity theory: A social psychological approach to language maintenance. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 68, 69-99.
- Giles, H., Leets, L., and Coupland, N. (1990). Minority language group status: A theoretical conspectus. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 11, 37-55.
- Giles, H., Mulac, A., Bradac, J. J., and Johnson, P. (1987). Speech accommodation theory: The first decade and beyond. In M. L. McLaughlin (ed.), *Communication Yearbook 10*, pp. 13-48. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Giles, H. and Noels, K. (1998). Communication accommodation in intercultural encounters. In J. Martin, T. Nakayama, and L. Flores (eds.), *Readings in Cultural Contexts*, pp. 139-49. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield.
- Giles, H. and Powesland, P. F. (1975). *Speech Style and Social Evaluation*. London: Academic Press.
- Giles, H., Taylor, D. M., and Bourhis, R. Y. (1973). Toward a theory of interpersonal accommodation through speech: Some Canadian data. *Language in Society*, 2, 177-92.
- Giles, H. and Wadleigh, P. M. (1999). Accommodating nonverbally. In L. K. Guerrero, J. A. DeVito, and M. L. Hecht (eds.), *The Nonverbal Communication Reader: Classic and Contemporary Readings*, 2nd edn., pp. 425-36. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with Two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gudykunst, W. (ed.) (1986). *Intergroup Communication*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Gudykunst, W. B. (1995). Anxiety/uncertainty management (AUM) theory: Current status. In R. L. Wiseman (ed.), *Intercultural Communication Theory*, pp. 8-58. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, J. J. and Hymes, D. (eds) (1972). *Directions in Sociolinguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

- Hamers, J. F. and Blanc, M. H. A. (2000). *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Harwood, J., Giles, H., and Bourhis, R. Y. (1994). The genesis of vitality theory: Historical patterns and discursal dimensions. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 108, 167-206.
- Herman, S. (1961). Explorations in the social psychology of language choice. *Human Relations*, 14, 149-64.
- Hewstone, M. (1989). *Attribution Theory*. Blackwell: Oxford.
- Hewstone, M. and Giles, H. (1986). Social groups and social stereotypes in intergroup communication: A review and a model of intergroup communication breakdown. In W. Gudykunst (ed.), *Intergroup Communication*, pp. 10-26. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hogg, M. A. and Abrams, D. (1988). *Social Identifications*. London: Methuen.
- Hogg, M. A., D'Agata, P., and Abrams, D. (1989). Ethnolinguistic betrayal and speaker evaluations across Italian Australians. *Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs*, 115, 155-81.
- Homans, G. C. (1961). *Social Behavior*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Hymes, D. (1972). Models of the interaction of language and social life. In J. J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics*, pp. 35-71. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Johnson, F. (2000). *Speaking Culturally: Language Diversity in the United States*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Jones, E., Gallois, C., Barker, M., and Callan, V. J. (1994). Evaluations of interactions between students and academic staff: Influence of communication accommodation, ethnic group, and status. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 13, 158-91.
- Kim, Y. Y. (2001). *Becoming Intercultural: An Integrative Theory of Communication and Cross-cultural Adaptation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kindell, G. and Lewis, M. P. (eds.) (2000). *Assessing Ethnolinguistic Vitality: Theory and Practice*. Dallas, TX: SIL International.
- LaFrance, M. (1979). Nonverbal synchrony and rapport: Analysis by the cross-lag panel technique. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 42, 66-70.
- Lambert, W. E. (1980). The social psychology of language: A perspective for the 1980s. In H. Giles, W. P. Robinson, and P. M. Smith (eds.), *Language: Social Psychological Perspectives*, pp. 415-24. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Landry, R. and Allard, R. (1984). Bilinguisme additif, bilinguisme soustractif et identité ethnolinguistique. *Recherches Sociologiques*, 15, 337-58.
- Landry, R. and Allard, R. (1990). Contact des langues et développement bilingue: un modèle macroscopique. *Revue Canadienne des Langues Vivantes/Canadian Modern Language Review*, 46, 527-53.
- Landry, R. and Allard, R. (1994a). Ethnolinguistic vitality: a viable construct? *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 108, 5-14.
- Landry, R. and Allard, R. (1994b). Diglossia, ethnolinguistic vitality and language behavior. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 108, 15-42.
- Landry, R. and Bourhis, R. Y. (1997). Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality: An empirical study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 16, 23-49.
- Lawson, S. and Sachdev, I. (2000). Codeswitching in Tunisia: Attitudinal and behavioral dimensions. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 32, 1343-61.
- Lawson-Sako, S. and Sachdev, I. (1996). Ethnolinguistic communication in

- Tunisian streets. In Y. Suleiman (ed.), *Language and Ethnic Identity in the Middle East and North Africa*, pp. 61–79. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press.
- Leets, L. and Giles, H. (1993). Does language awareness foster social tolerance? *Language Awareness*, 2, 159–68.
- Leets, L. and Giles, H. (1995). Intergroup cognitions and communication climates: New dimensions of minority language maintenance. In W. Fase, K. Jaspaert, and S. Kroon (eds.), *The State of Minority Languages: International Perspectives on Survival and Decline*, pp. 37–74. Lisse, The Netherlands: Swets and Zeitlinger.
- Le Page, R. B. and Tabouret-Keller, A. (1985). *Acts of Identity: Creole-based approaches in Language and Ethnicity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis, M. P. (2001). *K'iche': A Study in the Sociology of Language*. Dallas, TX: SIL International.
- Milroy, L. (1980) *Language and Social Networks*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Milroy, L. and Muysken, P. (1995). Introduction: Code-switching and bilingualism research. In L. Milroy and P. Muysken (eds.), *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-disciplinary Perspectives on Code-switching*, pp. 1–14. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Moise, L. C., and Bourhis, R. Y. (1994). Langage et ethnicité: Communication interculturelle à Montréal, 1977–1991. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 26, 86–107.
- Muysken, P. (1995). Code-switching and grammatical theory. In L. Milroy and P. Muysken (eds.), *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-disciplinary Perspectives on Code-switching*, pp. 177–98. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Social Motivations for Codeswitching: Evidence from Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1997). Code-switching. In F. Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, pp. 217–37. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1998). *Codes and Consequences: Choosing Linguistic Varieties*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nair-Venugopal, S. (2001). The sociolinguistics of choice in Malaysian business settings. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 152, 21–52.
- Niedzielski, N. and Giles, H. (1996). Linguistic accommodation. In H. Goebel and P. Nelde, H. and S. Zdenek, and W. Wölck (eds.), *Contact Linguistics: An International Handbook of Contemporary Research*, pp. 332–42. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- O'Driscoll, J. (2001). A face model of language choice. *Multilingua*, 20, 245–68.
- Pandit, P. B. (1979). Perspectives on sociolinguistics in India. In W. C. McCormack and S. A. Wurm (eds.), *Language and Society*, pp. 171–82. The Hague: Mouton.
- Platt, J. (1977). A model for polyglossia and multilingualism with special reference to Singapore and Malaysia. *Language in Society*, 6, 361–78.
- Platt, J. (1980). The lingua franca of Singapore: An investigation into strategies of interethnic communication. In H. Giles, W. P. Robinson, and P. M. Smith (eds.), *Language: Social Psychological Perspectives*, pp. 171–7. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Platt, J. and Weber, H. (1984). Speech convergence miscarried: An investigation into inappropriate accommodation strategies. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 46, 131–46.
- Poplack, S. (1980). "Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish Y TERMINO EN ESPAÑOL": Toward a typology

- of code-switching. *Linguistics*, 18, 581-618.
- Preston, D. R. (1981). The ethnography of TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly*, 15, 105-16.
- Romaine, S. (1995). *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ros, M. and Giles, H. (1979). The language situation in Valencia: An accommodation framework. *ITL: Review of Applied Linguistics*, 44, 3-24.
- Ross, S. and Shortreed, I. M. (1990). Japanese foreigner talk: Convergence or divergence? *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, 1, 135-45.
- Rubin, J. (1962). Bilingualism in Paraguay. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 4, 52-8.
- Sachdev, I. (1998). Language use and attitudes amongst the Fisher River Cree in Manitoba. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 22, 108-19.
- Sachdev, I. and Bourhis, R. Y. (1990). Language and social identification. In D. Abrams and M. Hogg (eds.), *Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances*, pp. 33-51. Hemel Hempstead, UK: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Sachdev, I. and Bourhis, R. Y. (1993). Ethnolinguistic vitality: Some motivational and cognitive considerations. In M. Hogg and D. Abrams (eds.), *Group Motivation: Social Psychological Perspectives*, pp. 33-51. New York and London: Harvester-Wheatsheaf.
- Sachdev, I. and Bourhis, R. Y. (2001). Multilingual communication. In W. P. Robinson and H. Giles (eds.), *The New Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*, pp. 407-28. Chichester: Wiley.
- Sachdev, I., Bourhis, R. Y., Phang, S.-W., and D'Eye, J. (1987). Language attitudes and vitality perceptions: Intergenerational effects amongst Chinese Canadian communities. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 6, 287-307.
- Scotton, C. M. (1983). The negotiation of identities in conversation: A theory of markedness and code-choice. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 44, 115-36.
- Sechrest, L., Flores, L., and Arellano, L. (1968). Language and social interaction in a bilingual culture. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 76, 155-61.
- Shepard, C. A., Giles, H., and Le Poire, B. A. (2001). Communication accommodation theory. In W. P. Robinson and H. Giles (eds.), *The New Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*, pp. 33-56. New York: Wiley.
- Simard, L., Taylor, D. M., and Giles, H. (1976). Attribution processes and interpersonal accommodation in a bilingual setting. *Language and Speech*, 19, 374-87.
- Street, R. L., Jr. (1982). Evaluation of noncontent speech accommodation. *Language and Communication*, 2, 13-31.
- Tabouret-Keller, A. (1997). Language and identity. In F. Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, pp. 315-26. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Tajfel, H. (ed.) (1978). *Differentiation Between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press.
- Tajfel, H. and Turner, J. C. (1986). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin and S. Worchel (eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, 2nd edn., pp. 7-17. Chicago: Nelson Hall.
- Taylor, D. M. and Royer, E. (1980). Group processes affecting anticipated language choice in intergroup relations. In H. Giles, W. P. Robinson, and P. M. Smith (eds.), *Language: Social Psychological Perspectives*, pp. 185-92. Oxford, Pergamon.
- Thakerar, J. N., Giles, H., and Cheshire, J. (1982). Psychological and linguistic parameters of speech accommodation theory. In C. Fraser

- and K. R. Scherer (eds.), *Advances in the Social Psychology of Language*, pp. 205–55. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Tong, Y.-Y., Hong, Y.-Y., Lee, S.-L., and Chiu, C.-Y. (1999). Language use as a carrier of social identity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 23, 281–96.
- Triandis, H. C. (1960). Cognitive similarity and communication in a dyad. *Human Relations*, 13, 175–83.
- Trudgill, P. (1974). *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M., Oakes, P., Reicher, S., and Wetherell, M. (1987). *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-categorization Theory*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- van den Berg, M. E. (1986). Language planning and language use in Taiwan: Social identity, language accommodation and language choice behavior. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 59, 97–115.
- Woolard, K. A. (1989). *Double Talk: Bilingualism and the Politics of Ethnicity in Catalonia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.