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GOTHENBURG MONOGRAPHS IN LINGUISTICS 6

LANGUAGE SURVIVAL:

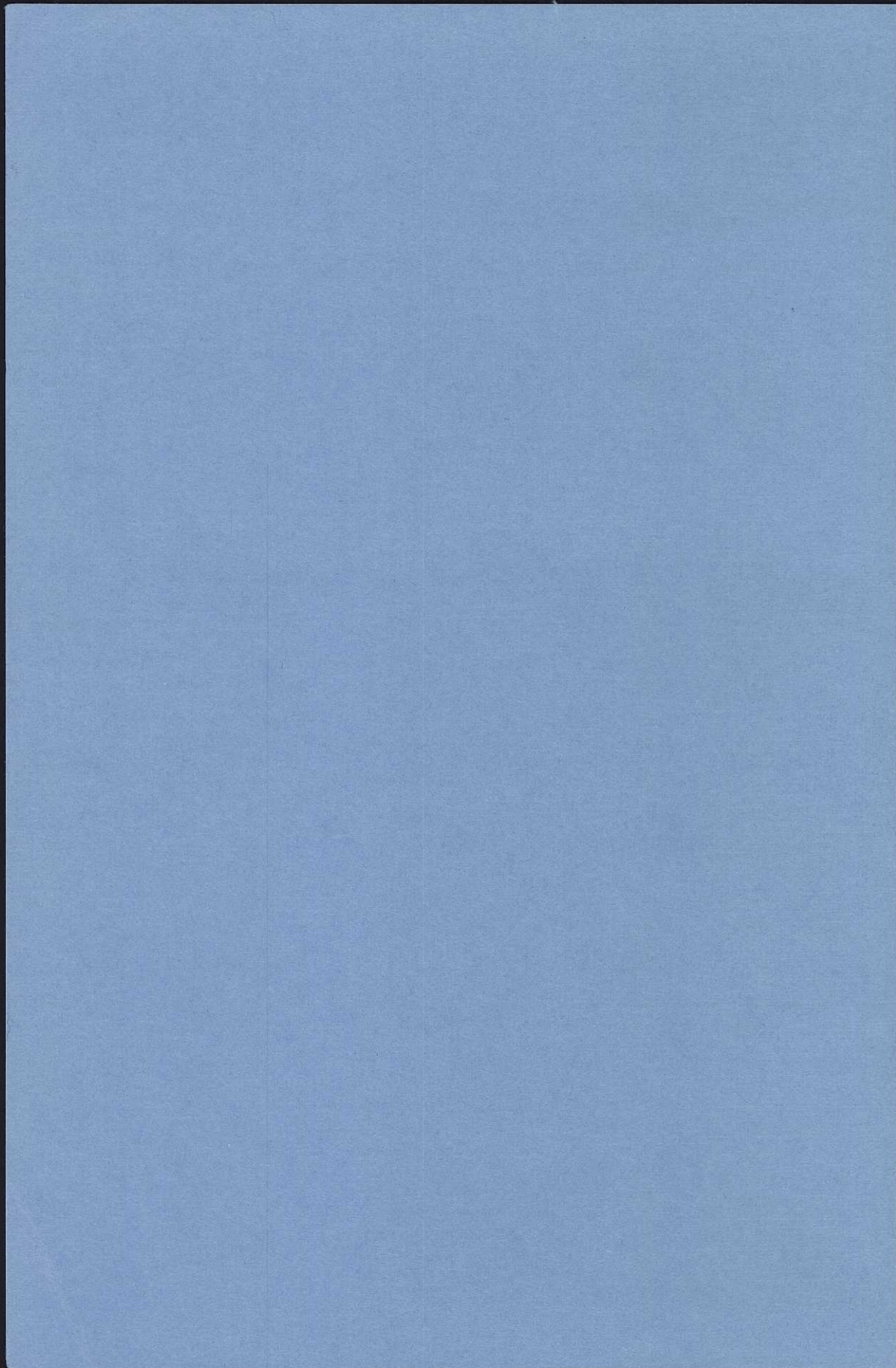
A study of language contact, language shift
and language choice in Sweden

SALLY BOYD

Department of Linguistics

University of Göteborg

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ABSTRACT

LANGUAGE SURVIVAL: A study of language contact, language shift, and language choice in Sweden

Sally Boyd

Department of Linguistics, University of Göteborg, S412 98 Göteborg

This thesis investigates the current situation and future prospects of immigrant minority languages (ML) in Sweden. It is argued that the outcome of language contact between an immigrant ML and a host majority language can in part be predicted based on the pattern of language use among second generation immigrant young people.

Earlier studies of language contact have focused on the social context of contact, and on the pattern of language use among multilinguals in order to evaluate the vitality of various minority languages in contact with dominant majority languages. This thesis examines both of these aspects of the current language contact situation in Sweden. Under certain conditions, it is clear that age-grading in the pattern of language use is an important indicator of language shift in progress, while domain separation cannot be taken as a sign of stability in societal multilingualism. The study further seeks an explanation of patterns of language use proposing a set of principles governing language choice in conversations between multilinguals.

The methods used in the empirical study of language use among immigrant young people in Sweden included 1) a questionnaire survey of 700 immigrant young people in two municipalities in Sweden: Borås and Nacka, and 2) interviews, first with 40 Finnish young people and then with their parents. Both methods rely heavily on self-report.

The major results include the following:

1) Virtually all of the young people in the population were active users of Swedish, in a wide variety of circumstances, while use of ML varied dramatically within the population.

2) Young people both of whose parents were immigrants were more actively bilingual than those one of whose parents was Swedish and the other immigrant. Within these two categories, there was surprisingly little difference between young people with different ethnic/national backgrounds, however.

3) Active bilingual young people tended to come from families where the parents had low status occupations, to live in residential areas with relatively many other immigrants, to have been born or have lived abroad or to plan a possible return to the parents' country of origin.

4) An unexpected finding was that the actively bilingual young people tended to use ML primarily with their parents and others within the first generation, while they used Swedish with their age peers, including siblings.

5) The domains of language use among active bilinguals were thus shown to overlap significantly: as Swedish is used between siblings, even many homes are bilingual.

These and other results of the empirical study suggest that language shift is in progress among second generation immigrant young people in Sweden. The thesis concludes with some suggestions as to how active multilingualism can be encouraged in the family and in the peer group.

KEY WORDS: Sociolinguistics, multilingualism, language contact, language shift, language choice, immigration, minority language, diglossia, change-in-progress

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Göteborg, September, 1985.

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CHAPTER ONE-- INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Sweden has always been a multilingual country. Existing historical sources indicate both that speakers of minority languages have lived within its present borders as long as speakers of Swedish (see e.g. Helander 1984:18) and that immigration has been significant during many periods of Swedish history (see e.g. Arnstberg & Ehn 1976, Wande 1984b). During the mid- and late 1960's and early 1970's however, the rate of immigration to Sweden has increased dramatically the number of individuals who are native speakers (see sec. 3.3.2) of languages other than Swedish, and the number of active multilinguals living in the country. While immigrants made up less than one percent of the population of Sweden prior to the industrial revolution (Arnstberg & Ehn 1976:107), today up to 12% of the total population can be considered "immigrants" using a broad definition of the term (see appendix 1).

Since about the mid 1960's, interest in ethnicity, immigration, indigenous minorities and their languages has been great both in Europe and in North America. Allardt and Starck (1981) have called this increased interest on the part of laymen and within the scientific community the ethnic revival movement. Research during this period investigating language contact which resulted from the large-scale immigration movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the United States has documented the rapid linguistic assimilation of most of the immigrant groups studied (see e.g. Fishman 1966). Though the process of linguistic assimilation (or language shift, see sec. 3.2.5.2) has differed slightly from group to group, the result seems to be the same in virtually all cases: active bilingualism disappears after the second generation of immigrants. The third generation is usually more or less totally monolingual in English. Notable exceptions to this pattern, however are said to be the Spanish-speaking minorities in the US: the Puerto Ricans in the Northeast, and the Mexican-Americans in the Southwest (see however Hernandez-Chavez 1978 for another view). Because research into language contact resulting from immigration in the US has begun on a large scale only after World War II, the most interesting phases of this language contact were never documented. By 1950, the children of the immigrant generation, who arrived around the turn of the century, were already grown up, as were many in the third generation.

Here in Sweden, where immigration is more recent, it is of both theoretical and practical interest to try to find out what the linguistic results of immigration will be, in the long run. Will the linguistic minorities in Sweden today experience language shift in the same way, and with the same rapidity as those in the US? Will Sweden once again be as monolingual as it was prior to 1965? Or will the immigration of the 1960's and 1970's leave behind more stable linguistic minorities? Has the ethnic revival movement, and a generally more supportive attitude on the part of the majority towards linguistic and cultural diversity had any effect on language contact? Have other social or linguistic circumstances in the case of immigration to Sweden had any crucial effect on language contact and its outcome?

According to one way of counting (see sec. 4.2.2.1 and 4.3.1

and appendix 1), there are about 1 million individuals born abroad and children of those born abroad living in Sweden today. This represents about 1/8 of the total population of the country. However, as figures in appendix 1 show, many individuals classed as immigrants using a broad definition are not usually thought of as immigrants by native Swedes. Over half of all immigrants come from other Scandinavian countries (including Finland). Another 12% come from Western Europe or North America, and about 10% come from Eastern European (i.e. Warsaw pact) nations. This leaves about 25% who come from Southern Europe, Latin America, Africa, or Asia. This last group represents the stereotype for immigrants in Sweden for many Swedes, despite the fact that they make up only about 1/4 of the total group, broadly defined.

Not only does the figure of nearly 1 million immigrants include many who come from neighboring countries, whom many Swedes do not think of as immigrants, this figure also includes 250,000 persons born in Sweden (second generation immigrants). According to Reinans (1981) almost half of this group has a native born Swede as one of her/his parents. Many of these young people do not consider themselves immigrants, and are not thought of as such by most Swedes (see sec. 5.3.1). Other second generation young people have contact of varying degrees with the minority group, and its language and culture (see sec. 5.4).

Although 12% may seem to be a large portion of the population, as compared to other European countries which have experienced similar increases in immigration in the last 20 years, it is comparable to the proportion of Americans who live or have lived in a household where a language other than English is or was spoken. However, only about 7% of the US population is actively bilingual, according to the 1976 Survey of Income and Education (cited in Grosjean 1982: 45-46, 54). Results presented later in this thesis suggest that the proportion of active bilinguals in Sweden would also be lower than the figures in appendix 1. Nevertheless, other social factors which would seem to favor language maintenance in this country, as well as a much more developed program of minority language support would seem to improve the chances for at least some of the immigrant minority languages to survive for a longer period of time as stable minority languages in this country, as compared with the situation in the United States.

A problem expressed by many scholars working in the field of language contact has been that of relating the social situation of language contact to the outcome of the contact: language maintenance (i.e. the survival of a dominated language, despite contact with a more dominant language) or language shift (i.e. the disappearance of one language (usually the dominated one) in a contact situation; see sec. 3.2.5.2 for more detailed definitions). Why, for example, did contact between Celtic and Anglo-Saxon result in language shift, while the latter language survived its later contact with Norman French? Why is Gaelic, once a majority language, in East Sutherland dying, (Dorian 1981) while Finnish has survived admirably under similar circumstances in its contact with Swedish in Finland? The synchronic study of language contact should enable us to come closer to an understanding of what social and linguistic forces can govern the outcome of such a contact.

1.2 Purpose of the thesis

It is the purpose of this thesis to investigate the present situation and future prospects of immigrant minority languages in Sweden, in order to ascertain to what extent language shift is taking place, and to what extent these languages are maintaining themselves as stable linguistic minorities in this country. A major criterion for shift or maintenance, I will claim, is the degree of active bilingualism among the second generation of immigrants. If a major part of the second generation is actively bilingual in both the minority language (ML) and Swedish, then I believe that the minority language has a chance of surviving as a more permanent linguistic minority in this country. If a major part of the second generation is not actively bilingual, then I would judge the chances to be slim that the minority language can survive as a linguistic minority.

As long as immigration continues at its present, rather substantial rate (see Widgren 1981), it cannot be said that Sweden is a monolingual country in any strict sense. The arrival of an average of 35-40,000 immigrants per year (even if the rate of re-migration is now higher) has an important impact on many aspects of Swedish life, not the least with regard to language. Nevertheless, it is of considerable interest to investigate to what extent the immigrant linguistic minorities consist not only of relatively recent immigrants, but also of native born individuals. In other words, to what extent, or at what rate language shift is taking place among second generation immigrants.

The pattern of language use (some scholars call it "language choice") among bilinguals has been a major criterion of language maintenance or language shift in a number of studies of language contact (Fishman 1966, Fishman et al 1971, Gal 1979, Jaakkoja 1973, Rönmark & Wikström 1980, Helander 1984 among others-- see chapter 2). However, this aspect of the linguistic situation of immigrant young people in Sweden has not been systematically investigated. The bulk of these other studies have tried to predict directly the future prospects for minority languages based on social factors or the pattern of language use. A few (e.g. Gal 1979) have related language shift to the communication of social meaning in conversation. In chapter 6, I have proposed principles which I believe direct choice of language in conversation between multilinguals. It is hoped that this work can begin to give some new insights into the process of language shift in the context of face-to-face interaction.

1.3 Plan for the thesis

In chapter 2, I make a brief survey of the literature of language contact, in order to determine which social factors have been seen as most crucial to the outcome of language contact, in terms of language maintenance or language shift. I also examine some of the theories which link patterns of language use among multilingual speakers to the long-range results of language contact.

In chapter 3, I present definitions of some key terms which are used in several chapters of the thesis. Otherwise, definitions linked to particular results, arguments or discussions, will be presented in connection with these. Among

other concepts, I define language maintenance, language shift, and (active) multilingualism in this chapter.

In chapter 4, I give an account of the methods used in the study. The purpose of the study has not been to develop new methods of investigation of language contact. This chapter is largely descriptive, except for the last section, where I outline some of the weaknesses of the methods I have used.

In chapter 5, I present the results of the questionnaire survey of language use among over 700 14-16 year old young people with immigrant background from two municipalities in Sweden: Borås and Nacka. Here, I relate the degree of active bilingualism to a number of social background variables, and to variables of contact with minority language culture. Then I examine the pattern of language use for the young people who are actively bilingual in terms of interlocutor, setting and topic. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the young people's self-ratings of language competence in the minority language and Swedish.

In chapter 6, as mentioned above, I propose a set of principles which I believe guide language choice in conversation between multilinguals. These principles are in large part based on an analysis of conversation drawn from Allwood (1976). The analysis takes into account the following aspects of the interaction: the purpose of the interaction, the most efficient means of fulfilling this purpose, the skills and reference group orientation of the interlocutors, and their mutual role relations. The chapter concludes by relating the results presented in chapter 5 to the principles proposed in chapter 6.

Chapter 7 includes a summary of the thesis, and some speculations as to the prospects for various linguistic minorities in this country. It concludes with some suggestions as to how the development of the language contact situation could be directed towards greater linguistic diversity, and greater active multilingualism.

CHAPTER TWO-- REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE OF LANGUAGE CONTACT

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 Statement of the problem

The purpose of this thesis, as stated in the previous chapter, is to investigate the current sociolinguistic situation of linguistic minorities in Sweden, in order to ascertain what possibilities the various language groups have of maintaining themselves as separate ethnic and linguistic units, and what the chances (or risks) are that some or all of these groups undergo language shift, becoming linguistically assimilated into the larger dominant Swedish language and culture. The question to be addressed in this chapter is that of what social factors are considered to be of importance in the outcome of a language contact situation, and what the pattern of language use can tell us about an ongoing process of language shift or language maintenance (for definitions of these terms see sec. 3.2.5.2). Based on these findings, hypotheses as to the chances for survival of various minority languages will be presented.

The question will be discussed as follows: in the remainder of this section, I will characterize generally the literature of language contact and language maintenance and shift. In sections 2.2 and 2.3, I will present the social, geographic, economic and demographic factors seen as crucial to language maintenance or shift in particular cases of language contact. These will be divided into pre-contact phase factors, and contact phase factors. The fourth section of the chapter will take up the theories within sociolinguistics which predict future patterns of language use from patterns of language use in the present. In the final section of the chapter, I will try to assess the chances of some of the major ethnic minorities in Sweden to maintain themselves as such, based on the views presented in the literature.

2.1.2 The dynamics of ethnic group and language contact

Interest in the question of the outcome of contact between linguistic minorities among linguists as well as sociologists has increased dramatically since the so-called ethnic revival movement began in the 1960's. The results of language contact on phonological, grammatical and lexical structure of the languages involved has of course been of interest to linguists and philologists much longer. Linguistic as well as social and economic factors have been evaluated for their individual contribution to an observed historical outcome of language contact. Some of the issues and theories in the older literature on this subject are discussed in Boyd (1975).

Even a cursory survey of the literature since 1965 will demonstrate how much disagreement there still is among scholars who have addressed the question of the social factors determining the outcome of a language contact situation. Fishman, whose thoughts on this subject will be examined in greater detail later in this chapter, is perhaps the scholar from the post-1960 group who has studied this question most thoroughly. He admits that there is practically no consensus on the matter (1972: ch. 7). Factors which seem on one occasion to improve a language group's

chances for survival under the press of assimilation to a dominant group, seems on another occasion to hasten assimilation.

The ideal seems to be that sociologists and linguists should be able to predict what Giles et al (1977) call the viability of an ethnic or linguistic minority (see sec. 3.2.2 for definitions) on the basis of their history and present situation with respect to other groups, much as the biologist or ecologist can predict the future extinction, stability or expansion of a biological species in a certain environment, based on its current situation in relation to other species. As is usually the case when we try to apply models from natural science to social and humanistic science, the situation is not as clear as we would like it to be. In fact, I think it can be said that it is unusually confused, due perhaps in part to the fact that the question demands an interdisciplinary approach. The linguistic studies in particular have often studied one or two cases of language contact in depth, locating the factors which seem to be crucial in that case, and -- providing any general theoretical statement is made at all -- then stated the belief that these factors must be crucial for the outcome of a language contact situation in general. While linguists at times have tended to equate survival of a language with survival of a minority group, sociologists and anthropologists (e.g. Gordon 1964, Glazer and Moynihan 1963, 1970) have tended to underestimate the role of language in determining the survival of a minority (an exception, however, is Allardt and Starck 1980).

Gal (1979) expresses strong scepticism that it is possible to predict language shift on the basis of an analysis of large-scale social factors and changes in a multilingual society. Instead, she advocates a closer examination of the social meaning of language choice, and of how the multilingual uses language choice as a means of presenting her/himself differently in different social contexts (cf. chapter 6 for a different sort of attempt at this).

2.1.3 Overview of the literature of language contact

In this section, I will present an overview of some of the literature on language maintenance and shift, with particular attention paid to the numerous social factors which have been offered as explanations for a specific outcome of language shift or maintenance in a particular case of language contact. Most authors seem to assume that the same factors produce similar results in a language contact situation, whether the contact is the result of immigration or the contact of indigenous minorities with a dominant majority in a single nation.

The majority of these sources discuss the fate of a relatively recent language contact between a particular immigrant language and English in North America. However, a few treat languages with a longer history there (e.g. Christian and Christian 1966: Spanish; Lemaire 1966: French;) several treat the situation of immigrant or indigenous languages in Europe (e.g. Jaakkola 1973, Weinreich 1974, Lewis 1969, Francescato 1976, Hamp 1978, and Gal 1979) and some treat the question of language maintenance and shift more generally, without specific reference to any particular immigrant or minority group (e.g. Fishman 1966, 1972; Giles et al 1977; Lieberson and Curry 1971, Glazer 1966, Inglehart and Woodward 1972, Schermerhorn 1964). This review will

of necessity give a simplified picture of the views presented by these writers. In some of these descriptions, the factors leading to a particular outcome are simply mentioned in passing, in an introductory description of the speech community which leads into a discussion of interference phenomena, for example. In other works, they are embedded in a theory which space doesn't allow me to recapitulate here.

Some writers make a clear distinction between language maintenance and shift and the parallel phenomena of cultural pluralism and assimilation. Hamp (1978) and Trudgill and Tsavaras (1977), for example, discuss the fact that in the cases they studied, linguistic and cultural assimilation have not gone hand-in-hand. Most writers, however, seem to assume that maintenance of a dominated language is a central component in cultural pluralism, and that the factors which help to bring about cultural pluralism will also work towards maintenance of the dominated language(s) and vice versa. Thus some writers speak generally of language and cultural maintenance, others only of language maintenance.

Another complication is provided by the obvious fact that these factors normally interact with each other. For example, "when conditions are right" language maintenance efforts such as the establishment of an ethnic press and ethnic group organizations will be initiated by a minority group; these efforts will heighten "ethnic consciousness", which will in turn bring about a demand for stepped-up efforts of language maintenance. In such a situation, it is clearly pointless to speak of causes and effects. This is particularly clear for the factors discussed in sub-sections 2.3.4 (institutions) and 2.3.5 (attitudes).

Following Schermerhorn (1964), I will divide the discussion of social factors seen as affecting language maintenance vs shift into two groups: pre-contact phase factors and contact phase factors. Within the second group, further subdivision will be necessary.

2.2 Pre-contact phase factors

Many authors have pointed to the **situation in the immigrants' homeland** as containing the seeds of language maintenance or shift after settlement in the new country. Fishman (1966: ch.1), for example, attributes the rapid assimilation of many European immigrant groups in the US in part to the fact that the background of many immigrants in Europe was poor and rural. This background, according to Fishman, helps account for the immigrants' relatively low ethnic consciousness. The identity of the immigrants was more strongly tied to their region, their occupation, or their religion than to their (pre-immigration) nationality. Prior to World War I, nationalism in Europe, he claims, was common primarily among the urban and middle- and upper classes (see also Fishman 1978) not among the poor rural classes the immigrants usually came from. Fishman notes that immigrants left Europe for the US in order to improve their economic and social standing. The vast majority wished to change their status in relation to their fellow-countrymen, rather than to re-establish an old order in a new place (see also Nahirny and Fishman 1966 and Glazer 1966).

Of importance is also the type of community from which the immigrants come. If it is linguistically heterogeneous, some writers see this as favoring language shift (e.g. Hasselmo 1974, Rein 1980, Hofman 1966, Kloss 1966, Hofman and Fisherman 1971). One might instead hypothesize that a group which had succeeded in maintaining its language as a minority language in the homeland had a better chance of surviving as a linguistic minority in a new language contact situation, after immigration. The educational background of the immigrants is of course of primary importance in determining the outcome of language contact. Immigrants with a better education generally enjoy greater economic success in the new country, (with attendant language shift, see below), especially if their education has included learning the language of the dominant majority (see e.g. Hofman and Fisherman 1971, Savolainen 1982).

The political relations between the country of origin and the host country may also play a key role in forming attitudes on the part of both groups towards each other. Giles et al (1977) discuss what they call the "sociohistorical status" of the groups in contact, whether it has involved domination of one group by the other, colonialism, war, slavery etc. They imply in this discussion, as in the discussion of the "status" factors generally, that the higher the status of a minority group, relative to the majority, the greater its "vitality". However, Savolainen (1982) claims that the historical relationship between speakers of Swedish and Finnish, both in Sweden and in Finland, has a rather ambiguous role in relation to language shift or maintenance: for some speakers, the high status of Swedish in relation to Finnish seems to favor rapid language shift, while others become extremely loyal to Finnish, and/or have such a respect for the Swedish language that they are ashamed or afraid to speak the language imperfectly. Gal (1979), Jaakkola (1973) and Dorian (1981) have pointed to the importance of shifting historical relationships between indigenous minorities and majorities in the development of a language contact situation towards language shift.

At the same time, certain aspects of the **situation in the**

host country before the arrival of the immigrants can be considered crucial for language maintenance or shift once immigration begins. In the United States, the American ideology and American nationalism were strong contributors to language shift among immigrants in the late 19th and early 20th century, according to Fishman (1966) and Nahirny and Fishman (1966). Even before these mass immigration movements, America thought of itself as a nation where individual opportunity and freedom were paramount. These values were and clearly are present in what is usually called "the American dream." Success should depend on achievement by individuals, not on one's inherited status, for example. Community affairs were ideally socially inclusive, rather than exclusive; advancement was seen as primarily individual, rather than collective (Fishman 1966:401). All of these aspects of "American ideology" tended to weaken ethnic bonds, according to Fishman, which in turn led to a rapid language shift in most groups.

Another aspect of the American ideology which has helped hasten language shift, according to Fishman (1966), is the American view of language, which is primarily pragmatic. American English has no academy to protect it, and although it is today undoubtedly the most thoroughly studied language in the world, interest in the language has not arisen primarily out of feelings of the superiority, perfection or sanctity of the language in comparison to any other. Fishman places this view in contrast to the views of European "intellectual elites" of the period of mass immigration, for whom the national language symbolized national (high) culture. He claims that this view was not shared by the primarily rural and uneducated European immigrants. Thus it was easy for the latter group to adopt even this aspect of the American ideology, and when the use of an immigrant language no longer seemed "practical", there were no ideological reasons for the immigrants to retain it, according to Fishman. Had the general American ideology instead revered the American language, using it as a symbol for American nationalism, this view could have perhaps evoked a reaction of stronger language loyalty among the immigrants. This never happened, according to Fishman. Rather, except for the attitude towards German and its speakers, there has been little open hostility to language diversity in the history of American immigration.

While the attitude of native-born Americans towards language diversity might have been positive, according to Fishman (1966:ch. 15), the attitude towards different immigrant minorities varied dramatically. The attitude of the majority towards the minority can be of importance in the outcome of language contact. However, a positive attitude on the part of the majority can hasten language shift among the minority, or it can support language maintenance. Much depends on the goals and preferences of the group in power. If the attitude of the majority is negative towards the immigrant group, then the latter may be more or less forced to change languages, or, on the other hand, they may be prevented from learning the majority language, and thereby prevented from integrating with the majority group (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981).

The linguistic situation in the host country also plays a role in language maintenance vs shift, according to Verdoodt (1971), Hasselmo (1974), and Nahirny and Fishman (1966). If the country or area of settlement is dominated by a single language,

as e.g. English already dominated the larger part of the US when the majority of European immigrants arrived, language shift tends to be more rapid than it would have been if there had been greater linguistic diversity.

2.3 Contact phase factors

2.3.1 Demographic factors

Within the contact phase, several demographic factors are seen as important in contributing to language maintenance or shift. First of all, the overall size of the group in relation to other groups is important. The larger the group, the better its chances of survival as a linguistic minority, according to many writers (e.g. Haugen 1953, Edwards 1977, Giles et al 1977). Related to group size are also the factors of the birth rate in the group and the patterns of marriage within it. If the group is generally endogamous, and has a high birth rate, the chances for language maintenance improve, according to many authors (e.g. Hedblom 1980, Hofman 1966, Lemaire 1966, Hamp 1978, Lewis 1975, Weinreich 1974, Giles et al 1977).

Lieberson and Curry (1971) point to the importance of the number of immigrant groups arriving at more or less the same time. If many groups arrive simultaneously, this may lead to a more rapid language shift, as the groups tend to use the majority language as a lingua franca in intergroup communication, they argue (see also Hasselmo 1974). The continued arrival of new immigrants from the same countries of origin as existing minorities should improve the chances for language maintenance, according to Giles et al (1977), among others (see Boyd 1984). The possibility for re-migration, or migration to a second host country is not mentioned so much in the literature I have surveyed, but it has figured in many discussions of language learning and language maintenance in Sweden. The more temporary the stay is viewed by the immigrants, the less they may see the need of learning and using the majority language more than necessary, and thus the better the chances for language maintenance.

Another factor mentioned in the Swedish debate on immigration concerns the type of immigration. In chain immigration, the immigrants' decision to leave the homeland, and settle in the host country are the result of contact with relatives or friends from the homeland, who have already immigrated or plan to do so. In this case, social networks and cultural patterns are more often transferred to the host country, as compared to spontaneous immigration, where the immigrant leaves the homeland and immigrates to the host country as an individual, (or as a nuclear family).

2.3.2 Geographic factors

Closely related to these demographic factors are a number of geographic ones, which many writers have mentioned as crucial to language maintenance or shift. The geographical distance to the immigrants' country of origin, or the existence of a neighboring country with the minority language as the dominant language determines to some extent the possibility of continued contact between the immigrant group and monolinguals in the minority language, according to Hasselmo (1974), Christian and Christian (1966), Jaakkola (1973), and Haugen (1953). This ought to promote language maintenance.

Giles et al (1977) discuss the question of whether or not the group inhabits what it conceives of as its homeland, or

whether it is in exile as an important factor, as well as the extent to which the boundaries of the homeland (presumably as it is perceived by group members) coincide with political boundaries. The more the group feels it has a birthright to a geographical territory, the better are its chances for survival as a separate group, according to these authors. Allardt and Starck (1981) also emphasize the importance of a geographical base for ethnic vitality.

Various aspects of the **settlement pattern** for immigrants in the new country are also considered important in many sources. Isolation or self-sufficiency of a community are seen as favoring maintenance by Hedblom (1980), Rein (1980), Schah (1980), Christian and Christian (1966), Kloss (1966), Glazer (1966), Edwards (1977) and Jaakkola (1973). Of course, in an extreme case, where isolation is total, we can hardly speak of language contact at all. In a similar vein, several authors have pointed to the geographical concentration of a group in a certain area, even an unisolated one, which should naturally retard language shift (Hofman 1966, Kloss 1966, Glazer 1966, Hasselmo 1974, Haugen 1953, Hofman and Fisherman 1971). For similar reasons, settlement both of immigrant and indigenous minorities in a rural rather than an urban setting is usually seen as favoring language maintenance (see the critique of this reasoning in Fishman 1972, as well as examples of it in Lemaire 1966, Lewis 1975, Francescato 1976, Weinreich 1974 and Edwards 1977). All of these geographical factors, as well as many of the demographic ones are based on the assumption that the more frequent, intense and intimate the contacts are between groups, the more likely and more rapid the language shift will be. The more an immigrant group isolates itself, and limits its contacts with other groups, the more likely the minority language is to survive a longer period of time. I will return to this line of reasoning below, sec. 2.5.1.

2.3.3 Social factors

2.3.3.1 Group structure, and relation to majority

Many writers have pointed to a number of factors in the contact situation which can loosely be labelled as "social". I will begin the discussion in this section with those which have to do with the social structure of the minority group, and its relation to the majority. Then I will take up the social characteristics of individual members of minority groups, which are seen to make these individuals more or less prone to change their habits of language use, and lead a language shift in the group as a whole.

The **social structure of a group** is commonly considered as a major determinant of the outcome of language contact. But here, the effect of a similar structure seems to be different in different instances of contact. For example, if an immigrant group consists largely of middle or upper class individuals, language shift is sometimes rapid, as among the "brain drain" scientists coming to the US during and after World War II, but it can also be retarded by the group's language loyalty, and language maintenance efforts, which are often organized and led by high status group members, according to Fishman (1966: ch. 1, 15). Among the Spanish speaking Mexican immigrants to California (see Christian and Christian 1966) or the German immigrants to

the US (Kloss 1966) and Israel (Hofman and Fisherman 1971), the existence of an educated elite is seen as promoting language maintenance. Weinreich (1974:101) considers this latter tendency a general one, not only for language shift, but for cultural assimilation in general.

The linguistic literature rarely takes up the question of who is included in the immigrant group, in connection with language maintenance or shift. If the immigrant group includes religious, cultural or political leaders (cf. Sander 1980), then the chances for language maintenance should be better than if the group is comprised only of the poorly-educated.

Hamp (1978) points to the development of a particular economic niche for Albanian-speaking groups in Bulgaria as promoting language maintenance in that group. The Chinese in many parts of the world have similarly succeeded in establishing and maintaining an exclusive economic niche for themselves, and thereby have maintained their language and culture in many areas (cf. also Barth 1969 and the discussion of his arguments regarding ethnic group contact in sec. 3.2.1.1). Similarly, East Sutherland Gaelic, a low prestige language in contact with Scots English, survived despite the fact that its speakers were forced to change their economic niche from crofters to fishermen. They succeeded in maintaining their low prestige language after being moved to the Scottish coast, as long as they could depend on fishing for their livelihood (Dorian 1981). When fishing could no longer support them, language shift followed rapidly. Exclusivity of a language in a particular economic activity is probably not only a partial cause of language maintenance, but can also be seen as an effect of the economic activity being specific to use of that language (cf. sec. 6.4).

The structure of the majority or host group also plays an important role in language maintenance or shift. If the host society is closed and its structure rigid, and the chances for entering its institutions on an equal basis small, then language shift is probably less likely than if the host country is relatively open, and social change is already taking place (see e.g. Bourhis and Giles 1977, Jaakkola 1973, Inglehart and Woodward 1972, Fishman 1966:ch. 1, 15). In cases of long-term contact between an indigenous minority and a dominant majority, bilingualism, and monolingualism in the minority language may be stable, until social changes make it impossible for minority groups to continue in their traditional ways of life, thereby changing the needs and aspirations of minority group members (see e.g. Gal 1979). Industrialization and urbanization have effectively broken up previously homogeneous settlements of immigrants as well as weakened the position of indigenous minorities and their respective languages in many parts of Europe, while these social changes have given minority group members in many cases the chance to improve their social position.

A central factor in language maintenance or shift in many contexts is the power relationship between the language groups. This factor is given primary importance in Schermerhorn's (1964) typology of minority groups, and is also discussed in Inglehart and Woodward (1972). Perhaps the obviousness of this factor has led to its omission from the discussion in most of the other sources. When both political and economic power are vested in the dominant group, it is free to dictate either explicitly or

implicitly, the norms of language use for the situations in which they dominate (see also sec. 6.6.2.1). For the bulk of American immigrant groups, English speakers dominated virtually all inter-group communication situations.

The family and to some extent the religious and organizational spheres are commonly the only ones spared this domination, to the extent that these institutions remain group specific. The centrality of the power relationship in determining the outcome of language contact is illustrated in cases of so-called colonial bilingualism, where a newly dominant language becomes the language of high culture and administration in a country which is numerically dominated by one or more now subordinate languages. Typically, the burden of bilingualism is carried primarily by the dominated group, even if they are in fact in the majority (see e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:78). However, a dominant or subordinate position in the social structure of the society as a whole need not imply language maintenance or shift directly. As mentioned above, the dominant majority, for example, may encourage language shift among the minority, or it may prefer to retain its power by limiting access to majority institutions through segregation of the minority.

2.3.3.2 Individual social characteristics

Such social factors as age (or age of immigration), occupation and sex have also been investigated by some, in order to determine what sub-groups within the minority group normally leads the language shift, and which groups are most tenacious in defending the minority language (see Lieberman and Curry 1971, Hofman and Fishman 1971, Weinreich 1974, Haugen 1953: ch. 12). These factors would presumably come into play in affecting the overall outcome of language contact, when an immigrant group is dominated by one sex, age group or social class, for example.

The higher status occupations are normally the ones to begin language shift, as well as other occupations where contact with a broad range of clients or customers from both the majority and minority groups is necessary (Lieberman and Curry 1971, Fishman 1972). When an immigrant group is dominated by the middle and upper social classes, it could be expected that language shift would be more rapid than if it is dominated by the working class.

As far as sex is concerned, men often lead language shift in the first generation, but women are the most skilful bilinguals in the second generation, according to Haugen (1953:45-46, Lieberman 1971). Among Gal's (1979) informants, in bilingual Austria, the women were among the last to learn the prestige language, German, but they were among the first to abandon Hungarian. In other words, the language shift she describes proceeded more rapidly among women than among men. In Tornedalen, it has been a general assumption that women are more prone to language shift, and use of the prestige language more generally, than men (Wande 1984a, Jaakkola 1973 cf. also Helander 1984). We could thus expect that an immigrant group dominated by men would be less likely to shift languages rapidly than one dominated by women.

Most of those who discuss the age factor contend that the younger the speaker is when she/he comes in contact with both languages, the more "perfectly" bilingual she/he will become.

This proficiency, as well as the desire to conform to the majority in childhood and young adulthood, tend to hasten language shift among young people in a situation of language contact. Immigrant groups are typically dominated by individuals in their economically productive years. However, there are cases where children have dominated: e.g. that of Finnish "war children", who came to Sweden during World War II. In most cases, these children learned Swedish rapidly, and many had difficulty returning to Finland, having "forgotten" Finnish.

A number of Scandinavian writers, in particular Toukomaa and Skutnabb-Kangas (see e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa 1976, Toukomaa (1977) and Skutnabb-Kangas 1981) claim that immigration after rather than before the age of 7-10 years may promote the learning of the dominant language, as the first language has had time to "establish itself". When immigration (or instruction in the dominant language in school) is undertaken before this age, they argue, so-called semilingualism may result (see Toukomaa 1977, Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas 1977). However, this line of reasoning has come under severe criticism from many linguists and educators, who see little or no danger in early bilingualism (see e.g. Allwood 1980a, Burling 1980, Loman 1978, Ouvinen-Birgerstam and Wigfors 1978, Ekstrand 1980, Romaine and Martin-Jones 1984).

A related factor which is significant in a study of bilingualism among second generation immigrant young people is the individual's place in her/his sibling group. In their investigation of bilingualism in Tornedalen, Rönneby and Wikström (1980) found that the older children in a sibling group tended to be more actively bilingual than younger ones

2.3.4 Institutions

The establishment and continued existence of minority group institutions in a language contact situation is viewed both as an effect of language loyalty and maintenance efforts on the part of the minority, and as a cause for future maintenance of the minority language. Many writers discuss the importance of cultural organizations and interest groups specific to minority groups (Nahirny and Fishman 1966, Lemaire 1966, Hasselmo 1974, Haugen 1953, Hofman and Fisherman 1971, Glazer and Moynihan 1963, 1970). Religious institutions are discussed by almost all writers as being supportive of language maintenance (Rein 1980, Schah 1980, Nahirny and Fishman 1966, Kloss 1966, Lemaire 1966, Glazer 1966, Hamp 1978, Inglehart and Woodward 1972, Hasselmo 1974, Lewis 1975, Jaakkola 1973, Helander 1984). Minority group schools are also seen as having a central importance in language maintenance by Kloss (1966), Lemaire (1966), Hasselmo (1974), Lieberman and Curry (1971) Hofman and Fisherman (1971). On the other hand, compulsory schooling in a monolingual school in the dominant language has been given a great deal of the credit or blame for language shift among second generation immigrants in the US, although more in the sociological, psychological and pedagogical literature than in the linguistic literature reviewed in this section (see e.g. Gordon 1964). The public school has also been a major arena of debate on the future of minority languages in Sweden (see chapter 7).

Some of these institutions have had an ambiguous role in language maintenance efforts, however. For example, the Catholic

Church in the US was initially tolerant of ethnic-specific parishes, but later the predominantly Irish leadership on the national level became a leading force in anglicizing both the church service and instruction in the parish schools. In this way they secured the domination of the English speaking groups within the church (see Hofman 1966.) In other cases, for example among American Swedes and Norwegians, where the entire denominations were at least initially limited to a single minority group, the church was one of the last bastions of the minority language (see Hasselmo 1974 and Haugen 1953).

The establishment of a minority group press, as well as other forms of mass media such as radio and television are both a sign of linguistic vitality, and a means of promoting language maintenance (see e.g. Lemaire 1966, Hasselmo 1974, Lewis 1975). While mass media in the minority language support language maintenance, contact with mass media in the dominant language is often seen as promoting learning of the language, and ultimately promoting language shift (see e.g. Lemaire 1966). Informants frequently give TV, radio, books, magazines and newspapers a great deal of credit for their learning of the dominant language. It is another question as to exactly how helpful these one-way media are in building up the active communicative skills needed for face-to-face communication.

The varying availability of literature in the minority language can also affect language maintenance or shift in a minor way. Hasselmo (1974) for example, points out the importance not only of literary works imported from the homeland but in particular literature produced in the immigrant context. Other writers (e.g. Christian and Christian 1966, Nahirny and Fishman 1966, Weinreich 1974) stress the value of other forms of "high culture" for language maintenance. Not only do these forms provide practical support in so far as they provide a milieu in which the minority language is used, but they are often a source of pride among minority group members. Many writers have pointed to the importance of a full range of registers in the minority language, including formal registers, if the language is to survive.

In addition to these spheres of institutional support, Giles et al (1977) point out the importance of minority influence in the institutions they call government service and industry. They distinguish between formal and informal institutional support, so that formal support is support initiated from within central institutions, usually dominated by the majority. In the government service sphere this type of support would be measured in terms of the numbers of minority group members elected to the national parliament, serving as government officials, and as officers in the military service etc (p. 316). Informal institutional support is institutional support initiated from within the group: in the industrial sphere this might be for example the establishment of small businesses by minority group members.

2.3.5 Attitudinal factors

Like the institutional support for language maintenance, attitudes can be seen both as a cause or as an effect of language maintenance or shift. Of course in-group attitudes on the part of the minority, and its attitudes towards the minority language and the dominant group and its language are clearly of importance

(see e.g. Giles et al's (1977) "status factors"). The predominant in-group attitude mentioned in the literature of American immigration is negative: most immigrants expressed shame over and rejection of the minority language, which becomes associated with the peasant way of life which the immigrant often wants to leave behind her/him (see Schah 1980, Hasselmo 1974:76ff and Haugen 1953:54). On the other hand, use of the dominant language represented a new start for the immigrants (see Hasselmo 1974:48, Haugen 1953:18). Glazer (1966) among others mentions a more positive attitude, something he calls the "ideological mobilization" of a minority group, which he feels improves the prospects for language and cultural maintenance. This group feeling may have its roots in a political struggle in the homeland, for example, or a newly-awakened feeling of pride after immigration. A positive attitude towards the minority language, and its value as a symbol of the minority group are assumed to be crucial to language maintenance by virtually all writers. It is probably rare that attitudes are uniquely positive or negative, either to the in-group or its language (see Savolainen 1982 concerning the ambiguous attitudes of Finns towards Swedes mentioned above, for example).

At least equally important for the outcome of language contact are the attitudes of the dominant majority towards the minority and the language it speaks (see e.g. Kloss 1966, Glazer 1966). The minority group's language or "imperfect" rendering of the majority language can function as symbols of the group itself, and thus be objects of discrimination, ridicule, humor etc (see Chapman et al 1977). These attitudes have been studied by numerous linguists and psychologists, many employing methods developed by Lambert and his associates (1960). Most linguists assume that there is nothing inherently good or bad, beautiful or ugly in a language or dialect, but that it is by association with the group of speakers using it that the language variety itself becomes the object of positive or negative attitudes. Attitudes towards language are often more openly expressed by members of both the minority and majority groups than the corresponding attitudes towards the group associated with a particular variety. (For a more detailed discussion of language attitude studies, and their use in investigations of multilingual communities, see Boyd 1978.)

A positive or negative attitude on the part of the majority towards the minority may have various effects on language maintenance, however. A positive attitude, for example, which is open to cultural diversity of the type exemplified by the minority in question, may support language maintenance efforts, thus favoring language maintenance. On the other hand, a positive attitude to the minority may result in an opening up of majority institutions to members of the minority, and allow participation on equal terms, thus helping to bring about rapid assimilation. Negative attitudes can have similarly varying effects. Thus, a more detailed analysis of the attitude climate in the contact situation would seem necessary, together with an analysis of the social structure of the minority and majority groups.

Another important factor concerning attitudes is the extent to which the minority language is considered by minority group members as a symbol of identity in the group. As mentioned above, Trudgill and Tsavaras (1977) and Hamp (1978) have docu-

mented cases in which language does not play this role, where cultural distinctiveness is maintained despite linguistic assimilation. In other words, it is clearly important to determine to what extent knowledge and/or use of a minority language are considered necessary elements in ethnic identity (see sec. 3.2.1.1). Giles et al (1977) make the important point that what they call the vitality of a minority group is affected by the group's conception of its own vitality, which can of course be manipulated by a more powerful majority, to serve its own ends.

2.3.6 List of pre-contact and contact phase factors

1. Pre-contact phase factors

1.1 Situation in country of origin

1.1.1 Social status of immigrants

1.1.2 Urban-rural background

1.1.3 Linguistic homogeneity/diversity of home community

1.1.3 Educational background of immigrants

1.2 Relation between homeland and host country

1.2.1 Historical

1.2.2 Political

1.3 Situation in host country

1.3.1 Ideology e.g. nationalism, individualism

1.3.2 View of language

1.3.3 Attitudes towards diversity

1.3.4 Linguistic homogeneity/diversity

2. Contact phase factors

2.1 Demographic factors

2.1.1 Size of group

2.1.2 Birth rate

2.1.3 Marriage patterns

2.1.4 Number of groups arriving

2.1.5 Continued arrival of new immigrants

2.1.6 Possibilities of returning

2.1.7 Chain/spontaneous immigration

2.2 Geographic factors

2.2.1 Distance to homeland

2.2.2 Is present home "homeland"?

2.2.3 Settlement pattern

2.2.3.1 Isolation

2.2.3.2 Self-sufficiency

2.2.3.3 Geographical concentration

2.2.3.4 Rural/urban

2.3 Social factors

2.3.1 Group structure

2.3.1.1 Social classes represented

- 2.3.1.2 Economic niche in host country
- 2.3.1.3 Social structure of majority (e.g. open /closed)
- 2.3.1.4 Power relation between groups

- 2.3.2 Individual social characteristics
 - 2.3.2.1 Occupation
 - 2.3.2.2 Sex
 - 2.3.2.3 Age
 - 2.3.2.4 Place in sibling group

- 2.4 Institutions
 - 2.4.1 Cultural organizations, interest groups
 - 2.4.2 Religious institutions
 - 2.4.3 Schools
 - 2.4.4 Mass media and literature
 - 2.4.5 Government service and industry

- 2.5 Attitudes
 - 2.5.1 Minority in- and out-group attitudes
 - 2.5.2 Majority in- and out-group attitudes
 - 2.5.3 Language as a symbol of ethnic identity

2.4 Patterns of language use and the future of linguistic minorities

In this section, I will discuss three different ways in which the synchronic description of the pattern of language use has been used to predict the future prospects for a linguistic minority in contact with a dominant majority. The first of these theories will be discussed under the heading "diglossia": it concerns the relative separation or overlap of domains of language use. In section 2.4.2, I will present the theories of Gumperz and Gal concerning the relationship between language use (or language choice, see sec. 6.2.1 concerning the distinction between these two terms), stylistic shifting and language shift. In the final section, I will explore to what extent the model of change in apparent time can be applied to the question of language maintenance or shift.

2.4.1 Diglossia

A common basis for predictions as to the vitality or chances of survival for a minority language in contact with a dominant majority language is an examination of the functions filled by the two (or more) languages in contact for multilingual speakers (see e.g. Jaakkola 1973, Fishman 1972, ch.7 Fishman et al. 1971). It follows quite naturally from other functional arguments about language, e.g. regarding the distribution of allophones of a phoneme or lexical variants of a lexeme, that if languages fulfill complementary functions for multilingual speakers, then it would seem more likely that both languages could survive together for a considerable length of time.

Fishman has presented this argument in many of his writings, (e.g. 1966, 1972, Fishman et al 1971), using a modified version of Ferguson's (1964) concept of diglossia. As originally used by Ferguson however, the term referred to a certain type of monolingual society, where, in addition to a standard and regional varieties (collectively labeled L for "low"), there existed a "superposed variety" (labeled H for "high"). Ferguson characterized four different cases of (monolingual) multidialectal societies as diglossia:

1. Classical Arabic and Egyptian as used in Cairo,
2. Standard German and Swiss German as used in Zurich.
3. Standard French and Creole as used in Port-au-Prince, Haiti.
4. Katharevusa and dhimotiki as used in Athens.

He claims that all four cases share the following features (summarized very briefly):

1. Specialization of function: H is used in certain contexts, L in others, with complementary distribution between the sets of context.
2. Difference in prestige: H has high prestige and L low prestige.

3. Literary heritage: H has a long literary heritage and L has at best an oral tradition.

4. Acquisition: L is everyone's native language, and H is learned formally by some.

5. Standardization: H is standardized, while L is not (see below sec. 3.2)

6. Stability: The situation tends to be stable, "tensions" being resolved by borrowing of forms, using mixed varieties etc.

7. Grammar: H has grammatical categories not found in L; one might even say that L is grammatically simpler than H, according to Ferguson.

8. Lexicon: the bulk of the vocabulary is shared, but there do occur pairs of items particular to H and L.

9. Phonology: the phonology of L is basic; features of H not shared by L constitute either a subsystem or a parasystem.

Fishman (e.g. 1972) has made two important changes in this definition in applying it to multilingual societies, which unfortunately have been adopted rather uncritically by many others working in the field. First, because the term is now applied to multilingual societies, Fishman reduces the characteristics of diglossia to functional specialization, differences in prestige and stability (1,2 and 6 above). Secondly, stability is seen by Fishman as a result of the specialization of function, rather than as a separate feature of diglossia.

In regard to Fishman's first alteration of the application of the term, I think it can rather easily be argued that diglossia in Fishman's sense applies to almost any multilingual society. In other words, the term becomes empty. If we imagine a multilingual society with, say, one or more groups of monolingual speakers of different languages, and a group of bilingual speakers, it would certainly not be unusual that one group of speakers had higher status in most contexts of social life in the society than the other. Indeed, cases in which speech communities with different first languages have equal or nearly equal status in all contexts are difficult if not impossible to find. This would normally imply that the languages associated with each group of speakers would have high or low status (feature 2 above).

Typically, the group with higher status in the society would have the power to require that the other group use the former's first language or preferred language (cf. sec. 6.6.2.1) in interaction with that group, at least in contexts where its domination was clear. Indeed, usually the more powerful group is monolingual, while the less powerful one becomes bilingual in greater or fewer numbers. This would imply that the dominant language (or H, in Ferguson's and Fishman's terms) would normally be used in a number of formal contexts, including education, administration, mass media etc. Thus, a certain amount of functional specializa-

tion for the two languages would seem to follow quite naturally from the power relations the speakers of each language have in the larger society, their skills in the languages involved, and the relative statuses of the groups.

Ferguson (1964:431) implied in his original description that the functional separation was strict ("the two sets (of situations) overlapping only very slightly"). Fishman, on the other hand seems to allow a certain amount of natural overlap in function, as do others who have used the term (e.g. Jaakkola 1973). A certain amount of overlap would seem to follow naturally from the application of the term to multilingual societies, since for example, assuming each language had a group of native speakers, both (or all) languages would commonly be used as languages in the home (though different languages may be used by different families). So this characteristic of the original notion of diglossia is probably only an approximate description of most multilingual societies.

The second alteration in using the term diglossia involved a change in the relationship between two of Ferguson's original characteristics (1 and 6 above). Fishman argues in several different places (e.g. 1966, 1972) that the separation of function between the languages should guarantee a continuation of multilingualism. Others using the term, however, have not always followed this line of reasoning. Jaakkola (1973) for example, sees the situation in Tornedalen she described as diglossia, a situation where the existence of the minority language was clearly threatened. I would consider Jaakkola's prediction to be sound, (it is echoed in 1980 by Rönmark and Wikström), but I find the application of the term diglossia to this case of bilingualism to have little explanatory value.

Fishman's reasoning seems to be based on a functional argument: If two languages fulfill complementary functions, then they should continue to do so. If their domains (see sec. 3.2.5.2) overlap, then there is no reason why both should continue to be used, Fishman reasons. This argument, like many functional arguments within linguistics has a number of weaknesses (see Lass 1980:64ff for a discussion of the general weaknesses of functional arguments in historical linguistics). First of all, as suggested above, Fishman and others using his notion of diglossia seem to allow for a certain amount of overlap in function while still considering the situation to be diglossia. Even if one accepts a rather broad definition of notions such as "utterance in language X", I think it would be extremely difficult to find a multilingual individual, let alone a multilingual group who really succeeded in keeping the domains of her/his languages truly separate. Second, overlap, as long as it isn't total, in the domains of the two languages might lead to a shift of domains, but this doesn't necessarily need to lead to a total language shift (see above sec. 3.2.5.2).

In some cases, I suspect that prescriptivism is lurking behind a mask of descriptivism in these discussions. Experts who in many cases fight for the continued existence of minority languages, use Fishman's reasoning as an argument for the recommendation that, for example, parents should consistently use a dominated minority language with their children. It may be true within a family, for example, that if a parent who normally spoke with her/his child in language A, begins interacting with her/him

in language B, a change in the pattern of use to the advantage of language B is likely. This is an empirical question, which, as far as I know has not been seriously addressed. Certainly language shift within a family should normally go through a period of variation in language use, just as sound change goes through a period of sociolinguistic variation. However, sociolinguistics is full of examples of variation which continues from generation to generation, without resulting in any change (e.g. -in' vs. -ing in the English progressive). It may be equally true that families, or larger speech communities can maintain several languages with overlapping domains over long periods of time.

It seems to me likely that the stability Ferguson observed in the situations he described in his original characterization of diglossia arose from features of (multidialectal monolingual) diglossia other than functional separation, which are quite atypical of multilingual societies. First, the fact that the H variety has no native speakers (characteristic 4 above) might be a major cause of stability. This implies that the variety is not associated with a particular speech community within the society (as that group's first language at least) rather it is a variety associated with particular spheres of activity such as education, religion, government, mass media and literature. Because access to this variety is limited, one could of course say that it is a variety associated with the educated class in society, but I would argue that, at least according to Ferguson's characterization, one wouldn't necessarily want to consider this group as a speech community in any strict sense (i.e. just because of the fact that it lacks a group of native speakers, cf. sec. 3.2.1.2). In the case of multilingual societies, the existence of a group of native speakers associated with each of the languages in contact implies quite a different sociolinguistic situation for the speech communities involved from that described by Ferguson for instances of diglossia. The existence of native speakers of both languages also brings with it a certain overlap of function, as mentioned above.

Many of the differences Ferguson cites between H and L in terms of phonology, grammar and lexicon can be viewed as conservatism on the part of H with respect to L. Changes in the H variety and in its domain of use may be hindered in Ferguson's cases of diglossia because the H variety has a special status as a religious or classical variety. It may also be the result of the lack of native speakers.

Other factors contributing to the stability of the diglossia situation as Ferguson originally formulated the notion may be the literary heritage unique to H, its standardization as compared to L, and its high prestige with respect to L. All of these factors are present only to a limited extent in most multilingual societies. In many multilingual situations, both languages have a certain literary heritage, though one may be more highly valued than the other; both languages may be standardized to some extent, (though one more than the other), and prestige varies from context to context. The existence of a literature, standardization, and high prestige in certain contexts may perhaps increase the chances for a non-dominant language to survive together with a dominant one, but there seem to be numerous other factors to be taken into account (see sec. 2.3, ch. 5).

The fact remains that in a great number of investigations of

multilingualism, scholars have found similar patterns of language use: one language is used in a set of contexts labeled private, and one language is used in a set of contexts labeled official or public. Sometimes these domains overlap, sometimes they don't. However, I am not convinced that multilingual societies where the domains of language use overlap only a little are more stable than those where they overlap more. For example, the Spanish-speaking communities in the United States (both Mexican-American and Puerto Rican) have been given a rather good prognosis for survival over a long period of time as linguistic minorities there (see e.g. Christian and Christian 1966). The Puerto Rican community is just the community where Poplack (1980) has documented not only domain overlap, but extensive intrasentential code-switching. This fact suggests that functional separation does not have any direct relation to stability. Rather, stability or instability seems to result from a complex of factors in the situation. While we might wish that languages and functions tended to correspond on a one-to-one basis with each other in multilingual communities, I believe that in reality, the situation is usually far more complicated than that. The danger of over-using such terms as diglossia is that such overuse tends to hide complexity which is essential in the description of a multilingual society. By labeling a society diglossic, we haven't really explained anything.

Despite my scepticism for the notion of diglossia, I have investigated the pattern of language use for the young people in my study from the point of view of domain separation or overlap. It will become clear in chapter 5 that it is not only the overlap in domains which I consider to indicate a tendency towards language shift in this group, but what kind of overlap I have found there.

2.4.2 Style shifting, language choice and language shift

Another approach to the description of language shift from a synchronic viewpoint is that of Gal (1978, 1979). In her description of language shift among German-Hungarian bilinguals in Oberwart, Austria, she compares style shifting in one language with language choice and code-switching between languages (see definitions, sec. 6.2.1, which agree fairly well with Gal's) between languages. Gal, like Gumperz (e.g. 1970) views both language choice and code-switching as having an important expressive function, i.e. a switch from Hungarian to German in Oberwart indicates that the speaker now wishes to present her/himself as being better educated, knowledgeable about a topic, a representative of "modern" Oberwart. A switch from German to Hungarian indicates that the speaker wishes to express her/his sympathy for the peasant values and ideals of traditional (Hungarian) Oberwart. These latter values are clearly losing ground in favor of those represented by the use of German, according to Gal. For some bilingual Oberwarters, switching between languages "expresses the kind of rhetorical stylistic meanings" as style shifting does for monolingual speakers, and this, according to Gal (1978:228), is an indication that language shift is well under way. Unfortunately, the methods used in the present study have not made it possible to analyze the pattern of language use among second generation immigrants in Sweden in terms of the social meaning of language choice. However, in chapter 6 I present an analysis of language choice generally, which has some parallels to the analysis of Gal and Gumperz.

2.4.3 Change in progress

Gal (1979) also noted the relationship between language shift and age-grading in the pattern of language use in Oberwart. The pattern of language choice of older bilinguals was heavily favoring Hungarian; that of younger speakers heavily favored German. On the basis of this pattern, and historical records of language use in the 19th century and earlier in this century, she drew the conclusion that language shift was taking place. Without the historical evidence, she could not exclude the possibility that patterns of language choice changed as speakers grew older, so that even today's older speakers spoke more German when they were younger, and today's younger speakers would speak increasingly more Hungarian as they grew older.

The use of patterns of variation in the present to make predictions about patterns in the future is perhaps most clearly linked to Labov's work and that of his associates (e.g. Labov 1972b ch. 7, 1980, 1981, Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968 and Labov, Yeager and Steiner 1972). Differences in the rates of use of sociolinguistic variables between older and younger speakers in the same community can indicate a change in progress, according to Labov. If historical records are not available to rule out the possibility of stable age-grading, the pattern of variation across social classes, as well as the pattern of attitudes towards the linguistic variants in different ages and social classes can confirm the relation between synchronic variation and change in progress, according to Labov, and even give some indication as to which stage the change process is currently in.

When linguistic change is in the early stages, it is typical that younger speakers in the upper working class are the most active users of the new variant. Stylistic shifting is absent, or nearly absent, as the change is "below the level of consciousness" both for users and non-users of the innovating variant. Later, when the change begins to spread to other adjacent social groups, stigmatization may occur, along with stylistic shifting. At this stage, "hypercorrection" may appear, especially in the middle class. There also seem to be regularities in the pattern in which innovations are adopted by women as opposed to men (Labov 1980, 1981).

The pattern of age-grading and "hypercorrection" is absent for "stable" sociolinguistic variables in New York City such as (th), (dh) and (ing) (see Labov 1972b: ch. 7), while a pattern with both age-grading, social stratification and hypercorrection for the variable (r), in New York, pointed to a rapid change in progress for this variable, as opposed to the former ones. Not only did the use of (r) vary between older and younger speakers, but attitudes towards the variants were different in different age groups. Gal (1979) also implies that the attitudes towards German and Hungarian are different among older and younger Oberwarters, and these attitudes correspond to different social meanings conveyed by use of the one or the other by speakers of different ages. In chapter 5, I will examine the pattern of language use for age-grading and for social class differences.

2.5 Summary and discussion

The concluding section of this chapter will take up some generalizations which can be made about the relationship between language maintenance or shift, and the social context of language contact, based on the literature survey made in the chapter. Generalizations concerning the relationship between social factors and language survival will be discussed in sections 2.5.1, 2.5.2, and 2.5.3. In section 2.5.4, I will summarize the bases on which predictions of future patterns of language use have been made from synchronic descriptions of language use in multilingual communities. In section 2.5.5, I will present some hypotheses as to which of the minority language groups studied in this investigation have the best chances of surviving, according to the hypotheses presented in the literature surveyed.

2.5.1 Isolation or contact?

Many of the social factors discussed in the literature of language contact which are seen as favoring language maintenance have to do with the isolation (or segregation) of one group with respect to the other. Frequent and intimate contact between groups is seen as hastening language shift (from the dominated to the dominant language) and general cultural assimilation.

The immigrant language minority with the best chances of survival, according to most of the scholars reviewed here would be a large group, living in an isolated, preferably rural milieu. Their contacts with the majority would be limited, and not intimate. The minority group should be homogeneous with respect to language and culture, e.g. belonging to a single religious sect, which emigrates as a unit from its homeland to a neighboring country, establishing a closed, self-sufficient settlement, practicing endogamy. The Mennonites or Amish in Western Pennsylvania are good examples, coming close to this ideal of isolation (see however Dorian 1978 concerning language shift in this group also). At the other end of the spectrum, we can imagine an individual immigrant, who travels alone to a city in a distant country, takes up an occupation where she/he has frequent and intense contact with people from the dominant group; perhaps she/he eventually marries one, and builds a family. The first ideal type would have the greatest in-group and least out-group contact, and thus be most likely to maintain their language. The second ideal type would represent the opposite extreme of contact, and would be most likely to shift to the majority language. (In fact, as language contact is defined in the next chapter, the second case doesn't actually qualify as such, since the individual cannot be actively multilingual-- she/he has no one with whom to speak the minority language.)

In chapter 5, I present results relating active bilingualism to several variables which relate to the contact of young people of immigrant background in our population with other members of the minority group, and with native Swedes, as well as with the institutions associated with these two groups. The variable I have called "ethnic background" is indirectly a contact variable, since it distinguishes between young people whose parents are both members of the minority group, from those one of whose parents belong to the Swedish majority. The variables of "length

of stay in Sweden", "plans to return to the country of origin" and particularly the composition of the school class (which, it turns out, also has implications for the composition of the residential area), are all clearly related to the potential contact the young people have with the minority language group and the monolingual Swedish group. In section 5.4, I discuss the actual contact the young people have with minority language culture and institutions: mass media in the minority language, immigrant organizations, instruction in the minority language in school, as well as contact with the language and group through social networks and visits to the country of origin. All these variables directly or indirectly indicate the contact the young people have with the minority language culture as opposed to the Swedish culture.

2.5.2 Power, stratification

Another clear theme in the literature surveyed is that of power, or social stratification, comparing the minority group to the majority. Here, I think the extreme cases are less obvious than they were in the case of isolation vs. contact. A totally powerless group, subjected to extreme forms of discrimination in a closed society (e.g. guest workers in West Germany, see Skutnabb-Kangas 1981: ch. 12) have often little reason, much less desire to adopt the language of the dominant group in the society. They may be prevented from doing so by the group in power. On the other hand, a powerful minority, such as the British in colonial India, have neither the need nor desire to assimilate linguistically either. A group which sees the possibility of social advancement, and which strongly wishes to advance, may tend to shift to the dominant language to achieve this end, however. Thus, the relation between the outcome of language contact in terms of power and social stratification seems to be complex. On the one hand, language shift seems to demand a relatively open society, with possibility for social mobility. The minority must see social advance as possible, and as attainable in part by language shift. Language maintenance, on the other hand, seems to be the outcome of language contact in a traditional, closed social structure; either the majority actively prevents the minority from integrating, or the minority, for one reason or the other has no desire to integrate, or both. Group membership is rigidly determined, and there is little possibility or desire for change in group membership.

The distribution of power between majority and minority also helps determine to what extent the minority can establish a system of minority institutions, catering primarily or exclusively to the minority, e.g. churches, social organizations, schools, health care, mass media, etc. These institutions are an important support for language maintenance. When a minority is severely repressed, the majority may allow, or even see to it that a parallel set of institutions is established, which function in the minority language, and which explicitly or implicitly reserve the majority institutions for the majority alone (e.g. racial segregation). In this way, the minority is kept at a disadvantage, at least as long as the minority institutions are under the direct or indirect control of the majority. On the other hand, the majority may decide to exercise its power over the minority by prohibiting, or severely restricting the latter's efforts to establish such separate institutions. In that way, it can force

the minority to use majority institutions, run in the majority language, where the minority can hardly expect to be treated on equal terms. When the power differences between majority and minority are smaller, the minority group would ideally have the opportunity to establish freely its own institutions, or to participate on equal terms with the majority in a single set of institutions.

In chapter 5, results from the analysis of several variables concerning power and social stratification will be presented. The social status of the young person's family, based on the occupation of the parents, will be related to degree of bilingualism. The variable called "ethnic background" also contains an element of social status, since different minority groups in Sweden enjoy quite different statuses with respect to each other and to the majority. The pattern of language use among active bilingual young people in conversations with different interlocutors will be shown to have a close relation to their mutual power relation. This finding will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6 also.

2.5.3 Attitudes

Attitudes can be seen as another key dimension underlying the factors mentioned in the literature. These are at least to some extent independent of the dimensions of contact and power, though in many cases greater power and positive attitudes go hand-in-hand, and lesser power and negative attitudes go together. Important to the outcome of language contact are the answers to questions such as:

- To what extent does the minority group wish to retain its identity as separate from the majority, and (if immigrants), as linked to another people?

- To what extent is language considered vital to maintain this connection, or to do away with it?

- To what extent is the majority willing to accept minority group members into its ranks, or to accept the establishment of minority institutions in society?

- How does the majority view its own language, and that of the minority?

For the immigrant, if her/his decision to move is seen as irreversible (as it was for the major part of the immigrants to the US), the desire for or at least the acceptance of a changed identity seems almost inevitable. When immigration can be seen as an expression of dissatisfaction with things as they are, and an intention to take a chance to improve them, language shift seems an obvious part of a general process of change. On the other hand, the immigrant who sees her/his move as temporary must resist a total language shift in order to keep her/his return route open.

The reasons for emigration, and the goals of immigration are certainly central to the attitudes on the part of the immigrant. These can be said to be relatively overlooked in the literature of language contact, maintenance and shift surveyed in this chapter. For the majority, its own social and economic position and secur-

ity in that position, as well as its views as to the reasons for the existing social distribution of goods and power, all play a part in determining how the majority views the arrival of an immigrant group. Historical relations between the groups are also a key to understanding attitudes, both in the case of immigrant and indigenous minorities.

Attitudes on the part of the minority young people towards their ethnic background and language will not be systematically discussed in this thesis. Questions relating to attitude were posed as part of the questionnaire, but the results showed no systematic relation with the results on language use, and are probably not very reliable. (For a discussion of problems in measuring attitudes to minority groups and languages see Boyd 1978.) The plans for the family to return to the parents' country of origin, and the relation of this to degree of active bilingualism, will be presented in section 5.3.6, however.

2.5.4 Language use

The short review in section 2.4 of literature relating the pattern of language use in the present to future trends in language use provides at least three avenues of investigation. First, it seems to be important to look at what domains the languages have for the bilingual speakers. Fishman claims that if the domains overlap significantly, then language shift can be expected; if they are separate, then language maintenance can be expected. I have criticized this reasoning in section 2.4.1, but in chapter 5, I will present results on language use among the bilingual young people in the present investigation in terms of domain. There, I will argue that it is not so much the overlap in domains as such which points towards language shift, but what sort of overlap there is.

Second, in the light of the results presented by Gal (1979), and the reasoning of Labov (1972b, ch. 5, 6, 1980, 1981), it would seem important to investigate the pattern of language use for age grading. If younger speakers have a different pattern of language use from older speakers, we can, (if other conditions hold regarding style shifting, attitudes and social class differences) predict a language shift. If the pattern of language use is more or less the same across generations, then we can expect language maintenance to be the outcome, at least for the near future.

The young people who are the focus of this investigation all belong to the same age group. They were between 14-16 years old during the field phase of the project (1980-82). In light of the importance of investigating age grading in the pattern of language use, it was unfortunate that the population was limited to such a narrow age group. However, the interview series with the parents of some of the young people with Finnish background from Borås (see sec. 4.5 for a description), has given us an opportunity to compare the pattern of language use between parents and children in the same family, at least for a small group within the Finnish minority. In addition, as I will argue in chapter 5, the age grading in language use with interlocutors of different ages can also be taken as an indication of language shift in this group.

Third, Gal's (1979) work suggests that we should examine the

relationship between language choice and stylistic shifting. According to her, if language choice in bilingual communities takes on some of the function of style shifting in monolingual communities, it can be a sign of language shift in progress. In the present study, I have not been able to investigate this question using Gal's framework, but I do make an analysis of language choice in the final chapter of this thesis, which can help to explain some of the results in chapter 5, and to relate language choice to language use.

2.5.5 Hypotheses for the group under study

In a preliminary research report (Boyd 1982), I present the hypotheses made about patterns of language use in the group studied in this project, before the data was collected and analyzed. Here, I will discuss five basic sub-groups of immigrants in Sweden, and assess the chances for language maintenance and language shift separately for each group: the Finns, refugees from Eastern Europe and the Baltic states, other Scandinavians, other North Europeans, and all other groups. These hypotheses are based on the literature surveyed in this chapter.

The brevity of this summary will make it necessary to make broad generalizations about the groups, and the social conditions under which they live in Sweden. It is by no means intended to give an accurate or complete picture of the living conditions of immigrants from different parts of the world in Sweden today, rather it is a very generalized characterization, made in order to give some indication of which groups have the best prospects for surviving as linguistic minorities, according to the views presented earlier in this chapter. Figures relating the groups to each other in terms of size can be found in appendix 1.

2.5.5.1 The Finnish group

The size of the Finnish group, which makes up nearly 40% of all immigrants in this country, should favor language maintenance in this group, as compared to all others, which are relatively small. Finns also have relatively low status occupations and tend to live somewhat concentrated in low status residential areas (Alpay 1979). These two factors should promote language maintenance. On the other hand, their isolation is far from extreme. The rather high rate of intermarriage with Swedes, for example, contradicts this picture.

The proximity of Finland, the long history of contact between the countries, and the existence of an indigenous Finnish-speaking minority in Sweden should all tend to improve the chances for language maintenance, as compared with other groups. The common Scandinavian labor market, which facilitates continued immigration, as well as re-migration should also encourage language maintenance, while the Finns' familiarity with Sweden and Swedish prior to immigration would tend to favor language shift. However, the group's "ethnic consciousness" doesn't seem to be very high (Savolainen 1982), and many Finns seem to have the ambition to integrate into Swedish society. Despite negative stereotypes and discrimination on the part of Swedes towards Finns, Finns have in many cases relatively good possibilities of integrating, as compared, for example to immigrants from southeastern Europe.

Finns have succeeded in establishing many of their own institutions, despite negative attitudes on the part of the majority, and the Finns' relative lack of power in Swedish society. The Finnish ethnic organization is well-established, though participation is not that high (about 13% in Stockholm, according to Alpay 1980:ch.6), and Finnish churches exist in some of the larger communities (including Borås). Finnish medium classes in otherwise Swedish schools have been organized in recent years, and the number of such classes is growing. A Finnish high school has been started on an experimental basis in Stockholm. Radio and television broadcasts in Finnish are relatively numerous, and books and magazines in Finnish are also relatively easy to obtain. The establishment of the above mentioned Finnish institutions should strengthen the position of Finnish as a minority language.

All told, the Finns ought to have among the best chances for maintaining their language, of the minorities surveyed here.

2.5.5.2 Other Scandinavians

Immigrants from other parts of Scandinavia (besides Finland) are in a rather different situation from the Finns. The groups are much smaller than the Finnish group, but larger than any other immigrant group. Many immigrants from Denmark and Norway live in Sweden as a result of intermarriage, or more or less temporary work assignments here. Norwegian and Danish are similar to Swedish, even mutually comprehensible, so in one sense language shift is unnecessary: the immigrant generation at least can continue to use the minority language, even in interaction with Swedes and be understood. The development of intermediate forms of language seems common among these immigrants (see Nordenstam 1979 for a description of the parallel case of the language of immigrant Swedes in Norway). These groups do not seem to have established many of their own institutions in Sweden, and they are not given much institutional support e.g. radio and TV broadcasts by the Swedish mass media.

Danish and Norwegian immigrants are perhaps those which are best integrated into Swedish society, even in the immigrant generation, while the children of these immigrants "disappear" as immigrants almost completely. They enter Swedish society on very much equal terms with Swedes, at least as compared to other immigrant groups, and would seem, among the groups studied here, to have the highest chances for language shift in the second generation. (A recent investigation (SÖ 1979, part 1) of school results among various immigrant minorities in Sweden found, however, that children of Danish background had surprisingly poor grades in school. The investigators had no immediate explanations for these results).

2.5.5.3 Baltic and other Eastern European refugees

In this section, I will consider together the chances for language maintenance for a somewhat diverse collection of refugee groups in Sweden: Estonians, Latvians, Poles, Hungarians, and other Eastern European refugees. These groups (except the Polish group, 33,000 in 1983) are relatively small, but, due to the reason for the immigration, they tend to be relatively cohesive,

even after their arrival in Sweden. In contrast to other refugee groups, most do not seem to plan to return to the country of origin, so their desire for integration is high, at the same time as their ethnic consciousness is relatively high. They are well educated, and enjoy relatively high status in their occupations except perhaps for the Poles (see Alpay 1980:ch. 6 regarding Poles in Stockholm) who arrived in large numbers when the attitude climate was more negative towards immigration generally. They have in some cases been able to establish separate institutions, such as the Hungarian high school in Göteborg, and the Estonian schools in Stockholm and Göteborg, but some (e.g. Poles) have little desire to organize themselves, while the Estonians, on the other hand are relatively active in ethnic organizations (Arnstberg & Ehn: 91-95). The Catholic Church serves many immigrants from Eastern Europe, but is interethnic; services are for the most part held in Swedish. However, whether it is through organizations or informally, they seem to keep in rather close contact with one another (but also have close contact with Swedes, according to Alpay 1980:ch. 6), at least in the first generation. Contact with the homeland is of course extremely limited for many in these groups.

The heterogeneity of these groups, and the fact that the social conditions are mixed (some favor and some disfavor language maintenance) make predictions on the relative chances of language maintenance difficult. Among Poles, perhaps, the chances are best, while among the other groups, which have generally been here longer, language shift seems to be rapid in the second generation.

2.5.5.4 Other northwestern European and North American groups

Except for the group of immigrants with German background (approx 55,000), all of the groups from other northwestern European countries (France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Great Britain, Switzerland and Austria) and North America are rather small. Many are here as a result of intermarriage with Swedes. They tend to live integrated with Swedes, but in some cases, they work in special jobs (e.g. as study circle leaders and other language teachers). Except for a certain amount of job specialization, they live and work in close contact with native Swedes. Compared with other immigrant groups, they have been able to establish their own institutions relatively well: the Catholic Church serves many of them, and special schools run by the Church, and freestanding for others exist in the larger cities. Their relatively high status and power in relation to the majority makes integration easy, but also makes it possible to establish separate institutions to some extent, when this has been the aim. Some of the members of these groups are only short-term immigrants, which makes language maintenance a necessity. Others who are here more permanently often undergo rapid language shift (see e.g. Arnberg 1981 for an account of language shift among second generation immigrant children of English-Swedish mixed families).

2.5.5.5 Other groups

Among the largest of the remaining immigrant groups are those from Greece and Turkey. As implied above, immigrants from these countries (possibly together with the Finns) represent the stereotype for immigrants in Sweden for many Swedes. These two

groups will be discussed first.

Compared to the groups discussed above, Greeks and Turks in Sweden tend to live and work in close contact with one another. In Borås, for example, a large proportion of the Greek community in the municipality live in a single neighborhood (Engelbrektsson 1985). They have low status, poorly-paid jobs, and probably are the object of the most negative attitudes on the part of Swedes (cf. Alpay 1980, ch. 6). For their part, both Greeks and Turks are critical of many aspects of Swedish life, while their in-group attitudes are generally positive. At the same time, they are attracted by the relative affluence and modernity of Sweden, as compared to their home countries.

Social contact among group members is frequent and intense, and organizational life is well-developed (see Alpay 1980: ch. 6, Engelbrektsson 1985). This is especially true in communities where there has been chain immigration from a particular town or region of Greece or Turkey. Separate institutions have been organized, not only by the state and local authorities, but by the groups themselves (e.g. Saturday-school for Greek children in Borås). This despite the fact that their power in society is rather limited, not only compared to the majority, but compared to the other groups discussed above. Where numbers have allowed it, Greek orthodox and Islamic congregations have been established, but there is at the same time little understanding for the consequences of religious heterogeneity among Swedes, and even within Swedish institutions, such as the school (see Zitomersky 1985). Regular radio and TV broadcasts and other forms of institutional support have been supplied to both groups.

The picture presented here is one which in many respects seems to favor language maintenance in these two groups, as compared to all other groups discussed above, including the Finns. The remaining groups (other Southern Europeans, Latin Americans, Africans, and Asians) are extremely heterogeneous, and are, except for the Yugoslavs (see below) much smaller than the Turkish and Greek groups. Despite this heterogeneity, and in part due to the small size of these groups, I have decided to treat these remaining groups together, to assess their chances for survival as linguistic minorities, even though this grouping has some unfortunate consequences. The major difference of relevance to the groups' chances for survival between Greeks and Turks on the one hand and the other smaller groups on the other, is that in many cases, the number of immigrants from the same country is too small in the latter cases to form communities of the sort described by Engelbrektsson (1985) for Greeks in Borås and Björklund (1981) for Assyrian-Syrians in Södertälje.

A possible exception to the picture above is the Italian group. This group arrived in Sweden at a time when the attitude climate was more positive to immigration than it has been since then. Many immigrated as unmarried men, and later married Swedish women. Engelbrektsson (1982) documents the rapid assimilation and language shift among Italians in Borås. Judging from the results of language contact, this group might more rightfully be considered together with the northwestern European immigrant groups.

Another probable exception is the Yugoslavian group. This group can hardly be considered a group, as it reflects much of

the variety in language, religion and culture of Yugoslavia as a whole. The diversity and division within this group is exemplified by the fact that in Göteborg alone, there are at least 15 clubs and organizations for Yugoslavs. While some members of the group probably fit the description above fairly well, others probably fit the description of "East European refugees" or that of the Italians mentioned above.

Table 2.5.5 below summarizes the social factors influencing language maintenance and shift for these classes of immigrants in Sweden.

Table 2.5.5 Summary of social factors influencing language maintenance and shift, applied to certain categories of immigrant minorities in Sweden.

+ = favors language maintenance
 - = favors language shift

	Finns	Baltic & E European Refugees	Other Scandinavians	Other N European & N Amer.	All other groups
Con- tact	+	+	-	-	+
Power, Status	+	-	-	-	+
Sepa- rate insti- tutions	+	+	-	+	+
Atti- tudes	+	+	+	+	+
	-	-	-	-	

If we assume that these factors have an equal effect on language maintenance or shift, then the groups discussed can be ranked as follows, from best to worst chances for language maintenance.

1. All other groups
2. Finns
3. Baltic and E. European refugees
4. Other northwestern Europeans and N Americans
5. Scandinavians other than Finns

After a discussion of key terms and concepts in this thesis, (ch. 3), and a description of the methods used in this study (ch. 4), I will present an analysis of the pattern of language use among young people of immigrant background (ch. 5). It is hoped that this analysis will provide a more clear picture of the process of language maintenance or shift among the second generation in these groups.

CHAPTER THREE-- SOME CONCEPTS CENTRAL TO THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE SHIFT

3.1. Introduction

As suggested in the title, the purpose of this chapter will be to present definitions of some concepts central to this thesis, and to show the relationship I see between these concepts. Definitions related only to a minor part of the thesis will be presented as needed in the other chapters, and operational definitions of some of the concepts discussed in this chapter will be presented in chapter 5 (e.g. active bilingualism, ethnic group background etc.).

Terminology within the field of multilingualism research seems, when surveyed, to be unusually diverse and often somewhat confused. Perhaps it is not so surprising that different scholars want to use terms like bi- or multilingualism in different ways. However, the problem is that often the definitions of key terms are not made explicit, or that it has been assumed that there ought to be a "right" or "best" definition of multilingualism or diglossia for example. Distinctions such as that between compound and co-ordinate bilingualism, and terms such as mother tongue, and especially the notion of multilingualism itself have been taken to mean many different things-- almost as many as the number of times they have been used. At the same time, familiar concepts sometimes reappear disguised by a new terminology. (See, e.g. Allwood et al. 1982 and Martin-Jones and Romaine 1984 concerning the relation between the terms "semilingualism", "threshold" (in learning a second language), "additive and subtractive bilingualism", Swe. "ytflyt" and "tankeverktyg" and "CALP" and "BICS".) Because of this confusion of terms and definitions, it is necessary to make one's own definitions of key terms clear, and try to relate them to other research in the field.

It should be kept in mind in this connection that in most cases definitions are tools. They cannot be right or wrong, rather they are more or less useful for a particular purpose. The definitions below are offered as useful for the purposes of this thesis, and perhaps for research of a similar type in similar sorts of multilingual communities.

The chapter will begin with a discussion of some central terms concerning ethnicity and group multilingualism in ethnography and sociolinguistics. In part three of the chapter, I will introduce my definition of active, individual multilingualism, as well as some other basic concepts on the individual level. The chapter will conclude with a summary of the definitions, and their relation to one another.

3.2. Basic concepts on the group level

3.2.1 Unit under study

I will begin my discussion of terms and definitions by considering what one of the important units of study for an investigation within ethnography or sociolinguistics is said to be: the ethnic group and speech community respectively. One of the goals of this section will be to show the relationship between some central concepts in ethnography and sociolinguistics, so terms in each area will be discussed in parallel.

Before we can consider the terms ethnic group and speech community, and the criteria for dividing a population into such groups, we must decide just what this "population" we have under study is. This question is rarely posed openly in sociolinguistic investigations, either in multilingual or monolingual communities. A solution which is convenient is to choose a geographic and/or political unit (e.g. a nation, a city or municipality) whose boundaries can be viewed both as arbitrary and non-arbitrary.

The boundaries are arbitrary in the sense that they delimit an area within which variation both in culture and language can be found, and they divide areas from each other where we can discover important and systematic similarities. This is the finding both of sociolinguistics and of anthropology and ethnography. Despite these findings, most people assume political boundaries to coincide with linguistic and cultural ones to a higher extent than they do. This misconception is probably especially prevalent in Europe, where national boundaries are relatively old, and national governments have various authorities which make decisions and recommendations which affect the whole country, e.g. to standardize the language. If this were the case, the standardized language should then function as a norm for formal written language, and even certain forms of formal spoken language, for a population the boundaries of which coincide rather well with the national boundaries.

On closer inspection, reality does not fit this ideal picture so well. For one thing, there is variation within this norm (different teachers and educators have different standards, as do different editors, writers etc). For another, certain (non-standardized) languages are outside the realm of any centralized or institutionalized normative control, even in Europe. Moreover, the control of these institutions over language as it is spoken and written in informal contexts is extremely limited. I will return to a discussion of these matters in section 3.2.1.3 below, when I discuss the distinction between language and variety of language. Therefore, the choice of a population based on political boundaries must be viewed as highly arbitrary.

In the present investigation, the "larger unit" to be divided into ethnic groups and speech communities is the municipalities <1> (notes can be found at the end of this chapter) of Borås and Nacka, which we hope in many ways can be considered to be representative of Sweden as a whole. The municipality is a political unit at least as arbitrary with respect to culture and language as the nation. This is certainly true of the municipality of Nacka, but less so of Borås (see descriptions sec. 4.1.2). Within the populations of these two municipalities, we

have concentrated our study to "second generation immigrant young people", in particular to those 14-16 years of age when the field phase of the study was conducted. The population of the study and how it was selected are described in detail in chapters 4 and 5. What is important here is that we cannot assume that these political units have any direct correspondence to any linguistic or cultural units.

3.2.1.1 Ethnic group

A number of different criteria have been offered by ethnographers, anthropologists, and sociologists to define the term ethnic group, that is for dividing a population into separate groups on the basis of ethnic background. One or more of the following features of an ethnic group reappear in a number of studies of ethnicity, (Gordon 1964, Barth 1969, Glazer and Moynihan 1963, 1970, Arnstberg and Ehn 1976, Allardt and Starck 1980).

1. A common origin, or a sense of common origin among group members.
2. A set of cultural traits.
3. Self- and other-identification.
4. Contact.

The first criterion, that of a common origin, is expressed by some writers as a "sense of peoplehood" (Gordon 1964) or as "feelings of extended family" (Glazer and Moynihan 1970), which would seem to imply that members believe that they have blood ties with one another, not simply the common interest typical of a social class, for example. This criterion also excludes from consideration as an ethnic group groups such as women or homosexuals, which is of course not to say that in other respects these groups may resemble ethnic groups.

Difficulties arise in operationalizing this criterion, however. One must, for example, determine how far back a common origin may be for an individual to be included as a member of the group. The problem of how to classify affines also arises (cf. Boholm 1983 on the "ambiguity of affines" in Swedish society), and offspring of "mixed marriages". The solutions to this problem for this study will be discussed in section 5.3.1.

Allardt and Starck (1980) emphasize the importance of a geographical base for an ethnic group, as do LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1983), but my feeling is that the sense of biological relation between group members is more central, perhaps particularly among ethnic groups without a geographical base, for example the immigrant groups in the present study.

Interesting borderline cases for this criterion are those of Americans and Australians, i.e. of national groups composed primarily of recent immigrants and their immediate offspring. How far back does one want to require the common origin to be? Are Australians or Americans ethnic groups, or only Italian-Americans or Greek-Australians? I think this problem would have to be solved by looking at how the former groups fulfill the other criteria, particularly number 3 above. My guess is that native Australians or Americans outside these countries might consider themselves to belong to a single ethnic group, e.g. American-Swedes, while the same individuals in their native land might

consider themselves to belong to different ethnic groups.

The second criterion, that of a set of cultural traits, almost always includes such features as a common language (e.g. Allardt and Starck 1980) or variety of language, a common religion (e.g. Gordon 1964:27), a common way of life, as well as more superficial signs of ethnic group membership such as dress and house form (Barth 1969:14). According to Fishman (1977) these cultural traits can be considered the expression of group membership, which according to his view is determined primarily by blood ties (i.e. 1 above).

According to many writers, these more superficial traits are simply the expression of the more fundamental system of norms and values of the ethnic group. The latter include basic value orientations (Barth 1969:14) which give group members a basis on which to make both aesthetic and ethical judgements.

This criterion can present problems, because groups commonly share a number of traits, and differ on others. For example, are we to consider a group sharing a common language, but differing in religion as one group or two? (I will discuss below the problems involved in deciding what "a common language" is.) The answer to this question will probably depend on the communities under study, whether for example, they are located in India or the United States.

The third criterion, self- and other-identification, implies that both in- and out-group members should be aware of the boundaries of the group, i.e. of what determines who is and who is not a member of it (Barth 1969, Fishman 1977, Allardt and Starck 1980). That is, an ethnic group should not be simply the construction of a sociologist or anthropologist, who has found a group with certain cultural similarities, and some ties of common origin. The group ought to consider itself and be considered by others to be a group separate from other groups.

Problems arise with this criterion also, since it is not uncommon that groups have different criteria for determining who is and who is not considered to be a member. In Sweden, children one of whose parents is Swedish and one of whose parents is born in Finland, for example, are classified as immigrant children, even if the immigrant parent has become a naturalized Swede. Some of these children reject and protest against this classification. Criteria for group membership may also vary within the minority groups in a multiethnic society.

The fourth criterion for delimiting ethnic groups is that of contact. Allardt and Starck (1980:43) and Glazer and Moynihan (1963,1970) emphasize the importance of ethnic group organizations and political interest groups. I would like to generalize this concept somewhat and call it "contact". By this I mean that the group functions as a unit for social interaction, preferably through a chain or network of face-to-face interactions, so that members of the group interact with other members at least more frequently than they would by chance, i.e. in proportion to their numbers within the "larger social unit" (see above). This increased in-group contact may or may not involve a formal organization, like an ethnic group organization. The contact network,

together with the set of cultural traits as discussed above, should usually imply that the group has a set of common interests (Glazer and Moynihan 1963,1970). Increased in-group contact normally implies decreased out-group contact also.

Allwood (1985) suggests that a (national) ethnic group should correspond to an independent socio-political unit (e.g. a nation), or should aspire to build such a unit. In order to include such groups as gypsies and Mennonites, one might add that refusal to demonstrate loyalty to the socio-political unit they are in fact associated with might also fulfill this requirement. However, the requirement presents some unwanted complications, in my view. For one thing, immigrants and their (ex-) fellow-countrymen in their native country belong to a single ethnic group. This is unfortunate, especially with regard to second generation immigrants. Another consequence is that what I would consider a single ethnic group, living as natives in different countries, for example Saamis in Sweden, Norway and Finland would have to be considered three separate (national) ethnic groups, if they do not aspire to form a single national unit. However, with a less strict contact criterion, these problems are minimized. As Arnstberg and Ehn (1976) argue, it is important to keep the concepts of ethnic group and nationality separate.

An ethnic group will for the purposes of this thesis be defined as a group ideally fulfilling all these requirements.

1. ETHNIC GROUP: A group of individuals ideally <2> fulfilling all of the following characteristics:

- i. a common origin, or sense of common origin
- ii. a set of common cultural traits
- iii. self- and other-identification as group members
- iv. contact

As Lepage and Tabouret-Keller suggest, in some contexts, one or more of these criteria seem to take precedence over the others in establishing the basis for ethnic group categorizations among the members of the various groups in a community. In the case of the population under study here, the research project as a whole has assumed the basic defining criterion of ethnic group membership to be 1 above: origin, that is, country of origin. In this we have followed praxis of the Swedish authorities, who define immigrant and immigrant child on the basis of the country of birth or citizenship of the individual and her/his parents. It will be evident below that this criterion presents some problems when an operational definition of ethnic group background is to be developed (see sec. 5.3.1). Some groups studied within the project as a whole fulfill not only this but some or all the other requirements for an ethnic group, while other groups fulfill only this requirement. (Compare, e.g. Engelbrektsson 1982 and 1985 on the Italian and Greek communities in Borås, respectively.) Thus, this definition, like that of language as opposed to variety discussed in greater detail below, represents an ideal type, and a semantic field with four dimensions of variation, represented by the criteria listed above. Allardt and Starck (1980) arrive at a similar, flexible definition of ethnic group

by requiring that some of the members of the group must fulfill all their four criteria (similar to those above, but not identical), and others must fulfill some of them.

3.2.1.2 Speech community

Despite the fact that the unit "speech community" would seem to be central to the description of language use in a multilingual setting, this term is hardly ever discussed or defined in the literature of the sociology of language (Hudson 1980:ch.2). However, many different definitions of "speech community" have been offered by sociolinguists and anthropological linguists.

The term "speech community" is usually defined with what can be viewed as a subset of the criteria discussed above for "ethnic group" (see e.g. Gumperz 1968, Hudson 1980, Dittmar 1976). Two of the four defining criteria for ethnic group are mentioned in definitions of speech community by most sociolinguists, namely:

1. a common language or variety of language, the norms for its use, and evaluations of it and other varieties.
2. contact.

Common blood-ties and self- and other-identification are usually not seen as necessary for a group to qualify as a speech community. The exclusion of the origin criterion from the definition implies that membership in a speech community can be an acquired characteristic, while ethnic group is usually considered to be an ascribed one. Some sociolinguists (e.g. Trudgill 1974, Fishman 1972) however, include an origin criterion of sorts by implying that only individuals who have the common variety of language as a first language (see sec. 3.3.2) would qualify as full-fledged members of the speech community. This makes for a neat solution, as normally, then, individuals belong to only one speech community each. The solution is however, when applied to many communities, only too neat. Individuals who, for example, never use their first language in later life will belong to a speech community they no longer have contact with. How simultaneous multilinguals (see sec. 3.3.2) are to be classified is not discussed either. Nevertheless, we may want to retain an element of the origin criterion in our definition in order to exclude groups of speakers of artificial or dead languages from consideration as speech communities. I would propose that some of the members of the speech community have the language as a first language, in order for the group as a whole to be considered a speech community.

The first-mentioned criterion above implies that language is the "cultural trait" which sets off one speech community from another. However, there is widespread disagreement as to how much unity of language is required, or how much diversity will be allowed if a group is to qualify as a speech community. A common solution to this problem (see e.g. Gumperz 1968, Hudson 1980) is to view speech communities and their corresponding varieties of language as being of different sizes, and overlapping, so that each individual in the population belongs to several speech communities. This means that two groups whose language varieties differ markedly from one another (e.g. Finlandssvenskar <3> and Finnish-speaking Finns) would certainly qualify as different

speech communities, while each of these communities could be seen as containing a large number of smaller ones, such as "fishermen from Österbotten", "intellectuals from Helsinki", and down to members of individual families, whose language variety and norms of language use can be observed to vary systematically from other groups. The boundaries of speech communities may of course cross political boundaries, so Finlandssvenskar can be said to belong to a speech community together with Swedes in Sweden.

It should be stressed, however, that the "varieties of language" used by even the small-scale speech communities, as characterized here, will be observed to vary: It is well documented within sociolinguistics that the speech of a single individual on a single occasion is varying. The requirement that a speech community share a "common language or variety of language" does not imply that this common variety does not vary. What it does imply is that the variation is systematic (cf. Labov's (e.g. 1972b ch.8) notion of "ordered heterogeneity"), and that the norms of use of at least certain sociolinguistic variables, and their evaluation by members of the community display regularities (Labov 1972b ch.6, Gumperz 1966). Unfortunately, this means that the boundaries of a speech community and the variety of language associated with it are both a starting point and the result of a sociolinguistic investigation.

Self- and other-identification of a group as a separate speech community is not normally used as a criterion for speech community. However, this aspect of the speech community has been investigated by many sociolinguists, and is probably used without reflection by many sociolinguists in designing a study. Investigations of attitudes to language and language variation can be said to be more systematic studies of the speech community's own ideas of where boundaries between themselves and other groups should be drawn. Of course, as with the boundaries for ethnic groups, the in- and out-group's conception of where speech community boundaries are to be drawn do not need to be uniform. For example, many young people answered the questions on our questionnaire (see appendix 2) worded "what language do you usually use in conversations with X" with the term "Jugoslavian". When this term was used, we have been forced to assume they mean Serbo-Croatian. However, it is doubtful that these young people's parents would use such an all-inclusive term for the language they use. In many cases, they probably do not even consider Serbo-Croatian to be a single language or variety. Presumably these two ways to refer to the variety used by this group correspond to different conceptions of the boundaries of the speech community. A parallel problem within the Assyrian-Syrian community in Sweden gave rise to a specially-commissioned study (Knutsson, 1982). Of course, the study did not end the controversy.

How much contact one wishes to require for a group to be considered a speech community will probably vary from study to study. I suggested above that the boundaries of an ethnic group could be defined in terms of contact among members (e.g. defined by common national- or "extended family" origin) on a more frequent or intimate basis than would be expected by mere chance. As will be seen below, I have defined active bilinguals in our population as those who use a minority language as well as Swedish in face-to-face interaction on a daily basis. This same requirement, i.e. that of daily face-to-face contact with other

members of the group could be used as the "contact criterion" for speech community also. However, frequency and intimacy of contact is difficult, if not impossible to measure. Even "face-to-face interaction" is not an unproblematic notion. Taken literally, "face-to-face interaction" would include buying a book of coupons from a tram driver, but not conversing with one's best friend for an hour on the telephone. When I use the term "face-to-face interaction" I assume a certain degree of what Alfred Schutz would call "intensity" in the interaction (see Sander forthcoming ch. 3 for a summary of Schutz' taxonomy of social interactions).

The contact criterion allows the boundaries of the speech community to be fluid. If we require, for example, that contact among group members be face-to-face and on a daily basis, then individual multilinguals may pass out of a certain speech community, even that of their first language (see definition below), temporarily or permanently, and that single speech communities may be split into a number of smaller ones (e.g. the community of Swedish speakers in the mid-19th century split into an American and a native Swedish branch due to migration), when contact is reduced or is cut off completely.

Based on the above discussion, I propose the following definition of a speech community.

2. SPEECH COMMUNITY: A group ideally fulfilling all of the following characteristics:

i. a common language or variety of language, the norms for its use, and evaluations of it and other varieties. This language or variety should be the first language (see below) of at least some members of the community.

ii. self- and other-identification

iii. regular, face-to-face contact between group members

3.2.1.3 Language, dialect and variety

Terms of central importance to a definition of both individual and societal multilingualism are language, dialect and variety. Hudson (1980: ch. 3) makes the valid point that for the layman at least the distinction between language and variety is really two distinctions: one of size ("one language contains (in some sense) a number of varieties") and one of prestige ("a language is better than a variety (especially a dialect (see below)"). These two distinctions could be expressed more exactly by saying that in the first case, a language is the union of a set of dialects (or varieties), while in the second a language is one of a set of dialects. According to the size distinction, for example, English is a language containing (in some sense) a number of varieties such as American English, Black English, New York City English, Cockney and standardized English (see below). The other distinction is the one based on prestige, by which one really equates standardized English with the English language, because it is the variety of English used in a particular set of contexts, such as formal writing, mass media etc. I will discuss briefly below the distinction between standardized and non-standardized languages (sec. 3.2.3.2.1). The former distinction, however, between languages and other varieties based on size, will be central to several discussions in the remainder of this thesis, for example the definition of multilingualism, so I will discuss it in greater detail here.

In the preceding section, I have characterized a variety as the language form associated with a speech community. Trudgill (1974:17) considers varieties simply as "kind(s) of language", while Hudson (1980:24) defines variety in terms of the social distribution of what he calls "linguistic items". The term "dialect" is usually used for varieties whose boundaries coincide fairly well with a certain geographic area. For the purposes of this thesis, I will define variety and dialect as follows:

3. VARIETY (OF LANGUAGE): A set of linguistic items with similar social distribution.

4. DIALECT: A variety associated with a particular geographic area.

In what sense can we say that English is a language while, say, New York City English, Standard English, Cockney and Black English are varieties of English? There are a number of criteria for determining the boundaries between groups of varieties which one might wish to call varieties of "the same language". Popular usage suggests that mutual intelligibility would serve as a good criterion for which speakers and groups of speakers one could consider to be speakers of "the same language." However, as many writers have noted, this criterion falls down very quickly: mutual intelligibility varies from one speaker to another, depending on such aspects of the context as the speakers' motivation to understand, the relative prestige of the languages in that context, whether the message is spoken or written etc. Mutual intelligibility may be greater in one direction than another (e.g. East Sutherland Gaelic is reported to be more intelligible to speakers of other dialects of Gaelic than other dialects are intelligible to ESG speakers (Dorian 1981:92-93)). In a dialect continuum adjacent dialects may be mutually intelligible, while those at the endpoints of the continuum are not.

Where should the line between languages be drawn?

Hudson (1980) (like Trudgill (1974) and Jaakkola (1973) for example) rejects the criterion of mutual intelligibility for delimiting languages, but unlike other sociolinguists, he goes on to reject the concept "language X" as one which has any role to play at all in sociolinguistics (1980:37). He prefers to use the term "variety" exclusively. The rejection of the term "language" in favor of a very broad notion of "variety" has the advantage that one can relate observations made about variation in what is commonly called "dialects" or "registers" to observations about what is commonly called "languages". There are important parallels to be drawn between, for example, the pattern of use of standardized Swedish and Dalmål (the dialect of Swedish Dalarna) among residents of Malung, and the pattern of use of Swedish and Finnish among immigrants from Finland in Borås. By insisting on a definition of language as a superordinate term, as opposed to dialect or variety, I do not wish to deny that such parallels can and should be drawn.

However, I must limit myself, in this thesis, to a description of bilingualism among young people with immigrant background in Sweden. This means that I must be able to distinguish between the use of Finnish and Swedish by a young person whose parents are born and raised in Finland from the use of different varieties of Swedish (e.g. standardized Swedish and Västgötska) by another young person (or even the same young person) living in Borås, for example.

A common criterion for grouping dialects or varieties into larger units, i.e. languages, is that of the recognition of a single standard for communication in formal contexts, especially for formal writing (e.g. Labov 1972b, ch. 6, Hudson 1980). This criterion is useful in many European contexts, where, as discussed above, the power of a central national government, and the educational system it controls is rather uniform from place to place. This criterion is of course not purely linguistic, but rather socio- (or socio-politico-)linguistic. The norm for written Swedish is established by the Swedish Academy; although the Academy considers the norm only as recommendations, their decisions seem to be understood as an almost unquestionable by many. The norm is then transmitted by the Swedish school system and Swedish mass media, as well as through other channels. The existence of the Academy, a centralized school system and mass media are of enormous importance for the written language, and even has effects on the spoken language (see e.g. Teleman 1979, ch. 3 for some examples from Swedish and Danish).

Labov has shown (1972b, ch.6) that recognition of a single norm for formal language also has consequences for at least overt attitudes towards language and language variation. This tendency is so strong that he regards it as the most important criterion in defining a speech community, so that shared norms and evaluations of speech variation indicate membership in the same speech community.

The criterion of sharing a single norm for standard written language would help us to delimit languages such as Swedish and Danish, which are problem cases using mutual intelligibility as a criterion. In these cases, the norms are institutionalized by an academy and an educational system, so they make up what Haugen

(1977) calls a "rhetorical norm". However, according to this criterion, Finlandssvenska becomes a separate language with respect to Swedish, as it has its own "language board", (Swe. språk-nämnd), mass media, educational institutions etc. At the same time, varieties without any particular standardizing institutions, or with competing ones, like Saami, Romani, Tornedal Finnish, and other varieties which must be accounted for in this investigation remain problematic. One might argue in these cases that the norms do not need to be codified, or institutionalized, they can be what Haugen calls "communicative norms". In these cases, I would imagine that there would be less agreement as to evaluations of variation than in the speech communities where the norms are more highly codified.

One possible solution to these problems is to return to the four criteria for ethnic group presented above, and apply them to language as well as possible.

5. LANGUAGE: A set of varieties ideally sharing all the following characteristics:

i. A common origin (i.e. a common ancestor variety)

ii. Structural similarity, regularity in evaluations of variations from and general acceptance of a uniform norm for formal speech and writing.

iii. Self- and other identification (as speakers of the same language.)

iv. Contact (less frequent and intimate than among speakers of the same variety, but more frequent and intimate than by chance.)

In terms of language, the first criterion means that historically related varieties would be good candidates for "varieties of the same language". The closer in time a common ancestor variety could be reconstructed, or documented, the closer the relationship. The second criterion has already been discussed above.

The third criterion means we take into account the categories used by speakers themselves. However, as Grönroos has found for Finlandssvenska (1972 cited in Skutnabb-Kangas 1981) opinion is often divided, and uncertainty widespread in some cases, and would probably be influenced by the other factors.

The final criterion, patterns of contact among speakers should also help to delimit boundaries between languages, so that where little or no contact exists (and can be historically documented to exist), we would tend to consider the varieties to be different languages, while where contact is intimate and frequent, but not as frequent as between speakers of the same variety, we might want to consider the varieties involved to be "varieties of the same language."

It may be difficult to get away from the association of a language with a nation in the modern European sense. This way of thinking is very likely to have affected the young people in our

investigation who used the term "Jugoslavian". National boundaries have an influence on the boundaries between languages, according to the definition above in at least three ways, however. First, they may in some cases correspond to patterns of settlement or contact, which are reflected in cultural (including linguistic) patterns (criteria 1 and 2). Secondly, national boundaries normally restrict contact (criterion 4); and third, as I have already suggested, they affect our way of thinking about which varieties are "the same language", and which are "different languages" (criterion 3), as well as our evaluations of variations from an (often national) norm for formal speech and writing (criterion 2). However, the equating of national boundaries with linguistic ones should be made carefully, with the problems discussed above in mind. Because of these problems, I do not consider association with a nation state to be a necessary condition for consideration as a language.

It should perhaps be stressed at this point that this definition of language (as opposed to variety) is primarily social, and only secondarily linguistic. Only the second of the four criteria take linguistic structure into account, and there I feel that the norms and evaluations of variation from the norms (which are basically social phenomena) are probably a better guide to grouping speakers than the form of language itself.

As with the definition of ethnic group (and by implication, of speech community), these four criteria give us a distinction based on an ideal type, and a semantic field with four dimensions: origin, structure, self-/other-identification and contact. Close to the ideal of "different languages" we find pairs of varieties such as standardized Swedish and Mandarin Chinese, which fulfill all four criteria for "different languages" very well. At the other extreme we have such pairs as standardized Swedish and Norwegian Bokmål, or standardized Swedish and Finlandssvenska which on all four criteria come close to being "varieties of the same language".

It should also be emphasized in this discussion that both laymen and linguists are greatly influenced in their decisions as to what to consider one or more than one language by the names we have for the different varieties. The very fact that Finlandssvenska has the name it has makes us tend to consider it a variety of Swedish. The fact that American English and British English are both called "English" makes us tend to consider them varieties of the same language. In Swedish, however, the use of the terms "amerikanska" and "engelska" probably correspond to a general impression among Swedes that these two varieties are separate languages.

Where one decides to draw the line in the semantic field between separate languages and varieties of the same language is, in the end, highly arbitrary. However, it has been necessary to this study to make such a distinction, and the criteria I have used will be described in greater detail in chapter 5.

3.2.2 Relations in terms of numbers --minority and majority group and language

Once the ethnic groups under study have been localized, and their boundaries established as well as possible, it is a relatively easy question to determine their relative sizes. I will reserve the term "majority (ethnic) group" for the largest of the groups under consideration, and "minority" for the smaller group or groups, i.e. these terms will refer to the group size in terms of number alone.

Similarly, I will reserve the terms "minority" and "majority language" for the language of speech communities compared in terms of the relative number of speakers, i.e. active users of the language.

6. MAJORITY/MINORITY ETHNIC GROUP/SPEECH COMMUNITY: Numerically larger/smaller of ethnic groups/speech communities within a society.

When one recalls that a single individual may be a member of more than one speech community, it will soon become evident that Swedish is in fact a very dominant majority language in this country. While monolingual Swedes all belong to the majority language community, the vast majority of immigrants and their children also do, according to the characterization above, while they also belong to a minority language community. Since most immigrants (and especially second generation immigrants) are bilingual (see definition below), while most native Swedes are monolingual, the domination of Swedish over the individual minority languages, viewed in this way becomes very large.

The terms "majority" and "minority", whether referring to ethnic groups or speech communities are sometimes taken to imply that the groups are powerful and weak, respectively. This is the usual situation, of course. However, in such places as South Africa, as well as other colonial and post-colonial societies, where a minority group has power over a majority, this is of course not the case. Since the terms majority and minority will be reserved for comparisons of size, terms such as "dominant" and "repressed" or "dominated" will be used when power relations between groups are in focus.

3.2.3 Configurations-- Multi-ethnic and multilingual society

Based on the characterizations above, a multi-ethnic or multilingual society will be defined as follows:

7. MULTIETHNIC/LINGUAL SOCIETY: A larger socio-political unit (especially a nation) consisting of several ethnic groups/speech communities.

By these definitions, as Trudgill (1974) demonstrates, most European nations (which by global standards are certainly ethnically and linguistically homogeneous) are multi-ethnic, even if the definition of speech community is relatively strict.

If one accepts a loose definition of speech community, clearly all nations, cities and even rural villages must qualify as multilingual, even if we recognize that systematic variation

exists in the speech of any community (see above). One would need to make the definition of speech community more strict in order to distinguish between, for example, multilingual nations like Finland, with more monolingual ones like Iceland, or between multilingual villages like Oberwart, in Austria (Gal 1979) and more monolingual communities like Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1972b, ch. 1). One way of doing this is to make a distinction between language and dialect (see above, sec. 3.2.1.3). Another is to distinguish between nations in terms of the status the various languages or varieties may have, such as standardized language, official language, national language, etc. I will discuss these terms briefly in the sections that follow.

3.2.3.1 Standardized languages

Within a nation, it is often the case that one or more languages or varieties becomes standardized, normally as a result of the economic and political domination of the group who speaks this variety as a first language (see below). Standardization of a variety in turn helps to secure the power and domination of its speakers in official contexts, with respect to speakers of other varieties and languages.

Languages are typically standardized by a number of means: grammars, dictionaries, and educational institutions guide users as to the norms for correct usage of the language or variety at least for written and formal spoken language. Academies (in Europe) and other language planning agencies also take part in controlling the use and development of the standardized variety. The standardized variety often dominates education and mass communication, both written and spoken. The norms for grammar, spelling and lexicon are relatively strict, while greater variation in pronunciation is typically tolerated, even within the standardized variety.

Standardization is a matter of degree. Some languages (e.g. standardized French) are highly standardized, being regulated rather strictly by many of the means mentioned above, while others are only marginally standardized (e.g. certain Amerindian languages,) which are not the medium of education, and which, at best have a "descriptive grammar" as their only form of codified norm. For the purposes of this thesis, a standardized language will be defined as follows:

8. STANDARDIZED LANGUAGE: Variety subjected to standardization, i.e. regulation of form by e.g. academies, the publication of dictionaries and grammars, educational institutions, use in literature and other mass media.

3.2.3.2 Official language

The term official language will be defined as follows:

9. OFFICIAL LANGUAGE: Variety recognized by a national or regional government as a possible means of communication for official business.

A variety becomes an official language when the group with that variety becomes sufficiently powerful to be taken note of, that is, if the group is not already the most powerful group. Only a few of the European countries which qualified as multilingual according to the definition above have in fact more than one official language.

Sometimes, use of official minority languages may be limited to certain official spheres, e.g. testimony in court, or radio broadcasts, while communication in other spheres must take place in the dominant official language. Needless to say, criteria for a language or variety to be recognized as official vary dramatically from case to case, as do the spheres or geographical regions in which one can expect to be able to use them. (See e.g. Hjelmskog 1981 concerning Swedish in Finland. In this case, there is considerable regional variation as to whether one can expect to receive government service via Swedish, an official minority language).

3.2.3.3 Minority languages in Sweden

The main concern of this thesis is with minority languages in Sweden and their speakers. I will use the term minority language for any language other than Swedish used in Sweden today. However, the class of minority languages in Sweden is extremely heterogeneous.

In terms of standardization, the minority languages (ML) used by the vast majority of ML-speakers have standardized varieties, which are official majority languages in the immigrants' respective home countries (e.g. Finnish, Danish, Greek, Spanish etc.). Some common ones, however, are minority languages used as regional standards (e.g. Macedonian, the Arab "vernaculars") while some are repressed minority languages (e.g. Kurdic), even in the home countries of the respective immigrant groups. Besides the minority languages introduced through relatively recent immigration (the object of this study), Sweden has a number of long-established indigenous minority languages: the largest of which are Saami, Tornedal Finnish, and Romani. The latter two languages are thus minority languages which have a long history in this country, but which have experienced an increase in the number of speakers, due to recent immigration.

3.2.4 Relations

3.2.4.1 Ethnic group relations

Ethnic group relations will be defined as follows:

10. ETHNIC GROUP RELATIONS: The type and extent of contact between ethnic groups in a multiethnic society, usually in terms of:

Ethnic group relations may vary on a number of dimensions, but a central feature is perhaps that of segregation vs integration within various spheres such as family (i.e. kinship ties), education, religion, economic activity, informal social ties etc (cf. Gordon 1964). These terms will be defined as follows:

i. integration/segregation: frequent/sporadic and/or intimate/non-intimate contact between groups

The investigation of the various spheres of activity with respect to second generation immigrants in Borås has been undertaken by Engelbretsson for young people with Italian (1982), Greek (1985) and Finnish (forthcoming) ethnic background. Such studies investigate the frequency and intimacy of contact between members of the various ethnic groups. The greater the frequency and intimacy of contacts between groups, the higher the degree of integration of the groups with each other.

The pattern of contact between the groups is often used in making an analysis of patterns of attitudes, prejudice and discrimination between groups, or in documenting the development of the groups in relation to each other in terms of size and power. The latter direction of research will be taken up in section 3.2.5, as it is parallel to the major interest of this thesis.

3.2.4.2 Language contact

The parallel concept in sociolinguistics to that of ethnic group relations in anthropology or ethnography is language contact. For the purposes of this thesis, language contact will be defined as follows:

11. LANGUAGE CONTACT: Contact between speech communities in a multilingual society, when the speech communities are associated with different languages.

In other words, the definition of language contact normally depends on the definition of language (as opposed to dialect or variety). Of course, strictly speaking, it is not the languages which come into contact, but speakers (or groups of speakers) of the various languages. Weinreich (1974) expresses this in his definition of language contact: the alternative use of two languages by the same persons.

This definition implies that some interesting cases where for example, individuals are removed from their native language community (e.g. as slaves or as children to be adopted by foreign parents) will not be considered to be language contact, since the individuals involved can only use one language in interaction in

their new environment. Situations such as these, where pidgin languages can arise, if a large enough number of individuals is involved, are certainly interesting and worthy of study, but I think they are different enough from language contact involving active multilingualism (see below) as to be excluded from the category of language contact. In other words, for there to be language contact, there must be at least two bilingual speakers, who actively use one language with each other, and another language with speakers of the other language.

Studies of language contact are usually concentrated on a description of the pattern of active language use (see sec. 3.3.4 below) in a multilingual society, or as Fishman (1971) phrases it "Who speaks what language to whom and when". The concepts of integration and segregation in the study of ethnic group relations discussed above do not have any corresponding terms in studies of language contact. Rather, the concept of domain:

12. DOMAIN: The set of contexts or activities in which a particular language is used in a language contact situation.

According to this definition, domains are more or less parallel to the spheres of activity or institutions where integration or segregation can take place (see e.g. Gordon 1964).

3.2.5 Developments

3.2.5.1 Assimilation and differentiation

A central interest of those studying intergroup relations is the development of the cultures involved in response to contact between them. Here two central concepts would seem to be assimilation and differentiation. These terms will be defined as follows:

13. ASSIMILATION/DIFFERENTIATION: The process whereby cultures in a multi-ethnic society become more similar to/different from one another.

However, much of the American literature on ethnic group relations (e.g. Gordon 1964, Glazer and Moynihan 1963, 1970) study the relations between ethnic groups in contact there in terms of three models: assimilation, the melting pot, and cultural pluralism. These could actually be seen as three different types of assimilation (in the sense above). Assimilation in the American literature implies the gradual "replacement" of the cultural traits of a minority group by those of the dominant majority group, in this case the replacement of traditional cultural traits of an immigrant group by "general American" ones. In the melting pot model, all the groups involved lose some of their traditional cultural traits, and a new culture is formed out of the contributions of all the members on a more or less equal basis. Thus the cultures involved can be said to become more similar to one another. Cultural pluralism implies only partial assimilation, while important aspects of the traditional culture are retained, and differences between the cultures are accepted.

While these terms, then, refer to the development of cultures in contact in terms of mutual similarity and difference, (i.e. at least implicitly one compares sets of cultural traits of different groups at different times) evidence for which of these models best fits a particular multiethnic situation is often given in terms of integration or segregation (see e.g. Gordon 1964), i.e. the intimacy and frequency of contact between the groups in different spheres. In other words, there seems to be an unspoken assumption that contact and assimilation (in a broad sense) go hand-in-hand.

Certain scholars (see e.g. Björklund 1982 for a review) reject the "replacement" model of assimilation, and instead analyze ethnic group contact, and the development of culture in response to it as mutual adaptation. Glazer and Moynihan (1963, 1970), for example, show how the ethnic groups of New York City have developed distinctive cultural traits in response to contact, even though these cultural traits cannot be traced to ways of life typical of the groups prior to immigration. One might call this process mutual adaptation rather than assimilation or differentiation.

Barth (1969) takes this line of thinking one step further. He sees contact between groups as necessary to defining the groups as separate. Rather than contact between groups implying competition between them, and the ultimate domination of one group by another, Barth sees contact as bringing with it a mutual adaptation. According to him, it is not uncommon for an immigrant

group for example to find an economic and social "niche" for itself in relation to another group, and to retain its identity by developing norms and rules for interaction between that group and other groups. This view of the relation between contact and assimilation is really not so surprising, since Barth's definition of ethnic group is based primarily on subjective criteria: the conceptions of the members of the groups in contact. Barth's view implies that stability can be achieved without the dominated group assimilating to the powerful one. The view of Gordon and other American scholars seems to imply that the only stability is that of monoculturalism or segregation. I have discussed at length in chapter 2 how sociologists of language have viewed the relationship between frequency and intimacy of contact and language maintenance or shift. I will return to this question in an analysis of the results of the questionnaire survey in chapter 5.

3.2.5.2 Language maintenance, language shift, language survival, language death.

In his 1953 monograph, Weinreich (1974:68) coined the term language shift. He defines it as "the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another". Fishman (1964) uses the terms language maintenance and language shift for the phenomena in language contact situations roughly corresponding to pluralism and assimilation (as characterized above). Language maintenance implies that one or more dominated minority groups remain actively multilingual (see below sec. 3.3.1) despite the domination of a majority group. Language shift implies that a group develops from monolingualism in a dominated language, through multilingualism, into a group monolingual in the dominant language. I.e. language shift implies that a multilingual society (see above sec. 3.2.3.2) becomes (more) monolingual.

However, in his use of these terms, Fishman has not really made clear whether it is use of more than one language (active multilingualism see below sec. 3.3.1) which is the crucial criterion for language maintenance vs shift, or some other criterion. Another criterion Fishman uses implicitly (1972: ch.7) is the number of speakers who by some definition are considered native speakers of the respective languages. If the numbers (or proportions) of native speakers of each language remains more or less constant, one has language maintenance, if the number of native speakers of one language (especially a majority language) increases with respect to another, then we can speak of language shift. This type of language shift could be called native speaker language shift. A problem arises, however, when considering new immigrants to the area. One may still wish to speak of language shift if a decrease in native speakers in a minority language (among natives in the community) is outweighed by a steady influx of new immigrants, who are native speakers of the same language.

Another criterion mentioned in descriptions of language contact in terms of language maintenance and language shift is the relation between the domains of active use. If a population at a particular time can be described as using language A in one set of contexts and language B in another set, and if at a later time the domain of A has increased and that of B decreased, one could describe the situation as language shift. If the domains remained more or less the same with respect to each other, one

could describe it as language maintenance. This type of language shift could be termed domain language shift, and the corresponding type of language maintenance domain language maintenance. A problem with this criterion is that it is probably difficult to compare domains directly over time, either for a group or for an individual. The fact is that few (if any) studies of language maintenance and language shift have been diachronic, or even longitudinal.

Language maintenance sometimes implies a maintenance of native-like skill in the language, or that the language is spoken with a minimum of interference or code-switching with the dominant majority language. In the same way, language shift can imply an increase in the amount of interference between the languages in contact, or even a deterioration in skills in a minority language within a group (see e.g. Fishman 1971, cited in Dittmar 1976:179). According to Dorian's (1979) description, language shift (she calls it "language death") in East Sutherland involves both a deterioration in skills on the part of the speakers, and a loss of grammatical complexity in the dialect in comparison to more vital Scottish Gaelic dialects. This type (or aspect of) language shift could be termed skill language shift.

More recently (Cooper ed. 1982), the term language spread has been adopted for the process of language shift from the point of view of the expanding language. Language spread is, according to Cooper (1982:6) "an increase over time in the proportion of a communication network that adopts a given language or language variety for a given communicative function". While studies of language maintenance and language shift normally concentrate on the threatened language or languages (e.g. Fishman et al 1966, Gal 1979) studies of language spread focus on the language which is gaining ground (e.g. the studies presented in Cooper (ed.) (1982)).

My use of the terms language maintenance and language shift are thus somewhat narrower than Fishman's. The term language maintenance will be used for the continued regular use of a dominated minority language in a language contact situation. Language maintenance implies that "regular use" includes use in the home, and that the language is the first language of at least some speakers in the community. This means that, as described above, if a minority language continues to be used primarily as a result of a continued influx of immigrants who speak the language as a first language, this will not be considered language maintenance, unless it is documented that the language is also the first language of an appreciable portion of the second generation, who also use the language on a regular basis. "Language survival" as used in the title of this thesis is intended to refer to language maintenance in this narrower sense. In using this term as well as the more usual "language maintenance", I would like to imply that the processes of language maintenance and language shift are not the inevitable and "natural" outcomes of different sorts of language contact situations. Rather, the outcome can be steered at least partially by efforts on the part of both the minority and the dominant majority group (see chapter 7).

Language shift will be used to refer to the situation where the frequency of use, the set of contexts of use and the number of native speakers of a dominated minority language are signifi-

cantly reduced in a language contact situation. One could say, as Gal (1979:17) does, that language shift is a special case of language change: a "socially motivated redistribution of synchronic variants to different speakers and different social environments".

I will now summarize the definitions discussed in this section:

14. LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE (ALSO LANGUAGE SURVIVAL): Situation where a dominated language in a language contact situation continues to be actively used by a speech community, and is a first language for at least some of the members of the community, despite the domination of another language in the society.

15. LANGUAGE SHIFT/SPREAD: A significant reduction/increase in the frequency of use, set of contexts of use, and the number of native speakers of a dominated/dominating language in a language contact situation.

Language maintenance and language shift can be further specified as:

i. NATIVE SPEAKER LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE/SHIFT: language contact situation where the number of native speakers of the languages remains more or less constant/decreases significantly for the dominated language.

ii. DOMAIN LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE/SHIFT: language contact situation where the domains of use of the languages remain more or less constant/decrease significantly for the dominated language.

iii. SKILL LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE/SHIFT: language contact situation where skill in the dominated language is maintained/deteriorates significantly.

3.3. Individual bi- or multilingualism

3.3.1 Bi-/multilingualism, active multilingualism

In this section, I will present the definitions of some terms central to the study of individual multilingualism: the term multilingualism itself, mother tongue/first language, and native language.

The ways in which bi- or multilingualism is defined can be related to different views of what language competence is. A useful distinction in this connection is the one between "knowledge" and "skill", or between "knowing that" and "knowing how" (see Ryle 1949: ch. 2). The former, "knowledge", is taken to mean theoretical competence: knowledge which has been acquired in some other way than through one's own practical experience. "Skill" is on the other hand something which is based on one's own experiences (cf. Sander 1985 on "theoretical and practical knowledge", and Sander forthcoming for a more thorough discussion of this distinction). A person who has never drunk alcohol can study and acquire knowledge, in this sense, of its effects on the mind and body, can reflect on this knowledge, and relate it to other people. Another person who has drunk alcohol, even once, has another type of competence about its effects. This competence is however difficult to reflect on or relate to others. Often our competence in a particular area includes both skill and knowledge in these senses. The competence to ride a bicycle is normally almost purely a skill, while the knowledge we have of places and times far removed from the here and now would be an example of almost pure knowledge. If we regard language competence primarily as knowledge in this sense, it is natural that we tend to define multilingualism as theoretical knowledge of two or more languages. If one on the other hand considers language competence primarily as a skill, it is natural to define multilingualism in terms of active use of two languages.

The notion of language competence which derives from Saussure and Chomsky, among others, leads us towards the former view of language competence, even though no linguists in this tradition would of course claim that speakers acquire their language competence only by reading books or attending classes. For Chomsky, the object of linguistic inquiry is to investigate what he calls competence: "the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language" and not what he calls performance: "the actual use of language in concrete situations" (1963:4). Chomsky's view of language competence implies that competence is static, homogeneous, and based to a great extent on innate structures. Chomsky summarizes his view of the relation of competence to experience as follows:

It seems plain that language acquisition is based on the child's discovery of what from a formal point of view is a deep and abstract theory... many of the concepts and principles of which are only remotely related to experience by long and intricate chains of unconscious quasi-inferential steps. (1965:58)

I believe that this type of view of language and language competence is highly inappropriate to the study of individual or group multilingualism, especially in a situation of language contact.

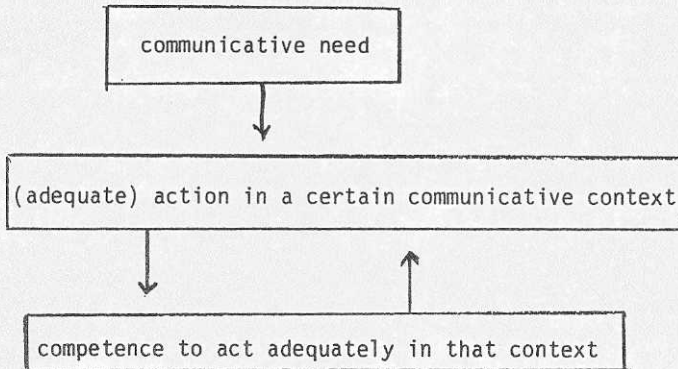
If one views language competence primarily as theoretical knowledge, one often tries to establish a boundary between multilinguals and monolinguals on the basis of an individual's knowledge of her/his languages. How this boundary is to be drawn has been the subject of much debate among educationalists and linguists, but at length an operational definition is usually arrived at, which is based on some sort of language test. The emphasis in these tests is usually on knowledge of the production and perception of the language with regard to its writing system, i.e. on reading and writing skills. These skills are very important in determining whether or not the individual attains a mastery of the language as used in the classroom, but on the basis of results of these tests, we still know very little about how the individual uses the language in all the other communication situations outside the classroom where she/he needs to use the language (cf. Allwood, 1980a).

Those who reject the context-free, static and homogeneous view of language competence sketched above (see e.g. Hymes 1966, Allwood 1980), view competence more as a skill, as know how. Within this tradition in linguistics, competence is seen as context-bound: the skill needed to use a language in an appropriate way in a certain contexts (e.g. at an auction (Boholm and Boyd 1979) or at a football game) is built up through practical experience and active participation in interaction in these contexts. This competence, which is acquired in a particular context, is only partially applicable to interaction in other contexts (e.g. at a tea party or at a daycare center). Since my interest in this study is how young people with immigrant background in Sweden use one or more languages actively in their daily lives, it is natural that I assume this view of language competence and the definition of multilingualism which follows from it.

The danger of equating theoretical language competence with context-bound language skill can be illustrated with an anecdote from modern China. After Nixon's visit there, many Chinese began a lengthy education in English, and learned English grammar "perfectly". There were hardly any native English teachers available, so the students were limited to an extremely theoretical instruction in the language. When some of these people later had the opportunity to use their knowledge with native English speakers, it became clear that they had great difficulty communicating in English, even though they had considerable (theoretical) knowledge of its grammar. The Chinese students knew all the rules of English grammar, but they could not apply this knowledge to concrete communication situations. They had only developed one type of competence, theoretical knowledge which was applicable in the classroom, but not skill in using the language in any other context.

If one chooses to view language competence primarily as a skill, it is natural to investigate an individual's actual use of the language or languages in various concrete situations. Since language skill is based on experience communicating in a certain context, data on language use in a particular context gives us insight into an individual's competence to use language in that context. This is true because use of and skill in a language, according to this view, go hand-in-hand. The more experience we have of (successful) communication in a particular context, the

more we increase our skill in communicating in that context. Otherwise, it is rather common, at least in educational circles, that skill is seen as a requirement for successful communication. It is my view that, at least when it comes to language skill, that active use of a language in a context is the way we usually acquire skill. We can view development of linguistic (context-bound) competence, and its relation to use of language as in the figure below:



First, the individual feels a need to be able to communicate in a particular context (Allwood 1976). The need can for example be purely physical: she/he is thirsty and wants to buy a soda. Often this communicative need is connected with the motivation to communicate as successfully as possible in the situation. It usually follows that she/he tries to communicate as best she/he can, basing her/his actions on those of others in that contexts, her/his competence to communicate in similar situations etc. By acting in that context, she/he gradually builds up her/his competence, which she/he can use in the future when she/he wants to communicate in the same or similar contexts. Sometimes of course one acquires knowledge before one needs to use a language in a new context, e.g. when a man asks his fiancée if he should call her mother by her first name or not, or when one takes a course in a foreign language prior to a visit to that country. Action in a certain communicative context is thus, according to this view, a natural way to acquire skill and often a sign that at least basic skill has already been acquired. Thus I believe we can consider data on active use of a language in a particular context as a basis for conclusions about language skill in that context. It is from this point of departure that the results presented in chapter 5 should be considered.

Thus, I have chosen to define multilingualism based on the view that language competence is primarily skill, rather than knowledge. I will use the term multilingual (or active multilingual) as follows:

1. **MULTILINGUAL:** An individual who actively uses more than one language in daily face-to-face interaction.

Multilingualism will thus be used to mean active use of two

or more languages in everyday communication. On the basis of this definition, I will call groups, institutions etc multilingual to the extent that more than one language are regularly used within the groups, even if all the individuals in the group or institution are not multilingual (according to the definition above).

The fact that I use the term bilingual and bilingualism rather than multilingualism when I discuss this phenomenon with reference to my study of immigrant young people in Sweden is due to the fact that there is only a small group of young people in our population who have even a theoretical chance to learn more than two languages from their parents and from the society around them (about 5%, see chapter 5). When I discuss multilingualism generally, I have tried to use this term, e.g. in chapter 6.

3.3.2 Mother tongue, first language, native speaker

I will use the term first language as follows:

2. **FIRST LANGUAGE:** A language learned in infancy from the parents or other primary caretakers.

I have chosen this term rather than the commonly used term mother tongue, because of the almost mystical qualities which are often attached to this mother tongue (see e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas 1981, ch. 2; cf. Allwood et al. 1982 for a narrower, non-"mystical" definition of mother tongue.) Typically the first language is learned from the parents, or other primary caretakers. When two or more languages are used on a daily basis by the parents or other caretakers, and later by the child her/himself, one can speak of the individual having two (or more) first languages. Thus the term first language will not imply any necessary preference for this language, psycholinguistic dominance, or any aspects of the relation between the individual's languages other than the order of learning.

The term native speaker will be used as follows:

3. **NATIVE SPEAKER:** An individual for whom a particular language is a first language.

In particular cases, one might wish to stipulate that an individual should also be an active user of this language to qualify as a native speaker (see above sec. 3.3.1).

In this connection, I will adopt the distinction made by McLaughlin (1978 referred to in Allwood et al 1982: 112) between simultaneous and successive multilingualism. An individual is a simultaneous multilingual if she/he has learned both/all languages before the age of about three. In this case, we can speak of the individual having two or more first languages. Otherwise the individual is a successive multilingual, in which case one of the languages is the individual's first language, and the second is either a second language (in the strict sense), or a foreign language.

3.3.4 Language use and language choice

Two other terms central to this thesis are language use and language choice:

4. LANGUAGE CHOICE: The decision to speak one of the two or more languages available to a multilingual in a conversation with one or more other multilinguals.

5. LANGUAGE USE: The pattern of language choice for a multilingual individual or group.

I discuss these definitions in greater detail in chapter 6. Language choice is meant to be a term applying to instances, and language use to patterns of behavior.

My use of the term language use follows that of Fishman and many others, while that of language choice follows in most respects that of Herman (1968), Heller (1982) and others. A more detailed definition of language choice is made in chapter 6.

3.5 Summary of definitions

In this section, I will list the definitions presented in the previous sections of this chapter. These definitions apply both to each other, and to the rest of this thesis.

GROUP TERMS

1. **ETHNIC GROUP:** A group of individuals ideally fulfilling all of the following characteristics:

- i. a common origin, or sense of common origin
- ii. a set of common cultural traits
- iii. self- and other-identification as group members
- iv. contact

2. **SPEECH COMMUNITY:** A group ideally fulfilling all of the following characteristics:

i. a common language or variety of language, the norms for its use, and evaluations of it and other varieties. This language or variety should be the first language (see below) of at least some members of the community.

- ii. self- and other-identification
- iii. regular, face-to-face contact between group members

3. **VARIETY (OF LANGUAGE):** A set of linguistic items with similar social distribution.

4. **DIALECT:** A variety associated with a particular geographic area.

5. **LANGUAGE:** A set of varieties ideally sharing all the following characteristics:

- i. A common origin (i.e. a common ancestor variety)
- ii. Structural similarity, regularity in evaluations of variations from and general acceptance of a uniform norm for formal speech and writing.
- iii. Self- and other identification (as speakers of the same language.)
- iv. Contact (less frequent and intimate than among speakers of the same variety, but more frequent and intimate than by chance.)

6. MAJORITY/MINORITY ETHNIC GROUP/SPEECH COMMUNITY: Numerically larger/smaller of ethnic groups/speech communities within a society.

7. MULTIETHNIC/LINGUAL SOCIETY: A larger socio-political unit (especially a nation) consisting of several ethnic groups/speech communities.

8. STANDARDIZED LANGUAGE: Variety subjected to standardization, i.e. regulation of form by e.g. academies, the publication of dictionaries and grammars, educational institutions, use in literature and other mass media.

9. OFFICIAL LANGUAGE: Variety recognized by a national or regional government as a possible means of communication for official business.

10. ETHNIC GROUP RELATIONS: The type and extent of contact between ethnic groups in a multiethnic society, usually in terms of:

i. integration/segregation: frequent/sporadic and/or intimate/non-intimate contact between groups

11. LANGUAGE CONTACT: Contact between speech communities in a multilingual society, when the speech communities are associated with different languages.

12. DOMAIN: The set of contexts or activities in which a particular language is used in a language contact situation.

13. ASSIMILATION/DIFFERENTIATION: The process whereby cultures in a multi-ethnic society become more similar to/different from one another.

14. LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE (ALSO LANGUAGE SURVIVAL): Situation where a dominated language in a language contact situation continues to be actively used by a speech community, and is a first language for at least some of the members of the community, despite the domination of another language in the society.

15. LANGUAGE SHIFT/SPREAD: A significant reduction/increase in the frequency of use, set of contexts of use, and the number of native speakers of a dominated/dominating language in a language contact situation.

Language maintenance and language shift can be further specified as:

i. NATIVE SPEAKER LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE/SHIFT: language contact situation where the number of native speakers of the languages remains more or less constant/decreases significantly for the dominated language.

ii. DOMAIN LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE/SHIFT: language contact situation where the domains of use of the languages remain more or less constant/decrease significantly for the dominated language.

iii. SKILL LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE/SHIFT: language contact situation where skill in the dominated language is maintained/deteriorates significantly.

INDIVIDUAL TERMS

1. MULTILINGUAL: An individual who actively uses more than one language in daily face-to-face interaction.

2. FIRST LANGUAGE: A language learned in infancy from the parents or other primary caretakers.

3. NATIVE SPEAKER: An individual for whom a particular language is a first language.

4. LANGUAGE CHOICE: The decision to speak one of the two or more languages available to a multilingual in a conversation with one or more other multilinguals.

5. LANGUAGE USE: The pattern of language choice for a multilingual individual or group.

NOTES

<1> The term municipality will be used throughout this thesis to refer to the Swedish political unit *kommun*, a unit approximately corresponding to city or town in the US, that is, a political unit between *län* (approximately corresponding to a British county) and *församling* (parish).

<2> This and many of the other definitions in this chapter is in the form of an ideal type with a number of necessary (but not sufficient) conditions. These conditions function as dimensions of variation from the ideal type, which fulfills all the conditions. This notion of the ideal type was developed by Jens Allwood for the research project *Antropologisk lingvistik*. It has been applied in several of his writings, and in Boyd (undated).

<3> The (Swedish) term *Finlandssvenskar* will be used throughout this thesis to refer to the Swedish speaking minority in Finland. Apparently no generally-accepted English term exists.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to present an account of the methods used in obtaining the results presented in the chapters that follow. It is not one of the aims of this study to develop a new methodology for the sociolinguistic investigation of multilingualism. Such an aim could well be motivated, as I believe that the methodology in this area of research could be greatly improved. (See e.g. section 4.6 regarding the weaknesses of self-report data for studies of language use.) The methods used in this investigation are similar to those used in many other sociolinguistic investigations of bilingualism (or language use). They were also determined to a large extent as a result of the study's relation to the PIL project (see below). In the first part of this chapter I will give an account of the planning of this study, including its relation to the PIL project. The second section deals with the data gathering and preliminary analysis phases of the questionnaire survey. The third section describes some of the analytical categories used in the analysis of the results of the questionnaire survey. The fourth section describes data processing of the results of the questionnaire survey. The fifth section describes the planning and execution of the interview series. A final section discusses some of the weaknesses of the methods used in the study, and how these may have affected the results.

4.1 The planning phase

4.1.1 Relation to the PIL project

The data which forms a basis for this study, and which is presented in the next chapters, was gathered and analyzed as part of the PIL project. (PIL= projektet invandringens långsiktseffekter i.e. The long term effects of immigration) This project has three parts. My investigation was part of the largest of these three subprojects: andragenerationens levnadsförhållanden, i.e. the living conditions of the second generation. This subproject was an interdisciplinary study involving a number of researchers who approached the question of the living conditions of second generation immigrants in Sweden from different disciplinary viewpoints: besides the linguistic investigation, there were sociological, anthropological, and political science investigations.

Two general questions were to be addressed by this interdisciplinary research group:

1. "Whether or not a multiethnic society will endure in Sweden in a longer time perspective and
2. What trends can be observed concerning immigrant young people's future?" (Hamberg & Hammar 1981 foreword, p. 11, my trans.)

Prior to my association with the research project it was decided that the study should take place in two municipalities (see note 1, chapter 3) in Sweden: Borås and Nacka, and that it should focus on young people 14-16 years old.

4.1.2 The choice of communities

The choice of Borås and Nacka as communities to be investigated was arrived at as a result of both practical and scientific considerations. The criteria on which the municipalities were chosen include:

"1. The size of the municipality, density of population, degree of industrialization,

2. The number and proportion of immigrants, as well as the national groups represented, their demographic structure and the type and periods of immigration,

3. Immigrant policy measures: immigrant bureaus and boards, home language instruction, appropriations to immigrant organizations etc.

4. Practical considerations for research work: interest on the part of the municipality for studies to be conducted, practical possibilities to carry out the studies (distance to universities etc.)" (Lithman and Hammar, 1980:14 my trans.)

The aim was to choose two rather different communities, which both had a relatively high proportion of immigrants in their populations. Thus trends that were found in both municipalities could be assumed to be general for immigrant youth in other communities in southern Sweden. The possible effects of the differences between the two might also be discernable. The similarities and differences between the two communities demographically, economically and socially should become clear in the descriptions that follow.

4.1.2.1 Borås

The municipality of Borås is a community of about 100,000 inhabitants with a concentration of population in its central town, Borås proper, and a relatively sparse population in the surrounding districts which were incorporated into the municipality in 1974. The town, as well as the surrounding districts are dominated by the textile and clothing industry and related businesses (e.g. mailorder retailing). In 1965, 35.5% of the population who were actively employed worked within the textile and clothing industry (Engelbrektsson and Soininen, 1980). This is a low-wage industry, which has been subjected to significant cut-backs and lay-offs in recent years. The population of the community, which increased steadily until the end of the 1960's, began to decrease during the 1970's. This decrease was expected to continue at least until 1985 (Engelbrektsson and Soininen 1980).

Borås is thus a community dominated by a relatively poorly paid working class, and by a single branch of manufacturing. Despite this, a coalition of right wing (i.e. non-socialist) parties enjoyed a slight majority on the district council (Sve. kommunfullmäktige) until 1982, i.e. during the time this investigation was conducted.

The immigrant population (here, including those with foreign citizenship and naturalized Swedes) is dominated by Finns, who

make up about 59% of the immigrant population of Borås. This figure is significantly higher than that for the country as a whole (see appendix 1). The immigrant population as a whole made up 8.4% of the total population of the community in 1979. (This figure does not include certain categories of the second generation, however.) There is a slight domination of women within the immigrant group (52.1%) (Engelbrektsson and Soinenen 1980). This can be explained by the fact that single women were recruited for the textile and clothing industries in great numbers during the 50's and 60's, especially from Finland. The demand within the textile and clothing industry for labor traditionally done by men was lower.

The immigrant population in the community is concentrated in Borås proper (81.8% of the immigrant population live there), while among the outlying districts, the district of Viskafors also has a relatively high concentration of immigrants (7.9% of the population of that district), due in large part to the Firestone tire factory which was located there until its closing at the end of the 1970's.

4.1.2.2 Nacka

In contrast, Nacka is a smaller municipality, with a population of about 56,000. It is located immediately to the east of the city of Stockholm, thus it is more a suburb of Stockholm than a freestanding municipality. Approximately 60% of the population who are actively employed works outside the municipality (Municio undated.)

There is no central town, as such, rather the municipality consists of three districts of rather different character: one traditional industrial area, located nearest the city of Stockholm (Nacka proper); one area formerly dominated by summer houses belonging to residents of Stockholm, now a middle class area of single- and multi-family housing (Boo), and one area an old, upper middle class and upper class resort and suburb, which still retains this image to some extent (Saltsjöbaden). The proportion of immigrants (10.6% for the municipality as a whole) varies, the concentration being greatest in Nacka proper, where new multi-family residential areas were built during the 1960's and 70's.

The employment pattern is also more heterogeneous. The largest employers are Atlas Copco and Finnboda shipyards, but these industries have nothing like the dominance in the community that the textile and clothing industry has in Borås. Manufacturing as a whole employs about 40% of all those actively employed in the community today, but no single industry or branch dominates as it does in Borås (Municio undated).

While Borås may be regarded as a community in crisis, where unemployment is high, and plant closings and further unemployment are threatening, Nacka's population has grown steadily, both as a result of increase in the birth rate, and also as a result of a net in-migration to the community, a large portion of which is made up of immigrants.

The immigrant population of Nacka is not as homogeneous as that in Borås. The Finnish group is strongly dominant here, too,

but not as dominant as in Borås. In the age group we investigated, about 60% of the immigrant young people in Borås have Finnish background, while less than 45% of our population in Nacka belong to this category (but see the discussion of the drop out rate below, section 4.6.4). A sizeable group of Italians are long-time residents of the community, and there is also a significant group of middle and upper middle class immigrant families from Western Europe and North America living in the municipality.

Recruitment of workers to Atlas Copco and Finnboda shipyards accounts for some of the Finnish and Italian residents in the community who have been in Nacka the longest. However, since the general tightening of immigrant policy in Sweden in the 1970's, immigration to the community can probably in large part be attributed to its location near Stockholm, which is not only the largest city in the country, but the city nearest Finland, with whom Sweden enjoys a 'free labor market', i.e. no work permit is required for citizens of Finland to work in Sweden and vice versa. Thus it would seem that a good deal of the recent immigration to the community would have a spontaneous character. In Borås, on the other hand, where unemployment is high, recent immigration is probably chain immigration, i.e. new immigrants are drawn to the community primarily due to the existence of friends and relations already living there (Björklund, pers. comm.) .

As in Borås, the right wing party coalition enjoyed a majority on the district council of Nacka during the time our investigation was carried out.

4.1.3 The population to be investigated

As the name of the project suggests, the population to be investigated was young people with immigrant background (i.e. second generation immigrants--for a definition, see below) in the two communities described above. Within this group, it was decided to focus on young people in the final phases of the compulsory school, (Swe. högstadiet hereafter referred to as "junior high school") i.e. 14-16 year olds. These young people are in an important phase of their development: about to leave the compulsory school for further education and/or employment. By investigating this age group it was thought that the future prospects for immigrant youth generally could most easily be discerned. The decision to study young people in a limited age range has proved to be somewhat unfortunate for the study of bilingualism among these young people, because this has made it impossible to study age-grading in the pattern of language use. The problem is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

4.1.4 The sub-project on language use among second generation immigrant young people.

As one of the goals of the project as a whole was to determine whether or not a multilethnic society would endure in Sweden, I planned an investigation of the pattern of active use of language among the second generation of immigrants in these two municipalities (see sec. 3.3.1 and Boyd 1982 concerning the theoretical background for this decision). A separate study of bilingual competence as measured on language tests was planned

(see Lithman & Hammar 1980). The methods I originally planned to use for the investigation of language use were primarily participant observation and interviews.

The choice of participant observation was based on several assumptions I made during this phase of the planning, as well as my view of language competence discussed in sec. 3.3.1. First, I realized that direct questioning about language use can be a less valid method for investigating language use in natural contexts (see section 4.6 below). Second, I assumed that the most interesting situations in which to observe variations in language use among immigrant young people would be directly accessible to me, as an outsider: for example clubs, free time activity centers (i.e. Swe. fritidsgårdar), etc. However, the results obtained via the questionnaire and interview series, as well as some informal observations in Borås led me to the conclusion that the most interesting situation in which to observe patterns of language use would be the informants' homes. As we will see in the next chapter (sec. 5.5.1), it is primarily in the home that Swedish and the minority language compete with one another for domination. In other contexts outside the home, Swedish is almost totally dominant. Our interview series made it possible for us to visit about 30 homes of Finnish immigrants in Borås (see below, section 4.5) and to make some important observations there, but these observations were unsystematic, and were severely impaired by my inability to speak Finnish. This limitation would also have been noticeable, had I undertaken participant observation in other contexts as originally planned. The presence of a monolingual, even if she/he isn't actively participating in a conversation, may often lead a pair of bilingual interlocuteurs to choose to speak in the language understood by the monolingual, even if they usually converse in another language (see sec. 6.4.1.2).

4.1.5 Planning the questionnaire survey.

During the fall of 1980, I planned an investigation of language use based on participant observation and an interview series (see Lithman & Hammar 1980, pp.27-29). At the same time, a comprehensive questionnaire survey was being planned by two of my co-workers on the project. These two co-workers were both anxious to include questions about language in the questionnaire, so that some measure of bilingualism could be compared with the young people's use of their time on the one hand and political socialization on the other (see Lithman and Hammar 1980). Although data gathering by means of a questionnaire was not part of my original plan for the language project, I agreed to take responsibility for composing these questions. Questionnaires investigating language use in a bilingual community are a common method of data gathering (see e.g. Rubin 1968, Dorian 1978, Helander 1984, Rönmark & Wikström 1980). The language section of the questionnaire soon grew to about 50 questions. As the questions on language use were part of a comprehensive questionnaire, covering various aspects of the social and political life of our population, including these questions provided me with the opportunity to study the language situation of these immigrant young people in relation to these other aspects of their life situation. The drawbacks of investigating language by means of a questionnaire will be discussed in section 4.6.

The language part of the questionnaire was intended to focus on language use, but also included other aspects of the language situation of the young people. As can be seen in appendix 2 the questionnaire includes rather direct questions on language attitudes and linguistic identity. It also asks the pupils to rate their abilities to function adequately in both Swedish and their respective minority languages, as related to situations in which they need to use both languages. The questions on language attitudes and linguistic identity will not be discussed in this thesis. (See however Soininen forthcoming for an analysis of political identity among young people with Finnish background. For a general discussion of problems in connections with the study of language attitudes, see Boyd 1978).

A pilot study to test both the content and administration of the questionnaire was conducted in a junior high school in Hammarkullen, a suburb of Göteborg, and in Wårby and Huddinge, within greater Stockholm in December of 1980. A further revision of the questions and final decisions as to procedures was made following this trial run in early 1981. The questionnaire that resulted from the planning phase up to this point, and which was then administered to our population sample is included as appendix 2.

4.1.6 Population sampling

It was decided early on to conduct the investigation class by class in both communities, and to administer the questionnaire during regular lesson time. By investigating whole classes, we avoided the problem of calling pupils away from their regular instruction, or of keeping pupils not involved in the study occupied while the respondents filled in their questionnaires. As the other two researchers involved were interested in comparing the questionnaire results for immigrant young people with those without immigrant background, the participation of majority young people was necessary in any case for analysis of these parts of the questionnaire.

It was also decided early on to investigate a sample of eighth and ninth grade classes in Borås, while all eighth and ninth grade classes in Nacka would be investigated. Population sampling in Borås was done to a large extent on the basis of the results of a "base-questionnaire" administered during the spring of 1980 to all pupils in the junior high schools in both communities. This "base questionnaire" provided us with information about the pupils' family background, and made it possible for us to categorize the junior high school classes in Borås as to the proportion of pupils who had some sort of immigrant background as compared to pupils who only had Swedish background. According to this preliminary classification, pupils with one or both parents born outside of Sweden were classified as immigrant children. A more complex system of classification was made later, which will be discussed in chapter 5. Then the 8th and 9th grade classes in Borås were divided into one of the following three categories, according to the proportion of immigrant pupils in them: high concentration ($\geq 40\%$ immigrant pupils), medium concentration (25-39% immigrant pupils), and low concentration ($< 25\%$ immigrant pupils). All classes in the first category were included in the population, while 50% and 20% of the other two categories respectively were sampled at random.

Table 4.1.6 Sampling in Borås

Type of class	% immigrant pupils	No. of classes in sample	No. imm. pupils in sample
High concentration (No sampling)	>= 40%	23	153
Medium concentration (50% sample)	25-39%	16	110
Low concentration (20% sample)	< 25%	14	57
Total		53	320

All the eleven schools in the municipality were represented in the sample of 53 classes. The sample from Borås was weighted in the analysis so as to represent immigrant pupils in the municipality as a whole, estimated as about 500 individuals.

It would have been possible for the team to carry out a total investigation of the 8th and 9th grade classes in Nacka because this would only involve visiting 7 schools and 73 classes. Unfortunately, these plans could not be fully realized, as will be seen below.

4.2 Data gathering and preliminary analysis: the questionnaire survey.

4.2.1 Administering the questionnaire.

Contact was made with the school boards, as well as with the principals and directors of study of the junior high schools in both communities early in the project, before the "base-questionnaire" was administered in the spring of 1980. In the fall of the same year, the research team visited all the junior high schools in Borås and made a brief presentation of our plans to the schools' teachers. The principals and directors of study in Borås were met with early in 1981, when we presented a detailed plan of the administration of the questionnaire. Parents of the prospective respondents were informed by a letter of the participation of their son or daughter in the survey. Only a few pupils in Borås did not wish to participate, either on their parents' or their own initiative. The drop out rate in Borås from this and other causes (e.g. repeated absence from school) was only 7.2%.

The questionnaire was administered in Borås by the research team and several assistants during a two-week period in the early spring of 1981. We visited each school twice: during the first week to administer the first part of the questionnaire (background questions and questions on school and free time activities) and during the second week to administer the second and third parts of the questionnaire, on political socialization and language respectively. The language questions were posed only to pupils who had immigrant background (i.e. one or both parents were born outside of Sweden). Other questions, formulated and compiled by the Swedish commission on discrimination (Swe. Diskrimineringsutredningen) were posed to the pupils with Swedish background, to be answered while the immigrant pupils were occupied with the language questions. The questionnaire as a whole took about two 45 minute periods to complete.

In Nacka, a similar procedure of contacts was followed, but in this municipality, it was decided that the team should make an effort to administer the entire questionnaire in all three parts school by school. The pupils filled in part 1 on one occasion, and parts 2 and 3 on another; however, these occasions could be within the same week. The data gathering proceeded without major problems until the fifth and sixth of the seven schools (Samskolan in Saltsjöbaden and Fisksätraskolan in Nacka proper) were visited. In Saltsjöbaden, the research team encountered a small but powerful group of parents who were determined to stop our investigation (see Svenska Dagbladet 16.4.1981, Borås Tidning 18.4.1981). Resistance and opposition from this group resulted in a significant delay in the gathering of data in Nacka, and made it impossible for us to gather data at all in one school (Myrsjö), or to complete the gathering of data for parts 2 and 3 in Fisksätra. This was highly unfortunate, as the latter school was the one which had the highest proportion of immigrant pupils in the municipality. Although we were able to complete our investigation in Samskolan, where the opposition began, there was a significant drop out rate in this school also. As the school term came to a close, the long delay made it difficult for us to return and collect data from the pupils who hadn't been in school when the rest of their classes were surveyed. In section 4.6.4 I discuss the possible effects of the drop-out rate on the results of the questionnaire survey. The drop-out rate due to the ab-

sence of data from Fisksätra and Myrsjö schools was 22.6%. The drop-out rate from all causes in Nacka was 33.8%.

4.2.2 The coding process

4.2.2.1 A new definition of immigrant child

The first step in the coding process was to put the three parts of each questionnaire together. It will be recalled that the questionnaire was administered on two different occasions. Once this was done, and the number of drop-outs reduced as much as possible, the material was made anonymous. The questionnaires were first sorted by community, school and class. Then they were divided into two groups, according to the broadest possible definition of immigrant child. Any pupil who was born outside Sweden, or whose parents (or even step-parents) were born or raised outside Sweden were provisionally grouped together as "immigrant children". All the others were considered as majority children. This classification affected all three of us who were working with the different parts of the questionnaire. My results are however based on a smaller group of immigrant young people (see below).

4.2.3 Coding

Coding was done for each part of the questionnaire separately, the large part of it was completed during the summer and early fall of 1981. The vast bulk of the coding of the third part of the questionnaire (i.e. questions on language) was done by Maija Savolainen. I also did some coding of questionnaires for both communities. A reliability test showed our reliability in coding to be 95.5%.

4.3 The group studied-- the final definition of immigrant child

The group of pupils classified as immigrant children by the broadest definition (see section 4.2.2.1) was narrowed down substantially for the analysis of the language questions. First, I excluded from the category of second generation immigrants young people whose parents had come to Sweden at an early age (prior to age 13). These young people could more rightfully be described as third generation immigrants. Among the young people in this group were pupils whose parents were "krigsbarn", i.e. children who were evacuated to Sweden from Finland and the Baltic states during World War II. There were also a number of young people one or both of whose parents was a foreigner who had never lived in Sweden, e.g. children adopted from abroad. An attempt was also made to exclude any young people born in Sweden whose contact with a foreign born parent or stepparent was very limited for other reasons. Young people whose parents were Finlands-svenskar were also excluded. By excluding these young people from the analysis, I have tried to see to it that the remaining group of "second generation immigrant young people" have had at least a theoretical chance of becoming bilingual in Swedish and in their parent or parents' first language.

This classification is no way intended as a system of classification of children for any other purpose, e.g. to determine who has the right to instruction in the so called home languages. It was made simply for the practical aims of this investigation. The group referred to as "immigrant young people" or "second generation immigrant" may even vary within the research project PIL as a whole.

4.4 Data processing: the questionnaire survey

Preparations for coding, registration, and the initial statistical analysis (frequency counts) was performed with the help of programmers and consultants from Stockholm university, Statistiska centralbyrån and finally Göteborgs datacentral. I did the more detailed statistical analysis (frequency analysis, cross tabulations, correlations, and regression analysis myself, with the help of consultants at Göteborgs datacentral and of Mikael Gullberg, using the SAS program package. The results are presented and discussed in the next chapter.

4.5 The interview series.

4.5.1 Planning: constructing the interview schedule

As mentioned above, an interview series was planned from the outset to be a major part of the investigation of language use among second generation immigrant young people. It was my original plan to allow participant observation to lead into a series of interviews of the young people I had observed. However, as it became clear that participant observation was both impractical and probably not that fruitful in the contexts to which an outsider like myself would have access, I decided to connect the interview series to the questionnaire survey instead. There were thus a number of purposes the interview series was meant to serve:

1. To give a greater depth of information on language use than the answers to the questionnaire questions could provide. This would also facilitate interpretation of the questionnaire results;

2. to gain a more complete picture of the pattern of language use for a limited number of immigrant young people;

3. to attempt to gain an insight into how the present pattern of language use had developed during the pupils' pre-school and school years;

4. to come to a better understanding of the motivations and norms regulating the choice of language in bilingual conversation.

The interview schedule was constructed so as to give as complete and detailed a picture as possible of the pupils' pattern of language use in the home, at school and in her/his free time. The guide questions used in the interviews are included as appendix 3a. The other interviewers were instructed to use follow-up questions freely, so the content of the interviews varies more than is apparent by looking at these guide questions.

4.5.2 Choosing informants

The major portion of my active research work in terms of data gathering was done in Borås, so it was natural to limit the interview series to this municipality out of convenience. The interview series was done in cooperation with Maija Savolainen, who was about to begin an investigation of home language instruction in Borås (see Savolainen 1982 for the results of her investigation). The sample of interview informants was chosen so as to be the same for our two investigations, as well as the investigation of language competence (see above, sec. 4.1.4). This was done in order to facilitate comparisons between the pattern of language use, attendance in home language instruction, and language skill, as measured on the language tests planned, but unfortunately never completed.

We decided to choose pupils with Finnish background from four classes which were part of the sample studied in the questionnaire survey. In this way, we could use the contacts with teachers and directors of study that we had already established

during the survey the previous spring. The students were also a little familiar with us, since we had visited these classes and schools a number of times.

The choice of which four classes to study was made in the following way: certain classes were excluded because the participation in home language instruction was too low to make Savolainen's observations worthwhile. In one school, we had established a close contact with the home language teacher in Finnish: he knew too much about our investigation, so classes from that school had to be excluded. During the coding process, we had noticed what seemed to be a significantly higher rate of active bilingualism in the classes from the district of Viskafors, south of Borås. We decided early on that one class should come from this school. Factors such as the homeroom teacher's (Swe. klasslärare) willingness to co-operate also came into play. An attempt to represent a range of social classes in the sample failed: among pupils with Finnish background in Borås there were only minor variations in class background, as far as we could determine from the information we then had to go on.

All four classes selected were now 9th grade classes (they had been in the 8th grade for the questionnaire survey). The classes came from four different schools: Boda, Daltorp, Erikslund, and Viskafors. All four had a relatively high proportion of Finnish pupils in them, and a relatively high proportion of these were participating in home language instruction two hours per week. Compared with the population of the questionnaire survey as a whole, these pupils are probably more actively bilingual than average (see sec. 5.3.4).

4.5.3 Pupil interviews

The pupils with Finnish background (either from one or both parents) in the four classes chosen (a total of 42 pupils) were contacted via the directors of studies and homeroom teachers. We visited each class and asked the selected pupils directly if they were willing to be interviewed. A letter was sent home to their parents, which gave the parents the option of asking that their son or daughter not participate. Five of the 42 pupils contacted chose not to participate.

The pupils in three of the four classes were then given permission to leave the school with us in pairs and come to our research apartment for the interview, which was tape-recorded, and generally took about an hour to complete. This was followed by refreshments: either coffee or lunch depending on the time of day. Then the pupils returned to school. The interviews in the fourth class, from Viskafors, were conducted in empty classrooms in the school, because the distance from our apartment in central Borås to Viskafors made transportation of the pupils to us impractical and expensive. Otherwise, we felt that the pupils probably were a little more relaxed in the apartment, where the research team both lived and worked, than they would have been in school. We could also arrange for somewhat more advantageous recording conditions.

The 37 pupil interviews were completed during the weeks just prior to and following Christmas and New Year 1981-82.

Fifteen of the 37 interviews were conducted at least partly in Finnish (see table 4.5.4 below). The pupils were allowed to choose whether to be interviewed in Swedish or Finnish. The vast majority's first answer was that they wished to be interviewed in Swedish. The remainder said they could be interviewed in either language. The latter group were for the most part interviewed in Finnish. A certain amount of pressure was exerted on those who said they'd rather be interviewed in Swedish, especially on those Savolainen knew from her observations of the home language lessons had no problem expressing themselves in Finnish. Some of the pupils gave in to our pressure, but all were given the opportunity to switch languages during the interview if they wanted to, but only one pupil actually did so. The choice of interview language was also determined to some extent by which interviewers were available. The table below summarizes the pupil interviews, in regard to schools and interview languages.

Table 4.5.3 The pupil interviews

School	Total no. of pupils interviewed	In Swedish	In Finnish
Boda	10	6	4
Daltorp	11	8	3
Erikslund	10	7	4*
Viskafors	6	2	4
Total	37	23	15*

* One informant switched from Finnish to Swedish during the interview (see above).

The interviews were generally 45 minutes to one hour in length, and were followed by a short picture test in Finnish and Swedish which was to be a part of the investigation of language competence mentioned above (sec. 4.1.4).

It was never our intention that the informants in the interview series would be a representative group of immigrant young people. Rather, we wished to get further information from young people who were relatively active users of both languages, though we also interviewed a few who were not active bilinguals (see definitions in ch. 3 and 5). The material obtained in the interviews was used primarily to explain some of the results of the questionnaire data, as well as in the study of language choice in conversations between multilinguals, which is discussed in chapter 6.

4.5.4 Contacting the parents

Even before we completed the pupils' interviews, we realized that we were lacking in information vital to understanding the young people's language use patterns. The limitations which were most obvious concerned two aspects of this pattern:

1. How the pattern of language use had developed during

childhood and into adolescence and

2. Details of the parents' background, and their pattern of language use, particularly in the home.

As mentioned above, it became clear that the home was the setting in which language use by immigrant young people (and their parents) varied most dramatically. It also became clear that decisions the parents made about what language or languages they would use in the home had a crucial effect on how the young people used language even outside the home. Thus it was decided that a series of interviews of parents should be conducted. It seemed natural, in order to get a clearer picture of the language use pattern of the young people we interviewed to interview as many as possible of these same pupils' parents. The parents were contacted by phone (beginning the conversation in Finnish), and 31 of the 37 parents were available and agreed to be interviewed.

The parental interviews were conducted in the informants' homes and lasted from 1-3 or more hours. We attempted to conduct as many as possible in both Swedish and Finnish. The vast majority are conducted primarily in Finnish, with certain sections conducted in Swedish. A few are only in Finnish and one only in Swedish.

The main purpose of both these series of interviews was to gather information about language use by both the parents and their children, particularly in the home. The list of guide questions for the parental interviews is included as appendix 3b. The total corpus of the parental interviews is probably about 60 or more hours of speech, the majority of it in Finnish, while the pupil interviews probably represent a total of about 40 hours, the bulk of speech being in Swedish.

4.5.5 Coding and analysis: the interview series

Coding of the interview series recordings has been a joint project of Savolainen and myself. The Finnish material, which includes the vast majority of the parental interviews has been coded by her. The pupil interviews have been coded in part by her, and in part by me. The results of the interview series are mentioned at times in the discussion of the results of the questionnaire survey in the next chapter, while they play a more major role in the discussion of the principles of language choice in bilingual conversation (chapter 6).

4.6 Limitations of the methodology

The methods used in this study, both questionnaires and interviews, rely primarily on self-report data. Some unsystematic observations have been possible in connection with the parental interviews, as well as more systematic ones by other members of the PIL project (see e.g. Savolainen 1982 and Engelbrektsson 1982, 1985 and forthcoming). These observations confirm to a great extent the information gathered by the questionnaires and interviews. Nevertheless, when relying primarily on self-report data, one has difficulty in controlling the validity of the data. Weaknesses may enter into the picture at several points in the process of data collection. Some of these general weaknesses, plus a few weaknesses of the data base for this study in particular, will be discussed in the sections that follow.

4.6.1 Difficulty in classifying a conversation as occurring in a particular language.

In many bilingual communities, code-switching between languages has been reported as so frequent and widespread as to make the classification of an utterance as being in one of the two languages difficult or impossible (see e.g. Hasselmo 1974, Poplack 1980, 1984). Code-switching has been documented as occurring at practically all conceivable boundaries in the speech stream: phonological (usually called interference), morphological, constituent boundaries etc. However, in the community under investigation the greater part of code-switching (other than interference among first generation speakers and the borrowing of lexical items by virtually all bilingual speakers) has been found to occur between sequences of speaker turns, or at the conversational openings (see chapter 6). Some conversations however, especially between (first generation) parents and (second generation) children have been observed and are reported to take place in two languages, switching occurring between speaker turns. This phenomenon is described in greater detail in chapter 6.

Speakers from the immigrant generation often report that the minority language as spoken by the younger generation in Sweden is significantly different from their own language, or from the language as spoken in the home country. While the differences in minority language between generations hasn't been analyzed, it probably includes influence from Swedish, the degree of which does not seem to be so great as to make the classification of a conversation as being in Swedish or in a minority language difficult, except in the cases described above, where switching occurs between speakers. Some of the innovations introduced into Sweden-Finnish by second generation immigrant children have been studied by Nesser (1983). None of our interview informants expressed difficulty in classifying a conversation as being in Swedish or in their respective minority language, and we did not observe any conversations which were difficult to classify as to language either.

4.6.2 Informants' awareness of which language is used on a given occasion

Another question to be raised is whether the bilingual informants can accurately remember which language they use on a particular occasion. It may be that switching from one language

to another is so automatic and effortless that the informant is often unaware of which language she/he uses on a certain occasion or with a particular interlocutor.

That speakers may be unaware of what dialect or variety they speak on a particular occasion has been clearly demonstrated by sociolinguistic investigations. Some informants report that their own speech comes closer to the norm for their speech community than it does in reality (i.e. when subjected to auditory or instrumental phonetic analysis or to grammatical study); others report their speech to be more non-standard than it is documented to be by the sociolinguist. Informants often claim, for example, that they never use a certain stigmatized sound, or expression in their speech, when the interview recording itself can supply numerous examples of this form. Labov is surely correct when he attributes the inaccuracy of these self-reports to lack of awareness of one's own speech, rather than to an informant's deliberate attempt to deceive the investigator.

Despite this massive evidence from sociolinguistics, which questions the validity of self-report data concerning which variant of a sociolinguistic variable an informant may use, I think the problem is not as great in connection with bilingual usage, at least in the community studied. Here, the choice between one language and another seems to be much more under conscious control than the choice of a particular sociolinguistic variant normally is. This may be partly the result of the pattern of language use in the community (see chapter 5), which involves a norm that minority languages are avoided in contexts when monolingual Swedes are present (see chapter 6). Most informants did not need to hesitate, or think over their answers to our interview questions, for example.

Moreover, the results of the questionnaire survey presented in the next chapter varies enough from individual to individual to cast some doubt on the hypothesis that the self-report data represents norms of language use rather than a more or less accurate picture of the actual pattern of language use. If the young people had reported on norms rather than actual use, the amount of variation between the patterns of language use reported would probably have been much less than it was.

Both my own unsystematic observations, and the more systematic observations of my colleagues in the PIL project suggest that the self-reports match actual patterns of language use rather well. Our visits to the pupils' homes, in connection with parental interviews also gave us a chance to compare the reports made by the pupils in the questionnaires and in the pupils interviews, with both the parents' report of language use in the home and with casual observations we could make while we were there. Likewise, our visits to the schools made it possible for us to make a few casual observations there, in addition to Savolainen's more systematic observations of the home language lessons. Englebretsson's investigation included observations in a variety of other settings. All the sources of information-- the two interview series, my own and others' observations in the homes and in the schools, and the results of the questionnaire survey as a whole give a rather consistent picture of the language use pattern among these young people. In similar studies of language use, where participant observation has been used together with questionnaires and/or interviews (e.g. Gal 1979, Helander 1984),

the results obtained by direct observation have matched the self-reports well. (This was, however, not the case in Dorian 1981, but this might be due to the way the latter's questionnaire was administered.) However, since I have no systematic observations to base the conclusions on, I cannot rule out the possibility that the results obtained represent norms of language use, rather than actual language use patterns.

4.6.3 Willingness of the informants to give an accurate report of language use. Possible biases.

A similar methodological problem in sociolinguistics has been the more or less conscious correction of non-standard speech in the interview situation. It is well known that when an informant is aware that she/he uses non-standard, stigmatized forms of speech, that she/he will correct her/his speech towards the norm for that speech community. Hypercorrection may frequently occur in the interview situation (Labov 1972b: ch. 5, and 1972c).

A parallel tendency has been found in studies of language use, when dialects, sociolects or different languages used in a single community differ greatly in status. For example, it is common in diglossic communities, according to Ferguson (1964), that well-educated speakers claim that they never use the low status variety, although they can be led to admit that they do by asking further questions, e.g. about what language they use with their children.

Clearly, in the community investigated here, Swedish has much higher status in a majority of contexts than almost any of the minority languages. It would, however, be inaccurate to say that Swedish has a higher status in all contexts. For the activity of completing a questionnaire, or being interviewed, (the former in Swedish, the latter both in Finnish and Swedish) conducted in the school context, or in close connection with the school day, we could hypothesize that there may be a tendency for the young people to overrepresent their use of Swedish, and underrepresent their use of the minority language, as Swedish is clearly the dominant language for the vast majority of young people for school-related activities (see sec. 5.5.2). On the other hand, neither my co-workers nor I are Swedish. We felt that during the interview series in particular, it was more important to encourage the pupils' efforts to speak Finnish, and to show that we were impressed by their abilities to speak and understand the language than it was to appear objective. Thus, if their answers were biased towards their perception of our wishes or expectations, then the answers should be biased towards an overrepresentation of the use of the minority language.

4.6.4 Weaknesses of the sample

As mentioned above, the high drop-out rate in Nacka makes it difficult to draw any definite conclusions on the basis of this material alone. In general, the Nacka material showed trends like those in Borås, but the overall rate of active bilingualism was much lower. It is impossible to say whether this difference is due to the high drop-out rate in Nacka or on systematic differences in the pattern of language use in the two municipalities, especially since many of the drop-outs come from Fisksätra school

and its corresponding residential area, where immigrants are most highly concentrated. As will be seen in sec. 5.3.4, the rate of active bilingualism is higher in classes and residential areas with a high concentration of immigrants. Despite these problems, however, the Nacka material has been included in the results presented in the next chapter. The reason for this is that the trends in both communities were similar (e.g. if one spoke a minority language with one's siblings, then one spoke it with one's parents), while the overall rate of active bilingualism was lower in Nacka than in Borås. In addition, a greater proportion of the immigrant population in the country lives in and around the large cities, so that it would seem dangerous to draw conclusions for the country as a whole from material based on Borås alone. Because of the drop-out rate in Nacka, the results in the next chapter represent both municipalities, but the population is composed to 78.2% of pupils from Borås and to 21.8% of pupils from Nacka.

4.6.5 Generalizeability of the results

The weaknesses of the data base in Nacka also limits to some extent the generalizeability we might otherwise have had for the results. As described above, the two communities studied are quite different from each other. Tendencies found in both communities might thus, with some reservations, be taken as general for immigrant young people in southern Sweden.

Comparisons with studies of bilingualism in Tornedalen by Jaakkola (1973) and Rönmark and Wikström (1980a & b), and of bilingualism among 9th graders with mother tongues other than Swedish in Sweden as a whole (SÖ 1979, part 3:25-27) show that bilingualism follows a pattern similar to that found in this study. I would expect the major trends discussed in the next two chapters to be general for immigrant young people in Sweden in this age group, whereas minor trends may be due to the particular conditions found in Borås and/or Nacka. It is not at all certain that this pattern is general for bilingual young people belonging to indigenous minorities, or immigrants in other countries, and from other parts of the world, or other social contexts, however (cf. e.g. Fishman et al 1971, LMP 1983). Comparisons between the results of this study and those of similar studies will be made in the text of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: EMPIRICAL RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

In the literature survey in chapter two, I showed that a wide range of social, economic, demographic and psychological conditions have been taken as indicative of either increasing or decreasing individual and group bilingualism in a bilingual community (i.e. language maintenance or shift, sec. 3.2.5.2.) The scope of the research project described in chapter 4 has made it possible to investigate a number of these different social and linguistic aspects, and to draw some preliminary conclusions as to the prospects for a continued stable multilingualism in Sweden, among descendants of the immigrants of the 1960's and 1970's.

Most of the results discussed in this chapter are drawn from the questionnaire survey described in chapter 4.2-4.4. However, much of the analysis and several conclusions are also based on information and impressions gathered during the two interview series (see sec. 4.5).

In the section that follows, I will describe how the definition of bilingualism presented in section 3.3.1 was operationalized for the purposes of the analysis in the remainder of this chapter.

In section 5.3 I will present results which attempt to give a provisional answer to the question of which of the young people in the population investigated are actively bilingual. Thus, those who are bilingual and those who are not (according to the definition in 5.2) will be compared with respect to a number of background variables, which have been considered most fundamental to the individual young person. These factors include such things as sex, parents' occupation, country of birth etc. These results should give us some indication as to which young people in the population are most active users of their respective minority languages, in addition to Swedish.

In section 5.4, I will look at another type of background variable, namely those which have to do with the contact the individual young person has had with both the majority and minority cultures and social groups during her/his life or stay in Sweden. This section includes discussion of such variables as use of mass media in the minority language, participation in home language instruction, and the frequency of visits to the parents' country of origin. The variables discussed in this section have an ambiguous status with respect to degree of active bilingualism, being on the one hand evidence of a certain proficiency in the minority language (and thus of active bilingualism) and thus can be considered dependent variables, on the other they are of course a means to the further development of bilingual skills, and are thus independent variables, with respect to degree of active bilingualism. However, all the activities discussed in this section are in some sense secondary to face-to-face interaction, which will be discussed in section 5.5.

In section 5.5 the pattern of language use among the active bilingual young people will be examined. The aim will be to determine which circumstances are most favorable to use of the minority language, and which are most favorable to Swedish. We

can also see in this analysis the extent to which the domains (sec. 3.2.4.2) of bilingualism are separate or overlapping, i.e. to what extent the active bilinguals I have investigated live in a diglossic language situation (in Fishman's sense. See however sec. 2.4.1 for criticism of this use of the term).

In section 5.6 I will compare the degree of bilingualism with a rather imprecise instrument for measuring bilingual competence: self-evaluation. Self-evaluations of language competence were made both for Swedish and for the minority languages as part of the questionnaire. These will be compared with each other and with the degree of bilingualism. (See, however, Boyd 1984 and forthcoming for a discussion of the weaknesses of various methods of measuring overall language proficiency).

In the final section of this chapter, I will discuss the trends apparent in the empirical results, and make some preliminary analyses of them. A more comprehensive analysis and conclusions is presented in the final chapter of this thesis.

5.2 Operationalization of the concept of active bilingualism

In chapter 3 I discussed the issues surrounding the definition of bilingualism which will be used in this thesis: active use of two or more languages in everyday interaction. In this section, I will describe how this definition was operationalized for the analysis of the questionnaire material.

The population was divided into three categories:

1. Active bilinguals
2. Marginal bilinguals
3. Monolinguals (in Swedish)

The fourth (theoretical) possibility would be a group monolingual in the minority language. None of the pupils in our population could be classified as such, since all of them attended regular classes in Swedish schools. The questionnaire itself is written in Swedish. We were not aware of any drop-outs for the reason of lack of competence in Swedish.

The distinction between the remaining three groups was made on the basis of use of a minority language (ML) and/or use of Swedish in one or more of the situations investigated in the questionnaire (see appendix 2). For purposes of analysis of the results of the questionnaire data, those who were categorized as active bilinguals all reported that they used a minority language under one or more of the following conditions:

- a. with either or both parents, or with their siblings, or with one or more of three categories of friends (best friend, most friends or boy/girl friend)
(see questions 7-12 in appendix 2) or
- b. in one or more of the five settings investigated--three in school and two outside of school (see the follow-up questions to questions 17-20) or
- c. in a conversation in which they speak ML and their interlocutor speaks Swedish (see the second follow-up to question 13).

Although it was enough to fulfill one of these requirements, an analysis of 100 respondents in the first category (active bilinguals) has shown that almost all fulfill the requirement due to the fact that they use the minority language with one or both of their parents. They may then use it in a greater or lesser number of other situations, but as almost all of them use ML with one or both parents (whom we can assume they meet daily), I think we can safely call them active bilinguals according to the definition developed in chapter 3.

The dividing line between the marginal bilinguals and the monolinguals was more difficult to draw, and is probably more arbitrary. In order to qualify as a marginal bilingual a respondent who had failed to fulfill any of the requirements for active bilingual had to fulfill at least one of the following require-

ments:

- a. ML is listed as a first language learned by the respondent, or as a language she/he learned before entering school, or as the first language she/he learned to read in (question 4-6)
- b. The respondent reports that she/he conducts a conversation in which her/his interlocutor speaks ML while the respondent speaks Swedish (question 13.)
- c. The respondent at least sometimes reads books, magazines or newspapers or listens to the radio in ML (question 21, 22 and 24).

As the reader will note, the requirements for marginal bilinguals also concern (reported) use of the language, rather than skill or reported skill in the language (cf. Dorian's (1981) concept of the semi-speaker, which is competence-based). An examination of 100 respondents in this category indicated that the majority of them learned a minority language as a first language, or before entering school, and use the language occasionally now, but primarily as listener or reader, rather than as speaker or writer, and on less than a daily basis.

The final category consists of those who did not qualify as either active or marginal bilinguals. These respondents answered only "Swedish" on questions of active language use, as well as "marginal" use, never read or listened to mass media iML. In some cases, they may have very rudimentary skills in ML (see below, sec. 5.6.2), but these skills are rarely, if ever, put to active use.

A certain number of additional drop-outs affect the cross-tabulations of this variable with the others mentioned in this chapter. Missing data on questions 14-16 (see appendix 2) made it impossible to categorize the individual, so individuals with missing data on this question have been excluded from all calculations involving degree of bilingualism.

The breakdown into bilingual groups of the population as a whole is shown below:

Table 5.2 Breakdown into groups by degree of bilingualism (Entire population minus drop-outs)

	N	%
Active bilinguals	312	44.4
Marginal bilinguals	227	32.3
Monolinguals	163	23.2
Total	702	100

The figures in table 5.2a show that almost half of the population as a whole can be classified as active bilinguals, and only

about one quarter are monolingual in Swedish, according to our operational definition. The remaining third are marginal bilinguals.

5.3 The background factors-- which young people are bilingual?

5.3.1 Ethnic background

In this section, I will examine the relationship between the degree of bilingualism among the young people in our population and what I will call "ethnic background". This variable reflects the national/cultural background of the parents of the young people investigated, and can be viewed as an operationalization of the concept of ethnic group discussed in sec. 3.2.1.1.

The ethnic background dimension includes two aspects mentioned in the literature as possibly having an effect on the degree of bilingualism. First, the various demographic, social, historical and other aspects of the minority group and its relation to the majority in the host country. For example, the literature survey in chapter two suggested that such factors as the size of the group, the length of its establishment in the host country, the group's geographic concentration in the host country, the historical relationship between the country of origin (CO) and the host country have been taken to be significant in determining the outcome of a situation of language contact. I put forward some hypotheses at the end of that chapter as to which ethnic groups might have the best chances of survival as a more long-term linguistic minority in Sweden, based on evidence presented in the literature.

The other important dimension reflected in what I call ethnic background is whether the respondent's family represents one or two ethnic groups, i.e. whether both parents have the same minority background; whether one parent is from the Swedish majority, and the other has a minority background; or whether the parents have different minority group backgrounds. In other words, one could say that this variable reflects the degree to which the respondent is a member of the minority or majority groups, based on the origin criterion (see sec. 3.2.1.1), whether it is on the basis of the country of origin of only one or of both parents. This variable is sometimes discussed in terms of the patterns of marriage of the group: a group which practices endogamy is usually viewed as having stronger chances for survival than a group whose members frequently marry outside the group. Hasselmo (1974:170-171) among others pointed out the importance of marriage patterns for the future of bilingualism in a contact situation.

The size and make-up of the population in Borås and Nacka allowed us to divide the population into five "ethnic background" categories:

1. **"fifi"**: young people both of whose parents were born and raised in Finland.
2. **"anan"**: young people both of whose parents were born and raised in the same country other than Sweden or Finland.
3. **"swefi"**: young people one of whose parents was born and raised in Sweden, the other in Finland.
4. **"swan"**: young people one of whose parents

was born and raised in Sweden, the other in an immigrant country other than Finland.

5. "diff": young people whose parents were born and raised in different immigrant countries. (The majority of these have one parent born in Finland.)

The population as a whole (weighted in Borås, see sec. 4.1.6) broke down into these five groups as shown in table 5.3.1a:

Table 5.3.1a Breakdown into ethnic background categories.

		fifi	anan	swefi	swan	diff	Tot
Total	N	237	86	141	208	30	702
population	%	33.8	12.3	20.1	29.6	4.3	100

It is surprising to many that if wthe "swefi" and "swan" groups are combined, i.e. into a group who have one Swedish parent and one immigrant parent, this group is as large or larger than "fifi" and "anan" combined, i.e. the group both of whose parents are immigrants from the same country of origin. This trend is even stronger for the country as a whole and for immigrant children from 0-18 years (Reinans 1981), which may indicate that the proportion of marriages between Swedes and immigrants is increasing over time. I will return to this below.

In terms of nationality, the breakdown into the five ethnic background categories makes it possible for us to compare young people with Finnish background (or Swedish-Finnish), with young people from all other backgrounds (or all other backgrounds + Swedish background). As we will see below, it was not possible to break down "anan" and "swan" further. The comparison between Finnish background young people and young people with all other immigrant backgrounds is still very interesting, as the Finnish group is both numerically dominant, has a long history of immigration to Sweden (see e.g. Wande 1982, 1984b), has a relatively high degree of concentration (particularly in Borås) (see sec. 4.1.2.1) and enjoys a relatively privileged status in terms of institutional support (cf. sec. 2.5.5.1). The hypotheses presented at the end of chapter 2 gave the Finnish minority the next-best chances of survival, after those with Southern European, Latin American, African and Asian backgrounds. (See below for a comparison of active bilingualism in the latter group of minorities, as compared with all others within "anan" and "swan").

Assignment into ethnic background categories was made in most cases on the basis of the biological parents of the young person. Thus, young people living with only one (or neither) of their biological parents today can be found in all the five categories. It might be argued that a separate category be formed for young people living with single parents (who were born abroad). In reality, it would be quite difficult to do this, and in the end rather arbitrary to decide which young people should be placed in such a category. From our interviews, we have learned that many of the young people living with only one of

their biological parents have done so only a few years. The vast majority of these, even many of those whose parents have been separated longer have a considerable amount of contact with the parent they no longer live with. From the point of view of language and bilingual development, the influence of the parents is clearly great during the first years of the child's life. In most cases, the biological parents were the primary caretakers of the child during the early years, and it would seem artificial to ignore this fact.

Another complicating factor is provided by stepparents who often come on the scene when the biological parents separate. The stepparents for each individual respondent can have a different national and language background from the biological parent they are in some sense replacing, and it is not unusual for one stepparent to be replaced by another after a number of years. These numerous complications make any categorization of this type a simplification. The research group as a whole decided to base the ethnic background categories on the biological parents rather than on the adults the respondent currently lives with.

As indicated in chapter 4 (sec. 4.3.1) certain young people with foreign background have been excluded altogether from the material, e.g. young people who were adopted from abroad, and those with one Swedish parent and one parent who has never lived in Sweden. Young people whose parents immigrated to Sweden before the age of 13 are also not included, because these young people in some sense represent a "third generation".

It should be kept in mind however, in a discussion of borderline cases, and difficulties in setting up homogeneous categories that a majority (ca. 68-70%) of young people in our population live in a nuclear family with both their biological parents and their siblings.

In table 5.3.1b below, we can see the relationship between the degree of active bilingualism and the ethnic background of the young people in our population in both municipalities.

Table 5.3.1b Degree of bilingualism among the ethnic background categories, in number of respondents, and in percentages.

	"fifi"	"anan"	"swefi"	"swan"	"diff"	Total
Active bilinguals	176 74.3	68 79.1	25 17.7	32 15.4	11 36.7	312 44.4
Marginal bilinguals	51 21.5	18 20.9	50 35.5	97 46.6	11 36.7	227 32.3
Monolinguals	10 4.2	0 0.0	66 46.8	79 38.0	8 26.7	163 23.2
Total	237 33.8	86 12.3	141 20.1	208 29.6	30 4.3	702 100

Chisquare= 269.244
df=8
prob= 0.0001

It is clear from this table that there is a significant difference in the degree of bilingualism between on the one hand "fifi" and "anan" young people and on the other hand "swefi" and "swan". This result suggests that it is of greater significance if the young person has a Swedish parent or not than what particular nationalities the parents may have. Clearly, if the parents are of the same nationality (other than Swedish), this is most advantageous for the development of active bilingualism, as the "diff" group holds a position between "fifi" and "anan" on the one hand and "swefi" and "swan" on the other.

One possible explanation of the difference in the degree of bilingualism between "fifi" and "anan" vs. "swefi" and "swan" might be that the parents of the young people in the former groups have never learned Swedish, thus the young people are "forced" to speak a minority language with them, so they become active bilinguals, and are recognized as such by this system of classification. It may be true that the "fifi" and "anan" parents are less skilled speakers of Swedish than the immigrants married to Swedes, who are parents of the "swefi" and "swan" respondents. The former group's relative lack of proficiency in Swedish certainly must have played a role in their use of language in the child's early years. However, this factor need not necessarily explain language use in these groups today. According to the reports of our respondents, only a very small number of parents in these groups are not bilingual themselves today. Actually, according to several of our interview informants, once the child gets to the age when her/his contacts outside the home increase, and she/he begins learning Swedish, the child also becomes a stimulus to the parents' development of Swedish. Obviously, this process has gone so far that in some "fifi" and "anan" families Swedish has become a second or even the dominant language of the home (see sec. 5.5.1 below, especially tables 5.5.1a and 5.5.1b).

The results in table 5.3.1b suggest that in the vast majori-

ty of families in which one parent is Swedish and the other immigrant, Swedish is the dominant or even exclusive language of the home. The language of the home seems to have been Swedish from the beginning in many cases, rather than the first language of the immigrant parent. However, a majority of young people in "swefi" and "swan" are at least marginally bilingual, which indicates that many may have learned ML in childhood, but not continued to use it. The results in this table are perhaps not so unexpected, as the vast majority of the young people in our population (and probably almost all of those in the "swefi" and "swan" groups) are born in Sweden (see sec. 5.3.7). The non-Swedish parent probably in most cases had already learned Swedish before the child was born, and this was the parents' common language. This pattern emerges clearly in our interview material also. While some of the Swedish parents have made an effort to learn the first language of her/his immigrant spouse, this language is only rarely used as the major means of communication in the family (cf. sec. 6.2.1 and 6.6.2.3).

When we turn to the comparison of "fifi" with "anan" and "swefi" with "swan", it should be kept in mind that "anan" and "swan" are rather heterogeneous. What these national/cultural groups have in common with each other in contrast to the Finnish group is that they are smaller in size, generally have a shorter history of immigration into Sweden, and receive less institutional support than the Finns do. Most of these aspects ought to promote language shift in these groups, but it is difficult to generalize when so many factors and nationalities are involved. Table 5.3.1c shows the breakdown into the largest of the national groups represented in "anan" and "swan".

Table 5.3.1c (Weighted) number of respondents in the largest national groups represented in "anan" and "swan" in Borås and Nacka.

Country or region	"anan"	"swan"
Norway	3	42
Denmark	7	26
Iceland	8	0
Baltic areas of present USSR	4	19
Eastern Europe (except Greece and Yugoslavia)	7	5
Netherlands	3	1
France	0	3
West Germany	18	57
Austria	2	5
Great Britain	0	1
USA	0	8
Greece	10	7
Jugoslavia	11	2
Latin America	3	7
Spain	2	2
Italy	4	12
Turkey	1	2
Other (Non-European)	3	3
Total	86	202

An attempt was made to break down "anan" and "swan" into two groups each, as it was felt that they were too heterogeneous to be grouped together. A simple breakdown was made into Northern and Eastern European origin young people and those with "other" origin. The hypotheses presented in sec. 2.5.5 suggested that both in "anan" and "swan" those with backgrounds other than Northern European might have a higher proportion of active bilinguals than those with Northern European background. Table 5.3.1d shows the degree of active bilingualism for "anan" and "swan" broken down into these two groups each:

Table 5.3.1d Degree of bilingualism for North European and "other" background, within "anan" and "swan".

	"A N A N"		"S W A N"	
	No & East European	Other	No & East European	Other
Active bilinguals	39 75.0	29 85.3	27 16.2	4 11.4
Marginal bilinguals	13 25.0	5 14.7	76 45.5	21 60.0
Monolinguals	0 0.0	0 0.0	64 38.3	10 28.6
Total N	52	34	167	35
	chisquare=1.216 df=2 prob=0.25		chisquare=2.440 df=2 prob=0.29	

As we can see in the table above, the "anan" and "swan" groups are perhaps more homogeneous than one would expect, at least in terms of active bilingualism. The "other" group has a slightly higher degree of active bilingualism in "anan", but the Northern and Eastern European group has a higher degree in "swan". Neither relationship is significant, however.

It is difficult to see why there is so little difference in the degree of bilingualism between "fifi" and "anan", and between "swefi" and "swan", (as well as within "anan" and "swan"). The literature survey, and the brief account made of the differences in living conditions of the various groups (sec. 2.5.5) suggested that some differences should show up. Perhaps the factors promoting bilingualism in the Finnish group are not that strong. Perhaps the most significant social factors in the language contact situation have to do with the host society, rather than the variations in cultural background of the immigrants, especially as regards bilingualism in the second generation. Several studies suggest that differences in patterns of language use may be significant between different ethnic background groups within the first generation. These results seem to indicate that the differences are at least much smaller in the second generation. It may be that differences would have shown up, if a large enough population had been studied, which would have made possible a division of "anan" and "swan" into several categories. In any case, at least for the group studied in this survey, it seems that the factor of which national/cultural background the respondent has is not significant, but whether or not one of the respondent's parents is Swedish is very significant.

The effect of the ethnic background variable on the degree of bilingualism is one of the strongest of all those analyzed in this section. The chi square for this table was extremely high, with $p=.0001$. The relative significance of the variables discussed in this section for the degree of active bilingualism in the population under study will be analyzed in section 5.8.

5.3.2 Sex

The second "background" variable to be discussed is that of the sex of the young person. Is there any significant difference in the degree of bilingualism between boys and girls in our population? Haugen (1953:45-46) claims that girls and women tend to be the most skillful bilinguals in the second generation, while other investigations (e.g. Lieberson 1971), in other contexts have found males, with their greater contact networks, leading the language shift. No differences were found between boys and girls in Rönmark and Wikströms investigation of bilingualism among young people in Tornedalen however (1980b:8). In Gal's (1979) study, the women followed the men in becoming bilingual, but became monolingual in the high status language before men did, i.e. the language shift proceeded more rapidly among women than among men. According to Labov (e.g. 1981), women lead most sound changes investigated sociolinguistically, while in the later stages of the change, they show stronger negative reactions to stigmatized innovations.

The results of a simple cross-tabulation of sex with degree of bilingualism is given in table 5.3.2.

Table 5.3.2 Relationship between sex of the respondent and degree of bilingualism

	Girls	Boys	Total
Active bilinguals	167 43.5	145 45.7	312 44.4
Marginal bilinguals	137 35.7	89 28.1	227 32.3
Monolinguals	80 20.8	83 26.2	163 23.2
Total	384 54.8	317 45.2	702 100

Chisquare=5.447
df=2
prob=0.0656

This comparison shows that the male respondents are somewhat overrepresented in the categories of active bilinguals and monolinguals; the females are overrepresented in the category of marginal bilinguals. This result is rather difficult to interpret, and, in any event, the low chi-square with $p=0.0656$ suggests that the differences between the sexes are not significant, and are probably due to chance.

5.3.3 Place in the sibling group

One dimension which can be classed as a "background variable" which I did not plan to investigate from the beginning, but which was brought to our attention later is that of the individual's place in her/his sibling group. Rönmark and Wikström noted that in Tornedalen, older children in a sibling group tended to be more bilingual than younger ones (1980a:22-23). In our interview series, we thought we noted the same tendency, so that in a number of families, the older siblings were actively bilingual, while the younger ones in the same family were only marginally bilingual.

Because of the fact that analysis of this variable was not planned from the outset, it proved rather difficult to divide up the population into groups according to the individual's place in the sibling group per se. The closest we could come was to distinguish between those who had no siblings at all, only older siblings, only younger siblings, or both older and younger siblings. Thus, we could not distinguish between a respondent with one younger and several older siblings and another respondent with one older and several younger siblings. Even so, due to deficiencies in the data, we were left with a group of respondents whose place in her/his sibling group was unclear.

The results of the comparison between degree of bilingualism for respondents in different categories of sibling groups are shown below.

Table 5.3.3 Relationship between respondents' place in sibling group and degree of bilingualism

	only child	oldest child	"middle" child	youngest child	unclear
Active bilinguals	34 51.5	83 48.0	55 46.6	111 39.4	24 47.1
Marginal bilinguals	21 31.8	49 28.3	29 24.6	103 36.5	18 35.3
Monolinguals	11 16.7	41 23.7	34 28.8	68 24.1	9 17.6
Total	66 9.6	173 25.1	118 17.1	282 40.9	51 7.4
(Total N=690)				Chisquare= 11.320 df=8 prob=0.184	

As the table above shows, there are some minor differences in the proportion of the various bilingual groups in each category, so that the "only" children are most bilingual, (and least monolingual) and the "youngest" children are least bilingual, and together with those in the "both" category, most monolingual. However, the chisquare is low, and $p=.18$. Thus, the effect of the factor of the respondents' place in her/his sibling group is in the expected direction, but is not significant in these results.

In section 5.5.1 below I will discuss the language used in conversations between siblings, and then I will return to an analysis of the differences between language use for the active bilingual respondents in three types of sibling group.

5.3.4 Residence

A factor mentioned in the literature survey in chapter 2 as having an important effect to promote stable bilingualism was whether the group was concentrated in a rural or urban environment. It has been found in other studies (e.g. Rönmark and Wikström 1980, Rubin 1968:520) that dominated minority languages were more actively used in rural environments than in urban ones.

It was unfortunately rather difficult to investigate whether this factor had any effect on our population, as shown by degree of active bilingualism in the second generation. For one thing, the drop-out rate in Nacka made it difficult for us to compare the two municipalities with each other directly (see 4.2.1 and 4.6.5). This might have given us some indication as to whether this tendency holds here also, as the two communities differ rather strongly on the urban-rural dimension (see sec.4.1.2). Another problem is that the immigrants in both municipalities are concentrated in the more urban areas of these municipalities.

However, a first attempt was made to get some indication as to whether or not there was a difference by classifying the schools within each municipality as either central or peripheral. The classification was made based on my knowledge of the two municipalities, and is defined somewhat differently in each. For Borås, "peripherality" means peripherality in relation to Borås proper (see sec. 4.1.2.1) which is located near the geographic center of the municipality. In Nacka, peripherality was defined as peripherality with respect to the city of Stockholm, located to the northwest of the municipality. In some cases, schools which were close to Stockholm as the crow flies were classed as peripheral because they were difficult to get to from the city, e.g. because they were separated from it by water. In some cases, a school is classed as peripheral even though it is located close to the center of the town, because the areas served by the school are further from the center of town than the school itself (e.g. Erikslund school in Borås).

Central	Peripheral
Borås	
Daltorp	Boda
Engelbrekt	Bollebygd
Särila	Erikslund
Åsbo	Dalsjö
	Fristad
	Sandared
	Viskafors
Nacka	
Björknäs	Ekliden
Skuru	Samskolan, Saltsjöbaden
(Fisksätra)	Stavsborg
	(Myrsjö)

(Schools in parentheses are the "drop-out schools", see sec. 4.2.1)

Table 5.2.4a below shows the degree of bilingualism for young people in central vs. peripheral schools in each municipality separately.

Table 5.3.4a Geographic centrality/peripherality related to degree of bilingualism. Peripherality defined acc to respondents' school.

	Central Borås	Peripheral Borås	Central Nacka	Peripheral Nacka
Active	125	134	16	37
bilinguals	48.8	45.7	30.8	36.6
Marginal	78	86	25	38
bilinguals	30.5	29.4	48.1	37.6
Monolinguals	53	73	11	26
	20.7	24.9	21.1	25.7
Total	256	293	52	101
	36.5	41.7	7.4	14.4

Chisquare=12.165
df=6
prob=0.0584

The results for Borås go counter to our hypothesis that bilingualism is more common in peripheral than in central areas of the municipalities. The table shows that the greatest proportion of active bilinguals can be found in central Borås, followed by peripheral Borås, then peripheral Nacka, followed by central Nacka. The proportion of monolinguals in each geographic area within each municipality also goes counter to the hypothesis: the peripheral areas have a higher proportion of monolinguals as compared to the central areas of each municipality.

However, the differences are small. The chi-square for this table is only 12.165 ($p=0.0584$). Moreover, much of the statistical significance of the table is probably accounted for

by the difference between the municipalities, rather than the central vs. peripheral difference. It can easily be suspected that other factors may be at work here to produce these results.

One of the first that comes to mind is the relative concentration of ethnic groups in the various neighborhoods that make up each municipality. As mentioned above, immigrants are concentrated in the central areas of both municipalities. The reason the centrally located schools in Borås have a higher proportion of active bilingual young people may be because these schools serve areas where the proportion of bilinguals is higher. As we saw in chapter 2, this factor has been frequently found to be crucial to the continued bilingualism of a group in a language contact situation (see sec. 2.5.1).

Information gathered in the "base questionnaire" described in chapter 4 has made it possible for us to investigate whether this is the factor at work here, for the municipality of Borås. As explained in chapter 4 in the discussion of weighting of the population (sec. 4.1.6), the classes in the junior high schools in Borås were divided into three categories according to the concentration of immigrant pupils in them.

Arnman and Jönsson (1983) have shown for Swedish schools in general (and Borås was actually one of their sample municipalities), that classes are usually drawn from very limited geographical areas within the districts served by a single elementary school (Swe. lägstadium). These classes are typically kept together from year to year, so that much the same group of children who started school together as seven-year-olds leave the compulsory school together as sixteen-year-olds, despite the fact that the middle school (Swe. mellanstadium) or junior high school (Swe. högstadium) often includes pupils who attended several different elementary schools. This means that the makeup of the classes, even in the junior high school usually reflect the makeup of the immediate neighborhood of each respondent, rather than that of the school district as a whole. Arnman and Jönsson used their findings to argue that Swedish schools are segregated by social class, a segregation which reflects that of the residential areas, but that the segregation is class-by-class rather than school-by-school, as in the US, for example.

Bodaskolan in Borås provided an especially clear example of this phenomenon. In that school, pupils who lived in Brämhult, a posh single-family home area went to Bodaskolan as did pupils living in Hässleholmén, one of the lowest status rental apartment areas in the municipality. However, these pupils attended school in different classes, so that their contact with each other was actually quite limited.

Just as the make-up of school classes may be restricted in terms of social class, we can suspect that it might be restricted in terms of the proportion of pupils with immigrant background, since the residential areas of a town such as Borås are rather socially segregated, and the vast majority of immigrant families belong to the working class (see sec. 5.3.5). The proportion of second generation immigrants in the class, which presumably reflects the density of immigrant families in the residential area, might thus have a stronger relationship to the degree of bilingualism than the residential area's centrality or peripherality within the municipality.

Based on Arnman and Jönsson's findings, then, we can analyze the degree of bilingualism for respondents in classes which have varying proportions of immigrant pupils in them, and use this as an indicator of the effect of residence in a neighborhood with varying proportions of immigrant families in them. This last, of course, assumes that the make-up of the class is representative of the housing area from which it is drawn.

The system of categorization into three levels of concentration of immigrant pupils was possible only for Borås, as it was only there that the weighting system described in sec. 4.1.6 was used. In table 5.3.4b, the density of immigrant young people in the class is compared to the degree of active bilingualism, for Borås only.

Table 5.3.4b Density of immigrants in respondents' class/ residential area and degree of bilingualism --Borås only.

	High density	Middle density	Low density
Active bilinguals	122 66.0	62 40.3	75 35.7
Marginal bilinguals	39 21.1	50 32.5	75 35.7
Monolinguals	24 13.0	42 27.3	60 28.6
Total	185 33.7	154 28.1	210 38.3

chisq=40.927
df=4
p=0.0001

Here a much stronger relationship can be seen than in table 5.3.4a, (with high chi square and $p=.0001$), and in the expected direction. Those respondents who are members of classes with many immigrants are more actively bilingual than those attending classes with few immigrant pupils. If Arnman's findings apply in Borås, then this means that immigrant pupils living in residential areas with a high proportion of immigrants are more actively bilingual than those living in more mixed, or more Swedish-dominant residential areas. While both classes with many and with few immigrant pupils existed in the same school at times, the classes (and neighborhoods) with many immigrant pupils were concentrated in central Borås, while those with few immigrant pupils were more common in the periphery.

This result is interesting, even if the make-up of the class may not correspond exactly to the make-up of the neighborhood in terms of density of immigrants. It suggests that the young people in classes with a greater proportion of immigrants tend to be more actively bilingual than those in classes with few or no other immigrant pupils.

Another analysis of the relationship between degree of active bilingualism and the density of immigrant young people in the class was made possible by relating the answer to the lead-in to question 17 (see appendix 2) to degree of bilingualism. This question gives only a two-way breakdown: between pupils one or more of whose classmates can speak ML and those none of whose classmates can speak ML. However, unlike the results in table 5.3.4b, it includes pupils from Nacka, and the "yes" answer should indicate not only that other immigrant pupils are in the class, but that these share the same ML as the respondent.

Table 5.3.4c Class includes immigrant pupils who can speak the same ML as respondent and degree of bilingualism. (Borås and Nacka.)

	Class includes pupils w/ same ML as resp.	Class has no such pupils	Total
Active bilinguals	217 52.5	85 40.5	302 48.5
Marginal bilinguals	132 32.0	69 32.9	201 32.3
Monolinguals	64 15.5	56 26.7	120 19.3
Total	413 66.3	210 33.7	623 100.0

chisquare=13.234

df=2

p=0.0013

The results in this table confirm the ones in the preceding table. The relation between these two variables is in the expected direction, and is significant, as it was in the preceding table. What is perhaps a bit surprising is that the relationship doesn't seem as strong as that in the preceding table, when the ML of the other immigrant pupils in the class was not necessarily the same as that of the respondent.

These results should also be compared to the discussion of social networks in sec. 5.4.4. It should be pointed out here that the tendency towards a higher degree of active bilingualism in the class when others in the class are immigrant young people is independent of the language of instruction, which was and has been Swedish for all the young people in our investigation (except for a small group in Viskafors, who received some of their instruction in elementary school in Finnish).

5.3.5 Parents' occupations

Another important background variable is certainly the respondents' social class, or rather, that of her/his family. This variable is notoriously difficult to define and to operationalize, particularly for immigrants.

A common system of categorization used in Swedish research within the social sciences is the division into so-called "social

groups" (Swe. socialgrupper). This system was developed by the Swedish census authority (Swe. folk- och bostadsräkningen), and is based on occupation. The occupational ratings take into account income, occupational status and the amount of education required for the occupation, thus it represents a combination of the traditional dimensions of occupation, education and income. There are three groups in the system, corresponding more or less to upper middle class, lower middle class and working class. Thus, social group 1 is very small, comprising about 13% of the population in our investigation (including now young people with Swedish background), and includes occupations and professions requiring high levels of education, with high salaries and allowing the individual great freedom to make decisions and exercise power (e.g. owner of business, doctor, lawyer, university professor etc). Social group two is larger, including about 47% of our population, and includes somewhat lower status white collar occupations such as teacher, small farmer, policeman, bank employee and priest. The salaries, status, and degrees of personal freedom and power are correspondingly less than in social group 1. The remaining 40% of our population belong to social group 3, which includes a wide range of working class occupations, such as carpenter, bus driver and laborer.

The coding system used by the PIL project was developed for another research project PRI (PRI= Political resocialization of immigrants; see e.g. Alpay 1980). In this system, 100 common occupations were assigned to the three social groups, and the second and third social groups were subdivided into two and three subgroups respectively, so that six groups were formed. Social group IIA corresponds roughly to the middle middle class (e.g. small businessperson with employees, teacher, nurse, accountant) and IIB to the lower middle class (e.g. owner of family business, secretary, post office employee, bank teller). Group IIIA includes skilled workers and craftsmen, IIIB semi-skilled workers, and IIIC unskilled workers. The division of the entire population into these six groups is shown in table 5.3.5a below. For purposes which will become clear below, I have made separate categories for housewives (among mothers of the respondents) and unemployed. The table has been divided into three parts, because the rows are not strictly comparable: the figures for the majority are based on a sample, and those for the minority groups on a weighted sample.

Table 5.3.5a Classification of immigrant and majority young people in Borås and Nacka, by parents' occupation

	O C C U P A T I O N A L G R O U P S						
	O*	I	IIA	IIB	IIIA	IIIB	IIIC
Sample of majority young people N=1475	8 0.5	228 15.5	476 32.3	295 20.0	187 12.7	211 14.3	70 4.7

Weighted sample of minority young people	1 0.1	59 8.3	136 19.1	113 15.9	131 18.4	165 23.2	107 15.0

Percentage of total population	0.4	13.1	28.0	18.7	14.5	17.2	8.1

* Young people in this category were impossible to put into other categories because the only occupation(s) reported for the parent(s) were housewife or unemployed.

The table above shows that minority young people are more heavily represented in social class III, while majority young people are overrepresented in social classes I and II.

The classification of immigrant families into social classes or groups is a particularly difficult task. Many immigrants hold jobs in Sweden which are far below what their education in their homeland qualifies them for. The majority of (first generation) immigrants belong to the working class (social group 3), if we use occupation alone as a guide. They are also to a greater extent unemployed, as compared to Swedes.

The occupation of the parents is the only indicator of social class which I have chosen to use for analysis in this thesis. It is admittedly a rough categorization, with many shortcomings. The occupations of both parents have been taken into account, but the father's occupation has been given greater weight than the mother's. The mother's occupation, if it was in a higher status class than the father's, could result in the respondent's receiving a higher status rating; if her status was lower, however, no adjustment was made. This system of adjustment thus results in a higher status rating for certain respondents, as compared with a system where the father's occupation alone is used as a guide. If the young person has only one parent, or if only one parent was employed outside the home, or if data for one parent was missing for some other reason, the occupation of the remaining parent was used as a guide, with no further adjustment. The results are simply a rough guide to the social class or social status of the individual respondents' families.

Other investigations of language use in bilingual communi-

ties suggest that in the first (immigrant) generation, the higher social classes lead a language shift, and are the most bilingual, while the lowest are the last to attain fluency in the majority language (Fishman et al 1971:166). This suggests that in the second generation, the working class children would perhaps feel the greatest need to maintain bilingual skills. Rönmark and Wikström (1980:22-26) found a much more frequent use of Finnish among parents with lower status occupations in Tornedalen but found no difference in language use among the pupils they investigated which could be attributed to the social class of their respective families. On the other hand, a higher level of education and occupation is sometimes associated with a greater involvement in local programs for language maintenance (Fishman et al 1966), and the encouragement of bilingualism. Children in families who are concerned about preserving their ML would presumably also show a high level of bilingualism.

Table 5.3.5b shows the relationship between occupational status of the parents and the respondents' degree of bilingualism.

Table 5.3.5b Relationship between parents' occupations and degree of bilingualism*

	O C C U P A T I O N A L G R O U P S					
	I	IIA	IIB	IIIA	IIIB	IIIC
Active bilinguals	28 63.6	37 30.3	35 32.1	25 26.9	69 44.5	97 67.4
Marginal bilinguals	8 18.2	53 43.4	37 33.9	27 29.0	57 36.8	34 23.6
Monolinguals	8 18.2	32 26.2	37 33.9	41 44.1	29 18.7	13 9.0
Total	44 6.6	122 18.3	109 16.3	93 13.9	155 23.2	144 21.6

chisquare=85.267
df=10
prob=0.0001

* The population on which these figures is based differs slightly from that in the second row of table 5.3.5a above. The occupational category 0 has been excluded, as are those pupils who could not be classified as to degree of bilingualism, or as to occupational status.

The pattern shown in this table is quite interesting. The most active bilingual respondents belong to families at either end of the social hierarchy. Respondents belonging to social groups I and IIIB and IIIC have the highest degrees of active bilingualism, while the middle classes, IIA, IIB and IIIA have a lower rate (see however sec. 5.3.8 below.).

The result can be seen as confirming both of the hypotheses mentioned above, i.e. that the lower class is most bilingual, and that the upper class is. At the same time, it is reminiscent of

what Labov (e.g. 1980, 1981) calls the curvilinear pattern of distribution of variants over social class typical of the early stages of linguistic change in progress. According to Labov, most linguistic change originates in the upper working class. The pattern evident in this table suggests that the same may be true of language shift, even though language shift in the case studied here seems in other respects to resemble a standardizing change from above (towards a prestige norm), rather than the differentiating changes-from-below studied by Labov. Labov explains the curvilinear pattern he has found in numerous cases of sound change in terms of local identity: the upper working classes are those with the strongest feelings of local identity, and the greatest stake in the local community. Speakers from this class who have the most advanced pattern, can be seen to lead the sound change: they are those with the highest status within the local community (1980:261f), and with the largest number of local contacts. This may also be true for the lower middle and upper working classes in an ongoing language shift, though methods used in the present study do not permit more than speculations on this point. In addition, when the occupation and ethnic background variables were run together against degree of bilingualism, the highest degree of bilingualism in the highest occupational group disappeared (see below, sec. 5.3.8). I will return to a discussion of the contact network of bilingual young people in relation to bilingualism (sec. 5.4.4).

5.3.6 Length of stay in Sweden

The present section will discuss the relationship between the length of the individual respondent's stay in Sweden and degree of bilingualism as defined in 5.2 above. Both common sense and earlier research suggest that those pupils who have been a shorter time in this country would be more active users of ML than those who have been here a longer time (e.g. Fishman et al 1971:166).

The population studied in this research project displayed a surprising lack of variation in this dimension. Almost 80% of the young people we studied were born in Sweden and had lived here all their lives, so the only meaningful way to categorize them is to compare this large group with the small minority who were born or had lived abroad. Even this group is rather homogeneous, as 60% of the young people not born in Sweden have lived here at least ten years, so that the proportion of young people in our population who had attended school in another country is probably about 8%. Nevertheless, we can compare the larger group who were born here from those born abroad to see if this factor has any effect on the degree of bilingualism. Because the number of respondents born abroad is small, we were unable to compare the degree of bilingualism of the even smaller group who have "commuted" back and forth between Sweden and the country of origin of the parents (CO). Only 3.7% of our population have moved between countries more than once during her/his lifetime.

Table 5.3.6 shows the relation between degree of bilingualism and length of stay in Sweden for the young people in our population.

Table 5.3.6 Length of stay in Sweden and degree of bilingualism

	Only lived in Sweden	Also lived abroad	Total
Active bilinguals	188 33.6	122 87.8	310 44.3
Marginal bilinguals	211 37.7	15 10.8	226 32.3
Monolinguals	161 28.7	2 1.4	163 23.3
Total	560 80.1	139 19.9	699 100.0

chisquare=134.278
df=2
prob=0.0001

As is clear, the relationship is quite strong (with a high chisquare and $p=0.0001$) and in the expected direction, so that those who have lived part of their lives in other countries have a significantly higher degree of active bilingualism than those who have lived all their lives here in Sweden. Evidently, young people born abroad have a strong tendency to use ML actively even after coming to Sweden, when they have learned Swedish as a second language (i.e. if they were born abroad). It seems probable that parents who have arrived relatively recently are also more reluctant to allow Swedish to become the language of the home than those who have lived here longer. We shall see in section 5.3.8 that there is a high degree of interaction between this variable and the one discussed in the following section, namely, plans to return to CO, and both of them have the expected relationship to degree of bilingualism.

5.3.7 Plans to return to the parents' country of origin

In this section I will discuss the relationship between the degree of bilingualism as defined in section 5.2 and the plans of the respondent's family either to stay in Sweden or return to their country of origin. My hypothesis is that young people whose families have definite plans to return to the parents' country of origin (CO) will be more actively bilingual than those who plan to stay in Sweden.

In table 5.3.7 I present a comparison between degrees of bilingualism and the family's plans to stay in Sweden or to return to CO.

Table 5.3.7 Relationship between family's plans to remain in Sweden or return to CO and degree of bilingualism

	Return	Don't know	Remain
Active bilinguals	62 91.2	69 65.1	176 34.8
Marginal bilinguals	5 7.4	28 26.4	190 37.6
Monolinguals	1 1.5	9 8.5	139 27.5
Total N=	68 10.0	106 15.6	505 74.4

Chisquare=100.232
df=4
prob=0.0001

As was shown in section 5.2.3, the vast majority of the young people in the population had lived in Sweden all or most of their lives. Eighty percent are born in this country, and of the others, 60% have lived here at least ten years. In this perspective, it is not surprising that only 10% of the population as a whole report that their families plan to return to CO, while an additional 15% don't know. Nearly three quarters of the population seem to count on staying in Sweden for the foreseeable future.

When the degree of bilingualism is compared with the plans for a possible return to CO, we see not unsurprisingly that the degree of active bilingualism is extremely high --over 90%-- in the little group who report that their families do plan to return. Even those who are uncertain show a higher degree of active bilingualism than those whose families plan to stay.

We should keep in mind that plans to return to the country of origin can be of many different kinds, from realistic and concrete plans to dreams. Many studies of immigration patterns suggest that after a number of years in a new country, especially if a second generation has grown up there, an immigrant family's plans to return to CO are increasingly unrealistic, and are only rarely realized (Hamberg 1981:79). For refugees, plans to return to CO may be definite, but may have to be postponed for long periods, due to the unchanging political situation there. In cases of re-migration after a long stay in the host country, it is not uncommon that the second generation decides to remain in the host country, or that re-migration is followed by re-immigration after a time.

5.3.8 Relationships between the "background" factors

In the previous sections, we have seen that several variables have a quite strong relationship with what I have called "degree of bilingualism". The variables with the strongest effects were

"ethnic background"

density of immigrants in residential area

parents' occupations

length of stay in Sweden/birthplace

plans to return to CO or to stay in Sweden

When correlation coefficients were calculated for each pair of variables, it was found that the first and third (ethnic background and occupational status), and the last two (length of stay and plans to return) showed a significant degree of interaction, but the other variables were fairly independent of one another. The last two correlated so well that they could be combined into a single variable which, for want of a better term, will be called "stability". Those born and raised and planning to stay in Sweden (448 individuals) are in this respect opposed to the remaining 254 who either have been here a shorter time or who plan to return to CO (or don't know).

A stepwise regression analysis was performed on these four resulting variables (ethnic background, occupation, density of immigrants in residential area and stability), so as to determine their relative effects on degree of bilingualism. The results of this calculation showed that

- ethnic background had by far the strongest effect
- parents' occupation also had a strong effect, while
- density of immigrants in the residential area and
- stability had weaker effects, about equal to each other.

All four of these variables' effects on degree of bilingualism were, however, statistically significant.

As mentioned above, ethnic background and parents' occupation also displayed tendencies toward interaction. The relationship between them turned out to be somewhat unexpected. The ethnic background categories' mean positions on the occupational scale (see sec. 5.3.5) were as follows:

- "anan": near the boundary between social groups IIA and IIB
- "swan": within social group IIB
- "swefi": within social group IIIA
- "fifi": within social group IIIC

That "fifi" would have the lowest mean occupational status is not so unexpected, perhaps, but that "anan" would have a status higher than both "swan" and "swefi" was unexpected.

When ethnic background and occupational status were run against degree of bilingualism, it became clear that each had an effect on bilingualism independent of the other, but that the

effects of ethnic background were stronger. When occupational status was controlled, the effects of ethnic background remained in all cases. However, when ethnic background was controlled, the parabolic curve discussed in sec. 5.3.5 became more linear: i.e. the high degree of bilingualism among higher occupational status categories seems to be the effect of the overrepresentation of respondents from "anan" in the high occupational status group. Appendix 4 gives the tables showing the relationship between active bilingualism and each of these two variables when the other is held constant.

The implications of the results in section 5.3 as a whole will be discussed in greater detail in section 5.7.

5.4 Interaction with majority and minority language culture

In this section I will discuss factors which have to do with the contact the young people have had with minority language (ML) culture during their lives or during their stay in Sweden. These factors measure in different ways to what extent the respondent participates actively in minority language culture, as well as Swedish culture. I noted above that no respondents in our population could be considered monolingual in ML. In the same way, it is evident that no young person growing up in Sweden and attending a Swedish school lives isolated from Swedish culture. However, as we shall see, contact with minority culture varies significantly within our population.

Each of these measures of contact with ML culture was compared with degree of bilingualism. As compared to the variables discussed in the previous section, the relationship between these variables and the degree of bilingualism is ambiguous. Neither the "contact" variables nor bilingualism can be seen as independent nor dependent alone, with respect to the other. The "contact" variables are on the one hand indicators of a certain proficiency in ML, thus making them in this sense dependent variables. On the other hand, the activities discussed in this section develop bilingual skills, so they are in that sense independent in relation to the degree of bilingualism (cf. Rosengren & Arvidson 1983:206-210). The "contact" variables discussed in this section are consumption of mass media in ML, participation in home language instruction, membership in immigrant organizations, social networks and visits to the parents' country of origin (CO).

5.4.1 Consumption of mass media in the minority language

In this section, I will discuss the extent to which the respondents to the questionnaire use mass media in the minority language (ML), and compare it to their use of mass media generally.

The forms of mass media investigated in the questionnaire are:

Books

Magazines/newspapers

TV

Radio

Music (either performing or listening to)

All these forms of mass media have a certain linguistic component (except listening to or performing music without text), but all (except possibly performing music) are basically passive activities, i.e. they involve perception rather than production skills in ML.

Tables 5.4.1a and b below shows the frequency of use of these mass media in ML for active and marginal bilinguals. (The

monolinguals answered "never" to all these questions, see sec. 5.2) The answers to each question (see appendix 2, questions 21-25) have been grouped so that any answer indicating more frequent use than "less often" is considered "often or sometimes", "less often" is classed as "seldom" and "never" = "never".

Table 5.4.1a Mass media consumption in ML for active bilinguals.

	Radio	Books	Magazines/ Newspapers	Music	TV
Often	108 34.6	121 38.8	155 49.7	179 57.4	163 52.2
Seldom	103 33.0	95 30.4	85 27.2	101 32.4	107 34.3
Never	101 32.4	96 30.8	72 23.1	32 10.3	42 13.5

N=312

Table 5.4.1b Mass media consumption in ML for marginal bilinguals.

	Radio	Books	Magazines/ Newspapers	Music	TV
Often	38 16.7	36 15.9	43 18.9	57 25.1	79 34.8
Seldom	70 30.8	50 22.0	75 33.0	106 46.7	84 37.0
Never	119 52.4	141 62.1	109 48.0	64 28.2	64 28.2

N=227

Not surprisingly, the active bilinguals are consistently more frequent users of mass media in ML than are marginal bilinguals. (It should be recalled that use of mass media does not distinguish active and marginal bilinguals by definition (see section 5.2.0) but it does distinguish marginal bilinguals from monolinguals, which is why the figures for the latter group are not included in the table.) Marginal bilinguals answered "never" more often for all forms of mass media, while the relationship was more complex in the middle-frequency category ("seldom"). Examination of this category of response for the marginal bilinguals suggests that marginal bilinguals' consumption of music and TV in ML is somewhat greater than the other media. For the active bilinguals, the same sort of difference showed up in the upper row of the table (i.e. "often").

The question naturally arises, how does this pattern of use for mass media in ML compare with mass media use in general (i.e. including Swedish) for the population? Using material gathered by Snicker in the first section of the questionnaire (see sec. 4.1.5), some rough comparisons can be made. For the immigrant pupils in both municipalities, (including both groups above plus

the monolinguals) the following patterns emerged for use of these mass media (language unspecified):

1. Books: over 75% of the population read books other than schoolbooks "often" or "sometimes".
2. Magazines/newspapers: over 90% "usually" read a daily newspaper, while over 75% read one or more weeklies on a regular basis.
3. TV: over 75% watch TV daily, the curve for the number of hours watched per day peaks at between 2 and 3 hours.
4. Radio: unfortunately we have no information on the frequency these young people listen to the radio.
5. Music: 90% listen to music on a daily basis.

We see in this short summary of the mass media use in the population that the vast majority are frequent users of a number of different media, and that the vast bulk of media consumption by these young people would seem to be in Swedish.

One major reason for the difference in the frequency of use between mass media in general and mass media in ML is certainly the differing amounts offered. Daily newspapers in languages other than Swedish are not currently produced in Sweden (though a Finnish daily was published during the period we conducted this investigation). However, some immigrant families reportedly subscribe to foreign newspapers, probably mainly Scandinavian ones. The weekly magazines the respondents and interview informants reported reading regularly were also typically imports, though a few magazines in languages other than Swedish are produced in Sweden. Radio and TV broadcasts by the national networks are regularly made in languages other than Swedish, the number of hours per week varying depending on the language. These broadcasts are dominated by Finnish and the southeastern European immigrant languages, while large immigrant groups such as Danes, Norwegians and German-speakers are not allotted special broadcasts on radio or TV. Radio broadcasts from other Scandinavian countries and the continent are not difficult to receive, however. According to a spokesman from Sveriges radio, TV programs in languages other than Swedish are always broadcast with Swedish subtitles. Chance observations have shown that this rule has exceptions, however.

Libraries both in Borås and Nacka have special collections of books in the most common immigrant languages, and music recordings are also fairly easy to obtain. In Borås there is a shop specializing in Finnish records and tapes, for example (which incidentally also sells such Finnish specialty items as saunas and sauna accessories).

When the various media are compared with each other, it is clear that music and TV are the most popular media in ML, magazines occupy a middle position and radio and books are least popular. This pattern roughly matches that for mass media in general, though in the latter case we have no figures for radio listening.

There are a number of possible interpretations of these comparisons. One is simply that mass media in ML represent an equally important portion of the use of mass media generally, for each individual medium. However, if we compare the figures in table 5.4.1a and b and the results for the mass media questions in questionnaire 1, I think we find some slight, but significant differences. A higher proportion of young people use TV, music and magazines in ML ("often" and "sometimes") as compared to total use (in both Swedish and ML) than read books in ML. I would guess that listening to the radio in ML would also be less popular compared to the other media than listening to Swedish radio programs.

The more popular media-- TV, music and to a lesser extent magazines-- are those which are perhaps the most passive activities in terms of language skills. Compared to books and radio, a smaller portion of the content in these media is communicated by language alone, and a larger portion via other channels, both visual and auditory. One could of course speculate that the reason these "popular" media, which are less demanding on linguistic skills, don't have such a sharp drop in use might be due to the respondents' limited skills in ML.

There are of course a multitude of unknown factors here, which make any conclusions drawn highly preliminary. First, we don't know how much the individual respondent is actively responsible for her/his use of many of the media. Some young people may for example eat their meals in the same room as their parents, who switch on the radio to listen to a news broadcast in ML. This may reasonably be counted as listening to the radio in ML, despite the fact that the young person has little responsibility for the decision to do so. Likewise, as some of our interview informants reported, one of their parents might subscribe to a magazine in ML, which the young person occasionally picks up and reads.

A related problem is that, even if we ignore the fact that the respondent may not have taken the initiative to use a particular medium on a particular occasion, the attention she/he gives it must also vary dramatically. On one occasion, an individual may wish to listen to music intensively, with eyes closed, perhaps using headphones, to concentrate as fully as possible on the music. On another occasion, music may be merely a background to other activities, including conversation. The same is true of the other media, though perhaps the range of variation in the degree of concentration may be widest for listening to music.

Finally, a problem is presented by the fact that the frequencies in the various questions are not strictly comparable. The questions are worded somewhat differently in questionnaire 1 (which concerns mass media consumption generally) and questionnaire 3 (which concerns mass media consumption in ML). The frequencies offered as alternatives also vary, so that the highest frequency for books and magazines is less than daily, while for radio, TV and music it is daily. This means that the frequency represented by "more seldom" in one case is different from another, strictly speaking. Of course, it is unrealistic to compare the frequency of using the various media strictly--e.g. it is unusual to read a book as quickly, and therefore as frequently as one watches a TV program. In addition, what is implied when one says one has read a magazine is quite different

from what is implied when one says one has read a book.

In the table below, I summarize the use of mass media in general and in ML, by listing the media from most to least popular, and giving a rough estimate of what proportion of young people use each medium on a regular basis. (Note that the figures for mass media generally include the monolinguals, while those for mass media in ML include only active and marginal bilinguals.)

Mass media generally	Mass media in ML
Music: 90%	TV: 45%
TV: over 75%	Music: 44%
Magazines/newspapers: over 75%	Magazines: 37%
Books: over 75%	Radio: 27%
	Books: 29%

5.4.2 Home language instruction

As noted above, the educational background of the population varies relatively little, both within the group of immigrant pupils and as compared to majority pupils. These young people belong to a "generation" of immigrant children who have been educated almost exclusively under the same conditions as Swedish children. The major difference between their education and that of majority young people is the introduction of so-called home language instruction during the early to mid 1970's.

This is certainly the most comprehensive, expensive, and hotly debated form of what Giles et al.(1977) call institutional support for immigrant young people in this country. For most of the young people in our population, home language instruction has been an option for most or, (in the case of many of the pupils in Borås) all of their school years. On the other hand, there are only a very small number of pupils in the population (primarily those from Viskafors, outside Borås, mentioned above) who were ever offered more than about 2 lessons per week in home language instruction. The figures below refer to instruction of this type, and not the more recent forms of home language instruction (both as target and the medium of instruction) known as composite classes and mother tongue classes.

It has been the job of others associated with the PIL project to investigate in depth the planning and implementation of home language instruction (Municio forthcoming) the corps of teachers recruited (Enström 1983) and the social psychological conditions under which instruction is given (Savolainen forthcoming).

Numerous other studies have attempted to measure the effects of home language instruction on language skills in Swedish and the

minority language (ML), on performance in other school subjects (Toukomaa 1977, Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa 1976) and general psychological adjustment and well-being (Hansson 1980). What I will discuss primarily in this section is the relationship between attending home language instruction and the degree of active bilingualism, as defined in chapter 3 and in section 5.2.

Table 5.4.2a shows what portion of young people in each bilingual category has at some time attended home language instruction.

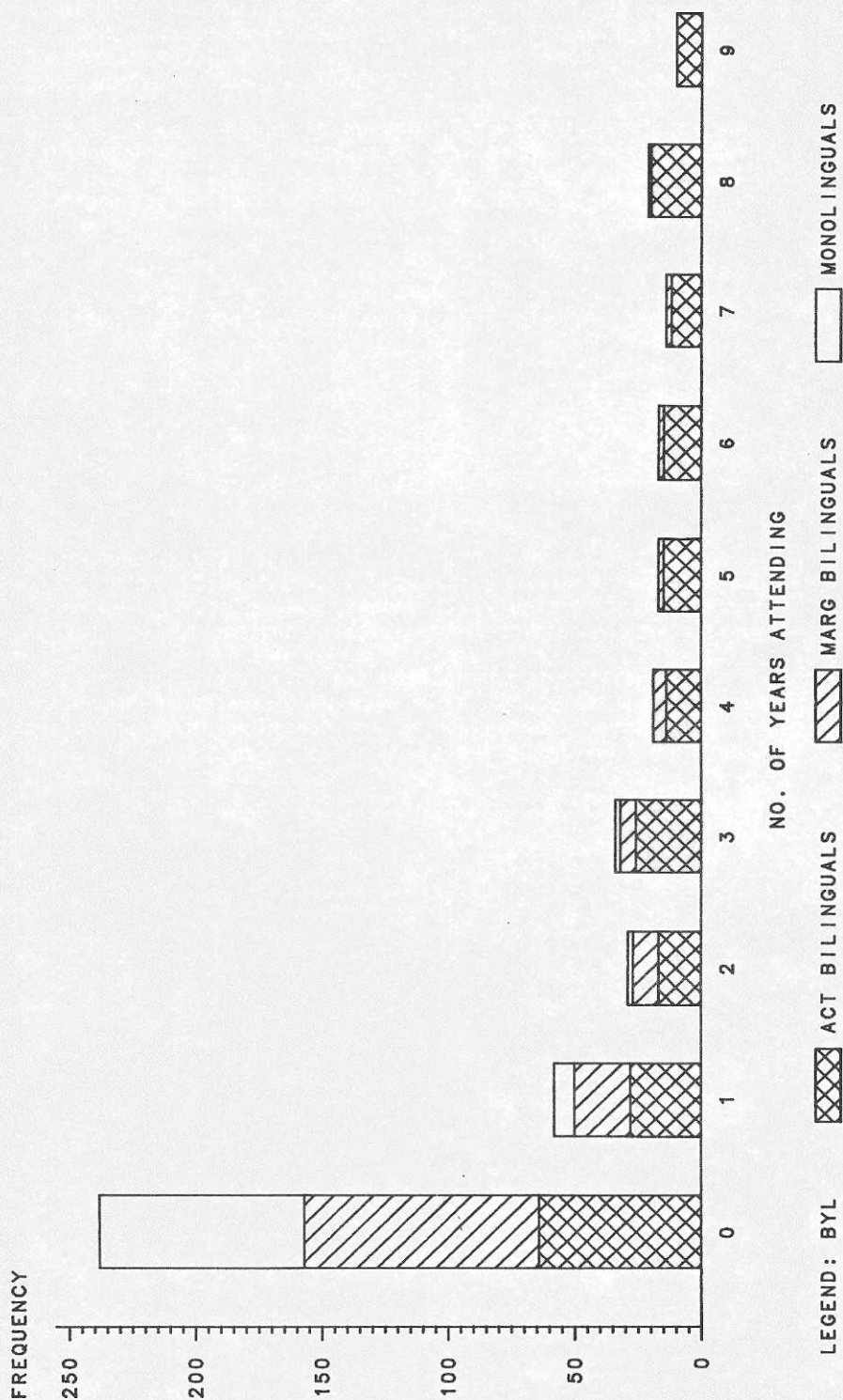
Table 5.4.2a Attendance in home language instruction and degree of bilingualism

	Active bilinguals	Marginal bilinguals	Mono- linguals	Total
Never participated	86 27.7	143 64.7	136 86.6	365 53.1
Has at some time partici- pated	224 72.3	78 35.3	21 13.4	323 47.0

Clearly, the active bilinguals attend and have attended home language instruction to a much higher extent than do the marginal bilinguals. Interestingly, 21 young people classified as monolinguals have also attended home language instruction.

Further analysis is possible by examining the figures for the number of years the young people have participated in home language instruction. These figures are presented in graphic form in figure 5.4.2 on the next page.

ATTENDANCE IN HOME LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION



From this table and the graph we can see that attendance for the active bilinguals is much more evenly distributed over the years than it is for the marginal bilinguals. The latter have in most cases participated not at all or only one year. Very few have participated over four years. The group of pupils who have participated over four years is strongly dominated by active bilinguals. The pattern of the marginal bilinguals is apparent in a more extreme form for the monolinguals.

One rather obvious conclusion from the figures in this section is that attendance in home language instruction seems to go hand-in-hand with more active bilingualism. It is not at all unreasonable to suppose that this instruction, with all its shortcomings, has in any case helped the young people to maintain and develop their skills in ML and to remain actively bilingual. Several questions remain unanswered however:

1. Why have over half of the pupils who have a right to instruction in the home languages not attended?
2. Why have those who have attended ceased to do so in such large numbers after one or two years? (Or alternatively, why have so many begun instruction so recently? Unfortunately, we failed to obtain information on whether the pupil was currently participating in home language instruction. Our interview material suggests that many who have started attending home language instruction stopped for one reason or another.)
3. Why is the rate of attendance so much higher among active than marginal bilinguals?

An open question in the questionnaire was designed to investigate why the respondent attended or did not attend home language instruction. The most common reasons given are paraphrased in the table below, grouped roughly into types:

REASONS FOR PARTICIPATING

Language for its own sake

"I would like to learn more, to speak better"	64
"It's good to know (ML)"	26
"I don't want to forget (ML)"	15
"It's good to be bilingual"	14
TOTAL	119

Communicative needs

"I want to be able to talk to relatives, friends in (ML) group"	32
"I want to be able to visit CO and talk to people there more easily"	14
"I/my family plans to return to CO"	11
TOTAL	57

The lessons themselves

"The lessons are fun"	23
TOTAL (for participating)	199

REASONS FOR NOT PARTICIPATING

Communicative needs

"I know ML well enough already"	50
"I don't need to know ML"	37
"Nobody speaks ML/everyone speaks Swedish"	19
TOTAL	106

Problems with the lessons themselves

"They take time from other lessons"	31
"The lessons are boring"	29
"School is hard enough"	22
"The lessons are too hard"	14
"I don't like the teacher"	12
TOTAL	108

Other

"I don't want to participate"	18
-------------------------------	----

TOTAL (for not participating) 232

The classification of these answers into groups is of course to some extent arbitrary. In addition, many respondents didn't bother to answer this question at all, so we cannot determine to what extent these answers are accurate or representative for the population as a whole. However, with these reservations in mind, certain preliminary conclusions may be drawn from them, I think.

1. Those who do participate have rather vague reasons for doing so, not for the most part based on communicative needs or any instrumental motivation (Lambert 1969).

- The lower overall number of reasons given for attendance, as compared to against it can perhaps be explained to some extent as a result of the general tendency that it is easier to account for the disadvantages of something than the advantages of it.

- The fact that the answers were vague and not grounded in any clear needs or motivations suggests that the pupils are either not interested in extending and developing contacts with those within the same immigrant group, or in CO, and/or they are unaware that their skills in ML may be useful for other purposes. I have discussed in another paper the fact that the vast majority of pupils are unaware that their language skills in ML may be of any useful purpose (Boyd forthcoming a).

2. Those who DO NOT participate name both communicative needs and problems with the lessons themselves as reasons.

- Some find the lessons unnecessary because their skills are already adequate, others because the skills are seen as unnecessary.

- Those who find fault with the lessons do so both due to their organization and content. That the home language lessons take time from other lessons is of course a major complaint, which has been voiced by nearly all the debaters of this issue. That some find the lessons boring, others too difficult is not anything which is unique to home language lessons as opposed to other school lessons. However, many teachers feel that the fact that the instruction is voluntary implies that home language instruction must constantly compete with some other school subject, and that the lessons are usually undemanding as a result.

The question of motivation for or against participation in home language instruction was also taken up in greater detail in the interview series. Since many of the interview informants were active bilinguals, the majority of them had at some time participated in home language instruction, though not that many did at present. Among our interview informants, many complained that the home language lessons were a waste of time, that they didn't learn very much there, and that they missed important lessons with their regular class by going to them. Others, who did attend, enjoyed the lessons, and felt they were worthwhile.

Many of these interviews were conducted during the young people's last term in the compulsory school, and the question naturally arose as to what their plans for the coming year were. Most planned to attend some sort of high school (Swe. gymnasium), and a few were planning to include some study of ML in their school programs. However, when we asked them why they wanted to develop their skills in ML, we received much the same sort of answers as we had on the questionnaire: even after pursuing the subject for awhile, not one informant gave any motivation that had to do with future employment or study in Sweden or abroad. This result is surprising, considering the great potential need for these young people's skills in ML on the labor market, both within the public and the private sectors.

In sum, I think it is clear that home language instruction plays an important role in maintaining and developing skills in ML, in particular skills associated with more "formal" activities involving reading and writing in ML. However, it seems like instruction with ML as not only a target language but as the medium of instruction could play a much larger role than it has for the young people investigated in this study. It would be interesting to see, for example, how the degree of active bilingualism, especially outside of school is affected by instruction in ML-medium classes. My view is that unless such instruction has a significant effect on active use of ML outside the school, and in particular within the peer group, the chances for the minority language to survive will not improve that much as a result of the instruction alone. However, because social networks among young people are usually drawn from the school class (see below), and school classes taught in ML would necessarily have the ML in common, active use of ML might well increase when young people are instructed in ML. Not only should their skill in ML improve, but, perhaps more importantly, their opportunity to use ML with peers would increase, as would the status of the

language within the school.

For a further analysis of the issue of home language instruction in these two municipalities, and for the population of this investigation, the reader is referred to writings by Muncio (forthcoming), Enström (1984) and Savolainen (1982) listed in the references.

5.4.3 Participation in immigrant organizations' activities

One aspect of the use of the young people's time which I expected to have an important effect on active bilingualism was whether or not the young person was an active member of an immigrant organization (cf. 2.3.4). Unfortunately, it seems that the level of activity in these organizations is far lower than expected, so that only 27 young people in our population of over 700 mentioned an immigrant organization as one of the organizations she/he belonged to. This figure can be compared with the proportion of members in immigrant organizations found in the PRI project (see Alpay 1980), which was 13-15% among first generation Finns, Poles, Turks, Greeks and Yugoslavians. (However, at the time of their investigation, the number of organizations existing for the more recently-arrived Greeks and Turks was far less than it is today.) Of course 27 young people out of a population of 702 (3.2%) is too small a number to permit any statistical analysis, but it can be mentioned that of these 27, 24 were active bilinguals and 3 marginal bilinguals.

We investigated the question of the lack of interest in the national organization for Finns in Sweden (RSKL), and a local Finnish organization in Borås (Kultur 76) in our interview series. We were surprised to learn how few young people were interested in attending activities sponsored by these groups, and even among the parents, the interest was clearly less than we had anticipated. Among other Greeks in Borås, (see Engelbrektsson 1985,) the immigrant organization plays a much more significant role than it seems to do in the Finnish group. Engelbrektsson has found almost 100% participation, even among second generation young people of Greek ("anan") background in Borås (personal communication). This suggests that there may be significant differences in the degree of participation in immigrant organizations between the various ethnic background categories.

5.4.4 Social networks

A variable shown to have importance in a number of other studies of language shift has been that of the composition of the individual's social network. Gal (1978, 1979), for example, found that in the Hungarian-German bilingual village she studied, the informants whose social networks were dominated by peasants tended to maintain Hungarian more than those with "non-peasant" networks. Fishman et al (1971:166) found a similar difference between inwardly- and outwardly oriented young people in their investigation. Similarly, Blom and Gumperz' study in Hemnesberget found that the informants with more local contacts spoke more dialect than those whose contacts included people outside of the local community.

The population as a whole was divided into three groups

according to how the respondents' social network matched with her/his own national/cultural background. If at least one of the respondents' friends had the same background as the respondent (i.e. one or both parents born and raised in the same CO as the respondent) then the respondent's network was considered "mixed". If the backgrounds did not match, then the respondent's network was labelled "Swedish". This term might be somewhat misleading, since many networks apparently included immigrant young people of different national/cultural backgrounds. But since the main interest of this study is in language, it seemed important to distinguish between networks where friends had the same immigrant background, and thus had the opportunity to interact in ML as well as Swedish, and those where interaction was limited to Swedish. The third class of respondents are those who reported that they hadn't much contact at all with friends.

Table 5.4.4a below presents the figures comparing the degree of bilingualism for immigrant young people with the three different types of network: those with predominantly Swedish social networks, and those with more mixed social networks, and those with few or no friends.

Table 5.4.4a Social networks and degree of bilingualism

	"mixed"	"Swedish"	"none"	total
Active bilinguals	159 58.9	119 35.8	34 34.0	312 44.4
Marginal bilinguals	68 25.2	130 39.2	29 29.0	227 32.3
Monolinguals in Swedish	43 15.9	83 25.0	37 37.0	163 23.2
Total	270 38.5	332 47.3	100 14.2	702 100.0

chisquare=44.863
df=4
prob=0.0001

There seems to be a definite trend such that active bilinguals tend to have "mixed" networks, while marginal bilinguals and monolinguals tend to have "Swedish" networks. Looking at the relationship the other way, we can say that those who have "mixed" networks tend to be active bilinguals, while those with "Swedish" networks are more evenly divided between the three groups, with a slight overrepresentation for the marginal bilinguals. The group with few or no friends reported are to a surprisingly high extent dominated by the monolinguals.

The chisquare for this table is high, with $p=0.0001$; but we can guess that there may be interaction between the results here and those presented in sec. 5.3.4, concerning the make-up of classes in school. As explained there, respondents who attended classes with a high proportion of immigrant pupils were to a greater extent actively bilingual than those who attended classes with few or no other such pupils. Whether the class populations

reflect the residential area in terms of ethnic make-up or not, the classes and social networks ought to correspond rather well in this respect. As noted above, pupils attend school in more or less the same class from first to eighth grade in Sweden, so circles of friends are often drawn from the group of classmates.

Tables 5.4.4b and c show the relationship between active bilingualism and the national/cultural background of the respondents' best friend and boy or girlfriend.

Table 5.4.4b Ethnic background of best friend and degree of bilingualism.

	same as respondent	different from respondent	no best friend	total
Active bilinguals	73 64.0	150 40.4	89 41.0	312 44.4
Marginal bilinguals	21 18.4	137 36.9	69 31.8	227 32.3
Monolinguals	20 17.5	84 22.6	59 27.2	163 23.2
Total	114 16.2	371 52.8	217 30.9	

chisquare=24.135
df=4
prob=0.0001

Table 5.4.4c Ethnic background of boy/girlfriend and degree of bilingualism.

	same as respondent	different from respondent	no boy/girl friend	total
Active bilinguals	40 75.5	94 47.5	178 39.5	312 44.4
Marginal bilinguals	11 20.8	63 31.8	153 33.9	227 32.3
Monolinguals	2 3.8	41 20.7	120 26.6	163 23.2
Total	53 7.6	198 28.2	451 64.3	702 100.0

chisquare=28.368
df=4
prob=0.0001

The same trend as that in 5.4.4a is apparent, though the numbers who have no friend in each category is much greater. It is interesting not only that the active bilinguals tend to associate more with others of the same national/cultural background

than the other groups do, but that they are consistently under-represented in the group that reports few or no friends. I have no immediate explanation for this finding.

5.4.5 Visits to the parents' country of origin

The frequency of visits of the immigrant young people to the parents' country of origin (CO) ought to be an indicator of many factors of importance to the development of bilingualism. First, CO represents a setting in which many immigrant young people have the opportunity to use ML actively, and in which Swedish is in most cases not a feasible language to be used. Second, the frequency of visits can be an indicator of the strength of the family's ties to CO, the possibility of their return there etc. Both these aspects would lead us to hypothesize that the respondents who visit CO most frequently would be most actively bilingual even at home in Sweden. The table below shows the frequency of visits for the various classes of bilinguals.

Table 5.4.5a Visits to parents' country of origin and degree of bilingualism

	More than once/yr.	Once/ year	Once/ 2yrs.	More seldom	Never	total
Active bilinguals	67 60.4	140 56.7	59 49.2	34 23.8	10 16.1	310 45.4
Marginal bilinguals	30 27.0	73 29.6	40 33.3	58 40.6	22 35.5	223 32.6
Mono- linguals	14 12.6	34 13.8	21 17.5	51 35.7	30 48.4	150 22.0
Total	111 16.3	247 36.2	120 17.6	143 20.9	62 9.1	683 100.0

Not surprisingly, the active bilinguals are the most frequent visitors of CO and the monolinguals least frequent, with the marginal bilinguals taking a middle position. While the marginal bilinguals may well become active bilinguals during their visits to CO, assumedly the monolinguals can interact with their relatives and friends in CO primarily through an interpreter. It would have been interesting to ask a more specific question about language use during visits to CO. Many of our interview informants reported that use of ML increased dramatically during these visits. Not only did use of ML with relatives and friends there result in a more active use, but in a few cases, ML was used in CO even among members of the family who normally spoke Swedish with one another.

The frequency of visits to CO probably co-varies with the rate of bilingualism for a number of reasons. The trips and contacts in CO with relatives and others monolingual in ML provide practice in many language skills for the bilingual young person, in a natural setting. The trips are certainly felt to be more rewarding for the young people who can communicate directly with their relatives etc in CO; this is confirmed by several of

our interview informants. The trips to CO may also provide motivation for learning and using ML more frequently in Sweden. Arnberg (1984) for example has emphasized the importance of young children's visits to CO for learning and actively using ML in Sweden. According to Arnberg, after a visit in CO, the children understand that ML is a language used in the same way in CO as Swedish is in Sweden, that is, that it is a majority language, used as a medium of instruction in school, for mass media, in literature etc. (Of course, this would only be true to a limited extent for languages which are dominated minority languages in CO also.) Thus, frequent visits to CO provide both a need for skill in ML and a motivation to acquire the skill, as well as providing a setting where the young person normally practices using the language. Of course, it is not impossible to spend even extended periods of time in CO without using ML--e.g. to rely on one's parents to interpret--but our interview material suggests that very few young people actually do so.

Naturally, one of the major factors determining the frequency the young person (and, in most cases, her/his family) visits CO is the distance to be travelled. Another factor is certainly whether both parents, or only one parent comes from that country. We can see the effects of these two factors to some extent in table 5.4.5b where the frequency of visits is related to the ethnic background categories (see sec. 5.3.1 for a definition of these).

Table 5.4.5b Frequency of visits to CO by ethnic background

	"fifi"	"anan"	"swefi"	"swan"	"diff"	Total
More than once/yr.	39 16.7	19 23.5	6 4.4	44 22.2	3 8.6	111 16.2
Once/yr.	130 55.8	24 29.6	36 26.5	52 26.3	5 14.3	247 35.2
Once/ 2 yrs.	38 16.3	20 24.7	20 14.7	29 14.7	13 37.1	120 17.6
Less often	25 10.7	7 8.6	60 44.1	37 18.7	14 40.0	143 20.9
Never	1 0.4	11 13.6	14 10.3	36 18.2	0 0.0	62 9.1
Total	233 34.1	81 11.9	136 19.9	198 29.0	35 5.1	683 100.0

The effect of proximity is clear when comparing "fifi" and "anan" young people. Over 2/3 of the young people with "fifi" background travel to Finland once a year or more, whereas just over half of the "anan" families travel this often to CO. This difference must at least in part be explained by Finland's proximity to Sweden. Within "anan" only about eight of the families are of Danish or Norwegian background-- the countries in addition to Finland that we think of as being easily accessible from Sweden. On the other hand, if one draws a circle with its center in Borås and radius the distance to Rovaniemi, in northern Finland (a town where a large number of Borås Finns originate), the circle covers a greater part of Eastern and Western Europe.

Still, perhaps when we consider the excellent connections by ferry between Sweden and the other Scandinavian countries, this feeling of relative proximity can in some sense be explained.

When "swefi" and "swan" are compared however, we see that the situation is reversed. "Swan" families travel to CO almost as frequently as "anan" ones, while "swefi" families travel to Finland much less frequently than "swan" ones to their respective CO's. That is, the order of frequency of visits for the four major family background categories is

fifi

anan

swan

swefi

Part of the explanation for this unexpected relationship may be that the swan group includes about 70 families with Danish or Norwegian background, over 1/3 of the swan group as a whole. Germany, another nearby CO is also well represented in "swan". (see sec. 5.3.1 for a table of CO's within "anan" and "swan").

The social class differences between the groups may also play an important role. Though trips abroad have become more accessible even to working class families, they do cost money. "Swan" families may simply be able to afford to travel to CO more frequently than "swefi" families. However, it will be recalled that "fifi" families had the lowest status occupations, and "anan" the highest. Thus, the effect of family economy can hardly explain why the former group has the highest frequency of visits to CO and the latter group significantly less.

5.4.6 Conclusions concerning contact with ML group and culture

The results presented in the previous sections indicate that the active bilinguals seem to have significantly more contact with ML speakers and ML culture than the marginal bilinguals and monolinguals do. They consume more mass media in ML, they attend home language instruction to a greater extent, and for more years, they associate with friends of the same background to a greater extent, and they travel to CO more frequently than the marginal bilinguals and monolinguals do. All of these relationships are in the expected direction, but perhaps the differences in contact between active bilinguals, marginal bilinguals and monolinguals are not as great as one would expect. Because these variables have an ambiguous status with respect to degree of bilingualism (neither wholly dependent nor independent), it is not possible to compare the effects of say, consumption of mass media with participation in home language instruction. Clearly, none of the forms of contact with minority language culture is indispensable for active bilingualism-- active bilinguals are included among those who never consume mass media in ML, have never participated in home language instruction, never visit CO etc.

Looking at the total figures alone, it is surprising that all of these forms of culture and interaction are not used more

frequently. Why don't the young people consume more mass media in ML? Why haven't more of them attended home language instruction, etc? These questions are beyond the scope of this thesis, but a discussion of the implications of the results in this section for the future of multilingualism in Sweden will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

5.5 The pattern of language use among active bilinguals

I will now turn to an analysis of the pattern of language use among the active bilingual young people in our population. Thus the group under discussion is much smaller than that in the previous sections. It includes only the 312 young people who reported that they actively used both ML and Swedish in daily face-to-face interaction.

The purpose of the section will be twofold: first, it will be to see what factors in the conversational situation (investigated by means of the questionnaire) contribute most to the use of one language or the other; second, it will be to see what the pattern of language use can tell us about future prospects for the minority languages in Sweden. For this second purpose, I will examine the results in terms of age-grading, and in terms of domain separation or overlap (see however the criticism of this latter criterion for a basis of predictions of language survival, sec. 2.4.1).

The factors in the conversational situation which will be examined for their effect on language use are

1. Interlocutor,
2. Setting and
3. Topic.

These are the three aspects of the conversational situation most often investigated in studies of language contact, and viewed as most essential to the choice of language, variety of language or style used in a particular interaction (Ervin-Tripp 1968, Fishman 1971, Rubin 1968 Rönmark and Wikström 1980). To try to isolate these three aspects of the conversational situation is possible only analytically. Normally, interlocutor, setting and topic work together in a conversation: in certain settings we converse with certain interlocutors about certain topics. At the same time, these three aspects do not cover all the important aspects of a conversational situation (cf. e.g. Hymes 1968). The activity the participants engage in, their aims, needs and motivations etc are often very important, for example (Allwood 1984). The three aspects of the conversational situation are thus not intended to be either mutually exclusive nor complete. Other aspects of the conversational situation which are relevant for language use will be examined in greater detail in chapter 6.

5.5.1 Interlocutor

The questionnaire has provided us with information about language use for the young people in conversations with various members of their immediate families as well as with three categories of friends (see appendix 2, questions 7-12). The results presented in this section, taken as a whole show a much greater variation for language use within the family as compared with among friends, a result which was unexpected. Had I known this when I designed the questionnaire, I would have asked more detailed questions about language use in the family (e.g. younger vs. older siblings) and perhaps go into less detail about language use with friends. In any event, interlocutors were chosen

with regard to frequency and intimacy of contacts (cf. Rönmark and Wikström 1980:7). As we will see in the following discussion, it might also have been useful to investigate language use with (bilingual) adults other than the parents, e.g. home language teachers, parents of friends, leaders of free time activities etc. This we were able to do to some extent within the interview series.

As can be seen in the questionnaire (appendix 2, ques. 7-12) the questions concerning language use with different interlocutors are formulated in the singular (i.e. "What language do you usually speak with X?") This wording was used so as to simplify the coding and processing of the answers. I retained, however, an "open" answer format, which would allow the respondents who use more than one language to indicate this. If the respondent wrote both "Swedish and ML" as the answer to any of these questions, her/his answer was classed in the "both" category. Of course, this sort of answer may have a number of meanings: that both languages are used by both the respondent and the interlocutor (almost equally often) or that one interlocutor uses ML, and the other Swedish, or that different languages are used with different members of the same class of interlocutors, e.g. siblings or friends. Thus, this category probably includes a range of different situations.

In reality, it is probably the case that almost all of the actively bilingual respondents have occasion to use both Swedish and ML with most of the (bilingual) interlocutors investigated here. The wording of the questions, however, as well as the analysis below assumes that one language dominates a young person's language use with a particular interlocutor. I have not, for example specified setting, or topic or any other aspects of the conversational situation in asking about language use with the various interlocutors. In chapter 6 I will argue that there is a strong tendency for bilinguals to use a single language for interaction with a particular interlocutor.

Table 5.5.1a shows the pattern of language use for the active bilingual young people with the six different classes of interlocutor.

Table 5.5.1a Language use with six classes of interlocutor, for active bilinguals

	Mother	Father	Siblings	Boy/girl friend	Best friend	Most friends
Mostly Swedish	56 18.1	60 20.5	200 73.0	142 79.8	252 82.4	265 86.3
Mostly ML	212 68.4	181 61.8	35 12.8	17 9.6	15 4.9	10 3.3
Both languages	42 13.5	52 17.7	39 14.2	19 10.7	39 12.7	32 10.4
Total* Total N=312	310	293	274	178	306	307

*N for each class of interlocutors is less than the total, because there was missing data for the respondents for whom the question of language use with that interlocutor did not apply.

The table above clearly shows that ML is most frequently used with the parents, least frequently with the friends, while the siblings occupy something of a middle position. When considering data from the three categories of friends in particular, it seems clear that data for respondents whose interlocutors are not bilingual, i.e. those with whom the individual young person's only common language is Swedish (or ML), should be excluded. When the monolingual interlocutors are excluded, the picture changes, but not so radically.

Table 5.5.1b: Language use with six classes of BILINGUAL interlocutor, for active bilinguals.

	Mother	Father	Siblings	Boy/girl friend	Best friend	Most friends
Mostly Swedish	40 14.2	44 16.9	177 71.4	19 45.2	73 70.9	150 83.8
Mostly ML	205 73.0	173 66.3	33 13.3	10 23.8	6 5.8	8 4.5
Both languages	36 12.8	44 16.9	38 15.3	13 31.0	24 23.3	21 11.7
Total	281	261	248	42	103	179

Notice that N drops substantially in the three categories of friends, but that the trend of the previous table is still apparent.

It thus appears that even when monolingual interlocutors are excluded, that the most significant boundary between classes of interlocutors goes between the parents on the one hand and sib-

lings and friends on the other. ML is used in many cases with interlocutors of the older generation, while Swedish is almost always used with interlocutors from the same generation as the respondent.

A similar difference was found in the Linguistic Minorities Project in Great Britain. There, significant differences were found in language use with the grandparents, the parents and the siblings (LMP:80-81, cf. also Rönmark and Wikström 1980:12ff, Fishman et al 1971: 167, 248, Rubin 1968:527). The boundary I had expected to find in the material was instead one between the home on the one hand and outside the home on the other, so that ML was used almost exclusively in the home, and Swedish outside the home. My results indicate that both Swedish and the minority language are used in the majority of actively bilingual young people's families, and it should be recalled that this group makes up less than half of the population of immigrant young people as a whole. In the families of marginal bilinguals and monolinguals, the predominance of Swedish is presumably great, if not total. The significance of this finding will be discussed in section 5.7.

The siblings occupy a key position in the analysis here, because they are at the same time of the same generation as the respondents (like the friends) but within the nuclear family (like the parents). The former factor seems to favor use of Swedish, while the latter favors use of ML. Because interaction with siblings tends more often to be in Swedish, I conclude that the generational boundary is the more important of the two. It would have been interesting to investigate more systematically language use with another "ambiguous" group of interlocutors: adults other than parents, to see how the effect of what could be called the factor of generation compared with the effect of the factor of family. This we were able to do to some extent within the scope of our interview series.

Our interview informants reported that it is not uncommon for young people to use ML with adults other than parents who are bilingual. Commonly, young people follow the lead of their friends in addressing the friends' parents, so for example one informant reported that if a friend spoke Finnish with her mother, the informant said that she usually spoke Finnish with her too. In a few cases, informants reported speaking Finnish with parents of their friends, when the friends themselves used Swedish with their parents. Usually, however, it seems that even actively bilingual young people would speak the same language to parents of their friends as the friends used with their parents.

Outside of the circle of the family and friends, there seemed to be a greater reluctance to use ML. For example, within home language lessons, many teachers had difficulty enforcing a rule of "Finnish only" (Savolainen 1982), as did those organizing activities within the Finnish organizations in Borås, according to several of our interview informants. Rönmark and Wikström (1980) have found that among the interlocutor pairs they investigated in Tornedalen, Finnish is least likely to be used between pupil and teacher. (However, they don't present figures for bilingual teachers separately--ca. 70% of all teachers in Tornedalen.)

As mentioned above, it would have been interesting to inves-

tigate systematically language use with older and younger siblings (Rönmark and Wikström 1980:22-33). Is there a greater tendency to use ML with older than with younger siblings? Since we did not ask separate questions for these two categories of interlocutor, the closest we could come to an answer to this question is presented in table 5.5.1c, namely the pattern of language use with siblings for respondents with younger siblings only, older siblings only and both older and younger siblings. Table 5.5.1c Language use with siblings by place in sibling group

	R E S P O N D E N T I S . . .		
	Oldest child	Middle child	Youngest child
Language used with siblings			
Mostly Swedish	141 81.5	99 83.9	256 93.1
Mostly ML	20 11.6	7 5.9	6 2.2
Both languages	12 6.9	12 10.2	13 4.7
		chisquare= 21.690 df=4 prob=0.0002 dropouts=136 (includes only children + unclear cases).	

If the respondent is the oldest child, she/he tends to use ML with her/his siblings to a greater extent than if she/he is a middle or youngest child. If the respondent is the youngest in the sibling group, she/he tends to use Swedish more with the other (older) siblings than if she/he is the oldest of the siblings. The difference is significant, even though the variable I've called "place in sibling group" doesn't have a strong relation to active bilingualism in general (cf. sec. 5.3.3). The pattern found in this table suggests that the practice of speaking different languages in the same conversation may also be widespread among siblings, so that the older siblings speak ML to the younger ones, while the younger ones speak Swedish to the older ones. We will return to this phenomenon in chapter 6.

Even if the effect of the respondent's place in the sibling group has a significant effect on the language she/he uses with her/his siblings, the pattern of tables 5.5.1a and b remains. The major boundary in the pattern of language use can clearly be drawn between generations: ML is used with the parents, and Swedish with peers, including siblings. In comparison, the difference between language use with older and younger siblings seems minor.

Returning for a moment to table 5.5.1b, at least one interesting minor trend can be noted. While no significant differences exist between language use with the mother and father, we can see a slightly less overwhelming domination for Swedish in interaction between young people and their boy- or girlfriend, when the latter is bilingual. We must however keep in mind that N is extremely low for this category of interlocutor. A possible

explanation for this minor trend might be that the boy or girl-friend is the category of friend that most closely resembles the nuclear family-- they are of course potential builders of a new nuclear family. As such, it may seem somewhat more natural to use ML--the language used with and presumably between the parents of the respondent with this category of friend more often than with other friends.

5.5.2 Setting

In this section, I will discuss the effect of setting on language use among the young people in our investigation. By setting I mean not only the physical location of the interaction, but also to some extent the activity in which the participants are engaged. Thus my discussion under this heading can be considered an investigation of the extent to which the domains (see definition, sec. 3.2.4.2) of language use for the active bilingual young people are separate or overlapping (cf. however criticism of this criterion as a predictor of language maintenance or shift, sec. 2.4.1).

The activity itself has not been specified in the questions analyzed under this heading (ques. 17-20), rather I have assumed that the respondents regularly engage in relatively free conversation as part of a number of activities in each of the settings investigated. For example, in one of the settings investigated, that of lunch and other breaks in school, we can imagine the respondent engaging in one or more of the following activities: asking a classmate about a homework assignment, eating lunch, playing cards, "shooting the breeze" etc. What I hoped all the settings had in common was that the respondents themselves should be fairly free to use whatever language (or language variety) they wished in the setting, that is, that they would be relatively unsupervised (cf. sec. 6.2.1 concerning power and language choice).

As I mentioned above, before I designed the questionnaire, I expected the most interesting variations in the young people's language use to be found in the pattern of use outside the home. I assumed that the home was in most cases strongly dominated by the minority language. As we have seen in the previous section (5.5.1) the greatest variation in the pattern of language use can be found within the nuclear family, as the majority of bilingual young people usually use a minority language with their parents and Swedish with their siblings.

To study the effect of setting on language use, it was necessary study the pattern of language use when the setting changed but the interlocutor was held constant. Because of my original assumptions as to where the most interesting variation in language use would appear, I chose to study the pattern of language use in five different settings with classmates and friends. As was evident in the previous section (sec. 5.5.1) Swedish dominates strongly in interaction with friends, when the setting is unspecified, so we can perhaps only expect minor variations to emerge in this analysis. The effect of setting would undoubtedly have been clearer if I had investigated interaction with the parents and siblings in a variety of settings. We were able to do this to some extent in the interview series, and I will discuss the results of this analysis in more detail below (cf. also sec. 5.4.5).

The patterns of language use for the bilingual young people was investigated in five different settings: three in school and two outside of school. School settings were chosen where the pupils have the opportunity to interact relatively freely, i.e. outside the classroom. I assumed that the teacher normally decided what language should be spoken within the classroom although as noted above, some home language teachers seemed to have difficulty enforcing a rule of "no Swedish" during the home language classes. The first two settings were chosen so as to see what effect the language of instruction might have on conversation before and after class. Interaction during breaks and at lunch time would, I thought, represent the least teacher-controlled interaction within the school.

The two situations outside of school were chosen so that both represent rather public settings, with a number of what Clark and Carlson (1982) call "overhearers" (see sec. 6.6.2.3 for a definition), but where these are in one case mostly anonymous (in town) and in the other acquaintances or friends (at clubs, free time centers etc.). In retrospect, it seems as if it would have been good to investigate one or more settings without overhearers, e.g. language use with friends in the respondent's home (see sec. 5.5.1 above). This we were also able to do to some extent in our interview series.

As was the case for the questions regarding language use with different interlocutors, the questions were posed in the singular, i.e. "what language do you usually speak (in setting X)?" Thus, we can't be certain what language use pattern can be hidden behind a multiple answer to these questions (cf. sec. 5.5.1 above).

Table 5.5.2a below shows the pattern of language use in these five settings for the bilingual young people in our population. In the final row, N is given for each setting. N varies for two reasons. First, the respondents who did not interact with any bilinguals in each setting did not need to answer the question about which language was used in interaction in that setting. Second, there were a certain number of drop-outs for the usual reasons, e.g. that the question did not apply to the respondent (e.g. if she/he did not participate in home language instruction).

Table 5.5.2a Language use with friends in five settings, for active bilinguals

	Before/after Swedish lessons	Before/after home lg lessons	During breaks	"In town"	At freetime centers etc
Mostly Swedish	178 82.8	115 73.7	147 70.0	126 60.3	106 59.6
Mostly ML	17 7.9	25 16.0	36 17.1	37 17.7	42 23.6
Both languages	20 9.3	16 10.2	27 12.9	46 23.0	30 16.8
Total (N=312)	215	156	210	209	178

As we can see, use of Swedish dominates heavily in all settings, but a significant number of respondents do use the minority language, at least sometimes, in interaction in all these settings. There seems to be a slight trend towards greater use of the minority language outside of school rather than in school.

The bottom row of the table shows N for each setting investigated. Since the differences in the figures for the settings are rather small, it is possible that these differences are due to the variations in N, rather than in any consistent pattern in language use. In order to see the effect of setting alone, I calculated figures for language use for the 97 bilinguals who were not drop-outs on any of the five questions. This calculation is presented in table 5.5.2b below.

Table 5.5.2b Language use with friends in five settings, for active bilinguals who interact with bilinguals in all five settings

	Before/after Swedish lessons	Before/after home lg lessons	During breaks	"In town"	At freetime centers etc
Mostly Swedish	78 80.4	75 77.3	69 71.1	59 60.8	58 59.8
Mostly ML	12 12.4	12 12.4	15 15.5	17 17.5	19 19.6
Both languages	7 7.2	10 10.3	13 13.4	21 21.6	20 20.6

N=97

The same trend is apparent in this table as in table 5.5.2a, namely that use of the minority language is somewhat more common outside school than within. It could perhaps be argued that the school is a formal or official situation, which demands use of the high status language, Swedish, while outside of school, the

low status language, ML is used more frequently. However, I think this analysis is too simplistic. (See chapter 6 for an analysis which takes more factors in the conversational context into account.) The fact that both Swedish and ML are used in many homes also disturbs the picture of a strict division of labor between the languages.

Within the interview series, few informants mentioned setting as having a crucial effect on their pattern of language use. As mentioned above, a few claimed that the entire family spoke more Finnish during visits to Finland, even with interlocutors they normally spoke Swedish with. Some of the parents avoided speaking Finnish in public places, and some of the same ones avoided speaking what they considered to be their poor Swedish in public, also. One set of parents refused to be interviewed in any language as long as I was present in their home. They were willing to be interviewed by Savolainen once I left, however. This shame over deviant language behavior did not seem so common among the young people we interviewed. Most of the interview informants claimed that they used a particular language with a specific interlocutor, independent of setting or other aspects of the conversational context.

Within the Greek group in Borås, Englebretsson (pers. comm.) has found that the adults consider the Greek club to be a setting where only Greek should be spoken, and have had occasion to make this norm clear to the younger generation. Here, then setting seems to have a clear relation to language use. However, the fact that the rule must be explicitly enforced by the older generation suggests that it is not as clear a norm for young people. I will discuss the factors influencing language choice in more detail in the next chapter.

5.5.3 Topic

Topic is the third aspect of interaction which is considered by the authors mentioned in the introduction to this section as having a major effect on the language, variety or style used for the interaction. This aspect was investigated primarily within the interview series, as I felt I knew too little to be able to ask the right questions concerning topic when I designed the questionnaire. Several earlier investigations indicate that topic has only a minor influence on patterns of language use as compared to interlocutor and setting (e.g. Fishman et al 1971:243, Gal 1979).

Within the interview series, some informants mentioned topic as having the effect that they felt they could not discuss certain topics in ML because of inadequacy in their vocabularies pertaining to that topic. Examples of topics avoided by our interview informants are politics, (during visits to Finland), or preparing food, which one informant found easier in Finnish than Swedish. Loan words from Swedish were rather common in the informants' Finnish, so we can suppose that the number of loan words would increase when discussing certain topics. None of the informants mentioned this (though a few of the parental informants did), perhaps because the young people generally seemed to be relatively insensitive to the number of loan words in their Finnish, that is, they were rather tolerant of Swedish loan words both in their own and in others' speech. A few informants men-

tioned certain types of conversations which they normally performed in only one language. Examples included one boy, who said he always asked his parents for money in Swedish, though he normally spoke both languages with them, and a girl, who always asked favors of her mother in Finnish, though she otherwise generally spoke to her in Swedish. Several informants reported using Finnish as a secret language with their bilingual friends, with whom they normally spoke Swedish. These examples suggest that a better label for this factor might be purpose, rather than topic.

A few respondents to the questionnaire mentioned situations in which they felt their knowledge of ML to be inadequate in terms of topic (see appendix 2 ques. 29):

TOPIC	MENTIONED AS A PROBLEM BY
Unspecified technical	13 informants
Politics	5 "
Current affairs	3 "
School subjects	2 "
Grammar	1 "
Bureaucratic language	1 "
Practical information	1 "
Other	5 "

Thus, it doesn't seem as though the young people perceived certain topics as appropriate to be discussed only or primarily in one language (cf. Blom & Gumperz 1971, Ferguson 1964, Rubin 1968:524) Rather, it was when they experienced serious shortcomings in their vocabularies in ML within a certain semantic field that they might keep silent, avoid the situation, increase the number of Swedish loan words, or try to switch to Swedish completely. Switches from Swedish to the minority language (other than the example above of preparing food) because of a change in the topic of conversation were rarely mentioned in our interview material.

5.6 Self-ratings of bilingual competence

In this section I will present and discuss the results of the self-ratings of language competence made by the respondents of their competence in Swedish and in ML (cf. appendix 2 ques. 28 and 30). These ratings will be compared with the degree of bilingualism and with each other.

5.6.1 Reliability and interpretation of self-ratings of language competence

In section 4.6 I have discussed some of the major weaknesses of gathering language use data by means of a questionnaire. These weaknesses all apply even more strongly to self-ratings of language competence. In Boyd (1984 and forthcoming) I discuss briefly some reasons why it is difficult, perhaps even impossible to conceive of, or even less to measure language competence outside the context in which the language is used. Nevertheless, this is precisely what we have asked our respondents to do in questions 28 (for ML) and 30 (for Swedish). The question is worded in terms of the proportion of situations in which the respondent felt her/his competence to be adequate to master the situation, but this wording probably achieved little to improve the validity of the results. The answers to these two questions are therefore not intended to be taken as any absolute measure of the respondents' competence in ML and Swedish. As I say, I believe no such measure is possible. Rather they can at best be taken as a rough guide to how much confidence the respondents have concerning their skill in both languages.

Even seen in this light, several problems remain. One is the extent to which the respondent is influenced in her/his rating by her/his grades in the school subjects Swedish and "home language". That some should be influenced by grades is natural since the questionnaire was administered in a classroom setting. Second, we cannot know what standard the pupil is measuring herself/himself against when she/he rates her/his competence as good or bad. This is probably especially true for ML, where it seems likely that different pupils have different standards in mind for their communication in ML-- some may plan to return to CO, others may feel they have no particular use for the language at all (cf. sec. 5.4.2).

Unfortunately, the language test which was to be a part of the PIL project was never completed, so we have no comprehensive, more "objective" measures of competence to compare these self-ratings with. However, within the questionnaire survey, a very brief test of language skill among pupils with Finnish background was made as a basis for selecting pupils for the language competence part of the investigation. We also used the results of this short test as part of the basis for choosing our interview informants (see section 4.5.2).

A comparison of the self-ratings of language competence in ML with the results of the short test was made for 36 of the 40 pupils interviewed (see sec. 4.5). The test included a series of 12 pictures of ordinary objects to be identified in Finnish, and a short reading passage, after which four reading comprehension questions were posed, to be answered by multiple choice. (The test was designed by Erling Wande.) If we compare the self-

ratings of competence with the results of this short and rather unsophisticated test, we see that the results match rather well.

Results match	26 cases
Self-rating less positive than test	8
Self-rating more positive than test	1
Drop-out	1

(For this comparison, a score of 9 or more correct (disregarding spelling) on the picture test and 0-1 errors on the reading test was considered "good", 6-9 on the picture test and 1-2 errors on the reading test was considered "middle" and fewer than 6 on the picture test and more than 2 errors on the reading test was "poor". For the boundary values for "good" "middle" and "poor" on the self-ratings in ML, see sec. 5.6.2 below).

This comparison has problems of its own. For one thing, in one sense it merely compounds the shortcomings of both systems of measurement-- neither is very sophisticated-- and for another, I have chosen in both cases rather arbitrary cutoff points for the categories "good", "middle" and "poor". Perhaps it nevertheless lends a little more reliability to the ratings made by the pupils. The most reliable ratings tended to be those at the extremes, i.e. perfect or near-perfect test scores matched well with high ratings, and poor test scores (e.g. no answers whatsoever) matched well with very low self-ratings. The tendency if any seems to be for the respondents in this group to under- rather than overestimate their competence in ML, at least as measured by this short test.

5.6.2 Self-ratings of competence in ML and degree of active bilingualism

In this section, I will examine the relationship between the degree of bilingualism, as defined in section 5.2 and the self-ratings of language competence in ML (see appendix 2, ques. 28 and 30). The latter was simplified to three different levels: "good" "middle" and "poor". The simplification was arrived at by first assigning values to the self-ratings for the four language skills (1 for "almost always" 2 for "in most cases" etc.). This resulted in a rather counterintuitive scale with values ranging from 4-16 (4 best and 16 poorest). The cutoff point for the three levels on this scale were then chosen so that each category would include approximately the same number of respondents-- otherwise the cutoff points are completely arbitrary. Those classed with an overall rating of "good" had a combined score of six or fewer points; those classed as "middle" had 7-10 points; those classed as "poor" had eleven or more points. Using these cutoffpoints, a respondent claiming for example the following competence in the four skills would receive a score of "poor":

LANGUAGE SKILL RATING	=	NUMBER OF POINTS
Understanding "in most cases"	=	2 points
Speaking "in most cases"	=	2 points
Reading "in some cases"	=	3 points
Writing "never"	=	4 points
	=	11 points "poor"

Depending on what such competence is compared with, this response may actually represent quite comprehensive skill in ML, even though it ends up in the "poor" category in this system.

Table 5.6.2 shows the relationship between rate of active bilingualism and self-rated competence in ML.
 Table 5.6.2 Self-ratings of competence in ML and degree of bilingualism (Percentages are row percentages).

	"good"	"middle"	"poor"	total
Active bilinguals	183 58.8	105 33.8	23 7.4	311 45.7
Marginal bilinguals	64 28.8	72 32.4	86 39.3	222 32.6
Monolinguals	9 6.1	28 19.1	110 74.8	147 21.6
Total	256 37.6	205 30.2	219 32.2	680 100.0

chisquare= 233.6
 df= 4
 prob= 0.0001

It will be recalled that the definition of active bilingualism in 5.2 included no indicators of knowledge or reported knowledge of ML, rather it is based entirely on active use of the language. Clearly, the most active bilinguals rate themselves with greater confidence as to their competence in ML than the other two groups. The marginal bilinguals show a greater spread in their self-ratings: over 1/4 rate themselves as "good" and just under 1/3 each as "middle", while the greatest number of them consider their competence as "poor". Surprisingly, among the monolinguals, over 1/4 rated their skills as "good" or "middle", while the large majority ended up in the "poor" category.

The high correlation between degree of active bilingualism and the self-ratings in ML is perhaps not so surprising. It has been one of the assumptions underlying this thesis that active use of a language builds competence in that language. With the reservation expressed above in relation to self-ratings of language competence in mind, the point can in any case be made that these results support the assumption of a close connection be-

tween active use and a high level of skill in a language. To those who are dissatisfied with a definition of bilingualism based entirely on use, these results suggest that data on use can be a reasonably reliable measure of skill in the more traditional sense also. Grosjean (1982:233) reports that a high correlation between self-evaluations of language skill and skill as measured by language tests has been "repeatedly" found in a number of studies.

Nevertheless, table 5.6.2 includes 32 respondents whose self-ratings of language ability don't correspond to their degree of active bilingualism: 23 who were actively bilingual, but who rated their skill in ML as "poor", and 9 who were monolingual, who rated their skill in ML as "good". A separate study was made of these 32 respondents, although the number was too small for any statistical analysis, some trends were apparent.

The 23 who were classed as active bilinguals with "poor" skills in ML represented only 12 individuals. (Because the data from Borås was weighted, these 12 individuals represented 23 in the population as a whole, cf. sec. 4.1.6). Of these 12, at least half probably should have been classed as marginal bilinguals, rather than active bilinguals. Many of these reported using ML with one or both parents, but also reported speaking Swedish when spoken to in ML by one or both parents (see appendix 2, ques. 7, 8 and 13). If the one-speaker one-language pattern of conversation was habitual between the respondent and her/his parent(s), then she/he should have answered questions 7 and 8 with "Swedish", not ML. In two other cases, the classification probably involved a coding error. In the two remaining cases, the respondent also reports less than perfect skill in Swedish, which suggests that these respondents are perhaps only overly modest in rating their skills.

The nine respondents in the cell representing monolingualism in Swedish and high self-rated skills in ML actually represent only four individuals. All four belong to the "swan" ethnic background category. Of these four, one has a Danish mother and one a Norwegian mother. The fact that Danish and Norwegian are mutually intelligible with Swedish helps explain why these respondents gave themselves high ratings despite the fact that they never use the languages actively. Of the other two, one has German background, the other Spanish. Since these two languages are taught in school, it may be that these ratings reflect the respondents' grades in these languages as school subjects, rather than their skill in using the language in conversation. The latter pupil reported attending home language instruction for eight years. There were no noticeable similarities in the social background of the pupils in either "odd" cell of table 5.6.2.

5.6.3 Self ratings of language competence in Swedish and degree of active bilingualism

It may also be of interest to compare the self-ratings for Swedish with the degree of bilingualism. An argument frequently put forward in the debate about instruction of immigrant children in school is that competence in Swedish is improved if instruction begins in ML and instruction in Swedish is postponed until the child is about 10 years old. If this argument holds true, a sizeable number of the young people in this investigation should

be expected to experience difficulties in Swedish, since all or almost all of them have gone to school in Swedish classes for their entire schooling. While some of them have attended so-called preparatory classes in Swedish, and some have received remedial instruction in Swedish, the majority have not had any special instruction in the language, but have developed their competence in the language while this language has been used as the primary (if not sole) medium of instruction.

In order to compare self-ratings in Swedish and degree of bilingualism, a similar system of summing the self-ratings for the four separate language skills was used. However, the cut-off points between the categories were changed, so that a better spread over the categories could be obtained. The first analysis of the results for this question showed that almost 90% of the respondents rated their proficiency in all four language skills in Swedish as being sufficient "almost always". Many respondents were not even satisfied with this alternative, but crossed out the word "almost" at the top of the column, or made a new column to the left of this one, which they headed "always". Another problem which excluded using the same cutoff points for Swedish as for ML was the fact that the alternative "never" was not offered for this question: we considered that to include it would have been both insulting to the pupils and illogical-- their skill in Swedish was at least sufficient for one situation-- completing the questionnaire itself. The rating "good" thus includes only those pupils who rated all four skills as being sufficient "almost all the time", (four points) the rating "middle" was for 5-7 points combined scores, and "poor" for worse than seven.

Table 5.6.3 shows the relationship between the ratings of language competence in Swedish and the rate of active bilingualism.

Table 5.6.3 Self-ratings of competence in Swedish and degree of bilingualism (Percentages are row percentages.)

	"good"	"middle"	"poor"	total
Active bilinguals	263 84.8	25 8.1	22 7.1	310 46.3
Marginal bilinguals	207 95.4	3 1.4	7 3.2	217 32.4
Monolinguals	126 88.7	5 3.5	11 7.7	142 21.2
Total	596 89.1	33 4.9	40 6.0	669 100.0

chisquare=18.0
df=4
prob=0.0012

First of all, we see from the table that the overwhelming majority of pupils rate their competence in Swedish as being sufficient "almost always". This is true of all three categories of bilinguals. If the validity of these self-ratings of language competence can be accepted at all, this casts some serious doubt

on the argument mentioned above, that if children with another first language receive most of their education in Swedish-medium classes, their skill in Swedish will be poor (see also sec. 5.6.4). The pupils' self-confidence as to their skills in Swedish is also in stark contrast to the ratings of teachers in this regard. According to figures reported by Liljegren and Ullman (1979), only about 60% of all ninth grade pupils in Sweden with home languages other than Swedish were rated by teachers as having skills in Swedish comparable with monolingual Swedish pupils.

A closer comparison of the figures for the three groups of bilinguals shows that the active bilingual group does rate its skill in Swedish as somewhat less good than the marginal bilinguals, but that the monolinguals also do. The differences between the groups are rather small, and no definite trend is apparent ($p=.0012$, as compared to $.0001$ for the table above).

One could perhaps speculate that many of the marginal bilinguals have chosen to reject ML in favor of Swedish, that is that they have stopped using ML, though they retain a certain competence in the language. Their rejection of ML may have as a result that they tend to rate their skill in Swedish as higher than the other two groups do.

5.6.4 Self ratings in ML and Swedish

In this section, a final comparison will be made involving the self ratings. This time I will show what relation exists between the self-rating in Swedish and that in ML. At least two hypotheses are presented in the literature concerning the effect of bilingualism on language competence. One, termed "balance effect" implies that development of skills in one language (usually the second language) causes a corresponding deterioration in skills in the other language (usually the first language). Though this hypothesis concerns primarily development of language over time, it could be applied to this data by hypothesizing that among the bilinguals, the most active users of Swedish (i.e. the marginal bilinguals) would have the lowest ratings in ML, while the active bilinguals might tend to have low ratings in Swedish.

The other hypothesis, that of "semilingualism" claims that the children forced to attend school in a language other than their mother tongue would tend to develop poor skill in both the majority and minority languages (Hansgård 1968). According to this hypothesis, we would expect to find a large number of respondents who give themselves low ratings in both ML and Swedish, since the majority of the population of this study has attended school entirely or almost entirely in Swedish, and has a first language (see sec.3.3.2) other than Swedish. The threshold hypothesis (Cummins 1980) can be seen as a later development of the semilingualism hypothesis, since that hypothesis predicts that under certain social circumstances, a low level of competence in a bilinguals' two languages will develop, while in other circumstances, a high level of competence will develop. This would also seem to be the idea behind Lambert's (1975) notion of additive and subtractive bilingualism.

Before the figures are presented, the reader should be

reminded that these figures are self-ratings of language competence, and rather crude ones at that. When the semilingualism hypothesis was first formulated by Hansegård, his evidence consisted mainly of reports of bilingual informants, who claimed they had difficulty expressing themselves in both their languages (i.e. also self-report data). However, as the hypothesis has been developed over the years, the evidence for semilingualism has changed from self-report to scores on standardized tests of verbal IQ, while the subjective impressions of the speaker her/himself and even of interlocutors regarding a particular individual's ability to manage in various language situations have been specifically rejected as evidence against a deficient language competence (see e.g. Cummins 1980, Skutnabb-Kangas 1982). Thus, for those who reject subjective measures of language competence as misleading, the figures below will neither prove nor disprove either hypothesis.

Table 5.6.4 below shows the relationship between self-ratings of language competence in Swedish and in ML. The same summing system has been used here as in the comparisons above, and in this connection it should be remembered that the boundaries for the categories for the self-ratings in Swedish are substantially higher than those for ML. This means that the figures for the two ratings, when summed, are not strictly comparable. It should also be kept in mind that individual pupils may be using different standards in rating their language skills. It is quite likely that the standards they use in rating ML differ from those they use in rating Swedish.

Table 5.6.4 Self-rated competence in ML and in Swedish (Percentages are column percentages.)

Competence in ML	Competence in Swedish			
	Good	Middle	Poor	Total
Good	231 39.6	10 30.3	8 20.5	249 38.0
Middle	163 27.9	14 42.4	17 43.6	194 29.6
Poor	190 32.5	9 27.3	14 35.9	213 32.5
	584 89.0	33 5.0	39 6.0	656 100.0

chisquare=9.424
df=4
prob=0.0513

N=656

With these warnings in mind, a slight tendency can be noted in these figures for less high ratings in ML to go hand-in-hand with less high ratings in Swedish, or conversely that high ratings in ML go hand-in-hand with high ratings in Swedish. (The "over-represented" cells in the table are those representing "good", "middle" or "poor" competence in both languages, and the cell for "middle" competence in ML and "poor" competence in Swedish.) However, the chi-square is low, and explanations for such a trend other than the semilingualism hypothesis easily come to mind.

The other explanations include ones such as the general levels of self-confidence of the pupils, her/his grades in school subjects (which are known to correlate well with each other) etc. In any case, the group of respondents who might fall into the category of semilinguals would be found in the lower righthand cell of the table-- those who rated themselves as poor in both Swedish and ML.

A separate analysis was made of this group of individuals, taking into account their answers to the entire questionnaire, to see what they might have in common with each other otherwise. The semilingualism hypothesis would probably predict that they have a strong background in ML, but have been forced to attend school, at least all or part of the time in Swedish. It would predict that they come from a working class or lower working class home, where both parents work, and have had little time to give the child adequate language stimulation at home. How well does this picture fit this group?

It turned out that only five individuals represented the 14 respondents in this cell. The following is a list of characteristics for the group.

1. One is an "anan" (see sec. 5.2.7 above) with Greek background, one is "fifi" the other three are "swefi", with Finnish mothers and Swedish fathers.

2. The respondent with Greek background sometimes speaks Greek with her/his mother, and is thus classed as "active bilingual", but reports using Swedish alone with all other interlocutors. The others are marginal bilinguals (2) and monolinguals (2). Thus all five use Swedish extensively.

3. All report Swedish as their first language. Only two have attended home language instruction, one for one year, one for two years.

4. Three of the respondents in this category in Borås attend classes with relatively few other immigrant pupils. Of the remaining two, one attends a class with relatively many immigrant pupils, the other is from Nacka (so we don't know about the make-up of her/his class).

5. One is classified as social group 2a, two from 2b, 1 each from 3a and 3c, according to the parents' occupations.

6. All are born and have lived all their lives in Sweden.

7. The families of three of them plan to remain in Sweden, the other two "don't know".

As compared to the population as a whole, certain categories can be said to be overrepresented in the group which reports "poor" competence in both languages, however, the small number in the group really doesn't permit these comparisons:

1. Monolinguals (in Swedish)
2. "Swefi"
3. Social group 2b

4. Those who don't know whether the family plans to stay or return to CO.

Of course, evidence of this type is not convincing either for or against the semilingualism hypothesis (or the threshold hypothesis). It doesn't fit the pattern for semilingualism which its proponents have presented on many points. Some of the elements match to some extent. Clearly, all five respondents have gone to school exclusively in the majority language, and have for whatever reason received a minimum of home language instruction. But all use Swedish extensively, even with the parent from whom at least some of them have learned ML. A majority of the respondents actually come from a middle class background, which doesn't match the predictions of the semilingualism hypothesis very well. Certainly the strongest evidence against the hypothesis is that such a small number of respondents have come into the category, especially as compared to the 231 respondents who rate themselves as having good skill in both languages, many of whom fulfill the social conditions for semilingualism better than the 5 pupils who rate themselves as such.

I should perhaps make absolutely clear at this point that I do not subscribe either to the balance effect or semilingualism hypotheses. Rather, I think the effects of bilingualism on skills in the component languages depend on a wide range of different social, psychological, and perhaps even biological factors. It is certainly not an ideal way to promote bilingualism to force a child to attend school in a language she or he is not particularly proficient in. This I think all the debaters are agreed upon. What is in question is whether attending school in a second language, or learning a second language at too early an age by themselves can have such detrimental effects as the proponents of the semilingualism hypothesis have at times claimed. The evidence of this study suggests that in many cases, the vast majority, it has not had such detrimental effects on language skills. This fact can only be to the credit of the young people, that they have been able to overcome a far-from-ideal school situation, and have managed remarkably well. This is not to say that we should continue to educate children from minority groups without regard for their first language in the future, of course.

It is also interesting to note that only 35 individuals (5.3%) rate their skill in ML as better than that in Swedish (according to my system of categorization-- since the cut-off points for skill in ML and Swedish are different, these ratings cannot strictly speaking be compared.)

5.7 Conclusions

5.7.1 Introduction

It is hoped that the results presented in the previous sections of this chapter will give us a firmer empirical base which we can use on the one hand to build a description of bilingualism among young people in Sweden with immigrant background, and on the other to make some preliminary predictions as to the future of multilingualism in Sweden.

5.7.2 Background variables

It became evident in section 3 of this chapter that several of the so-called background variables investigated within this study seemed to have a strong correlation with the degree of bilingualism in our population. What can these results tell us about the present situation and future prospects for bilingualism among second generation immigrants in this country?

The analysis of these variables in section 5.3 suggests that the typical active bilingual young person has the following characteristics:

- her/his parents are both immigrants from the same country of origin (cf. discussion of demographic factors and in- and out-group contact in sec. 2.3.1, 2.5.1 and 2.5.5)

- her/his parents have either very high or very low status occupations (cf. discussion of social factors and status in 2.3.3 and 2.5.2)

- she/he lives in a neighborhood with a relatively high density of immigrants (and thus attends school in a class with a high proportion of other immigrant pupils) (cf. discussion of geographic factors and contact in 2.3.2 and 2.5.1)

- she/he has been born or lived abroad and/or plans to return to the parents' country of origin (cf. discussion of demographic factors sec. 2.3.1).

The typical monolingual:

- has one Swedish parent, and one parent born abroad

- has parents with middle range occupations

- lives in a neighborhood (and attends school) with few other immigrants

- plans to remain in Sweden

The marginal bilinguals typically represent intermediate cases.

What do these results tell us about the future of multilingualism in Sweden? In order to answer this question, we must be able to predict what sort of immigration will be dominant in the future, e.g. whether it will be families or single adults who

immigrate, and whether the groups who come will have predominantly low status or middle status occupations.

As long as immigration continues to be dominated by the Scandinavian countries, we can expect there to be a relatively high proportion of immigrant children with what I've called "swefi" and "swan" background (see sec. 5.3.1 above), who, as we've seen have a relatively low rate of bilingualism. If immigration becomes increasingly dominated by refugees, who in some cases immigrate as families (e.g. the recently arrived groups from Lebanon and Pakistan), and otherwise tend to marry within their own group, this picture may change.

The results presented here suggest that a high degree of active bilingualism in the second generation tends to go hand in hand with low occupational status among the parents. As long as immigration continues to be dominated by groups which have difficulty attaining high status occupations in Sweden, a certain degree of active bilingualism among the second generation can be expected. For those of us who hope for the maintenance of multilingualism in this country, and who share the goal of "freedom of choice" for immigrants and their children promised in the report of the committee on immigration (SOU 1974), the results of my study regarding occupation present a potential conflict. On the one hand, most agree that a concentration of immigrants in low status occupations is hardly desirable, on the other, it seems that an improvement in social status among immigrants brings with it a more rapid linguistic assimilation, and with it limitations in freedom of choice, at least for the second generation.

This study indicates that concentration of immigrants in particular housing areas tends to promote bilingualism. Some of the proponents of multilingualism would favor concentration of immigrants for the purposes of promoting language and cultural maintenance, while most Swedes (as well as many immigrants) dislike concentration of any category of people in a particular residential area (Percivall 1984). Because there seems to be quite a considerable difference of opinion on this point among politicians, bureaucrats and experts, different policies may be carried out in different parts of the country, as to whether to encourage or discourage concentration of immigrants in certain residential areas. It is difficult to see a trend in the thinking on this question today, and thus, what effect residential patterns may have on future multilingualism.

When we come to the question of plans whether or not to return to the parents' country of origin (CO), it is also difficult to make any definite predictions. Does the relative instability in the Swedish economy suggest that a greater portion of the immigrant families will return to CO than was true of the group we studied? On the other hand, does the increase in proportion of refugees among immigrants as a whole suggest that fewer will return to CO? The only definite trend I think we can see here is that the overwhelming majority of families plan to remain, and that even among those who plan to return, many of the plans may be expected never to be realized. The relative stability of the immigrant group as a whole in this country (as compared for example with the guest workers in West Germany) implies more negative prospects for stable multilingualism in this country.

5.7.3 Interaction with majority and minority language and culture

The variables discussed in section 5.4 show a surprisingly low rate of participation in ML culture as opposed to Swedish culture. It is true, however, that the active bilinguals consistently participate in ML culture and have contact with other ML speakers more frequently than marginal bilinguals and monolinguals. Thus we get a picture of the active bilingual as one who not only uses ML regularly in conversation, but comes into contact with ML in a variety of forms and circumstances, as compared to the marginal bilinguals. Unfortunately, it is impossible to assess which of these other forms of interaction is most crucial in helping the young person to retain and develop her/his bilingual skill.

A continued or expanded support for mass media and culture in ML would presumably help to retain and develop bilingualism in this group. In this area, I think the greatest effort has been directed at the first generation, to provide them with information, entertainment etc in their first language. The providing of mass media in ML for the second generation has perhaps been of secondary importance. Cutbacks in support to mass media generally may seriously reduce the possibilities of the various forms of mass media to provide the support for ML's that they have up until now. Certainly, there seems to be room for expansion, not only in the amount of offerings, but particularly in those directed at the second generation. It is an open question, however, to what extent these possibilities may be realized.

The analysis of social networks suggests that young people with immigrant background associate with other young people of their own background less than they associate with Swedes and with immigrant young people with other national/cultural backgrounds. Unfortunately, this degree of social integration seems to have brought with it a massive linguistic assimilation also.

It can only be assumed that the commitment to expand educational forms with ML as not only a target language but as the medium of instruction should be a significant support for bilingualism for immigrant young people in the future. Not only will the instruction as such help to develop skills in ML, but the organization of classes along ethnic lines will undoubtedly strengthen the ties between young people with the same language background, so that circles of friends should in the future be to an increasing extent dominated by young people of a single language background. If this is true, we return to the question mentioned above, as to whether the advantages of segregation of pupils in school by language background outweigh the disadvantages some experts see in this segregation. However, in this area, there seems to be a greater consensus that the advantages of separate education, at least for the early years outweigh the disadvantages (SOU 1983:57). Indeed, separate education would seem to me to be the primary way language planners and politicians have available to decrease the pressure of the majority language on young people with immigrant background (Boyd 1984, forthcoming).

Frequency of visits to the country of origin, have, as we have seen, a strong relationship to active bilingualism. Can we expect the frequency of visits to increase or decrease in the

future? Immigration from nearby countries seems to be on the decline, to the advantage of immigration from more distant countries. This would seem to disfavor an increase in visits to CO. On the other hand, international travel is generally becoming more common, so that even such visits may not be impossible in the future, even for families coming from distant CO's. At the same time, the increase in the proportion of refugees in the immigrant population would seem to decrease the overall frequency of visits to the CO, as such visits are generally difficult if not impossible for these families. As compared to the other variables measuring contact with ML culture, the frequency of visits to CO in our population was as high or even higher than what one might expect. The importance of this form of language use and training should not be underestimated, although as yet it is almost entirely outside the scope of what Giles et al (1977) call "institutional support".

5.7.4 Pattern of language use

It is mainly in the area of the pattern of language use that sociolinguistics gives us more concrete theories of how to predict future developments from patterns of language in the present. In chapter 2, we saw that three such theories can be of use to us, namely, "change in apparent time", "diglossia", and "language choice and stylistic shifting". In this section, I will summarize the results in the light of the first two of these theories. In chapter 6, I will discuss language choice, based in part on other types of data.

The pattern of language use for different interlocutors bodes ill for the maintenance of multilingualism in this country. These results suggest that the important boundary distinguishing interlocutors with whom the young people speak Swedish and those with whom they speak ML goes between generations. Labov's theory of change in apparent time tells us that under certain conditions, (concerning among other things the distribution of variants over styles, social classes, and attitudes towards variation) if we find a significantly different pattern of sociolinguistic variation between older and younger speakers in the same speech community, we can expect the pattern of the younger speakers to expand at the expense of that of the older speakers as time goes on. We cannot apply this theory directly to our results, since all our respondents and informants belong to the same age range. However, when we look at the pattern of language use for the young people with interlocutors of different ages, I think we see a pattern where a parallel hypothesis can be presented.

Since the clearest boundary in the pattern of language use goes between older and younger interlocutors, rather than between e.g. the home and outside the home, I think we can with certain reservations (see below) predict that use of ML will decrease even more in the group we have studied here. As the young people leave home, build their own families and the parental generation eventually leaves the scene for good, this group's opportunities to use ML will become fewer and fewer, as long as use of these languages continues to be in large part limited to conversation with the older generation.

There are however two important characteristics of our popu-

lation which make predictions based on their pattern of bilingualism somewhat shaky. First, they represent a very narrow age range, 14-16 years old. In this age group, one can perhaps expect an unusually low degree of active bilingualism, even in comparison to second generation young people slightly older and younger. The age group studied here is among the most susceptible to group pressure and tend to conform to the majority of their peers in many different respects. Even with respect to language, this age group has a somewhat special status. According to Labov (1972a:241-254, see also Lithman 1981), it is during the early teens that speakers use the most "genuine" vernacular, and that in doing so they mark the social distance they feel towards their parents and the older generation generally. Monolinguals in this age group may for example use an extreme form of a local non-standard dialect, with highly stigmatized linguistic variants, much swearing and slang. Bilinguals have an additional tool to mark their solidarity with the peer group and distance to their parents: an overuse of the majority language, and a rejection of the minority language, which quite naturally in most cases represents the parents and their cultural origins.

The other important difference between our population and future "generations" of young people with immigrant background is that of their education. As mentioned above, the young people in our population have not had the opportunity to be educated in ML more than a maximum of two hours per week. We can only assume that the expansion of educational opportunities in ML both as a target and the medium of instruction, together with the organization of classes where immigrant children with the same national/cultural background are grouped together should increase multilingualism in this group, even outside of the classroom and the school. However, as I have pointed out elsewhere (1984, forthcoming), I don't believe that education alone can guarantee the maintenance of stable multilingualism in this country.

When we look at the pattern of language use among the active bilingual young people in terms of domains, can we speak of their linguistic situation as an example of diglossia (in Fishman's terms-- see sec. 2.4.1), i.e. that the domains of use of ML and Swedish are well-defined and overlap between them minimal? In section 2.4.1 I presented arguments questioning the value of Fishman's hypothesis that a strict domain separation implies stable bilingualism over time. Whether one wishes to accept his line of reasoning or not, I think it is quite clear that the situation investigated here does not qualify as diglossia in this sense, for several reasons, some of which are apparent in table 5.5.2a and b. Even if we restrict the analysis to those young people who are actively bilingual, several of the results I have presented show that there is little justification for such a label. First, Swedish clearly dominates interaction with friends in all the five settings investigated, even those outside of school. Second, there is obviously a considerable overlap in the languages' domains, so that the minority language is used occasionally, even in the school settings. When we then consider that more than one language is typically used by the various family members in interaction in the home, I think it is clear that we can hardly call the young people's language situation diglossia. In diglossia, there should be a strict separation of domains, with sanctions applied for use of the wrong language in a particular setting. While sanctions may be applied if ML is

used in a setting where Swedish is expected (see e.g. Andersson, Boyd and Savolainen 1981), I was never made aware of any serious sanctions being applied when Swedish was used in a situation where ML was expected (except for the situation described in sec. 5.5.2 above). A third aspect of the results which lead us to reject the label of diglossia is that our interview material makes it quite clear that the pattern of language use for the parents, i.e. the first generation, is quite different from that of our respondents in the second generation. In diglossia, all the members of a speech community should ideally follow the same norms of language use.

5.7.5 The self-ratings of bilingual competence

The self-ratings of bilingual competence actually represent another positive result for those of us who hope for the maintenance of multilingualism in Sweden. With all the reservations of reliability and validity expressed above in mind, it is still surprising that so many of the young people express such confidence in their own abilities in ML and particularly in Swedish. This despite the fact that so much has been said and written concerning the language problems of this group, both in regard to Swedish and ML.

The relatively high self-ratings in ML, even among the marginal bilinguals suggests that there is a large reserve of skill in ML in this group, but that these skills are put to use only rarely, and perhaps increasingly rarely as the young people get older. Our interview material suggests that the young people see no particular use for these skills, other than communication with their parents, who even they become increasingly bilingual with time. I have argued elsewhere for the importance of bringing the need for bilingual skills to the attention of these young people (sec. 5.4.2, Boyd 1984, forthcoming).

In chapter 7 I will return to a more general discussion of the future prospects for multilingualism in Sweden, based on the results described in this chapter.

6.1 Introduction

The results presented in the previous chapter raise many questions concerning the mechanism of language maintenance or shift in a multilingual group. In my view, the questions center around the situation which arises when two or more speakers are about to engage in interaction and they have reason to believe that interaction is possible in more than one language. How do these interlocutors usually determine which language(s) is/are to be used? How do speakers decide which language to use for a particular turn in such a conversation?

I will present some principles in this chapter which I find describe regularities in how pairs and groups of multilingual interlocutors come to an agreement about which language is to be the medium of a particular interaction. In the remainder of this section, I will discuss the status of the principles, and the methods used in arriving at them. Then, in section 6.2 I will define some terms important to the principles. In section 6.3 I will present a model for language choice in conversation between multilinguals, which will act as a framework for the presentation of the principles. The principles will be presented and discussed in sections 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6. In section 6.7 I will list the principles together, and discuss how they might apply to the results presented in chapter 5.

6.1.1 The status of the principles

It will be noted that some of the principles of language choice in multilingual conversation proposed in this chapter resemble other, more general "principles of conversation". I will show in section 6.3 below how the principles I present for language choice in multilingual conversation can be placed in a general framework for linguistic communication like that proposed in Allwood (1976) and revised in Allwood (1977, 1985). In other words, the principles presented here can be viewed in some cases as examples of how more general features of conversation are applied to the specific problem of language choice in conversation between multilinguals.

However, I will argue that certain aspects of these principles seem to be specific to this problem, and not necessarily characteristic of conversation in general (e.g. the importance of the participants in the conversation as compared to other aspects of the context). In addition, I will argue below that certain aspects of the principles for language choice in conversation between multilinguals seem to have at least a partially biological base, in particular, the preference for use of one language, rather than two or more in a conversation. Because some of the principles seem to have a biological base, while others seem more arbitrary, it is difficult to say at this point whether the principles should be regarded as norms or conventions (see e.g. Allwood 1976: 52); it is quite possible that some principles belong to each category, or that they, as a set, belong to the "vague zone" between norms and conventions.

Allwood (1976:45) characterizes his "principles of normal

rational agenthood" as "descriptive ... statements of expectations we normally have about ourselves and other individuals". The principles presented in this chapter are of much narrower scope than those presented in Allwood (1976), or for that matter those in other descriptions of "rules of conversation" (e.g. Grice 1975, Lakoff 1973, Aijmer 1977), however they would seem to have much the same status as those in these works. So far, I can only claim that they are a rough description of my own intuitions of how people (including myself) choose language in conversation with multilinguals, and how I and others expect other interlocutors to behave in conversation.

It is also important to note that some features of language choice in conversation between multilinguals are reminiscent of other phenomena studied within sociolinguistics. Most clearly, one can see parallels between switching between languages and switching between dialect and standard language (cf. Blom and Gumperz 1971), or even fluctuations in frequencies of various sociolinguistic variables, normally discussed as "stylistic shifting" (Labov 1972b:ch. 3). The use of pronouns of address, for example, (Brown and Gilman 1968) has certain parallels with the choice of language, as will be noted below. In other words, principles or rules describing regularities noted in language choice, as well as in these other phenomena, may all be examples of some general properties of conversation, but the regularities of language choice in multilingual conversation have so far not been adequately described.

6.1.2 Methodology

The data on which my analysis in this chapter is based differs somewhat from that of the previous chapter. My primary sources of data for this chapter include the discussions of language choice and code-switching within the two interview series (i.e. "self-report") (see ch 4, sec.5), as well as observations during the field phase of the Borås project. This included not only visits to the homes of our (parental) informants, but also observations made in our research locale, where conversations between multilinguals (see definition sec. 6.2.2) were common. Most interesting in this context were perhaps the conversations among my Finnish-speaking colleagues and between them and one of these women's then three-year old daughter. Another important source of data for this chapter are my observations of language choice and code-switching in my own surroundings (both as participant, and as "overhearer"): at work, at home, on the street etc. The topic of language choice was also central to the investigation of language choice in the kitchen of Borås hospital reported in Andersson, Boyd and Savolainen (1983) (see also below sec. 6.6.2.3)

This data base has a few strengths and a number of weaknesses. As compared to the questionnaire data, it is in some cases more direct: the data are no longer only self-report, but on the other hand it is of course less systematic. The data base is broader in one sense: it includes informants representing a range of ages (e.g. parents, young people and children in Borås), in a relatively wide range of settings (school, home, on the job), and particularly when we include conversations I have participated in myself, there is a relatively wide range of social classes represented (my contacts at the linguistics de-

partment and at our Borås research apartment representing the upper end of the spectrum, and our observations in homes and in the hospital kitchen in Borås representing the lower end.)

The observations are heavily favoring interactions where the choice of language is between Swedish and two other languages: the Borås material concerns choice of language between Finnish and Swedish, and observations where I have been one of the participants generally concern the choice of language between English and Swedish. It is uncertain to what extent analysis of patterns of language choice based on observations in one multilingual speech community can be generalized to other communities, or whether language choice between a single majority and different minority languages can be compared directly. The pattern of code-switching among Puerto Ricans in New York City (Poplack 1980) for example seems to differ both in type and quantity from what we can observe among Finns in Sweden for example. Spanish-Swedish code-switching among bilingual children at a daycare center in Göteborg (Naucler 1984) differs in some important respects from what I have observed among Finnish- and English-Swedish bilingual young people and adults. Switching between Swedish and English and Swedish and Finnish show some regular differences too, due to such factors as the relative status of the speech communities involved, the skill of many Swedes in English as compared to Finnish etc (see below sec. 6.6.1.1). However, patterns of what Gal (1979) calls language switching in Oberwart seems rather similar to what I have observed in Borås and in interactions I have participated in myself both there and in Göteborg.

6.2 Definitions and distinctions

6.2.1 Language choice and code-switching

The growing literature studying the phenomenon of code-switching in conversations between multilinguals provides a starting point for this analysis. The bulk of this literature concerns switching between languages (rather than between varieties of the same language) within a single utterance by the same speaker. Poplack (1980), Hasselmo (1974), and Haugen (1953) for example discuss the rules governing code-switching within the same utterance or turn in Spanish-English, French-English (Poplack), Swedish-English (Hasselmo) and Norwegian-English (Haugen) bilingual communities in North America. Poplack's two constraints on code-switching-- the free-morpheme and equivalence constraints-- represent the most clearly formulated rules describing code-switching on the grammatical level (1980:585-586):

Free morpheme constraint: Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme.

Equivalence constraint: Code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e. at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other.

For the purposes of this analysis, I will define language choice as code switching between languages (see sec. 3.2.1.3) at conversational openings (see Schegloff 1972 for a characterization of conversational openings). I will introduce the term "turn code-switching" for code-switching at turn boundaries. Code-switching will be a general term, covering both language choice as I have defined it, turn code-switching and code-switching on the phonological, morphological and grammatical levels.

By limiting the analysis to what I have called "language choice" and "turn code-switching", it becomes possible to base the analysis on my own observations and intuitions, as well as other self-report data, which would probably be far less reliable in the analysis of code-switching on the phonological, morphological and grammatical levels. In addition, the literature on language choice in the sense above seems scanty (see however Herman 1968, Gal 1979: ch.4, Heller 1982, Helander 1984), particularly such literature from a pragmatic viewpoint, while the literature on other types of code-switching is more comprehensive. Much of the literature describing language choice or language use in multilingual communities take the principles of language choice for granted, or fail to take many of the factors of the context (particularly that of the participants of the interaction) into consideration when describing the pattern of language use (e.g. Helander 1984).

A definition of code switching and language choice must also take account of what is to be considered varieties of one language, and what is to be considered two separate languages. I have discussed this problem at length in sec. 3.2.1.3.

6.2.2 Conversation between multilinguals

I indicated in the introduction to this chapter that I would be discussing language choice in conversation between multilinguals. A conversation between multilinguals will be defined as a conversation between two or more multilinguals who share more than one common language. To begin with, I will assume that the participants in the conversation are interacting within a framework of mutual "ideal co-operation" (see Allwood 1976:58). In section 6.6.2.1, however, I take up cases in which the power relationship between the participants differ, and one wishes to dominate the other, i.e. cases in which the participants are not ideally co-operating. As long as the participants are co-operating, one might say that the principles discussed below apply whenever a multilingual is involved in a conversation, but that the outcome is trivial when one of the participants is monolingual in one of the multilingual's languages, or in other cases when the interlocutors share only one common language. In these cases, the multilingual must "choose" the language which is common to both her/himself and the other participants. I would like to propose the following as the first principle of language choice; since, without it, it can hardly be said that we have "language choice", it will be numbered 0:

0. Language choice occurs if and only if, in a conversation between multilingual interlocutors, a speaker opens the conversation by using one of the (more than one) languages common to all participants in the conversation.

I have chosen to restrict the discussion in this chapter to conversations between multilinguals, as defined above, and assume this principle is in effect almost all the time. As we will see in section 6.6.2.3, when more than two participants are present, problems can arise in deciding how many of the participants should be considered as interlocutors.

6.3 Model of language choice in conversation between multilinguals

The process of language choice in conversation between multilinguals will be described under three headings:

- i. purpose of the interaction
- ii. general tendencies towards consistency
- iii. context-specific factors

In section 6.4, I will begin the discussion of language choice by considering how the purpose of the interaction in large part determines the other principles discussed in this chapter. In some cases, the purpose of the interaction determines the choice of language rather directly, in others, language choice is determined by the purpose of the interaction via other principles.

In section 6.5, I will discuss general tendencies towards consistency in conversation, and how these tendencies are evident in the process of language choice. The principles of language choice discussed under this heading will be summarized in the "principle of consistency" and "principle of least effort" for language choice. The principle of consistency will be applied both to language choice at conversational openings, and to code-switching at turn boundaries within a conversation.

In section 6.6, I will discuss how language choice is affected by certain context-specific factors, in particular by the participants and their relationship with each other. The effect of such factors as setting in place and time, and the medium of interaction will also be taken up.

I discuss the principles in this order because I consider the principles presented first to be the most general, and those presented later to be more specific to a particular context of interaction. In my view, all the principles, even the principle of consistency, are determined primarily by the purpose of the interaction, which I view as the most basic to language choice.

However, in contrast to this view, it often seems as though the levels of determination interact significantly. For example, as I will argue below, some pairs of multilingual interlocutors may prefer to conduct a conversation keeping to one language all the time, thus following the principle of consistency (applied between turns). Other pairs of multilingual interlocutors may prefer to conduct a conversation according to the rule one person-one language (due for example to lack of skill on the part of one or more of the interlocutors). In the latter case, then, the skill of the interlocutors (a context-specific principle) can influence how the principle of consistency (a more general principle) is applied. I will also argue below that the principle of consistency seems to have a behavioral base, as well, which suggests that the principle of consistency is partly determined by the purpose of the interaction, and partly by context-independent tendencies of behavior.

6.4 Language choice and the purpose of the interaction: the principle of appropriateness

The purpose of the interaction in which two or more multilinguals are engaged is of central importance in determining which language is to be used. This relationship can be expressed in the form of the principle below:

1. Principle of appropriateness: Choose a language appropriate to the purpose of the activity of which the interaction is a part.

The purpose of the interaction is important to language choice in two different ways:

First, certain languages are considered by certain speakers to be appropriate to certain activities, certain settings, or certain role relationships between the interlocutors, independent of the characteristics of the individual speakers, their particular role relationship, or other aspects of the interaction. In some of these cases, use of a particular language in that sphere is dictated by convention and tradition, despite the fact that use of it doesn't seem to be an efficient means to attain the major goals of the interaction (see below, sec. 6.5).

Second, purpose can be seen as determining the individual characteristics of the interlocutors (e.g. skill, group identity etc.) as well as the relationship between them (in terms of power, status, deference, intimacy etc.), both of which are relevant in language choice. In these cases, the choice of a particular language can be seen as more or less efficient for the pursuit of the major goal of the interaction, rather than as determined directly by a convention attached to activities in a particular sphere.

An important class of interactions where the purpose almost totally determines language choice is that of interactions within the religious sphere. Speakers in many societies may feel that a particular language is the only appropriate language to be used for religious services, prayers, sermons etc. (see e.g. Gal 1979:126) Decisions by church authorities to change the language used for religious activities have often been met by strong reactions on the part of the believers. Some prefer to leave the church rather than change the language they have been accustomed to use there, even though church officials motivate the change in terms of the members' lack of skill in the religious language. Even if the language is not established by dogma as sacred, it takes on a sacred value by being used for many years in religious contexts. Usually, this sacred value is not shared by any other language or variety of language for the believer.

Another example of the activity itself determining language choice despite what would seem to be rational for the activity, is the practice of conducting instruction in certain activities in a particular language. For example, classes in certain Japanese martial arts are conducted to a great extent in Japanese (combined with a large measure of non-verbal communication), even though this is a language even the instructor is not particularly skilled in (cf. sec. 6.6.1.1). Other examples include the tradition of conducting ballet and fencing instruction in French. The latter examples seem to arise largely from tradition, from the

time when classes in these arts were taught by instructors from France, classes could be composed of pupils from a wide variety of cultures, and French was the lingua franca of high culture. The skill and reference groups of the participants today can hardly account for the practice. However, the practice may stem in part from an unwillingness to switch languages within an utterance (cf. sec. 6.5). Since the only existing terms in these sports for positions and movements of the body and movements are in French, some teachers may find it difficult to incorporate these terms into another language when teaching a ballet class, for example. The same may be true of the Japanese martial arts. It is probably not a coincidence that other aspects of lessons in these sports resemble religious rituals perhaps more than lessons in, say, baseball or bowling.

The second way in which purpose determines language choice is a more usual one, namely, via its determination of other aspects of an interaction, such as the participants, their role relationships, the setting, medium of interaction etc. If the purpose of the interaction is instruction of a group of pupils in mathematics, for example, then the roles between participants A and B are those of teacher and pupil, for example. This purpose, via the roles and role relationships has important consequences for language choice, as it (at least in part) determines the skill of the interlocutors in the various languages to be chosen between (i.e. the individuals' skill in a particular language will vary from context to context), the importance of marking one's group orientation, the power relations between the participants, and the need or desire for mutual consideration. If the purpose of the interaction is the transfer of ownership of a used car, then the roles between even the same two participants as those who were teacher and pupil in the mathematics class may be changed to salesman-customer, with attendant changes in skill, group orientation, power, ethical consideration etc. As Blom and Gumperz (1971:294) showed in their investigation of code-switching (dialect-standard) in Hemnes, the purpose of the interaction (or what they called the definition of the social event) determined the roles taken by the interlocutors, their mutual rights and obligations, and the code chosen for the interaction. The effect of these contextual factors on language choice will be discussed in greater detail in section 6.6.3.

6.5. The principles of consistency and least effort

I will begin my analysis of the effect of purpose of the interaction on language choice by considering some general tendencies of conversation between multilinguals, which might be argued to be almost context independent. In a general form, we can express these tendencies in the form of the following principles:

2. Principle of consistency: Don't switch languages unless you have good reason to.
3. Principle of least effort: Don't keep your utterances pure of material from another language, unless you have good reason to.

These two principles seem at first glance to be almost contradictory. The first says, in effect, "don't switch", the second "don't worry about your switches". I believe, however, that the two principles apply to different types of code-switching (in the general sense, now, see sec. 6.2.1), and to interactions with different sorts of goals. The first principle describes a tendency to use a single language in a single conversation and in sets of conversations resembling each other, especially conversations between the same interlocutors. I will argue below that this tendency seems to have both a biological and social basis. The principle of consistency applies primarily to what I have called language choice at conversational openings, and code-switching at turn boundaries.

The second principle describes a tendency which varies more from speaker to speaker and from community to community. It describes the experience of most multilinguals that a certain amount of effort is involved in keeping speech in one language "pure" from lexical items and other material from the other language. Thus, this principle applies more to intrasentential code-switching, as well as other, more intimate forms of code-switching. When the conversation is informal, and between multilinguals, it seems to be acceptable and less effort simply to make this type of code-switch. If however one of the goals of the interaction is for example to impress the listeners with one's rhetorical skill in a particular language, even if the listeners are multilingual, then the principle of least effort will be invalidated. If one of the goals of interaction is to mark solidarity with the multilingual community (see below sec. 6.6.1.2), and one of the conventional ways of doing this is by frequent "intimate" (e.g. intrasentential) code-switching (Poplack 1980, 1984, Poplack & Sankoff 1984) then the principle of consistency will not apply, while the principle of least effort may. Since the principle of least effort involves primarily code-switching in units smaller than the turn, it won't be discussed further in this chapter. (See however Poplack 1980, 1984, Poplack & Sankoff 1984, Hasselmo 1974, Haugen 1977 for different approaches to this type of code-switching in different communities.)

The principle of consistency can be specified further, in the form of the following four sub-principles:

- 2.1. Use the language you have (successfully) used in the past with this interlocutor, or in situations in

other ways similar to the present one.

2.2. Use the language (successfully) used in the interaction immediately preceding this one (not necessarily with the same interlocutors.)

2.3. Use the language being used by those around you. (However, see further section 6.6.1.2 below concerning reference groups).

2.4. (After the conversation has been opened), use the language used by your interlocutor (This sub-principle will be discussed at length in section 6.5.4).

6.5.1 Behavioral bases

Much of the consistency in language choice observable in conversations between multilinguals could also be explained with the help of a notion of "least effort," i.e. at least a partially behavioral base. Thus, both switches and consistency can at least partly be attributed to least effort. (Cf. also Lass (1980) for a general discussion of problems in applying a principle of least effort as an explanation for language change.) It is probably the case that it is easier for participants, at least for those who are highly skilled in two languages to perceive and produce speech in only one language, rather than to switch languages between turns, for example. Short term memory can be exploited to search for lexical items, instead of resorting to the mental lexicon. It has been claimed that some multilinguals are better at switching between languages, and at translation, than others, but I think few would want to claim that switching between languages (other than the "intimate" type discussed above) involved no effort at all. How much effort is involved in switching languages between contiguous interactive sequences, between turns, or within turns, could be investigated empirically, with multilinguals of differing ability in their languages, and with differing habits regarding switching in ordinary, everyday conversation.

There may be reasons other than psycholinguistic ones that conversations between multilinguals tend to be held in a single language. Scholars in many different fields have studied a collection of behavioral phenomena which is sometimes called mirroring. This is the general tendency, among other animals as well as humans, for individuals to behave in the same manner as those in their surroundings. Some believe that this tendency has an innate base (e.g. Trevarthyn 1977), and results for example in the ability of very young infants to mimic the facial gestures of adults. Some sort of mirroring tendency is quite obvious when one analyzes posture and gesture on video recordings. When one person in a group drinks from her/his coffee cup, the gesture is repeated shortly after by all the other participants in the interaction. One person sits with her/his arms folded, and soon so do the others. When we go to a concert, we often notice how "contagious" coughing is, not to mention yawning, whose "contagiousness" is often commented upon. This is probably a very general feature of the behavior of people and animals in groups, and may be one of the behavioral bases for conversational phenomena such as what social psychologists such as Giles and Smith 1979, Taylor (1977) and others have called accomodation or con-

vergence in speech, as well as what Sacks (referred to in Tannen 1981) has called "touchoffs" (cf. also Brenner and Hjelmqvist 1974). The tendency to mirror the behavior of those around us certainly may contribute to the feeling of many that a conversation held in two different languages-- even the rather orderly system of one person, one language (see below, sec. 6.5.4)-- is strange. In short, the tendencies described in the principle of consistency as applied to the problem of language choice and turn code-switching may have a behavioral base.

6.5.2 Social bases

There are also indications that the tendency towards consistency has a social base, which could be described as interactional conservatism. It is a general value in our society that individuals should behave in a predictable way, and this implies that changes in habitual behavior ought to be strongly motivated. This value is evident in expressions such as "He's a good man. You always know what to expect from him," or in the advertising campaign, in which a hotel chain sold itself for its predictability: "the best surprise is no surprise". Politicians are particularly liable to lose face seriously if they change their stand on an issue. People in our society seem to feel more secure if as little changes in the behavior of others around them as possible. Thus, it is in this sense of intrinsic value to many individuals if a pair of interlocutors speak the same language to each other, regardless of changing activities, skills, desires to identify with a certain reference group etc.

6.5.3 Language choice as a problem of co-ordination

In some respects, language choice resembles what Lewis (1969) calls "co-ordination problems", especially if it is assumed that the preference of both speakers to use a single language in the interaction (rather than, say, to switch languages between turns, see sub-principle 2.4 above) is stronger than the individual speaker's preferences for a particular language (see below sec. 6.6.1.1 for a discussion of the bases of these preferences). Further, the similarity probably applies only if the purpose of the interaction includes the efficient communication of information between interlocutors. Co-ordination problems are according to Lewis (1969:24) "situations of interdependent decision by two or more agents in which coincidence of interest predominates and in which there are two or more proper coordination equilibria". By the latter expression, Lewis means, roughly, (p.22) solutions maximally agreeable to each agent, once the actions of the other agents are known.

Lewis recognizes three common ways to solve co-ordination problems: what he calls

- i. agreement,
- ii. precedence and
- iii. salience.

For Lewis, agreement consists of a verbal exchange by which co-ordination between the agents is achieved. Such cases are not so interesting when the coordination problem is that of language choice, since the verbal exchange would normally take place in one language or another, so a choice must necessarily precede

such an exchange. This is not to say that the negotiation process described above cannot be accomplished explicitly. It often is. But it is most often done implicitly, and a verbal negotiation process necessitates a choice for at least one of the interlocutors.

Precedence and salience are however important factors in the decision process. When a speaker uses precedence in making a decision, she/he decides according to decisions made on previous occasions. When she/he uses salience, she/he chooses the "most obvious" solution to a problem. The effect of these two factors on language choice can be expressed in the form of sub-principles 2.1-4 presented above. Precedence is involved in sub-principles 2.1, 2.2 and 2.4 and salience in all four.

If interaction between two or more interlocutors is habitual, then I think it is common that one language dominates heavily interaction between those interlocutors, while other aspects of the particular context have less importance. (Note however the effect of other participants, discussed in section 6.6.2.3 below.) This tendency is exploited in the one person-one language strategy of developing multilingualism in children. Nevertheless, some pairs or groups of multilingual interlocutors, even if they interact on a regular basis, have no established praxis of which language is to be used in interaction, in which case I would guess that the purpose and other aspects of the particular context of interaction play a more important role.

Principles 2.2 and 2.3 appeal to different sorts of saliency. When a speaker is uncertain about which language to choose in a conversation, a "salient" choice is certainly the language used in other interactions which are close to the present one either in time (principle 2.2) or space (principle 2.3).

One might guess that principles 2.2 and 2.3 are applied primarily when the interlocutors do not know each other well, and have no established pattern of language choice. However, it seems that principles 2.2 and 2.3 can be appealed to in other cases, even when the interlocutors know each other well. Naucler (1984) describes language use in a bilingual daycare center, and notes that at times the bilingual children in the group will begin a conversation with other bilinguals in Spanish, but, after hearing another conversation held in Swedish, even if the talk was not directed at them, they switch to Swedish. In this case, principle 2.3 may apply because the children don't have any strong preferences for one language over the other (see below sec. 6.6.1), and no consistent praxis has been established among them.

6.5.4. Application of the principle of consistency to the problem of language choice at turn boundaries

In the discussion below, I will outline how the principle of consistency applies to language choice at speaker turn boundaries. This application of the principle of consistency can be seen as parallel to the global principle of language choice on conversations as a whole (sub-principles 2.1-2.3) on the local level (cf. Allwood 1984 concerning the distinction between determining parameters of conversational relevance on the global and local level.)

A result of the limitation of the chapter as a whole to a discussion of language choice, rather than code-switching generally, will be that the discussion of language choice at speaker turn boundaries will be limited to cases where it is rather easy to classify each utterance in the conversation as being an utterance in a particular language. The principles may thus be restricted so that they only apply when any code-switching which occurs is set off in some way as "foreign goods" (Sankoff 1984), so that each turn as a whole is still clearly identifiable as being in one language or the other. They are not intended to apply to the introduction of such explicitly marked intrasentential code-switching either. As mentioned in chapter 4, among the Finnish informants in our interview series, and generally in conversations I have been involved in myself, classification of utterances as being in a particular language has not been a major problem. (However, see Poplack 1980, 1984, Hasselmo 1974 for a discussion of this problem in other multilingual speech communities.)

I will begin my analysis of language choice at turn boundaries by proposing the null hypothesis that instances of switching are equally likely at all turn boundaries. I propose this hypothesis not because it is most likely, but only because it is conceptually most clear. Any multilingual would quickly assert that the hypothesis does not hold. We can schematize all possible combinations of language choice in a dyadic conversation of four turns when the interlocutors (A and B) have both Swedish (S) and Finnish (F) as common languages:

		time----->				
Speaker		A	B	A	B	Acceptability
Language chosen	ex.1)	S	S	S	S	OK
	2)	S	S	S	F	?
	3)	S	S	F	S	?
	4)	S	S	F	F	?
	5)	S	F	S	S	OK
	6)	S	F	S	F	OK
	7)	S	F	F	S	?
	8)	S	F	F	F	OK

9)	F	S	S	S	OK
10)	F	S	S	F	?
11)	F	S	F	S	OK
12)	F	S	F	F	OK
13)	F	F	S	S	?
14)	F	F	S	F	?
15)	F	F	F	S	?
16)	F	F	F	F	OK

Both my observations and my intuitions suggest that the language choice patterns in conversations 1 and 16 (one language only) are the most usual, those in 6 and 11 (one speaker, one language) are also rather common, while 5, 8, 9 and 12 can also occur normally, but are less common than 1, 6, 11 and 16. The other patterns certainly are occurring, but I will argue that for example A's choice of Finnish in her/his second turn in ex. 3 might be considered somewhat odd. In other words, there are certain turn boundaries where language switching is more likely than at others.

The pattern of what I believe to be "usual" language choice between speaker turns in conversations I have observed between multilinguals can thus be described in the form of sub-principle 2.4 mentioned above. This principle is the one I would regard as dominant in most conversations between multilinguals, however, to account for the pattern of exs 6 and 11 above, we might need a second principle, at least for now:

2.4'. Use the same language as you did in your previous turn.

In both cases, we can see that the speaker is following the principle of consistency "don't switch languages unless you have good reason to do so", but what is considered a "switch" is different in the two cases. In the first case, a "switch" is a code-switch between speaker turns, and in the second, it is a "switch" with respect to the language used by the same speaker in her/his previous turn.

When one language is used exclusively in all or part of the interaction, then both the principles work together to discourage language switches. The pattern of examples 6 and 11 above is maintained only when principle 2.4' is adhered to exclusively. As soon as one of the speakers allows principle 2.4 to apply, then, according to my observations and intuitions, it would be strange for either speaker to switch back to the other language even if she/he used that language earlier in the conversation. If this is the case, then most dyadic conversations between multilinguals tend towards conversations in one language, unless principle 2.4' alone is applied consistently, in which case one gets the pattern S F S F S etc.

When the preferences of the interlocutors for which language is to be used in a particular interaction differ (see sec. 6.6.1

below), due for example to limited skills on the part of one participant or another, or the desire for one participant to mark her/his orientation towards a reference group different from that of the interlocutor, the principle of one speaker-one language may be more commonly applied. In fact, the habit of conversing in two languages, one interlocutor speaking ML and one Swedish is extremely common, particularly between bilingual parents and children in Sweden. In many cases, this habit seems to arise early in childhood, and, (assuming the parent is persistent in speaking ML,) the child in many cases never changes her/his speech habits with the parent, only developing and practicing speaking skills in ML if she/he comes into contact with monolinguals in ML, for example, in connection with trips to the parents' homeland (Arnberg, pers. comm.).

If it is true that this type of conversation occurs when the language skills or desires to mark group identity of the participants differ strongly, it may be possible to reduce this second principle to these two factors, which are discussed in section 6.6.1 below. However, I would argue that the maintenance of such a pattern of interaction between interlocutors depends on something similar to the principle of consistency. An effect of this is that social meaning could be attached to a change of language on the part of one of the interlocutors, if she/he began using the language of the other one regularly.

I have already suggested above that conversations between multilinguals in a single language involve less effort for multilingual participants when they are highly skilled in the language. At the same time, if each participant is poorly skilled in the language the other participant is skilled in, then the same principle of "least effort" could be invoked to support the practice of carrying on a conversation according to the one person-one language pattern. Which application of the principle of least effort is actually in effect may be due to the amount of "effort" the individual participants use to perceive and produce speech in the language they are less skilled in. In addition, we must keep in mind that the participants' conceptions of for example the effort required on the their own and on the part of the other participants is central to the outcome of the language choice process (see below, sec. 6.6.1.1).

Whatever the reason for them, violations of the principle of consistency occur, are often noticed, and at times commented upon, or even sanctioned, especially in situations where monolinguals are present. For example, if a speaker switches language in a conversation with monolinguals, when she/he temporarily directs talk at a multilingual, other interlocutors often comment on it, and can even become irritated (Andersson et al. 1983). We are thus confronted by two questions when violations occur. First, why did the violation occur (from the violator's point of view), and second, how do other speakers interpret the violation?

One reason for an "illegal" switch at a turn boundary can be related to Poplack's equivalence constraint (see above sec. 6.2.1). The fact that the turn boundary is usually also a morpheme boundary, word boundary, constituent boundary and even a sentence boundary (Sacks et al. 1974) makes it a good candidate for a change point according to this constraint (see sec. 6.2.1 above). In communities, or in conversations where intra-turn code-switching is uncommon, however, I would imagine that princi-

ple 2.4 is in operation most of the time.

It seems likely that the more intimate the relationship between interlocutors, the more common is code switching on the lower linguistic levels, including at turn boundaries. Thus, within the family, for example, code switching may be more frequent than when the same speakers speak to other (multilingual) interlocutors with whom they are not so intimate. My observations and other data suggest that conversations between multilinguals of the type one person-one language are most common within the family or between close friends, and are otherwise not common in the communities studied unless the practice is institutionalized, as it is for example in certain academic settings (see below).

In the same way, actual "violations" of the norms above are probably more common between intimates, where the interlocutors are not so concerned about their images. It must certainly be a general feature of social intercourse that social norms which apply to interaction in what Goffman calls "public places" don't necessarily apply to interaction with intimates. Goffman points out, for example, that an individual's domain may be encroached upon by an intimate to a much higher extent than by a stranger (1967b). With this in mind, it is not surprising if certain multilingual communities (e.g. the Puerto Ricans in New York) use massive code switching on low grammatical levels to signal group solidarity within the community.

Grosjean (1985) suggests that the contexts a multilingual encounters in her/his daily life can be seen as varying on a continuum, with endpoints labelled "highly monolingual (in language A)" and "highly bilingual (in languages A and B)". One might add that in some cases the continuum extends to contexts highly monolingual in language B also. As I have suggested above, language choice (and other code-switching as well) is rare in contexts exclusively monolingual or dominated by monolinguals in one of a multilingual's languages. In highly bilingual contexts, however, code-switching between turns, and between smaller stretches of speech is common, and often not stigmatized. It is common, at least in the communities studied here, that the most multilingual contexts are also those which could be called most intimate. Thus in these cases, both the intimacy of the context and the domination of multilingual speakers in it can lead to more "violations" of the principle of consistency as applied to language choice at turn boundaries.

Gumperz (1970) claims that code-switching within turns (and presumably also much code-switching between turns) can be explained as carrying a particular social meaning in the communities he has studied. He has called this phenomenon metaphorical code-switching. I would agree with him that in certain multilingual communities, because the principle of consistency is in operation most of the time, violations of it can be used to convey various types of social meaning. A switch of language between non-intimates, for example, may be a way to signal a desire to get on more intimate terms. A switch to a language appropriate primarily to certain contexts or activities can signal that one of the participants now considers the interaction to be one which belongs in that category.

Poplack (1984) has demonstrated that when massive code-

switching becomes a way of speaking different from speech primarily in one or the other language, as among the Puerto Rican community she studied in New York City, it is impossible to assign to every switch between languages some particular meaning, as Gumperz implicitly claims. Rather, Poplack maintains, actually in many ways following the lead of Gumperz, that the practice of making frequent intrasentential switches is evidence of verbal skill in this community, and that the totality of switching is interpreted by members of the community as a marker of group identity and solidarity. Although this type of massive code-switching has not been observed in the communities studied here, it seems plausible that the switches that do occur within speaker turns, and between speaker turns in violation of the principles above often have much the same function, i.e. to signal intimacy and in-group solidarity between the interlocutors.

Whatever the practices of a particular multilingual community regarding the frequency and level of code-switching, I think it is justifiable to propose a general principle which discourages code-switching, which is certainly evident if nowhere else when code-switching occurs in the presence of many monolinguals, who I believe tend to be more surprised and disturbed by code-switching on all levels than multilinguals. The reason for purism, both among monolinguals and certain multilinguals may be that they (incorrectly) attribute all code-switching to incomplete learning or poor skill in one or both of the languages. Poplack's work in New York City (e.g. 1980) has demonstrated that there need not be any relation between lack of skill in one or both languages and the tendency to code-switch. Indeed, she found in that community that the most skilled bilinguals were the ones who switched most often.

6.6 Language choice and other context-specific determining factors

In this section, I will discuss some of the factors which I think determine a speaker's preference for the outcome of language choice in a particular context. In section 6.6.1, I will discuss the factors relating primarily to the participants as individuals: their skills in various languages, their reference groups, their beliefs, especially about the other participants in the interaction, and how these affect their preferences for what language is to be used in a conversation between multilinguals. In section 6.6.2 I will discuss factors central to the relationship between the interlocutors: power differences, and ethical consideration between them. I divide the discussion into these two parts primarily for the sake of simplicity. Skill and reference group are also relational, just as power and ethical consideration are. For example, a speaker might consider her/himself skilled enough in a particular language to speak it with some interlocutors, but not with others. Speakers may wish to mark their reference group orientations differently with different interlocutors. In section 6.6.3 I will discuss other contextual factors such as time and place of the interaction which can affect language choice in particular conversations.

I should again emphasize the fact that each of these factors is specific to the context of the interaction, and is in large part determined by the factor discussed in sec. 6.4, which I have called purpose of the interaction. By context I mean the combination of such properties of the conversational situation as the participants and their role-relations, the activity the conversation is a part of and the goals of that activity, the setting of the conversation (location in time and place) etc. I will also discuss this in greater detail at the end of this section.

I propose that a first step in the process of language choice for a speaker about to open a conversation with another multilingual is to determine her/his preference in the context of interaction, and, at least equally important, to determine the preferences of her/his interlocutors in that context, based on her/his beliefs concerning them, in relation to the factors discussed below.

It is important to note that both when considering one's own preferences, as well as those of the interlocutor(s), it is one's beliefs about the factors determining preference that are crucial, not the factors themselves, though there is naturally a close relation between e.g. skills and beliefs about skills. Of course other beliefs also come into play in language choice, in relation to the principles already discussed. Thus, it is not the appropriateness of a particular language to a particular activity and its goal which is at stake so much as the speaker's belief about which language is appropriate etc. Beliefs also come into play when a speaker must determine how many languages (if any) are common to the participants in a particular interaction. This judgement is usually based primarily on the speaker's beliefs about the interlocutor's skills, and a comparison of these with her/his own skills. I will discuss the comparison process in more detail in section 6.6.1.3. If the speaker believes no languages are shared, i.e. that there is no language in which all the participants have at least some skills, then, as I have mentioned earlier, verbal communication is more or less

impossible. If only one language is available, then the outcome is trivial (assuming still that the participants are co-operating); as I have argued, we can hardly speak of language choice. When all the participants are skilled in more than one language, then we have language choice.

However, the choice of language in this situation is not simply a matter of comparing skills, it also brings in other factors such as the speaker's beliefs about the reference group or membership group of the interlocutor, and conceptions of the mutual relationship between the participants, which will be discussed in section 6.6.2.

6.6.1 Individual factors

6.6.1.1 Skill

Certainly a central component in a speaker's preference for using certain languages rather than others in a particular conversation is the speaker's conception of her/his skill in using the languages in that particular context.

4. If possible, use a language in which you feel you are more skilled, rather than one in which you feel you are less skilled.

At least equally important is her/his conception of the interlocutors' skills in the languages to be chosen between. We can express this in terms of a corollary principle:

4'. Use a language you believe your interlocutors are more skilled in rather than one you believe your interlocutors are less skilled in.

What is of course important here is not so much the speaker's and interlocutors' skills as judged by others, or by some "objective" measure of ability, but rather the speaker's own judgement of her/his ability to communicate for a particular purpose, with a particular interlocutor, in a particular context, and that of the interlocutor in that context. Some speakers, for example, are so dissatisfied with their skills in a second language in a particular context, that they claim not to be able to speak it at all, despite the fact that they can be observed to manage reasonably well in conversation in just that context, if they feel themselves "forced" to do so (by the application of principle 0 above, for example).

The speaker's conception of her/his skills in a particular language must also be related to context. So, for example, a speaker may feel she/he manages reasonably well in a certain language in one context (e.g. grocery shopping) but prefers to use another language if possible in another context (e.g. visiting the doctor). As mentioned above, the interlocutor may also have a crucial effect on language choice, so that a speaker may feel comfortable speaking a particular language with one interlocutor, while she/he may prefer to speak another language with another interlocutor, even if the contexts are similar in other respects. (I will return below to the effects of the relationship between the interlocutors on language choice.)

It is not always the case that speakers prefer to speak a language they feel they are more skilled in rather than a language they feel they are less skilled in, in all contexts. Many Swedes, for example, enjoy having the opportunity to practice their English when they come in contact with (native) English speakers. But this preference would of course also be subject to the purpose of the interaction, so that for example, a doctor might enjoy making small-talk with an English-speaking patient in English, but switch to Swedish when discussing medical matters. As the purpose of the activity changes, the speaker's preferences changes.

It is of course also common that a speaker feels that she/he is about equally skilled in more than one language, at least in a specific context. In that case, her/his preferences would depend more strongly on one or more of the other factors discussed below.

6.6.1.2 Group identity

A factor which plays an important role in the speaker's choice of language at conversational openings is what group she/he wishes to be identified with in the context of the interaction. Reference group theory reminds us that individuals can orient themselves to a group they are a member of (membership group as reference group (see Merton 1968:361)), or to a group they are not a member of. Another aspect of reference group selection relevant to our discussion is that potential reference groups differ as to how strict their criteria for membership are (Merton 1968:364-365).

Reference groups most relevant to the problem of language choice seem to be the ethnic groups associated with the languages to be chosen between. These are actually what Merton would call collectivities, rather than groups, but I believe that for our purposes they function in the same way. I have described ethnic groups in chapter 3, sec.3.2.1.1 as being characterized by four criteria:

- i. common origin,
- ii. a set of common cultural traits,
- iii. self- and other-identification, and
- iv. contact.

I have also indicated in that discussion how these criteria can lead to ambiguities of membership, many of which apply to the immigrant young people in the present investigation, as they do to many individuals in a language contact situation. Thus, it is not surprising that language choice in conversations between multilinguals becomes an important means of indicating which ethnic group one orients oneself towards, and, by implication, the ethnic group whose behavior and values one wishes to dissociate oneself from (what Merton 1968:354 calls the "negative reference group"). As language is commonly one of the distinctive cultural traits used to set off an ethnic group, choice of that language in a situation where a choice is possible (see definition of language choice in sec. 6.2.2 above) is easily interpreted as an indication that that ethnic group is a reference group for the individual.

5. Use the language which is associated with the group

you belong to or the group whose norms and values you are oriented towards.

A similar corollary would be necessary to take the interlocutor's desires for reference group marking into account.

5. Use a language which is associated with the group you believe the interlocutors are members of, or have as a reference group, rather than one which is associated with a group you believe they are not members of, or have as a negative reference group.

Like skill, the desire to mark reference group varies from context to context, so that in some contexts, it is not important to mark reference group membership or orientation. In others, it can be very important, in fact, so important that it overrides the principle of consistency or even the defining principle of language choice. For example, a young person may wish to mark her/his orientation to the predominantly Swedish-speaking peer group by using Swedish in conversation with her/his parents, even though she/he is consistently addressed in the minority language. This pattern of language choice, as I have argued above, is in at least partial violation of the principle of consistency, but it is motivated on the basis of the speaker's desire to mark her/his reference group orientation, and by implication, mark her/his rejection of the ethnic group represented by the parents and their language.

A less extreme example of how reference group determines language choice is described by Herman (1968). Newly arrived immigrants to Israel make every effort to speak as much Hebrew as possible when they arrive in the country, according to Herman. This tendency he explains as a result of the immigrants' desire to mark the group of (Hebrew-speaking) permanent residents of the country as a reference group, rather than with tourists, who are generally not Hebrew-speaking. The desire for this group identification overrides other factors discussed here, such as skill (see sec. 6.6.1.1 above) since, according to Herman, once immigrants have lived in Israel for awhile, they typically use their first language more frequently, perhaps in part due to the fact that other aspects of their appearance or behavior mark them as permanent residents rather than tourists.

6.6.1.3 The preference ranges for language choice

Now I will argue that in our somewhat idealized conversation between, say, two multilinguals, each speaker sorts out from her/his own preferences the languages she/he believes to be shared by the addressee (see above sec. 6.2.1). Then, on the basis of her/his conception of her/his own skills and desires to display an orientation towards a particular ethnic group, and her/his beliefs about these parameters on the part of the interlocutor, the initial speaker in an interaction will construct preference scales for her/himself and for the other participants in the interaction.

If the speaker who is about to open a conversation with another multilingual believes that both she/he and her/his interlocutor(s) have the same preferences as to which language is to be used, the outcome is trivial, as I have argued that it was when interlocutors only have one common language (see sec. 6.2.2 above.) The preference scales need not of course match exactly, as long as the most preferred language for both or all of the participants is the same language, the choice for the speaker initiating interaction is easy. What is more interesting is, of course, when the preferences do not coincide exactly in a given context.

Another aspect of the context which is crucial to the choice of language is whether the purpose of the interaction is shared by the interlocutors, or whether different interlocutors have different purposes. We could say that in the first case, that the interlocutors have a common interest (after Lewis 1969), or that they wish to co-operate (after Allwood 1976), and in the second that their interests or purposes conflict.

There are actually four different possible relationships between preference and interests in a dyadic conversation.

1) preferences coincide, interests coincide: e.g. One multilingual who prefers to speak Swedish asks another with the same preferences for directions in town. The outcome of this choice, I have argued, is trivial.

2) preferences conflict, interests coincide: e.g. A multilingual who prefers to speak Finnish asks a multilingual who prefers to speak Swedish for directions in town. The first and second cases would be language choice involving ideal co-operation (Allwood 1976), or which resembles a game of pure co-ordination (Lewis 1969). The second (i.e. non-trivial) case will be discussed and exemplified in this section.

3) preferences coincide, interests conflict: e.g. a political discussion between multilingual participants who prefer the same language. This situation might involve non-trivial language choice, though the fact that the preferences coincide would make a switch from the language most preferred by both debaters a bit strange. Individual utterances in another language might occur, however, to impress or disturb the opponent in a debate, for example. In this case, such a switch would be language choice in a context which resembles a game of conflict. This case will be discussed in section 6.6.2.1 below.

4) preferences conflict, interests conflict: e.g. a political

6.6.2 Relational factors: power and ethical consideration

The purpose of the interaction is directly related not only to the skill and desire on the part of the individual interlocutors to mark their reference group orientations, it also determines the relationship between the interlocutors. These relations can be characterized by differences in power, and by differences in the amount of ethical consideration the participants show one another. These two dimensions are largely independent of one another, so that relationships showing equal power may or may not be characterized by mutual ethical consideration, as are relationships of unequal power.

6.6.2.1 Principles of power

Whether the purposes or interests of the participants are the same or different (see sec. 6.6.1.3), inequality in power between the participants in an interaction also has an important relation to language choice. Allwood (1980b:3) characterizes power relations as relations which "hold between two or more persons iff they can control each other's behavior or thoughts". The relationship is asymmetrical if one or more persons can control the behavior or thoughts of one or more other persons in a certain respect without the latter person(s) being able to control the former person(s) in the same respect." Allwood claims further that for power to be exercised, it must involve both dominant and dominated behavior. If one individual tries to control the behavior or thoughts of another who doesn't yield control, then power is strictly speaking not exercised.

Power is also, according to Allwood, best seen as specific to particular contexts of activity (e.g. classroom instruction), or to roles (e.g. teacher-pupil). That is, the activity engaged in by the participants determines their roles and role relations, which normally bring with it a certain prescribed power relation: either symmetrical or asymmetrical. In other contexts, the same individuals may have other roles, and be in a different relationship in terms of power. There is, however, a strong tendency towards a sort of "spill-over effect" from one context to another, so that a person in an asymmetrical power position with respect to another person in one context (e.g. employer-employee) may also in practice be able to exercise power over that person in another context, where, according to the norms for interaction in that context, they should be more equal (e.g. host-guest).

In a conversation between multilinguals, the more powerful of the participants can exercise her/his power over the other participant(s) by determining what language should be used in the conversation. By the operation of the principle of consistency, this choice ought to be followed by the interlocutor, if her/his interests or purposes are the same as the more powerful party. By following the preferences of the more powerful interlocutor, the less powerful one yields control of this aspect of their interaction, thus displaying subordinate behavior. If the dominant participant chooses a language she/he is more skilled in, rather than one the interlocutor(s) is more skilled in, then she/he continues to exercise power over the interlocutors as long as this language remains the language used in the conversation. Use of a language the dominant participant is more skilled in

makes it easier for her/him to gain other advantages and opportunities to exercise power in other respects within the interaction. The less powerful of the participants yields to the others' power by accepting the choice of the more powerful participant, rather than choosing according to her/his own preferences. Thus in order for power to be exercised in Allwood's sense, the choice must be made to favor the more powerful over the less powerful, and the less powerful must yield to this control.

6. If A is the dominant participant in an asymmetrical power relationship with respect to B, she/he has the power to determine the language chosen for the interaction, if she/he wishes to exercise it.

This principle is one which is in effect in the classroom, for example. There it is usually the teacher's prerogative (assuming this is not dictated by school authorities) to determine which language should be the medium of instruction, and in which language the pupils should respond to questions. The activity (instruction) determines the role relations (one teacher and a number of pupils), which are in a particular power relationship (teacher is dominant, pupils are subordinate). This relation will hold as long as all participants have a common interest, and common purpose in the interaction.

Like the choice of pronouns of address (Brown and Gilman 1968), the choice of language may be forfeited by the more powerful of the participants, as a gesture of solidarity with the inferior ones. That is, in some cases, the former may consider it preferable to show deference to the latter rather than to exercise her/his power over the other participants. This strategy is probably especially likely when the powerful participant judges the goal (or partial goal, see above sec. 6.4) of mutual understanding to be of greater importance than the goal of say, dominating the less powerful interlocutors. In other words, the power position gives the dominant participant the possibility of exercising it in language choice, but whether she/he does so or not probably depends on the goals of the interaction.

However, if the interests conflict, then the interlocutors may "vie" for domination in the interaction, by speaking different languages. In the classroom, for example, the pupils can express their unwillingness to submit to the conventional power of the teacher, and not follow her/his explicit or implicit order to communicate in a particular language. But in this case, since the subordinate participants have not submitted to the will of the dominant one, we cannot speak of power being exercised in this case, rather the participants have engaged in a "game of conflict" in order to determine which participant(s) preferences should be followed.

Failure to submit to the will of the participant whose role normally carries dominance in a particular context can in this way carry strong social meaning. In a foreign language classroom, for example, failure to follow the teacher's instructions as to which language to use in answers to questions is considered insubordination. By answering a question in a language other than the one it was posed in, the student questions the power of the teacher in this context.

Some of the examples of code-switching at turn boundaries

which I considered to be violations of the principle of consistency (in particular of 2.4 above) may be common when the interlocutors vie for the verbal advantage enjoyed by the interlocutor who can speak a language she/he is more skilled in, rather than one she/he is less skilled in. By insisting on speaking a language one prefers, rather than one preferred by the interlocutor, despite attempts to switch on the part of the interlocutor, the more powerful of the interlocutors can see to it that her/his verbal advantage is insured for the duration of the conversation. That is, in many situations, the interlocutor in the position of power will choose a language which puts her/himself at an advantage with respect to other participants, and discourage switching to a language more strongly preferred by her/his interlocutors.

6.6.2.2 Ethical consideration

In certain activities, ethical consideration is the basis for action between the participants, and ethical consideration can be seen as the basis for many instances of language choice. How much ethical consideration directs language choice is also a matter of individual inclination. Ethical consideration is characterized by Allwood (1976:55) as the application of the "golden rule": "I should treat others as I want to be treated by them, and I should expect them to treat me as I would treat them". He makes this rule more explicit in the form of three principles (cf. also Lakoff 1973 and Aijmer 1977 for similar principles, called rules of politeness):

1. I should not prevent an individual from being an agent, i.e. from acting intentionally and purposefully according to his own will, and I expect him not to prevent me from being an agent.
2. I should not prevent an individual from acting normally, i.e. from having his own motives, or from behaving so as not to increase his own pain or decrease his own pleasure, and I expect him not to prevent me from acting normally in this sense.
3. I should not prevent an individual from being rational, i.e. from selecting the most adequate actions in his circumstances, or from selecting the actions that are most in accordance with his competent judgement, and I expect him not to prevent me from being rational.

When the problem of language choice presents itself, principle 1 seems to involve two sorts of communicative acts, which all participants should be sure that they and all other participants in the interaction have the possibility of carrying out: first, the act of communicating, second, the act of language choice itself. In the first case, the speaker making the initial language choice must make the choice so that it is not impossible for any other participant to act i.e. in this case, to participate in the conversation. This is, in other words, another version of principle 0, "choose a language which is shared by all participants in the interaction".

Secondly, this principle applies so that, ideally each participant should not prevent the other participant(s) from determining which language should be used for the interaction. Since

the principle of consistency is normally in effect, once the conversation is opened, an interlocutor's ability to determine the language to be used is already restricted: she/he should follow the lead of the opening speaker "unless she/he has good reason not to." As a result, it is difficult to be considerate in this way. One can, for example, avoid being the one to initiate a conversation with other multilinguals, or one can initiate conversation non-verbally, but otherwise, if a speaker is expected to open a conversation, she/he automatically restricts the freedom of the other interlocutor(s) to choose their most preferred languages by the application of the principle of consistency.

The third of Allwood's principles of mutual ethical consideration implies, when applied to the problem of language choice, that participants should choose a language which best suits the preferences of all. In other words, a typical initial speaker in a conversation would construct a scale of preference for her/himself, based on skills and reference group orientations (see above), and one each for the other participants, based on her/his beliefs about their skills and reference group orientations, sort out the "shared languages", and on the basis of these judgements, determine which language will be the most effective means of communication for the group. When mutual ethical consideration is the basis of language choice, each participant's preferences, including that of the speaker, should be given equal weight. (However, see below sec. 6.6.2.3 concerning problems when there are more than two participants, with different conversational roles.) We can express this strategy in the form of the following principle:

7. "Speakers should use a language which takes equal account of the preferences of all participants in the conversation".

The second of Allwood's principles brings in a new element to the description of the process of language choice, however the result of its application is much the same as that of the third principle. According to the second principle, speakers should choose a language so as to make their interlocutors feel good, or so as not to feel pain, and should expect their interlocutors to choose a language so as to make them feel good. We can see the application of this principle to language choice as an example of three sorts of phenomena within conversation, studied from different perspectives: accommodation theory, coherence in discourse and face work.

Accommodation theory claims that speakers tend to converge (i.e. to adopt features of speech like those of their interlocutors) on several linguistic and paralinguistic dimensions such as speech rate, content and pronunciation. Convergence on the dimension of code or language would also seem to be an obvious element in the process of accommodation. A speaker who converges is according to Giles and Smith for example (1979), interpreted by listeners as more effective, likeable and positively inclined towards the listeners than a non-converging speaker. The tendency to converge, and its positive evaluation by listeners is another factor which gives support to the principle of consistency above, especially the sub-principle favoring uniformity of language choice between turns. Those studying convergence phenomena tend to see it as an effort on the part of speakers to make

themselves attractive to each other, or to gain material or social advantage from converging. This is normally the effect of convergence, too, though Giles and Smith (1979) for example show that too much converging is not well received by listeners. However, many social psychologists tend to assume that convergent behavior on the part of the speaker is always more attractive to the listener than divergent behavior. I believe it is rather the case that in certain contexts convergent behavior is the norm, and is attractive, while in others it isn't. It is also quite possible that some convergence phenomena have a behavioral base, as other types of mirroring behavior (see sec. 6.5.1 above.)

It is not difficult to think of examples when convergent behavior, both verbal and non-verbal is not the ideal. For example, when men and women meet at a bar or restaurant, their behavior should in some respects be complementary rather than similar. The man should act manly, and the woman womanly. If the man and woman should proceed to the dance floor to waltz, for example, convergent behavior might have disastrous results. Even in, say, negotiations between an employer and labor union, the effect would be rather strange if the negotiators converged too much, either verbally or in other respects. It may be that addressees interpret too much convergence in language choice as intruding on the part of the speaker, or that she/he is trying too hard to please the interlocutors.

Tannen (1984) explains similar behavior in conversation, what she calls "coherence in discourse" (e.g. completing a sentence for one's interlocutors, using words and phrases which are in assonance and rhyme with those used by the interlocutor) as a result of our desire to feel wanted and included in the group we are interacting with. Although the result is similar, the motivation is not really ethical, according to the definition above. Tannen also explains these phenomena in terms of our desire to make our interlocutors feel wanted and included. This latter explanation is, however, ethical in the above sense. The establishment of this mutual feeling, she claims, is perhaps the most important one in the majority of informal conversations, while other types of interaction may be more directed towards a clear transmission of cognitive content (cf. sec 6.4.4 and 6.4.5 above).

That these feelings of belonging and exclusion play a role in the question of language choice was made apparent in the investigation of language use among employees in Borås hospital kitchen reported in Andersson, Boyd and Savolainen 1983. When the Finnish employees in the kitchen (about 1/3 of the entire work force) used Finnish on the job in conversations with each other, but in the presence of (monolingual) Swedes, the Swedes became upset. Many Swedes motivated their anger and resentment by saying that they suspected that the Finns were saying unkind things about them behind their backs (Swe. "att dom snackar skit om svenskorerna"). This is certainly an extreme example of lack of "cohesion" and the sense of belonging Tannen claims is an important function of much informal conversation.

Another way of looking at language choice as an expression of ethical consideration is in framework of face work (Goffman 1967a). Speakers who speak a language imperfectly (which all probably feel they do when they speak a language low on their scales of preference), or perhaps, less well than they believe

their interlocutor expects them to speak it, tend to lose face. When the participants in an interaction have different preferences, one or the other (or both) must lose face by speaking a language other than her/his most preferred one in that context. Thus the initial speaker has to choose between possibly losing face her/himself, or forcing the addressee to lose face (because of the principle of consistency, especially 2.4 above, sec. 6.5).

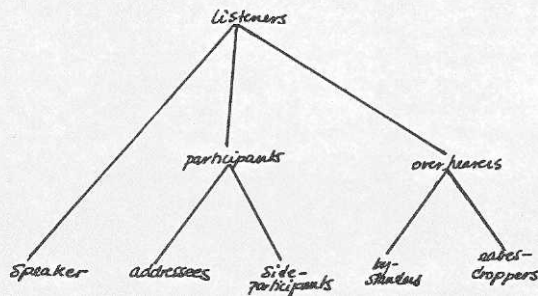
Speakers are to varying degrees willing to give up their preferences, and risk a loss of face by speaking another language imperfectly. On the other hand, nobody likes being put in the position of "forcing" their addressees to lose face. Some multilinguals, for example, say that they avoid direct contact with speakers with whom their only common language is a language they try to avoid. The loss of face is apparently even greater when other multilinguals are present, who the speaker judges to be more skilled in this language than they are. On the other hand, some multilinguals try to avoid speaking a non-preferred language in the presence of others less skilled than they are. They don't like to appear to be "showing off", or to indirectly cause the other multilinguals to lose face. Some multilinguals on the other hand, enjoy "showing off" even rudimentary skills in a language. Others may avoid using a non-preferred language because they don't wish to appear to be showing off their "imperfect" skill in the language.

Some of the face work involved in language choice in multilingual conversation resembles a phenomenon I first observed as leader of a "study circle"-- a small evening course for adults. For the members of that group, it was equally embarrassing to be the only one who could answer a question as to be the only one who could not. The ideal was that everyone in the circle should be able to demonstrate equal skill in the language. Likewise, in conversations between multilinguals, it seems that many aim for a "fair" solution to conflicting preferences, so that, for example, two speakers may compromise and choose a language which is neither speaker's most preferred language, but neither speaker's least preferred either.

6.6.2.3 Conversational roles: when more than two participants are involved

I have so far discussed the relationship among the participants in a conversation in terms of power and ethical consideration. I have argued that role relations are usually prescribed by the activity the conversation is a part of. Another type of relationship which has an effect on language choice is the relationships of the participants in the conversation as such: speaker, addressee, bystander, overhearer etc. When more than two participants are involved in a conversation between multilinguals, language choice becomes more complicated. Before I discuss language choice in multilingual conversations with more than two participants, it is important to make more clear the different categories of participants who may be involved in such a conversation. I have argued above that the roles and role relations of the participants in a conversation (in terms of power and ethical consideration, for example) are determined primarily by the activity they are engaged in and its purpose. This is also at least partly true of the roles of the participants as participants in the conversation. The conversation itself also assigns conversational roles to the various participants as it progresses, for example through turn-allocation (cf. Sachs et al. 1974). What is most important for language choice, especially at the opening of a conversation, is the conversational roles prescribed, given and taken by the participants at this initial point in the interaction.

Clark & Carlson (1982) propose a taxonomy of what they call "listeners" in verbal interaction:



According to Clark and Carlson (1982:342-343), "participants in (an)...illocutionary act" are those persons "intended by the speaker to take part in the illocutionary act, to whom the illocutionary act is directed". Those who are or could be designated with a vocative are called "addressees", while other participants are labelled "side participants", as e.g. the viewing public, when a newsman interviews a politician (Clark & Carlson 1982:339). (A problem with this criterion is that a vocative is normally only appropriate at the beginning of a conversational interchange, or perhaps when the participant roles change. Elsewhere it has special expressive value.) Overhearers are not intended by the speaker to take part in the illocutionary act, but are nevertheless listening in. In the latter category, Clark (1984) distinguishes between "bystanders" and "eavesdroppers", who may be openly or secretly listening in on a conversation. As we'll see below, all of these listener categories may play a role in a speaker's choice of language for a particular interaction.

The same or similar distinctions could be made in terms of the rights (and obligations) of various individuals in an interaction, rather than in terms of the speaker's intentions. These role relations can be assigned by the activity itself (e.g. judge, defendant, defense attorney, jury member etc.), or within the interaction itself by certain verbal or non-verbal cues. Thus, by using a vocative (or some other verbal or non-verbal signal such as gaze), a speaker can pick out one or more addressees from a number of individuals within the range of her/his voice. These individuals then normally have the right and the obligation to respond to what the speaker says. Those non-addressees who listen to and interpret what the speaker says, and by verbal and non-verbal means indicate that they are listening, can be considered side-participants. These participants may be expected to keep track of what they hear (i.e. the speech act Clark and Carlson call an informative), but they don't necessarily have the right to respond to it. If they are in the class of overhearers, especially eavesdroppers, it is quite common that they don't openly show that they are listening, and if they decide to respond to what they hear, they often excuse themselves, as if to say "I know I didn't really have the right to hear this, but I want to respond to it anyway."

The problems involved in language choice become more complicated when there are more than two participants, particularly if the conversational roles (i.e. speaker, addressee, side-participants etc.) change often within a single sequence of turns. If the speech act is directed at one or more addressees, who share a particular preferred language A, while side participants or bystanders may have other preferences, say, languages B and C, a speaker may choose A, to satisfy her/himself and her/his addressee, while she/he doesn't really care about the wishes of the side participants and bystanders. By this act, however, the side-participants probably tend to change their conversational roles and become bystanders.

The controversy in the hospital kitchen mentioned above (Andersson et al. 1983) stemmed from the fact that the monolingual Swedes felt that the bilingual Finns should speak Swedish, even in speech directed to other Finns. Clearly, for the Finns who disregarded the wishes of the Swedes in this situation, the speaker's own and her interlocutor's preferences for language outweighed the preferences of bystanders to their interaction. For the Swedes, their preferences (as mere overhearers) were more important than those of the Finns, who were speaker and addressee(s) in the interaction.

Unlike some of the Finnish employees in the hospital kitchen, many speakers often take the preferences of side participants and bystanders into account in making language choices. We can see that the bystanders can play a crucial role in language choice when we compare the situation described above (speaker and addressee prefer one language, and other participants another), when the switching involves Swedish and English on the one hand and Swedish and Finnish on the other. To initiate a conversation between multilinguals in English where both speaker and addressee(s) most preferred language is English may be relatively easy in many contexts in Sweden, (even where the side participants and bystanders are reluctant to speak English), since the English speakers can assume that most Swedes have adequate skill in English at least to understand what is said (i.e. to fulfill the

obligations of a side-participant). When both the speaker's and addressees' most preferred language is Finnish, however, many speakers feel the need to take all participants, even overhearers into consideration when making a language choice and thus choose Swedish. The relative status of the languages and the ethnic groups associated with them probably comes into play, even if the language skills of bystanders doesn't, to the advantage of English over Finnish. The desire of the participants to mark reference group orientation also comes into play. In some contexts, many speakers may not want to display their membership in a low status minority, while in others, they are willing or even eager to mark their ethnic identity. If they belong to a generally high status minority, there are fewer contexts where speakers would want to mark their orientation towards the majority group over the minority one.

Clark and Carlson (1982) show how speakers manage a conversation with several participants, so that each listener understands her/his role in the conversation, and is required to keep track of what is being said to which of the interlocutors. In the same way, a speaker about to open a conversation between multilinguals with several interlocutors must take account of the preferences of all of them, and choose an initial language carefully, taking the principles discussed above into consideration for all the individual interlocutors. An unwise choice can effectively exclude a listener from the conversation, if not because the latter can't understand, then because she/he prefers not to speak the language chosen. Thus, choice of language itself can be a way of signalling who your addressee is (see e.g. Gal 1979:121-124): if in the company of a number of multilinguals I speak a particular language which is the most preferred language (or habitually used language) between myself and only one of those present, this is one way of picking that individual out as the unique addressee of the utterance. If there are individuals present who have little or no skill in the language chosen under these circumstances, these individuals are relegated to the position of overhearers (due to the defining principle of multilingual conversation). The principles of consistency (as well as other norms of conversation attached to this role) make overhearers (even if they understand the language used between two interlocutors) in this situation reluctant to enter the conversation using a different language.

6.6.3 Other contextual factors

Do the other factors which make up the context of an interaction also affect language choice? The discussion so far has concerned the primary importance of the purpose of the activity engaged in, the language skills and desire to mark ethnic identity of the individual interlocutors in the context of interaction, and the relationship between the interlocutors. I would like to argue that these factors have a more direct effect on language choice than those I am about to discuss: the time, place and medium of interaction.

There are a number of ways one can think of that the time of an interaction can have an effect on choice of language. After a trip to the parents' country of origin, for example, several of our informants claimed that they used the minority language more often than they had done immediately prior to the trip. In the same way, home language teachers claim that their pupils use the minority languages more readily on Mondays (after more intensive contact with their parents over the weekend) than they do on Fridays. However, these examples can rather easily be reduced to the factor of skill or desire to mark reference group orientation discussed above (sec. 6.6.1.1 and 2).

Similar examples of language choice being attributed to the location of the interaction can also be reduced to skill or to a desire to mark reference group orientation in relation to others in the same place. However, Naucler (1984) describes language use in a bilingual day care center as being partly determined by location. One room at the day care center, where the bilingual children ate their lunch, was known as the "Spanish room". In this room, the bilingual children spoke Spanish more consistently than they did in other parts of the day care center, even when the language skills of the others present are taken into consideration. Johannsson (1984) describes a similar situation in the grade school he attended, where not only different rooms, but even different parts of the school yard were reserved for different languages.

The medium of communication, i.e. spoken vs. written language, or similarly mass communication vs. individual communication affects quite directly in some cases which language is chosen for interaction. The analysis of the bulk of this chapter has been based on face-to-face, spoken interaction. However, in other media, the medium itself can determine which language is used. Some languages have no established written form, and so they are unavailable for written communication, even of a personal nature. Other languages are used almost exclusively in written form (e.g. classical Latin), so that they are unavailable for spoken communication.

When a speaker's skill in written vs. spoken communication in a certain language are different, then the medium (via the factor of skill) affects language choice. Because written communication has a permanence which spoken communication lacks, some speakers may not make such "daring" language choices in writing as in speech. For example, a Finnish forewoman in the hospital kitchen described above could perhaps make a spoken announcement to the Finnish employees in Finnish, but be reluctant to put up a notice only in Finnish.

6.7 Summary

As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, these principles form a loose hierarchy with each other. When they come into conflict, different speakers give priority to different principles, so that some tend to give greatest weight to their own preferences, others follow the praxis established between them and their interlocutors, others conform to other speakers in the context and so on. Which principles are given higher priority is probably a complex question, where one must take into account such things as the goal of the interaction, the personality and social situation of the speaker, and details of the relationship between her/him and the other participants in the interaction.

The relationship between the principles must also be dynamic, so that during one period, a speaker may feel it necessary to mark solidarity with the minority language group she/he belongs to, and so chooses language with this aspect of preference in mind as often as possible. At another time, the same speaker may want to express her/his willingness and desire to mark orientation towards the majority group, and chooses its language more often, so that the same aspect of preference, that of social identity, gives a different result. At one phase in learning a second language, a speaker may try to avoid losing face by using the new language as little as possible whereas when her/his skill improves, she/he is willing to give the preferences of the other participants more weight.

6.7.1 A list of the principles

I will list the principles discussed above here, for reference:

Principles of language choice in conversation between multilinguals.

0. Defining principle of language choice: Language choice occurs iff in a conversation between multilingual interlocutors, a speaker opens the conversation by using one of the (more than one) languages common to all participants in the conversation.

1. Principle of appropriateness: Use a language appropriate to the purpose of the activity of which the interaction is a part.

2. Principle of consistency: Don't switch languages unless you have good reason to.

2.1. Use the language you have (successfully) used in the past with this interlocutor, or in situations in other ways similar to the present one.

2.2. Use the language (successfully) used in the interaction immediately preceding this one (not necessarily with the same interlocutors.)

2.3. Use the language being used by those around you.

2.4. (After the conversation has been opened), use the language used by your interlocutor.

3. Principle of least effort: Don't keep your utterances pure of material from another language, unless you have good reason to.

4. Principles of skill: If possible, use a language in which you feel you are more skilled, rather than one in which you feel you are less skilled.

4'. Use a language you believe your interlocutors are more skilled in rather than one you believe your interlocutors are less skilled in.

5. Principles of reference group: Use the language which is associated with the group you belong to or the group whose norms and values you are oriented towards.

5'. Use a language which is associated with the group you believe the interlocutors are members of, or have as a reference group, rather than one which is associated with a group you believe they are not members of, or have as a negative reference group.

6. Principle of power: If A is the dominant participant in an asymmetrical power relationship with respect to B, she/he has the power to determine the language chosen for the interaction, if she/he wishes to exercise it.

7. Principle of mutual ethical consideration: Use a language which takes equal account of the preferences of all participants in the conversation.

6.8 The relationship between language choice and language use

If we return, finally, to the results presented in the previous chapter for language use among immigrant young people in Sweden, we can see that some of the results presented in chapter 5 can be explained at least in part with the help of some of these principles. I will discuss four of the general trends found in the results, and relate them to the principles discussed in this chapter:

1) The greater degree of active bilingualism among "fifi" and "anan" young people, as compared to those with "swefi" and "swan" ethnic background.

2) The greater degree of active bilingualism among young people whose parents come from lower and higher occupational classes, as compared to those whose parents come from the middle classes.

3) The greater degree of active bilingualism among young people with relatively more frequent and intimate contact with other bilinguals, and with other media and instruction in the minority language, than among young people with less contact with other bilinguals.

4) The predominance of Swedish in interaction between even active bilingual young people and their peers, including between siblings.

6.8.1 Ethnic background

In chapter 5, it was found that the factor of ethnic background ("fifi" and "anan" vs. "swefi" and "swan") was the background factor, which, of those studied, correlated most strongly with the degree of active bilingualism. Young people both of whose parents had the same (non-Swedish) ethnic background ("fifi" and "anan"), were to a much greater degree actively bilingual either than those one of whose parents was Swedish and the other immigrant ("swefi" and "swan"), or those whose parents had different (non-Swedish) ethnic background ("diff"). I suggested in that discussion that in the latter families, Swedish was probably the language used between the parents before any children arrived, and this pattern continued in many cases, even after the birth of children.

Several of the principles presented in this chapter can be used to explain this pattern. In many cases, only the immigrant parent in a "swefi" or "swan" couple is bilingual, at least to begin with. In other words, the lack of skill on the part of the Swede would imply that conversations between the parents would not be included in the class of "conversations between multilinguals" presented in sec. 6.2.2. In other words, conversation between them would normally be held in Swedish. Even if the Swedish parent had rudimentary skill in the other parent's first language, it is likely that the skill factor discussed in sec. 6.6.1.1 would lead to use of Swedish. The fact that the immigrant parent has started a family with a Swede might also indicate that her/his desire to identify her/himself as a member of the minority group is not so great, or that she/he instead has the majority community as a reference group (cf. Engelbrektsson 1985 concern-

ing the ambiguous status of Greeks in Borås who are married to native Swedes). Thus reference group marking would be another factor favoring use of Swedish in many "swefi" and "swan" families. In many relationships between a Swede and an immigrant, the Swede enjoys certain advantages of power over the immigrant due to the greater power of Swedes as compared to most immigrants in the community at large, and due to the Swede's greater expertise in living in the community as compared to an immigrant. There were among the "swefi" and "swan" families represented by young people in the questionnaire survey, a sizeable majority where the father was Swedish and the mother was an immigrant. Sex roles in these families would also add to the power of the majority group member, and favor use of his first language, Swedish, between the parents. In the "fifi" and "anan" families on the other hand, skill, ethnic identity, and the established praxis of use of a minority language in the country of origin all favor a continued use of this language between the parents in these families, even after a lengthy stay in Sweden.

When a new baby arrives in the family, the parents are confronted with a unique language choice situation. The new baby is lacking skill in any particular language, has presumably no strong desires to mark a particular ethnic group as a reference group, and no praxis has as yet been established between her/him and any interlocutors. The parents have total power over the child, and in many cases, set the stage for many years of language use patterns by their decision as to which language to use with their newborn. A "natural" language choice, considering the applications of the principle of consistency discussed in section 6.5 is the language already used by the parents in conversation with each other. In families where the parents have different first languages, skill might favor the use of different languages with the child by the two parents. This is the strategy now generally recommended to parents in this sort of family, if they want the child to become bilingual. As the child grows up, however, the factors affecting language choice may lead her/him, or the parents, to try to change the pattern established in infancy. These changes can include, for example, increased skill in Swedish, on the part of both the child and the non-Swedish parent, for example when the child establishes contact with Swedish children, and ultimately with the school; and her/his desire to mark her/his orientation to the majority group, rather than the minority group of her/his parents. An immigrant parent might likewise regret an early decision to use Swedish with her/his child, and try to begin to use a minority language with her/him, due, for example to a new desire on the part of the parent to mark her/his membership in the minority group. I will discuss the effect of some of these factors on language choice in relation to the other results discussed here.

6.8.2 Occupational status of the parents

In chapter 5, it was found that young people whose parents came from the highest and lowest occupational categories (social groups 1 and 3b and c) were more actively bilingual than young people whose parents had occupations in the middle range (2a and b and 3a). When the results were run, controlling for ethnic background, the high active bilingualism of social group 1 disappeared, since "anan" young people were overrepresented in this group.

There are a number of possible explanations for the high degree of active bilingualism among young people whose parents have low status occupations. Two of them rest on the assumption that parents in these occupations have had less chance and less inclination to develop skills in Swedish. Low status occupations are generally assumed to be less dependent on language skills than middle and high status occupations. Thus, on the one hand, the job itself would not give the parents the opportunity to develop skill in Swedish, and lack of skill in Swedish should also prevent them in some cases from qualifying for higher status jobs. The lower status jobs also usually require less education than middle and high status jobs. It is well-established that adults with poorer school background have less inclination to attend courses in Swedish, and have more difficulty in acquiring skills by attending these courses, when they do go to them (Josefson 1977). Thus, for various reasons, we can suppose that skill in Swedish is greater among immigrant parents with middle status occupations than among those with low status occupations. This would help to explain (according to the principle of skill) the greater use of Swedish in the homes in the former group, and the higher degree of active bilingualism among young people whose parents have low status occupations.

Another contributing factor is probably that of reference group orientation. It is rather likely that parents in middle status occupations are more oriented towards the Swedish majority than those with low status occupations. Solidarity within the minority group is presumably much higher within the latter category, who may feel repressed by the Swedish majority in various ways. The orientation of the middle status groups towards the Swedish majority can be marked by a tendency within the group to use Swedish, even in the home, while the homes of lower status groups are more strongly dominated by the minority languages (cf. Gal 1979, Labov 1980, 1981).

Some sociologists have found that working class families have a more authoritarian structure than middle class families (Bernstein 1972). In the former group, the power of the parents is relatively greater, and that of the children is less. If this is true, then the greater use of the minority languages in working class homes might be due in part to the parents' greater power, since, as I will argue below, the minority language symbolizes the norms and values of the parents and the minority group culture for the young people. In working class homes, then, it would be more likely that the preferences of the parents would be given greater weight than those of the children (see sec. 6.6.2.1 above), due to their greater power as compared to parents in middle class homes.

6.8.3 Integration and segregation

Results discussed under several headings in chapter 5 suggest that young people with more frequent and intimate contact with the majority group and its institutions (including mass media) use more Swedish, and young people with more frequent and intimate contact with the minority group and its institutions are more actively bilingual. In chapter 3, I argued that active use of a language develops skill in that language, so here again the principle of skill can be used to help explain this result. The

results of the self-evaluations of language skill confirm that the active bilingual young people rate themselves as most skilled in the minority language (see sec. 5.6.2). These are also the young people with the greatest contact with members of the minority group and its institutions.

The principle of consistency can also help explain a greater use of the minority language among young people who have greater contact with the minority group. This principle suggested that conversations between multilinguals tend to be held in a language used in contiguous interactions, i.e. those that are near it in time or space. This tendency can help explain the fact that young people in greater contact with minority group members tend to use the minority language more frequently, even with bilinguals who, like themselves, also are considerably skilled in Swedish. Contiguous interactions would in this cases be more likely to be in the minority language more often than would be the case for young people with more limited contact with minority group members and institutions.

6.8.4 Language use with older vs. same generation

One of the most unexpected results presented in chapter 5 is that, among actively bilingual young people, the minority language is used primarily with the parents, and other adults, while Swedish dominates interaction with other young people, including siblings. These results contradict the assumption that the minority language dominates the home environment totally. Rather, in the majority of homes, even those where the young people are actively bilingual, both Swedish and the minority language are regularly used.

The principle of consistency would predict that the pattern of language choice of the parents in conversations with each other should be maintained as the children arrive on the scene and grow up, as I have argued above (6.8.1). However, this principle seems to be set aside in favor of other ones in conversations between the siblings in many families.

The results presented in sec. 5.6.4 indicate that the vast majority of the young people investigated rate their skill in Swedish as better than their skill in the minority language. If these results can be generalized over other age groups (see a discussion of the problems with this in sec. 5.7.3), this is probably also the case with most of the siblings of the young people studied here. Thus, the principle of skill can help to explain language choice between siblings.

Another factor must certainly be the reference group of the young people, and, by implication, their siblings. Soininens (forthcoming) results, based on a study of the young people with Finnish background from Borås, suggest that the majority of these young people identify very strongly with the Swedish majority, especially those one of whose parents is Swedish (i.e. "swefi"). Use of Swedish with siblings, as well as with other young people of the same generation, can function as an important means to mark the young people's orientation towards the majority group, and away from the minority group.

As suggested above, the group membership of many young

people in this investigation is ambiguous, especially those in the "swefi" and "swan" ethnic background categories. But even in "fifi" and "anan", the main reason for classifying them as minority group members, rather than Swedes is the country of origin of their parents. The other criteria for ethnic group membership (distinctive cultural traits, self- and other-identification, and particularly contact) point towards classifying many of them as at least provisional members of the Swedish majority. Their membership in the majority group may, at the same time, be put into question by some majority group members. As I mentioned earlier, the official definition of immigrant child requires only that one of the parents be born and raised outside of Sweden. By implication, only those both of whose parents are born and raised in Sweden can be considered unquestionably as Swedes. This ambiguous situation regarding the ethnic identity of the young people probably makes choice of language in many contexts crucial. In the age group studied in this investigation, conformity with peers is extremely important. All this points towards use of Swedish within the peer group, and even with siblings, as a marker of orientation towards this group.

Use of Swedish in the home, between siblings, seems in some cases to be a way for the children in the family to exercise a sort of subversive power in relation to the parents, not only in that the young people in this way mark their orientation away from the minority group, represented by the parents, but in that, at least in some cases, Swedish can be used as a secret or half-secret language among the siblings. As I suggested earlier, the pattern of language choice one person-one language, in conversation between parent and child can be symbolic of the struggle between them, which is probably especially pronounced in the age group investigated in this study (14-16 years old).

The principles discussed in this chapter have been formulated on the basis of the discussion of language choice within the interview series, and of my own observations and intuitions. In this final section, I have made a rough sketch of how the principles might help explain some of the results presented in chapter 5. As mentioned above, the fact that different speakers seem to give priority to different principles, and the general problem of overlap between principles, make it difficult to use them directly to predict language choice in a particular conversation, or even less patterns of language use in a population.

Instead, the principles outlined in this chapter are presented as a first attempt to make more concrete some principles which seem to guide choice of language in conversation between multilinguals, at least for the speakers I have investigated (myself included). A strict system of rules, including a specification of when they should apply, is probably impossible to formulate so as to predict correctly language choices even for a single speaker or speech community. Even to order the principles in a hierarchy would be difficult. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this analysis will lead to a somewhat deeper understanding of the process of language choice in conversation between multilinguals, the various factors the multilingual must take into account when she/he makes a language choice, and what meaning the choice of one language or another may have.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this thesis, as stated in chapter 1 was to investigate the future prospects of immigrant linguistic minorities in Sweden, based on their current situation, in terms of the social structure and social relations of the minorities, and in terms of language use among the second generation. In this chapter, I will begin by summarizing the hypotheses and results presented in chapters 2, 5 and 6. Then I will proceed to discuss the prospects of various minority groups for language survival. In section 7.3, I will take up a more general discussion of the problems of predicting the future from patterns of bilingualism in the present. The thesis will be concluded in section 7.4 with some suggestions as to how the development sketched in 7.2 can be directed by language planning efforts.

7.2 Summary of the thesis

7.2.1 Review of the literature and hypotheses: summary of chapter 2.

In chapter 2, I presented arguments in the existing literature on language contact which attempt to predict language maintenance or language shift based on either the social conditions of language contact (see sec. 2.2 and 2.3) or on the pattern of language use by multilingual speakers (see sec. 2.4). The assumption of many studying the social conditions of language contact was that the more frequent and more intimate the contact between minority and majority, the more language shift was likely; the more intensive the contact within the minority group, and the greater the isolation from the majority group, the more language maintenance was likely. The demographic, geographic and historical conditions of contact, as well as the social consequences in terms of the social structure of the groups, their relations with the majority, their ability (and desire) to establish separate social institutions, as well as the attitude climate all play a role in establishing a pattern of greater or lesser contact within the group, and greater or lesser contact between the minority group and the majority. When contact is frequent and intimate, the boundaries between the minority and majority tend to blur, so that, ultimately, it is difficult to decide what is in- and out-group contact.

I argued in chapter 2 that the power of the minority in relation to the majority, as well as the attitudes of the groups towards each other cannot by themselves be taken as predicting factors for language maintenance or shift. Positive attitudes towards a minority group, and relative power in the society, may result in language maintenance or shift, depending on other social factors, e.g. how much the powerful group wants to have contact of various types with the less powerful one, and whether or not the former group is willing to open up their institutions to the less powerful group.

The pattern of language use can perhaps best be seen as an intervening variable, between the social factors of language contact and the long term development of language maintenance or language shift. By investigating the pattern of use of the languages by multilingual speakers, we can get some indication of the effects of the social factors in the situation studied. One approach is to look at the domains of the languages for the multilingual speakers, to see if they are separate or overlapping. I have argued in section 2.4.1 that this analysis does not necessarily give us a very strong indication of future developments. Some overlap between the domains of language use seems inevitable in multilingual societies, as well as some specialization of functions. While domain overlap is probably a characteristic of language shift in progress, every case of language contact where there is substantial overlap does not necessarily have to be a case of language shift in progress.

Rather, I think it is important to examine the pattern of language use for age-grading. Not only should differences in the overall pattern of use between older and younger speakers be examined, but also differences in the pattern of use for the same speaker with interlocutors of different ages. In this connection,

I believe that, in a case of language contact between immigrant minority languages and a native majority language, the pattern of language use within the second generation is often indicative as to the outcome of language contact in the long term. In particular, it is crucial that active bilingualism in the second generation is not limited to interaction with the older generation, but includes informal conversation within the peer group.

The relation between language choice and style-shifting is another avenue of investigation. When switching between languages takes on the properties of style shifting within a single language, then language shift seems more likely, according to Gal (1979). The methods used in the present study have, however, made it difficult to investigate this aspect of the pattern of language use systematically.

On the basis of the existing literature, hypotheses were presented which gave certain minority languages (ML's) a better chance of survival than others. Generally, the languages of immigrant groups from Southern Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa were seen as having a better chance of survival than those from Northern Europe (including Scandinavia) and North America, in places where the former groups were large enough to establish some of their own institutions, and to live in close contact with one another. The size of the Finnish group, as well as the proximity of Finland, and the historical and continued contact between it and Sweden are factors which should support language maintenance in this group also, as compared with the other "northern" groups. Thus Finnish should have almost as good a chance for survival as the minority languages in the first group mentioned above, according to the literature surveyed in chapter 2.

7.2.2 The concepts of societal multilingualism, language contact and language maintenance or shift: summary of chapter 3.

In chapter 3, I present definitions of some concepts central to the study of language maintenance and language shift. It is important to make the definitions one uses as a point of departure clear: the field of multilingualism research is unfortunately full of examples of lack of conceptual clarity. I have, for example, analyzed the problems involved when the term diglossia is applied to multilingual societies (see sec. 2.4.1). One reason scholars may be reluctant to make clear the ways in which terms will be used may be the belief that definitions can be right or wrong, i.e. that one definition can serve all purposes. Some researchers have attempted to avoid these problems by giving up the use of certain terms, e.g. language (see, e.g. Hudson 1980). My view is that it is preferable to propose a definition, even if it has some weaknesses, if nothing else to make clear to oneself as well as the reader what intuitions and biases one has. It is then possible to make operational definitions somewhat less arbitrary.

I propose definitions of three basic terms-- ethnic group, speech community and language-- in the form of an ideal type for each term and a number of necessary conditions or features. Each of these features also represents a dimension of variation from the ideal, so that the definition becomes more flexible. Where in the multi-dimensional semantic field one wishes to draw the

boundaries of the concept will vary depending on the purposes of a particular investigation (cf. Boyd (undated) for a more detailed semantic field analysis using a similar model.) The three basic concepts (ethnic group, speech community and language) all involved grouping of individuals, so it turns out that similar features can be used for defining all three: 1) common origin, 2) a set of similar (cultural or linguistic) traits, the norms for their use, and evaluations of variations in use, 3) self- and other-identification as group members, 4) contact among group members. For the definition of ethnic group and speech community, these features all apply to the members of the groups. For the definition of language, the first two features apply to the varieties of language to be grouped together, and the last two features to the speakers of these varieties.

Other central concepts such as majority/minority language, multilingual society, standard language, official language, language contact, language maintenance and language shift are defined in relation to the three basic concepts. A more strict definition of the concept of language maintenance (or language survival) is proposed, requiring the active use of a dominated language in informal peer group contexts by second generation young people in an immigrant/host language contact.

Active use of more than one language in face-to-face interaction is also the basis for the definition of (active) individual multilingualism proposed in section 3.3.1. I argue in that section that active use can be used as an indicator of language skill (the usual criterion for multilingualism), and that it is a more reliable indicator of language maintenance or shift than (theoretical) knowledge. Other concepts on the individual level -- first language, language choice and language use-- are based on this definition.

7.2.3 The methodology of the present study: summary of chapter 4

The study presented in this thesis was conducted as part of an interdisciplinary investigation of the living conditions of second generation immigrants in Sweden (PIL-projektet). One of the general goals of this project was to determine whether or not the immigration of the 1960's and 70's would result in an enduring multiethnic society in Sweden. My objective in this study was to investigate this question from a linguistic point of view.

Data were collected in two phases. In the first phase, a comprehensive questionnaire survey of language use was conducted. Questions on language use were posed as part of a general questionnaire on living conditions and political socialization to young people in the last two years of junior high school in two municipalities: Nacka and Borås. The population includes just over 700 pupils with immigrant background. In the second phase, interviews of about 1 hour in length were conducted with about 40 young people with Finnish background in Borås. These interviews made it possible to get a more detailed picture of the pattern of language use among a smaller number of young people. These interviews were followed by interviews of 37 of the parents of these young people. The parental interviews gave us more background as to how the pattern of language use within the family had developed.

The questionnaire results were coded and analysed statistically; the interview results have primarily been used in this thesis to help explain the results obtained by the questionnaire. The weaknesses of these methods in terms of validity and reliability (especially due to the fact that both methods rely heavily on self-report) are described in sec. 4.6

7.2.4 The pattern of language use: summary of chapter 5

The pattern of language use among the young people of immigrant background studied here showed a surprisingly strong domination of Swedish over the minority languages. There was notably little variation in the degree of bilingualism (i.e. active use of a minority language and Swedish) among the young people when comparing those with Finnish background, those with Northern European background and those with other ethnic backgrounds. Instead, the crucial factor in the ethnic background seemed to be whether the parents were both immigrants, from the same country of origin, or whether one of the parents was Swedish. Young people in the former group were to a much greater extent actively bilingual than those in the latter group.

It was also found that there were more active bilinguals among the young people whose parents had low or high status occupations, than among those with middle status occupations. The effect of high status occupation disappeared, however, when ethnic background was controlled. In addition, young people who attended school in classes with many other immigrant young people, and who lived in residential areas with many immigrants were more often actively bilingual than those living in areas with few immigrants. Young people who were not born in Sweden, or who had also lived abroad, and those whose families planned to return to the parents' country of origin (CO) were to a higher extent actively bilingual than those who were born and lived all their lives in Sweden, and planned to remain here.

The actively bilingual young people had significantly greater contact with the minority language and culture than those who were not actively bilingual. They consumed mass media in the minority language, attended home language instruction, had friends who were bilingual in the same languages as they themselves, and visited the country of origin more frequently than young people who were not actively bilingual. This pattern could be seen in part as a dependent variable with respect to active bilingualism, as those who are actively bilingual can participate more easily in these forms of interaction with the minority group and its institutions; and in part as an independent variable, as contact with the language and culture is one way of developing skill in the language. Generally, however, the young people's contact with the minority language and culture discussed in this section was less frequent than expected.

The pattern of language use for the young people who were classified as actively bilingual was surprising in certain respects. The clearest boundary was between generations, so that ML was typically used with the parents, and with other adults, and Swedish was used with peers, including siblings. Otherwise, a common pattern reported in studies of bilingualism has been a boundary between conversations in the home as opposed to those

outside the home. The setting of the conversation seemed to have less effect on language use than the interlocutor. When the interlocutor was held constant, settings outside of school favored use of ML somewhat more than those within school, for the active bilingual young people.

Generally, as with the contact variables discussed above, the use of the ML in conversation was less widespread than expected. The fact that the active bilingual young people use Swedish with their siblings is a particularly surprising finding, and one that bodes ill for the future of minority languages in this country (see below).

Active bilingualism showed a positive correlation with self-rated skill in both Swedish and ML. All but a few of the young people rated their skill in Swedish as as good or better than their skill in ML. The five respondents who rated themselves as poor in both languages (potential candidates for a label of "semilingualism") showed no consistent pattern in their social background, contact with the minority language and culture, or in their pattern of language use.

7.2.5 The principles of language choice: summary of chapter 6

In chapter 6, I examined what happens in a conversation between multilinguals when one of the participants must decide which language to choose as the medium of conversation. In this analysis, I emphasized the importance of the purpose of the interaction to language choice, and via this purpose, it was proposed that consistency in language choice is usually aimed at, thus minimizing switches, unless there is good reason for them. The analysis in the rest of the chapter presents some of the "good reasons" for language switching: the varying skill of the interlocutors, and the desire of the latter to mark an ethnic group (associated with a particular language) as a reference group through language choice. The relationship between the interlocutors is also crucial: whether they are in a symmetrical or asymmetrical power relation, and whether they want to show ethical consideration to one another or not. When more than two participants are involved in the conversation, the complications in choosing an appropriate language for the interaction increase.

The pattern of language use among young people of immigrant background presented in chapter 5 can be explained in part with the help of the principles of language choice proposed in chapter 6. The principles of skill and power seem to determine in many cases the pattern of language use between a Swedish and an immigrant parent before any children arrive. The principle of consistency helps to explain why Swedish continues to be the language of the family, even after children are born. The same principle explains why young people in families where both parents have the same ML as a first language use this language more actively than those in families with a Swedish and an immigrant parent. The principle of consistency and the principle of skill can help explain why many young people use Swedish with their peers, and ML with their parents. However, the principle of consistency would normally predict that ML would be used between siblings in a family, as use of a single language in the family would minimize unnecessary switching. This suggests either that the desire for the young people to mark their refer-

ence group orientation, towards the Swedish majority, rather than the parents' ethnic group, must be extremely strong, or that the young people consider their skill in Swedish to be so much greater than their skill in ML that this determines their preference. The greater use of Swedish in families where the parents have middle-range occupations (as compared to higher- and lower-status ones) can also be explained with help of the principles of skill and group identity.

7.3 Predicting future multilingualism

In this section, I will summarize the results presented in chapter 5 and discuss to what extent they can be used to make predictions concerning the survival of various minority languages in Sweden. In this connection, I will repeat some of the discussion found in the final section of that chapter.

7.3.1 The social situation

The results presented in chapter 5 clearly indicate that in- and out-group contact have been crucial in forming the present pattern of language use among young people with immigrant background. If the young person's family includes a parent with Swedish as a first language, then interaction within the family tends to be in Swedish, rather than in the other parent's first language. The language of the family also seems to be affected by what sort of occupation the parents have. If the parents have middle status occupations, then the young person (and presumably the family) tend to use more Swedish than if the parents have low or high status occupations. This could also be explained in part in terms of contact: immigrants with middle (or high) status occupations probably have more contact with Swedes on the job than those with low status occupations. There is also no doubt an element of group identity here: families with relatively high social status are probably more eager to assimilate to the majority way of life, including language, than lower status families.

The importance of contact with the majority and minority groups comes out clearly in several of the other results. Those who have more contact with the minority group in their class, in their circle of friends, and in their residential area are more actively bilingual than those who are not. Those who have had contact with the parents' country of origin in the past (have lived there), visit there regularly, or plan such contact in the future (to return to CO), are more actively bilingual than those who are not. Those who frequently use mass media in the minority language, and who attend (or have attended) home language instruction are more actively bilingual than those who do not. However, in all these types of contact, it is striking that virtually all the young people in the investigation seem to have extensive contact with Swedes, with Swedish and with Swedish forms of culture, while contact with the minority group and its language and culture varies considerably.

The future of minority languages in Sweden would thus seem to depend at least partly on how much contact the minority groups have with Swedes, and how much contact they have within the minority group in the future. Discussion of the merits of integration or segregation of immigrant minorities in Sweden has largely been focussed on education. Lately, the discussion in this area seems to have quieted down somewhat, and the general policy seems to be that of establishing separate classes for minority pupils, where the number of pupils allows this. When there are fewer pupils than is necessary to make up a full class, then a so-called compound class (Swe. sammansatt klass) is formed, with about half the pupils with a particular minority background, and half with monolingual Swedish background. When neither of these alternatives is possible, immigrant children attend school with Swedish children and receive a few lessons a

week of instruction in ML (Enström et al. 1982). In other words, a certain amount of separate education for minority children and young people seems acceptable to Swedes, and attractive to many within the minority groups. If this trend continues, the prospects for the survival of minority languages ought to improve somewhat. Not only do the young people improve their skill in the minority language by receiving instruction in it, but they also increase their contact with other bilingual young people, which should increase their opportunities to use the minority language. The pressure to conform to the majority, clearly the reference group for most of the young people in this investigation, may be less for young people attending school in a class dominated by minority young people.

Within the realm of housing, too, debate has been lively. The director of the Immigration Authority suggested in an editorial recently (Palmlund 1980) that there was nothing wrong with concentrating immigrants in certain municipalities, or in certain areas within these municipalities. This is what many immigrants want, and social service in minority languages is facilitated, he claimed. There seems to be more opposition to segregation in residence than in education among Swedes, so the trend in this area is not so clear.

It could be said that the prospects for the minority languages depends to a great extent on what immigration in the future is like, i.e. what minority groups will dominate future immigration to Sweden. If present trends continue, future immigration will be more dominated by smaller groups, from countries a greater distance away from Sweden (Widgren 1981, In- och utvandring 1984). This is not particularly advantageous for the survival of these languages, as we have seen. On the other hand, the common Scandinavian labor market, and Sweden's close relations with the other Scandinavian countries should guarantee fairly free movement within Scandinavia, and a more or less steady stream of immigrants in both directions. This situation ought not to diminish the chances for the survival of Finnish, at least.

However, as we have seen, young people from minority groups whose languages ought to have better chances of survival are not significantly more bilingual than those from other groups. This suggests at least two possible explanations: either that the social factors helping or hindering language maintenance are not that crucial, as Gal (1979) claims, or that the social situation relevant to the outcome of language contact among immigrants from different minority groups is really not all that different, at least in the second generation. The latter possibility implies perhaps that the structure of native Swedish society, and its attitudes towards immigrants of all categories are the most significant factors, rather than the differences between different ethnic minority groups. Another possibility is that the social factors favoring language maintenance in a particular group are negated by other social factors favoring language shift. None of the groups represented in the present study represent an ideal for language maintenance.

7.3.2 The pattern of language use and future bilingualism

Two types of age-grading in the pattern of language use were

evident in the results presented in this thesis. Both of these indicate tendencies towards language shift in the minority groups. First, there was strong evidence that young people use Swedish far more frequently than their parents, and the minority language far more seldom. The parental interview material gives a clear picture of this among the Finns investigated in Borås. There is no indication that the picture is significantly different in other groups (see e.g. Engelbrektsson 1985 and forthcoming). Second, the questionnaire results strongly suggest that the bilingual young people in the investigation choose languages on the basis of the age of their interlocutor. With older bilinguals, they use ML, with those of the same age as or younger than themselves, they use Swedish. This pattern, if it is continued over a long period of time, suggests that the young people use the minority language less and less actively as time goes by. As the young people get older, their contact with their parents and other older members of the minority group naturally becomes less frequent. As this generation dies, the pool of interlocutors with whom the second generation speaks ML gradually disappears, so that ultimately, the second generation becomes monolingual (according to my definition), or at least marginally bilingual.

The chances of the second generation passing the minority language on to their own children seem small in most cases. Among the second generation, we can expect the effect of intermarriage on language use to be even greater than it was for the first generation: The rate of intermarriage between Swedes and second generation immigrants must surely be high. In addition, Swedish will probably be the dominant language in many homes even where second generation immigrants have started families with partners from the same minority group, if present patterns of language use (i.e. same generation-Swedish) are sustained. This pattern is the strongest indication of language shift in progress, in my opinion. It is also difficult to see how this pattern could be changed in the future, in order to retard language shift, or even maintain one or more minority languages.

7.3.3 Problems in predicting future patterns of language use from present ones

There are numerous problems involved in trying to predict future patterns of multilingualism from present ones. Some of these have to do with limitations in the study presented here, others are more general.

First, it is possible that the population surveyed in this study is not representative of immigrant young people in the country as a whole. For one thing, they are among the oldest of the large group of second generation immigrants whose parents arrived during the late 1960's and early 1970's. Because of this, they have not been able to enjoy some of the benefits that immigrant young people born later have been able to enjoy. The most important of these benefits is certainly the possibility of receiving instruction with the first language as a medium of instruction. As explained in sec. 5.4.2, most of the young people in this investigation have had the right and the opportunity of attending home language instruction for most, if not all of their time in the compulsory school (though not all have exercised that right,) but few have been offered more than two lessons per week. Immigrant children attending school now, at

least in municipalities with as many immigrant pupils as Borås and Nacka, are given more alternatives (cf. Enström et al 1982). Receiving instruction at least partly in the minority language should not only improve the young people's skill in the language, thereby increasing their propensity to use the language actively (see sec. 6.6.1.2). But, perhaps more importantly, organizing classes with predominantly minority children in them ought to strengthen friendship networks among minority children, increase the possibilities for reference group orientations towards the minority group, as well as, quite simply, increasing the number of occasions in which a minority language can be used (cf. ch. 6). All these results ought to strengthen the position of the minority languages in relation to Swedish in the future.

The age of the respondents in this investigation may be unrepresentative of immigrant children and young people generally in another respect. Young people in this age group (14-16 years old) are notoriously susceptible to group pressure, and feel the need to conform to their peers very strongly. It is important for young people in this age group to mark their solidarity with their own age group, and their independence from their parents (Lithman 1981). Monolingual young people do this in part by speaking an extreme form of the vernacular, using non-standard forms (Labov 1972a, Payne 1975), swearing etc. The results of this investigation indicate that extensive use of Swedish may serve the same function for young people from the minority group as using non-standard varieties does for monolingual young people. If this is true, it may be that use of the minority language increases again, once this period of extreme rebellion is over. On the other hand, as mentioned above, once the young person is older, opportunities to use the minority language probably become fewer. A promising avenue for future research of language use among second generation immigrants in Sweden would be an investigation of language use where the population included a wider age range of young people, and included those who had been educated at least partly in the minority language.

It is difficult to say to what extent the municipalities chosen for this investigation, Borås and Nacka, are representative of the country as a whole regarding the social situation of immigrant young people, in particular for the social conditions seen as relevant to patterns of language use. Both municipalities have relatively high concentrations of immigrants. However, neither of them has an extremely high concentration of immigrants. According to statistics for foreign citizens in Sweden (Invandring till Sverige 1983), it appears that a greater proportion of immigrant young people live in or near the large urban areas of this country, i.e. in municipalities resembling Nacka, more than those resembling Borås. The results in chapter 5 suggest that language shift is more advanced in Nacka than in Borås. If this is the case, then active bilingualism is perhaps even less widespread than these results indicate, because, as we saw in sec. 5.3.4, more young people were active bilinguals in Borås than in Nacka (note, however the drop-out problem in Nacka, which makes this comparison rather uncertain). Thus, it would be valuable to investigate the pattern of language use among young people in other types of municipalities, like Botkyrka, a suburb of Stockholm where foreign citizens make up almost a quarter of the population, and perhaps a smaller, more sparsely populated municipality, such as Skinnskatteberg, a semi-rural municipality where the proportion of immigrants is as high as it is in Nacka.

It is possible that the rate of active bilingualism is higher among young people in these municipalities than it was among those in Borås and Nacka. If not, then the prospects for survival of minority languages is even more limited than the results in this investigation might indicate.

I have already touched on some of the dangers of predicting language maintenance or language shift based either on the social context of language contact or on the pattern of language use among multilinguals using the domain configuration as a guide. The differences in the social conditions of the various minority groups in Sweden does not seem to have had any great effect on the pattern of language use among second generation young people of different immigrant background. Rather, it seems to be social differences which cut across ethnic group boundaries which have been crucial, e.g. marriage patterns, occupational status, contact with the country of origin, patterns of residence etc.

While the age grading evident in these results points towards a prediction of language shift, the age grading may in part be due to aspects of the age group investigated which will change with time: educational forms, and reference group. On the other hand, the analysis presented in chapter 6 suggests that the minority languages in Sweden will have a difficult time surviving, even if educational forms in ML are expanded dramatically, for example. Unless ML becomes a natural choice in conversations between peers (outside the classroom), the chances for survival for all the minority languages seems slim. In the following, concluding section of this thesis, I will explore some of the ways in which language maintenance can be supported in this country, i.e. language planning.

7.4 Language planning

The policy of the Swedish government in relation to its minority groups has been presented most explicitly in the report of the Commission on Immigration (Swe. Invandrarutredningen, SOU 1974:69). The goals of immigrant policy as stated in that document are summed up in three words: equality, freedom of choice and partnership (Swe. jämlikhet, valfrihet och samverkan). The goal which has most often been mentioned in the debate about minority languages in Sweden is that of freedom of choice (see e.g. Tingbjörn 1980). It is noteworthy that this goal actually is formulated in terms of linguistic minorities, rather than immigrants. The goal "implies that public initiatives are to be taken to assure members of linguistic minorities domiciled in Sweden of a genuine choice between retaining and developing their original cultural identity and assuming a Swedish cultural identity" (SOU 1974:25).

Thus, the Swedish government expresses its commitment to a pluralistic ideal for minority languages in Sweden. Whether this ideal is the one which governs the greater part of Swedish policy in this area or not is not a question to be addressed in this thesis. What the results of this thesis indicate, however, is that despite this ideal, language shift among immigrant young people seems to be progressing rapidly. In other words, either minority young people have not been given a real choice, or the vast majority of them have chosen to assimilate, at least linguistically, to the Swedish majority.

However, the tendencies which seem clear in the material on which this thesis is based need not be inevitable. Language shift can at least be slowed down, even if language maintenance and active multilingualism on a large scale may seem to be difficult goals to attain. In this section, I will suggest some of the ways that active multilingualism can be supported in Sweden. I will concentrate on ways which have not been discussed so much among experts, in the mass media, or among immigrants themselves. I have already mentioned (sec. 7.3.1) the ways in which I think education with ML as the medium of instruction can support multilingualism among the second generation.

Freedom of choice implies however that the individual must be allowed to choose. Experts in the field of immigrant research in many areas, many of them linguists, and bilinguals themselves, tend to assume that all immigrants and immigrant children would be better off the more they were bilingual, and the more they retained of their distinctiveness within Swedish culture. This is not, however, the goal of all of the immigrants and their offspring themselves. It is important that the individual minority group member is given alternatives of as equal value as possible to choose between, but it must be left up to her/him to choose. The title of Loman's article in *Invandrare och minoriteter* (1978) expressed this aptly: "You can't scare people into becoming bilingual."

7.4.1 Contact

I have shown earlier in this chapter that many of the results presented in chapter 5 suggest that contact is a central element in many of the relations between social factors and the

pattern of language use. It was clear in the examination of the questionnaire results that nearly all of the young people in the present investigation had extensive contacts with Swedes, Swedish and various forms of Swedish culture and institutions. What varied seemed to be their contacts with minority language speakers, the minority language in other forms, and minority culture and institutions. One avenue of language planning that suggests itself, in the light of these results is that of increasing the young people's contacts within the minority group. It seems important that the immigrant organizations find out what activities would attract immigrant young people to more active participation; they may however find it difficult to compete with the Swedish organizations in many areas e.g. athletics. The chances may be better within the area of cultural activities, especially when these are tied to the minority group. However, the activities must be (made) attractive to the young people. Contrary to the fears of some representatives of the Swedish majority, I don't believe there is any great risk that increasing contact with the minority group implies that contact with the majority becomes restricted so much that freedom of choice is limited.

In addition to instituting the (at least partially) separate education for minority pupils, support for the immigrant organizations has been a major means of supporting minority groups and minority culture in Sweden. However, as we have seen in sec. 5.4.3, very few of the young people investigated here are active in these organizations. If the goal is to increase the young people's contact with other minority group members, then support for these organizations should be directed towards increasing the activity of younger members of the minority group. Otherwise, it cannot be expected that support to immigrant organizations has any great effect on increasing contact among minority young people.

Contact with the country of origin can also be encouraged in various ways. For example, scholarships awarded to minority young people studying the minority languages in school can encourage young people to visit the CO for longer periods, and make contact with other young people there. Exchange programs for pupils and teachers are another possible means to increase contact between minority young people and their peers in CO. These forms of support need not be limited to minority young people. They can even be granted to majority young people who show ability and interest in the ML and the culture of a particular immigrant country.

Some of the immigrant organizations have recently organized summer camps in CO, where some of the campers are minority young people from Sweden, and others are young people from CO. This type of activity ought to increase the opportunity and motivation to use ML actively more often, even after returning to Sweden. Other immigrant organizations have organized summer activities for young people here in Sweden. Participation of majority young people could also be encouraged in many of these activities, including instruction in the minority languages in school.

7.4.2 Motivation for learning and using ML

In section 5.4.3, I presented a brief account of the reasons given by the young people either for attending classes in the

home language, or for not attending. The reasons for attending were remarkable in that they were almost always rather vague, e.g. "It's good to be bilingual", "I don't want to forget ML" etc. Very few pupils motivated their attendance in home language instruction in terms of a desire to maintain contact with the minority group in Sweden, or with relatives in CO, and none of the pupils had any instrumental motivation for attending the classes. This question was explored more thoroughly in the interview series, but the same pattern emerged. None of the pupils interviewed had ever considered their bilingualism to be a marketable skill, once they left school.

It is rather remarkable that this is the case, considering the great potential need in Swedish business and administration for skilled bilingual personnel. Sweden conducts extensive export and import business with many of the countries that have sent immigrants to Sweden, especially perhaps the other Scandinavian countries. Even Poland and West Germany (with the 4th and 6th largest immigrant minorities) are important countries for international business. The large number of minority group members already living in this country, and the prospect of a somewhat reduced, but steady influx of new immigrants, should also imply a pressing need for bilinguals in many service branches, both in the private and public sectors. Not only are immigrant young people in many cases skilled speakers of ML, as among the first generation, but they have excellent knowledge of Swedish and of Swedish society, having been educated here.

The need for and availability of skilled bilingual personnel in business and administration should be made clear to both parties: employers and prospective employees. If this need is made clear to the young people, it should provide them with an added motivation for developing skill in the minority language, and should also improve the status of studies in the "home languages" in school.

7.4.3 Encouraging active bilingualism in the family and the peer group

Several of the results presented in the previous chapters suggest that many of the decisions which are crucial to the individual young person's bilingualism or multilingualism are made in the family. It is of course extremely difficult to direct language planning efforts to the family domain. The family is normally outside the realm of such efforts. However, the group I have called "marginal bilinguals" would seem to be an important pool of potential active bilinguals. How can the marginal bilinguals be encouraged to become active bilinguals?

One way is to inform parents and other ML speakers the young person comes into contact with, about the advantages for the individual in active bilingualism, and, in particular the ways it can be developed naturally within the family, in the family's friendship network, and in the pre-school. The National board of health and welfare (Swe. Socialstyrelsen) has recently commissioned a book (Arnberg forthcoming) containing information and practical advice to parents and pre-school personnel on how to help young children to develop active bilingualism. This book is both detailed enough, and written simply enough to begin to fill the need for guidance voiced by many parents interviewed for this

study. Similar efforts, directed towards parents of older children and towards school personnel could help older bilingual children to maintain and develop their languages further. The results of this investigation indicate that many children acquire both Swedish and ML as young children, but that ML is used less and less as the young people get older. It is important that the young people become more strongly motivated to use ML actively in everyday life, and that the occasions where use of ML is natural become more numerous, especially among peers.

The most difficult trend to reverse in the results presented would seem to be that of the domination of Swedish in communication within the peer group. Support for instruction of pupils in classes organized according to ethnic background may change this trend to some extent, as would support for minority group activities during the young people's free time (via immigrant organizations, summer camps, exchange programs etc).

I have argued earlier in this thesis (sec. 1.2, 3.3.1) that I believe the future of the minority languages in this country depends far more on active use of the languages than on increased knowledge (in the sense discussed in sec. 3.3.1) of them. If one believes that the minority languages can survive if knowledge of them is developed, then language planning is simpler: it is simply a matter of providing more and better instruction in these languages. However, language planning becomes more difficult if the goal is to increase active use of the languages. It becomes a matter of trying to encourage and to motivate speakers to develop skills in the minority language by using them actively, and, in many ways, of combating the strong pressure, especially on the second generation, towards language assimilation and language shift. Clearly, the provision of two hours a week of voluntary instruction in the home languages has not been adequate to guarantee the active use of these languages outside the classroom, (though those who participate in such instruction do use ML more actively than those who do not). Other measures would seem necessary, affecting other spheres of activity besides education, if the immigrant minority languages are to be given a reasonable chance of surviving on the long term in Sweden.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1:
PERSONS WITH FOREIGN BACKGROUND LIVING IN SWEDEN ON DECEMBER 31, 1983

Country of birth/citizenship	Born abroad		Born in Sweden		Total
	Foreign citizens	Swedish citizens	Foreign citizens	Swedish citizens	
Scandinavia	154,223	166,901	50,045	89,424	460,593
Denmark	18,977	22,983	6,919	11,694	60,483
Finland	114,413	119,955	36,107	66,191	336,666
Norway	18,215	23,810	6,527	11,245	59,797
Iceland	2,618	243	492	294	3,647
Other:Europe	87,381	109,148	24,574	55,930	277,033
Greece	8,751	5,423	2,884	3,448	20,506
Jugoslavia	28,030	9,736	10,365	6,779	54,910
Poland	13,751	12,327	1,073	6,611	33,762
Gt. Britain	6,828	2,302	1,726	2,905	13,761
W. Germany	9,576	28,279	3,359	14,398	55,612
Hungary	2,547	10,905	221	4,224	17,897
Other countries	17,898	40,176	4,946	17,565	80,585
Africa	7,198	5,034	1,035	2,987	16,254
N. America	5,734	9,218	1,640	2,995	19,587
USA	4,340	7,509	1,456	2,321	15,626
Other countries	1,394	1,709	184	674	3,961
S. America	15,876	7,696	218	2,402	26,192
Chile	8,810	2,647	81	654	12,192
Other countries	7,066	5,049	137	1,748	14,000
Asia	37,792	23,420	7,316	7,762	76,290
Turkey	15,289	2,197	5,299	1,540	24,325
Other countries	22,503	21,223	2,017	6,222	51,965
Pacific islands	559	453	65	253	1,330
Soviet Union	1,374	5,364	42	1,056	7,836
Unknown	16	73	2,052	25	2,166
TOTAL	310,153	327,307 ¹⁾	86,987	162,834 ²⁾	887,281

1) Included in this total are 10,000 children born to Swedes living abroad, who should be excluded.

2) To this figure could be added over 120,000 persons 18 years old or more. This figure is an estimate.

Figures are taken from Invandrare i Sverige 1983, (statistik 3/84, Statens invandrarverk, my translation).

APPENDIX 2: PUPIL QUESTIONNAIRE ON LANGUAGE USE

/Questions posed as part of Questionnaire 1 (Background questions, first session):/

9. What languages does your biological mother speak? (Include them all, even ones she only speaks a little.)

She can speak _____

21. What languages does your biological father speak? (Include them all, even ones he only speaks a little.)

He can speak _____

43. What languages do your siblings speak? (Include them all, even the languages they only speak a little.)

They can speak _____

/Pupils were instructed to skip this question if they had no siblings./

118. What languages do your friends speak? (Include them all, even the languages they only know a little.)

They can speak _____

/This question was skipped if the respondent claimed to have no friends./

119. What languages does your best friend speak? (Include them all, even the languages she/he only knows a little.)

She/he can speak _____

I haven't got a "best friend" _____

124. What languages does your girl/boyfriend speak? (Include them all, even the languages she/he only knows a little.)

She/he can speak _____

I haven't got a girl/boyfriend _____

/Questions posed as part of questionnaire 3, second session./

To be sure that you answer the right questions, we must first find out:

1. Which country was your mother born in? _____

2. Which country was your father born in? _____

/If both parents were born in Sweden, the pupil was instructed to turn to the second part of the third questionnaire. The questions that follow were intended to be posed to only those pupils one or both of whose parents were born abroad./

3. What languages do you speak? (Include all languages, even if you only know a little.)

4. When you were little, what was the first language you learned to speak?

5. Did you learn any other language before you started school?

No _____

Yes _____ Which language? _____

6. What language did you learn to read first?

Doesn't apply to me _____

7. What language do you and your mother speak most often?

Doesn't apply to me _____

8. What language do you and your father speak most often?

Doesn't apply to me _____

9. What language do you and your siblings speak most often?

Doesn't apply to me _____

10. What language do you and your best friend speak most often?

Doesn't apply to me _____

11. What language do you and most of your friends speak most often?

Doesn't apply to me _____

12. What language do you and your girl/boyfriend speak most often together?

Doesn't apply to me _____

13. Do you sometimes speak to someone in one language, and they answer in another language?

No _____

Yes _____ With whom does this happen? _____

Which language do you speak? _____

Which language does she/he reply in? _____

14. What language is your mother's mother tongue?

Doesn't apply to me _____

15. What language is your father's mother tongue?

Doesn't apply to me _____

In the questions that follow, we have sometimes written *LANGUAGE*. This means your mother's or father's mother tongue, when this language is not Swedish.

16. What language is the *LANGUAGE* for you?

17. Are there other pupils in your class who can speak the *LANGUAGE*?

No _____

Yes _____ What language do you most often speak together e.g. before or after Swedish lessons?

What language do you most often speak together e.g. before or after home language lessons?

Doesn't apply to me _____

18. Do you ever meet school friends during breaks who can speak the *LANGUAGE*?

No _____

Yes _____ What language do you usually speak then?

19. Do you ever associate with friends in town who can speak the *LANGUAGE*?

No _____

Yes _____ What language do you usually speak then?

20. Do you ever meet people at a recreation center or club/organization who can speak the *LANGUAGE*?

Doesn't apply to me. I never go to a recreation center or organization/club _____

No _____

Yes _____ What language do you usually speak then?

21. How often do you read books (other than school books) in the *LANGUAGE*?

Every week _____
About once a month _____
A couple of times a year _____
Less often _____
Never _____

22. How often do you read a newspaper/magazine in the *LANGUAGE*?

Every day _____
Several times a week _____
Once a week _____
About once a month _____
Less often _____
Never _____

Which magazines/newspapers do you read? _____

23. How often do you watch TV programs in the *LANGUAGE*?

Every day _____
Several times a week _____
Once a week _____
About once a month _____
Less often _____
Never _____

24. How often do you listen to radio programs in the *LANGUAGE*?

Every day _____
Several times a week _____
Once a week _____
About once a month _____
Less often _____
Never _____

25. How often do you listen to or play music from the *COUNTRY*?
(This means the country where your mother or father or both were born, but not Sweden.)

Every day _____
Several times a week _____
Once a week _____
About once a month _____
Less often _____
Never _____

26. What country is the *COUNTRY*? _____

How often do you visit there?

Several times a year _____
Once a year _____
Every other year _____
Less often _____
Never _____

27. When you visit the *COUNTRY* and have a choice between the *LANGUAGE* and Swedish, which language do you prefer to speak?

The *LANGUAGE* _____
Swedish _____
It doesn't matter _____
Doesn't apply to me, I don't know the *LANGUAGE* at all _____
Doesn't apply to me, I never visit the *COUNTRY* _____

28. Do you think that your knowledge of the *LANGUAGE* is sufficient when you need to understand, speak, read and write the *LANGUAGE*?

My knowledge is sufficient to:

My knowledge is sufficient:

Almost always	In most cases	In some cases	Never
------------------	------------------	------------------	-------

Understand the *LANGUAGE* when it is spoken

Speak the *LANGUAGE*

Read the *LANGUAGE*

Write the *LANGUAGE*

29. When do you feel that you have too little knowledge of the *LANGUAGE*?

Describe these situations.

Doesn't apply to me _____

30. Sometimes there are high demands placed on knowledge of Swedish. Do you think that your knowledge of Swedish is sufficient for you to manage when you need to understand, speak, read and write Swedish?

My knowledge is sufficient to:

My knowledge is sufficient:

Almost always	In most cases	In some cases
------------------	------------------	------------------

Understand Swedish when it is spoken

Speak Swedish

Read Swedish

Write Swedish

31. When do you feel you know Swedish too little?

Describe these situations.

Doesn't apply to me _____

32. When you can choose between Swedish and the *LANGUAGE* here in Sweden, which language do you prefer to speak?

The *LANGUAGE* _____

Swedish _____

It doesn't matter _____

Doesn't apply to me, I can't speak the *LANGUAGE* at all _____

33. Do you attend or have you attended home language instruction?

No _____

Yes _____ How many years? _____

34. Have you received any other instruction in the *LANGUAGE*?

No _____

Yes _____ What sort of instruction was it? _____

35. Do your parents want you to attend home language instruction?

Yes _____

Doubtful _____

No _____

Don't know what they think _____

36. And what do you think? Do you want to attend home language instruction?

Yes _____

Doubtful _____

No _____

37. Can you explain why or why not?

38. Do you like it when one of your parents speaks the *LANGUAGE* with you in town?

She/he never speaks the *LANGUAGE* with me _____

Yes _____

Doubtful _____

No _____

39. Would you like your own children to learn the *LANGUAGE*?

Yes, definitely _____

Yes, perhaps _____

No, perhaps not _____

No, definitely not _____

40. Imagine that you were to change schools and came to a new class. Would you like your new classmates to know that your mother or father is from the *COUNTRY*?

Yes _____

Doubtful _____

No _____

41. With whom would you choose to have a family?

With someone whose mother or father comes from the *COUNTRY* _____

With someone whose parents are born in Sweden _____

It doesn't matter to me _____

Don't know _____

42. What do you think your parents think? Who would their choice for you be?

Someone whose mother or father comes from the *COUNTRY* _____

Someone whose parents are born in Sweden _____

It doesn't matter to my parents _____

I don't know what they think about it _____

43. When you are in Sweden, with whom do you feel most at home?

With those who have a background in the *COUNTRY* _____

With those who are from Sweden _____

Equally with both _____

Don't know _____

44. How important is it to know the *LANGUAGE* well to feel at home in Sweden with people who come from the *COUNTRY*?

Very important _____

Rather important _____

Not important _____

Don't know _____

45. In which country do you feel most comfortable?

In Sweden _____

In the *COUNTRY* _____

Equally at home in both _____

Not in any country _____

46. Do your parents plan to move back to the *COUNTRY*?

Yes _____

No _____

Don't know _____

/After these questions came questions on political socialization for immigrant young people only-- see sec. 4.1.1/

APPENDIX 3A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS; PUPIL INTERVIEWS

I. The pupil's own language history

- A. Where have you lived?
- B. Which language did you learn first of all? (Parents' mother tongues. Parents' dialect background.) Do you think you speak a dialect of Finnish?
- C. What was your first contact with Finnish/Swedish?
- D. Did you receive day care before you started school? Which language?
- E. Any other languages in the picture?

II. The home

- A. Whom do you live with now? (Distinguish between older and younger siblings.) (History.)
- B. Which languages can each member of the household speak?
- C. Which language do you speak with each one? Which language do they speak with each other?
- D. Has this always been the case? Have you changed language habits? When?
- E. (Names of pets, dolls etc. in family. Finnish or Swedish?)
- F. Problematic situations. What happens when
 1. Swedish monolingual friends visit
 2. Finnish bilingual friends visit
 3. Finnish monolinguals (e.g. relatives) visit
 4. Swedish-speaking adults, guests, workmates etc visit
 5. The family is in a public place, e.g. in town.
 6. The family visits monolingual Swedes
 7. The family visits Finland
 8. In a group where one language is used, speech directed at one individual in a group, when these two usually use the other language, e.g. parents' reprimands.
 9. What happens when you meet a stranger on the street who speaks poor Swedish, with Finnish accent.
- G. How does it work in your Finnish friends' families? Same as in your family? (Attitudes?)
- H. Is there an explicit language policy in the family? Is it discussed? Arguments?

III. School

- A. Which schools have you attended?
- B. Have you gone to school with more or less the same classmates since first grade? How many of them have Finnish parents?
- C. Have you been offered home language instruction? At what age?
- D. Why do you/do you not attend? Why have you stopped going?
 1. What happened when you were first offered home language instruction?
 2. Who decided whether or not you should attend?
 3. If the decision has changed, who has changed it?
- E. Do you plan to take Finnish in high school?
- F. What plans do you have for next year, otherwise?
- G. If there had been mother tongue classes when you had started school, would you have gone in such a class? What would your parents have preferred?
- H. Have you received any other type of instruction in Finnish besides home language instruction? (e.g. preparatory class, remedial instruction) Swedish as a second language?
- I. Is there any difference between teachers in home language

and in other subjects? Swedish as a second language?

F. Does the home language teacher speak Finnish more or less the same way as your parents?

G. Have pupils with immigrant background been treated differently in school?

1. Negatively?

2. Positively? (e.g. Have they been asked about Finland, conditions there, history etc?)

IV. Free time

A. What do you usually do in the afternoons after school? In the evenings? On the weekends? On vacations?

B. Where do you meet friends? At home? Other places?

C. Do you usually meet one other friend, or in larger groups?

D. Are you a member of any organization, club? Which one? Whom do you meet there?

E. Church?

F. Do you go to free time centers?

G. Have you ever participated in the activities of the Finnish club? Kultur-78?/The latter is a smaller Finnish organization in Borås/

H. Mass media: TV, radio, video, newspapers, magazines, music (live and recorded), movies, books. Swedish/Finnish?

I. Are you satisfied with the offerings? Is there some activity which you would like to do which you can't do for some reason?

J. Vacation: Where do you usually go? With the family? By yourself/with friends? (Ask specifically about Finland, if it doesn't come up.)

V. Language mixing

A. Does it ever happen that you speak to someone in one language, and they answer you in another? With whom? In what situations? How often? Why? Does one or the other later switch in the conversation? Which one?

B. Do you know anyone who has a conversation this way? (Attitudes)

C. Do you sometimes switch languages in a conversation? In what situations? Are there others who do?

D. Does it happen that you use a Swedish word or two when you are speaking Finnish? A Finnish word or two in your Swedish? How about other Finns? (Attitudes)

E. (Get some idea of frequency of these phenomena)

VI. Last questions

A. Are you satisfied with your knowledge of Finnish and Swedish?

B. If not, when do you notice the shortcomings?

C. How do you manage in these situations?

D. When you can choose between Finnish and Swedish, which language do you choose? In Sweden? In Finland?

E. Do you think it's important to know Finnish well to be considered a Finn among Finns in Sweden? In Finland?

F. What do you think would happen if you moved (back) to Finland? What kind of school would you prefer to go to?

G. Do you notice any difference between your Finnish and that of your relatives and friends in Finland?

APPENDIX 3B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS; PARENTAL INTERVIEWS

/These questions were used as a guide for the interviewer, who was encouraged to expand on them as necessary/

- I. The language in the home country, in the home area
 - A. (Parents' language(s), mother tongue. Other languages?)
 - B. (Language in school. Swedish in school?)
 - C. (Language among friends.)
 - D. (Contact with/ learning of other languages, dialects?)
 - E. (Did inf work in Finland? Language at workplace?)
 - F. (Wife/husband's language(s)).
 - G. (Conception of/ attitude towards Finland's official language policy, languages' use in home area. Service to Finlandssvenskar. Compare with Sweden-Finns. Attitudes to "hurri") /Finnish: mildly derogatory term for Finlandssvenskar/.
- II. Arrival in Sweden. First contact with Swedish.
 - A. Why did you move? When? Possible re-migrations. Who helped?
 - B. How did the first contacts with authorities go? Did you manage yourself? With an interpreter? Who helped/interpreted?
 - tax authorities
 - parish office
 - insurance authority
 - housing exchange
 - C. (First personal contact with Swedes.) Who? How? (i.e. private)
 - D. (Courses in Swedish. When (in relation to arrival)? How long?)
 - E. (Other language training? Who helped? In what way? At work?)
 - F. How much have you used an interpreter? (Was it a conscious decision to stop using one?)
- III. Finnish-- after arrival in Sweden
 - A. Whom did you speak Finnish with during the first years after your arrival? Were you forced to speak Swedish from the beginning?
 - B. Has this picture changed?
 - C. Are there situations where you avoid speaking Finnish?
 - D. Do you ever feel uncertain e.g. when you have to speak or write Finnish?
 - E. (Own language policy-- as much/as little as possible?)
 - F. Did you notice anything different about your friends' Finnish in Sweden?
 - G. Did you have any expectations or plans about the language before you came here?
- IV. The development of Swedish
 - A. Where did you first start to use Swedish? (at work, in town, with friends, at home, at a club etc.)
 - B. Were there (are there still) situations you avoided because of difficulties with the language?
 - C. What was easiest/most difficult? TV, radio, newspapers, books, spoken language?
 - Who was easiest to understand? Who was helpful? In what way?
 - Who were easiest/hardest to speak to? Children, friends, acquaintances, others?

D. How much did you try to improve your knowledge? How did you do it?

E. How much help was (formal) instruction? Your own efforts? In what way?

V. The language situation in the family today

A. Whom do you live with now? Which languages do each of them speak?

B. Which language(s) do you usually speak with each of them?

C. Which language(s) do they usually speak with each other?

Has this situation changed?

D. What happens with language use when

1. Other Finns visit (who can/cannot speak Swedish)

Relatives from Finland visit.

2. The family is in town? at the Finnish club? Visiting other Finnish families? Visiting Swedish families?

3. Swedish friends come for a visit?

4. If you turn to one person in the family, when a Swede is visiting, for example.

5. The family goes to Finland

6. What happens when you begin a conversation in Finnish and one or more Swedes join the company?

E. Does it ever happen that you speak Swedish with someone who can speak Finnish? Do others? What do you think about this?

F. Has it ever happened that you spoke to a stranger in Swedish, and discovered that she/he was a Finn? What did you do?

G. What names have you given your children? Pets?

H. What sort of language policy do other Finns have at home? As much/little Finnish? What do you think about it?

I. Is there any particular language policy in this family? Is it discussed?

VI. Language at the workplace

A. How much chance do you get to speak Finnish on the job? With whom? Do you try to have as much contact as possible with these people?

B. Do you meet workmates outside of work? Finnish or Swedish?

C. What happens when you speak Finnish on the job and there are Swedes nearby? Your boss?

D. Have you given/received help from other Finns on the job with Swedish? (e.g. when they haven't understood instructions, etc.)

E. How much do you need to use Swedish in your work? Do you have any use for your Finnish?

F. Have your language habits on the job changed?

VII. Free time today

A. What free time activities do you have? Any where you speak Swedish/Finnish?

B. What about the Finnish club? What language is spoken there? Is there any formal agreement among the members about language?

C. Other activities where you can speak Finnish? Where you "practice" your Swedish?

D. Church. The priest? Services? The sermon? Own prayers?

Church music? (Swedish or Finnish?)

E. (Mass media. TV, radio, magazines, newspapers, books, music in Finnish and Swedish.) Are you satisfied with the offerings in Finnish?

F. Social activities. How much with Finns? With Swedes? With other immigrants? Which language do you speak when you meet your friends? Exceptions? How have you met your friends?

G. Vacation. Finland? Sweden? Other countries? Have the trips to Finland increased, decreased? Has Finnish in your home area changed? Do people at home notice that your Finnish has changed?

VIII. Language mixing

A. Do you notice when other Finns mix Finnish and Swedish? Yourself?

B. What kind of mixing?

1. Different speakers in same conversation use different languages?

2. The same speaker speaks first in one language, and later changes to another.

3. The same speaker uses Swedish with Finnish elements
Finnish with Swedish elements

- What kind of mixing is most usual?

- Who mixes most?

- The elements-- what sort of words?

- When, how often does it happen? In Finland?

4. (Attitudes)

C. What do you think of various accents in Swedish? Which ones are beautiful and ugly? What about Finlandssvenska dialect?

IX. Home language instruction

A. How much do you think home language instruction has helped the children retain, develop their Finnish?

B. How much of their learning of Finnish has taken place in the classroom, in the home, elsewhere?

C. Is this the way it should be, do you think?

D. What language(s) is/are used in home language instruction?

What do they do during the lessons?

What do you think they should be doing?

E. Do you have much contact with the home language teacher? What do you think she/he should emphasize in instruction?

X. Last questions

A. Do you feel different when you speak Finnish and Swedish?

B. What are your views about your children's knowledge of Finnish and Swedish? About home language instruction? Mother tongue classes?

C. When you can choose between speaking Finnish and Swedish, which language do you choose? In Finland? In Sweden? What determines your choice?

D. Are you satisfied with your knowledge of Swedish, Finnish? If not, do you do anything about it?

E. Are there situations where you notice that your competence is insufficient? What do you do then?

F. How important is it that a person can speak good Finnish if she/he is to feel at home among Finns in Sweden? Accepted as Finnish in Finland? Are there differences?

G. How important is it to speak good Swedish to be accepted by Swedes?

H. Suppose that there had been another country, with the

same standard of living, and same opportunities, as close to Finland, as an alternative to move to. Had you moved to Sweden, or to the other country? Why?

APPENDIX 4: TABLES SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC BACKGROUND, (PARENTS') OCCUPATION, AND DEGREE OF BILINGUALISM.

The tables below show the relationship between parents' occupational status and degree of bilingualism when ethnic background is held constant, and between ethnic background and degree of bilingualism when parents' occupational status is held constant. The discussion of these results is in section 5.3.8.

The tables below can be read in the following way (taking table a as an example): The table shows that of all "fifi" young people, 73.3% are active bilinguals. This percentage can then be compared with the percentages of active bilinguals in the three occupational groups (if the occupational variable had no effect, these figures would lie close to 73.3%). The comparison shows that the degree of active bilingualism is higher (than 73.3%) in the lowest occupational groups for "fifi", but lower than 73.3% in the other two groups. This result matches part of the results for the population as a whole (cf. table 5.3.5), that active bilingualism is greater in the lower occupational group, while the greater rate of active bilingualism in the upper occupational group found in the population as a whole is not found for the "fifi" group considered by itself.

Summary of cross-tabulation of ethnic background and occupation:

Table A:

Fifi	I & IIA	IIB & IIIA	IIIB & IIIC	Total
Active bilinguals	5 33.3	31 59.6	123 82.0	159 73.3
Others	10 66.7	21 40.4	27 18.0	58 26.7
Total	15 6.9	52 24.0	150 69.1	217 100.0

Table B:

Anan	I & IIA	IIB & IIIA	IIIB & IIIC	Total
Active bilinguals	35 87.5	11 64.7	18 72.0	64 78.0
Others	5 12.5	6 35.3	7 28.0	18 22.0
Total	40 48.8	17 20.7	25 30.5	82 100.0

Table C:

Swefi	I & IIA	IIB & IIIA	IIIB & IIIC	Total
Active bilinguals	6 22.2	3 5.9	16 25.8	25 17.9
Others	21 77.8	48 94.1	46 74.2	115 82.1
Total	27 19.3	51 36.4	62 44.3	140 100.0

Table D:

Swan	I & IIA	IIB & IIIA	IIIB & IIIC	Total
Active bilinguals	19 23.5	11 15.5	2 4.2	32 16.0
Others	62 76.5	60 84.5	46 95.8	168 168
Total	81 40.5	71 35.5	48 24.0	200 100.0

Table E: Diff	I & IIA	IIB & IIIA	IIIB & IIIC	Total
Active bilinguals	0 0.0	4 36.4	7 50.0	11 39.3
Others	3 100.0	7 63.6	7 50.0	17 60.7
Total	3 10.7	11 39.3	14 50.0	28 100.0

Table F: I & IIA	fifi	anan	swefi	swan	diff	total
Active bilinguals	5 33.3	35 87.5	6 22.2	19 23.5	0 0.0	65 39.2
Others	10 66.7	5 12.5	21 77.8	62 76.5	3 100.0	101 60.8
Total	15 9.0	40 24.1	27 16.3	81 48.8	3 1.8	166 100.0

Table G: IIB & IIIA	fifi	anan	swefi	swan	diff	total
Active bilinguals	31 59.6	11 64.7	3 55.8	11 15.5	4 36.4	60 29.7
Others	21 40.4	6 35.3	48 94.1	60 84.5	7 63.6	142 70.3
Total	52 25.7	17 8.4	51 25.3	71 35.2	11 5.5	202 100.0

Table H: IIIB & IIIC	fifi	anan	swefi	swan	diff	total
Active bilinguals	123 82.0	18 72.0	16 25.8	2 4.2	7 50.0	166 55.5
Others	27 18.0	7 28.00	46 74.2	46 95.8	7 50.0	133 44.5
Total	150 50.2	25 8.36	62 20.7	48 16.1	14 4.7	299 100.0

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