

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
OF THE
SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

General Editor
JOSHUA A. FISHMAN

Offprint

Mouton de Gruyter
Berlin · New York

MILADOT, Angels

891

Ethnolinguistic vitality and ethnic identity: some Catalan and Frisian data¹

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Introduction

The vitality model of Giles et al. (1977) systematizes the factors that interact in the conservation of languages. The model proposes the combination of three sociostructural factors — status, institutional support, and demography — into a single factor called ethnolinguistic vitality. Following this model, the objective vitality (OV) of a language can be evaluated. Bourhis et al. (1981) introduced the concept of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV), which stands for a group's perception of the vitality of its language. To measure SEV, they constructed a Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ). SEV does not necessarily match "objective" assessments of vitality. Bourhis and Sachdev (1984), for instance, conclude that the status dimension may be most subject to biased perceptions. Others maintain that SEV and OV will on the whole go hand in hand (Gao et al. 1990; Giles et al. 1985).

SEV is a psychological construct that is elaborated after it has been submitted to affective and emotional filters. It may therefore be related to a speaker's degree of cultural identification. Both elements, SEV and identification, are included in ethnolinguistic identity theory (see Beebe and Giles 1984; Hildebrandt and Giles 1983). On the basis of earlier formulations of this theory, it could be argued that ethnic identity and SEV are positively related to one another. In line with this, Gao et al. (1990) hypothesized that ethnic group members who identify strongly with the group will perceive greater group vitality. Their hypothesis was supported, as the results of their study showed that ethnic identity among Mexican-Americans was significantly related to the perception of their group's vitality. Mexican-Americans who strongly identified with their group perceived the group as having higher vitality than those who did not identify strongly.

According to a reformulated version of ethnolinguistic identity theory (Giles and Johnson 1987), identification and SEV may also be negatively

related to each other: individuals who identify strongly with their group will perceive lower group vitality. This view has been supported by research in Wales. It was found that Welsh students who identified more strongly with the Welsh group perceived its vitality to be lower than weaker identifiers (Giles and Johnson 1987).

In view of the above, the aim of our study is twofold. The first purpose is to compare objective and perceived ethnolinguistic vitality in Catalonia (Spain) and Friesland (The Netherlands). The study is herewith one of the first cross-national vitality studies in Europe. The many sociostructural (dis)similarities between the two autochthonous communities form an interesting basis for comparison. The second aim of the study is to explore the relation between ethnic identification and SEV. In order to provide a background for the study and the discussion of the results, we begin by presenting an "objective" analysis of the Catalan and Frisian contexts.

Catalan status

Catalan is a minority language in Catalonia, but it is also the language of a large section of the bourgeoisie and the middle class. Castilian is the language of the immigrants and the lower strata of the population. One might consider this cross-diglossia (Siguan 1989). Catalan's high social status has been demonstrated in a number of works (Ros et al. 1987; Woolard 1989) and the "normalization" of the language has possibly enhanced its status (Woolard and Gahng 1990). At the beginning of this century, the language was codified. Alongside literary production, Catalan is used in scientific production. The statutes of Catalonia's universities establish that it is the official language. Catalonia has some international projection, an example of which is the number of universities abroad where it is possible to study it (Yates 1981). Recently, Catalan was also recognized as an official language within the European Communities. Catalonia is the most prosperous autonomous community in Spain (Siguan 1989). It has, after the Basque region, the highest income per capita. Unemployment is some five points below that of the rest of Spain.

Catalan demography

About six million people live in Catalonia. The territory covers 31,895 km². According to census data from 1986, Catalan is understood

by 90 percent of the population, 60 percent speak it, 60 percent read it, and 31 percent can write in the language. The percentage of speakers that live in (semi)rural zones is only 35 percent. The greatest number of Castilian speakers is found in the region surrounding Barcelona. Comparison of the 1975 census with that of 1986 shows that comprehension of Catalan in this area has gone from 58 to 81 percent while the percentage of those able to speak Catalan has gone from 34 percent in 1975 to 41 percent in 1986. The ability to write in Catalan has gone from 7 percent in 1975 to 18 percent in 1986 (Viladot and Romani 1987). Catalan is spoken in the home in 52 percent of the cases, Castilian in 36 percent, and both languages in the remaining 11 percent. A study carried out among industrial populations in the industrial belt of Barcelona shows that, in 44 percent of the mixed marriages, there is linguistic homogeneity in the home as a whole, with a predominance of Castilian speakers. In linguistically mixed couples, individuals tend to consider Castilian as first language. Birth rate, as well, is an important factor. In the 1986 census, a decrease is observed in the birthrate among the autochthonous Catalan population in relation to the stability of births among Castilian speakers (Laporte 1987). The Catalanian population has been increasing, but the current growth rate approaches zero. Finally, immigration has been important. Since the 1950s, industrial development has provoked a massive immigration from all parts of Spain. The largest concentrations of second- and third-generation immigrants are found in the regions surrounding Barcelona. Nowadays, the flow of immigrants has stopped.

Catalan institutional support

The autonomous government (Generalitat) was reestablished in 1977, and in 1983 the Law of Linguistic Normalization was put into effect. To 'Catalanize' the Generalitat itself, a network of linguistic normalizers has been created in its departments. In various cities, courses of Catalan for municipal services have been created. Castilian is the main language used in documents of business operations. In both Catalan newspapers, advertisements are in Catalan, but the Spanish newspapers seldom advertise in the language. The relevance of Catalan in business is also indicated by the commercial Catalan tv station. Until 1970, the teaching of Catalan was forbidden. Nowadays, the Generalitat has full competence in the field of education and there has been a considerable change since the 1970s. In 1979, compulsory primary education in Catalan was established. Nowadays, the minimum demands concerning the use of Catalan in

education are five hours weekly in courses dedicated to the teaching of Catalan or to the teaching of some subjects in Catalan. The Statute of Autonomy was approved in 1979. The first autonomous elections were held in 1980. The Catalan Parliament was then constituted. The ruling party in the Spanish Government is socialist, whereas the Generalitat is of nationalistic orientation. As to *culture*, book production in Catalan reached in 1990 about 10 percent of the total published in Castilian in all of Spain. In 1987, 19 commercial films were made in Barcelona, ten of which were in Catalan. According to data from 1988, 150 Catalan musical records were produced. Catalonia has a Catholic background. A considerable proportion of the *church* services is in Catalan. The religious institutions have played an important role in the language movement. Of the six *newspapers* published in Barcelona, two are in Catalan. The most widely circulating newspaper, *La Vanguardia*, dedicates one day per week to Catalan culture. The number of copies of the two Catalan papers is 45,000 and 16,000. There are also cultural magazines. These publications are quite numerous. Within the public network, the Generalitat's two *radio* stations are in Catalan. They have some 450,000 listeners. The FM National Spanish Radio (RNE) station has some 70,000 listeners. Finally, there are three Catalan *tv* channels, and Spanish television also broadcasts four hours daily in Catalan.

Frisian status

Frisian's social status is reflected in the self-categorization of being Frisian. Of the total provincial inhabitants, 76 percent define themselves as Frisian (Gorter et al. 1984). This indicates that Frisian has some social status within the province. Frisian has no high historical status, primarily because its history is closely integrated with Dutch history. One of the few symbols of the past that has some mobilizing effect is the commemoration of the "Battle of Warns" (in 1345). The status of the language itself differs inside and outside the province. Inside the territory, it has a relatively high status. This has, among others, to do with the fact that Frisian is fully standardized as a written language. There is a new Frisian dictionary, and the literary production is relatively important. Nevertheless, compared to Dutch, Frisian cannot be regarded as a full cultural language (Feitsma 1978). Many Frisians have a feeling that Dutch is superior in many ways to their ingroup language. The status of Frisian outside the province is low, although the relation between Old Frisian and Old English and the fact that it can be studied at the university level give the language some status. The province's economy is almost

completely integrated into the national system. Friesland is characterized by economic arrears. Seventeen percent of the working population is unemployed, which is 3 percent higher than the national average (Verhaar et al. 1990). Frisians are overrepresented in the lowest educational level. The incomes are also unequally distributed. In 1980, 22 percent of the Frisian working people reported earnings of f. 2,500 or more, whereas 45 percent of the Dutch people did so (Gorter et al. 1984).

Frisian demography

Friesland has nearly 600,000 inhabitants, an estimated 400,000 of whom speak Frisian. The province covers 3,788 of the 37,291 km² which make up The Netherlands (Holland). Frisian speakers are chiefly found in the countryside. Of the provincial population, 94 percent can understand the language, 73 percent can speak it, 65 percent are able to read Frisian, and 10 percent can write it (Gorter et al. 1988). There is an increasing number of mixed marriages in the province. Of the married people with Frisian as first language, about one out of five has a non-Frisian partner (Gorter 1983). There are no indications that birth rates differ considerably between Dutch and Frisian people. Before the 1970s, the population had been decreasing for decennia, but Friesland's population grew during the 1970s (van der Horn 1989). There was a positive balance of migration of some 40,000 non-Frisian-speaking people during the period between 1970 and 1980 (Gorter 1983). In the same period, there was a negative balance of migration of some 20,000 Frisian-speaking people. Relatedly, during the late 1960s and the 1970s, the ability to speak Frisian decreased by 7 percent (Gorter et al. 1984). Since the 1980s, there has again been an overall negative migration balance for the provincial population (van der Horn 1989).

Frisian institutional support

The use of Frisian is minimally supported in the *government* services. Welfare and health care services, for instance, frequently have a predominantly Dutch-speaking staff. An exception is the stimulation of Frisian by four (out of 31) municipalities. These municipalities developed a language policy that chiefly aims to promote writing in Frisian. Results so far are poor. In one of the four municipalities, only 7 percent of the documents produced by the administration were in Frisian. The language is not well represented in business. Only 6 percent of the working people

had certain arrangements regarding language usage at work (Gorter et al. 1984). Occasionally, Frisian is used in advertisements, especially by institutions rooted in the local society. Regarding *schooling*, Frisian has a modest place in primary education, where Frisian has been an obligatory subject since 1980. In the majority of the primary schools, the time given to Frisian as a subject is 30–45 minutes per week. Some secondary schools offer Frisian lessons, and Frisian studies are possible at the university level. Frisian is put on the agenda of all *political parties* in the province. Both large political groups, the Socialists and the Christian Democrats, are in favor of Frisian. There is also a nationalistic party which has two (out of 55) seats (see Penrose 1990). The provincial government, which is not autonomous, conducts a prudent language policy. Frisian *culture* is, among others, represented by Frisian theater. TRYATER, a professional theater company, is very popular. There is also a sizeable literary production. Some 100 Frisian titles are published annually (Gorter 1983). Forty-two percent of the province's population report reading Frisian books (Gorter et al. 1984). Incidentally, a Frisian commercial film has been produced and there are some recordings of Frisian (pop) music. The language of the *church* is almost exclusively Dutch, but anyone who wishes to attend a Frisian service can do so each Sunday. Perhaps as a result of this minimal position of Frisian in the religious spheres, a Frisian Bible was not published until 1943. *Radio Fryslân* broadcasts for about 27 hours per week, and there are Frisian TV programmes for one hour per week. Sixty-three percent of the province's inhabitants report listening to Radio Fryslân. Approximately 5 percent of the text of both provincial *newspapers* is in Frisian (Gorter 1983). There is one Frisian weekly with a circulation of nearly 6,000 copies, and finally, there are various Frisian (cultural) magazines that have a limited circulation of a few thousand copies at most.

Method

The SVQ was completed by 35 Catalan students. They were from a private school in the upper-class area of Barcelona. Their mean age was 18 years. All students had Catalan as mother tongue and considered themselves to be Catalan. On the Frisian side, 29 students completed the SVQ. There were 26 university students and three students at schools for higher vocational training. Their mean age was 22 years. Frisian was their first language and they used the self-referent "Frisian." Neither group can be regarded as a representative sample of the student population. Still, they give useful indications about ethnolinguistic vitality and

ethnic identity in Catalonia and Friesland. These indications corroborate the results of other studies in both contexts (Ros et al. 1987; Van der Plank 1982; Woolard 1989).

The SVQ was the same as applied by Giles and Johnson (1987). Two items on the strength of the groups and languages were added. The questionnaires were in Catalan and in Frisian. A 7-point scale was used. Catalan and Frisian overall SEV scores were constructed by separately averaging the original 19 SVQ items (Cronbach's alphas were, respectively, .70 and .63). The Catalan questionnaires were administered in the morning, replacing classes in Catalan. The Frisian students responded during the Christmas Congress, a meeting of Frisian students. Ethnic identity was indicated by the items that were applied by Giles and Johnson (1987). Subjects rated the importance of their ethnic identity, their first language, and the learning of this language by their offspring. A 10-point scale was used. In both student groups, these items intercorrelated significantly (Cronbach's alpha was .81, for both groups). Thus, the three items were averaged to provide one overall identification score (ID). For the Frisian students, a median split (median = 8.3) was used to differentiate between low and high identifiers. The Catalan students' ID was very much asymmetrically distributed; 22 students scored the maximum of 10. Splitting the Catalan group according to ID was therefore less appropriate.

Results

Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV)

Some objective assessments of vitality were presented in the first part of this paper. This section deals with the perceived vitality of Catalan versus Castilian in the province of Catalonia and Frisian versus Dutch in the province of Frisia.

Catalan. The means obtained by the Catalan student group on each component item are shown in Table 1.

Catalan status. The students feel that Catalan people are very proud of their cultural history (1). The same cannot be said to be true with the perceived position of Castilian speakers. The Catalans have a relatively high perceived economic status (2), although their perceived status is not statistically different from that of the Castilians. The Catalans are perceived to feel much better considered as a group (3) than the Castilians.

Table 1. Mean scores and *t*-tests of the Catalan group on the component items ($n=35$)^a

Status	Catalan mean sd	Castilian mean sd	T sig
1. proud of culture and history	6.29 1.02	4.12 2.09	-6.42**
2. rich	4.43 1.20	3.91 1.54	-
3. regarded group in Catalonia	5.46 1.12	3.43 1.38	-7.03**
4. regarded language in Catalonia	5.49 1.12	4.49 1.58	3.00*
5. regarded language internationally	2.34 1.37	5.69 1.21	-9.97**
Demography			
1. estimation proportion	4.60 1.14	3.69 1.30	-
2. majority/minority	5.00 1.13	4.41 1.35	-
3. marry in own group	3.77 1.71	3.76 1.74	-
4. birth rates	4.89 1.45	3.94 1.68	-
5. emigration	5.20 1.64	4.69 1.62	-
6. immigration	2.79 1.79	4.21 1.72	4.14**
Institutional support			
1. government services	3.34 1.76	5.63 1.26	5.53**
2. economic matters	4.74 1.38	4.40 1.44	-
3. business	4.11 1.69	5.37 1.14	3.36*
4. education	5.65 1.18	4.85 1.62	-
5. political power	5.34 1.55	4.20 1.59	-
6. cultural life	5.31 1.51	4.32 1.68	-
7. religion	4.94 1.45	4.54 1.29	-
8. mass media	4.86 1.63	5.17 1.69	-
General vitality			
1. strong/active	5.40 1.54	4.03 1.35	-4.12**
2. strong/active in 20/30 yrs	5.44 1.86	3.91 1.82	2.74*

^aAlpha set at .01; * = $p < .01$; ** = $p < .001$.

The students perceive that Catalan has great prestige in Catalonia (4); the prestige value they assign to Castilian is significantly lower. They judge the international status of Catalan very differently, and in favor of Castilian (5).

Catalan demography. The students perceive that the proportion of Catalans to Castilians in Catalonia is slightly in favor of the Catalan (1). They estimate there are slightly more Catalan than Castilian speakers in Catalonia (2). They believe there are no differences between the groups in the frequency of mixed marriages (3). The estimated birth rate (4) is considered to be somewhat lower in the Castilian group than in the Catalan group. Finally, they estimate that the Catalan speakers' emigration rate (5) is slightly higher than that of the Castilians. Regarding

immigration rates (6), we observe that the students perceive a much more frequent immigration of Castilians to Catalonia.

Catalan institutional support. The students evaluate the use of Catalan in government services (1) as low, and significantly lower than the use of Castilian. When asked about the influence both groups have in economic matters (2), they find few differences between the two groups. Regarding business (3), they perceive a significantly stronger position of Castilian. At school (4), Catalan representation is perceived to be somewhat higher than that of Castilian. They also believe that Catalans have slightly more political power (5). They estimate that the Catalans are somewhat better represented in cultural life (6). As to religion (7) and position in the mass media (8), they perceive minor differences between the languages.

Catalan general vitality. The Catalans have a significantly higher perceived force and activity (1) than the Castilians. When asked about the future strength (2) of the two groups, the estimated relative strength of the groups remains unchanged; that is, the students consider that the Catalan group will have a significantly higher degree of strength and activity than the Castilian group in the future.

Frisian. The means obtained by the Frisian group on each component item are shown in Table 2.

Frisian status. The students feel that Frisians are proud of their cultural history, while Dutch people are much less so (1). The Dutch group is perceived as having a high economic status (2), far above that of the Frisians. The students estimate (3) that Frisians are somewhat better regarded than Dutch people in the province. The Frisian and Dutch languages are not seen as differently regarded, either inside the province (4) or internationally (5). Both languages are considered to be favorably regarded in Friesland, but they are downgraded within the international framework.

Frisian demography. The students estimate that there is a much higher proportion of Frisians than of Dutch in the province (1). Regarding sheer numbers (2), Frisians are considered to be a large majority. The students believe that the two groups do not differ significantly regarding the frequency of occurrence of mixed marriages (3) and birth rates (4). They feel there are more Frisians than Dutch people who emigrate (5)

Table 2. Mean scores and t-tests of the Frisian group on the component items (n = 29)^a

	Frisian mean	Frisian mean sd	Dutch mean	Dutch mean sd	T sig
Status					
1. proud of culture and history	5.10	1.45	3.03	1.21	-5.48**
2. rich	3.45	0.57	4.83	0.60	7.08**
3. regarded group in Frisia	4.66	1.14	3.83	1.17	-
4. regarded language in Frisia	4.59	1.15	4.62	1.40	-
5. regarded language internationally	2.66	1.54	2.55	1.18	-
Demography					
1. estimation proportion	4.96	0.84	2.82	0.98	-6.45**
2. majority/minority	5.38	0.90	2.86	0.79	8.62**
3. marry in own group	4.24	1.30	3.97	1.40	-
4. birth rates	3.32	1.16	4.14	1.41	-
5. emigration	4.24	1.12	3.59	0.83	3.38*
6. immigration	2.45	0.95	4.28	1.22	-5.89**
Institutional support					
1. government services	3.21	1.26	5.43	1.14	-5.59**
2. economic matters	3.38	1.26	5.10	1.01	3.57**
3. business	2.90	1.29	5.86	1.09	8.25**
4. education	2.64	1.16	6.68	0.48	19.94**
5. political power	4.03	1.08	4.69	1.17	-
6. cultural life	4.39	1.12	4.71	1.36	-
7. religion	2.64	0.87	5.89	0.57	13.28**
8. mass media	2.66	1.59	6.34	1.34	7.62**
General vitality					
1. strong/active	4.31	1.14	3.65	1.08	2.80*
2. strong/active in 20/30 yrs	3.66	1.08	4.48	1.21	-

^a Alpha set at .01; * = p < .01; ** = p < .001.

from Frisia, and they indicate there are more Dutch people than Frisians who immigrate (6) to Frisia.

Frisian institutional support. The students estimate that Frisian is much less supported in government services than Dutch (1). They perceive its position in economic matters (2) and in business (3) as much weaker than that of Dutch. The largest discrepancy is found in the educational sphere (4), where the students perceive a much stronger support of the Dutch language. Regarding political power and representation in cultural life, the differences between the groups are perceived to be small. Finally, there are substantial differences between the perceived position of the languages in religion (7) and in the mass media (8). In both instances, Dutch is perceived as receiving much support and Frisian very little.

Frisian general vitality. The current strength of the Frisian group is perceived to be stronger than that of the Dutch group. However, the strength of the former group is felt to be decreasing (t = 2.80, p < .01). Thus, the valuation of future general Frisian vitality is negative.

A comparison of Catalan and Frisian "vitality profiles"

Figure 1, in which the mean scores on the items comprising the vitality factors are depicted, presents a comparison of Catalan and Frisian SEV. Figure 1 reveals a remarkable resemblance between the curves, which indicates that the vitality of the languages can be characterized by more or less identical sociostructural tendencies. Regarding the status factor, both groups show the highest scores on group pride and the lowest scores on international recognition. The Catalan group scores significantly higher on four out of five status items. Therefore, the conclusion seems to be warranted that perceived Catalan status is relatively higher. With respect to demography, Figure 1 indicates that both groups clearly main-

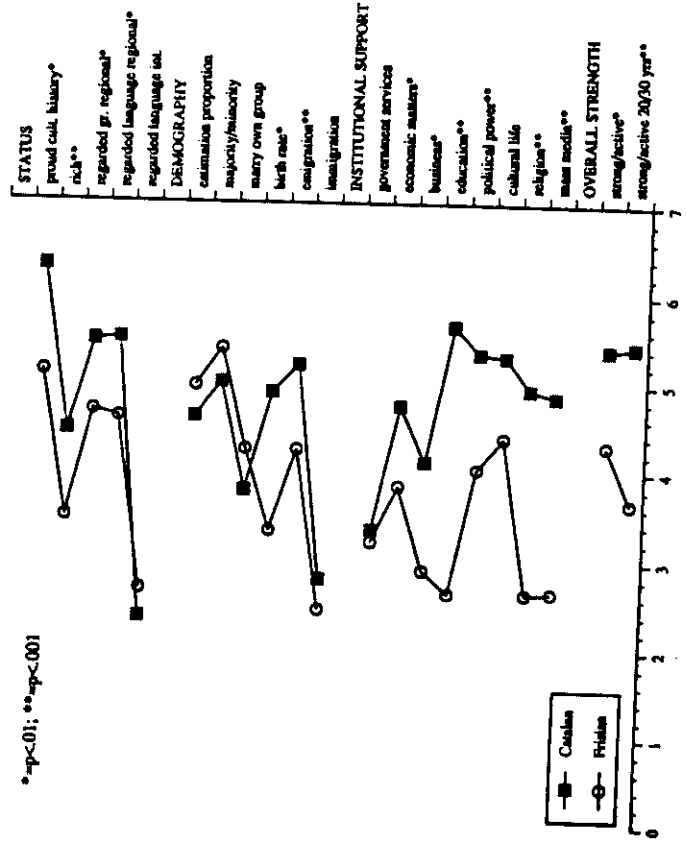


Figure 1. Comparative profile of Catalan and Frisian perceived vitality

tain a relative numerical preponderance (estimate of proportion and majority-minority status). Both groups score considerably beyond the midpoint of the scale, which indicates a favorable demographic constellation. Significant differences are found between the two groups regarding birth rates and emigration. Catalan scores higher on both items. The biggest discrepancy between Catalan and Frisian SEV is found in the area of institutional support. Catalan scores significantly higher than Frisian on six out of eight items. Except for the position of the language in cultural life, Frisian consistently scores on or (far) below the midpoint of the scale. Except for the representativeness of the language in government services, Catalan consistently scores (far) above the midpoint. The differences in support for the two languages are most dramatic as to the representation of the languages in education, political power, religion, and mass media. Finally, Figure 1 also shows that regarding current and future strength of the groups, the Catalan group is perceived as significantly stronger than the Frisian group. Moreover, whereas the Catalans estimate no difference between the current and future strength of their group, the Frisians perceive a future weakening of their group's strength ($t=2.80$, $p<.01$).

Identity and vitality

The mean ID score for the Catalans was very high ($M=9.49$), which is in agreement with other findings (Ros et al. 1987). The Frisians also identified very strongly with their group ($M=8.14$). This corresponds with findings reported by Van der Plank (1982).

The combination of the above figures with those concerning Catalan and Frisian SEV indicates that ID was high(er) to the degree that SEV was high(er). That is, Catalan's high vitality seemingly fosters strong ID, while Frisian's low (or medium) vitality fosters somewhat weaker ID. These results match those of Landry and Allard (1994), who found that ID decreased as vitality decreased.

For the Frisian student group, t-tests were calculated to explore the relationship between ID and ingroup/outgroup vitality. Low and high identifiers' mean ID scores were 7.02 and 9.3 respectively. Interestingly, there were significant differences between Frisian SEV for low and high identifiers. Their mean Frisian SEV scores were respectively 3.94 and 3.55 ($t=2.63$, $p<.02$). In the Frisian context, high identifiers perceived their language/group as having lower vitality than those who did not identify strongly.

Summary and discussion

Our data support the view that SEV generally matches OV. Nevertheless, certain SVQ items deviate from this pattern. Examples are the extremely low international recognition of Dutch and the low Castilian birth rates where, in both instances, perceptions of outgroup vitality were downgraded vis-à-vis objective indications. Another example, in which ingroup vitality is upgraded, is the strikingly favorable educational position attributed to Catalan. This reminds us of the possible effect of the immediate setting in which respondents complete the SVQ (Bourhis and Sachdev 1984).

There is a strong resemblance between the vitality profiles of the two languages. They score relatively high on group pride, estimation of numerical minority/majority, and cultural representation. They score low on international recognition and position in government services. The congruence between the vitality profiles suggests that similar sociostructural forces are active in both contexts.

Important SEV differences are found in evaluations of status and institutional support. Catalan status is consistently perceived as higher than Frisian status, and Catalan institutional support is perceived as much stronger than support for Frisian. Assumedly, status and institutional support interrelate (cf. Giles et al. 1985; Labrie and Clément 1986). In other words, perceptions of high status and strong institutional support tend to go hand in hand. It seems reasonable to suppose that Catalans' high status and its strong institutional support lead group members to believe that Catalans' future vitality seems guaranteed. In contrast, because both factors have such a detrimental effect in this context, Frisians' future vitality might be viewed as less stable.

With respect to the relationship between ID and SEV, intergroup comparisons showed that ID and SEV were positively related. The high vitality of Catalan seemingly bolsters very strong ID, while Frisian's low (or medium) vitality fosters somewhat weaker ID. These findings fit well those of Landry and Allard (1994), who report that identification with the ingroup decreased as the vitality of the group decreased.

Intragroup comparison, in contrast, revealed that ID and SEV can also be negatively related. Frisian SEV was perceived as significantly lower by high identifiers than by low identifiers. This confirms previous Welsh data (Giles and Johnson 1987). Welsh students who strongly identified with the group perceived Welsh vitality to be lower than those who identified less strongly. However, the Frisian results contradict Mexican findings, where high identifiers perceived greater Mexican-American vitality (Gao et al. 1990). Perhaps this has something to do

with the fact that, while the Mexicans also estimated their vitality as medium (or low), they expected future progress.

All this suggests that in low (or medium) vitality groups, ID may be negatively related to ingroup SEV. In such contexts, high identifiers may perceive low vitality, while low identifiers perceive high vitality. This may be interpreted by referring to social identity theory (Tajfel 1978), as suggested in the work of Saint-Blancat (1985) and Kraemer and Olshtain (1989). Perception of low group vitality fosters the need to seek a favorable identity based on positively valued distinctiveness from the outgroup. Language can be a suitable object for such differentiation. A preferable interpretation may be proposed by conceiving the concept of group failure (Turner et al. 1984) as low vitality, and by introducing the concept of "ideal vitality," that is, the vitality that a person's ethnic group ideally possesses. In the case of low vitality (group failure), high identifiers tend to feel a large discrepancy between objective and ideal vitality. Their ideal vitality may be normative for estimating OV, which results in a minimized SEV. Conversely, low identifiers' SEV is not (or is less) tinged with ideal vitality.

In the foregoing, we stated that SEV is a psychological construct that is elaborated after being submitted to affective and emotional filters. On the basis of our (admittedly small) data set, we now prudently propose that ID may be a component of this filter. In contexts with high (or increasing) vitality, ID may positively relate (or may not relate) to ingroup SEV. In contrast, ID and ingroup SEV may negatively relate in contexts with low (or decreasing) vitality.

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Note

1. We wish to thank Kathryn Woolard for her useful comments on an earlier version of this article.

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