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Introduction

The data reported on in this paper are drawn from a large-scale sociolinguistic research project dealing with language shift and language loss of Turkish and Italian immigrants in Flanders and the Netherlands. We have reported on various aspects of this project on different occasions (Jaspaert and Kroon 1988, 1989). In this paper we will mainly be concerned with the analysis of part of our data (language choice among Italians) in a more theoretical and methodological perspective. In the first section a short outline of the project is given. Next, the operationalization of some central concepts and factors is discussed. The third and final section deals with the analysis of the language-choice data of the Italian group. We have not included a description of the Italian group in the Netherlands and Flanders, nor an extensive overview of literature on language-choice patterns in other situations. The interested reader can find this information in Jaspaert and Kroon (1989) and in Jaspaert and Kroon (forthcoming). Information on language and minorities in the Netherlands in general can be found in Extra and Vallen (1988).

1. Outline of the project

The main aim of the project, as formulated in the research proposal, is to investigate through which mechanisms social factors influence the linguistic processes of language shift and language loss as they occur with Turkish and Italian immigrants in the Dutch language area. Language shift, in this respect, refers to a change in preference for a language for communication with group members, whereas language loss refers to a change in the linguistic competence of speakers of a language or language variety. Language shift and language loss are considered to be interrelated phenomena: loss of L1 competence, occuring in members of immigrant

groups, can be seen as a result of the shift that these groups experienced within a bilingual, diglossic situation. To the extent to which this situation of bilingualism can be typified as 'subtractive bilingualism' (see Lambert 1974), language shift is likely to lead eventually to language loss. At the same time, the loss of part of the proficiency in a given language may also cause a reduction in the functionality of that language, so that language loss in this respect may lead to further language shift.

Gal (1979: 17) defines language shift as 'a socially motivated redistribution of synchronic variants to different speakers and different social environments'. In the group that concerns us here two forms of this redistribution can be observed. First, there is the radical redistribution that is forced on members of the group by the fact of their migration itself: their social environment has been changed drastically, confronting them with a group of people with whom they cannot communicate unless they use another language. If they want to establish communication, the members of the minority group do not really have a choice of language. The social motivation for this form of shift lies in the fact of migration, and not in the individual social characteristics of the members of the ethnic group.

The second form of redistribution occurs when members of the minory group start to use the language of the society they have migrated into for the interaction with members of their own group. This form of shift is related to a real choice of language. One could consider the first form of shift as a mechanism which creates a new form of diglossia, and the second form of shift as the mechanism which defines the stability of this new diglossia. In this sense the language choice which constitutes this second form of shift is important for considerations of language maintenance. It is through these patterns of choice that language shift is determined by social characteristics of the language users. Therefore, we will concentrate on patterns of language choice within the ethnic community itself.

In dealing with the question of the social determination of the processes of shift and loss, it has often been observed that any given social factor is ambivalent with respect to its influence on these processes: in some cases the factor seems to promote language shift or language loss, whereas in other situations the same factor turns out to retard the process (Kloss 1966; Clyne 1982). The only way in which this ambivalence can be resolved is not by focusing on the direct influence of social factors, but by examining the way in which these factors interact in constituting mechanisms of influence (see Fishman 1972; Appel and Muysken 1987). When, for instance, low-class ethnic group members tend to use the ethnic group language more often than higher-class members in comparable

situations, it makes no sense to interpret this correlation in a direct causal way. It is not bécause a person belongs to the lower class that he uses the ethnic group language. Rather, his socioeconomic status puts him in such a position in an interaction situation, so that his options are limited and the chances of him using the ethnic group language grow (Gal 1979). The description of these positions and the way they interact with both the socioeconomic factors and the language-choice patterns form the basis for a theory on determinants of language choice. The ambivalent influence of social factors will have to be accounted for in the various ways in which these factors and the socioeconomic position of the individual interact in any given situation.

Since we are dealing with only two ethnic groups in two, from an economic and cultural perspective very similar, countries, it is clear that we will not be in a position to make strong theoretical claims. We can only hope to extract a rough theoretical framework, which can then be tested and refined in a wide variety of situations.

As a starting point for the elaboration of such a theory we used Pierre Bourdieu's theory of the economy of symbolic exchanges (see for example Bourdieu 1982). Other starting points, such as theories based on ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al. 1977) or attitudes (Smith 1977) were feasible. We will not discuss in detail here why we started out from ideas related to economy of symbolic exchanges. We will only point out that Bourdieu's theory, more than any other theoretical approach to language contact, takes into account characteristics of the dominant group, and that we believe these characteristics to be vital ones for the explanation of language shift and language loss.

A central notion in Bourdieu's theory is the concept of the 'linguistic market'. This linguistic market can be described as a social situation in which verbal interaction takes place and, at the same time, as a complex of variable rules on the basis of which it is decided in that situation, which value can be given to which linguistic products. In our research we assume that (apart from the official linguistic market on which communication between indigenous speakers of Dutch takes place) the immigration of groups with a native language other than Dutch creates a linguistic market in which the verbal interaction between members of the immigrant group and members of the community in which they have settled is organized (LM1) and a linguistic market in which communication within the immigrant group is organized (LM2). The symbolic power relationships between the different groups which are at work on LM1 will be reproduced in price-determining laws on the basis of which it can be decided which linguistic products are legitimate and which are not.

The individuals who are subjected to these price-determining laws develop strategies in order to maximize the price of their linguistic products.

There can hardly be any doubt about the fact that immigrant groups hold a dominated position on LM1 and that the legitimacy of their products will largely be determined by the indigenous population. This does not mean, however, that LM1 is governed by the same laws as the official linguistic market which functions within the indigenous linguistic community. The dominant group can try to reinforce its position by meeting the dominated groups halfway on certain points. A union may, for instance, publish texts in the language of an important dominated group, so that the threshold for membership for members of that group is lowered, and the chance that they may form their own, competing union is diminished. Or a shopkeeper may decide to learn and use the dominated language with customers of that group in order to avoid the emergence of competing ethnic entrepreneurship. The nature and scope of these concessions are determining factors for both the structure of LM1 and the linguistic behaviour of the dominated groups in that market. The facilities offered by the dominant group partly depend on the dominated group, which means that there exists as many LM1's as there are combinations of dominant and dominated groups.

A member of a dominated group cannot manipulate the price-determining laws that rule LM1. He does have expectations with respect to the value of his linguistic products on that market. This anticipation, which, by the way, does not have to be a conscious one, will influence his behavior in LM1: depending on the degree of confidence he has in his own abilities to produce acceptable linguistic products in an interaction situation, he will make his choice from various behavioral alternatives, such as to not or not directly enter interaction, to use L1 or L2, to code-switch, etc. The choice made by a particular individual will, among other things, be expressed by the extent to which his linguistic behavior shows language shift and language loss.

In as far as assimilation to the dominant group in LM1 (and hence a shift toward the normative language in that market) involves language loss for members of immigrant groups, these members lose the ability to produce legitimate linguistic products in LM2, the linguistic market in which interaction within their own immigrant group is regulated. It should, therefore, be evident that for members of immigrant groups, behavior in LM1 is also determined by the relative importance of LM2. It goes without saying that the behavioral options for ethnic minority-group members in LM1 are seriously restricted. In most cases they either use Dutch or remain uncomprehended. One could expect that their normal line of action would be to use Dutch. The three factors mentioned

above may then indicate in which instance they would not choose to do so: when the dominant group has allowed some facilities, when they distrust their proficiency in Dutch in that it would bring them more harm than good, and when the use of Dutch would cause them to lose some symbolic gain within the ethnic group itself.

Another important element of Bourdieu's theory with respect to changes in linguistic behavior is the tendency for unification of diverse linguistic markets that exist within one political and economic entity. As the ethnic groups become integrated economically and politically into the society within which they live, a tendency toward unification of LM1 and LM2 can be expected. This unification necessarily takes the form of an importation of LM1 norms to LM2. Just as dialect speakers can be observed to start to use standard language for communication with certain other members of the dialect community, members of ethnic groups can be expected to start to use Dutch with certain other members of the groups. Since this should be regarded as a process of norm adaption, it is natural that the modalities and the scope of this change are dominated by the same mechanisms and strategies that directed the behavior of the ethnic group members in LM1. Whereas facilities for the use of their own language in LM1 enable them to use their own language in that market, it would also strengthen their confidence in their own language and make the need for a shift in LM2 less evident. Whereas a low anticipation of the acceptability of their Dutch products would cause them to refrain from using Dutch in LM1, it would also cause them to refrain from giving up the profits resulting from the use of the group language. And just as the importance of LM2 may offer an alternative to being verbally active in LM1, it may also slow down or even stop the tendency toward unification of the two markets.

In view of the above, we have tried to test the hypothesis that language shift and, more specifically, language choice are largely determined by three components of the position a language user holds in the communication landscape: the structure of LM1, the relative importance of LM2, and the anticipation of acceptability of linguistic products in LM1 by members of immigrant groups. We further hypothesize that correlations between socioeconomic factors and language choice should in most cases be interpreted as being indirect: socioeconomic factors determine the position an individual holds in situations of symbolic exchanges; consequently, the socioeconomic factors which determine those components of that position which are relevant for language choice will show a relation with language choice itself.

Statistically, these hypotheses can be tested by means of path analysis. Path analysis can be considered an extension of the better-known

multiple-regression technique. Multiple-regression analysis is not new in language-maintenance research (see Fishman et al. 1975; Veltman 1983). Path analysis is probably less well known. Roughly speaking, it represents a number of regression equations, also including meaningful analyses between so-called predictor variables. From this set of equations the direct as well as the indirect effect of a predictor variable on the dependent variable can be inferred.

Path analysis suits our purposes very well. We pointed out earlier that a thorough discussion of the determinants of language choice requires a theory explaining why the effects that are measured actually occur, and why they interact the way they do. This explanation is precisely what path analysis can provide us with. It enables us to take into account the interactions between contributory factors. Moreover, it enables us to introduce a theory of sociocultural change directly into the research design. By using a model which includes the effects of the three main components of language choice and the effects of socioeconomic factors on these three components, we are able to compare the remaining direct effect of the socioeconomic factors on language choice with the indirect effect, that is, the effect of the socioeconomic factors on the components of the individual's position that are relevant for his language choice. Because of their positon in between the socioeconomic factors and language choice and because they are the operationalization of certain ideas rather than psychological entities, we call these relevant components 'intermediary concepts'. So the main question to be answered in this respect is, whether sociological characeristics of the informants are responsible for language shift and language loss in a direct way, or via the three concepts developed to describe the sociolinguistic situation of the informants. The design of our research is schematically presented in Figure 1.

In the next section the process of language shift will be discussed on the basis of the data of 300 of the Italian informants. The Flemish data (118 informants) were collected in Eisden, a small town in the province of Limburg which has a very large Italian population. In the Netherlands, data were collected in Enschede (n = 132) and Heerlen (n = 50), two towns with a relatively important Italian populations.

2. Operationalization of variables

In order to answer the questions that were put forward in section 1, it is of course necessary to decide first of all how the elements that appear in Figure 1 will be operationalized. Particularly important in this respect is
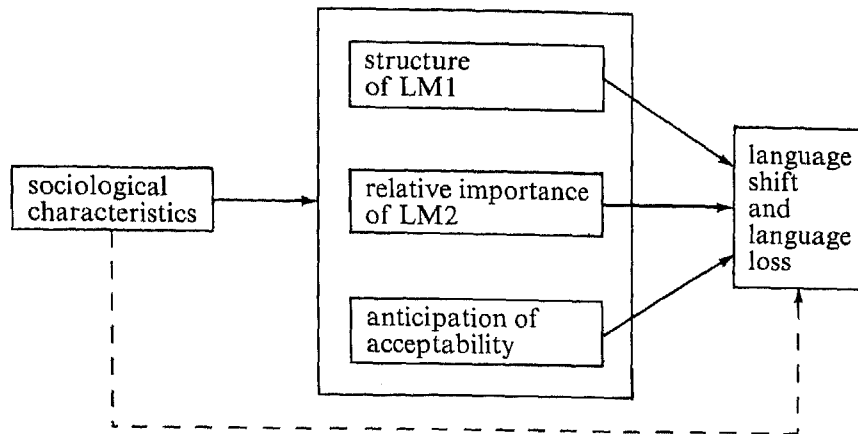
Figure 1. *Design of the research*

the way in which the dependent-variable language choice and the intermediary concepts are constructed. We will elaborate on their construction before we move on to a discussion of the statistical analysis of the data.

2.1. Language choice

Since we decided to investigate only that form of shift in which the language user has a real choice of language, we needed to investigate only those situations in which a person came into contact with a fellow ethnic group member; that is to say, we could limit ourselves to interaction that takes place in what we called LM2. Information was gathered through the use of a questionnaire. Two different types of questions were included from which a measure of language choice could be constructed.

As an introduction to the language questions of the first type, the informants were presented with a number of situations. For each of the situations that was relevant to them, they were asked who they met there (a five-point scale, going from only group members to hardly any group members). If it turned out that in that situation, they came into contact with members of their own group, they were asked which language they usually used with them, and whether they sometimes used a different language with those persons. When an occasional change to a language other than the one usual in that context was reported, the interviewer asked in which instance this occurred and noted down whether the change was motivated by the presence of an interaction partner of a different

generation from the informant, by the presence of a nonmember of the group, by the topic, or by the locale of conversation.

The type of data gathered in this way correspond very well to the data commonly used in language-shift research with limited samples (see Pauwels 1986). What we register is reported language choice in face-to-face interaction in different domains. These domains include family neighborhood, work, religion, leisure time, friends, and shopping, at least to the extent that these domains imply contact with other ethnic group members. Through the way the questions are formulated, it is clear that attention is paid to the different elements that are believed to be constitutive for the domain structure (interaction partner, topic, locale) with interaction partner being emphasized.

The second type of questions aimed at establishing an average use of Dutch and Italian regardless of the domain in which the interaction took place. The informants were asked to take into consideration all their contacts with group members in the course of a week and report which language they used with them (five-point scale, going from nearly exclusive use of Italian to nearly exclusive use of Dutch). This question was asked separately for interaction partners of the first generation, for interaction partners of the second or third generation, for instances when interaction partners of different generations were present, and for instances when nonmembers of the minority group were present. The type of data obtained in this way resembles the more general data often collected in large samples.

A problem central to the construction of a measure of language choice is the importance that has to be given to frequency of use on the one hand and domain in which the use takes place on the other. One possible point of view is that frequency of use should be the central notion. This would mean that a person's language choice is best represented by the relative amount of Dutch he/she uses in his/her conversation with group members. In this case frequency and duration of each contact should be taken into account in the establishment of a language-choice measure. Registering this information in a precise way, however, would have complicated the questionnaire to a large extent. Therefore, we chose to incorporate the frequency aspect indirectly. By asking the informants which language they used with group members, considering all their contacts with them during a week, we tried to elicit a report on the frequency of use independent of the domains in which the meetings took place.

One could also argue that for the stability of the diglossic situation, not the frequency of use but the functionality of varieties at stake is important. In that case, it is important to construct a measure in which

each domain is treated separately, regardless of the frequency of ethnic contact within that domain. It is clear that our first type of language questions relates to this interpretation of shift, although it is possible to weight these questions according to the relative ethnicity of the domain they apply to.

The various ways in which a *choice* variable could be computed that relates to functionality yielded very similar results. So we decided to use a relatively simple way of computing it. We counted as 1 every domain in which Dutch was the usual language, and as 0.50 every domain in which Dutch was occasionally used. We added up the numbers for all domains and divided the sum by the number of relevant domains (that is, the number of domains in which a person came into contact with fellow group members). All other ways of computing language choice on the basis of the domain questions, including ways of incorporating the relevance of each domain in a nondichotomous way, yielded similar results. More or less the same story holds for the *choice* measure in which frequency is prominently present, although here, the number of alternative calculation methods was smaller. We eventually decided to sum up the five-point scales that resulted from the four relevant questions.

The correlation between the two measures of choice is not especially large ($r = 0.64$). We decided to work with the combined measure; because we felt that each of these measures represented some important aspect of shift which the other one lacked, we decided to base our further analyses on the average of both measures. Further analyses of the two separate choice measures showed that the differences that existed between the two had little relevance for the hypotheses that we wanted to test.

2.2. *Intermediary concepts*

For the determination of the importance of the ethnic linguistic market, the same problem arises with the construction of a measure for language shift: here, too, the importance of frequency and domain is open to debate. What we want to quantify is the ethnic nature of the world the informant lives in. It goes without saying that frequency of contacts is central to such a measure. The question really is whether the importance of frequency should be modified by the introduction of domains. In other words, should we use a measure of relative importance of ethnic contacts in the totality of one's contacts, or should we work with the average relative importance of ethnic contacts in the totality of one's contacts in every domain? As in the case of the shift variable, we initially constructed both measures. The first measure we based on the information yielded

by the question, 'If you overview all the contacts you have in the course of a week, with whom do you come into contact?' (options constituting a five-point scale, ranging from 'practically only persons of Italian origin' to 'practically only persons that are not of Italian origin'). The second measure was calculated by averaging the answers to the questions mentioned earlier concerning the ethnic relevance of each domain.

The intermediary concept 'anticipation of the acceptability' of the Dutch linguistic production' was measured in two ways also. In accordance with our understanding of the concept in Bourdieu's theory, we presented a number of hypothetical situations (n = 10) in which the informant had to interact with members of the dominant group. In each of these situations the success or failure of the interaction had clear financial consequences. The informants were asked how they would react in the given situation. (The question thus did not include any reference as to which elements of that reaction were important to us.) The interviewers were instructed to let the informant tell his/her story, and to deduce themselves from that story the answer to two questions: first, which language did the informant use in the situation, and second, did he call upon the assistance of somebody else in order to settle the matter? By adding up all instances in which the informant stated to use Italian and/or asked for assistance, we developed a measure for the confidence the informant had in his proficiency in Dutch.

In addition to these interaction situations, we also asked the informants to evaluate their proficiency in Dutch on a five-point scale. This question yielded a second measure of proficiency.

The most difficult concept to quantify was the structure of the linguistic market regulating the interaction between the dominant and the dominated group. As was pointed out earlier this structure is mainly determined by the linguistic facilities the dominant group allows the dominated group. The idea was to describe these facilities on the basis of an ethnographic study of the communities in which the informants live. To that end we limited the sample to only four different locations. Since the structure of LM1 should be more or less the same for all informants in one location, it can be expected that the values this concept takes are related to the division in research areas. As it turned out the description in terms of facilities for each research area was not as straightforward as we had expected. A number of distinctions within each region needed to be taken into account. The main importance of this complication for this paper is that the third concept cannot be introduced as yet.

The unavailability of the third concept means that two concepts will be introduced into the research design, for each of which two measures have been developed.

Prior to their introduction into the path-analythical structure, these four measures were entered into a factor analysis in an attempt to slope out some of the unsystematic variation that each of the separate measures undoubtedly held. We chose to process the measures of both concepts at the same time so that the correlation between the two concepts would disappear. Apart from simplifying the path analysis, this method of factor analysis had as an advantage that the (unwanted) effect of the importance of LM2 on the first measure of acceptability could be sloped out. As it turned out, the ethnic communities with an important LM2 had created a lot of possibilities for assistance with communication with the dominant group, and for the members of those communities, making use of this assistance was a custom which did not necessarily say anything about their anticipation of the acceptability of their proficiency in Dutch. More-over, these groups also had 'ethnicized' a number of the situations that were presented, so that for the members of these groups the situation did not necessarily involve contact with the dominant group.

The analysis yielded two factors, which could very easily be interpreted as 'importance of LM2' and 'anticipation of acceptability of L1 products'. The interaction mentioned above resulted in the fact that the first measure loaded on both factors, as can be seen in the factor scores (Table 1). The factor scores also show that, apart from this first anticipation measure, there was hardly an interaction at all.

A last comment on the operationalization of the intermediary concepts concerns their relation with the primary social factors, on the one hand, and with intermediary concepts from other theories, on the other. One could argue that some elements of these concepts are really nothing else but modified social factors. The *importance of LM2*, for instance, is clearly closely related to factors such as group density, or to some operationalizations of the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality (Allard and Landry 1988). In view of the function of the intermediary concepts as explanatory devices, neither of the two relations should cause surprise. They, as it were, predict on theoretical grounds which elements of the situation have an effect on language choice. Their strength does not lie

Table 1. *Factor scores of variables determining intermediary concepts*

	Importance LM2	Anticipation
Frequency measure importance LM2	0.79	0.29
Domain measure importance LM2	0.89	0.05
Anticipation based on ten situations	0.49	0.65
Anticipation based on self-evaluation	0.06	0.93

in their independence from primary social factors, but in the link they express between theory and these social factors describing the social situation. Since the social correlates of language choice that need to be explained in any given situation are identical for every theory, it is also normal that theoretical concepts partly overlap.

2.3. *Primary social factors*

In view of our hypothesis, every social factor which shows a correlation with language choice is of interest to us, so we tried to obtain information on as many as possible. In deciding which factors to include, we based ourselves mainly on our theoretical framework and on the outcomes of other research. In terms of symbolic economy, education and social background are the main factors that influence language behavior (Bourdieu 1982, Jaspaert 1986). In the literature on language maintenance, a great many factors are discussed. Among those that often seem to have an effect on language shift, age (for example Gal 1979; Clyne 1982), generation (for example Hudson-Edwards and Bills 1982), and length of residence (for example Boyd 1986; Veltman 1983) hold a central position, interacting with each other in various ways (see Veltman 1983 for age and length of residence; Clyne 1982 for age and generation). Other factors that have been shown to be of interest include religion (Huffines 1980), use of dialect (Pauwels 1986), and contact with the home country. Each of these factors was included in the analysis in one or more ways. Since most of the operationalizations of these factors were rather straightforward, we will not elaborate on their construction here. A number of other factors, which relate to the group rather than to the individual, such as cultural similarity to the dominant group or cultural core values (Clyne 1982), were more difficult to include. They are, nevertheless, of some importance to us: just as they express differences between ethnic groups, they may also be applicable to differences between subgroups within one ethnic group. The subgroup division that comes to mind here is that between the different communities where the data were collected. In order to include information on these factors in our study, we decided to include the region where the data were collected as a predictor variable in the research design, realizing full well that what is of interest to us is not really the region itself, but the characteristics that distinguish it from other regions.

In a first stage of analysis, all variables which were considered important beforehand were entered in a regression analysis with language choice as the dependent variable. It turned out that the intercorrelation between some of these factors was rather high. This had as a consequence that it

was difficult to decide which of these factors should be entered in the path-analythical model. Some of the factors that appeared in the best regression equation could be substituted for by other factors with only a very minor loss of explained variance. Extremely bothersome in this respect was the correlation between age and education.

In order to solve this problem we factor-analyzed all social factors. This analysis resulted in a seven-factor solution (explained variance= 68%), which was easily interpretable (Table 2).

As can be seen, the first factor is characterized by age, generation, and education. We will refer to this factor as *generation*, since that seems to us to be the key factor: generation is much more than just the place of birth, it also stands for the difference between the unskilled laborer who migrated temporarily for economic purposes and his better-educated child who has established serious ties with the 'new' country. In this sense, generation stands no longer for a dichotomy, but for a graduation, with at the two extremes the Italian who happens to live in the Netherlands/ Flanders, and the Dutch/Belgian who happens to be of Italian origin. In this respect it is interesting to see that the two education variables have an opposite loading on the factor: the place of education determines to which side of the continuum one adheres.

Table 2. *Factor loadings (x>0.40) of all independent variables*

	f1	f2	f3	f4	f5	f6	f7
Age	0.81				0.46		
Length of stay					0.89		
Education in Italy	0.84						
Education in Neth./Fland.	−0.93						
Profession	−0.44						
Generation	0.87						
Region 1		0.84					
Region 2		−0.86					
Amount of dialect use					−0.41		
Father's profession						0.68	
Father's education						0.74	
Writing to Italy				0.95			
Written from Italy				0.93			
Calls to Italy			0.88				
Called from Italy			0.89				
Visits to Italy							0.42
Visits from Italy			0.47				
Hours T.V.							0.65
Italian T.V. programs							0.69
Religious activity		0.40					

The main variables loading on factor 2 are clearly those that represent the areas in which the research took place. Here, too, the factor surpasses the nominal character of the division into three regions. A good example of the way numerical variables interact with the division into three regions is formed by the variable *religious activity*. One of the main characteristics of the different regions is whether ethnic life is organized around religion. In Eisden, for instance, most of the initiative for organized ethnic contact originates from the Italian Mission that is located there. Similar missions do not exist in Enschede or in Heerlen. This has as an effect, however, that for nonreligious individuals in Eisden the community is less ethnically organized than for religious individuals, but probably more so than for most informants in Enschede. Hence the factor *religious activity* correlates partly with the dichotomous division into communities but also creates a certain variability within each of them. This explains the moderate contribution of religious activity to the second factor. So, in this case, too, when we call factor 2 *community* we do not refer to the nominal factor 'research area', but to the continuum that more or less represents the social characteristics of the community the informants live in.

Factors 3 and 4 can easily be interpreted as respectively *oral* and *written contact with the home country*. Factor 5 refers to *length of stay in the Netherlands/Flanders*, whereas factor 6 represents the *social background* of the informants. Factor 7, finally, relates best to the variables representing *T.V. consumption*.

Two variables that were considered to be of some importance are not represented very well in the factor solution. The *amount of dialect use* and the *religious activity* do not form an important part of any of the factors. Both of them also have a low communality (respectively 0.41 and 0.38). Since both of them contain information of which it can be expected that it is not included in the other variables entered in the factor analysis, it is quite logical that they do not surface in one of the important factors. This does not mean, however, that the information they contain is not relevant for the explanation of language shifts. For that reason we decided to use as independent variables in the further analyses the seven factors resulting from the factor analysis and the two variables just mentioned.

3.   Results

3.1.   Description of language choice

Before we go into a discussion of the social determinants of language choice, it seems appropriate to give some information on the language choices of Italians in The Netherlands and Flanders (Table 3).

Table 3. *Language choice among Italians (%)*

| | Dutch usual language | Occasional use of Dutch | | | | Total |
		A	B	C	D	N
Partner	40	4	17	5	2	192
Children	44	6	18	7	6	191
Father	35	2	8	6	11	133
Mother	37	1	7	3	1	144
Brother	54	5	12	4	3	133
Sister	72	3	7	1	1	122
Neighborhood	30	5	14	5	4	271
Sportsclubs	48	5	13	13	2	60
Other clubs	30	4	9	4	2	53
Meeting places	40	4	18	4	2	168
Work	54	3	17	6	3	146
Church	24	7	12	4	3	199
Visits	32	7	19	8	6	150
Shopping	36	8	23	6	6	250
Other contacts	40	—	—	—	—	20

Key: A = when an Italian of another generation is present.
B = when someone is present who does not speak Italian.
C = when conversation takes place in a certain locale.
D = when the conversation is about a certain topic.
N = absolute number of informants coming into contact with group members in a given domain.

Roughly speaking, communication on LM2 takes place in Dutch in about 40 percent of the instances we recorded. The differences between the situations/domains that were included is somewhat lower than was expected: there is no situation/domain that is especially resistent to Dutch, and there aren't any situations/domains that have almost completely been affected by shift. It is interesting to see that the family is not a stronghold of the ethnic minority language. Communication with siblings is the situation most favorable to the use of Dutch. Even for communication with parents Dutch has become the usual language in about 40 percent of the cases. The domain that seems to be most resistant is the communication within the neighbourhood. Church, too, is a resistent domain, but the figures show that one-third of the informants do not attend church, or attend church without meeting group members. This phenomenon may in itself be an indication of the ongoing merge of the ethnic group and the dominant group of which the unification of the two linguistic markets is a part.

With regard to the occasional uses of Dutch, it is evident that the

factor that causes these uses is predominantly the characteristics of persons present at the communication. Locale and topic of conversation cause switches in only a limited number of instances.

On the whole, Table 3 shows that the Italian group in the Netherlands and Flanders is an interesting group from the point of view of this study. Even though we have left out the very obvious shift that takes place in LM1, we see that in LM2 a process of shift is going on which is probably at a point of maximal variability. If this process of shift follows a socially determined pattern, we should be able to detect it.

3.2.   Social determinants of language choice

The variables discussed above were entered in a number of regression analyses in order to determine the values of the path coefficients in the different path-analythical models that needed to be constructed in view of the hypothesis. We will discuss two models. The first one will only contain the shift variable and the relevant independent factors. In the second model the intermediary concepts will be added in such a way that the effect of the independent factors is maximally replaced by indirect influence through the two concepts.

The figures near the arrows in Figure 2 represent the path coefficients that resulted from the analysis. When there is no interaction between predictor variables (as is the case here, since these predictor variables were drawn from a factor analysis), these path coefficients equal the correlation and regression coefficients between the predictor variables and language choice. The coefficient accompanying the arrow that does not start from any variable represents the error term. It is in the square root of the variance of *choice* that has not been explained by the predictor
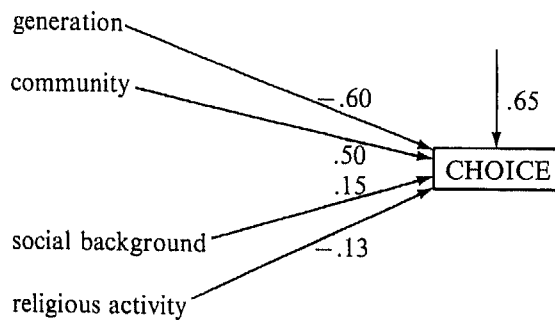

Figure 2.   *Path-analythical model without intermediary concepts*

variables in the analysis. Consequently, the amount of variance that is explained by the analysis equals $1 - \text{error}^2$.

As Figure 2 shows, four out of the nine independent variables explain 58 percent of the variance in the *choice* variable. It is interesting to see that the variables which were considered important are very well represented: age, generation, and education through the factor *generation*, the research area through the factor *community*, and social background through the factor with the same name. Only the factor *religious activity* is a somewhat unexpected addition.

When the intermediary concepts are introduced into the model in such a way that the effect of the independent variables on *choice* is maximally represented by the indirect effects through the two concepts, the amount of explained variance rises to 64 percent (Figure 3).

This rise in explained variance means that the concepts themselves explain 6 percent of the variance in the *choice* variable that is not accounted for by primary factors. Since we do not consider these concepts to be mental constructs, but just intermediary, explanatory devices, we regard this 6 percent as part of the error term linked with these concepts. In other words, we consider this part of variance as indirect effects of primary factors that were not included in the research design.

By the introduction of the two concepts 42 percent of the original 58 percent of variance that was explained by the independent variables in Figure 2 has been replaced by indirect effects. This means that only 29 percent of the effect of the independent variables on *choice* cannot be explained within the framework of a theory in which importance of LM2
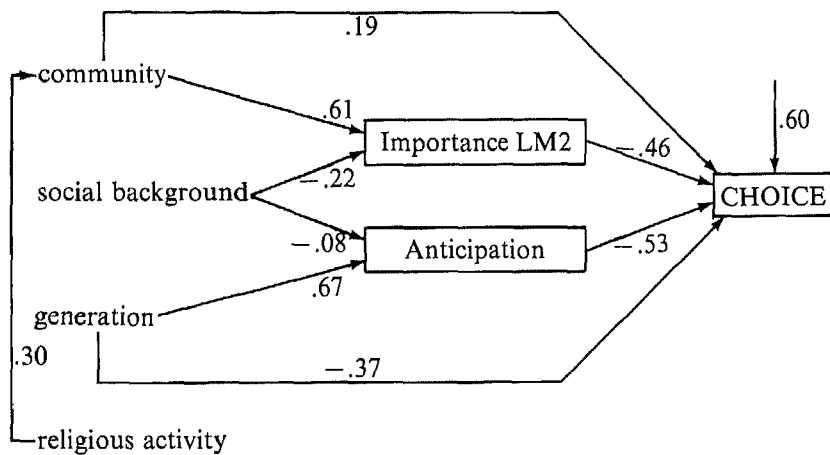

Figure 3. *Path-analythical model with intermediary concepts*

and anticipation are central concepts. Considering that a third concept — structure of LM1 — still has to be added, we regard this as a success. It seems safe to conclude that the results comply very well with the hypothesis formulated in the previous section.

3.3. Conclusions

As to the social determinants of language choice, a number of remarks seem warranted.

– Community turns out to be an important factor. This importance is undoubtedly caused by the fact that in the three research areas involved, the process of shift has reached different stages. In the Flemish research area, shift on LM2 is rather rare, whereas in Enschede shift seems almost the rule. The third area, the city of Heerlen, holds a middle position in this respect. As was pointed out earlier, however, community should be regarded more as an index for a number of factors that not only vary between research areas, but can also show some variation within an area. One of the further tasks within the project will be to try and detect which factors these may be. Further analyses suggest that numerical factors such as group density play a very important role here.

– Most of the effect of community passes through importance of LM2, whereas most of the effect of generation follows a path through anticipation. That community and importance of LM1 are connected was to be expected. Each community is of course characterized by the level of unification between the two markets that has taken place. Furthermore, the factors that lie behind community can be regarded as determinants of the unification process. A factor such as group density in the community will have an effect on the unification process, and in that way on the importance of LM2.

More or less the same story can be told with regard to the pair generation and anticipation. Generation itself does not have an effect on anticipation; it merely characterizes a difference in level of anticipation. Within the factor generation, however, there are a number of variables that can have such an effect and can, therefore, serve as an explanation for the variation in anticipation. Both educational variables are clearcut examples.

– The reduction of primary social factors by means of the factor analysis we carried out may be the cause of some debate. In order to get a clearer picture of the effect of this decision, we also ran a number of analyses in which we used these primary social factors instead of the factor loadings. In terms of explained variance these new analyses do not

thing. The independent variables explain 48 percent of the
ie analysis with the concepts explains 64 percent, of which 18
lirect influence of the independent variables on *choice*. The
sting new insight that results from these models is that in the
h we called *generation*, education seems to hold a central
turns out that most of the effect that is now attributed to
s really indirect effect through place of education.

nclusion of this analysis seems to be that if one thinks one
e Dutch sufficiently well, and when the communication in
: all too important, one shifts towards Dutch. Anticipation
: based on characteristics of the individuals, whereas impor-
12 is more linked to characeristics of the community in which
.ual lives.

pect that the introduction of the third concept will render
ie of the effect that now still goes directly from the independent
hift. Since the structure of LM1 is a concept that is linked to
nity, we expect to be able to capture at least that part of the
lirect effects.

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