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Yeşim Sevinç

64 Emotion in migration and in language contact settings

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Language contact, language maintenance and language shift
- 3 Emotion and language maintenance/language shift in immigrant contexts
- 4 Summary and concluding remarks
- 5 References

Abstract: The central role of positive and negative emotions in language contact settings has been underestimated both by sociolinguists and by social psychologists. Traditionally, in an effort to understand the factors that contribute to language maintenance and language shift, scholars have placed a considerable emphasis on individual and/or community attitudes and normative standards. “Emotion” has often and mistakenly been subsumed under “attitude”. This chapter argues that a better understanding of the concept of “emotion” and its role in immigrant contexts can be the key to unravelling the connection between intercultural communication and outcomes of language contact settings (i.e. language maintenance and shift). It first outlines the main approaches to the study of language maintenance and shift in immigrant contexts. Subsequently, it critically surveys existing proposals on the factors that influence the processes of language maintenance and shift, paying particular attention to the absence of studies on the role of emotion in these processes. Through a unifying and interdisciplinary perspective, the chapter creates a framework for acknowledging differences and relationships between the principal factors (e.g. attitude, motivation, and norms) and emotion. Finally, it concludes with a discussion of ways in which research on emotion and emotional reactions in immigrant contexts can offer unique contributions to the study of language contact situations.

Keywords: emotion, language contact, language shift, norms, attitudes, motivation, anxiety, immigrant contexts, sociolinguistics, social psychology

1 Introduction

Language, emotion and culture permeate all domains of human life, and they are often at the crossroads of social and psychological interventions. Their complex and dynamic interplay can provide useful insights into the implications and the effects of intercultural communication on quality of life and well-being of both individuals and society. The study of intercultural communication is heavily intertwined with that of related phenomena such

as multilingualism, language maintenance and language shift, as well as the attrition, loss, death, endangerment, revival and revitalization of language, all of which “are, in one way or another, the outcome or the consequences of a plethora of language contact” (Pauwels 2016: 17) and/or “language conflict” situations, as Pütz (1994) puts it. In various language contact situations, complex emotions (e.g. shame, guilt, disappointment, frustration and anxiety) often prevail as a result of social influence, such as pressure on normative standards, and this is particularly evident in an immigrant or minority context (Sevinç 2016). Written with the aim of examining the role of emotions, both positive and negative, in language contact settings, the current chapter addresses the phenomena of language maintenance and shift with a central focus on migration, the site of most language contact. Note that this chapter does not discuss the ways in which multilinguals process and interact with emotional stimuli in different cultural and linguistic environments (see Kim and Starks 2008; Altarriba 2013), but rather the role of emotions in an immigrant and language contact situation.

Migration is an emotional journey, and along the way, individuals and communities accumulate heavy linguistic, social, cultural and psychological baggage. Without a doubt, sociolinguistic and emotional pressure exists in immigrants’ daily lives to make one of their languages more dominant than the other(s) (cf. Grosjean 2008; Montrul 2013). Traditionally, in an effort to understand the factors that contribute to language maintenance and language shift in immigrant contexts, scholars have placed considerable emphasis on individual and/or community attitudes and normative standards. In this process, “emotion” has often mistakenly been subsumed under “attitude”. In line with my aim to provide comprehensive insight into the study of language maintenance and shift, in this chapter I argue that a better understanding of the concept of emotion and its role in immigrant contexts is the key to unravelling the connection between intercultural communication and outcomes of language contact settings (i.e. language maintenance and language shift as discussed in this volume).

The chapter begins with definitions of key concepts, such as emotion, norms, attitude and motivation, followed by a brief review of research on positive and negative emotions which has so far been carried out in second language acquisition (SLA) and in positive psychology. I then discuss the main approaches to the study of language maintenance and language shift in immigrant contexts both in sociolinguistics and in social psychology, but argue that an interdisciplinary approach is necessary. With this in mind, I critically survey existing scholarship on the factors that influence language maintenance and language shift, paying particular attention to the absence of studies on the role of emotion in these processes. The chapter creates a framework for acknowledging differences and relationships between the principal factors commonly investigated in language contact research (e.g. norm, attitude and motivation) and emotion. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of ways in which research on emotion and emotional reactions in immigrant contexts can offer unique contributions to the study of language contact situations.

1.1 Key concepts: attitudes, motivation, norms and emotion

The complexity of emotion as a concept has been emphasized by scholars from different disciplines in the humanities and in social and behavioral sciences. Emotion has proven

remarkably difficult to define within a single discipline (see Izard 2010) and it has often been associated with a range of psychological phenomena, including temperament, personality, attitude, mood and motivation (e.g. Arnold 1960; Lucas and Diener 2008). Relevant to the purpose of the current chapter, it is necessary to define the concept of emotion from an interdisciplinary perspective and in relation to the following three phenomena that have so far attracted the most attention in the literature on multilingualism, immigration and language contact situations and that concern both psychological and sociocultural paradigms: attitudes, motivation and norms.

Attitudes are commonly understood as psychological tendencies that are expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor (Eagly and Chaiken 1993), and motivation as the reason for behavior, that which causes a person to want to repeat a certain behavior (Gardner 1985). Attitudes pertain to enduring beliefs about and predispositions toward specific objects or persons (Scherer 2005), while motivation is the combination of desire and effort in order to achieve a particular goal (Gardner 1985). Breckler (1984) has identified three components of attitudes that are highly interrelated: “A cognitive component (beliefs about the attitude object), an affective component (consisting mostly of differential valence), and a motivational or behavioral component (a stable action tendency with respect to the object, e.g. approach or avoidance)” (Breckler 1984, cited in Scherer 2005: 703).

Although motivation is shown to be one of the components of attitude, the interplay between motivation and attitude is a complex one (cf. Ellis 1994; Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008). Language learners’ attitudes toward a language (including its status and prestige) and/or its speakers and their motivation for learning the language can concurrently affect language learning (Carroll 1962; Dörnyei 2009). Attitudes and motivation are often intertwined since they influence each other as well as the learning outcomes. Positive attitudes toward a language and its speakers can lead to increased motivation, which then results in better learning achievement and a positive attitude toward learning the language (see MacIntyre, MacKinnon, and Clément 2009, 2016). Furthermore, attitudes and motivation often intersect with other individual learner variables, such as language aptitude, language anxiety, language learning styles and strategies, and so forth. With their multifaceted construction and dynamic features (Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011), they are also constantly undergoing change and reassessment related to the actual social, political, and sociohistorical context and power relationships within those contexts (Pavlenko 2005), which takes us to the sociocultural aspect of this interplay, norms.

As Bourdieu asserts about norms, “no one can completely ignore the linguistic or cultural law” (Bourdieu 1983: 97). Norms can be viewed as cultural products (including values, customs, and traditions) that represent an individual’s basic knowledge of what others do and think that they should do (Cialdini 2003). In the field of social psychology, norms are not behavior per se but rather mental representations of appropriate behavior, which can guide behavior in a certain situation or environment (Aarts and Dijksterhuis 2003), like motivation and attitude. In linguistics, norms are often related to a standard language, a level to be complied with or reached (see Giles and Powesland 1975). Most languages have numerous individual, regional and social varieties, and the normative variant “generally becomes attached to the general set of prevailing linguistic norms associated with an influ-

ential or high-status group” (Bowerman 2006: 702). Thus, the deviation from a norm implies an incorrect use of the language and raises the question of the appropriateness or inappropriateness of a certain linguistic form in a speech community (cf. Haugen 1966; Milroy and Milroy 1999).

Such deviations, in many cultures, carry a subjective norm with them, which is the perceived social pressure to perform or not to perform the behavior in question (Ajzen 1991). Closely linked to social roles, identities and cultural values, perceived or subjective norms and social pressure often incorporate social meaning, and along with linguistic prestige, they can shape attitudes at both individual and community levels. Individual and collective evaluation of specific languages or their varieties (attitudes) however may also lead to entrenched perceptions and value judgments of languages or speakers (norms), which may then be imposed on the entire speech community. It is also necessary to consider that speakers or learners of a language may be motivated or demotivated by norms depending on the level or intensity of the perceived social pressure. The possible link between attitude, motivation and norms and emotion is further discussed in Sections 1.2 and 1.3, which focus on language maintenance and language shift. But first I will discuss what constitutes emotion itself.

Scherer (2005: 498), in his influential theory of emotions, the Component Process Model, holds that emotions are instantiated when dynamically varying appraisal check outcomes causally determine the adaptive synchronization of five different response systems: (i) the cognitive component, which is an appraisal, or the “evaluation of objects and events”; (ii) the neurophysiological component, which triggers “bodily symptoms”; (iii) the motivational component, which prompts action tendencies for the preparation and direction of motor responses; (iv) the motor expression component, which is “facial and vocal expression”; and finally (v) the subjective feeling component, which is the “emotional experience”, that is, “the conscious reflection of the changes in all components” (Scherer and Meuleman 2013: 2). The Component Process Model is relevant to my discussion because it illustrates that emotion is a cognitive process closely related to attitudes, norms (as in the cognitive component) and motivation (as in the motivational component).

Given that the current chapter deals with social and cultural issues such as immigration and language contact, applying a sociocultural (constructivist) perspective to emotion along with a cognitivist one is fundamental when looking at what constitutes it. Gordon (1981), for example, describes four features that constitute an emotional experience: (i) bodily sensations, (ii) expressive gestures, (iii) social situations or relationships and (iv) the emotion culture of a society. An emotion culture includes emotion vocabularies, beliefs, and norms and it impacts each of the other three features (Gordon 1981). It also varies over time and across societies (e.g. Wierzbicka 1999). Emotions can thus be seen as social constructs, the result of subjective as well as culturally circumscribed definitions of situations and appraisals (Arnold 1960; Boyns 2006).

In order to develop a full understanding of emotion as a concept, one must examine a society’s or group’s emotion culture and investigate the relationship between the component of the emotion culture (e.g. language, attitudes and norms) and the emotional experience of members of a particular social group. Herein lies the difficulty and complexity of studying emotions. Nevertheless, several researchers have constructively examined the

content of emotion culture for specific emotions, for example, Peterson (2006) references Lofland's work (1985) on grief and Clark's work (1997) on sympathy. Clanton (2006) has shown how fear of envy is higher in preindustrial than in industrial societies, higher in rural than in urban communities, and higher in recently arrived immigrant groups than among native-born Americans. This indicates that immigrant or minority communities, being tied to diverse social networks and usually overwhelmed by the painful feelings associated with their minority status and identity disconfirmation, experience emotions different from others (e.g. majority communities). Yet what is needed in the field is an investigation of a broader scope of emotions in diverse contexts.

In the language learning literature, except for studies of language anxiety, specific emotions have not received sufficient attention, as the core focus has often been placed on motivation, in the case of psycholinguistics, and on attitudes, in the case of sociolinguistics. Therefore, the nexus of interrelations between these key concepts has also been overlooked. Based on the definitions and features discussed above, it is reasonable to argue that emotion can be the driving force behind motivation, attitudes and norms and vice versa. It "might be the fundamental basis of motivation, one deserving far greater attention in the language learning domain" (MacIntyre 2002: 45). Although emotion and motivation have much in common and both play an important role in directing thoughts and behaviors (cf. Lazarus 1991), they are not the same but mutually influential. "Emotion can facilitate motivation and help define desired goals, while failure or success in motivated goal pursuit can also cause emotional response" (Sands, Ngo, and Isaacowitz 2016: 336). Emotion can thus motivate people to respond to stimuli in the environment (e.g. norms and attitudes) which helps improve the chances of success and survival (e.g. language learning or language maintenance).

1.2 Positive and negative emotions

Having both physical and psychological dimensions, emotions exist for a reason – each emotion has a purpose (MacIntyre 2002). Solomon (1980) recognizes only two types of emotions at the most basic level, positive (pleasant) and negative (aversive). Since Fredrickson (1998, 2001, 2009) developed the Broaden and Build theory of positive emotion, potentially rich and powerful avenues for research have flourished in the field of positive psychology. Fredrickson (1998) illustrates that positive emotions can foster creativity and lead people to try new things, while they actively produce health and well-being in the absence of negativity (Fredrickson 2001). The action tendencies produced by negative emotions, on the other hand, powerfully dispose a person to a specific action (see Fredrickson 2013). For instance, anxiety leads to the urge to avoid situations that trigger anxiety, anger leads to the urge to impair progress in one's life, and disgust leads to rejection, as in reflexively spitting out spoiled food.

Recent developments in second language acquisition (SLA) highlight the importance of positive emotion in classroom contexts (MacIntyre and Gregersen 2012; Dewaele and MacIntyre 2014; Gregersen, MacIntyre, and Meza 2016). These developments contribute to an interest in applications of positive psychology in SLA and in theories related to positive

emotion (MacIntyre, Gregersen, and Mercer 2016; MacIntyre and Mercer 2014). Particularly “the positivity ratio” (Fredrickson 2013) is considered to provide a “way to capture succinctly the notion that positive and negative emotions interact and, to the extent that persons tend to experience positive emotions more often than negative ones, correlate well with language learning motivation” (MacIntyre and Vincze 2017: 82). Emphasizing the power of positive emotion, MacIntyre and Gregersen propose the following for teachers: “By invoking the imagination and using the power of positive emotion, teachers can provoke learners to respond to the dissonance found within their possible selves and to effectively summon the cognition that modifies the emotional schema, especially debilitating negative-narrowing reactions, using systemic desensitization and other building and broadening techniques” (MacIntyre and Gregersen 2012: 211).

Psychologists have paid more attention to negative emotions, such as anxiety, behavioral disorders and depression, than to positive emotions (Gilman and Huebner 2003). According to Held (2004), arguments initially against the positive psychology movement were concerned with its perceived emphasis on the positive and its exclusion of the negative. Building upon this insight, Linley et al. (2009) argue that an important step for positive psychology applications is integrating the positive and negative, and applying this integrative approach to traditional areas of psychology in order to understand and improve quality of life, such as applying it to the treatment of depression (Seligman, Rashid, and Parks 2006). In multicultural and immigrant contexts, emotion is particularly linked to research on life satisfaction as the cognitive component of well-being (López et al. 2005) and on emotional acculturation (De Leersnyder, Mesquita, and Heejung 2013), which refers to changes in emotional patterns due to an immigrant’s exposure to and contact with a new cultural context.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, we are seeing an increasing interest in emotion-relevant research, following scholars from diverse and often converging perspectives such as language and identity (Norton 2013), sociocultural approaches (Garrett and Young 2009), language socialization (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002), language and desire (Motha and Lin 2013), and narrative perspectives (Baynham and De Fina 2005; Pavlenko 2005, 2006; Prior 2011; see Prior [2016: 3] for a complete overview). Although the importance of emotions in L1 attrition is generally acknowledged, work in the area tends to focus on attitudes, identity, or motivation, with only minor attention being paid to emotions (Ben-Rafael and Schmid 2007; Prescher 2007). Reviewing the literature on language attrition, Ben-Rafael and Schmid (2007) conclude that studies examining the possible link between emotive factors and language attrition have so far been inconclusive and insufficient and in order to obtain clearer findings on this link, investigations should contrast different immigrant populations. Likewise, the role of positive and negative emotions in language maintenance and language shift has largely been neglected and requires exploration and special attention. The following section delves into the research on language contact phenomenon and the main approaches to the study of language maintenance and language shift in immigrant contexts both in sociolinguistics and in social psychology.

2 Language contact, language maintenance and language shift

The ultimate result of language contact must either be stable bilingualism – that is, maintenance of the two (or more) languages in some form – or shift, whereby the community eventually uses one language over the other. Language maintenance is defined as the process in which immigrants' heritage language continues to be used over successive generations, and language shift is the process by which an immigrant community gradually stops using one of its two languages in favor of the other (Fishman 1972). The more favorable language is almost without exception that of the socially or economically dominant group, that is, the majority language.

Numerous studies of language maintenance and language shift have grown out of the literature on language contact and the study of the languages and communities of bilingual speakers, including early studies in sociolinguistics such as Weinreich (1951), Ferguson and Gumperz (1960) and Labov (1984). In his pioneering book, Weinreich suggests that it is only in “a broad psychological and sociocultural setting that language contact can be best understood” (Weinreich 1953: 4). He distinguishes between nonstructural factors of language contact on the macro (societal) and micro (individual) levels as follows: Factors on the macro level include the size of the bilingual group, its sociocultural homogeneity, demographics, social and political relations between different groups of the community, stereotypes of each language, the prestige of the language and/or the indigenous or immigrant status of the language concerned. Factors on the micro level relate to the speakers' facility of verbal expression in general, their ability to distinguish between the two languages when speaking, their proficiency in each language, the manner in which each language is learned, and their attitudes toward each language. Weinreich's classification further indicates that although language contact situations are mostly treated as a sociolinguistic phenomenon, they are also subject to psycholinguistic perspectives, particularly at the micro level. From a psycholinguistic perspective, researchers should consider not only manners and attitudes but also emotions and emotional reactions, especially in immigrant or minority contexts where tension can occur between the minority and majority communities due to power imbalance and issues of identity.

2.1 Approaches to the study of language maintenance and language shift

In her review of the literature, Pauwels (2016) identifies three main approaches to the study of language maintenance and language shift that scholars have taken: (i) the sociology of language approach, (ii) the anthropology of language approach and (iii) the social psychology of language approach.

The *sociological approach* is clearly associated with Fishman (1972), who describes it as “focus[ing] on the entire gamut of topics related to the social organization of language behavior, including not only language use per se but also language attitudes and overt

behaviors towards language and language users” (Fishman 1972, cited in Pauwels 2016: 29). Fishman identifies two major foci: describing who speaks what language to whom and when, and exploring differential rates of change in language use across groups.

Gumperz and Hymes (1964) and Gal (1979) were pioneers in developing the *anthropological approach*: “undertaking detailed studies of language use and behaviour in (smallish) communities and groups” (Pauwels 2016: 30). Although such studies are also guided by exploring who speaks what language to whom, when and why, the methods to obtain insights into language maintenance and language shift are quite different from those employed in the sociology of language approach in the sense that the anthropology of language approach does not use quantitative data, but more frequently uses ethnography. In this chapter, therefore, these two approaches are classified as “sociolinguistic”, considering that the focus they adopt is similar, albeit methodologically they differ.

The third approach is the *social psychology of language* approach developed by Giles, Smith, and Robinson (1980). It focuses on “the ways in which the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of others are influenced by the actual, imagined and implied presence of others and by the sociostructural forces operating in society” (Giles, Smith, and Robinson 1980: 2). According to Pauwels (2016), “in the context of language maintenance and language shift, this approach has been particularly helpful in highlighting how beliefs and attitudes that individuals and groups hold may influence their behavior” (Pauwels 2016: 29). While sociolinguists describe the norms of linguistic behavior and their potential linguistic, social, cultural and political sources in speech communities through sociology, they do not, in examining language maintenance and language shift, account for individuals’ psychological reactions to immigrant or minority experiences (for instance, experiences related to identity and culture, norms, ideologies, inequality and so forth) (Giles and Fortman 2004). This lack can also be linked to the absence of a focus on emotions. It is, all in all, clear that sociology and social psychology make important contributions to our understanding of language maintenance and language shift (see Maitz 2011). In the following section I summarize these contributions.

2.1.1 Factors affecting language maintenance and language shift: sociolinguistics

There are a number of sociolinguistic models that advance the investigation of language maintenance and language shift (Bourdieu 1983; Clyne 1991; Edwards 1992; Fishman 1972; Weinreich 1953), and Potowski (2013) has identified four categories of factors outlined by these scholars in language maintenance and language, although they should also be seen as interdependent:

1. Individual factors involve behaviors of individual speakers, for example, proficiency, language choice and attitudes toward learning/using the minority or majority language (Edwards 1984; Gibbons and Ramirez 2004; Haugen 1956; Romaine 1995).
2. Family factors include the role of family in language use and practices, for example, a family’s language policy, parents’ roles, grandparents’ roles and family attitudes toward bilingualism (Braun 2012; De Houwer 2015; Curdt-Christiansen 2009; Lanza 2007).
3. Community factors concern the size and distribution of an ethnic group, the role of neighborhoods, schools and social networks in language use and practice (Li 1994;

Milroy 1980; Portes and Rumbaut 2001), normative standards and community attitudes (Labov 2006; Pauwels 2013; Ravindranath 2009; Trudgill 1972).

4. Broader societal factors relate to the linguistic social climate, or linguistic culture, norms in a society, political factors, and the policy of the host community toward minority languages (Schiffman 1996; Spolsky 2004).

Most of these factors are linked to attitudes, while community factors are additionally associated with normative standards. However, emotion has never been considered a central factor influencing language maintenance and language shift in sociolinguistics. This gap raises the concern whether emotion might have mistakenly been subsumed under “attitude” particularly at the individual level. Before discussing the role of emotion in language maintenance and language shift, we turn our attention to the two concepts, norms and attitudes.

To what extent norms in a society favor linguistic or cultural diversity is an important question to deal with, because the answer may ultimately influence whether or not a minority language can be maintained. Based on a normative standard, majority communities evaluate minority communities and influence minority language maintenance, often in negative ways (Potowski 2013). The concept of prestige can also be linked to the idea of norms in that sense, as prestige languages are often tied closely to a standardized language. Given that bilinguals are often expected to function with “nativeness” in a monolingual way in every language they acquire (cf. Grosjean 2008; Ortega 2010), especially in an immigrant context, negative pressure on bilinguals coming from either the immigrant or mainstream community may occur. Individuals that diverge significantly from the norms of that language will not meet the cultural norms and expectations of their speech community. When expectations create social pressure to conform to norms, they will pose linguistic, social and psychological challenges for language maintenance of minority communities. The pressure for immigrant communities to follow norms and join mainstream society may lead immigrant families to forego language maintenance (Canagarajah 2008). Potowski (2013) provides the example of Albanians in Italy who have maintained their heritage language better than Albanians in Greece because of cultural ideology, as Greece is said to exert more pressure on a normative standard than Italy (Hamp 1978).

Minority communities may experience language maintenance differently due to variations in their system of values, for example, identity (Edwards 1984), but their geopolitical location also plays into this. For instance, investigating acculturation and language orientation among Turkish immigrants in five countries, Yağmur and Van de Vijver (2012) reveal that in comparison to Turkish immigrants in Germany, France and the Netherlands, Turkish immigrants living in Australia demonstrate the least maintenance and the most adjustment, because they experience the least pressure to assimilate. Turkish immigrants, who are known to treat their heritage language as a core marker of ethnic identity (e.g. Extra et al. 2001), seem to accept the challenge to maintain the heritage language by resisting pressure from the mainstream society. Therefore, it cannot be presumed that communities exposed to the pressure of a normative standard will be likely to undergo language shift toward the majority language (cf. Hamp 1978).

Moving on to attitudes, let’s recall our working definition: An attitude is a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor

or disfavor (Eagly and Chaiken 1993). The point here is that a person must be presented with an idea or experience in order to have an attitude toward it. Thus, while attitudes are held by individuals, an individual's attitudes can strongly be shaped by those of the local society, their subjective norms and linguistic prestige (Potowski 2013). Another point to make here is that attitudes can also be shaped by individuals' emotions, since attitudes have emotional components. That is to say, emotion can be the source of a particular attitude, and so it can be a direct or indirect source of a behavior (e.g. language use).

In examining how attitudes influence language maintenance and language shift, past research has emphasized the strong association between language attitudes and actual language skills; positive attitudes toward one's heritage language often result in increased efforts in learning/maintaining it and in higher proficiency levels. However, it is also necessary to ask whether positive attitudes are enough for language maintenance to occur. For instance, it has frequently been reported that Spanish speakers in the United States feel positively about Spanish, but almost all of them shift to English by the third generation (Zentella 1997; Potowski 2013). Concerning negative attitudes, Kuncha and Bathula (2004) found that more than half of the Telugu-speaking mothers and children in New Zealand in their study felt it was a "waste of time" to learn Telugu and they shifted to English after an average of just two years (cited in Potowski 2013: 322). Therefore, it is often concluded that although positive attitudes are not enough to guarantee language maintenance, negative attitudes often lead to a rapid shift away from use of that language (Potowski 2013). Yet, can it always be so clear-cut? Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) provide an example of the challenges of language maintenance and language shift for Chinese families living in the United States. With strong positive attitudes toward the heritage language (Chinese), Chinese parents were willing to spend considerable time, money, and energy to help their children maintain Chinese. In spite of this, only a few Chinese children saw the heritage language as important, to the great disappointment of their parents. Most Chinese children, especially older children, felt Chinese was something they had to learn to obey their parents, yet they themselves did not feel it necessary or important (cited in Potowski 2013: 327). What we see here is that these Chinese bilingual children did not hold either a positive or a negative attitude toward learning Chinese, but they apparently lacked motivation, perhaps an emotional bond with the Chinese language and culture. This example shows that in studying language maintenance and language shift, focusing only on attitudes is not sufficient as other societal and psychological factors are also at play. When examining attitudes, researchers should not ignore the important role of self-evaluation in terms of attitudes, motivation and emotional reactions to norms and an individual's own intentions and experiences in the process. Otherwise, many questions will remain unanswered such as "why these Chinese children should form such learning attitudes and why their parents fail to transmit the positive home language attitudes they themselves hold to the next generation" (Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe 2009: 88).

2.1.2 Factors affecting language maintenance and language shift: social psychology

According to social psychologist Maitz (2011), sociolinguists have identified three features related to the factors involved in language maintenance and language shift: (i) "the ex-

traordinary diversity of the factors”, (ii) “the accidental nature of their roles” and (iii) “their often unpredictable impact on language choice outcomes” (Maitz 2011: 154; cf. Fishman 1972; Gal 1979; Romaine 1995). Critically analyzing this array of literature, Maitz argues that “exactly due to these features, it is hardly likely to bring research closer to creating a universal theory of language shift” (Maitz 2011: 154).

The most influential initiatives in social psychology are the ecology of language (Haarmann 1986; Haugen 1972), accommodation theory (Giles and Smith 1979; Niedzielski and Giles 1996) and ethnolinguistic vitality, also known in its developed version as subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977). Yet despite their unquestionable merits, the critical afterlife of these initiatives has revealed a number of issues and contradictions. Similar to sociolinguistics, “many of these contradictions in social psychology also stem from the fact that they are unable to treat the diversity of the factors which potentially determine language shift; they overgeneralize in that they do not take account of factors which can be relevant in the case of certain communities or even universally” (Maitz 2011: 154). In the context of this chapter, I argue that emotion is one of the factors that is often not taken into account when examining language maintenance and language shift.

Maitz (2011) uses the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen 1991) and, its earlier version, the Theory of Reasoned Action (Fishbein and Ajzen 1975) to explain language maintenance and language shift through social psychology. The Theory of Reasoned Action derives human social behavior from three factors: intention, attitude toward the behavior and subjective norms, which are influenced by two further factors, motivation and normative beliefs (i.e. other people’s expectations from the individual).

The Theory of Planned Behavior, on the other hand, adds the variable of perceived behavioral control (see Figure 64.1) to the factors presented in the Theory of Reasoned Action. In causing a specific behavior, which is language maintenance or language shift in our context, normative beliefs and motivation interact with subjective norm (the perceived social pressure), while subjective norm, attitude toward the behavior and perceived behavioral control interact with each other. Note that perceived behavioral control refers to someone’s ability to perform or control a particular behavior (e.g. one’s language practices) and it can directly lead to human behavior on its own, regardless of the rest of the factors.

Both theories stress the importance of intention in language maintenance and language shift, suggesting that a speaker undergoes language shift if and only if (s)he intends to do so (Maitz 2011). Therefore, the behavioral intention is crucial, as it directly determines the outcome of language contact situations, language maintenance or language shift. In the Theory of Reasoned Action, subjective norms and attitudes toward the behavior lead to intention, which then directly influences behavior, causing language maintenance or language shift. The Theory of Planned Behavior, on the other hand, suggests that influencing the behavior on its own, that is, perceived behavioral control, can directly cause language maintenance and/or language shift. For instance, even when attitudes and subjective norms are negative toward language shift, if an individual thinks that (s)he can eventually solve all the problems brought on by language shift (such as the pressure from the family or ethnic community to maintain the heritage language), (s)he can carry out the behavior, that is, language shift.

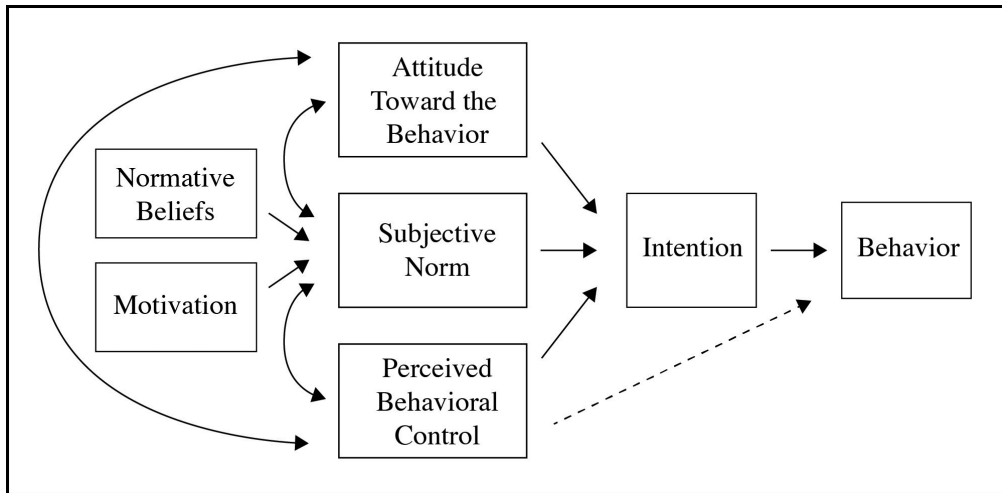


Fig. 64.1: Theory of planned behavior (based on Stroebe et al. 1996; Frey et al. 1993, cited in Maitz 2011: 163).

Ultimately, through this structure, Maitz (2011) summarizes how language maintenance and shift could be explained by social psychology, yet again placing a clear focus on norms and attitudes, along with other important psychological constructs such as intention, motivation, normative beliefs and perceived behavioral control. This also shows us that studies in social psychology, just as in sociolinguistics, do not account for emotions as a unique and fundamental component of language maintenance and language shift. Drawing on Figure 64.1, it is safe to conclude that “perhaps the most frequently mentioned biasing factors ostensibly neglected in the Theory of Planned Behavior are affect and emotions (Conner and Armitage 1998; Rapaport and Orbell 2000; Richard et al. 1998; Wolff et al. 2011)” (cited in Ajzen 2011: 1116). Ajzen (2011) responds to this concern as follows:

This concern is based in part on the mistaken perception that the theory posits a rational actor who is unaffected by emotions and in part on the standard methodology that is typically used to operationalise the theory’s constructs. In the [Theory of Planned Behavior] affect and emotions enter in two ways. First, they can serve as background factors that influence behavioural, normative and/or control beliefs. [...] In addition, affective states can also help to select the behavioural, normative and control beliefs that are readily accessible in memory (Clark and Waddell 1983; McKee, Wall, Hinson, Goldstein and Bissonnette 2003). (Ajzen 2011: 1116)

According to Ajzen (2011), affect and emotions can therefore have direct effects on intentions and behavior, as well as on the strength and evaluative connotations of these beliefs, which can indirectly determine language maintenance and language shift. However, it is often suggested that affect and emotion can influence behavior more directly and that this possibility is not sufficiently accounted for in the Theory of Planned Behavior. Wolff et al. (2011), for instance, argue that anticipated regret and, more generally, anticipated negative affect can influence intentions and behavior independent of the other predictors in the Theory of Planned Behavior. It is reasonable to ask here whether negative emotions (i.e.

regret, guilt, shame) would lead to rapid language shift, as argued by sociolinguists for the case of negative attitudes (cf. Potowski 2013).

3 Emotion and language maintenance/language shift in immigrant contexts

Emotion can be the most important predictor of motivational behaviors, indispensable in actual decision making. As MacIntyre (2002) writes, “given the pervasiveness of emotions, their role in energizing behavior, and their flexibility over time, it is clear that emotion forms a key part of the motivational system” (MacIntyre 2002: 63). Emotions can result in particular motivational behaviors of language learners such as continuing to try to solve a learning task because of a positive emotion or no longer trying because of a negative emotion (Scherer 2005; cf. Dörnyei 2005; Garrett and Young 2009; MacIntyre 2002). For instance, anxiety may influence language maintenance in a negative way, as DG, a Turkish immigrant mother living in the Netherlands indicates while describing her daughter’s anxiety in the heritage language, Turkish:

(1) Interviewer: How do you think IK’s [daughter] anxiety related to her Turkish is influencing her life?

DG: Well, she loses herself, she screams, yells, gets aggressive! Then, she shuts herself down, doesn’t speak Turkish with me. [...] Seriously, sometimes she doesn’t speak with me at all. So I am telling her: her Turkish is not improving, it is not the solution! We will never get rid of these problems like this! Especially for her, she needs to try to speak Turkish, so she doesn’t hate it more.

(Sevinç and Backus 2019)

Based on DG’s statement about her daughter’s negative emotion (hate), it is fair to hypothesize that the more individuals use a language, the more positive their emotions may become in terms of their language skills. As Sevinç and Backus (2019) note, the interplay between language competence, language practices and anxiety creates a vicious circle. Anxiety leads immigrants to avoid using the language they are anxious about, whether the heritage or the majority language, which means less practice and social interaction in that language, which causes low proficiency. This in turn leads to further anxiety, and thus further avoidance of using the language. Emotions, therefore, affect the process or outcome of language maintenance and language shift, while they, in turn, are shaped by the process or outcomes of language maintenance and language shift.

Intercultural communication can often pose greater challenges than mastering a language, particularly in immigrant or minority contexts. One of the biggest challenges for immigrants is speaking their nondominant language with so-called natives – people from the mainstream society or from immigrants’ so-called home country – who are likely to perpetuate stereotypes or other labels of bilingual immigrants (Sevinç and Dewaele 2016;

Sevinç and Backus 2019). Associated with immigrant experience, daily sociolinguistic and socio-emotional challenges (e.g. language tension, discrimination, stereotyping, accusations of slipping in ethnic allegiances and social exclusion) can occur. The excerpt below, for instance, illustrates unequal power relationships, perceived ethnic exclusion, prejudice and inequality, causing anxiety for a Turkish immigrant when speaking Dutch, the majority language:

- (2) At work, I experience that some Dutch people correct every little mistake of yours consciously just to show that they are Dutch, so they can do this to you. Some of them laugh at you if you use a wrong word and say “WE don’t use this, WE use that!” So you feel discriminated, and despised (SVD, 26-year-old, second-generation).
(Sevinç and Backus 2019)

Based on standard norms and perceived social pressure, immigrant or minority contexts may trigger negative emotions such as shame, guilt, anxiety and embarrassment among immigrants in various social contexts. The wish to belong to a certain group is one of the most influential factors in the success of second language acquisition (Pavlenko 2005), and the concept of emotion plays a crucial part in it. In her valuable contribution to the field, Pavlenko (2005, 2006) demonstrates that bilinguals’ sociolinguistic histories heavily influence their emotions. Negative experiences, such as discrimination, can result in negative emotions, which can, in turn, result in a person no longer speaking one language, which will eventually influence the process of language maintenance and language shift. The case of Lerner, who arrived in the United States in 1939 as a 19-year-old Jewish refugee, illustrates the impact of negative emotions on bilinguals’ attitudes, language use and preferences. As Lerner said, “The truth was, I no longer wanted to speak German; I was repelled by the sound of it; for me as for other Americans it had become the language of the enemy. I ceased speaking German altogether” (Pavlenko 2005: 192). After the Nazi rise to power, she embraced English with the same gratitude and fascination that she embraced America, she refused to use German, to speak it to her children, or to read German books; eventually she experienced profound language attrition (Pavlenko 2005). What we see here is that Lerner’s negative experiences and emotions affected her attitude toward maintaining German. Schmid (2011), on the other hand, gives an example illustrating that positive emotions affect language learning: “Someone who has a deeply-felt love and admiration for Dutch society, and a desire to be as Dutch as possible, will probably eventually become better at speaking Dutch than someone who has to learn some Dutch only because she has to spend a couple of years in Rotterdam for her work” (Schmid 2011: 97).

Emotions are often considered as the affective component of attitudes along with the other two components, cognitive and behavioral. As MacIntyre (2002) notes, “attitudes alone are not likely to be sufficient to support motivation. The role that emotion, to the extent that it can be split off from attitudes and motivation, plays in the language learning process has yet to be widely studied” (MacIntyre 2002: 63). Attitudes may be shaped by pleasant or unpleasant sensations involving simple positive or negative feelings. However, this attitudinal component “represents only a tiny subset of the emotions and feelings of interest to the experiential view” (Holbrook and Hirschman 1982: 136). Holbrook and Hir-

schman's (1982) concern over the absence of emotion in attitude research raises a major question about behavioral explanation and prediction: If the attitude construct reflects only a tiny subset of emotive experience, the behavioral prediction would suffer. Therefore, it is safe to emphasize that emotion, which controls some of our mental processes (Schumann 1998), needs to be investigated as a unique factor in language maintenance and language shift studies, in that it directly influences human behavior, as in the following example.

SLD, a second-generation Turkish immigrant living in the Netherlands, returned to the Netherlands from a visit to Turkey angry, frustrated and disappointed, no longer wishing to maintain Turkish and her Turkish identity:

- (3) SLD: I lost my passport in Turkey, panicked and terrified I ran to the closest police station, and tried to explain my problem to the policeman over there. As I was agitated, I think my Turkish got worse, [it] sounded foreign. The police officer asked me “are you Turkish?” I said “yes, but my passport is Dutch, I live in the Netherlands.” Then, he said “oh you the Turks [living] in Europe, why don't you speak proper Turkish?” [...] I got shocked! Is this the only problem here now? I just left and went to the Dutch Embassy in Istanbul, they took me seriously and solved the problem. [...] Why shall I protect [keep] Turkish [the language] and my identity, really? To be treated like this? [...] Just because of these [experiences] I don't go to Turkey anymore.

(Sevinç 2017, unpublished data)

In this excerpt, it is, first of all, worth noting that one's language performance can be immediately influenced by negative emotions, in such a way that SLD felt agitated and her Turkish got worse. Second, the Turkish police officer reproduced subjective norms and evaluated SLD's language and identity by asking her “are you Turkish?” and “why don't you speak proper Turkish?”. Perhaps most crucially, from a social psychological perspective, we can observe that deviation from standard norms can lead to the perceived social pressure that triggers negative emotions among immigrants that directly affect behavior, as evinced by SLD's decision to no longer maintain the Turkish language and reject her Turkish identity.

Immigrants' language use and competence in both languages is often evaluated with reference to monolingual-standard norms. Self-perceived low proficiency and other factors appear to typecast immigrants as less than perfect members of their speech communities. This subjects immigrants to discrimination, stereotyping, and accusations of slipping ethnic allegiances and problematic moral commitments. As a result of social and cultural concerns, immigrants who do not meet the expectations of their speech community experience negative emotions related to their language and identity. These negative emotions can remain an ever-present and unavoidable circumstance of immigrants' lives and a part of their identity.

4 Summary and concluding remarks

The current chapter draws attention to a gap in the research of language contact. It shows that social and cultural forces of a language contact situation have been the main interest of language contact studies, while psychological aspects of language contact, particularly the central role of emotion in language maintenance and language shift, have been overlooked in both sociolinguistics and social psychology. This gap indicates that we are still far from achieving Weinreich's vision of a unified framework to integrate the linguistic, social, cultural and psychological aspects of language contact.

For a better understanding of language maintenance and language shift, sociolinguists need to more carefully apply terms, notions, and theories of psychology (cf. Maitz 2011). This understanding also requires further investigation of individuals' psychological reactions to immigrant or minority experiences, with a special focus on emotion. Research should examine emotion as a fundamental component of language maintenance and language shift, since emotions, positive, negative or mixed, can penetrate down to the deepest levels of an immigrant's sense of self. Emotion can be one of the reasons for, as well as the result of, language maintenance and language shift. Because emotion directly influences human behavior, it can be considered as an independent and compelling factor in determining the success or failure of language maintenance.

It is also conceivable that emotion is a cognitive process affected by attitudes, norms and motivation during intercultural communication, particularly in immigrant contexts. The interplay of these variables is usually dynamic and complex. Although this chapter draws necessary attention to the role of emotions in language maintenance and language shift in immigrant contexts, effects of negative and positive emotions on language maintenance and language shift and the interplay of norms, attitudes, emotion and motivation still require further investigation in the field. Future research should embrace a comparative approach to examine the effects and interplay of these variables across diverse immigrant populations and contexts – for instance, where the pressure of a normative standard is high or low. A comparison of emotion cultures (language, attitudes, identity and norms) and emotional experiences (i.e. positive and negative) with differential rates of change in language use across different immigrant groups (cf. Fishman 1972; Gordon 1981) can help resolve the contradictions in the existing literature on language shift in sociolinguistics and social psychology, as discussed in this chapter.

In order to deal with the issues raised by affective reactions and better understand the breadth of facilitative and debilitating emotional processes in immigrant contexts, we need sociological, linguistic and social psychological approaches, but most importantly, a particular focus on psychology is needed if we are to better investigate the role of emotion in language maintenance and shift. Recent trends in the emerging science of positive psychology, for instance, the Broaden and Build theory of positive emotion, can be applied to the study of language maintenance and shift in immigrant contexts. As noted by Held (2004), it is important that negative emotions are included in positive psychology applications and that an integrative approach to understanding and improving the human condition is followed, such as applying positive psychology in the treatment of negative experiences (Seligman, Rashid, and Parks 2006). These applications can also help immigrants break

the vicious circle of language knowledge, language use and negative emotions or prevent immigrants' debilitating negative-narrowing reactions toward their own language use, which are likely to cause language shift. For instance, anxious behaviors can be decoded by immigrant groups through positive emotions such as enjoyment (cf. Dewaele and MacIntyre 2014).

The scope of positive and negative emotions as examined in recent research in SLA should be moved beyond classroom settings in order to be adapted to immigrant situations. Notably, immigrants' experiences are often complex and may not always be simplified to one or two emotions. Concurrent experience of positive and negative emotions, namely mixed emotions, should not be neglected in immigrant contexts, considering the fact that individuals can simply experience both positive and negative emotions at the same time (e.g. joy and guilt, happiness and fear). Methodologically, an interdisciplinary approach that combines quantitative, qualitative data and physiological data recordings can be beneficial to shed further light on the link between specific emotions and language use in different social settings (cf. Sevinç 2017). Finally, it is essential to remember that perceived pressure can be provoked not only by the mainstream community but also by the so-called home country. Based on the specific content of a society's or group's emotion culture, alarmist attitudes in immigrants' home countries toward emigrants may also influence immigrants' emotions. When investigating the key concepts of language maintenance and language shift (attitudes, norms and emotion) researchers should also take into account individuals' emotional experiences and reactions in their "original" country.

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