SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

SSLS

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5

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SOCIOLINGUISTICS
IN THE
LOW COUNTRIES

Edited by

K. DEPREZ

PREFACE

This volume contains the papers read at the Second Socio-
linguistics Conference of the Association Belge de Lin-
guistique Appliquée (Belgian Association of Applied Lin-
guistics) that was held at the University of Antwerp
(U.I.A.) on the 9th and 10th of May, 1980.

The papers were grouped around two topics. The topic
of the first day was 'Language and Social Class'. Six
papers were presented after which a panel discussion
followed, led by J. Sturm. These six papers and Sturm's
comments on the discussion constitute the first part of
this book. On the second day five papers were read, all
of which dealt with 'Language Attitudes'; they constitute
the second part of this book. The whole is preceded by an
introductory article by R. Van Hout in which he presents
the Netherlandic language area, describes how sociolinguis-
tics is developing in this area and briefly discusses the
essence of each paper.

I wish to thank Prof. Dr. G. De Schutter (Universiteit
Antwerpen, U.I.A.) and Prof. Dr. G. Geerts (Katholieke
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authors.

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Kas DEPREZ

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CONTENTS

Introduction
SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN THE NETHERLANDIC LANGUAGE AREA

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The aim of this paper is to put the sociolinguistic
research presented in this book into the context in which
it has originated and grown. Hence, the first section con-
tains a broad survey of the language situation in the
Netherlandic area. This, at times necessarily superficial
survey, is followed by a brief outline of the growth and
development of sociolinguistics in the Netherlandic lan-
guage area. Finally, the two central topics of this book,
which are tackled from rather divergent angles in the pa-
pers presented, are considered in the last two sections.

1. THE NETHERLANDIC LANGUAGE AREA

1.1. A POLITICALLY COLOURED DESCRIPTION

The Netherlandic language area may be rather simply
defined as the sum of The Netherlands and Belgium, after
having deducted for The Netherlands the area where Frisian
is the generally spoken language and for Belgium the areas
where French or German are accepted as the common language.
This plain definition primarily based on political bounda-
ries leaves two problematic areas : the towns in the pro-
vince of Friesland, where so-called 'Town Frisian' ('Stads-
fries') is spoken and the region of the Belgian capital,
Brussels.
   Belgium is constitutionally divided into four language
areas. Besides the Netherlandic language area -Flanders(1)-
the French language area -Wallonia- and the German lan-
guage area along the eastern border, the Belgian capital
and its surroundings are the fourth language area. Situated
in the southern part of Flanders, this region is officially
bilingual, both Netherlandic and French being legally re-
cognized languages. The economic and cultural dominance of
the Francophones ever since the birth of the Belgian
State in 1830 up to the Second World War brought about a

strong process of Frenchification in the Brussels area, so
that the majority of Flemings of a century ago (about 70%)
evolved into a minority of at most 20%. Although the city
is officially bilingual, the French language is still pre-
dominant and in practice still privileged. The economic
and cultural revival, after the Second World War, of the
Flemish part of Belgium polarized the relations between
the Netherlandic and French language communities. The
contested Brussels area has a very central position in this
conflict (2) (see Louckx(1978) and Vilrokx (1978)) (3).
It has become the main area of language contact and con-
flict as a consequence of territorial unilingualism in Wal-
lonia and Flanders.
    In Friesland, one of the eleven provinces of The Nether-
lands, an indigenous minority language is spoken. This lan-
guage originates from the Frisian language spoken in the
Middle Ages along the continental shore of the North-Sea
from Amsterdam to the Elbe. Despite the impact of the Ne-
therlandic language, the original Frisian dialects survived
in the rural parts of the province of Friesland as the
common medium for everyday communication. In the towns of
Friesland, however, the impact of Netherlandic, since the
sixteenth century the language used in official, formal
domains, brought about a mixed variety of the two languages,
'Town Frisian', which superseded the original Frisian lan-
guage (4). Consequently, the position of Netherlandic is
at present much stronger in the towns than it is in the
countryside.
    The position of Frisian, which was very weak at the
beginning of the nineteenth century, has since considerably
strengthened. Inspired by the climate of Romanticism in
the nineteenth century, the so-called Frisian Movement,
headed by the educated elite, effected a turn of the tide
for the Frisian language. After a centuries-old dominance
of the Netherlandic language in a diglossic setting,
a slow process of emancipation, resulting in, and at
the same time helped along by the standardisation of Fri-
sian, increased its appreciation and status. Nowadays the
Dutch government supports its maintenance and the Frisian
region has become legally a bilingual area, although the
two coexisting languages may in fact not be considered
functionally equivalent. Not every one speaks Frisian
(about 70% of the inhabitants of the province use it as
their home language), while Netherlandic still has the
undeniable advantages of wider communication functions and
higher lexical elaboration (5).

Because of the difficulties concerning the regions of
Brussels and Friesland, in our opening definition of the
Netherlandic language area, it may be more attractive to
transform the negative terms into positive ones : the Ne-
therlandic language area consists of the regions where the
Netherlandic language is legally recognized. In this case,
the area has been expanded to include Brussels and Friesland,
but at the same time the definition is the most trivial one
we can think of , since it merely upholds what has been po-
litically constituted. For a more thorough and more relevant
impression it is desirable to look at the language area
in question from a linguistic point of view.

1.2. A LINGUISTICALLY COLOURED DESCRIPTION

Looking through a linguistic glass three outer boundaries
draw our attention :
   - The Frisian language boundary
   - The Germanic-Romance language boundary in the south
   - The national frontier of The Netherlands in the east

From a linguistic point of view the Frisian boundary
raises no problem. The border between this continental
survivor of the North-Sea Ingveonic dialects and the rest
of the West-Germanic dialects is, as Bloomfield(1979,58)
notes, the only clear and sharp cleavage in the continen-
tal West-Germanic language group.
The centuries-old Germanic-Romance boundary in the south
is linguistically quite clear too, despite the fact that
the official Netherlandic-French language frontier in Bel-
gium does not always correspond to the actual language
boundary because it has been established without any se-
rious language surveys or field investigations. On the map
of the Netherlandic language area (see map 1), one can see
that in the very north-west of France a region is situated
where originally Flemish dialects are spoken (6). If one
takes a purely political delimitation of the Netherlandic
language area, this region simply would be excluded.
   The eastern national frontier, however, does not in any
way coincide with a sharp linguistic cleavage. The conti-
nental West-Germanic dialects constitute a linguistic con-
tinuum ; the transitions from one dialect to another are
on the whole gradual and smooth. The eastern border, there-
fore, can only be drawn using the politico-linguistic cri-
terion that the dialects in The Netherlands and Belgium
function in relation to the Netherlandic standard, while
the dialects in Germany are functionally related to the
German standard language.

Regional and dialectal diversity within the area covered
in this book has been highlighted from a linguistic stand-
point. As a result of the continuous nature of contiguous
Netherlandic dialects neighbouring dialects appear to re-
veal slight linguistic distance and, accordingly, are mu-
tually intelligible. Over some distance however, because
of the accumulation of differences, the dialects fairly
rapidly become mutually unintelligible. If one takes into
account that a relatively small area is concerned, the
geographical diversity at all levels of the language system
(the phonetic-phonological, the morphological, the lexical
as well as the syntactic) is quite striking. Hence, the
structural differences between the Netherlandic dialects
are better comparable to the geographical diversity found
in Germany, France and Italy than that found in the U.S.A.,
Canada and Great Britain. On this firm and promising base
of linguistic diversity a rich dialectological tradition
has developed in the past.

The gradual linguistic transitions in the Netherlandic
language area make a clear and exact classification of the
dialects hardly attainable. Accordingly, dialectologists
are far from being unanimous about a classification in
dialect groups or about the classification criteria to be
applied (7). Although without giving a clear indication of
the dialect boundaries and with no intention of passing
judgment on dialectological quarrels, the main dialect
groups in the Netherlandic language area are pointed out
on the language map of the area (see map 1).

The area has been divided into six groups. In the north-
west the Holland dialects ('Hollands') are situated,
linguistically the most cognate with the Netherlandic stan-
dard language. Next there are the north-central Utrecht-
Guelders dialects ('Utrechts-Gelders'), the north-east
Saxon dialects ('Saksisch'), the south-west Flemish dialects
('Vlaams') (8), the south-central Brabant dialects
('Brabants') and finally there are the south-east Limburg
dialects ('Limburgs') (9).

On the language map the localities which are involved
in the empirical studies in this book are indicated for
the geographical orientation of the reader. The map shows
a fairly equal distribution of the localities in the area,
especially when the investigations of Beheydt and Van der
Plank are taken into account, for the informants of Beheydt
are of West-Flemish origin, while Van der Plank selected
two villages from the Frisian region.

As a matter of course the linguistic-structural simila-
rity between the dialects or dialect groups and standard
Netherlandic varies considerably. The dialects in the

4

------- state border

- - - - - language boundary
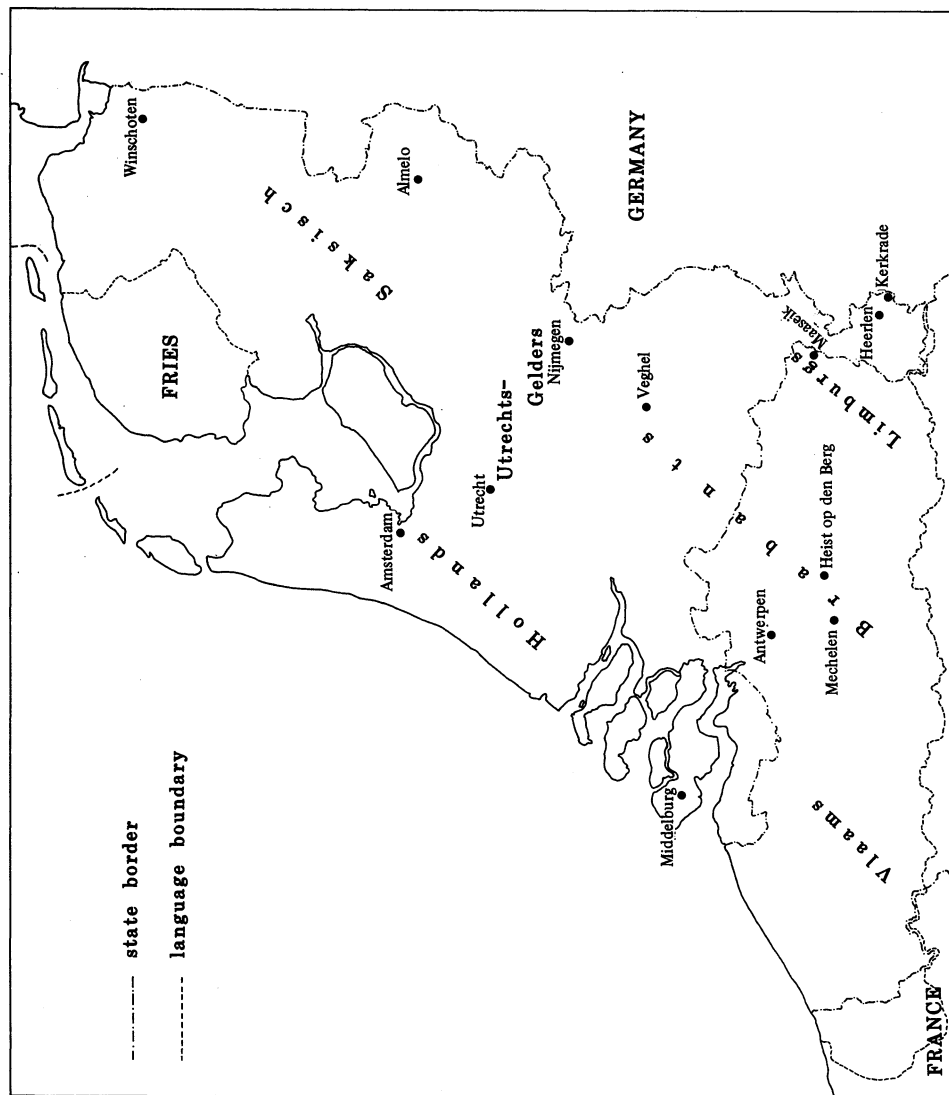
provinces of Holland are, as already noted, the most cognate
to the standard, being the logical outcome of the fact that
they formed the economic, cultural as well as the adminis-
trative centre of The Netherlands for the last four centu-
ries. Moving away from the centre, linguistic distance
increases, so that the peripheral regions, by and large,
have dialects which are the most dissimilar from the stan-
dard.
This comparison raises the question how standard and dialect
have co-existed and how they at present co-exist in the
Netherlandic language area. Is there a tendency for dialect
to decline? Who speaks standard and who speaks dialect
and to whom? Are there regional and social differences?
Are there important differences in attitudes towards dialect
and standard?
The question of co-existence appears to raise many other
questions which can only be answered from a third point
of view. Next to a language political view-point, which
stressed the existence and the geographical marge of the
standard language, and next to a linguistic view-point,
which accentuated dialectal diversity, the third, socio-
linguistic view-point places emphasis on the structural
and functional relation between dialect and standard.

1.3. *A SOCIOLINGUISTICALLY COLOURED DESCRIPTION*

   How strong has the expansion of the standard language
been at the cost of the dialects? Circumstances in The
Netherlands have been exceptionally favourable for a rapid
decline of the dialects and a strong expansion of the stan-
dard language. The historical circumstance of the Golden
Age of Holland in the seventeenth century fostered the de-
velopment of a standard language. The societal and geogra-
phical structure of the area has also played some contri-
bution : a flat, small country, very densely populated,
highly industrialized and urbanized, and having highly de-
veloped transport systems and communication networks.
However, although the functional and structural relation
between dialect and standard changed drastically , especially in
the last century, the centralizing and unifying forces turned
out to be incapable of a total levelling of regional and
social language differences. The process of decline of the
dialects and fading-out of regional dialect differences
still seems to be underway, but it has slowed down and
it has to overcome more resistance than was expected.
In effect, the course of the decline actually shows the
lively and tenacious nature of language variation. This
conclusion is supported by the findings in the papers in
Ammon(1979) about dialect and standard in highly indus-
trialized societies.

How have dialects fared in Belgium? For a proper eva-
luation of the position of the Belgian dialects it is ne-
cessary to go back to the history of this country.
The fall of Antwerp in 1585 was a very important event in
the history of the Netherlandic language. Fostered by the
wholesale emigration after this event of the southern
educated elite, the economic as well as the cultural centre
of activity moved from the south to the north and the sou-
thern, Flanders fell into decay. Politically separated
from the north, the south also became economically and
culturally isolated from the prosperous north. Flanders
came under the political and cultural influence of France.
The process of Frenchification resulted in language shift
by the Flemish elite, who became French-speaking in the
second half of the eighteenth century. A short political
reunion with The Netherlands marked a turning-point in
the position of the Flemish speech community. In spite of
a predominance of French, as the only official language at
the birth of the independent kingdom of Belgium in 1830,
a resistance movement (organized in what is traditionally
known as the 'Flemish Movement') against Frenchification
evolved. Beginning in 1873 a chain of language acts during
the nineteenth and twentieth century stemmed the expansion
of the French language. Finally, it is important to note
that during the last 25 years the economic situation of
Flanders has enormously improved by the attraction of new
industries and high technology, whereas French-speaking
Wallonia stagnated economically.
    In the struggle for the emancipation of their own lan-
guage the Flemings never came to agreement on a specific
language ideology. In her paper in this volume Knops dis-
cusses the concepts of assimilation and ethnocentrism with
regard to the standard language, which indicate two con-
flicting tendencies in the Flemish speech community (10).
On the one hand there is an evolution towards standard
Netherlandic, promoting the use of the northern Netherlan-
dic norm in the Flemish speech community, This evolution
has been supported by official language institutions, and
reflects the official language policy in Belgium.
On the other hand there is a divergent evolution, an evo-
lution away from standard Netherlandic, furthering the de-
velopment of an indigenous , Flemish standard variety.
This latter evolution is supported by ethnocentric feelings
and values, which arise from the political and cultural
separation from The Netherlands (see Deprez 1981).

The general language spoken at present in Flanders may
be viewed as a regional variety of the Netherlandic stan-
dard language. This variety, however, is far from being
relatively stable or homogeneous, oscillating as it is
between the two conflicting tendencies. Deprez & Geerts
(1977a) say that is has to be assumed that the tendency
towards the northern norm will get stronger, but it is
hard to predict to what degree this development will
eradicate divergent forces. They mention three sources
which are characteristic of Netherlandic in Belgium and,
consequently, of the standardization process and which,
because of their differential impact, give rise to great
social and geographical diversity in the southern standard :
- dialectal and regional influences; especially the impor-
  tant influence of the Belgian Brabant dialects;
- the use of old-fashioned and archaic words, coming from
  an obsolete written tradition;
- a direct and indirect influence from French; as a reac-
  tion against the feeling of threat from the French lan-
  guage and culture and as a way of revealing the own
  identity, there is a strong aversion against French
  loans and a strong puristic attitude (see Deprez & Geerts
  (1977b)).

The history of the Flemish speech community clarifies
the differential position of the standard language com-
pared with The Netherlands (11). As opposed to Belgium,
the standard language in The Netherlands, except for the
peripheral regions (for instance Kerkrade, see the paper
by Vallen, Stijnen & Hagen in this volume), is highly
integrated, even in informal everyday face-to-face inter-
action. In many parts of the country the standard language
or its regional accented variant function is the mother-
tongue of the upper and middle classes. The deviating
position of the standard language in Belgium emerges in the
papers by Van den Broeck and Beheydt. Van den Broeck informs
us that in Maaseik, the locality where he conducted his
investigation, the use of standard language in informal
situations, notwithstanding its growing use, is rather rare,
even for members of the middleclass. For Beheydt there was
no problem of finding members of the (upper) middle class
who use dialect in the domains of socialization. In
interpreting the (bad) results of mothers of the middle
class using the standard code, he points to the special
circumstances of these speakers : they are first generation
standard speakers. They are bilinguals, who learned the
standard as a second language in an environment in which
the standard is rarely spoken.

The Flemish dialects are still relatively strong, but they are giving way primarily in more formal and official domains and among the higher social classes.

Unfortunately, in contrast with Germany (12), a nation-wide survey giving a global impression of the number of dialect speakers and the extent of the use of dialect, does not exist for the Netherlandic language area. Therefore, we are limited to results from small sociolinguistic sur-veys of rather randomly scattered localities. Many endea-vours to combine and compare these results, however cau-tious they may be, have little value because of the widely divergent ways in which the data are gathered and because of the fact that many data are not gathered carefully enough to secure a reliable and valid sociolinguistic profile.

Notwithstanding this defective data structure many fac-tors familiar in the sociolinguistic literature emerge when the small surveys are put together. On the macro-geographical level the region itself as well as the degree of urbanisation are correlated to the number of dialect speakers; on the sociological and demographic level the well-known factors of age, sex and social class appear to influence the use of dialect; lastly, the situational di-mension, containing the domains (cf. Fishman(1972)) in which dialect may be used, is evidently related to the ex-tent of the use of dialect (see for these findings for in-stance Entjes(1977), Giesbers, Liebrand & Kroon(1978), Meeus(1980) and Willemyns(1981)). Some of the factors men-tioned will be discussed below, without any claims concer-ning total integration.

One of the most intriguing questions in the present lan-guage situation concerns the rate of mother-tongue shift and, connected to this, the prediction of the degree of survival of the dialects. But, as Lieberson(1980) notes, an exact measurement and a reliable estimation of the di-rection and the magnitude of the sociolinguistic changes going on are very complex and often hardly feasible, gi-ven the many pitfalls that have to be faced. One of the procedures which may be used to get a good impression of the shift going on is the investigation of parent-child changes, because one of the most elementary steps in the process of language shift is the replacement of the old (dialect) variety, as the primary medium of communication in the process of socialization, by the new (standard) variety. The generational difference and the ambivalent position of the parents can most plainly be demonstrated by a comparison of the variety the parents usually prefer for interaction with one another and the variety they usually choose for interaction with their children.

TABLE 1

	Zwolle (Gld.)	Gennep	Sauwerd	Venlo	surroundings Brussels
inhabitants	±500	±14.500	±650	±60.000	±34.000
type of region	rural	small town mixed urban-rural	rural-suburban	urban	a suburban region and a rural region
dialect group	Saxon (south-east)	Utrecht-Gelders (south-east)	Saxon (north)	Limburgs (south, the Netherlands)	Brabants (south, Belgium)
dialect with spouse	92,5 %	67 %	62 %	68 %	76 %
dialect with children	35 %	33 %	35 %	63 %	68 %

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The domain 'at home' may be refined by the parent-child
dimension, which would become a main determinant of lan-
guage choice.
In table 1 the findings from five small surveys (13) con-
cerning the variety used with the spouse and the variety
used with children are shown (see table 1).
The difference between parent-parent and parent-child
interaction may be quite large. In the hamlet of Zwolle
the shift is even 57.5%. In the localities of Gennep and
Sauwerd too a very considerable generational difference
within the domain 'at home' appears to exist, showing that
between two generations a drastic shift may occur.
A rigorous reorientation is taking place in these speech
communities in favour of the standard as primary communi-
cation medium in upbringing. The two other localities,
Venlo and the communities in the surroundings of Brussels,
show little net shift between the generations, which would
be an indication of a more stabilized language situation
and a stronger position of the dialect. Some regions evi-
dently are more dialect preserving.
If we try to estimate the extent of this reorientation it
has to be kept in mind that the percentages from Sauwerd,
Gennep and Zwolle are relatively positive, because all
three places are at least partially rural. Thirteen miles
north of Gennep is situated the town of Nijmegen (about
150.000 inhabitants). A survey of the indigenous population
of this town has given a percentage of 27% dialect speakers.
This percentage is substantially lower than the result
found in Gennep, where 69% of the parents speak the dialect
as mother tongue. Once again, however, every conclusion
and every interpretation has to be tentative because of
the differences between the above-mentioned surveys both
in sample design and in population sampled (14).

   Finally, it has to be noted that the percentage of dia-
lect in parent-child interaction is an underestimation of
the dialect knowledge and the dialect use of the children.
In Gennep 33% of the parents speak dialect with their
children, whereas 40% of the parents say that their child-
ren use dialect with peers. In Venlo these percentages
are 63% and 68% respectively. The children themselves in
Venlo report an even higher percentage: 80% claim to speak
dialect usually with peers. It is also interesting that 27%
of the adolescent children from Venlo report an increase in their
own use of dialect as the years pass by. Beyond indicating
a rather strong position of dialect in the town of Venlo,
these findings also point to the importance of age-grading
effects which support the use of dialect.

TABLE 2

%	n	category
	3	- missing value
%	6	- no answer
	6	- answer not usable
68	87	- answer implies the characteristic "lower working class"
6	8	- answer implies the characteristic "age (elderly people)"
4	5	- answer implies both the characteristic "age" and "lower working class"
3	4	- answer implies the characteristic "indigenous"
7	9	- answer implies both the characteristic "indigenous" and "lower working class"
2.5	3	- answer implies the characteristic "quarter specific"
2.5	3	- answer implies both the characteristic "quarter specific" and "lower working class"
7	9	- answers which are neutral with regard to above-mentioned characteristics; for instance the answer "everybody"

In the changing relationship between dialect and stan-
dard the significance of the factor social class has par-
ticularly increased. Certainly as far as The Netherlands
are concerned, one may roughly state that today social class
largely determines the use of dialect (cf. Williamson &
Van Eerde(1980)). This relation between dialect and social
class seems to become closer as the geographical distance
to the centre of the Holland provinces and the linguistic
distance to the standard language decreases. This centre
called the Randstad, consists of the urban complex situ-
ated between the cities of Utrecht, Amsterdam, Den Haag
and Rotterdam. On closer examination this geographical-
linguistic distance factor seems divisible into two under-
lying dimensions which actually determine the closeness
of the relation. The first dimension is the economic-cultu-
ral centrality of the region with respect to the Randstad.
This dimension accounts for the importance of the geogra-
phical distance. The second dimension defines the position
of a place on the rural-urban axis. The correlation between
dialect and social class increases as the degree of urba-
nisation augments.

    The significance of the social class factor in relation
to dialect can be demonstrated by means of some findings
in a sociolinguistic survey in the town of Nijmegen.
(Van Hout(1980)). Nijmegen, situated on the eastern border,
has about 150.000 inhabitants. Its dialect has a median
linguistic distance. One of the questions asked in the
survey was: Which people speak the dialect of Nijmegen?
The classification of the answers in table 2 shows, that
127 out of the sample of 143 persons gave an answer which
could be used for stock-taking the characteristics asso-
ciated with dialect speakers.

    The least mentioned characteristic of the four signi-
ficant factors ('quarter') reflects the importance of the
internal geographical structure of urban regions.
In the eyes of the informants some urban quarters may func-
tion as dialect preserving belts. The three other charac-
teristics are self-evident. In figure 1 the most interes-
ting facet, namely the relative weight of the characte-
ristics, is visualized in the shape of squares. The sur-
faces of the squares symbolize the relative weight, while
the overlaps render the answers which implied two charac-
teristics.

13

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        AGE              INDIGENOUS



              LOWER WORKING CLASS



        QUARTER
                                    NEUTRAL
   Fig.1
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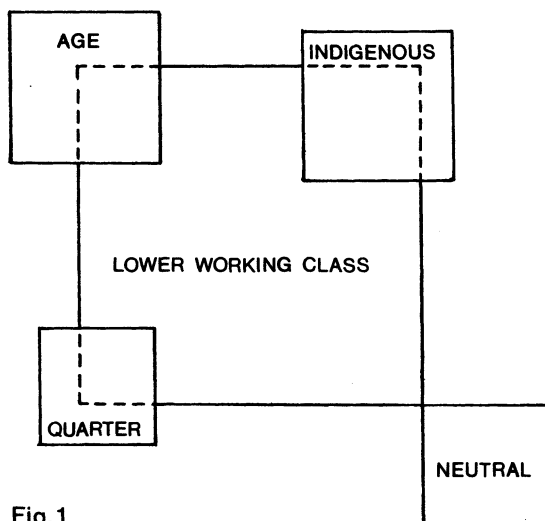
The characteristic "lower working class" by far outweighs
the others, which clearly are present on a secondary level
in the eyes of the members of the urban speech community
of Nijmegen.
   The decline of the old dialects is of course not only
perceptible in the reduction of the number of dialect
speakers and in the sociological and demographic charac-
teristics which become typical of dialect speaking.
The expansion of the standard language has also found
its way into the linguistic structure of the dialects.
Regional linguistic diversity is strongly affected, parti-
cularly lexical diversity. But the impact also results in
the emergence of new and vigorous linguistic variants and
varieties between the old dialect and the standard lan-
guage. This process has reached such a point in the region
of the Randstad that language variation no longer can be
explained and interpreted by postulating two separate un-
derlying language systems. The variation, mainly of a
phonetic-phonological nature, is being perceived by the
language users in that area as stemming from one language
system. Differences from the standard are viewed not as
dialectal differences, but as deviations from the norm,
as substandard variants. At the same time it can be obser-
ved that forces in the cities of the Randstad diverging
from the standard language are strong enough to promote the
use of particular substandard variants.

According to the emergence of a variation continuum, style-shifting along a gradual axis between sub-standard and standard has replaced code-switching mechanisms and strategies. Code-switching phenomena gather strength moving towards the peripheral regions, when the increased linguistic distance is attended by more abrupt and discontinuous transitions and when the mutual delimitation of the two language systems involved becomes more distinct.

The notions of style-shifting and code-switching lead us to a third significant facet of the dialect-standard relation. In addition to a reduction in the use of dialect and the changing sociological and demographic characteristics of dialect speakers as well as the extinction of old dialect forms and the emergence of new variants and varieties between dialect and standard, functional distribution must also be mentioned. In many domains of language behaviour which in former times almost were the exclusive property of dialect, the standard language is used nowadays. Generally, the existing relation between the two varieties may be classified as one of diglossia in which the low and the high variety have functional overlaps and in which, consequently, both varieties are being used often in the same kind of social situation. The use of dialect, however, is driven back in many domains. It is becoming the variety of informal situations and a symbol of solidarity and intimacy. More and more is dialect not so much associated with referentially oriented interactions as with communications with a strongly expressive character. The standard, formerly only known to the very restricted layer of the ruling class, has become a normal means of communication in a number of domains.

In the research done concerning attitudes towards the appropriateness of dialect in different domains of language behaviour, it is suggested that one main underlying dimension may account for the domain configuration found. Geerts, Nootens & Van den Broeck (1978,35) describe this configuration as ranging from "intimate/ informal/ relational/ predictable/ 'kleinräumig' towards distant/ formal/ transactional/ unpredictable/ 'grossräumig'".
In their paper in this volume Münstermann, Diederen, Hos & Weistra conclude that the domains investigated can be arranged along one single underlying dimension, but they also note that the domain 'school' possibly deserves a special position, even to such an extent that the suggested unidimensionality may be questioned. Also Geerts et al. (1978) do not wish to commit themselves in their conclusion, where they state that the place of the domains 'child-parent' and 'child-adult' seems difficult to account for.

Flemings apparently consider dialect as 'pedagogically'
inappropriate. A more thorough analysis by means of a fac-
tor analysis of the domain scores which are presented in
Van Hout (1978) (see the paper by Diederen et al.)
revealed that a two-dimensional solution would be very
plausible. The first dimension can be interpreted as the
'intimacy' dimension; the second one can be interpreted
as a dimension that differentiates the domains according
to the role-relationship adult-child. It is very probable
that future research will reveal an even more complex
underlying structure of the domain configuration.

An outline of the Netherlandic language area is virtual-
ly incomplete without a short description of the language
situation of the rather large minority groups. These
groups, all stemming from migration flows after the Second
World War, have diverse ethnic origins and they originally
speak a mother tongue quite divergent from the Netherlan-
dic language. One of these groups consists of foreign
workers coming from the Mediterranean countries. In the
paper by Muysken in this volume some information is given
about Moroccan foreign workers in The Netherlands. Unfor-
tunately, not many data have been gathered about the lan-
guage situation of the minority groups. Some further in-
formation will be given in the following section.

2. NETHERLANDIC SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Before briefly outlining the state of the art of socio-
linguistics in the Netherlandic language area, it would
be useful to define what sociolinguistics is, or at least
should be. However, as Trudgill (1978) has concluded
'sociolinguistics' is a rather vague concept having a mul-
tiplicity of interpretations. It is not so much a well-
defined scientific discipline as a multidisciplinary con-
glomerate of studies of language variation and language
in social interaction. Studies of sociolinguistics, e.g.
Trudgill (1978), are a good illustration of the extent
and the diversity of the studies of language and society,
which range from ethnomethodology to secular linguistics
and from the ethnography of speaking to language planning
(15). A multifarious collection like this constitutes a not
very solid base for a plain description of the growth and
development of sociolinguistics in the Low Countries.

The first thing that has to be noted in this outline
is the relatively slow start of the study of sociolinguis-
tics in this language area. It is only about 6 years
(about 1976) since sociolinguistics may be considered as

a research field which is no longer in its infancy.
In the beginning of the seventies a rapidly growing inte-
rest in sociolinguistics came about, aroused by the appea-
ling educational impact of this new discipline. But even a
storm of enthusiasm can not simply and directly be con-
verted into a proportional quantity of empirical research.
Apart from some early studies with a sociolinguistic orien-
tation (e.g. Nuijtens (1962), Daan & Weijnen (1967) and
smaller studies (e.g. De Vries et al.(1974)),the first
extensive sociolinguistic research project, the so-called
Kerkrade project, did not start until 1973 (see the paper
by Vallen et al. in this volume). In this project, which
took the difference hypothesis as its point of departure,
the sociolinguistic and educational problems of dialect-
speaking primary school children are investigated (see
Stijnen& Vallen(1981)).

   The rising interest in sociolinguistics first of all
resulted in the publication of several introductions
(Appel et al.(1976), Hagen(1976), Pietersen(1976), Goy-
vaerts & Velders(1975)),which already in their different
viewpoints reflect the diversity of the new discipline.
Several other introductory books have been published
since, both in the form of original works (Hartveldt
(1978a), Nieuwstad et al.(1978), Springorum(1981), Hagen &
Sturm(1982)).and in the form of translations. Well-known
introductory books have been translated (Dittmar(1978);
Hudson(1980, translation to appear in 1982); a rather
early translation is Fishman(1970). In addition, antholo-
gies in Netherlandic of famous sociolinguistic articles
have been issued (Hartveldt(1978b), Geerts & Hagen(1981).
The first introductions could hardly refer to empirical
results or articles from Netherlandic origin. But socio-
linguistic output has considerably increased since these.
Next to the introductory and review activities, a growing
number of publications including research results appear
from 1976 on. In addition to the publication of sociolin-
guistic articles in linguistic journals, special volumes of
some journals dealing with sociolinguistics have been
issued; many of these volumes result from a sociolinguistic
conference. From 1977 on the following series of books and
special volumes of journals have been issued : *Taal en
Tongval 29*(1977), vol.3-4; *Taal en Tongval 30*(1978), vol.1;
Toegepaste Taalkunde in Artikelen no.4(1978); *Toegepaste
Taalkunde in Artikelen no.8*(1980); *International Journal
of the Sociology of Language 15*(1978) (=Verdoodt(1978));
*Recent Sociolinguistisch Onderzoek in Vlaanderen, ABLA-
papers no.2*(1979) (=Van den Broeck(1979)); Geerts & Hagen
(1980), Foolen et al. (1980) (this book is concerned with
discourse analysis); Appel et al.(1980) (this book deals
with the language problems of foreign workers and their
children); Van de Craen & Willemyns(1982).

These publications contain many important sociolin-
guistic articles and their content is representative of the
sociolinguistic research done in the Netherlandic language
area. A sociolinguistic bibliography up to the year
1978 may be found in Koning(1979).
   Another substantial manifestation of the increasing im-
portance of sociolinguistics is the publication of doctoral
dissertations. The first two of those to be mentioned are
clearly of a language-sociological origin (Van der Plank
(1971) and Wijnstra(1976)). The others, with the exclusion
of Smedts(1979) which is a fairly psycholinguistic study,
have a plainly sociolinguistic origin : Van den Broeck(1977)
Beheydt(1979), Hagen(1981), Jansen(1981), Stijnen & Vallen
(1981), Deprez(1982) and Huls (to appear in 1982).
Many of these names are to be found in the contributions
in this volume. There can be no doubt that this volume
contains a qualitatively representative sample of socio-
linguistic research in the Netherlandic language area.

   It would be good to clarify the sociolinguistic situa-
tion after this dry enumeration of introductions, special
volumes and doctoral dissertations, by means of a more
substantial description, however concise. This concise
description will be based upon a tripartite division of
the sociolinguistic field. The choice of these three sec-
tors does not imply that for the sake of clarity the di-
versity of the field is wilfully reduced to three sectors.
However correct it may be to distinguish a variety of di-
rections (Trudgill(1978) distinguishes 8 directions) because
of their relative autonomous development, their specific
historical background or their specific research methods
or topics, a bare classification cannot account for fun-
damental similarities or differences between these seemingly
quite diverging directions. The three topics which may be
distinguished are the following:

1. language variation and language diversity
2. language as social interaction
3. language and disadvantage

   The first two topics indicate a basic distinction.
The first topic implies an approach in which the social
system and the language system are treated as being rela-
tively separate and in which the relationship between the
social system and the language system is investigated by
studying language differences between and within people.
The second topic implies an approach not interested in
the mutual influence of social and linguistic factors but

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an approach in which language is first and foremost viewed
as a social phenomenon, emerging in and at the same time
defining the social situation. Language phenomena are not
related to social phenomena, but language itself is a so-
cial phenomenon.

'Language and disadvantage' is mentioned as the third
topic because of the central position this topic has had in
the past and will have in the future in the growth and de-
velopment of sociolinguistics. It is the inevitable out-
come of the fact that in the problematic area of language
and disadvantage sociolinguistics manifests itself as an
applied science that may contribute to insight in social
and societal problems.

But apart from its correctness, the tripartite division
used seems useful to portray broadly the sociolinguistic
activities in the Netherlandic language area.

2.1. *LANGUAGE VARIATION AND LANGUAGE DIVERSITY*

The themes of language variation and language diversity
have been separately named to indicate the (gradual) dif-
ference between variation found within a language and
variation found between languages. The concept of 'language
variation' is more associated with the dialect-standard
heterogenity, as the concept of 'language diversity' is
more associated with the language variation found in cases
of languages in contact. It has to be stressed that this
distinction of a situation of contact between dialect and
standard and a situation of two or more languages in con-
tact is a relative one. Absolute and plain criteria for
distinguishing two situations do not exist (see Hudson
(1980)). The second part of this obviously heuristic dis-
tinction points to three different kinds of situations of
languages in contact in the Netherlandic language area.
The contested area of Brussels may be regarded as the first
kind (16). The province of Friesland, where the only in-
digenous minority language is spoken, forms the second
kind. Both kinds of situation have been discussed in the
preceding section. The minority languages which are gene-
tically not related to Netherlandic form the third kind
of situation. Appel (1980) surveys the language problems of
minority groups in The Netherlands; Vermeer (1980a) gives a survey
of the number and size of foreign-language speaking groups in
The Netherlands.

These minority languages are the mother tongue of the
numerous immigrants who arrived after the Second World War.
The largest group consists of foreign workers from the
Mediterranean countries and their families. Research into
their language situation and their language problems has

begun only quite recently. A collection of studies on the language problems of this group is Appel et al.(1980). Until the seventies the Dutch government paid little attention to the teaching of Netherlandic as a second language because of the small number of school children speaking a foreign mother tongue. It was not till the problems in school increased enormously because of a sudden influx in the seventies of children not speaking Netherlandic as mother tongue that some research projects started.
This sudden influx has been brought about by the many family units of foreign workers, who were allowed to bring their families to The Netherlands, and by the flow of Surinam immigrants (see below). The quantity of research will probably grow in the near future; at the moment, however, little empirical research has been done (e.g. Appel et al. (1980), Extra(1978) and (1980); Belder et al.(1980), Snow et al.(1981), Van De Craen & Langenakens(1982); see also in Nelde et al.(1981)).

Two other rather large and non-indigenous minority groups are the outcome of the colonial past of The Netherlands. The Moluccans came in 1951 after the independence of Indonesia as political refugees to The Netherlands. They do not wish to assimilate to Dutch society, for they still hope to return to an independent Moluccan republic in Indonesia. Molony (see Molony (1980)) has conducted language research in this community.

The other group, which has increased enormously in the last 15 years, consists of immigrants from Surinam and the Dutch Antilles. A very large part of the people of these countries has emigrated to The Netherlands. Up to now very little research into their language situation and their language problems has been done. Some information about the languages of Surinam and the motivations of language choice may be found in Koefoed & May(1980).

In studies of language contact and especially in studies of language choice, language maintenance and language shift, a tendency to emphasize the sociological factors can be observed, as could be noted in the studies mentioned in the preceding section about the sociological parameters correlated to the speaking of dialect and standard. The sociological factors may even become so conspicuous that the sociological side heavily overshadows the significance of the language data. If the existence of an axis between sociology and linguistics is assumed, this kind of study would be totally within the field of sociology. A more explicit description of this axis should perhaps distinguish the following series of subsections: sociology -- sociology of language -- social psychology -- secular linguistics -- linguistics.

Studies of dialect-standard heterogenity often tend to-
wards the linguistic side of this axis. This tendency is,
of course, not an inevitable one, but the variational stu-
dies carried out along the lines of what may be called the
paradigm of Laboy have been the most successful in the re-
cent past. Most of them may be labelled as secular linguis-
tics (see Trudgill(1978)). In these studies of the relation
between the social system (which has its relative autonomy)
and the linguistic system (which has its relative autonomy),
the form and content of the linguistic structure outweighs
the significance of the social structure.

Most of these variational studies are carried out in
urban areas. In The Netherlands fairly extensive speech
corpora have been gathered for the cities/towns of Leiden
(De Vries et al.(1974) and Jansen(1981)), Amsterdam (Hei-
kens(1978)), The Hague (Elias(1980)) and Nijmegen (Van
Hout(1979)). Unfortunately, there are no speech corpora
for rural areas.

In several publications analyses of these corpora can
be found. Analyses of phonological language variables can
be found in De Vries et al.(1974), Elias(1980) and Van
Hout(1981). There are also interesting endeavours to
extend the variationist paradigm to other parts of the lan-
guage structure. Gerritsen(1980) analyses lexical variation.
Jansen(1981) in his study tackles the syntax of spoken
Netherlandic in a sociolinguistic way. Deprez & Geerts
(1977a and b) and Deprez(1982a) also analyse lexical varia-
tion, but they limit themselves to the elicitation of in-
trospective data. Their research strategy, however, seems
a reasonable alternative, because the elicitation of spon-
taneously spoken speech would probably not yield the quan-
tity of lexical data required for the analysis of a number
of lexical standardization processes. All these studies
are closely related to dialectology or geolinguistics (see
Chambers & Trudgill(1980)). In publications by Deprez and
Geerts research into the standardization of Netherlandic
in Flanders is also surveyed.

Finally, it should be noted that much attention has been
paid in Netherlandic sociolinguistics to the relationship
of language and sex (see e.g. Brouwer et al.(1978) and
(1979), Gerritsen(1980)).

An important study in the context of language variation
and language diversity is the study by Hagen(1981). It
subjects the notion of monitoring one's own language
production to theoretical scrutiny and shows by empirical
research the importance of monitoring in the language pro-
duction of dialect speaking children. Phenomena of code-
switching, code-mixing and interference are investigated.

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Accordingly, the scope of this study is more directed towards sociocognitive strategies of dialect speakers than towards macrosociological or linguistic structural factors influencing language variation.

This kind of orientation directs us to the prominent part social psychological research plays in sociolinguistics at present. According to Giles(1979), social psychological concepts and theories together with specific research methods mean a substantial improvement of the explanatory power of sociolinguistics. He states that social psychology may guide sociolinguistics to two fundamental issues: "...why are speech variables important in evaluating others and why do people speak the way they do in different social contexts?" (Giles(1979,2)).

The most clearcut contribution has been the deepening of our understanding of language attitudes and the motivations, beliefs and intentions of hearers and speakers. The stimulating effect in this field can be observed in the attitude section of this volume. The articles in this section give a very good picture of the research in the Netherlandic language area. Research on domain configurations, which despite its sometimes superficial nature, is valuable for the understanding of attitudes, has been mentioned above. Articles on language attitudes that could be mentioned are: Deprez & De Schutter(1980), Ebertowski(1980), Florijn(1980), Hagen(1980) and Deprez(1982b).

The value of social psychology, however, is not limited to a better understanding of attitudes, motivations, beliefs and intentions with respect to language variation and language change, as also becomes clear in the publications of Ebertowski (Ebertowski(1979) and (1980)). Social psychology offers valuable theories about the social influence process. Its emphasis on the behaviour of the individual in his or her social context makes clear the necessity of a more dynamic, interactive approach to language behaviour. A stronger interactional orientation ties in with the following topic of language as social interaction.

2.2. LANGUAGE AS SOCIAL INTERACTION

The plea by Giles(1979) in favour of an interactive, dynamic approach guides us to a second side of sociolinguistics. Another way of handling the social aspects of language is not so much an approach which accentuates language differences, but an approach which views language first of all as the source and the medium of social interaction. Van de Craen (in this volume) argues in his plea for social linguistics for this latter approach. Angevaare (1980) claims the right of existence of 'interactional so-

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ciolinguistics', referring to the theories and insights
of language philosophers, ethnomethodology and anthropo-
logy.
    This side of sociolinguistics, too, can be arranged
along an axis which ranges from sociology to linguistics.
The starting point in sociology, however, differs consi-
derably from the starting point of the second axis.
While the starting point of the latter has to be found in
the functionalistic and positivistic directions in socio-
logy, the starting point of the former lies in the more
phenomenological oriented direction in sociology.
Directions well-known in linguistics are ethnomethodology
(symbolic interactionism) and anthropology.
    In this field, which gives the interaction process and
the role of the speaker and hearer a central place, several
directions and schools exist. We may distinguish ethnometho-
dology, discourse analysis, the ethnography of speaking and
anthropological linguistics. In the Netherlandic language
area much research has been done into discourse analysis
(see e.g. Foolen et al.(1980)). The contributions by Van
de Craen and Huls in this volume show that an interaction-
al approach is not necessarily irreconcilable with the va-
riational side of sociolinguistics. Their studies are va-
luable because they try to link up the micro- and macroso-
ciological aspects of language.
    On the linguistic side of the interactional sociologi-
cal-linguistic axis several directions in linguistics may
be mentioned which leave (some) room for the interactional
facets of language, e.g. pragmatics (introductions are
Walraven(1975) and Van Dijk(1978a)), text linguistics (see
Van Dijk(1978b) and also so-called functional grammar (see
Dik(1980)).

2.3. *LANGUAGE AND DISADVANTAGE*

    The sector of sociolinguistics which studies the rela-
tionship between language and disadvantage deserves a
special place. The relationship of language and social in-
equality and the function of language in the production
and reproduction of social disadvantage have been the strong
impulses in the growth of sociolinguistics. In this field
sociolinguistics, as an applied science, may develop in-
sights into social and societal problems. Unfortunately,
however, this discipline seems to have shifted its atten-
tion during the last ten years from educational problems
to descriptive sociolinguistic research, as Kroon(1980)
points out (see also the paper by Sturm in this volume).

In the Netherlandic language area early sociolinguistic research projects investigated the educational problems of bilingual and dialect-speaking children. From a language-sociological viewpoint Wijnstra(1976) investigated the relationship between school models and educational achievements of primary school children in the bilingual setting of the province of Friesland. The Kerkrade-project, which was, as already mentioned, the first extensive sociolinguistic research project, studied the educational problems of dialect-speaking primary school children (see the paper by Vallen et al. in this volume and Stijnen & Vallen(1981)).

The articles in this volume on the topic of language and social class give a good picture of research carried out in the Netherlandic language area into the relationship between language and disadvantage. It is worthwhile to note that the studies by Huls and Beheydt investigate aspects of language in (primary) socialization. Together with the theme of language and education this theme constitutes the principal research field of language and disadvantage.

An area which has hardly been touched upon in the papers in this volume is the language situation of the non-indegenous language minority groups which live in circumstances of social and cultural deprivation. Under the heading of language diversity a very concise description and some literature have been referred to in section 2.1. Here I would like to confine myself to one remark on this research area which has put new life into the topic of language and disadvantage. The language problems of these minority groups bring (applied) sociolinguistics into close contact with the applied branch of linguistics (see Extra(1980)). An intensive cooperation between sociolinguistics, bringing in its knowledge about bilingualism and languages in contact, and applied linguistics, bringing in its knowledge about second language acquisition and the learning of a second language, will be indispensable for qualitatively good research, which is usable in the practice of education.

Drawing up the sociolinguistic balance-sheet in the Netherlandic language area for the past years appears to result in a fairly optimistic picture. A respectable number of research projects is at present going on, covering the enormous scope of this discipline. The subjects of these projects are, for instance, the language problem of ethnic minorities, the social stratification of urban dialects, language and sex, language attitudes and language domains (in Friesland), language attitudes of prospective teachers, discourse analysis. This colourful diversity seems to be a solid base for sociolinguistics in the future.

3. LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL CLASS

The first six papers in this section have two things in
common. They all study in some way the relation between
language and social class and they are all guided by
the aim of evaluating the deficit-difference controversy.
At the same time, however, these papers reveal two things
which they do not share . They differ considerably in the
way the relationship between language and social class is
studied and they also differ considerably in the stand they
take in the difference-deficit discussion. In the seventh
paper, Sturm draws up an inventory of the diverging posi-
tions with regard to the quintessence of the debate and
while evaluating and criticizing the other six papers, he
in fact adds a seventh point of view on the difference-
deficit controversy.

Van den Broeck renders an account of his empirical so-
ciolinguistic study concerning the effect of social class
and situation on the syntactic complexity of utterances
in spontaneous speech. Three important aspects of this
study should be mentioned, because they refer to three
weak points in the research done within the deficit con-
ception. In the first place, he has carried out interviews
in different speech situations with his adult informants
so that he can compare the syntactic complexity of infor-
mal speech with that of formal speech. In the second place,
he tries to incorporate the dialect-standard dimension in
his reserach design. In the third place, he critically dis-
cusses the notion of syntactic complexity and tries to in-
corporate the concept of language variation from Laboy's
work in his measurements of syntactic complexity.
The outcome of his study is very interesting. He finds an
interaction between social class and the speech situation:
his speakers from the lower class speak with less complexity
in the formal than in the informal situation, but his spea-
kers from the upper middle class speak with more complexity
in the formal than in the informal situation.

Smedts studies the development of lexical-morphological
competence of thirteen year old children. His tests of the
mastery of a part of the language system which has hardly
received attention in psycho- and sociolinguistics shows
that the acquisition of word formation rules is a much
slower process than hitherto assumed. He concludes that
scepticism is justifiable with regard to an early termina-
tion of the process of language acquisition. He also takes
into account sociolinguistic factors, but it is only the type
of education that turns out to be significantly correlated
with lexical-morphological skills.

Beheydt states that sociolinguists, by overlooking the
fundamental difference between code and competence, have
misunderstood Bernstein. He attempts to prove that Bern-
stein's theory of the frequent use of the restricted code
in the lower-class in primary socialization is testable.
To that end he recorded the speech of 9 mothers and their
19 to 24 month old children (3 recordings with an interval
of three months). He distinguished sociolinguistic groups
in stead of social classes, because he was wondering whether
the variety used in socialization (dialect vs.standard) also
affected the use of restricted or elaborated code.
Beheydt's elaboration of the concept 'semantic explicitness'
is very interesting. He tries to find lexically and gramma-
tically reliable indicators of the elaborated and the res-
tricted code.

Van de Craen introduces in his chiefly theoretical paper
the term 'social linguistics'. Arguing against the practice
of separating linguistics from the social situation in
which social interaction takes place, he pleads for an her-
meneutic way of doing linguistics, which focuses on the
underlying meaning of language in use and on language in
interaction. In this manner 'social linguistics' may solve
the inadequacies both of the deficit hypothesis, which is
one-sided in its emphasis on the study of society, and of
the difference hypothesis, which is one-sided in its em-
phasis on the study of language. In his eyes, both hypoth-
eses fail to deal with the intricate relationship between
language and social environment.

Huls points out in her paper the fact that Bernstein
utilizes another language concept than the supporters of
the difference hypothesis utilize. Bernstein is more con-
cerned with language function than with language form.
In her research project Huls aims to study empirically the
connection between social relations and linguistic forms
upon concepts derived from pragmatics and discourse ana-
lysis. She collected data via participant observation in
two families (one upper-class, the other lower class)
with children from five to six years old. The analysis,
which has been divided into three components (the orga-
nization of turn-taking, so-called school speech acts and
directive speech acts), provides insights into the verbal
aspects of the regulation of behaviour. She concludes
that important differences appear to exist in the communi-
cation habits with which the two children studied grow up
in their families.

The paper by Vallen, Stijnen and Hagen also opens with
a discussion of the difference-deficit topic. In their so-
called Kerkrade-project they chose the difference hypothesis
as the point of departure for a large scale investigation
into the school problems of dialect-speaking primary school
children. In their introduction they emphatically state
that their interpretation of the difference hypothesis
holds that linguistic equivalence may not be equated with
functional equivalence. Dialect and standard have a com-
plementary functional distribution in the speech communi-
ty. Most of the research results presented are related to
the measurement of verbal abilities. Using bidialectal
tests they investigate the verbal capacities of dialect-
speaking children. Secondly, they investigate the manner
in which the learning and the use of the standard language
is influenced by the mother tongue of the dialect-speaking
children. Finally, they critically tackle the problem of
the measurement of intelligence in a bilingual context.

All the papers presented apear as a valuable contribu-
tion to sociolinguistics: they all aim at a correction,
enrichment, deepening or extension of research done in
the past, or of current theories about the relationship
between language and social class. In this endeavour five
facets may be mentioned which can be positively evaluated:

1. *The necessity of accounting for the influence of the
   situation*
It is useless to study the relationship of language and
social class in one (formal) situation only. Language be-
haviour has to be observed in different situations. Es-
pecially the study of spontaneous speech in informal si-
tuations yields essential data for a theory about the re-
lationship between language and social class.

2. *The necessity of incorporating the dialect-standard
   dimension*
Language differences and deficits cannot be adequately
studied if the research design does not account for the
language varieties that function in the speech community
in question (see the papers by Van den Broeck, Beheydt,
Vallen et al.)

3. The necessity for reflection on linguistic measurement
Most measurements of verbal capacities are hardly well-
considered with respect to linguistic theory. It is, for
instance, important that linguists try to find criteria
for the measurement of syntactic complexity (see the pa-
pers by Van den Broeck and Beheydt).

*4. The necessity to study language structure in all its
   facets*
The study of language may not be restricted to particular
aspects of the language structure, e.g. grammar and vo-
cabulary. Smedts shows in his paper the usefulness of
studying lexical-morphological skills. Huls and Van de
Craen show the need to study the interactional side of
language in use.

5. The necessity to study language in its natural context
Three ways of collecting empirical speech data are dis-
tinguishable. The data may be collected in an experimen-
tal situation or in a test situation (see the papers by
Vallen et al. and Smedts). Another way of getting speech
data is to make a survey by means of sociolinguistic in-
terviews (see the paper by Van den Broeck). The best, but
at the same time the most difficult way to study language
turns out to be participant observation (see the papers
by Beheydt, Van de Craen and Huls). This is in fact the
only way to study language in its natural context.

However, when we return to the difference-deficit contro-
versy we have to conclude that sociolinguistics has been
less influential than was expected at the beginning of the
seventies. The chief improvement by sociolinguistics in the
deficit-difference controversy seems to have been the cor-
rection of faulty assumptions in deficit theory and re-
search, but it is questionable whether the supporters of
the deficit theory are very impressed by the sociolin-
guistic objections. Neither the research based on the dif-
ferent conception nor the research based on the deficit
conception, however, have produced a new didactic approach
to language and language differences in the classroom.
In this respect results have fallen short of the high ex-
pectations at the start of research into language deficit
and language difference. Concerning the difference hypo-
thesis, the most conspicuous outcome in everyday practice
in schools appears to be an indirect one in the form of
a more positive attitude by teachers towards language dif-
ferences.

From the viewpoint of an educationalist Sturm in the
last paper of the section 'language and social class'
summarizes and evaluates the standpoint concerning the
quintessence of the deficit-difference controversy and
the research results of papers presented, as well as the
discussion about the deficit-difference question.
He looks critically at the educational significance of
research results and the significance of sociolinguis-
tics in general for everyday practice in school. In his
educationally coloured evaluation of the connection be-
tween sociolinguistics and educational practice he turns
out to be fairly pessimistically disposed.

4. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

In the section on language attitudes five papers can
be found which show great varieties in subjects, methods
and even research design. Together they reflect the deve-
lopment of language attitude research and they demonstrate
the complex questions in this field.
The first two papers both use taped language fragments to
detect and measure language attitudes. But while the first
study is rather 'classic' in its research design, the
second study looks for new research strategies to go deep-
ly into genuine language attitudes.
The purpose of the study by Münstermann is to survey
the attitudes of future teachers towards dialect and the
use of dialect in an educational setting. His research
was carried out in seven schools spread all over The
Netherlands. To measure the attitudes of his subjects he
used two instruments: the well-known matched-guise test
and an attitude scale. The analysis of the data collec-
ted reveals interesting underlying factors in the data
structure, which are comparable with findings in other
studies of language attitudes. He further examined the
influence on attitude scores of 11 independent variables.
Two of these variables prove to cause significant effects.
The first is 'regionality'. This factor seems to be cor-
related with the geographical and linguistic degree of
periphery of the region, and with the opposition rural-
urban status. The second significant factor is the mother-
tongue of the subjects (dialect vs. standard).
The paper by Deprez opens with an attack on the value
of the matched-guise technique in attitude research.
In his study he prefers the use of 9 rather heterogeneous
recordings of 9 different speakers, speaking 9 different
dialects and telling 9 different stories. These recordings