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Heritage language anxiety and majority language anxiety among Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands

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Abstract

Aims and objectives: This study examines the language anxiety that occurs in immigrants' daily lives when speaking the heritage language and the majority language, both in their host country and during visits to their home country. It compares the levels of heritage language anxiety and majority language anxiety across three generations of the Turkish immigrant community in the Netherlands and explores the link between immigrants' language anxiety, and sociobiographical (i.e. generation, gender, education) and language background variables (i.e. age of acquisition, self-perceived proficiency, frequency of language use).

Design: A Likert scale-based questionnaire was administered to 116 participants across three generations who reported their language anxiety levels when speaking the heritage language and the majority language in three social contexts (i.e. family, friendship and speaking with native speakers).

Findings: Statistical analyses revealed that heritage language anxiety and majority language anxiety were prevalent in immigrants' daily life, and that levels of both forms of anxiety differed across generations, and in different daily life situations. First- and second-generation immigrants typically experienced majority language anxiety, while second- and predominantly third-generation immigrants suffered from heritage language anxiety. Relationships emerged between language background variables and both forms of anxiety, but only in certain situations. These findings suggest that language background variables on their own may be insufficient to explain immigrant

language anxiety in certain social contexts (i.e. within family). Rather than merely language background factors, a variety of other issues within social, cultural and national currents must be considered when examining language anxiety in the immigrant context.

Implications: Taking an interdisciplinary approach that combines language contact and foreign language anxiety/second language anxiety research, this study suggests that the concept of foreign language anxiety/second language anxiety should be expanded beyond the confines of the classroom in order to include daily interactions immigrant or minority communities.

Originality: This study contributes to the limited body of evidence on the topic of language anxiety in immigrant contexts and presents a new construct 'majority language anxiety'.

Key words: Language anxiety, immigrant context, minority context, majority language anxiety (MLA), heritage language anxiety (HLA), Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands, three generations, interdisciplinary approach.

Introduction

Language anxiety is defined as the fear or apprehension experienced when a language learner or user is expected to perform in a foreign language (FL) or second language (SL) (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993). In an educational context, FL and SL refer to the non-native language(s) of learners, and they are distinguished according to the language environment outside the classroom. SL is used when the target language is also the majority language (ML)[1] (e.g. on a study abroad program), and FL is used when the target language differs from the ML (e.g. English language courses at schools in France). To date, research on language anxiety has mostly focused on FL or SL contexts, particularly in the classroom, and often with the aim of understanding the phenomenon so that improvements in teaching can be facilitated (Horwitz, 2010). Although immigrant communities exist in most countries, few studies to date have addressed the language anxiety that immigrants experience in their daily life (Garcia de Blakeley, Ford, & Casey, 2015; Rose, 2008). Mainly investigating immigrants' language anxiety in the ML, these studies have not explored immigrants' anxiety in the heritage language (HL)[2].

Following on from anecdotal evidence regarding Spanish HL learners' anxiety (Levine, 2003), recent studies have started to examine language anxiety in the HL among immigrant children, but only in classroom settings. Several significant studies have investigated HL learning status (e.g. Spanish, Tallon, 2011; Chinese, Xiao & Wong, 2014; Korean, Jee, 2016), and all compared HL learners' anxiety with non-heritage speakers' FL anxiety. Introducing the term heritage language anxiety (HLA), Tallon (2011) indicated that 'further research is needed to study in more detail the type of anxiety experienced by heritage speakers – perhaps a different type of anxiety, such as 'heritage language anxiety' as the language is not a 'foreign' language for these students (p. 78). Pursuing this, we suggest that for subsequent generations of an immigrant community, who might be exposed to both the HL and the ML from birth, the official language of their country of residence is also neither a foreign nor a second language. This situation highlights the need for the emergence of a new concept – majority language anxiety (MLA) – to describe immigrants' language anxiety in the language spoken by the majority of the population in a national context.

A previous study on three generations of the Turkish immigrant community in the Netherlands has shown evidence of an ongoing language shift, particularly in the third generation (Sevinç, 2016). This language shift causes socioemotional pressure on individuals to maintain the Turkish language, triggering intergenerational tensions in Turkish immigrant families. At the same time, the need to shift to Dutch for social and economic reasons causes immigrant children to experience ambiguities between the family and other social domains (e.g. school). These findings prompted an investigation of language anxiety both in the HL (Turkish) and the ML (Dutch) of this community, as one of the possible consequences of the pressure and tension immigrants experience within and outside the family.

The purpose of the present study is therefore to examine language anxiety in the immigrant context and to contribute to the limited body of evidence on this topic. This study provides new empirical knowledge in three crucial ways. First, it examines language anxiety within the realm of immigrants' daily life, rather than in a classroom setting. Second, it compares immigrants' HLA levels with their MLA levels. Finally, it investigates HLA and MLA across three generations of an immigrant community by exploring the link between language anxiety and sociobiographical and language

background variables.

Theoretical Background

Language and Anxiety

Language anxiety is a situation-specific psychological phenomenon usually linked to the formal learning of a foreign language (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986). Earlier studies conceptualized foreign language anxiety (FLA) or second language anxiety (SLA) as a simple transfer of other types of anxiety (i.e. trait anxiety, state anxiety, achievement anxiety, test anxiety or public speaking anxiety), and this profusion of anxiety types produced contradictory results (Scovel, 1978). MacIntyre (in press) named this early period the 'confounded approach' because researchers used a variety of theoretical frameworks and instruments and did not pay sufficient attention to the concept of FLA.

MacIntyre (in press) argues that the publication of Horwitz (1986) and Horwitz et al. (1986) inaugurated a new phase of anxiety research, which he calls the Specialized Approach. Horwitz and her colleagues developed a construct of anxiety – Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety – that was specific to the foreign language class, and argued for a re-orientation of the conceptualization and measurement of anxiety in SL. This construct reflected a learner's tendency to be anxious in the specific situation of language learning.

Language anxiety is thus a form of communicative anxiety that can occur in a range of cases, typically starting in foreign language classrooms but with the potential to extend to other situations and contexts. Moreover, language anxiety is not just restricted to the FL/SL, it can occur in the native language (L1), as well. While levels of language anxiety are typically much lower in the L1 of speakers who usually communicate in the L1 (Dewaele, Petrides, & Furnham, 2008), anxiety levels can rise among those who might use another language more frequently. This can be the case in an immigrant context where the language of the host society, ML, can penetrate immigrants' homes and limit the use of the HL. It is therefore essential to examine the HLA of immigrants in situations where they find themselves on a daily basis, or during visits to their home countries.

Language anxiety in different contexts

Most research on language anxiety has focused on FL/SL classrooms. A few studies have investigated students' language anxiety outside the classroom context (Pappamihiel, 2001; Woodrow, 2006). Dewaele et al. (2008) examined anxiety in 464 adult multilinguals who were no longer students. They reported multilinguals' language anxiety in all their languages in five different situations (speaking with friends, with colleagues, with strangers, on the phone and in public). Testing the same situations used in Dewaele et al. (2008), Garcia de Blakeley et al. (2015) investigated language anxiety among Latino American immigrants (i.e. not tourists, temporary workers or students) who had arrived in Australia at least one year prior to the commencement of the study. Both studies showed strong variation in language anxiety across situations.

Multilinguals were found to experience very little anxiety in their dominant and weaker language(s) when speaking with friends, but reported feeling significantly more anxious when speaking in their weaker language(s) with strangers, at work, on the phone and in public. A range of sociobiographical and language background variables has been examined in language anxiety research. Level of education has been found to be unrelated to language anxiety (Dewaele et al., 2008, Garcia de Blakeley et al., 2015) and the evidence supporting the relationship between gender and language anxiety has been inconclusive (Dewaele, 2007).

Higher levels of self-perceived language proficiency are often linked to lower levels of language anxiety (e.g. Santos, Cenoz, & Gorter, 2015). These perceptions are of course subjective (Dewaele et al., 2008) because people who are anxious about using their languages may underestimate their proficiency, while the ones who are less anxious may overestimate it (MacIntyre, Noels, & Clément, 1997).

There is also an ongoing debate on whether age of acquisition (AoA) may affect the language outcome or perception of languages. In Dewaele et al. (2008), [participants who had started learning a SL in early childhood reported lower levels of language anxiety. Yet, the relationship was not linear, which means a lower AoA may not automatically indicate a lower level of language anxiety.

Frequent use of a FL has been found to boost perceived competence and self-confidence and lower language anxiety (Baker & MacIntyre, 2000). Similarly, gradual increase of SL use and socialization in the SL have been linked to a gradual decrease of

language anxiety (Dewaele et al., 2008).

Language contact, language anxiety and immigrant context

Language is of central importance to the socioemotional outcomes of immigrant experience. The challenges that immigrant communities face in a language contact situation vary across different geographical, social and political contexts (Canagarajah, 2008), and across different value systems underpinned by their identity, culture and so forth. Immigrant language context can thus accommodate more emotional and conflicting situations than the instructed FL/SL context.

Sociopolitically, ML is the language that has official status in a country, while HL has minority language status (Montrul, 2012). In sociolinguistic terms, immigrant parents are the first generation, their children second and their grandchildren are the third generation (Silva-Corvalán, 1994). Previous research has shown that each new generation of an immigrant community becomes less proficient in their HL (Lynch, 2008). When immigrant communities progressively replace their HL with the language of the socially or economically dominant group, ML, language shift takes place. Conversely, language maintenance can occur when immigrants achieve the continued use of their HL over the course of successive generations (Fishman, 1972). Language choice and practices, social and motivational factors, the sociopolitical status of the host country and sociocultural issues such as immigrants' attitudes and their general value system are only some of the factors recognized as influential in the cases of language maintenance and shift (see Gal, 1979).

As many researchers have noted, language maintenance and shift reflects the psychological, social and cultural processes associated with habitual language use under conditions of intergroup contact (Giles & Johnson, 1987). In contact linguistics, it is broadly accepted that conflict related to language use is possible in any language contact situation (Wölck, 1997). As noted by Mackey (1962), several variables may modify language use: duration of contact, frequency of contact and 'pressures' of contact derived from 'economic, administrative, cultural, political, military, historical, religious or demographic' sources (p. 61-63). The pressures caused by contact become particularly clear in an immigrant context, in which parents may be pressured into speaking to their own children in the ML. This can be particularly problematic when

parents barely know the ML or when their children do not speak the HL that their parents speak to them. When children and parents do not share a language, both parents and children may eventually feel a loss of identity, culture and emotional bonds (de Houwer, 2015). In such cases, language shift can lead to intergenerational tension and conflict within families (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Furthermore, growing up with two or more cultural environments that sometimes conflict may expose immigrant children to considerable stress. Rejection by their host or ethnic society due to the linguistic and cultural background may cause further stress and negatively influence psychological adaptation of immigrant communities. The immigrant context thus prompts tension between language pride and language panic. The paradox between these two conflicting forces, the force that has served to erode the institutional support for the HL – language panic – and the resistance of that force by members of the immigrant community – language pride – (Martínez, 2006), may induce immigrants' language anxiety when speaking their HL or ML.

Language anxiety in the immigrant context can also be associated with the term linguistic insecurity as tackled in language contact and change literature: 'speakers' feeling that the variety they use is somehow inferior, ugly or bad' (Meyerhoff, 2006, p. 292). Linguistic insecurity is often linked to the perception of speech styles for people who aim to adopt a standard of correctness of their own language, see Labov, 2006). The most insecure social groups, in terms of usage are considered to be those with a greater sensitivity towards prestigious linguistic forms, who desire to rise within the social scale, especially the lowermiddle class and females (Labov, 2006; Trudgill, 1974). Although immigrants' linguistic insecurity has been examined in a few studies (e.g. Demirci & Kleiner, 2002; Zentella, 2007), immigrant language anxiety, HLA and MLA, as the possible outcome of this linguistic insecurity, have received no attention. We predict that immigrants' linguistic insecurity in the HL and ML is associated with a lack of confidence in their linguistic competence, which leads to language anxiety – HLA/MLA – in the immigrant context.

Heritage language anxiety (MLA)

Raising bilingual children in a predominantly monolingual environment can be challenging. The lack of use of the HL can result in loss or replacement of HL features

(Valdés, 2005). As a result, HL learners may feel incompetent and insecure when speaking their HL and have difficulties in communicating with native speakers of the HL, including their parents and grandparents (Braun, 2012). Hence, immigrant children's relationships with their parents and grandparents may be ruptured (Cummins, 2003). The feeling of incompetence and insecurity in the HL may tarnish immigrants' language pride, which consequently arouses HLA both within and outside the family.

Several studies have touched upon HL learners' anxiety (e.g. Spanish, Tallon, 2011; Chinese, Xiao & Wong, 2014; Korean, Jee, 2016). Yet, all these studies compared the levels of HL learners' anxiety with the levels' of non-heritage students' FLA in a classroom setting. Overall, HL speakers' anxiety levels tend to be lower than those of non-heritage FL learners. These studies have extended the traditional approach to include HL learners. However, understanding the complex and unique anxiety of HL/ML learners and users requires an interdisciplinary approach that combines language contact and FLA/SLA research.

Majority language anxiety (MLA)

Interaction with the mainstream community stresses the inequality in the linguistic and social status of the interlocutor (Hudson, 1996). This language inequality can be particularly anxiety provoking for students with immigrant or minority status when they speak the ML to mainstream community members (e.g. Pappamihiel, 2001; Woodrow, 2006). Investigating the relationship between language anxiety and acculturation[3] experienced by adult students of Spanish immigrant background in the United States, Rose (2008) suggested that language acquisition in the host country, when accompanied by the regular processes of acculturation, might produce high levels of MLA when speaking English.

Interaction with native speakers is rated as the most anxiety-provoking activity by language learners, both in the mainstream classroom (Rose, 2008) and outside the classroom (Garcia de Blakeley et al., 2015). In the immigrant context, due to the feeling of inequality or linguistic insecurity, MLA may occur not only in cases of direct interactions with certain interlocutors, but also in cases of indirect interactions, such as speaking with someone from the ethnic (HL) community around people from the mainstream (ML) community. Therefore, it is important to examine levels of

immigrants' language anxiety when speaking both HL and ML when there are native speakers around[4].

Garcia de Blakeley et al. (2015) found that immigrants felt more anxious in their L2 (ML) than in their L1 (HL) when speaking with their friends. However, Dewaele et al. (2008) found no difference in levels of anxiety in L1 (HL) and L2 (ML) when speaking with friends. A possible reason for this difference could be that the studies did not elicit information on anxiety levels by distinguishing friends in the ethnic community from the ones in the mainstream community. In spite of the friendship, self-perceived linguistic or social inequality may still trigger language anxiety when communicating with friends from the mainstream cultural background.

Taken together, these pioneering studies reveal the need for further investigation for MLA in the immigrant context and that the concept of anxiety should move beyond the confines of the classroom to include daily interactions of immigrant communities.

The present study

There are three generations of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. The first generation in this study includes two types of immigrants: the ones who migrated to the Netherlands through labour migration in the 1960s and early 1970s, and the ones who migrated through marriage migration after marrying a second-generation Turkish spouse. The term 'second generation' in this study refers to Turkish people who were born in the Netherlands or arrived there before the age of five.

The term 'third generation' refers to those children who have one second-generation Turkish immigrant parent and one Turkish-born parent who came to the Netherlands through marriage migration. Based on differences among three generations regarding their language history, self-rated language proficiency and current language practices, Sevinç (2014, 2016) found clear evidence of an ongoing language shift from Turkish to Dutch in this community. Members of the second and third generation experienced considerable sociolinguistic and socioemotional pressure from both mainstream society and family, which might be a source of HLA or MLA.

By offering a cross-generational comparison, we attempt to shed light on the language anxiety experienced by Turkish immigrants not only in the host country (the Netherlands), but also within their families or while visiting their home country

(Turkey). Specifically, we address the following research questions and hypotheses:

Research question 1: Do Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands experience HLA and, more specifically, do levels of HLA vary across three generations in different daily life situations (within the family, outside with friends, outside with/around native speakers)?

Hypothesis: Considering the potential effects of language shift that takes place in the third generation and the intergenerational tension it creates, our first hypothesis is that HLA is predominant among third-generation participants. Due to the pressures of contact or feeling incompetent in the HL, they will experience the highest HLA when speaking Turkish in Turkey. Moreover, we predict that immigrants from all generations may experience HLA when speaking Turkish in the Netherlands around Dutch people because of their perceived linguistic or social inequality.

Research question 2: Do Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands experience MLA, and, more specifically, do levels of MLA vary across the three generations in different daily life situations (within the family, outside with friends, outside with/around native speakers)?

Hypothesis: MLA may be common among first-generation immigrants. This population would score higher on MLA than second- and third-generation immigrants, and they may feel MLA the most when speaking Dutch with/around Dutch people.

Research question 3: Which variables contribute to HLA and MLA?
3.1. What are the effects of sociobiographical background variables (i.e. generation, gender, educational background) on HLA and MLA?

Hypothesis: First, we predict that generation will affect levels of HLA and MLA. Second, considering that males reported higher proficiency in Dutch and lower proficiency in Turkish than females in Sevinç (2016) we hypothesize that males may be more anxious in Turkish and less anxious in Dutch than females. Finally, because HL

learners may lack the ability to speak and/or write adequately in their HL due to being educated in mainstream monolingual classrooms (Kondo-Brown, 2003), we expect that education level may have no influence on HLA and MLA, but school attendance in the Netherlands may have.

3.2. What are the effects of language background variables (i.e. AoA, self-perceived proficiency and frequency of use of the languages) on HLA and MLA?

Hypothesis: Based on participants' language background (see Table 2), we predict that levels of HLA and MLA will correlate negatively with participants' self-reported proficiency and daily language use, that is, participants with high language anxiety have lower language proficiency in the language that they are anxious about–HL or ML–and use that language less frequently. Since almost all participants from all generations acquired Turkish from birth, higher levels of HLA will be linked with earlier AoA of ML.

Method
Participants
Table 1 provides demographic information for participants, 116 Turkish immigrants[5] living in the Netherlands (76 female, 40 male); 45 were first-generation immigrants, 30 were second generation and 41 were third generation. They ranged in age from 11 to 85. Of the first-generation participants, the majority completed elementary school or high school in Turkey while a smaller number graduated from a university in Turkey. Second-generation participants were more highly educated. Most third-generation participants were still in education. Participants across three generations reported visiting Turkey for two or three weeks every year.

Information on our participants' language background is presented in Table 2. AoA of Dutch shows a decline from generation to generation. AoA of Turkish ranged from zero to seven years. Except for four third-generation participants, all respondents acquired Turkish from birth. Likewise, self-reported language proficiency and frequency of language use of participants differ across three generations. In comparison to first- and second-generation participants, language proficiency and daily language

use of third-generation participants rank lowest in Turkish and highest in Dutch (Sevinç, 2016).

Table 1. Participants' demographic information

	1st Gen. (n = 45)			2nd Gen. (n = 30)			3rd Gen. (n = 41)		
	M	SD	Range	M	SD	Range	M	SD	Range
Age (Years)	50	11.7	(32-85)	33	7.3	(20-42)	15	2.8	(11-21)
Gender									
Female (n = 76)	32			20			24		
Male (n = 40)	13			10			17		
Educational Background									
Elementary school in Turkey	56%								
High school in Turkey	27%								
BA in Turkey	17%								
High school in the Netherlands				53%			19%		
BA in the Netherlands				20%					
(Student) MA				10%					
(Student) Elementary school							28%		
(Student) High school							54%		
(Student) University				17%			9%		
	M	SD		M	SD		M	SD	
Visiting home country (Turkey)	3.3	0.9		3.2	0.7		3.0	0.8	

Note. Visiting home country per year:(1) Never, (2) 1-2 weeks, (3) 2-3 weeks, (4) 1-2 months, (5) More than 2 months

Table 2. Participants' language background

	Dutch						Turkish					
	1st Gen.		2nd Gen.		3rd Gen.		1st Gen.		2nd Gen.		3rd Gen.	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Age of acquisition	22.0	7.2	3.6	2.9	1.1	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	2.2
Self-rated proficiency	3.3	0.8	4.6	0.4	4.9	0.4	4.7	0.4	4.2	0.5	3.1	0.9
Daily language use	3.3	1.2	4.3	0.9	4.8	0.4	4.6	0.6	4.2	0.8	2.6	0.7

Note. Range of proficiency: (1) None, (2) Poor, (3) Fair, (4) Good, (5) Excellent.
Range of language use per day: (1) Never, (2) Rarely, (3) Sometimes, (4) Frequently, (5) All the time.

Materials

A questionnaire was developed in Turkish and Dutch following design guidelines set by Schleef (2013). It compromised four main sections: respondents' demographic information, language background and competence, language anxiety and attitudes and experiences. In this study, we focus on the first three parts of the data collected through the questionnaire.

The first two parts of the questionnaire were adapted from two sources: the bilingualism and emotions questionnaire (BEQ) (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001–2003) for

the scales of language proficiency and dominance and language use in cognitive activities, and the language use and maintenance (GB) questionnaire (Jamai, 2008) for the scales of language use and preferences. The demographic information contained questions relating to participants' gender, age, country of birth, parents' country of birth, education level, occupation, length of stay in Turkey, length of stay in the Netherlands. The part on language background and competence elicited information on languages known, dominant language(s), AoA, place of acquisition, daily frequency of use of the languages and self-rated proficiency scores for the four skills of understanding, reading, speaking and writing in Dutch, Turkish or others (if any). Participants reported the daily frequency of their different language use on a single item 5-point Likert scale ranging from never (1) to all the time (5). They ranked their proficiency levels in the four skills of understanding, reading, speaking and writing on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from none (1) to excellent (5). Scores of the four skills of language proficiency in Turkish and Dutch were averaged to obtain the overall proficiency. The internal consistency of the scale of language proficiency was very high (Cronbach's alpha = .96, n = 4 for Dutch, and = .95, n = 4 for Turkish).

The third section of the questionnaire was partly adapted from BEQ. The part used in this study contained a closed question relating to HLA/MLA based on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from not at all anxious (1) to extremely anxious (5), formulated as follows: Please indicate whether/how anxious you are when speaking the languages (Turkish/Dutch) with different people in different situations? The five situations used in BEQ (i.e. with friends, with strangers, at work, on the phone, in public) were modified with a particular focus on the immigrant context. Information was requested for HLA in the following three situations with nine items: speaking Turkish within the family (i.e. with mother, father, grandparents, siblings); outside with friends (i.e. Turkish friends in Turkey, Turkish friends in the Netherlands); outside with/around natives (i.e. with Turks in Turkey, around Turks in Turkey, around Dutch natives in the Netherlands). Nine items were adapted for MLA as follows: anxiety when speaking Dutch within the family (i.e. with mother, father, grandparents, siblings); outside with friends (i.e. Turkish friends in the Netherlands, Dutch friends in the Netherlands); outside with/around natives (i.e. with Dutch natives, around Dutch natives in the Netherlands, around Turks in Turkey). The internal consistency of this part of the questionnaire was

very satisfactory (Cronbach's alpha = .85, n = 9 for HLA, and = .75, n = 9 for MLA). Also note that BEQ, which originally asked participants about their anxiety levels in five languages, was modified to apply to only two languages for the current study (i.e. Turkish and Dutch).

Procedure

The questionnaire was carried out in Amsterdam, Nijmegen and Rotterdam, all Dutch cities with sizeable Turkish populations. Emphasis was placed on reaching the new, third generation immigrants from different socioeconomic backgrounds in order to examine possible changes occurring in this population. The potential respondents were also requested to ask their family members to participate in the study. At least one researcher was present to help participants when they completed the questionnaire. Clear instructions on how to complete the questionnaire were given both in Turkish and in Dutch. The questionnaire was administered in the language (i.e. in Dutch or Turkish) that participants felt more comfortable using, 89% of first-generation, 57% of second-generation and 10% of third-generation participants chose to fill in the questionnaire in Turkish. Respondents finished the questionnaire independently in approximately 25 minutes.

Analysis

The assumption of normality of the data was checked by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test that revealed non-normal distributions for the values in nine items (Kolmogorov-Smirnov z-values vary between 0.29 and 0.53 for HLA and between 0.37 and 0.54 for MLA [all significant at $p < .0001$]). As a consequence, to examine the effects of the independent variables (i.e. generation and educational background) on levels of HLA and MLA, Kruskal-Wallis one-way analyses of variance were used as nonparametric equivalents to one-way ANOVA. The non-parametric Mann-Whitney test was used instead of a t-test and Spearman's rho instead of Pearson's r. The Holm's sequential Bonferroni method correction was used to control for the increased risk of Type I error associated with multiple comparisons (Holm, 1979). Statistical significance for all analyses was set at an alpha level of .05.

Results

In this section, we first present results on the differences in the levels of HLA and MLA in three social contexts – family, friendship and native speakers – across three generations. Then, we report the findings on the effects of sociobiographical variables (i.e. generation, gender, educational background) on HLA and MLA. Finally, we discuss the link between language background variables (i.e. AoA, self-perceived proficiency and frequency of use of the languages) and HLA and MLA.

Heritage Language Anxiety and Majority Language Anxiety across Generations

HLA across Generations

HLA within family: A Kruskal-Wallis test showed significant differences among three generations for HLA only when speaking Turkish with father ($\chi2$ (2) = 13.1, p = .001) and with grandparents ($\chi2$ (2) = 10.1, p = .01) (see Table 3). Third-generation children reported a high level of HLA when speaking with their grandparents and with their father. They were also more variable in their scores than first- and second-generation immigrants (see Figure 1). Half of the third-generation group reported experiencing medium, high or extreme HLA with their grandparents. First-generation immigrants selected no HLA, while only a few second-generation immigrants selected low or high levels of HLA in the family context. As expected, except for one second-generation immigrant, participants of all three generations indicated no HLA when speaking with their siblings.
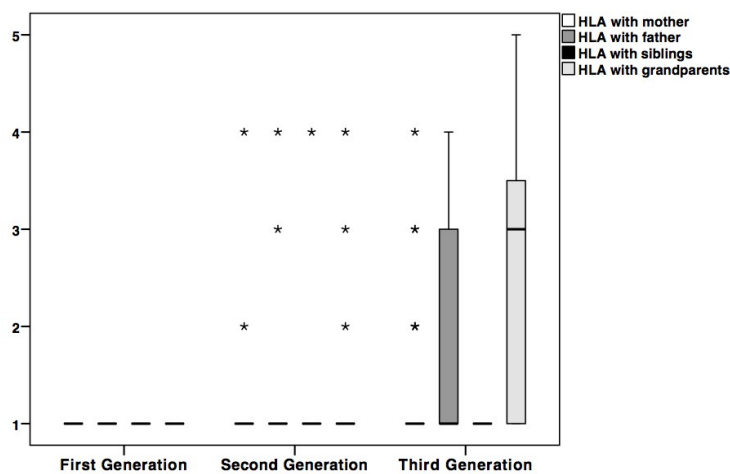

Figure 1. Boxplot graph of the results of HLA in the family context

HLA outside with friends: A Kruskal-Wallis test showed highly significant differences between the three generations for HLA only in conversations with Turkish friends in Turkey ($\chi2$ (2) = 36.3, p = .0001) and significant differences with Turkish friends in the Netherlands ($\chi2$ (2) = 9.0, p = .05). Overall, third-generation participants scored higher on HLA in these situations than second and first-generation immigrants (see Figure 2). A quarter of second-generation participants also reported little or a medium amount of HLA when speaking with their friends in Turkey. As anticipated, they reported higher level of HLA when speaking with Turkish friends in Turkey than with Turkish friends in the Netherlands.
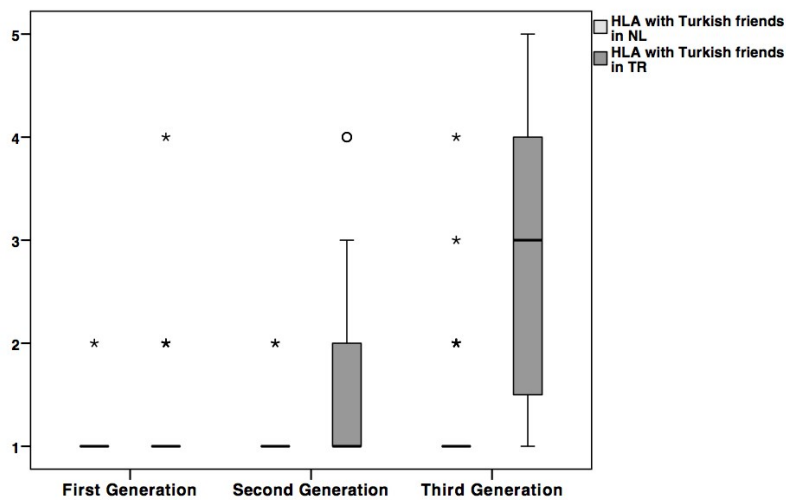

Figure 2. Boxplot graph of the results of HLA in the friendship context

HLA outside with/around Turks in Turkey and around Dutch people: A Kruskal-Wallis test showed highly significant differences among three generations for HLA in the Turkish native speaker context: with Turks in Turkey ($\chi2$ (2) = 40.3, p = .0001) and around Turks in Turkey ($\chi2$ (2) = 42.4, p = .0001). When speaking with Turks in Turkey, as expected, third-generation immigrants were found to be significantly more anxious than those of the first and second generation. Notably, three quarters of third-generation participants reported experiencing HLA and half of them reported feeling very or extremely anxious (see Figure 3). As expected, they experienced higher levels of HLA with Turks in Turkey and around Turks in Turkey than in any other situation. A quarter of the second-generation also reported a little or medium amount of HLA in this situation.
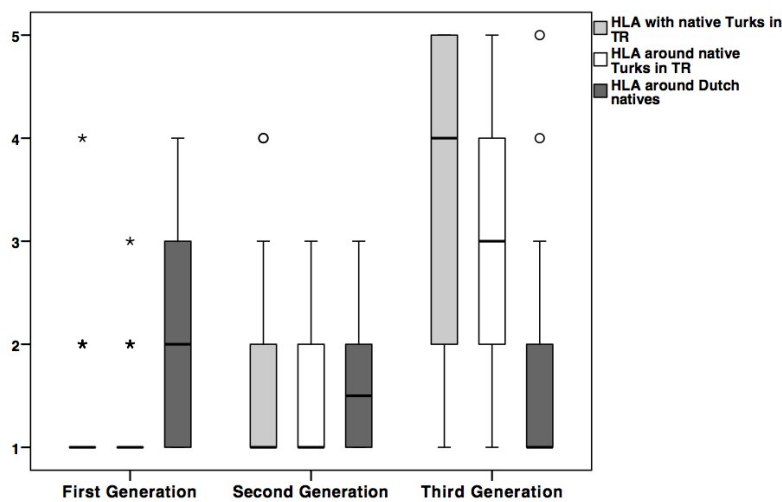
Figure 3. Boxplot graph of the results of HLA in the native speaker context

Half of the third-generation participants reported feeling quite, very or extremely anxious when speaking Turkish around Turks in Turkey. Except for the extremes (marked as stars), first-generation immigrants experienced no HLA. However, they showed higher levels of anxiety when speaking Turkish around Dutch natives in the Netherlands than second- and third-generation participants. Although varying in degree from 'a little' to 'very', many participants from all three generations reported feeling anxious in this situation.

MLA across Generations

MLA within family: In the family context, a Kruskal-Wallis test showed significant differences among three generations for MLA in only one situation: when speaking Dutch with mother ($\chi2$ (2) = 13.8, p = .001) (see Table 3). First- and third-generation participants displayed very little MLA when speaking with mother, father or siblings (see Figure 4). Only second-generation participants reported MLA with their mother and father. Some third-generation participants (25%), on the other hand, reported experiencing MLA only when speaking Dutch with their grandparents. Except for a few immigrants from the first and second generation, none of the participants reported MLA when speaking Dutch with siblings.
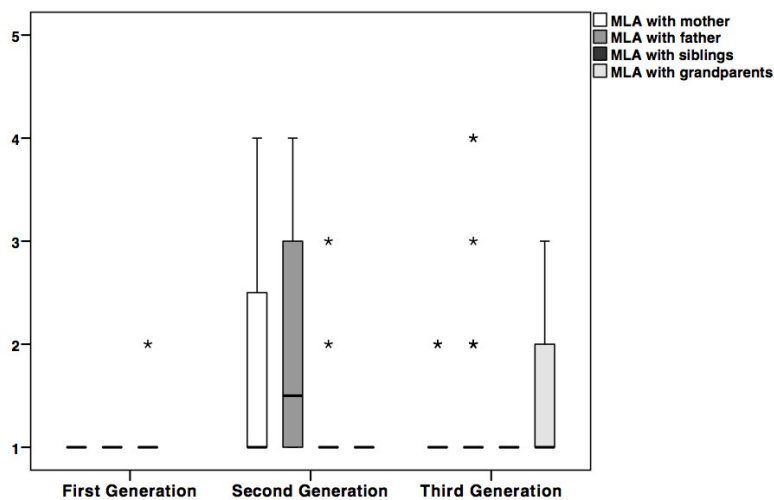
Figure 4. Boxplot graph of the results of MLA in the family context

MLA outside with friends: MLA outside with friends: A Kruskal-Wallis test showed significant differences between the three generations for MLA in the friendship context: when speaking Dutch with Dutch friends ($\chi2$ (2) = 10.1, p = .01) and with Turkish friends in the Netherlands ($\chi2$ (2) = 24.9, p = .001). For third-generation participants speaking Dutch with friends in the Netherlands was generally not anxiety-provoking (see Figure 5). Some second-generation participants reported a moderate level of MLA only when speaking Dutch with Dutch friends. First-generation immigrants displayed similar patterns in both situations, reporting higher levels of MLA than second- and third-generation participants.
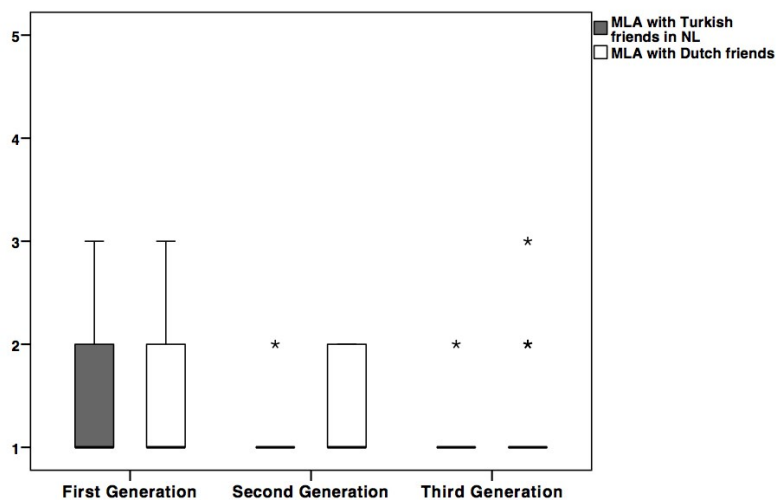

Figure 5. Boxplot graph of the results of MLA in the friendship context

MLA outside with/around Dutch people and around Turks in Turkey: A Kruskal-Wallis test showed significant differences between the three generations for MLA in two situations in the Dutch native speaker context: both with Dutch people (χ^2 (2) = 9.7, p = .01) and around Dutch people (χ^2 (2) = 14.3, p = .001). First- and second-generation immigrants had similar scores in MLA with and around Dutch people while third-generation immigrants, with a few exceptions, reported no MLA at all (see Figure 6).

First- and second-generation participants ranked their levels of MLA higher when speaking Dutch directly with a Dutch person, than when speaking Dutch with anyone who they knew when there were Dutch people around. When speaking Dutch around Turks in Turkey, self-reports of MLA showed similar results across three generations: low or moderate amounts of MLA.
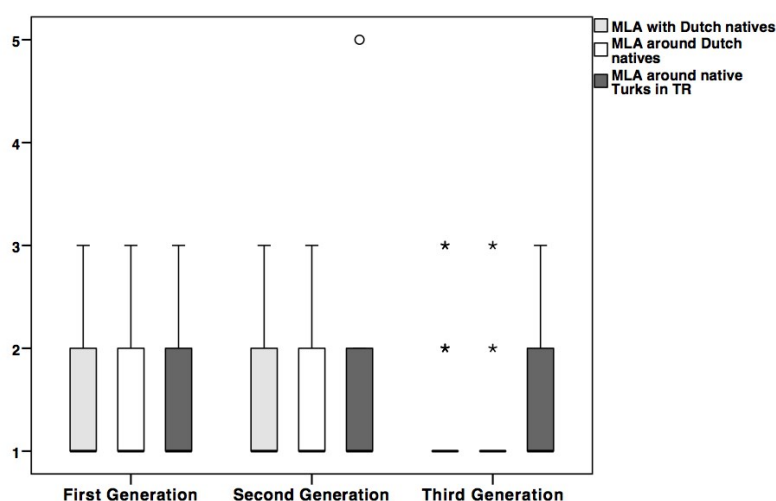

Figure 6. Boxplot graph of the results of MLA in the native speaker context

Sociobiographical variables and HLA and MLA

Generation

Kruskal-Wallis tests showed significant effects of generation on levels of HLA in particular situations across three generations (see Table 3). As the boxplot graphs show, HLA seems salient among third-generation immigrants when speaking Turkish with their father; with grandparents; with Turkish friends in the Netherlands; with Turkish friends in Turkey; with and around Turks in Turkey. HLA is also experienced in the second generation in conversations with Turkish friends in Turkey, and with and around Turks in Turkey. Generation also had a significant effect on levels of MLA in Turkish

conversations with the participants' mothers; with Turkish friends in the Netherlands; with Dutch friends; with Dutch people; and around Dutch people. Overall, the lowest scores of MLA in these situations were observed among third-generation participants. First- and second-generation participants experienced medium levels of MLA when speaking Dutch with Dutch friends; with Dutch people; and around Dutch people.

Gender and Educational Background

Mann-Whitney tests yielded significant differences between females and males in four situations for HLA (see Table 3). Males were more anxious than females when speaking Turkish with their father (U = 726, Z = 2.30, p < .021, M = 1.68, SD = 1.2); with their friends in Turkey (U = 1661, Z = 2.07, p < .039, M = 2.24, SD = 1.3); with Turks in Turkey (U = 1741, Z = 2.08, p < .037, M = 2.46, SD = 1.5) and around Turks in Turkey (U = 1755, Z = 2.21, p < .027, M = 2.10, SD = 1.0). There were no gender differences for MLA in any situation.

The Kruskal-Wallis analysis revealed significant effects of educational background on HLA in participants' Turkish conversations with their mothers: $\chi2$ (8) = 21.8, p = .01; with fathers: $\chi2$ (8) =23.9, p = .01; with siblings: $\chi2$ (8) = 15.8, p = .05; with Turkish friends in the Netherlands: $\chi2$ (8) = 16.3, p = .05; with Turkish friends in Turkey: $\chi2$ (8) = 46.7, p = .0001; with Turks in Turkey: $\chi2$ (8) = 48.6, p = .0001; around Turks in Turkey: $\chi2$ (8) = 52.3, p = .0001; around Dutch people: $\chi2$ (8) = 17.1, p = .05 (see Table 3). In the contexts of family, friendship and native speaker(s) of Turkish, participants currently enrolled in a school in the Netherlands seem to experience more HLA with their mothers: M = 2.00, SD = 1.2; with fathers: M = 2.40, SD = 1.3; with siblings: M = 1.50, SD = 1.2; with Turkish friends in the Netherlands: M = 1.38, SD = 0.8,; with friends in Turkey: M = 3.14, SD = 1.0; with Turks in Turkey: M = 3.61, SD = 1.3; and around Turks M = 3.00, SD = 1.0 and around Dutch M = 2.44, SD = 1.0 than the others. Only when speaking Turkish around Dutch people did immigrants who graduated from a high school in Turkey and who obtained an MA degree in the Netherlands report higher levels of HLA.

Table 3. Effects of sociobiographical variables (generation, gender, education) on HLA and MLA across situations

Anxiety	Situation/People	Generation (Kruskal-Wallis) (HLA/MLA $df = 2$, MLA with grandparents $df = 1$)	Gender (Mann-Whitney)	Education (Kruskal-Wallis) (HLA/MLA $df = 8$, HLA with grandparents, df = 7, with mother, and father $df = 6$, and with grandparents $df = 3$)
HLA	- *Family*	X^2	Z	X^2
	With mother	4.0	0.17	21.8**
	With father	13.1***	2.30*	23.9**
	With siblings	2.5	1.34	15.8*
	With grandparents	10.1**	1.17	10.4
	- *Outside/Friends*			
	With Turkish friends in NL	9.0*	0.10	16.3*
	With Turkish friends in TR	36.3****	2.07*	46.7****
	- *Outside/Natives*			
	With Turks in TR	40.3****	2.08*	48.6****
	Around Turks in TR	42.4****	2.21*	52.0****
	Around Dutch natives	4.3	-0.40	17.1*
MLA	- *Family*			
	With mother	13.8***	0.01	5.0
	With father	5.5	1.13	4.3
	With siblings	2.9	1.10	18.6*
	With grandparents	0.6	-0.65	2.6
	- *Outside/Friends*			
	With Turkish friends in NL	24.9***	-0.58	27.1**
	With Dutch friends in NL	10.1**	-0.79	11.6
	- *Outside/Natives*			
	With Dutch natives	9.7**	-1.58	15.1
	Around Dutch natives	14.3***	-1.71	18.9*
	Around Turks in TR	1.1	-1.22	1.5

*p < .05; ** p < .01; ***p < .001; **** p < .0001

The Kruskal-Wallis analyses showed moderate effects in three situations on MLA: with siblings: χ2 (8) = 18.6, p = .05; with Turkish friends in the Netherlands: χ2 (8) = 27.1, p = .01; and around Dutch people: χ2 (8) = 18.9, p = .05. Immigrants who had graduated from a university in Turkey reported slightly higher levels of MLA with siblings (M = 1.62, SD = 0.6) and with Turkish friends in the Netherlands (M = 1.67, SD = 0.8) than the others. Those who held a university diploma from a Dutch institution scored marginally higher on MLA when speaking Dutch around Dutch people (M = 2.44, SD = 1.0). These findings indicate that education level, whether high or low, has no effect on anxiety levels in the immigrant context.

Language background variables and HLA and MLA

Spearman correlation analysis revealed that HLA levels were significantly and negatively correlated with AoA of Dutch, self-rated Turkish proficiency and daily use of Turkish only when speaking Turkish with Turkish friends in the Netherlands; with Turkish friends in Turkey; with Turks in Turkey; around Turks in Turkey (see Table 4). Higher levels of HLA were significantly correlated with earlier AoA of ML, and HLA was lower for participants who reported higher proficiency in Turkish, and higher frequency of daily use of the Turkish language.

Table 4. Relationship between HLA and AoA of Dutch, self-perceived proficiency in Turkish, and self-rated frequency of Turkish use

HLA	AoA.NL	P.TR	FoU.TR
With Turkish friends in NL			
ρ	-.335[‡**]	-.408[‡***]	-.234[‡*]
p	0.001	0.000	0.043
N	108	108	108
With Turkish friends in TR			
ρ	-.476[‡***]	-.568[‡***]	-.499[‡***]
p	0.000	0.000	0.000
N	110	110	110
With Turks in Turkey			
ρ	-.502[‡***]	-.585[‡***]	-.541[‡***]
p	0.000	0.000	0.000
N	112	112	112
Around Turks in Turkey			
ρ	-.506[‡***]	-.615[‡***]	-.565[‡***]
p	0.000	0.000	0.000
N	112	112	112

AoA.NL = Age of Dutch acquisition; P.TR = Self-rated proficiency in Turkish FoU.TR = Self-rated frequency of Turkish use (daily).
[‡] Significant after Holm's correction for multiple comparisons
[*] p < .05 ; [**] p < .01; [***] p < .001 (all two-tailed tests).

Furthermore, Spearman correlation analysis indicated that lower levels of MLA were significantly linked to earlier AoA of ML and higher Dutch proficiency only in four situations: when speaking Dutch with Turkish friends in the Netherlands; with Dutch friends; with Dutch people; and around Dutch people (see Table 5). MLA was found to be lower for participants who reported higher frequency of daily use of Dutch only in three situations: when speaking Dutch with Turkish friends in the Netherlands; around Dutch people; and with Dutch friends (it was only slightly significant in the last case).

Table 5. Relationship between MLA and AoA of Dutch, self-perceived proficiency in Dutch, and self-rated frequency of Dutch use

MLA	AoA.NL	P.NL	FoU.NL
With Turkish friends in NL			
ρ	.334$^{\ddagger ***}$	-.422$^{\ddagger ***}$	-.357$^{\ddagger ***}$
p	0.000	0.000	0.000
N	102	102	102
With Dutch friends			
ρ	.343$^{\ddagger **}$	-.409$^{\ddagger ***}$	-.199$^{\ddagger *}$
p	0.001	0.000	0.046
N	101	101	101
With Dutch people			
ρ	.265$^{\ddagger **}$	-.325$^{\ddagger **}$	-.191
p	0.009	0.003	0.075
N	106	106	106
Around Dutch people			
ρ	.269$^{\ddagger **}$	-.384$^{\ddagger ***}$	-.332$^{\ddagger **}$
p	0.009	0.000	0.002
N	106	106	106

AoA.NL = Age of Dutch acquisition, P.NL = Self-rated proficiency in Dutch, FoU.NL = Self-rated frequency of Dutch use.
‡ Significant after Holm's correction for multiple comparisons
$^{*}p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$ (all two-tailed tests).

Discussion and Conclusion

This study sheds new light on the language anxiety that occurs in immigrants' everyday lives. It shows that members of an immigrant community constantly face challenges related to the use of the HL and ML in different social contexts. Although bilingualism is often an advantage, it may also come with a social and psychological baggage of complex emotions in which negative feelings (e.g. shame, disappointment, frustration, stress and anxiety) predominate, particularly in the immigrant context. It is therefore

important to acknowledge the possible challenges that bilingual families face in an immigrant context (e.g. language pride and language panic, linguistic insecurity, tension, conflict, ambiguities, anxiety).

This study shows that HLA and MLA are prevalent in daily life situations for Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. The findings suggest that levels of HLA and MLA vary across three generations as well as across three social contexts – family, friendship and with native speakers. The anxiety profiles are strikingly different across the three generations. First- and second-generation immigrants typically experience MLA, while second- and predominantly third-generation immigrants suffer from HLA. As we hypothesized, first-generation immigrants experience no HLA across situations except when speaking Turkish around Dutch people in the Netherlands. First- and second-generation immigrants experience MLA most often in the Dutch native speaker context, when speaking Dutch with/around Dutch people. Third-generation immigrants suffer from HLA in all three social contexts, including the family context when speaking Turkish with their grandparents and also their father, yet mostly when talking Turkish with/around Turks in Turkey and with Turkish friends in Turkey. This phenomenon is probably linked with the feeling of incompetence (Braun, 2012) and linguistic insecurity (Labov, 2006) when speaking the HL, more specifically, with the ongoing language shift of this community and the tension and intergenerational conflict it creates within the family (Sevinç, 2016). The feeling of anxiety when speaking Turkish around people from the mainstream (Dutch) community, on the other hand, may arise from pressures of contact (Mackey, 1962), the feeling of language or social inequality (Hudson, 1996), language pride and language panic (Martínez, 2006) rather than lack of self-perceived Turkish proficiency. However, these interpretations are purely speculative since the reasons for these participants' HLA and MLA were not investigated systematically.

Although we did find significant gender and educational background effects in some situations,
as suggested in language anxiety literature, this relationship is not easy to interpret (Dewaele, 2007). No gender differences were found for MLA in any situation, while they existed only in a few situations for HLA, with male participants scoring higher than females. This could be linked to the fact that male participants had reported higher

Dutch proficiency and lower Turkish proficiency levels than the females (Sevinç, 2016). Level of education is unrelated to HLA/MLA. School attendance in the host country, on the other hand, was found to have a major effect on immigrants' language use and knowledge (Kondo-Brown, 2003), and so, on their HLA.

Relationships emerged between language background variables and HLA/MLA but only in certain situations. Therefore, our hypothesis about the link between language background variables and anxiety is only partly corroborated. These findings suggest that language background variables (AoA, self-perceived proficiency and frequency of use of the languages) on their own may be insufficient to explain immigrant language anxiety in certain social contexts (i.e. within family). Rather than merely language background factors, a variety of other issues within social, cultural, religious, economic, political, regional and national currents must be considered in future examinations of language anxiety in the immigrant context.

Adding to the existing term 'heritage language anxiety' (Tallon, 2011), we propose a new concept, namely 'majority language anxiety' that refers to language anxiety experienced by immigrant or minority community members in the language of the majority of the population in a national context. Such a new concept is necessary because of the uniqueness of the language anxieties that immigrants experience. MLA is definitely not a foreign language anxiety: bilinguals learn the language officially spoken in their country of residence. In addition, ML spoken by immigrants is not always their second language. For immigrant communities of which the second and subsequent generations learn both the HL and the ML from birth, the term 'second language anxiety' leads to confusion. We consider that the terms 'heritage language anxiety' and 'majority language anxiety' help clarify the concepts.

Moreover, members of an immigrant or a minority community, compared to FL learners, face larger problems than just striving to achieve a certain level of language proficiency in an FL, and these problems can have an impact on their daily lives. We thus propose that despite some commonalities in the anxiety of foreign language learners or users, and the type of anxieties that immigrants experience–HLA and MLA– the latter is more complex, social and dynamic in nature, and unique to that context. It is closely linked to perceptions of belonging and intertwined with identity, linguistic or social inequality and with acceptance by the ethnic and the mainstream community. It

can be defined as one of the emotional outcomes of the pressure that optimal level of linguistic competence in both languages exerts, and it determines the degree to which immigrants feel included or excluded by both the majority population and their own ethnic group. Hence, the terms 'heritage language' and 'majority language' distinguish crucial characteristics of these two types of language anxiety.

To better capture the linguistic challenges produced by the immigrant experience, and the social and emotional phenomena that accompany them, HLA and MLA requires further attention and examination. We feel that understanding the complex and unique anxiety of HL/ML speakers requires an interdisciplinary approach that combines sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. Further interdisciplinary research into language anxiety in immigrant contexts is warranted. Qualitative research is needed to uncover the sources of HLA and MLA in the dynamic on-going psychological, social and cultural processes of language contact phenomena, language maintenance and shift. Future studies should also focus on the effects of HLA and MLA on immigrants' daily lives, language competence and practices, social interactions and psychological well-being.

Notes

[1] Majority language is the language spoken by the socially or economically dominant group in a national context.

[2] The term 'heritage language' in this study is used synonymously with 'immigrant minority language'.

[3] Acculturation: 'the phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups' (Berry, 1997: 14).

[4] Note that in the current study the use of the term 'native speaker' to denote people from the mainstream community or people born and raised in the immigrants' home country is not intended to suggest that HL speakers or immigrant families are non-native speakers. This term is only used to illustrate the perception of hierarchy and inequality that immigrant communities themselves may experience. (For further discussion on this matter, see Rothman & Treffers-Daller, 2014).

[5] Questionnaires were completed by 131 participants. Ten individuals were excluded since they acquired Kurdish or Arabic before Turkish and Dutch, and they self-identified as non-Turkish and non-Dutch. The other five participants were excluded as they were never exposed to Turkish because they had a Dutch father (and a Turkish mother) and they strongly objected to being identified as a member of the Turkish community. For the purpose of the study, only those who self-identified as members of the Turkish community were included.

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