NAME LANGUAGE SHIFT IN ÁRPÁDHON, LOUISIANA

A Content Analysis of Tombstone Inscriptions

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This paper is an attempt to describe the dynamics and analyze the variation in the language shift of the people of Árpádhon – an ethnic enclave near Albany, Livingston Parish, Louisiana, USA – as reflected in the tombstone inscriptions in the two Hungarian cemeteries of the community. The effects of certain individual, micro and community level demographic characteristics are investigated.

The Location of the Study

Árpádhon is "the largest rural Hungarian community in America", reads a leaflet published by its proud inhabitants for touristic purposes. (Albany ... n.d.) Even if granted, this statement qualifies not so much Árpádhon itself but, much rather, the residential distribution patterns of American Hungarians: not even the most generous estimates would figure that the number of Hungarians living in Árpádhon exceeds 4–500. In 1985, the local elementary school's Hungarian language and culture program involved about 100 students, 35–40% of whom were of Hungarian descent.

Árpádhon is difficult to define. Throughout its ninety-some year history, its Hungarian inhabitants have never been able to get their community the status of an officially recognized town of the U.S.A. (This fact has to do, according to interpretations by the contemporary members of the community, with their inability to form a local political pressure group.) Its name also shows some ambiguity: various sources call it "Maxwell" (after the earlier name of the nearest town). "Albany" (after the nearest town's current name) and "Hungarian-Settlement", following the pattern of the nearby French Settlement. "Árpádhon" seems the name most prefered by local Hungarians so I chose to use it here.

Árpádhon was founded in the last decade of the 19th century. (Different sources offer different estimated foundation dates ranging from 1893 through "the turn of the century". Considering the reference of the name "Árpádhon" to the Hungarian Millennium, the year 1896 seems the most likely date, as proposed by Hosh (1971).)

The immigrants were (according to both local oral history, Koertvelyessy, 1982 and Puskás, 1982a) typically landless peasants from the peripheral and relatively deprived areas of the Hungarian part of Austria–Hungary. Just like the hundreds of thousands

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migrating to the U.S.A. around the turn of the century, the ancestors of the people of Árpádhon condensed in the then booming heavy industrial areas of the States, particularly in the Great Lakes region, along the East Coast and in the mines of Pennsylvania. The primary motivation for the emigration of these masses of agriculturalists was their hunger for land. Industrial labor was alien to them, and it took an immense amount of their adaptive capabilities to cope with the novel urban environment. Thus, it is easy to see why there was a substantial response to Brackenridge Lumber Company's advertisements, placed in American Hungarian newspapers, which recruited workers for an establishment in Louisiana, some 50 miles north of New Orleans. The company not only provided labor opportunities but also sold, at a reasonable price, much of the cutover timberland to its workers who had a chance this way to reenter the familiar rural environment and fulfil their long-lasting dreams about becoming independent farmers.

As Koertvelyessy summarizes, "Most farms were small, generally under 50 acres. Commonly only a small part of each farm was devoted to cultivating such crops as strawberries, peppers, cucumbers, beans and squash. The sawmill's closure in 1916 forced the Hungarian settlers to rely entirely on farming or other business ventures. The opening of the railroad in 1908 induced the development of the village of Albany, and many Hungarians established businesses there." (Koertvelyessy, 1983:224, citing Hosh, 1971.) Strawberries proved especially profitable. Some of the crop was shipped directly north by the railroad, which was very easy to access. One of the local growers called Árpádhon "the strawberry capital of the world" on his case-labels. Hosh notes that "the founders of [Árpádhon] actively promoted their new home and an unknown poet blatantly advertised its virtues." (1971:17–18)

In its early years, Árpádhon had even its own printed media in Hungarian: "Theodore Zboray, one of the founders of [Árpádhon], established the *Árpádhoni Kertészlap* (Arpadhon Gardener's Magazine) in 1913. [. . .] By 1915 Mr. Zboray changed the publication's name to *Amerikai Magyar Kertészlap* (American–Hungarian Gardener's Magazine) and had replaced the editor.[. . .] The magazine apparently ceased publication in 1916." (Hosh, op. cit. 18–19)

Initially both churches of the community (the St. Margaret Catholic Church and the Hungarian Presbyterian Church) had markedly Hungarian character. The material that is available of the histories of the churches (St. Margaret . . ., 1970, and Minutes . . ., n.d.) shows that the Catholic church began the integration into mainstream American life earlier than the Presbyterian one. This may well be the result of the work of a charismatic Presbyterian minister, Sándor Bartus, who served several decades in Árpádhon not only as a clergyman but also as a teacher, a community organizer and an active member of the farmers associations. Services in Hungarian ceased in the late 1960s in the Hungarian Presbyterian Church. "The settlement's original churches, however, still function, and maintain about 100 Hungarian–American families on their membership rolls." (Koertvelyessy, 1983:225)

Hungarian immigration to Árpádhon stopped, for all practical purposes, in the period before World War II. (Hosh, 1971). This, initially all-Hungarian community has undergone almost the total process of ethnic acculturation during the last eighty-some years.

By the mid-1980s it is some roadside markers, the abovementioned Hungarian school-program, the name of the local Hungarian churches, a cultural association and an annual *Szüreti mulatság* (Harvest Dance) that manifest the ethnic identity of the people of Árpádhon. The "old" language is still understood and even spoken by the elderly but it has completely lost its functionality: it is very rarely used uninhibitedly by the younger generations. One can find only trace elements of organic Hungarian folkore: *magyarnóta* (quasi-folkloric, composed music) and operetta-songs of the nineteen-thirties style have completely overtaken musical folklore, the ladies keep trying to reconstruct Hungarian meals using English language cook-books published in Hungary, and *waltzers* and *polkas* alternate with *csárdás*es in the Harvest dance program.

The Decomposition of the Problem: Variables

Language shift (that is, in this case, the functional extinction of the ethnic language) is regarded as the linguistic aspect of ethnic acculturation. Language shift is legitimately the subject of both linguistics and those social sciences interested in studying social change or, more specifically, changes in ethnicity. In this study, the latter perspective is endorsed: not so much the linguistic phenomenon *per se* but rather its social ramifications will be focussed upon.

The tombstone inscriptions in Árpádhon's two Hungarian cemeteries will be used as sources of information for this study. Although data were collected to support the content analysis of the complete inscriptions, this paper will focus only on the language shift in the names. For this author, the general literature on name language shift appears extremely scarce. This is certainly a pilot study, in the sense that neither a closely knit and established theoretical framework nor an extensively tested empirical-methodological pattern has been found available to support some of its efforts and ideas.

It is obvious that names are the most important identifiers of people. During the individual's lifetime, they both serve practical purposes – they denote the individual – and have symbolic significance. On a tombstone, however, a name loses much of its practical importance, and the symbolic expressive connotations become central. It is very hard to tell – at least in general – to what degree tombstones are "private" expressions and to what degree they are symbolic presentations of the public self. Either one of these aspects dominates, it seems justified to look at headstones in an ethnic enclave like Árpádhon as indicators of, among perhaps many other things, ethnicity.

In this study, tombstones are regarded as documents of which names are crucially important parts. This study is a content analysis of these documents, in other words it aims at "making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context". (Krippendorff, 1980:21)

It is an empirical question to what degree it is the deceased person's perceived will or the surviving family's relatively "independent" decision that determines the character – in this case, ethnic character – of the inscription. This study may provide some data that will contribute to answering this question.

Dependent Variables

To measure the ethnicity of the names, a series of simple variables was set up, on the basis of the linguistic differences in creating and spelling names between English and Hungarian. For each variable, the greater values represented the Hungarian or the "more Hungarian" features. (See Table 1)

Table 1. List of Dependent Variables

Variable name	Values		
	"Low" Ethnicity	Mixed	"High" Ethnicity
Word Order of the Name	0		2
Language of the Given Name	0		2
Language of the Surname	0		2
Diacritical Marks	0	1	2
Spelling (if Hungarian)	0	1	2

The word order of Hungarian names is the reverse of those in English: the surname comes first and the given name follows (e.g.: *Bartus Sándor* rather than *Sándor Bartus).*

The variables "language of the given name" and "language of the surname" contained information about whether the Hungarian or the English version of the name is indicated on the tombstone (e.g.: *Imre* versus *Emery* or *Király* ['King'] versus *King*).

The presence or absence of Hungarian diactritical marks (in the letters *ö, á, ű,* etc.) was recorded with the following categories: "missing", "attempted but incorrect" and "correct Hungarian".

The variable "spelling of the Hungarian portion of the name" was recorded in the following categories: "anglicized" (that is, in order to achieve a similar English pronounciation as in *Chabina* instead of the original *Csabina*), 'attempted but misspelled' (e.g.: *Miháj* instead of *Mihály*), and "correct Hungarian".

For facilitating the analysis, a name-ethnicity index was computed from these variables, simply by summing the values in each of the five variables and multiplying the result by 10. Thus, each of the components got equal weight in the index, and the range of the index was 0 through 100, conveniently comparable to other characteristics of the tombstones.

Independent Variables

Tombstone inscriptions offer just a fairly limited array of individual level demographic information.

Religion here simply indicated the church the cemetery belongs to (either Catholic or Presbyterian). Thus, the study cannot account for denominational intermarriage which

fact is perhaps a potential source of bias in the data. In such intermarriages, however, the typical pattern has been the conversion of one of the partners to the other's church. Hence, the religion variable here means actually religion at death.

Gender appears to be a fairly simple information to gain from the headstones. On the other hand, there were some cases where it was impossible to find out about the deceased person's gender (e.g.: illegible given names or markers like "the little baby of Mr. and Mrs. such-and-such").

Age at death was computed by subtracting the year of birth from the year of death.

Hypotheses

Frequency Distributions

Diacritical marks and word order are expected to be the most rapidly shifting linguistic aspects out of the five dependent variables. The reason for this is primarily linguistic: diacritical marks and word order are those aspects of Hungarian names which are the most obviously different from what the English-speaking environment is accustomed to.

Surnames will change more slowly than given names: at birth, everybody receives a new given name (this is a question of parental decision which offers an opportunity for shifting) while surnames follow the father's one (this is the automatically "conservative" component of one's name). This "conservatism" is the reason why surnames may serve as a convenient source of information for linguistic history.

Change over Time

The overall ethnicity of the name is expected to show a steady decline over time. The steepness of the decline, however, is not expected to be necessarily even. 20th century history shows at least two problematic periods during which it might have been especially hard (or, more formally, psychically costly) for the Hungarian members of the Árpádhon community to maintain their ethnic identity. One of these was the conservative era before and during World War II. (To get a picture of the political leanings of the people of *Árpádhon* in the 1910s, consider the overt support of the *Árpádhoni Kertészlap* for Mihály Károlyi's progressive political ideas.) The early fifties with Stalinism on one side an McCarthyism on the other constitute the other period of difficulty in this regard. It was in these periods that, for the Hungarians of Árpádhon, their country of origin (Hungary) and their chosen new land (the U.S.A.) were politically very much at odds.

Variation Determined by Demographic Variables

Protestant denominations have traditionally been regarded more nation-state oriented than Catholics: among other things, the Protestant churches have offered their services in the national languages ever since they existed, whereas the Catholic church has shifted from Latin to the national languages only fairly recently. When this took place in the Catholic church of Árpádhon, nobody even thought of Hungarian being the national language they should switch to: English was accepted and has been used without interruption since then. Hence, the local Presbyterian church's very late shift to English, as mentioned in the introduction, fostered the hypothesis that Presbyterians would have a higher score than Catholics on the name-ethnicity index.

Women are expected to score higher on the name-ethnicity index: it has been women who have had less education and less frequent contacts outside the family. Or, in a "human capital" conceptual framework, the economic incentives to shift to the new language are higher for those that work or trade outside the house (= men) than for those that typically stay at home (= women). For the same reason, just as Grenier has found it among Hispanic Americans, women have had fewer opportunities than men to learn the new language. The psychic costs of shifting from the ethnic to the new language might be greater for women whose traditional function in the family division of labor has been to preserve and pass along cultural–ethnic orientations. (Consider the expression *"anya-nyelv"* or "mother tongue".) (Partly after Grenier, 1984:539–49)

According to the language shift literature, age is supposed to have an effect on language shift. As Grenier observes, "the longer a person has been exposed to a lanaguage, the lower the opportunity costs to learn it." (1984:539) We have, however, no way of telling from the tombstone data to what extent age at death expresses duration of exposure to English. There is no way of knowing whether the deceased person had been an immigrant or born in America. Also, if he/she was an immigrant, one cannot tell when the immigration happened. From these data, it is not possible to estimate the length of exposure to English. It is hypothesized that age at death may have some effect; neither its direction nor its extent can be predicted.

Year of birth is regarded as a variable pertaining primarily to individual history: the earlier someone was born, the more likely he/she is to have been raised in Hungary or in a family in the transitional period of ethnic acculturation but certainly relatively close to the departure from Hungary. One could perhaps look at year of birth as a proxy for generationality (immigrant, first or second generation American, etc.). It is an unfortunate limitation of the data source that from these tombstone inscriptions it is not possible to infer about immigrant/generational status. It will be assumed, nevertheless, that the earlier date of birth is likely to point to more exposure to a Hungarian family environment. So, the earlier the year of birth, the greater the score is expected to be on the name-ethnicity index.

Methods and Data

No sampling was involved: the total population of altogether 512 tombstones was recorded. The earliest headstone in the cemetery of the St. Margaret Catholic Church was dated 1906, while the first grave in the cemetary that belongs to the Hungarian Presbyterian Church was marked 1913. Nobody knows where those that died before these dates were buried. As a result, this study has a built-in temporal bias too: there are no data about the earliest graves. However, this bias is probably negligible considering how small Árpádhon was in the first fifteen to twenty years: as Hosh summarizes, "by 1902 there were eight Hungarian families living in the area: by 1908 there were nearly forty and [. . .] by 1910 about seventy". (1971:11 cites Hoffmann, 1911:74). Also, probably some of the grave markers, especially those not made of stone or concrete but perhaps wood, might have decayed by the time the study was made. This might constitute some class-bias, particularly as regards the very early tombs: this study cannot account for the inscriptions of those whose deceased family has not been wealthy enough to build durable headstones. It is not possible to estimate the extent of this bias therefore all one can do is to assume that the data will be robust enough so that neither the temporal nor the class bias will seriously destroy their quality.

In a recent publication of the headstone inscriptions in Livingston Parish, Louisiana (1980) about 18–20, possibly Hungarian names were found in cemeteries other than the ones surveyed here, which fact indicates that for the people of Árpádhon, the overwhelmingly typical pattern was to be buried in the cemeteries of one of the two Hungarian churches of the community.

Of course, this method cannot account for those that were born and perhaps grew up in Árpádhon but died and are buried elsewhere. This is regarded as some sort of self-selection: by the act of out-migrating from Árpádhon these people have detached themselves from the community that this study is to focus on. (This is, therefore, not a bias in the data but, rather, merely a characteristic of Árpádhon.)

Frequency distributions of the dependent variables were observed, and in case of nominal level independent variables (religion and gender) analyses of variance, in case of ratio variables (year of birth, of death and age at death) regression analyses were performed. Regression analysis was used when nominal and ratio level variables were combined too.

Findings

Frequency Distributions

A summary of the findings about the degree of Hungarianness (relative stability, or conservativeness) of each dependent variable is presented in Table 2. As expected, the diacritical marks and the word order are the most volatile aspects of the name while the most "conservative" aspects are the spelling of the Hungarian part of the name and the language of the surname. Surnames seem more conservative than given names. (See also Figure 1.)

Table 2. Mean and Standard Deviation Values for Each Single Dependent Variable, All Cases, in Ascending Order of Means (Scale: 0–2)

Variables	Means	Standard Deviations
Diacritical Marks	.380	.752
Word Order	.498	.866
Language of the Given Name	.688	.950
Language of the Surname	1.746	.668
Spelling	1.748	.548

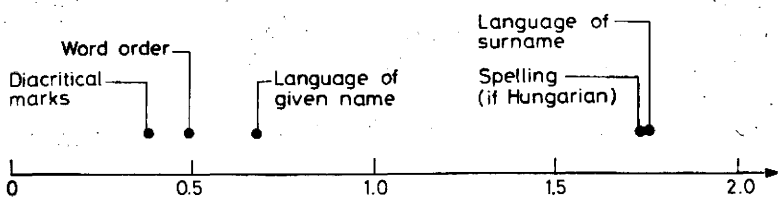

Fig. 1. Means of single dependent variables

Table 2 shows that the five single dependent variables appear in two clusters. The results have not rejected the respective hypothesis: the difference between the mean scores of diacritical marks or the word order versus the most proximate one of the rest of the variables (= language of the given name) is positive. (See lines 1 and 2 in Table 3.) The difference between the mean scores of surnames and given names is also very safely positive. (See line 3 in Table 3.)

Table 3. Differences between Means of Some Dependent Variables (Scale 0–2)

Contrast	Upper Limit	Lower Limit	Significance
Diacritical Marks versus Language of the Given Name	.416	.260	$P<.05$
Word Order versus Language of the Given Name	.302	.078	$P<.05$
Language of the Surname versus Language of the Given Name	1.160	.956	$P<0.5$

Change over Time

For the total population, the frequency distribution of the name-ethnicity index was as follows: mean = 55.56 (range theoretically 0–100, observed: 20–100). The standard deviation was 23.15. The number of valid cases was only N = 426. (The loss of 86 cases is due to the fact that in the name-ethnicity index only the complete cases were observed: in case of missing data in one variable, the whole case was ignored.) Figure 2 provides the histogram of this distribution.

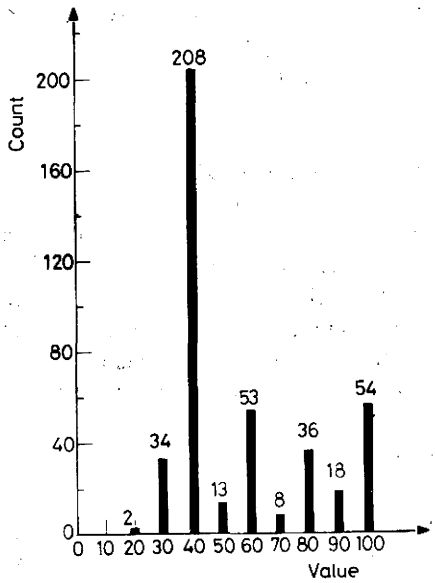

Fig. 2. Histogram of the frequency distribution of the name-ethnicity index (Range: 0-100)

mean 55.56	standard error 1.121
mode 40	standard deviance 23.147
valid cases 426	missing cases 86
median 40.00	variance 535.8

A regression analysis was run in order to somewhat more specifically detect the effect of the year of death on the ethnicity of the names. (Table 4 provides a summary of the effects of various factors on the name-ethnicity index.) The effect of the year of death is negative: the later the person died the less ethnic his/her name appears on the tombstone. Year of death is the one single independent variable that explains the most of the variation: $r^2_{death} = 22.2\%$.

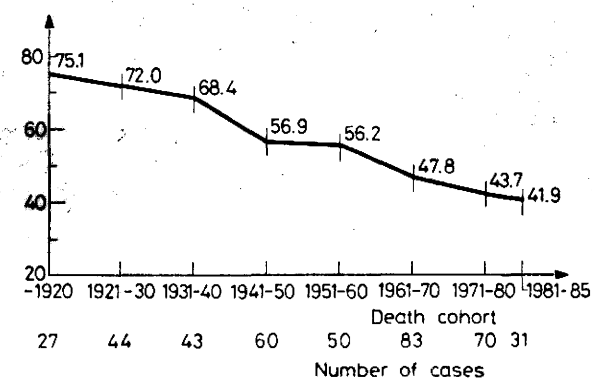

Fig. 3. Name–ethnicity index by decades of years of death (Range: 0–100)

Variation Determined by Demographic Variables

Religion's effect is minute: Catholics have a mean score of 54.55, while Presbyterians have a score of 57.48 on the name–ethnicity index. The difference is in the expected direction – Presbyterians scored higher – but it is virtually negligible and, as the analysis of variance indicated, the relationship is not significant statistically: P = .214.

Gender has a somewhat stronger effect than religion. The mean score of women is higher than that of men. The difference is moderate: d = 7.53 (scale: 0–100). This effect is statistically very significant: P = .001, but gender in itself explains a mere 2.6% of the variation which is, again, almost negligible.

The hypothesis on the effect of the age at death on the ethnicity of the name must be rejected on the basis of the data. (See line 4 in Table 4)

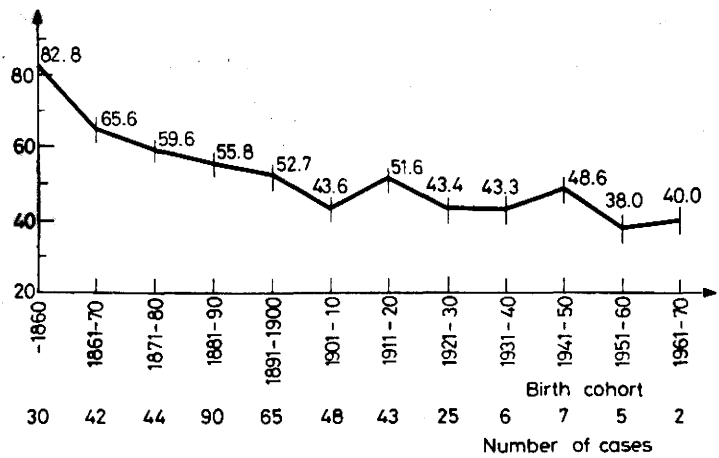

Fig. 4. Name–ethnicity mean scores by 10-year birth cohorts (Range: 0–100)

Table 4. A Summary of the Effects of Various Single Predictor Variables and their Combinations on the Ethnicity of the Names

Predictor Variable(s)	Direction of the Effect	Explained Variation [%]	Significance
Year of Death	negative	22.2	.0000
Religion	none	none	.214
Gender	negative*	2.6	.001
Age at Death	none	none	not significant
Year of Birth	negative	13.1	.0000
Year of Birth		not in the equation	
and Year of Death	negative	26.7	.0035
and Interaction	negative		.0000
Religion	none		not significant
and Gender	negative*	27.9	.0315
and Year of Birth	negative		.0000
and Year of Death	negative		.0000

*female = 0
male = 1

Figure 4 shows the trend in the overall ethnicity of the same by 10-year birth cohorts. There is a steady decline until the 1900's. Then, in the 1911–20 birth cohort, an increase is observed. The later birth cohorts show a fluctuating pattern which can probably be attributed to the small number of cases in those cohorts. The inconsistent pattern at the beginning of the 20th century needs to be explained. One possible explanation follows here:

Árpádhon was established in 1896. Take the birth cohorts prior to that point in time: the pattern is a steady decline – just what one would expect in an immigrant community. The two, perhaps three cohorts following the foundation date are probably mixed in terms of migrational status: some members of the cohorts were locally born, some were perhaps born elsewhere in the New World while, certainly, some of them were born back in Hungary. The inconsistency of the pattern might be due to the heterogeneity in the migrational status of the respective cohorts.

Notwithstanding the inconsistency, the negative effect of the year of birth on the ethnicity of the name is very significant statistically. Only the amount of explained variation is moderate: $r^2_{birth} = 13.1\%$.

Combinations of Independent Variables

In order to increase the explained variation, further regression analyses were performed, using various combinations of the independent variables, testing for both separate and interaction effects.

When year of birth and year of death were combined, the increase of explained

variation was only minor: $r^2_{change} = r^2_{int} - r^2_{death} = 26.7 - 22.2 \doteq 4.5\%$. (See lines 6 to 8 in Table 4).

In an even more complex regression analysis, (See lines 9 to 12 in Table 4) the inclusion of four independent variables (religion, gender, year of birth and year of death) increased the amount of explained variation compared to the equation of the single variable year of death only a mere $r^2_{change} = r^2_{comb.} = r^2_{death} - 27.9 - 22.2 = 5.7\%$.

Some Concluding Remarks and a Further Comparison

It appears that the five separate aspects of the ethnicity of the name are grouped into two clusters: one for those subject to relatively quick change (these are the diacritical marks, the word order and the language of the given name, with means ranging between .380 and .688) and another for those that are more stable (such as the language of the surname and the spelling of the Hungarian part of the name – the latter being contingent upon the former –, with means of 1.746 and 1.748, respectively). The difference between the means of the variables with the most proximate values is approximately 1 on a scale from 0 through 2, statistically significant ($P < .05$). This relationship seems to indicate that separate aspects of name do not have an even distribution of symbolic/expressive values: in accordance with observations made by linguists-historians, surnames have a special conservative character. Another piece of evidence to support this conclusion is that the language of the surname, besides being much less apt to change than given names, is also more consistent – its distribution is less widely dispersed: $s_{surn} = .688$ while $s_{given} = .950$.

When taken separately, year of death explains about 1.7 times as much variation as does year of birth. This fact seems to point toward the conclusion that the headstones reflect more the mind-set of the surviving microsociety than that of the deceased person as perceived by the survivors. This question is important in order to somewhat more precisely define just what this study measured. The data do show that both year of birth and year of death have some effect, but the effect of the more directly microsocietal level variable (year of death) appears to be markedly greater than that of the more individual level one (year of birth).

The hypothesis on the effect of religion must be dismissed: religion does not discernibly influence the scores on the name-ethnicity index. At the same time, this study did not reject the hypothesis on the effect of gender: women seem to have slightly higher scores than men do. Age at death seems indifferent in regards to the ethnicity of the name.

The fact that the only community level variable in this study – religion – appears to have no effect on the ethnicity of the names helps to further narrow the scope of its demographic determinants. The data have revealed that it is the individual and the microsocietal level where the symbolic/expressive ethnic contents of the name are determined. However, a word of caution is at order. The regression equation that combined all those factors which had appeared to be of any effect on ethnicity, left

about 72.1% of the variation unexplained (See Table 4). In other words, theoretically, there is plenty of room for community or macro-level demographic variables to be effective on the ethnicity of the names. Here one encounters limitations arising from the type of research design used: variables pertaining to socioeconomic status are missing as well as those related to community population size, population distribution, interethnic relations, relative isolation, etc. No data were found on these aspects.

There is an opportunity, however, to make a further interesting comparison in order to indirectly check the validity of our measurement of ethnicity as expressed by the names. For a bio-anthropological study on Hungarian Settlement (Árpádhon), Tibor Koertvelyessy has collected some data on the dynamics of ethnic endogamy in the community. From his table (1983:228) on types of ethnic intermarriages by decades of marriage cohorts, a table of change in ethnic endogamy was compiled, using the following recording scheme:

both partners full-Hungarians	4
one partner full Hungarian, other part-Hungarian	3
one partner full Hungarian, other non-Hungarian	2
both partners part-Hungarians	2
one partner part-Hungarian, other non-Hungarian	1

Table 5. Mean Scores, Index of Ethnic Endogamy, Hungarian Settlement, by 10-year Marriage Cohorts (Scale 1–4)

Decade	Mean	Number of Cases (Marriages)
1901–1910	3.75	4
1911–1920	3.65	26
1921–1930	3.33	33
1931–1940	3.48	52
1941–1950	2.99	68
1951–1960	2.33	30
1961–1970	2.13	39
1971–1980	1.65	31
Total	2.86	283

Computed from:

Koertvelyessy, Tibor (1983) "Demography and Evolution in an Immigrant Ethnic Community: Hungarian Settlement, Louisiana, USA". Journal of Biosocial Science 15, 223–236. Table 4.: Ethnic Endogamy in Hungarian Settlement (% distribution), p. 228.

See Table 5 for a description of the changes in ethnic endogamy in Árpádhon in the twentieth century.

Both decrease of ethnic endogamy and language shift are crucial components of ethnic acculturation. As it was shown earlier, the language shift of the names is at least partially determined by individual and micro-level variables while ethnic endogamy (marriage) itself is a micro-level phenomenon. On Figure 5 these two indices were plotted for the marriage/death decades from 1911 through 1980. Apparently, the plots form almost a straight line: the correlation – $\rho = .956$ – is very close to the maximum 1.

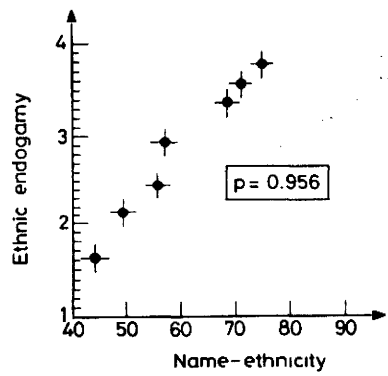

Fig. 5. Ethnic endogamy and name–ethnicity, for marriage and death cohorts (decades) 1911–1980

Thus, even though the information source for this study was admittedly limited, one can conclude that the measurement of name language shift was probably not grossly invalid: when compared to an independently obtained, different variable on ethnic acculturation, it shows a strong and clearly positive correlation.

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