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# COMMUNITY LANGUAGES

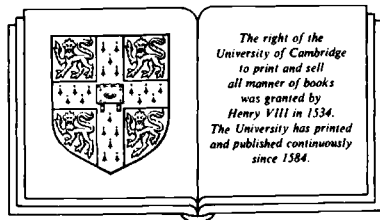
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## THE AUSTRALIAN EXPERIENCE

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MICHAEL CLYNE

Monash University  
and  
National Languages Institute of Australia



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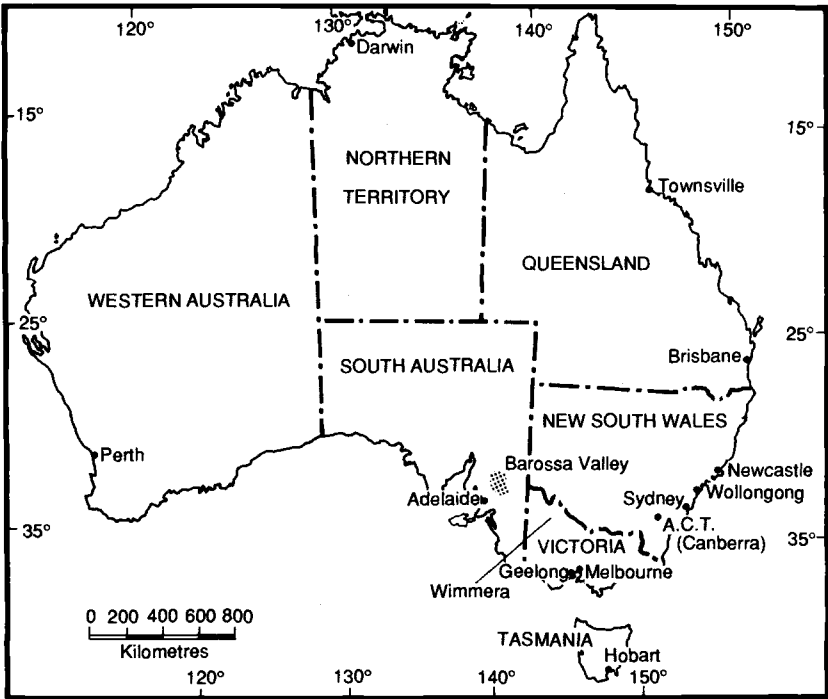
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Map of Australia

# Preface

This monograph aims at providing an up-to-date account of the situation of community languages in Australia. It has three types of readers in mind:

- linguists and students of linguistics in Australia;
- linguists overseas who wish to become more acquainted with the Australian situation, which may bear some similarities to that in their own country; and
- more general readers and colleagues in other disciplines in Australia.

For the benefit of the last-mentioned group, definitions of linguistic terms are provided in the text and in the Glossary. Note that terms followed by an asterisk when first used in the text are explained in the Glossary.

Chapter 1 provides an historical treatment of the tension between monolingualism and multilingualism in Australia, which is fundamental to much of the later chapters. Chapter 2 uses as its starting point data on languages, derived from recent censuses. This is applied to correlate various factors with language maintenance and shift. Theoretical implications of the correlations are considered. The spheres and situations in which community languages are employed in Australia are presented in Chapter 3. The fourth chapter examines the changes to which some community languages are being subjected in contact with English, and the implications of this for the study of language change. Australian language policies, in particular the National Policy on Languages, are the subject of Chapter 5. Many of the issues treated in this book have been discussed elsewhere, in articles in academic journals and other periodicals or in volumes that are not very generally accessible. I am drawing together work done by others as well as myself to present a general overview of community languages in Australia.

## X Community Languages

I wish to thank the many government departments, educational authorities, libraries, radio and TV stations and others who provided me with data on the use of community languages — especially Margaret Bell (Public Libraries Branch, South Australia), Marina Garlick (State Library of New South Wales), Derek Whitehead (State Library of Victoria), Anne Eckstein (Victorian Ministry of Education), and the Department of Employment, Education and Training, Canberra. The Australian Bureau of Statistics produced special tapes for me from the 1976 and 1986 Censuses, facilitating cross-tabulation between language use and other factors. I thank the Bureau for permission to reproduce as part of Tables 1–6, 8–16, A1–A5 and Graph 2, materials derived in some way from the 1976 Census, the 1983 Language Survey and the 1986 Census. Tables 17, 18, 20, 22 and A8, Commonwealth of Australia copyright, are reproduced by permission. Dr Charles Price kindly put at my disposal material relating to 1986 Census data and, with Dr James Jupp, granted permission for use of Table 7. To Bruno di Biase and FILEF go my thanks for allowing me to quote from Di Biase and Dyson (1988), and to reproduce Table A9. Permission to quote from the Prime Minister's address to the Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils (pp. 231–2) has been granted by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Mouton de Gruyter, a division of Walter de Gruyter and Co., kindly permitted the use of Table 26, and the Department of Geography at Monash University provided me with the map of Australia on p. viii. I am indebted to the Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education, who supported the research on the 1986 Census and gave permission to reproduce Graph 1 from *Vox* No. 3 and Table 10 based on Charles Price's work in *Vox* No. 4.

My thanks are due to my research assistants, Stephanie Jaehrling and Annette Harres, who helped with the collection and analysis of the statistical data, Ian Coulter for computer programming, Lona Gottschalk for her invaluable assistance with the production of the manuscript, and Sue Fernandez for compiling the index. I am very grateful to those who have made helpful comments on earlier drafts of the whole or part of the monograph — Joe lo Bianco, Leslie Bodi, Uldis Ozolins, Anne Pauwels, and two anonymous reviewers.

# 1

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## Australia between monolingualism and multilingualism

### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Apart from the 150 Aboriginal languages, more than one hundred languages other than English are in use in Australia today. In the 1986 Census, 13.63 per cent of the Australian population (15,604,150 at the time) were reported as using a language other than English at home, and many more employ one away from their home (see below, pp. 39–40). However, it is not only in the post-World-War-II period that Australia could be described as a multilingual society. Ethnolinguistic diversity existed, and, in fact, thrived in some parts of Australia from the early days of European settlement. There were periods during the past 200 years when multilingualism was recognized, or even promoted. There were others when it was ignored, or outlawed.

It has been stated (Bostock 1973) that Australian governments

## 2 Community Languages

have directed their policies towards achieving monolingualism. And yet Australia has an ethnolinguistic mix probably unparalleled in any other nation. It now has a more comprehensive and positive National Policy on Languages than any comparable country. This paradox is characteristic of a tension that has existed, throughout the history of white settlement in Australia, between three symbolic relationships of language and society: English monolingualism as a symbol of a British tradition; English monolingualism as a marker of Australia's independent national identity; and multilingualism as both social reality and part of the ideology of a multicultural and outreaching Australian society. This tension predates the federation of six British colonies into an Australian nation in 1901, and has not yet been resolved.

The historical relationship of Australians to the Australian national variety of English lies outside the scope of this monograph (see Collins and Blair 1989.) In this book, I shall be considering the effects of the tension on the maintenance of 'immigrant' languages other than English, on language change, and on the development of language policies. Whatever attitudes and policies may have developed towards immigrant languages, Aboriginal languages have been treated in a consistently negative and destructive way (Fesl 1988). Oppression, genocide and assimilation pressures have led to the death of one hundred Aboriginal languages since 1788 and the present 'dying state' of another hundred (Dixon 1980). (As the treatment of Aboriginal languages also falls outside the topic of this book, I refer the reader to Fesl 1988.) It is not until very recently that Australian Sign Language, used by deaf people in Australia, has been afforded the slightest legitimacy.

In this chapter I shall examine the three 'symbolic relationships' over different phases in Australian history and in the different states (colonies), each of which had its own development and settlement history, and observe how internal and external factors have led to enforced monolingualism or the acceptance of multilingualism at particular times. The role of the emerging intelligentsia and the second generation 'ethnic Australians' will be considered, and the uniqueness of Australia will be discussed through a brief comparison with the USA and other comparable nations. All this will be placed in the context of Australia's immigration history and the academic and political debate on multiculturalism.

## THE TERM 'COMMUNITY LANGUAGES'

This term has been used in Australia since about 1975 to denote languages other than English and Aboriginal languages employed within the Australian community. It legitimizes their continuing existence as part of Australian society. Terms that have been found discriminatory and inadequate for the same languages are: *foreign languages*, unsuitable for languages that are very much part of Australian life; *migrant languages*<sup>1</sup>, which does not account for their use by Australian-born generations; and *ethnic languages*, which ignores the use of 'community languages' by members of other ethnic groups. As will be explained later (Chapter 5), national and state language policies having become increasingly oriented towards education, the division of languages other than English into categories has proved neither feasible nor advisable. 'Community languages' are thus now frequently subsumed under LOTE, 'Languages other than English'. In some senses, this is symptomatic of a shift away from internal multilingualism as the basis for a pluralistic language policy (see pp. 230–2).

In other publications, I have employed the acronym 'CLOTE' (Community languages other than English) to stress that English too is a community language. As 'community languages' has now attained fairly universal currency in Australia and has also been adopted in some other English-speaking countries, this will be the term used in this book.

## FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE

Four major functions of language are relevant to any discussion of community languages, and these will be referred back to throughout this volume. Language is:

- (i) The most important medium of human communication;
- (ii) A means by which people can identify themselves and others;

---

1. In Australia, 'migrant' and 'immigrant' are used interchangeably.

- (iii) A medium of cognitive and conceptual development; and
- (iv) An instrument of action. (For example, language is sufficient for acts such as complaints, promises and threats to be performed.)

## IMMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA, VINTAGES AND THE NOTION OF DISTANCE

Basic to any discussion of immigration to Australia and its cultural and linguistic consequences is the notion of geographical and cultural distance.

Just as the first British convicts were transported to Australia, which was considered appropriately distant from the Mother Country, many waves of migrants came to Australia in order to be as far as possible from the political régimes from which they wanted to escape, or from unjust orders of society which had discriminated against them. Such migrants included: the Old Lutherans from Eastern Germany fleeing from religious suppression to South Australia as from 1838; the refugees from the 1848 German and Italian revolutions; the Bolsheviks and anti-Bolsheviks from Russia around the time of the revolution; the Polish Jews fleeing from anti-Semitism between the wars; the refugees from racism and political oppression in Nazi Germany and the territories it had annexed (1938–9); the displaced persons from European camps — Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Croats, Slovenians, Ukrainians, and others (1947–50); the ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe (1950s); the refugees from the Greece of the colonels (1967) and from Soviet military intervention in Hungary (1956) and Czechoslovakia (1968); the Anti-Allende (1970) and the Pro-Allende Chileans (1973); the Palestinians as well as the Lebanese; the Timorese (1975); and the Vietnamese and Khmer as well as ethnic Chinese from Vietnam and Cambodia (from 1975). Often refugee waves were later followed by the migration of family and friends.

Not only political refugees but also most economic migrants up to the mid-1960s knew that emigration to Australia was generally a final step. The normal and only affordable means of transport to

and from Australia was by ship; this was slow and expensive. While it may have been possible to bring out other members of one's family, a return home was almost impossible, and a visit difficult to accomplish. With cheap air fares, both regular trips home and the visits of relatives could be financed and immigration as a short-term measure became more feasible.

Migration to Australia was frequently associated with a spirit of adventure. This was epitomized by the people, largely single males, who came to make their fortunes during the gold rushes of the mid-19th century. It was on the Victorian gold-fields that Irish, Italians, Welsh, and Germans were among the miners who led a challenge to the authority of the British bureaucracy. In the Eureka Stockade of 1854, Raffaello Carboni referred to the rebel diggers' flag as 'the refuge of all the oppressed from all countries on earth', inviting all people to salute it, 'irrespective of nationality, religion or colour', a very early enunciation of Australian multiculturalism (Lahey 1988:1). The last reference was to the large number of Chinese miners in Australia at the time. In the ensuing years, some of the Australian colonies, notably Victoria and South Australia, became democracies and 'workers' paradises' which were among the pioneers in the institution of universal suffrage, payment of parliamentarians, secret ballot, and the eight-hour working day. (South Australia and Victoria are also the colonies in which speakers of languages other than English played the most prominent role; see below, pp. 6-8 and 25-7. There were, however, a number of influential Germans in 19th century Queensland public life; see Voigt 1983; Nadel 1983.) Both cities and rural areas received economic migrants from non-English-speaking parts of Europe, notably Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, France, Russia and the Lebanon. Towards the end of the 19th century, Queensland attracted much indented labour from Europe as well as the Pacific Islands. Migration intake from non-English-speaking countries was low in the first decades of the 20th century, and by this time, restrictions on 'non-white' migration were in force.

The political migrants of the immediate postwar years were soon joined by economic migrants. Apart from the British, including Maltese and Greek Cypriots, there were first northern Europeans (Dutch, followed by Germans) and Italians in the 1950s, then Greeks (1950s and especially 1960s), Yugoslavs (late 1960s and early 1970s) and Lebanese and Turks (early 1970s), to name only

the larger groups. It can be noted that the source countries moved further and further away from the original British 'mother country', requiring a constant adjustment of the prejudices of the existing population.

The postwar mass immigration scheme was started in order to provide a work-force for Australia's greatly expanding secondary industry, and to boost the population as protection against a possible 'Asian invasion' following the Japanese war efforts (Appleyard 1988:97; Castles *et al.* 1988:9). Prevailing economic conditions have necessitated increases and decreases in the intake numbers of migrants, and modifications in the balance between refugees, economic migrants, those wishing to join members of their family in Australia, and others. They have also entailed differences in the occupations of migrants selected for entry. All this has contributed to the augmentation of some speech communities (for instance German 1938, 1947–9, 1951–60, 1980s; Hungarian 1938, 1947–51, 1956, early 1970s (from Yugoslavia); Czech 1938, 1947–9, 1968) and the formation of new ones (for example, Khmer and Vietnamese in the 1970s) as the White Australia policy came to an end. However, as I shall argue later, use of the same language does not necessarily result in contact between migrant vintages.

## HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

### The 19th century

Although the term 'community language' is relatively new, languages other than English have been an important part of the Australian context since the 19th century, more so in some states (colonies) than in others. Despite the occasional references to non-English speakers among the convicts on the First Fleet and among the first free settlers (e.g. Cigler and Cigler 1985; Norst and McBride 1988) and to the German origins of the first governor, Arthur Phillip, the first British settlement in New South Wales was basically a monolingual one. It shared a continent with communities of very long standing using a total of over 250 Aboriginal languages. Virtually all the population of Australia prior to white settlement is likely to have been multilingual (Dixon 1980).

In the second half of the 19th century, aspirations were expressed for an Australian nation and the form it should take. By the 1860s, a number of immigrant languages other than English had been transplanted to Australia — on the goldfields, in the cities and in rural settlements. The main 'community languages' at the time were Irish, Chinese, German, Gaelic, Welsh, French, the Scandinavian languages, and Italian. The 1861 Census records 27,599 German-born, 38,742 Chinese-born and 11,589 other foreign-born, which includes those German speakers from Austria-Hungary. To these must be added the Australian-born second generation, especially for German, which was at the time the best-maintained community language. In the course of the 19th century, the number of Celtic and Chinese speakers declined. Many migrants from the British Isles actually used as their main language Gaelic, Irish or Welsh and were subjected to language assimilation. As Castles *et al.* (1988:8) point out, the term 'Anglo-Celtic', current in Australia today, conceals the battles fought between English and Irish in Australia. Jupp (1988:61) estimates, on the basis of birthplace accounts, that there were about 6,000 speakers of (Scottish) Gaelic in Victoria in 1861 and 2,000 in New South Wales. He suggests that there were 3,000 Welsh speakers throughout Australia in 1871 and that 'Irish may have been the second most widely-understood language in Australia in the mid-nineteenth century [although it] had been overtaken by German in the 1880s'. From the 1830s, there had been rural enclaves in which a 'community language' (usually German, but sometimes Gaelic) was the language of the church, work and community domains\* as well as one of the mediums of (bilingual) schooling. (For German, see Clyne 1981: 15 ff.) It was in the colonies of Victoria and South Australia whose main settlements were not founded until the 1830s and had never received convicts that the bi- and multilingual tradition became strongest. The (French-English) bilingual household of Victoria's first governor, Charles La Trobe, and his wife, and the acceptance of some intellectuals from the 1848 revolutions of Europe into the local Establishment, put multilingualism on a firm footing. Four years after the foundation of South Australia there began the transplanting to that colony of Old Lutheran village parishes from Silesia and other parts of Prussia. Migrants who had come directly from Germany or who had remigrated from the rural settlements had an important impact on 19th-century Adelaide.

As from 1848, there was a thriving 'community language' press, initially in German, with as many as eight weekly, bi-monthly or monthly newspapers issued at one time, mainly in South Australia and Victoria, and later also in New South Wales and Queensland. The influence of these newspapers can be gauged by the fact that English-speaking candidates for the Victorian and South Australian parliaments wooed electors by issuing special statements in the German-language press (*Victoria Deutsche Presse, Germania, Deutsche Zeitung, Südaustralische Zeitung*). Subsequently, Chinese, French, Gaelic, Scandinavian and Welsh newspapers appeared, some of them short-lived (Gilson and Zubrzycki 1967; Clyne 1986a; Corkhill 1983).

From the German-language newspapers it can be deduced that virtually all business transactions could be conducted in German in the central business districts of Melbourne and Adelaide in the 1860s and 1870s. There were regular church services in five languages in Melbourne, and in various cities there were ethnic clubs.

## *Education*

It is in the school domain that community languages played the most influential role. Bilingual education was practised in Australia from the 1850s onwards, in both religious and secular schools.<sup>2</sup> It was aimed initially at children of particular ethnic backgrounds for language and/or religious maintenance (German, Gaelic, Hebrew), but some bilingual schools attracted other pupils or were intended to provide a language immersion experience. Bilingual education was projected in advertisements for schools in both Melbourne and Adelaide as a valuable asset for both 'majority' and 'minority' groups, for example 'Instruction is given in German and English so that German and English people can learn one another's language' (*Südaustralische Zeitung*, 24 March 1865, my translation; similar wording *Australischer Christenbote*, 11 November 1862).

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2. There had been German schools in South Australia since 1838 which were bilingual by the mid-1850s.

Some German-English and especially French-English bilingual schools, noted for their high standard of education, attracted a substantial number of pupils from English-speaking families. This is a testimony to the importance attached to a second language in parts of Australia in the second half of the 19th century. Outstanding examples were German-English boys' schools in Melbourne and Hahndorf (South Australia) modelled on the German *Gymnasium*, and particularly French-English girls' schools in Melbourne which were among the pioneers of girls' secondary education in Victoria. (On bilingual education in 19th century Australia, see Clyne 1988a.) The French traveller Otto Commetant (1890: 210) comments on the 'marvellous facility' of children in Australia 'to learn languages'. In addition to private bilingual schools in Adelaide, Melbourne and South Australian rural centres, there were networks of bilingual country parish schools run by the several Lutheran synods. They served the local German-speaking communities, providing a basic primary education similar to that available in Germany, adapted to Australian conditions, with a stress on religious and moral education. *Der lutherische Schulbote für Australien*, a teachers' magazine (July 1895:33, my translation) attested to the role of bilingualism: 'Because [German] is our mother tongue, it takes first place in our practical lives. But it is of great harm to a citizen of this country not to have learned the English language of the land sufficiently . . .'. As the Lutheran schools were often the only schools in the district, the English-speaking minority would send their children there, and they too became bilingual. (See also Kipp 1981.)

There were nearly one hundred bilingual schools at the turn of the century, most of them Lutheran and principally in South Australia and Victoria. Apart from the schools in five rural German settlements of New South Wales, there is little indication of bilingual education in that colony. There were, in Sydney, in addition to a 'German school' (1888-90) and a 'Hebrew school' (1867-1905), numerous private schools conducted by people with non-British names of which nothing appears to be known (Clyne 1988a:100).

Considering that Queensland had, by the turn of the century, the greatest ethnolinguistic diversity of any Australian colony — with sizeable groups of Germans, Scandinavians, Italians and Russians

and the largest German-born population (Price *et al.* 1984) — bilingual schools were relatively few and short-lived here (Hebart 1938:808; Clyne 1988:101). There is no evidence of bilingual education in either Western Australia or Tasmania in the 19th century. Bilingual teachers in Lutheran schools were, to an increasing extent, Australian-born and trained in Lutheran tertiary colleges attached to secondary schools in South Australia and Victoria.

In the 1870s, attempts were made, in Queensland, to appoint teachers to match the language background of the pupils in state primary schools. That these appointments were sometimes rapidly terminated may have been due to transitional assimilationist motives. For instance, one inspector, reporting on an unsatisfactory teacher, commented that 'the children knew no English when the school opened' and ten months later did 'not know sufficient of it to be taught or addressed in that language' (Clyne 1988a:102).

Although bilingual education in 19th-century Australia is not well documented, there appear to have been three main models:

- (i) *Division according to subject and time of day.* In the Lutheran primary schools, literacy skills were imparted in both languages. Mathematics subjects were taught in English, religion in German, and history and geography were divided between the languages according to course content.
- (ii) *Division according to subject and teacher.* Many of the private bilingual schools had a German- and an English-medium teacher who taught different subjects.
- (iii) *Language and culture.* In other private schools, most subjects were taught in English but there was an extended component of German language, literature and civilization given in German.

For much of the 19th century, languages other than English were taught widely in primary schools. Secondary schools generally offered French (as well as Latin), and many also had German and some had Italian on the curriculum. The fact that the French-English girls' colleges lasted longer and were more successful than the German-English boys' schools in selling bilingual education to the English-speaking public may be indicative of a gender-based perception of academic accomplishments in Australia. As language shift persisted, the stress in mother tongue education passed from

bilingual day schools to part-time schools. (The first of these was conducted in German at Mill Park near Melbourne on Saturdays in 1857.) In Queensland and some parts of Victoria and South Australia, children were excused from day school on Wednesday mornings to receive a combination of religious instruction and ethnic language tuition. This was augmented by Saturday and Sunday school classes. Some primary and secondary schools offered before and after school classes in some 'community languages'. (For data on the above, see Clyne 1988a.)

The non-discriminatory *laissez-faire* policy practised in most of the Australian colonies, in which schools were registered as common schools on the basis of certain requirements and standards, did not establish a 'norm' as far as accepted language and culture were concerned. The mainstream was not exclusively monolingual and monocultural. This changed with the Education Acts (passed in most colonies between 1872 and 1880) by which the *monolingual* state school was declared mainstream. Also, as state education was free, compulsory and secular, schools offering a (denominational) religious component, as was the case with most of the bilingual common schools, were required to become private schools. Many did not survive for long — the main exceptions being rural Lutheran schools. As the education acts exerted their homogenizing effect, day schools taught languages other than English less as community languages.

### *Multilingualism and emerging Australian identity*

Editorials in the German press as early as the 1850s raised the question of Australian identity. The *Melbournner Deutsche Zeitung* (9 September 1859) referred to Australia as a land of cultural diversity. At the time 'Australian' did not imply British descent or English monolingualism. 'Englishmen', 'Irish', 'Italians' and 'Germans' were differentiated but they were all potentially Australians. In response to a letter to the editor concerning the desirability of assimilation to English culture, the *Australische Deutsche Zeitung* declared (14 January 1870): 'Wir sind nicht Engländer . . . *Australier sind wir*' ('We are not English . . . Australians are what we are') and demanded that English-, French- and Danish-speaking Australians see themselves the same way. German-Australians

viewed themselves as an integral part of the evolving Australian nation (Lehmann 1981), having come from a Germany that was not yet a political entity. Chinese in Australia were not given this kind of opportunity to identify as Australians and they and other non-Europeans were subsequently excluded from entering the country under racist immigration restrictions. Amid mounting international conflicts, there were campaigns in favour of both Empire Loyalism and the development of an Australian national ethos. The first position, propagated by the Anglo-Australian upper middle class, linked English monolingualism with loyalty to the Crown and Empire. The second was shared by the radical republicans, who despite their anti-British tendencies, were English in their culture, and the moderate nativist middle class as represented by the Australian Natives' Association. In 1871, this organization called for the peaceful transfer of loyalty from Britain to Australia (Blackton 1961: 354). Fears of French and German imperialism in the Pacific and sinophobia had, by the late 1880s, 'filtered into the middle class' (Blackton 1961: 359) which was becoming rampantly Anglo-Saxon. In both the English monolingualism/Australian native and English monolingual/British Empire symbolic relationships, the reality of the multicultural, multilingual nation which had started to develop, waned from the 1880s, and Australia became the province of the monolingual English speaker.

## 1901–70

The Commonwealth of Australia came into being against a background of aggressive nationalism throughout the world. With the worsening conflict between Britain and Germany, the Anglo-Australian Establishment strengthened an identification with the British Empire which was accompanied by xenophobia and intolerance to languages other than English.

### *Language policy and World War I*

During World War I, an 'English only' language policy was developed which included:

- (i) the amendment of state education acts in South Australia,

Victoria, New South Wales and Western Australia banning the use of languages other than English as a medium of instruction in registered schools, and in Queensland prohibiting their use as a medium of religious instruction;

- (ii) the prohibition of publication in German; and
- (iii) the changing of most German place-names in Australia, 69 in South Australia alone.

The Queensland Education Act amendment was due to the fact that, while there were no bilingual schools left in that state in 1917, there was provision for religious instruction in 'community languages', notably in German. In South Australia, Lutheran day schools were forced to close, whereas in Victoria they were compelled to shift to English. Ironically, the new language policy also affected the last of the French-English bilingual schools catering for daughters of the Anglo-Australian Establishment. Great animosity was shown towards German-speaking Australians, most of whom expressed strong loyalty to Australia and the British Empire. Some of them were interned (Harmstorf 1988; Fischer 1989). This contributed greatly to language shift in the home domain as well as in many churches.

With the end of the war came a period of aggressive monolingualism often encouraged by the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia. The use of German and, by extension, of any language other than English was considered disloyal (cf. Clyne 1988a:110). Whereas in the period 1850-70, there had been an openness towards languages other than English, and even some sharing of Australia's linguistic resources, by 1919 Australia's national identity was clearly established in terms of English monolingualism. Languages were seen in 'either-or' terms (English or foreign). The Victorian Director of Education, Frank Tate, who, throughout World War I, had resisted pressure to close Lutheran schools in German settlements, now wanted children to be 'Australianized' through the monolingual/monocultural state school, and opposed the teaching of religion in German because that 'tended to place in the minds of children at an impressionable age a respect and devotion to a foreign language (sic) which will alienate them from English' (Frank Tate, memo to Minister for Education, July 1919). He clearly stated that this attitude applied to all languages other than English. All in all, objections to 'community

languages' encompassed both the communication and identification functions of language (see above, pp. 3–4).

Inherent in attitudes to 'community languages' over most of this century has been the fear that people who are themselves in an otherwise powerless position can say things about the powerful in languages which the latter cannot understand.

### *Continuation of xenophobic and monolingual attitudes between the wars and during World War II*

Few of the wartime policies and attitudes were changed until well after World War II. German newspapers were allowed to appear again in 1925. Language shift continued rapidly in cities but German was used in homes in the rural settlements, especially by and to the middle and older generations. One of the Lutheran churches, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia (ELCA) phased out German services except in the more remote areas. Through English school and English games, the children were rapidly estranged from German. In the other Lutheran church, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia (UELCA), language shift was slower, especially in South Australia, where a policy of bilingualism was facilitated by Australian-born bilingual pastors (Hebart 1938: 477). The number of English services in the UELCA in South Australia increased by 53 per cent from 1931 to 1937 (Hebart 1938: 471). Language shift was accelerated in the 1930s, with the coming-of-age of young people with little bilingual schooling and the imminence of another world war (Clyne 1972a: 56, 64–5). Education remained a monolingual English domain except for Saturday schools and a small and dwindling number of confirmations in German. Very few of the German place-names were reinstated: the Kaiserstuhl remains Mount Kitchener; Kornheim is still Wail; Hochkirch has remained Tarrington.

New Russian and Italian rural settlements in Queensland also underwent a shift to English, somewhat more rapidly than the old German enclaves in the south and south-east of Australia. Attitudes to community languages were very negative in accordance with restrictive immigration policies, both in numbers and sources of migrants. Ironically a dictation test, which could be administered in any language, was used to keep out 'undesirables'. Italians

and Greeks in inter-war Australia experienced great prejudice. Race riots in the Western Australian mining town of Kalgoorlie in 1934 were directed towards Southern Europeans. Many Greek migrants of the 1930s anglicized their names. The monolingual attitude in the late 1930s is reflected in the advice of the *Australian Jewish News* (19 May 1939) to refugees from Nazi Germany in the interests of preventing anti-Semitism:

*... do not speak German in the streets and in the trams ...  
Do not make yourself conspicuous by walking with a group of  
persons, all of whom are speaking a foreign language.  
Remember that the welfare of the old established Jewish  
communities in Australia, as well as every migrant, depends  
on your personal behaviour.*

Australian local radio became a purely English monolingual medium. The last of the long tradition of German-Australian newspapers, the *Queensland Herald*, ceased publication in 1939. World War II had very much less in the way of multilingual resources to destroy than did World War I. The first war and its aftermath attacked the identification function of community languages but in the process, destroyed their other functions as well. The second world war virtually 'finished the job' in the rural settlements and reduced the community languages of newer refugee and migrant groups to private or even secret languages. People were abused for using languages other than English on the street, and telephone conversations in such languages were sometimes intercepted.

Thus the pattern of aggressive monolingualism was set for the decades to come.

### *The immediate postwar years*

By the time mass migration started after the war, community languages had gone 'underground'. But there were the beginnings of a 'Central European sub-culture' created by the refugees of 1938 in Melbourne on which a new German-language speech and cultural community could be built. To some extent, there was an Italian and Greek presence in the cities. Gradually, governments and private enterprise accepted the communication (but not the identification)

function of community languages. For instance, in the years immediately following the arrival of displaced persons from Europe (1947–50), the Australian Government used German as a *lingua franca*\* in some official announcements and services for them. Public address systems operated in German and English at the Bonegilla (New South Wales) and Woodside (South Australia) migrant camps. Some of the teachers conducting English classes in camps spoke German, and in the *Easy Lessons* published by the Department of Immigration to assist European migrants, some words or phrases were followed by German translations. But teachers in camps and schools rarely used any German even if they were proficient in it, as in Woodside, which is near a long-established German-speaking area (Hrnčirčova-Potter 1984). The Commonwealth Bank offered interpreting services in German, and, in some capital cities, in other community languages. Some department stores employed multilingual staff.

For the first seven decades of this century, the official policy on immigrants was assimilation. One of the most conspicuous indices of assimilation was language. People who persisted in speaking their first language, especially in public or to their children, were considered not assimilated and therefore un-Australian. Many teachers advised parents to use nothing but English at home, regardless of how badly they spoke it. This was allegedly to avoid ‘harming their children’ by passing on another language to them. On the whole, this advice was not taken. Children, however, were quickly submerged in English at school, which contributed substantially to the patterns of language shift examined in Chapter 2. In 1960, an inquiry into the ‘progress and assimilation of migrant children in Australia’ was chaired by Justice (Judge) Dovey. His report concluded that migrant children encounter no problems of absorption once they have mastered English, which happens ‘fairly quickly’. Parents should be encouraged to speak English at home and ethnic groups (then called ‘national groups’) were undesirable as they hinder children’s assimilation into the school community, and therefore their educational progress. Mainstream clubs should try to attract migrant children into their membership. As Martin (1978: 98) puts it, the Dovey Committee ‘screened out information that ran counter to prevailing views and confirmed the wisdom of current policies’. It disregarded the failure of the Australian edu-

cation systems to understand migrant children and the linguistic and cultural 'homelessness' into which many were forced.

In the 1960s there was mounting pressure for the introduction of English as a Second Language (ESL) into schools, supported by numerous surveys and experiments (Martin 1978: 85–112). It was not until 1970 that a Child Migrant Education Program was set up. It was oriented entirely towards teaching ESL, focussed only on the communication function of language, and had a monolingual orientation. Until the late 1960s, adult ESL programs too took little account of the different native languages, educational backgrounds or needs of the pupils, while the conscious allocation of students into linguistically mixed classes was based on monolingual objectives.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, French (the language of relatively few migrants) had almost a monopoly as the 'foreign' language in the government sector of education. It was also the main 'foreign' language in non-government schools (Wykes 1966). Where an additional modern language was taught in state schools, it was usually German, generally offered only to those with good results in French, even where the child had a home background in the language. There was little or no response to calls for the introduction of Italian, Russian, (Modern) Greek, and other community languages, and for matching geographically the supply of community language programs with the demand. A system of school zoning, in fact, inhibited this. Some community languages could be taken on Saturday mornings or by correspondence in some states. However, there were in-built discriminatory procedures in the marking of students from native-speaking backgrounds in some Matriculation language examinations (Clyne 1982: 119–20), and many languages were not available for examination because at the time, examinations at Matriculation were dependent on a university department being competent and willing to take responsibility for them. During the period when there would have been a considerable need for bilingual programs, amendments of state education acts passed during World War I still prevented them.

In spite of the needs generated by a new multilingual society, interpreting and translating facilities were totally inadequate. Communication often depended on the patients' or clients' young

children, on ill-educated factory workers, or fellow patients for the interpretation of crucially important messages. There were very few employment officers, social workers and teachers with any knowledge of languages spoken by the migrant groups. As Jupp (1966) and Martin (1978) have demonstrated, Australia was successful in migrant recruitment but not in migrant absorption. English-speaking Australians had 'little occasion to distinguish one group from another' (Martin 1978: 29).

Few municipal libraries stocked books in community languages (with the exception of a few dictionaries and school editions of French and German, and occasionally Italian and Russian texts). There was a stipulation, until 1956, that ethnic newspapers had to publish sections in English. Prior to December 1973, a law prohibited the transmission of more than 2.5 per cent of total time in languages other than English by commercial radio stations. Two stations, one in Sydney and one in Melbourne, were given special permission to increase broadcasting in community languages to 10 per cent and 5 per cent respectively. All announcements in community languages had to be repeated in English.

Television was a purely English medium until well into the 1970s. In September 1974, Professor R.I. Downing, then Chairman of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, dismissed a request for sub-titled films in community languages on the following grounds: unavailability of such material to the ABC, 'technical limitations in that wide-vision films projected on to the television screen eliminate part of the sub-title and picture', and lack of time. 'We find it difficult to justify showing bi-lingual programs . . . unless such programs have sufficient appeal to our audience in general.' (Personal communication, R.I. Downing, 2 September 1974.) Only one commercial channel introduced community language programs — three one-hour variety sessions weekly, two in Greek and one in Italian.

## The early 1970s

As Collins (1988: 231) points out, between the mid-1960s and early 1970s 'assimilation broke down and a multicultural policy emerged'. During this time, the word 'assimilation' was dropped

from Australian rhetoric and replaced by the euphemism 'integration', which entailed a two-way process. The self-concept of the Australian nation has altered substantially since about 1970, and with this change went the identification of Australia with English monolingualism. In 1969, the then Minister for Immigration, Billy Snedden, insisted: 'We must have a single culture. We do not want pluralism'. Only eight years later, Malcolm Fraser — a prime minister from the same political party (the conservative Liberal Party) — tabling the Galbally Report on Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants, in Parliament in English and nine other languages declared: 'Australia is at a critical stage in developing a cohesive, united, multicultural nation . . . [The government] will foster the retention of the cultural heritage of different ethnic groups and promote intercultural understanding' (30 May 1978).

Underpinning this change is the policy of multiculturalism, introduced as part of sweeping reforms by the Whitlam (Labor) government (1972–5) and propagated especially by its Minister of Immigration (1972–4), Al Grassby, himself a trilingual. Grassby was able to change Australian rhetoric, combining a new Australian nationalism with the recognition of linguistic and cultural diversity. He emphasized the 'Australianness' of bilingualism and advocated it for everyone in the national interest. (See Grassby 1973a,b.)

### *The breakthrough of multicultural policy*

It may help us to understand why assimilation was replaced by multiculturalism if we see the latter, rather ill-defined concept from two aspects: the recognition of the rights, cultures and languages of all groups within Australian society, and the acknowledgement of the various cultures (and languages) as being part of the shared heritage of all Australians.

The first aspect is a reflection of the worldwide ethnic rights movement. It is also a natural issue of *social equity* to be addressed by a left-wing government such as that of Whitlam as part of a reformist program, particularly after the international ideological upheavals around 1968. For languages, this meant recognizing the needs of non-English-speaking groups according to the major functions of language outlined (pp. 3–4). Multilingualism thus played a role in re-creating Australia as a more just society.

The second aspect needs to be viewed as part of a quest for *national identity* in the context of the loosening of ties with Britain and disillusionment with Australia's involvement in the American intervention in Vietnam. What was distinctive about Australia was its very wide cultural diversity, the product of recent immigration. According to Connor (1978: 388), an ethnic group may be defined by others but a nation must be self-defined. Some sociologists (e.g. Isajiw 1980; Kedourie 1961) give cultural homogeneity, including linguistic homogeneity, as a criterion of a nation. The new Australian policy of unity within diversity challenged this notion of nationality. It was pushed by, among others, articulate second-generation Australians of non-British descent who, having made it under assimilation as doctors, lawyers, academics, and teachers, recognized the shortcomings of the policy. They felt very Australian but did not identify with the British tradition. Many of them were members or supporters of the Labor Party and saw themselves as catalysts inside and outside the party, once change became possible. They joined forces with other members of the new, young Australian intelligentsia. It was people like these with a strong commitment to social equity and a multicultural outlook who brought about the breakthrough of cosmopolitan thinking in the Labor Party, which in 1972 won an overwhelming victory after 22 years in opposition. They desired a change from the past and largely saw their Australian identity in a more global perspective. Thus, they espoused both aspects of multiculturalism.

An expression of the old-guard assimilationist leftist and trades-union attitude was the fear that the use of community languages in public would undermine the 'Australian way of life', as A. E. Monk, then President of the Australian Council of Trades Unions had claimed in 1956 (Bostock 1973:41). The Australian middle-class conservatives were basically in favour of assimilation and English monolingualism because they symbolized Australia's links with its British heritage. With the defeat of the conservative coalition parties, the private enterprise Liberal Party and the right-wing, farmer-dominated National Party, there emerged among the Liberals progressives (and others) who embraced, within a private enterprise ideology, liberal humanitarian reforms and a more cosmopolitan view. They too promoted both aspects of multiculturalism.

By the time the Whitlam Labor government was replaced, in 1975, by the Fraser Liberal-National coalition, the bipartisan (Labor/Liberal-National) policy on multiculturalism was so firmly established that all the developments were continued without any disruption. The same applied to the change of government to the Hawke Labor administration in 1983. Multiculturalism clearly implied multilingualism and, by the mid-1970s, all major political parties had included language maintenance and the provision of services in community languages in their policy platforms. (On differences between the Labor and Liberal Party's multiculturalism, see Castles *et al.* 1988: 71.)

The young 'ethnics' and intellectuals formed the basis of the migration action groups and alliances which were set up, after 1972, particularly in Melbourne and Adelaide, and some of them ultimately became members of government committees in the area of immigration-ethnic affairs, which enabled them to turn their visions into reality. The original core were principally Australians of Greek and Italian background. Later, ethnic revivals in various other communities were spearheaded by similar people. The issue of the National Policy on Languages and other language policies is discussed in Chapter 5, while the domains of use of community languages in contemporary Australia are examined in Chapter 3. Suffice it to say, at this point, that community languages are now employed in public domains, used widely on radio and TV, supported by the education systems; and that language maintenance efforts are given financial backing by governments. Since the Inquiry into Schools of High Migrant Density in 1974, child migrant education has taken on a definition beyond the individual problems of children who have not a sufficient command of English (Martin 1978: 124). In fact, multicultural education (which frequently includes a community language) is seen as a goal of all Australian schooling. By 1984, all states had repealed clauses prohibiting bilingual education from their Education Acts.

The National Language Policy inquiry was set up by the Fraser conservative coalition government, the Senate committee having equal representation from both sides of the house. It was continued by the Hawke Labor government, which has begun to implement the resulting policy. To an increasing extent, people who can speak another language in addition to English are not only fully accepted

as Australians, they are seen as an asset to the nation. As the then New South Wales Labor premier Neville Wran pointed out in 1976: 'We can only harm ourselves . . . if we leave unutilized the . . . opportunity to make thousands of our children bilingual — children who can think as well in Italian or Greek or German or Chinese as in English'. This line is continued by the present Liberal premier of the state, Nick Greiner, himself a Hungarian-English bilingual. Community languages featured in Governor-General Sir Ninian Stephen's final Australia Day speech to the nation (1989):

*The thing that distresses me most is how little most children and grandchildren of overseas-born Australians retain of the culture and especially the language of their lands of origin.*

*The loss of ancestral language is grievous for the individual and the nation. We should be a nation of great linguists.*

(The Age, 26 January 1989)

The acknowledgement of the importance of languages other than English to Australia's economic and political role in the world has come largely through a press for the maintenance of bilingualism (see Chapter 5.)

### *Threats to the policy of multiculturalism*

The fragility of policies supporting multiculturalism (and by extension, multilingualism) in Australia is frequently demonstrated by attacks from the right and the left, from racists and from anti-intellectuals. The most important of these was the eminent historian and journalist Geoffrey Blainey's (1984) writings against Asian immigration, which he claimed had reached a magnitude that was contrary to public opinion. He also asserted that multiculturalism was divisive and directed by a small lobby group, and argued, among other things, for English language skills to play an important role in the selection of immigrants. (These claims have been refuted in numerous counter-publications, notably in Markus and Ricklefs 1984.)

Multiculturalism has been described variously as divisive, trendy and left-wing (Chipman 1980, 1981; Knopfmacher 1985) and as right-wing and avoiding the need for structural pluralism (Jakubowitz 1981). Another opinion is that based on racist (anti-

Asian) sentiments and frequently declared in public by Bruce Ruxton, President of the Victorian branch of the Returned Services League. (Note that European mass immigration was largely motivated by a fear of an 'Asian invasion'.) The perception of the divisive nature of multiculturalism is reasserted by the Fitzgerald Committee to advise on Australia's immigration policies (CAAIP 1988), which highlights labour market skills and entrepreneurial and special talents as selection criteria for migration. However, 'language capacity', which is suggested as a criterion, is defined as skills in English or bi- or multilingualism or proficiency 'in a language of national importance, for example, the language of a major trading partner'. (CAAIP 1988:6). This is in response to a reappraisal of education and other areas in favour of economic strategies (see Chapter 5). The Hawke government has rejected, on a number of occasions, suggestions from committees that could undermine multiculturalism (the Fitzgerald Committee as well as periodic proposals for a merger of the multicultural Special Broadcasting Service with the Australian Broadcasting Corporation — see Ozolins 1988: 187–94). The Liberal-National opposition dropped its Treasury spokesman John Stone from the shadow cabinet for remarks against Asian immigration and in favour of English-speaking migrants (the *Age*, 14 September 1988). However, a conservative backlash in the Liberal Party (characterized by John Howard) which temporarily destroyed the bipartisan policy on multiculturalism, opposing non-discriminatory intake policies in relation to Asians, is representative mainly of older-generation Anglo-Australian (and assimilate) attitudes. These are held very much less in the age-group which has grown up in multicultural Australia. The bipartisan policy was restored in a successful leadership challenge by Andrew Peacock (the *Australian*, 10 May 1989).

I have mentioned above that it is from the intellectuals in the ethnic groups and in the political parties that the push for multilingualism policies came. As Australia is basically an anti-intellectual society (cf. Serle 1977: 69; 214–16) with a resentment of high achievers ('tall poppies'), there is a danger that a change effected by such an elite would be resisted by the rest of the population. In fact, there is little evidence of such a tendency.

## PHASES OF POLICIES TOWARDS MULTILINGUALISM

The above brief historical survey shows the importance of both internal and external factors (international conflict, economic needs, social policy, population composition) in determining the status of languages other than English. We could mark out phases of policies towards multilingualism as follows:

(i) *Accepting but laissez-faire* (up to the mid-1870s):

In this period, Australia was not yet a political entity. Some colonies saw themselves as more monolingual, others as more multilingual. Governments did not either encourage or discourage the use of community languages. They made no stipulations as to what languages could (or could not) be used for which purposes. There were no explicit limitations in the transactional, education or media domains. There was a tacit assumption that English, the only language of most public documents, was the *lingua franca*.

(ii) *Tolerant but restrictive* (1870s–early 1900s):

The *laissez-faire* policy was restricted somewhat by the advent of the state (primary) school in the 1870s which mainstreamed monolingual education. It was further restricted by limitations placed on the number of hours of instruction in languages other than English (such as in Victoria, in 1909). At the same time, there was a growing identification of the emerging Australian nation with English monolingualism.

(iii) *Rejecting* (c. 1914–c. 1970):

Both British-oriented and nationalistic Australians regarded English monolingualism as a marker of the nation. During this period, Australia and Australians were forced to forget their multilingual heritage.

(iv) *Accepting* (c. 1970):

There is a growing acceptance of multilingualism as part of national identity. The complementarity of English and other languages is stressed. Vestiges of the monolingual ideology of the past remain but are gradually discarded. The policies in favour of multilingualism extended bit by bit result from internal and external circumstances as well as political pressure.

They are formulated first in an *ad hoc* way, then more comprehensively but not fully implemented. There is an increasingly utilitarian attitude to multilingualism based on trade considerations, which could lead to a rejection of 'less useful' languages (see pp. 230–2). Lo Bianco (1988) suggests that (iv) is actually three phases — one in the early 1970s centering around the discourse of disadvantage, followed by another with a culturist 'ethnicity' discourse, and finally, in the most recent period, a 'national pragmatic self-interest phase'. In this 'phase' there is support for English as a Second Language, to attract full-fee-paying overseas students, for adult literacy to increase productivity, and for languages other than English to improve trade and increase tourism. As lo Bianco (1988: 27) points out, 'elements of all the preceding stages . . . have been preserved but transformed into a newly constructed set of principles and a new discourse'. I would prefer at this stage not to differentiate in these cases but rather to consider the various arguments and factors promoting phase (iv). (But cf. pp. 230–2 and 245–6).

## REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

In the 19th century there were already different policies and attitudes to multilingualism in different colonies (now states). The two which were then most open to linguistic diversity, South Australia and Victoria, are also those where the language maintenance rates were highest in 1976, though this tendency is less clear in 1986 (see below, pp. 69–72). They are also the states with the most advanced languages in education policy initiatives in the recent past and the present period (cf. Chapter 5). Of South Australia, Martin (1978: 91) writes that it was 'the only state to attempt any systematic approach to the education of non-English-speaking migrant children during the fifties'. The ethos of South Australia and Victoria has reflected their population composition, the non-convict origins of their capital city and consequent liberalism in many areas of political development (cf. Berry 1969; Holmes and Sharman 1977; Nelson 1985), and the time of their non-British settlement (after the first wave of British colonization but early enough to influence primary decision-making). Non-British intellectuals in Victoria

and the German Lutherans of South Australia played a major part in shaping the society of their colonies.

In Queensland, on the other hand, most languages tend to experience an above-average language shift rate. This is related at least partly to the comparatively small proportion of recent non-English-speaking migrants who settled in that state. But here too, historical factors in the early years of settlement have probably influenced the ethos of the state. The non-English speakers in Queensland had less impact on general attitudes and policies. With some very notable exceptions (see Nadel 1983; Voigt 1983), they tended to be less educated farmers. In Queensland, convict origins, the conservatism of central authorities in Brisbane, and late non-British settlement in outlying areas outweighed the numerical strength of the non-English-speaking population. Language shift was accelerated by co-settlement of German and Scandinavian Lutherans in some areas and the diglossia\* between the Low German of the home and the High German of church and school in other areas.

Western Australia and Tasmania were very British for too long to warrant initiatives in multilingualism before World War I. (On the small Western Australian German population, see Mennicken 1988.) It remains to be seen whether the distinctive population composition of Western Australia (see Table 3, Chapter 2), with a very high number of Italian speakers and large numbers of Chinese and Serbo-Croatian speakers together with its Indian Ocean setting, can turn multiculturalism into a feature of Western Australian identity, for that somewhat isolated state has a long history of self-assertion against domination by the eastern states. The island state of Tasmania's distinctiveness in relation to the rest of Australia is characterized largely by its 'Anglo-Saxonness' and its 'old-worldliness', both seen as its heritage from the 19th century, when the island became the second penal colony after New South Wales. Tasmania was affected less by postwar migration than other states.

In New South Wales the population composition (relatively few non-English speakers) and convict settlement created a stronger British bias right from the beginning than in the two states mentioned first, which could account for the slowness with which language policies have developed in the recent period, despite large-scale postwar migration to New South Wales. However, I may have

missed some early developments due to paucity of data. As will be shown, New South Wales is the home of the new community languages, and it will be interesting to observe how the state reacts to that situation.

## SOME COMPARATIVE REMARKS

Australia shares many aspects of its present multilingual situation with other western industrialized nations receiving immigrants, such as the USA, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Netherlands. Many European countries have had, for long periods, regional ethnolinguistic minorities along borders redrawn following wars — German speakers in South Tyrol (Italy), Alsace (France), and Eastern Belgium — and in *Sprachinseln*\*, such as Hungarian and German speakers in Rumania and Sorbian speakers in Eastern Germany. Moreover, postwar industrial expansion has brought millions of migrant workers and/or people from former colonies to European countries such as Britain, France, the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland and Sweden, and more recently Italy and Greece. These are among the countries which have provided Australia with many of its migrants. Policies have varied vastly, with Sweden alone giving the migrant workers immigrant status and France taking a more illiberal stance on community languages, especially in education (Wardhaugh 1988: 242).

The main differences between the European countries of immigration and Australia are:

- (i) The continuing official belief in Europe in the 19th century nation-state, i.e. Germany, France and Italy are the nations of the Germans, French and Italians respectively. This provides a basis in some European countries for right-wing opposition even to social services for migrants.
- (ii) The false assumption of the myth that migrant workers in Europe are 'guest workers' who will return to their homelands after a short sojourn. Children born in, say, Germany or Switzerland have no legal status in the country if their parents are not citizens. Citizenship is very hard to obtain. In Australia, on the other hand, it is open to all born in the country or who have lived there for two years.

- (iii) Consequently, education provision for children of migrants in most European countries has either repatriation or continued marginalization as a goal (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984) though the actual language education policy varies between L1 education in primary school and L2 education in more academic secondary schools (Bavaria) and L2 medium education, with preparatory classes or national (host) language instruction (North Germany, Sweden). Regional minorities, however, are sometimes provided with community language or bilingual maintenance programs.
- (iv) Even if community language classes are offered at school, as is the case in Sweden and as have been recommended in Britain, for example (Linguistic Minorities Project 1985), they are provided only for ethnic minority children. In Australia, many if not most community language programs are aimed at everyone (see below, pp. 117–24 and Chapter 5). (Cf. Skutnabb-Kangas 1981, 1984; Van Els and Extra 1988.)

Canada has undergone a population change and multicultural development similar to that of Australia. In fact, the term 'multiculturalism' was imported from Canada. However, there is one important difference: that in Canada, the historical tension between English and French has dominated all other considerations of multilingualism (Wardhaugh 1988: 258–63; De Vries and Vallée 1980; De Vries 1983). The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1983) was intended to put French on an equal footing with English at the federal level. A Commissioner of Official Languages was appointed to review the *official* languages policy. Territorial bilingualism enabled Québec to give special protection to French. However, in the western provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, the speakers of 'other' languages exceeded French speakers by nearly eight to one in the 1981 Census (Wardhaugh 1988: 228). Yet, the position of heritage (community) languages in Canada is weakened by the thrust towards 'official bilingualism'. There have been 'heritage programs' in schools in some provinces, and especially in some local school board districts. These have varied from partial bilingual programs in some Alberta schools to the many 'heritage language programs' in Ontario. However, the latter are conducted mainly after normal school hours, at weekends or in the summer vacation as compared to the community languages programs

which are part of the normal school curriculum in Australia. The Ontario Heritage Languages Program is requiring schools boards to develop such programs and giving them financial incentives (Ontario 1987). A small Canadian Heritage Languages Institute was enacted in September 1988 (Commons Debates 1988) to promote the learning of heritage languages and to disseminate information about them. In comparison with Canada, the scope for Australia to promote its community languages is greater because it does not have to contend with 'official bilingualism'. On the other hand, Australia is unable to mount anything as ambitious as the total immersion programs in French for Anglo-Canadians. Even Canada has not yet embarked on a comprehensive language policy similar to that of Australia.

The historical survey in this chapter may confirm the widespread belief in distinct similarities between Australian and American developments. Both the United States and Australia are immigrant countries of long standing in which multilingualism has experienced various phases of acceptance, tolerance and rejection. English is at least the *de facto* official language. Both countries have recently been affected by an ethnic revival (Fishman *et al.* 1985). There are, however, important differences (Clyne 1986c):

- (i) The ethnic revival affected the two nations at different stages of their development. The overseas-born component of the population is much larger in Australia than it has been in the US at any time this century, though certain areas of the United States (such as Los Angeles) are more comparable. About 51 per cent of the population of Melbourne, for instance, are either migrants or children of migrants, principally from non-English-speaking countries. Australia has more than doubled its population since World War II, having been, at that time, a more predominantly English-speaking nation than the United States had ever been.
- (ii) The United States, having determined its nationhood in the War of Independence, did not require multiculturalism or multilingualism to support its national identity as Australia did (cf. above, pp. 4–6)
- (iii) Australia has no 'majority minority' language comparable to Spanish in the eastern, western, south-western and south-eastern US. In Australia, the spread is more even, and the relative distribution of languages is constantly changing. (cf.

below, pp. 41–50). Also, in Australia there were no official colonial languages (such as French and Spanish in the US) spoken before English (cf. Kloss 1966). However, as Bills (1989) shows, even in the south-west of the United States, Spanish speakers are undergoing a marked language shift.

- (iv) Despite some recent devolution of powers to school councils in some states in Australia, there is centralized decision-making, at both federal and state levels in domains such as education which are determined locally in the United States.
- (v) For the above reasons, legislation is not required or likely to be passed in Australia on matters such as bilingual education. Thus, the element of compulsion is less important and the implementation of policies can proceed gradually and flexibly, and without the intervention of legalistic interpretation.
- (vi) Although economic rationales are becoming increasingly important in Australia, it is less of a 'private enterprise' society than the United States. Governments give financial aid to wealthy private schools beside running state schools, and conduct radio and TV stations in competition with commercial stations. Thus, giving grants to part-time ethnic schools and running ethnic radio and multicultural TV (see Chapters 3, 5) are not usually challenged by the 'mainstream'.

Policy differences between the United States and Australia include the following:

- (i) There is, in Australia, more support for the coexistence of languages and of cultural identities in individuals than appears to be the case in the US (cf. Fishman 1986). Although in Australia the primacy of English in public domains has never been disputed, there is no movement for English to be declared the official language to the exclusion of other languages, in contrast to the US (Fishman 1988) where, propagated by the powerful group US English, such a declaration has been made in seventeen states. In fact, the only discussion of this in Australia is to be found in the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* (1989) which recommends consideration of a Multicultural Bill which would give English official

- status and protect community languages at the same time.
- (ii) Bilingual education, which is not practised nearly as widely in Australia as in the United States (in accordance with the Bilingual Education Act), is not usually perceived in Australia primarily as a transitional, anti-poverty measure as it is in the US. There is more focus on bilingualism as a personal and national resource (cf. PLAN Lang Pol 1983: 95; Senate 1984; lo Bianco 1987; see also Chapter 5).
  - (iii) Unlike the United States, Australia now has a National Policy on Languages (cf. Chapter 5), one which stresses the complementarity of English and other languages. 'We are a long, long way', writes Fishman (1988: 137), 'from a positive language policy, such as the one the Australians have just adopted calling for an active second language (either English or a Community Language Other Than English) for every Australian; indeed, so far away that it would be not only premature but dangerously self-defeating to engage, at any now-foreseeable date, in the requisite discussion out of which such a policy might ultimately flow'.

## ATTITUDES TO LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

Tests of attitudes to language do not necessarily predict language behaviour, since the latter involves a more active component. However, where there is a choice of languages, a positive attitude may be one prerequisite of language maintenance. Gardner and Lambert (1972) and other social psychologists of language have demonstrated the importance of attitudes in second language acquisition. Tests on attitudes to the use and maintenance of community languages have indicated a marked change towards the positive among both 'ethnic' and 'Anglo' Australians. For instance, 97 per cent of English-speaking parents of Grade 1 to 4 children at two outer-suburban Melbourne primary schools (Clyne 1986: 139) and 85 per cent of English-speaking parents at inner suburban high schools with a multilingual population (Hannan and Spinoso

1982:30) indicated, in surveys, that they favoured second language programs at their children's level. Of the parents at the outer-suburban schools, 98 per cent and 92.8 per cent respectively agreed with the statement: 'It is a good idea for parents who speak a language other than English to pass it on to their children'. Di Biase and Dyson (1988: 94) note a positive attitude whenever Sydney State and Catholic schools have surveyed their communities to gauge parental reactions to a proposed community language program. Kee (1988) found 82 per cent agreement with the statement: 'All children should be taught another language as well as English'. Furthermore 69.9 per cent (including 90.1 per cent of non-English-speaking background) felt that knowing a language other than English was useful in everyday life in Australia.

In 1977 Smolicz and Lean (reported in Smolicz 1979a) noted a much smaller degree of support for language maintenance than reported by Hannan and Spinoso among 'British-Australian' and 'Irish-Australian' parents of all tenth grade pupils (15-16-year-olds) in South Australian Catholic schools. This may be due to the wording of the statement to which the parents were asked to react: 'Children of Italian, Polish or other non-English-speaking backgrounds should learn to speak their mother tongue'. Forty-seven per cent of British-Australian and Irish-Australian parents agreed with the statement. There was also a differential between the bilingual parents ranging from 50 per cent agreement among Dutch-Australians through 67 per cent among German-Australians to 77 per cent for Italian- and 78 per cent for Polish-Australians. Of the two English-speaking groups, 31 per cent and 35 per cent respectively favoured language maintenance through both the home and school classes, a view shared by 32 per cent of the Dutch-Australians, 59 per cent German-, 61 per cent Polish- and 66 per cent Italian-Australians. In the ethnic differential, these results bear similarities with those recorded in 1980 by Foster, Lewis and Rado (1980) in a sample of *children* from secondary schools throughout Melbourne. They found that, although the monolinguals accept that 'language maintenance is of benefit to the individual and to some degree a right of migrants, [they tend to believe that] it prevents the integration of migrants and is a divisive influence on the community' (1980: 79). This negative aspect is rejected by the bilinguals who, nevertheless, show differential attitudes to lang-

uage maintenance. Greek and Serbo-Croatian speakers believe more firmly in the societal benefits of language maintenance than do German, Maltese or Dutch speakers (cf. Chapter 2). Italian and Greek speakers perceive their parents as more supportive of bilingual education than do Dutch speakers (Foster, Lewis and Rado 1980: 76). The problem of monolithic ethnolinguistic categories will be discussed below, pp. 91–4.

Foster, Lewis and Rado also distinguish between schools that are more or less supportive of community languages and bilingual education, although they do not cross-tabulate attitudinal scores with attendance at such a school. It should be mentioned that the inner-suburban schools tested are in an area that has large numbers of Italian, Greek, Turkish and Arabic speakers, and in which most primary and secondary schools teach at least one community language. There is much awareness of the need for multilingualism among English speakers in the area. The outer-suburban primary schools are both in the municipality with the largest number of German speakers in Melbourne. Both have introduced German programs; both have started German classes for parents due to parental demand. I would interpret the survey results as evidence of diversity in Australian attitudes to community languages, and of the importance of demographic factors and educational policy in attitudinal change.

Perhaps the greatest change has occurred in the ethnic communities themselves. A quarter of a century ago, Zubrzycki (1964:130–1) ascertained that only 40 per cent of Italians and Greeks in the industrial Latrobe Valley east of Melbourne wanted their children to be taught their first language, as opposed to 79 per cent of Ukrainians, 55 per cent of Poles, but 28 per cent of Germans, 27 per cent of ‘Yugoslavs’ and 6 per cent of Dutch (cf. the above surveys).

Bennett (1990) has found that many second-generation Australians of Dutch descent are expressing renewed loyalty to the language in attitudes, use and language learning. Females are far more likely than males to wish to maintain the language or to pass it on to the next generation.

On the other hand, attitudinal studies conducted within the framework of the social psychology of language record variation in the way speakers are judged on the basis of their accents in English.

This is usually done by having a speaker with a balanced command of two (or more) languages record a text in each language. Listener informants are led to believe that they are hearing different speakers and yet in this way, extraneous differences between speakers are eliminated. Gallois and Callan (1981) demonstrate an interaction between sex and ethnicity in impressions of their personality. For instance, Italian males were evaluated less positively than Australians, British, French, Greeks and Vietnamese reading the same English passages. Italian females, however, were rated similarly to other groups, and more positively than Australian speakers. The female Vietnamese was rated more highly, and received a low dynamic score. Callan and Gallois (1982) found that young Greek-Australians in Brisbane evaluated Greek voices at least as favourably as Australian English ones, and better than Australian English ones on some characteristics. This contrasts with Callan and Gallois's own data on Italian which gave it about the same scores as English. In another study, Gallois and Callan (1986) found that, for attitudinal reasons, the accent of Italian males was a distractor to decoding by Anglo-Australians.

Hogg, d'Agata and Abrams (1989) tested middle-aged Sicilian-Australians' responses to Italian, Sicilian dialect\*, and Italian-accented Australian English guises. They downgraded the Sicilian and English speakers in relation to Italian speech on status and solidarity. This, the authors conclude, conforms to Giles and Byrnes's (1989) notion of in-group members speaking the out-group language being regarded as 'ethnolinguistic traitors'. However, I believe that we should see this as being in accordance with the tendency of Italian-Australians towards puristic attitudes (see pp. 205–6).

## A CLOSING NOTE

Multiculturalism legitimizes all languages used in the Australian community. Whether a language is maintained for its own sake or as part of ethnic awareness, the 'Australianness' of the bilingual is now generally not called into question. This state of affairs contrasts with that prevailing for most of this century, although it had

parallels in the mid-19th century when there was no conscious policy. While bi- and multilingualism may be part of particular Australians' identity as Australians — for example as Italian-, Chinese- or Polish-Australians, cf. Fishman's (1985) different ways of 'being American' — Australia's multilingualism may now have become part of our collective national identity as well. Both these identity issues and also the collective and individual identification with (Australian) English are taken into account in the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia*. It is the policy of multiculturalism and the recognition of Australia's multilingual resources that have given rise to the unprecedented acknowledgement of the value of language skills. In Chapter 5 (especially pp. 230–2), I will consider the competition between the internal social and external economic aspects of language policy. It is ironic that while the impetus for the National Policy on Languages and the support for language learning in general came from Australia's multiculturalism, the direction of emphasis on 'trade languages' (see pp. 230–2) could undermine the position of many languages used in Australia.

In this brief historical sketch of the tension between monolingualism and multilingualism in Australia, I hope to have laid some foundations for the analysis of the use and distribution of community languages and the policies that are being developed towards them. Both external and internal factors have been responsible for the tension — population composition, internal political climate and conflicts, economic and political international relations.

# 2

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## Distribution and maintenance of community languages in Australia

### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

One of the effects of the tension between monolingualism and multilingualism in Australia has been that some people develop and maintain bilingualism, while others shift mainly or totally to English. This is the focus of Chapter 2.

In this chapter I will first examine the distribution of languages other than English in, and throughout Australia. Three sets of data, each distinctive and useful but in their own ways limited, form the basis of our information on community language behaviour in Australia. They are:

- (i) the 1976 Census, which inquired about languages used regularly by persons aged 5 and over;
- (ii) the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 1983 Survey, administered on only two-thirds of 1 per cent of the population aged 15 and over, which elicited language(s) first used and currently used in specific domains and channels (home, work, socially; in speaking, reading and writing);
- (iii) the 1986 Census which gathered data on home language of the entire population.

Having drawn attention to weaknesses in the questions and in the processing of the responses, I shall make a comparison between the

1976 and 1986 data, and discuss regional variation. The statistics and the results of small-scale surveys will be used to discuss the relative language maintenance and shift in different ethnolinguistic groups and the variables mediating language maintenance and shift. Using the frameworks of Fishman, Giles and Kloss, I shall discuss the possibility of predicting the maintenance of various community languages in the short-term future.

## THE DATA AND ITS LIMITATIONS

### Pre-1976

Before 1976, no statistical data was available on language use in Australia (although the 1933 Census gathered information on ability to read and write a language other than English. See Klarberg 1982). Estimates of the population using languages other than English had to be based on birthplace or parents' birthplace. This made unsubstantiated assumptions about language maintenance and disregarded the widespread lack of correspondence between birthplace and language. Greek speakers from Cyprus and Egypt, Macedonian speakers from Greece, Chinese speakers from Vietnam, Singapore and Malaysia, and Russian speakers from China are but a few examples.

### The 1976 Census (Language used regularly)

This question was chosen by ABS in preference to other possibilities (such as proficiency, mother tongue, home use) to facilitate the gathering of the broadest information on Australia's resources and needs in languages other than English at the time. Also, it should be noted that self-evaluation of proficiency produces large-scale individual variation in interpretation (cf. Lieberman 1969: 288; 1967: 141) as does 'mother tongue' (Lieberman 1967: 139; Malherbe 1969: 326). The difference between 'first language acquired' and 'current use' is demonstrated in the ABS 1983 Survey (see below, p. 39 and Table 2) and in the language shift rates. Restriction to a particular domain (i.e. home use) underplays the

importance of community languages, as will be shown in the discussion of the ABS 1983 Survey (see p. 39) and the 1986 Census (pp. 39–40).

Due to limitations on computer space, only 14 languages — including English and the totality of Aboriginal languages — were processed out in the 1976 Census: Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Italian, Macedonian, Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Spanish, and Ukrainian. However, through a formula 'Language same as birthplace' (Clyne 1982: 3) it was possible to estimate the data on the number of speakers born in the main country in which any of six additional languages has official status. They were Czech, Hungarian, Maltese, Portuguese, Russian and Turkish. The Australian-born speakers could generally be identified through cross-tabulation (Language Other + parents' birthplace), but many speakers were very difficult to estimate even through cross-tabulation, for example Turkish Cypriots, Hungarian speakers from Yugoslavia, Maltese speakers from Egypt, and their bilingual children (Clyne 1982:11). Errors in the processing led to a

Table 1 Most widely used community languages (Source: 1976 Census)

Italian	444,672
Greek	262,177
*German	170,644
*Serbo-Croatian	142,407
*French	64,851
Dutch	64,768
Polish	62,945
*Arabic	51,284
Spanish	48,343
*Maltese	45,922

(\* estimates — see pp. 37–9)

gross inflation of the number of Slovenian speakers, so that there is no indication of the number of Serbo-Croatian speakers, and to confusion in the statistics for Arabic (Clyne 1982:11). A further complication was the inflation of French, German and Italian because many parents indicated that their children used these languages regularly even though their only contact with the languages was in the classroom. The extent of the overstating was estimated through birthplace and parents' birthplace (Clyne 1982: 9).

## The ABS 1983 Survey

As I have mentioned (pp. 36–7), the ABS 1983 Language Survey (see Tables 4, 6) was based on a very small sample. Shortcomings in the data processing include the collapsing under 'Other Yugoslavian languages' of the different languages Macedonian, Slovenian, and Serbo-Croatian when reported as 'Serbo-Croatian' or 'Yugoslav' (but not Croatian or Serbian). Discrepancies in the responses include 'languages spoken at work' indicated by some people not in the work force, more people writing some languages than reading them, and possibly the use of languages outside the home exceeding their use in the home for *all* languages other than Vietnamese. The small sample on which the estimates were based meant that, while most of the first language totals seem accurate, the language-use statistics do not (cf. Dutch, Spanish, Polish with the 1976 and 1986 data, see Table 4, below). Moreover, cross-tabulation of variables and language maintenance at the small area level are dubious and generally statistically invalid. (See the map at the front of this book, p. viii.)

## The 1986 Census (Home use)

The 1986 Census (see Table 3) elicited responses for the entire population on *home* language as well as on self-rating of English: 'Does this person speak a language other than English at home? If so, which language?'

The restriction of the question to the home domain makes comparison with the 1976 data an unsatisfactory undertaking. In wording the question, ABS disregarded its own 1983 Survey results which, while probably overstated, do show a far greater tendency

for community languages to be employed now with relatives and friends outside one's own home than in the home. That is, many Australians (especially young people) regularly use their community language in their parents' (or grandparents') home and not in their own. Moreover, the 1986 question ignores *lingua francas* other than English employed widely in the Australian community (see below, pp. 41–50).

While 66 languages (including English and the totality of Aboriginal languages) were processed out, the ABS 1986 Census data release contains only seven for all parts of Australia. This renders inconspicuous languages such as Macedonian, which are concentrated in certain cities, and Hungarian and Yiddish, which are concentrated in particular areas of cities. According to the Census release, 72.8 per cent of speakers of languages other than English in the Northern Territory use languages characterized as 'Other'. This does not indicate that most of these speakers use Aboriginal languages which are of particular significance in the Northern Territory. Of the four designations of Serbo-Croatian, 'Croatian' and 'Serbian' have been collapsed but recorded while the other two, 'Yugoslav' (the major response) and 'Serbo-Croatian' have been disregarded, leading to a considerable underestimation of the language. I have drawn my data from a special magnetic tape produced by ABS for cross-tabulation between use of the 66 languages and other variables.

## OVERALL USE OF COMMUNITY LANGUAGES

As already mentioned, according to the 1986 Census 13.63 per cent of the Australian population used a language other than English at home. This represents an increase of 1.33 per cent on the 1976 Census percentage regularly using a language other than English in *any* domain. Of the six Australian states and the two territories, the most substantial changes are in New South Wales and Victoria, the most populous states, with percentage increases in spite of the alteration in the wording of the question (NSW 2.78 +, Victoria 1.82 +). The Northern Territory, on the other hand, showed a 3.77 per cent decrease in speakers of languages other than English,

Table 2 Percentage of persons using community languages

	% using CLs at home (1976)	% using CLs regularly (1986)
NSW	12.2	14.98
Vic.	16.7	18.52
Qld	5.9	5.92
WA	11.2	12.77
SA	13.1	11.43
Tas.	4.0	3.63
ACT	27.4	23.63
NT	13.7	13.69
Aust.	12.3	13.63

due mainly to the recent influx of monolingual English speakers into the region with the largest proportion of Aboriginal language speakers. In New South Wales and Victoria, the increase can be attributed to the 'newer' community languages, as we shall discuss below. Victoria is, as in 1976, the state with the largest percentage of community language speakers and Melbourne (with 22.6 per cent using languages other than English at home) the most multilingual city, while the Northern Territory has the largest bilingual population because of the Aborigines.

## THE CHANGING FACE OF MULTILINGUALISM IN AUSTRALIA

There are twelve community languages used at home by over 50,000 speakers, a further three with over 30,000 home users, and another three used at home by over 20,000 people. Italian (with 415,765 speakers claiming home use) and Greek (227,472) are, and

**Table 3 Home use of selected community languages by state**  
(Source: 1986 Census)

	NSW	VIC.	QLD
Aboriginal languages	806	374	5,017
Arabic	88,475	24,515	1,590
Chinese	66,974	40,443	9,696
Dutch	15,852	18,278	9,820
'Filipino languages'	12,966	5,956	3,144
French	20,256	14,803	6,807
German	35,324	32,665	14,526
Greek	96,652	128,562	10,491
Hungarian	12,683	11,737	2,931
Indonesian/Malay	8,180	3,883	1,404
Italian	113,203	178,097	26,115
Macedonian	15,131	24,090	373
Maltese	24,086	30,535	2,076
Polish	21,362	22,920	4,889
Portuguese	12,321	3,268	778
Russian	10,377	6,644	2,540
Croatian/Serbian/Serbo-Croatian/ Yugoslav	57,957	49,496	7,160
Spanish	42,783	18,556	4,770
Turkish	13,883	18,977	353
Ukrainian	4,618	5,548	980
Vietnamese	25,506	21,680	5,560

*Note:* for full table of languages processed in the 1986 Census, see Table A1, Appendix.

WA	SA	TAS.	NT	ACT	AUST.
8,420	2,970	15	23,138	50	40,790
1,446	2,415	204	69	473	119,187
11,389	5,833	820	1,965	1,980	139,100
8,272	6,473	2,013	447	1,026	62,181
1,836	1,052	244	697	351	25,746
5,375	2,994	804	547	1,204	52,790
8,206	14,910	1,999	992	2,654	111,276
5,864	28,622	1,508	2,747	3,026	277,472
1,251	2,675	2,675	202	604	31,639
4,084	881	296	475	684	19,887
43,590	48,179	1,590	1,040	3,951	415,765
4,801	861	7	3	344	45,610
632	1,839	26	29	283	59,506
7,295	9,044	1,499	185	1,444	68,638
3,393	585	15	678	362	21,400
487	1,792	105	48	316	22,309
11,662	8,849	697	248	4,506	140,575
3,231	2,114	288	391	1,888	73,961
494	327	23	31	52	34,140
1,018	2,539	175	17	272	15,167
5,046	6,158	193	427	1,286	65,856

remain, the most widely employed community languages in Australia (see Table 3). However, even taking into account the difference in the 1976 and 1986 Census language questions, the recent census reflects a number of important demographic and socio-political developments in the past decade.

First, a number of languages have recorded a substantial increase in number of users. They are Chinese (29,903, regular use, 1976 → 139,100 home use, 1986), Arabic (51,284 → 119,187), and Macedonian (16,693 → 45,610). Also, three languages which were too insignificant in Australia in 1976 to be processed out now have considerable numbers of speakers — Vietnamese (65,856), 'Filipino languages' (25,746), and Indonesian/Malay (19,887). Other languages with important increases are Spanish (48,373 → 73,981), Maltese (45,922 → 59,506), Portuguese (10,029 → 21,400), and Polish (62,945 → 68,638). The increases for Chinese and Vietnamese are due to the large-scale entry of refugees from South-East Asia. 'Filipino languages', especially Tagalog/Pilipino, have been brought to Australia by recent migrants, while the Indonesian/Malay-speaking communities are the product of both migration and student movement.

Fishman *et al.* (1985a) demonstrate the symbolic significance of language in the ethnic revival in the United States by comparing 1960, 1970 and 1980 US Census figures on mother tongue. They point to huge percentage increases from 1960 to 1970 in the number claiming a community language as a mother tongue, not only for languages of continuing immigration (e.g. Spanish 134.52 +) but for others as well (e.g. French 149.08 +, Czech 107.93 +, Norwegian 90.47 +). There are massive increases in the second and later generations. The rises represent a symbolic ethnic commitment. The increases for Macedonian and Maltese can be attributed to ethnic revivals in these communities in Australia and to the acceptance of the policy of multiculturalism in this country as there has been little new migration of speakers of these languages since 1976.

Since Macedonian was not recognized as a language in Greece, some of the Macedonian speakers from that country, who tend to be illiterate in the language, were reluctant to declare it in the 1976 Census. The policy of multiculturalism (see pp. 19–22) has given them confidence. This is reflected in public statements (e.g. the *Age*, 2 February 1988) asserting their language rights and protest-

ing against the use of the term 'Macedonian culture' to denote the Greek-language culture of Macedonia. Also, many Macedonian speakers from Yugoslavia who appear to have called their language 'Yugoslav' in 1976 (Peter Hill, personal communication) did not do so in 1986.

The decade ending in 1986 has seen a marked increase in Maltese language maintenance efforts, with the establishment of ethnic Saturday schools, the introduction of Higher School Certificate, Maltese language programs in primary schools, and the development of radio programs. Many adults of Maltese descent have learned (or relearned) their parents' language, and Maltese community leaders in Melbourne and Sydney, some of whom play a leading role in inter-ethnic organizations, have followed other large ethnic groups in pressing for better language maintenance facilities. 'Melbourne is the largest Maltese city in the world' has joined 'Melbourne is the third largest Greek city in the world' as one of the myths of Australian multiculturalism. At the time when most Maltese migrants came to Australia, there was a diglossic relationship between Maltese and English in Malta, that is, Maltese was the mother tongue and language of everyday interaction and English was the formal and status language in Malta (cf. Fishman 1967). English was used in public domains, and many migrants were literate in English rather than in Maltese. As British subjects with a good knowledge of English, Maltese were accorded privileged status in Australia and associated little with other immigrant groups. This was probably still reflected in responses to the 1976 Census. By 1986 the impact of multiculturalism and the government's financial support for it was felt, and people freely declared the use of Maltese. Visits to and from Malta, where Maltese has displaced English in most formal domains, has contributed to the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Maltese-Australian community, especially in Melbourne and Sydney.

Unlike the US Census question, the Australian one elicits actual language use. However, it can be seen that the symbolic aspect is still significant. It may be that eventually other languages with pre-migration contact with English, such as Sinhala and Pilipino, will experience similar revivals.

The increases in Arabic, Spanish, and Turkish may be attributed chiefly to new immigration, the birth of an Australian-born second generation using the community language, and the 'growing-up' of

Table 4 Community languages: various data

	1976 Regular use	1983 Language first spoken
Aboriginal langs	27,572	—
*Arabic	51,284	77,600
Chinese	29,903	84,900
Dutch	64,768	110,500
*French	64,851	54,700
*German	170,644	165,600
Greek	262,177	227,200
*Hungarian	31,634	37,000
*Italian	444,672	440,800
Macedonian	16,693	—
*Maltese	45,922	59,800
Polish	62,945	86,000
Portuguese	10,029	16,700
Russian	17,110	27,500
Serbo-Croatian	142,407	92,400
Spanish	48,343	56,500
Turkish	20,112	20,300
Ukrainian	17,585	—
Vietnamese	—	24,500

(\* estimates for 1976 — see p. 37-9)

*Note:* the 1976 data is on people aged 5 and over, the 1983 data on a sample of the population 15 and over, and the 1986 statistics are on the entire population.

1983		1986	
Home language	Used in social domain	Anywhere	Home language
—	—	—	40,790
61,800	61,300	70,600	119,187
63,700	68,300	76,300	139,100
107,200	109,400	110,400	62,181
57,200	60,500	64,300	52,790
159,100	163,900	164,200	111,276
191,900	196,800	216,000	277,472
32,700	33,000	35,400	31,939
372,800	391,000	412,800	415,765
—	—	—	45,610
56,200	56,700	58,500	59,506
78,200	81,400	83,800	68,638
13,500	14,400	15,300	21,400
22,100	23,000	25,400	22,309
83,200	84,100	90,400	140,575
43,300	47,600	52,000	73,961
13,800	14,800	18,200	34,140
—	—	—	15,167
14,500	17,400	21,200	65,856

the 0–4 age group not counted in the previous census. In the case of Arabic and Turkish, they can be partly explained by a very high language maintenance rate (see below, pp. 61–9). In Australia 29.3 per cent of Arabic speakers and 14.6 per cent of Spanish speakers are Australian-born. Of these, 81.4 per cent and 48.3 per cent respectively are in the 5–14 age group. The 6,300 rise in the use of Polish does not nearly correspond to the approximately 24,500 more Polish-born, due to immigration, 1976–86 (Charles Price, personal communication), plus the young Australian-born children of recent Polish migrants. The ABS 1983 Survey recorded home use by only 59.88 per cent of Polish native speakers in Australia as compared to 88.7 per cent with friends and relatives outside the home.

Three languages recorded considerably lower home-use figures in 1986 than regular use statistics in 1976. They are German (170,644 → 111,276), Italian (444,672 → 415,765), and French (64,851 → 52,790). I will discuss the shift away from these languages (see pp. 61–9). However, there are a number of other causes to which the lower totals can be attributed:

- (i) The difference in the wording of the question, considering the high rate of exogamy (cf. Price 1984), and the discrepancy between use at home and use with relatives and friends. The ABS 1983 survey showed a massive difference for German native speakers — home use 48.25 per cent, with friends/relatives 83.57 per cent. Comparable figures for Italian are: home use 81.85 per cent, with friends/relatives 95.98 per cent; French: home use 66 per cent, friends/relatives 87.02 per cent.
- (ii) Discrepancies in the 1976 statistics which I had adjusted (Clyne 1982) by cross-tabulation to eliminate inflation due to responses based on children from monolingual English-speaking backgrounds learning a language at school. It may be that, even among children from appropriate ethnic backgrounds, a considerable number use the language only in the classroom, and the statistics for the three languages were still inflated.
- (iii) Deaths and remigration accounted for the net loss of about 30,000 Italian-born between 1976 and 1986. However, there

was a net gain of 7,000 German-born during this period (Charles Price, personal communication).

- (iv) For each of the languages, the 1986 wording of the question is likely to eliminate most of those regularly using it (as a *lingua franca* or with members of other ethnic groups) beside another language because Italian, German or French is then usually not the language of the home domain. This applies to many Central Europeans — such as Poles, Latvians, Croats, Hungarians, Slovenians, and to former guest workers — Greeks, Italians, Serbs, Croats — who also use German; Spanish speakers and some Greeks from Egypt who also use Italian; and Greeks from Egypt and some Lebanese who speak French. The Greek numbers are probably also deflated with the discounting of Greek-Macedonian bilinguals using Macedonian at home. As Table 5 shows, in the 1976 Census these

Table 5 Use of combinations of community languages (Source: 1976 Census)

	Sydney	Melbourne
Arabic + French	3,679	1,485
Greek + French	2,304	2,124
Greek + German	1,504	1,393
Hungarian + German (Hungarian-born)	1,105	934
Italian + German	3,148	3,216
Italian + Greek	7,938	5,180
Latvian + German (est.)	1,000	1,100
Macedonian + Greek	—	3,692
Polish + German	2,138	2,919
Spanish + Italian	2,668	1,995

(Some of these groups have increased their numbers.)

groups represented a substantial number in Melbourne and Sydney alone.

## Distribution throughout Australia

No one community language predominates in Australia or any of its states and territories, except for Italian in Western Australia, whose numbers exceed those of regular users (1976) and of home users (1986) of the next four languages (see Table 3). Of the ten most widely used home languages other than English (Italian, Greek, Chinese, Serbo-Croatian, Arabic, German, Spanish, Polish, Vietnamese, Dutch), five are in the 'top ten' in each state and territory: Italian, Greek, Serbo-Croatian (also designated as Croatian, Serbian and Yugoslav), German, and Chinese. Polish attains this rank everywhere except in the Northern Territory, Dutch and French everywhere but in Victoria and New South Wales, Vietnamese in all states except Tasmania. On the other hand, Arabic reaches its large numbers because of its third position in NSW and, to a much lesser extent, due to its seventh position in Victoria, while Spanish is widely used only in NSW and the ACT, reaching also tenth position in Queensland and in South Australia.

Italian is among the top four languages in all states and territories, Greek in all except Western Australia. Otherwise there is far more diversity, with Victoria retaining the highest totals for Italian, Greek, Maltese, Macedonian, Polish and Dutch, but NSW developing very large communities of some 'newer' languages — Arabic, Chinese, Spanish, Vietnamese and sizeable ones using 'Filipino' languages and Indonesian/Malay. South Australia has not changed its top six languages (Italian, Greek, German, Serbo-Croatian, Polish, Dutch), despite the new wording of the Census question. Turkish does not make the 'top ten' anywhere.

In Tasmania and the ACT, home users of Dutch and Serbo-Croatian respectively outnumber those of the other community languages. Smaller language communities that stand out in one state are Armenian (NSW), Albanian (NSW), Bulgarian (SA), Burmese (WA), Fijian (NSW), Korean (NSW), Finnish (Qld), Sinhala (Vic.), Turkish (Vic.), and Yiddish (Vic.) (see Table A1, Appendix).

## Age breakdown of selected community languages

If we consider the age breakdown of people using community languages in the home (see Table A2, Appendix), we are able to predict major changes in the ethnolinguistic composition of Australian capital cities. Among school-age children in Sydney, Arabic is now by far the dominant language. Its number of users among the 0–9 age group throughout Australia now exceeds those of both Greek and Italian. Greek and Chinese have overtaken Italian in Sydney in the 0–14 age group. Among the 0–9-year-olds in Melbourne, Greek is used at home more than Italian, and Arabic and Chinese are spoken more in the home than Serbo-Croatian/Croatian/Serbian. Vietnamese may gradually overtake Italian and Greek in Adelaide. Throughout Australia, German is rapidly declining as a home language of children, although this may change again if recent events in Europe regenerate larger levels of German migration. Maltese and Polish do not have much significance in this age group either.

In the 55-plus age group, Italian continues to predominate in all major centres under consideration. German remains in second or third position, especially among the 55–64-year-olds. There will be a presence of elderly Dutch and Polish and especially Greek speakers for some time to come. Sydney is distinguished by a large group of elderly Chinese and Arabic speakers. Table A2 suggests that Arabic and Chinese will be the community languages of the future in Sydney and, to a lesser extent, in Melbourne, where Greek will play a predominant role.

## State profiles

Far more than in 1976, different states and capital cities have developed different ethnolinguistic profiles. This is because the largest of the newer speech communities are concentrated so heavily in New South Wales and especially Sydney (see p. 50). Melbourne has also received considerable numbers of speakers of these languages but the hitherto widely used languages (Italian, Greek,

Serbo-Croatian, German and Maltese) continue to dominate although they have been joined by Chinese. In New South Wales, Arabic and Chinese have displaced Serbo-Croatian and German in third and fourth place, and the numbers of Spanish speakers also exceed those of German. As I have mentioned, the ethnolinguistic situation has remained stable in South Australia. It is the only state where there are more Vietnamese than Chinese speakers. Another state with a stable ethnolinguistic profile is Tasmania, while the rank ordering of languages in Western Australia, Queensland and the Australian Capital Territory has been affected mainly by the growth of the Chinese speech community (and Spanish in the ACT).

## STATISTICS ON DOMAINS OF USE

The 1983 ABS Survey (see p. 39 and Tables 4 and 6), despite its limited sample, enables us to deduce:

- (i) the importance of relatives and friends (including parents) not living in the same home as interlocutors in the community language;
- (ii) the high rate of use of the community language among Greek, Serbo-Croatian, Italian, Arabic, Chinese and Maltese speakers, and, to a lesser extent, among Spanish, Polish, French and German speakers. Dutch speakers are exceptional in their limited use of L1 in the social domain; and
- (iii) that, while 91 per cent of those over 15 speaking a community language as a first language still use it socially (for most groups the main domain of community language use), only 64 per cent read it.

Maltese records the greatest discrepancy between speaking and reading, followed by Italian, French, Chinese and Arabic. Groups with similar speaking and reading rates are Vietnamese, followed at some distance by Spanish, Dutch and Greek. High reading to speaking ratios may be attributed to:

- (i) recency of migration (Vietnamese);
- (ii) high language maintenance rates (Greek) (cf. below, pp. 61–9); and

- (iii) a language of wider communication with much reading material available (Spanish, but not French).

Low reading to speaking ratios can be explained by:

- (i) low pre-migration status of the language in the country of origin (Maltese);
- (ii) large numbers of non-standard speakers (Italian); and
- (iii) writing systems (as opposed to alphabets) which are different from that of English (Arabic, Chinese).

Table 6 Domains and channels of use of community languages  
(Source: based on ABS Survey 1983)

	Number of mother tongue speakers	% of those now using language socially	% of readers to speakers	% of writers to speakers
Arabic	77,600	95.62	68.05	67.12
Chinese	84,900	94.23	66.99	65.25
Croatian	65,800	95.74	70.15	76.51
Serbian	26,600	93.23	75.80	78.62(sic)
'Other Yugoslavian'	54,700	Diverse category		
Dutch	110,500	69.05	82.14	74.37
French	66,000	87.02	66.05	66.10
German	165,600	83.57	74.50	70.81
Greek	227,200	96.30	81.13	72.72
Italian	440,800	96.68	66.67	62.24
Maltese	59,800	93.98	48.39	45.20
Polish	86,000	88.72	66.05	66.10(sic)
Spanish	56,600	89.03	84.67	84.67
Vietnamese	24,500	96.73	97.04	100.84(sic)

In the case of Dutch, the low language maintenance rate (see Table 5, also below, pp. 61–9) can raise *statistically* the proportion of speakers who are also readers. Otherwise, the actual reading appears to be, to a large extent, an indicator of the ability to read the languages.

## LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT

The terms 'language maintenance' and 'language shift' are now firmly established in the literature on language contact. They are closely identified with the studies initiated by Fishman (1966) and can refer to the behaviour of a whole community, a sub-group within it, or an individual. 'Language shift', in particular, is quite ambiguous, in that it can designate a gradual development, a *shifting*. (An example is the replacement of Hungarian by German in the Austrian state of Burgenland, as examined by Gal 1979) or the fact that a language previously employed is no longer used at all by a group or individual. It can also mean a change in:

- (i) the main language;
- (ii) the dominant language;
- (iii) the language of one or more domains — contextualized spheres of communication — such as home, work, school, church;
- (iv) the exclusive language for between one and three of the four language skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing).

Jaspaert and Kroon (1988), using Bourdieu's (1982) concept of the linguistic market-place, differentiate between two types of language shift:

- (i) where the speakers' social environment changes so drastically (due to migration) that the only interlocutors available use L2 (the second language); and
- (ii) where members of a 'minority' group use L2 among themselves as part of their integration process.

Shift (i), a new kind of diglossia, can be measured in terms of frequency, shift (ii) in terms of functionality. As we will be dependent on different sets of statistics based mainly on self-rating, it will not be possible to make fine distinctions.

## AUSTRALIAN DATA ON LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT FROM SOURCES OTHER THAN CENSUSES

The 1976 Census indicated a consistent rank ordering of language retention rates in major ethnolinguistic groups, with Greek-Australians showing the highest language maintenance rate, Dutch-Australians shifting to 'English only' the most, and people of Italian, 'Yugoslav', Polish, German and Maltese backgrounds (in that order) taking intermediate positions between lower and higher language shift. This pattern was remarkably consistent throughout Australia and, with slight variations, in the first generation, second generation from endogamous marriages (Clyne 1982: 33, 44). The variables that emerged as unequivocally important were: cultural similarity to the dominant cultural group, a relatively minor role of language in the respective cultural value system (see below, pp. 86–8), exogamy, gender (masculinity), and age. Gender and absolute and relative distribution of the respective group varied in importance, and seemed to act as co-determining factors, especially in interaction with the factor 'ethnolinguistic group'.

The 1983 ABS Survey data on home language shows a very high language maintenance rate for the languages of two recently arrived groups with a high degree of cultural distance from Anglo-Australians — Vietnamese (96.73 per cent), Turkish (96.55 per cent), and Arabic (92.52 per cent) — and for Greek (89.79 per cent). Chinese (83.98 per cent), whose speakers came at different times, some from countries with a history of English use, forms an intermediate group with Italian (81.85 per cent), Spanish (81.06 per cent), Croatian (80.39 per cent), Serbian (74.81 per cent), and Maltese (73.41 per cent). The languages with a low home language maintenance rate range from French (66 per cent) and Polish (59.88 per cent) to German (48.24 per cent) and Dutch (40.99 per cent).

The above data should be seen in conjunction with a number of in-depth sociolinguistic and sociological studies dedicated to, or peripherally concerned with language maintenance and shift. Such research confirms the differentials in language maintenance/shift between the groups even though the percentages vary according to

samples, their location, and the time when an investigation was conducted. Dutch-Australians are consistently portrayed as using English more than other ethnic groups (see, for example, Harvey 1974, in comparison with Poles in the ACT; Clyne 1977a in comparison with German speakers in Victoria). On the other hand, Poles in Western Australia maintain their community language better than Germans (Johnston 1972) and in a comparison of language maintenance in two small communities, Russian and Swedish in Melbourne (Garner 1988), the former are shown to have the social and psychological conditions for language maintenance whereas the latter do not. In the industrial city of Wollongong (New South Wales), 86 per cent of Macedonian schoolchildren interviewed by Kalantzis *et al.* (1986: 51) claimed they could speak their community language well, as opposed to only 32 per cent of German children. 'Both Macedonian and German parents overwhelmingly perceived that their mother tongue was not the preferred language of their children.' (Kalantzis *et al.* 1986: 52).

Smolicz and his colleagues have conducted small-scale studies in a multiplicity of ethnolinguistic groups in Adelaide over more than a decade. They indicate a continuum of attitudes on the importance of the community language to the maintenance of the ethnic culture (see below, pp. 86–8). Some studies (see Smolicz and Harris 1976) are based on questionnaire surveys among students and/or members of ethnic and folkloristic organizations. Others result from an analysis of memoirs or personal statements which young people were asked to write about their cultural experiences at home and school (Smolicz and Secombe 1981, 1985, 1986, 1989; Smolicz, Lee, Murugaian and Secombe 1989–90). It appears that some groups, such as the Greeks with their vital ethnic awareness and the Latvians with their strong political motivation, have maintained their L1 more than other groups, notably the Dutch. Similar group contrasts have been observed in the US, Canada and New Zealand (Veltman 1983; DeVries and Vallée 1980; Jamieson 1980). Young people's comprehension is generally good but the standard of their production, even in the spoken language, tends not to be adequate, and reading and writing skills are very limited. (This is confirmed by studies as varied as Clyne 1967, 1972a: German; Bettoni 1981a, 1985: Italian; Kalantzis *et al.* 1986: German and Macedonian and Tamis 1986: Greek;). Foster, Lewis and

Rado (1980: 78) support the view of Smolicz *et al.* of ethnic language maintenance differential from their research in Melbourne where they conclude that 'for Greek, Italian and Serbo-Croat speakers, the ethnic language is of greater social importance than for German, Dutch and Maltese speakers'. In Marjoribanks's research (1980:34) among working-class Southern European parents in Adelaide, 94 per cent of Greeks and 92 per cent of Southern Italians — but only 51 per cent of 'Yugoslavs' — considered community language maintenance by their children 'important' or 'extremely important'.

Bodi (1980) investigated a group of pre-adolescent children from Russian families near Melbourne. English had become the children's dominant language. Girls showed considerably more retention of L1 competence than boys, probably due to the relative importance of the peer group. However, dual language competence levels correlate with individual psychological factors, such as language aptitude and reasoning ability as well as age and gender differences. Taft and Cahill (1989) found that most of their 10–11-year-old Lebanese subjects in Melbourne could speak Arabic well but few could read or write it. Children's competence in L1 was mainly a function of the parents' literacy level and their interest in the quality of their children's language. The use of Arabic, however, was determined by the opportunities and need to use it rather than by competence or linguistic and ethnic-cultural attitudes.

Hebart (1938:474) attributed the shift from German to English in former German rural settlements to children. This matter is raised in a number of studies. It is almost a universal of language contact in Australia that, whatever language children may use with their parents, they employ English in communication with their peer group, especially in the absence of parents or other members of the older generation (Clyne 1967; Harvey 1974; Klarberg 1976; Smolicz and Harris 1976; Bettoni 1981a; Smolicz and Secombe 1985). This situation is starting to change in the Melbourne Greek community. By the 1960s, German-speaking parents in Victoria, while still speaking to their children in German, tended to receive English responses (Clyne 1967, 1970a). In the early 1970s, the vast majority of a sample of Dutch parents in Victoria (Clyne 1977a) spoke only English to their children, and only about 60 per cent of them used Dutch to each other.

Older children have emerged from surveys as maintaining a community language more than younger ones. But the arrival of younger siblings, school entry and the beginning of puberty can all mark a language shift due to an urge to conform. On the other hand, stimulants to language maintenance include the presence of grandparents (visiting from overseas or living nearby), trips to the parents' homeland, taking the language as an examination subject as well as parents' consistent use of the community language, and the presence of older (overseas-born) siblings at home (e.g. Harvey 1974; Clyne 1967; 1977a). Smolicz and Harris (1976) contend that, unless home language maintenance is supported (at least attitudinally) by the education system, the existence of community languages is threatened. Rado (1976) has, in fact, found strong positive attitudinal response to bilingualism among children in Melbourne schools which provided students with specially prepared materials in their community language which were versions of the English materials used by the rest of the class. Kalantzis *et al.* (1986: 7) observed that in the Wollongong primary schools where Macedonian was taught, children of Macedonian background were 'more relaxed about using the language'.

Exogamy was shown by Pauwels (1985) to have an important negative effect on Dutch language use patterns, in that the immigrant spouse is severely restricted in the locale for community language use. Children of mixed marriages are characterized by almost complete monolingualism. There has been no parallel investigation of Australians with one parent from an ethnic group with a high language maintenance rate (such as Greek, Macedonian, Vietnamese).

The high exogamy rate in some ethnic communities would need to be taken into account in any predictive model of language maintenance/language shift in Australia. On the basis of Census statistics, Price (1988a, b) shows that there is an increasing tendency for migrants to marry outside their groups. Of migrants marrying in Australia in 1981-7, only 26 per cent married someone born in the same country. The second generation intermarriage rates are 90 per cent or more, but Australians — especially women — of Greek, Turkish and Lebanese parents are exceptions (see below). The continuum of in-marriage correlates fairly closely with the continuum of language maintenance. (See above, also below, pp. 61-9).

Table 7 Proportions of ethnic in-marriage (Source: based on Price 1988a:128)

Country of birth or origin	1st generation		2nd generation
	Immediate postwar period %	1980-5 %	1965-72 %
Germany	37.6	12.3	3.0
Greece	91.3	49.4	37.1
Hungary	52.0	28.8	2.3
Italy	78.1	50.8	37.8
Lebanon	79.3	68.4	28.8
Malta	66.2	35.2	24.6
Netherlands	52.7	10.3	5.0
Poland	50.7	61.6	9.8
Turkey	71.0	74.0	52.0
Yugoslavia	75.0	59.3	14.7

In Chapter 1, reference was made to the German rural linguistic enclaves which succeeded in maintaining the community language for three to five generations. Like *Sprachinseln* (linguistic enclaves) in other countries, they retained for many decades an independent identity which is anachronistic in the context of contemporary urban multicultural Australia. This identity was promoted by denominational separatism and the centrality of the Lutheran or Apostolic churches in the settlements, family or group clannishness and, for the Lutherans, a common mythology concerning reasons for the original migration around opposition to the merger, in the early 19th century, of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches to a Prussian state church. The most significant lesson we can learn from language maintenance efforts in the enclaves is the contribution of bilingual education. Kipp (1980) has shown that, whereas the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia (UELCA)

was far more intent on German language and cultural maintenance, it was members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia (ELCA) who, in Victoria's rural German settlements, retained the language better. This can be attributed to the fact that — for religious rather than language reasons — the latter church conducted most of the bilingual schools. In the UELCA, German was used only for religious instruction classes and in German Saturday schools for language instruction. Klarberg (1983) has examined the role of Jewish ideology (different degrees of Orthodoxy, Liberal or secular; Zionist) in Melbourne's seven Jewish day schools in the development of Hebrew skills in the children, partly through models of bilingual and diglossic education with their origins in Eastern Europe prior to migration. In most schools, Hebrew is the language of religion and/or ethnic cultural studies and English (replacing Yiddish) the language of secular studies. Variations are a Yiddishist school in which Yiddish and Hebrew are both taught as L2's, a Liberal Jewish school in which Hebrew is the object of a L2 program (not a medium of instruction), and the most orthodox Hassidic school, where some functions have remained for Yiddish. This needs to be considered in relation to the dynamics of the language/ethnicity link in the Australian Jewish community today (see below, pp. 102–4).

Dialects are generally suited to rural and intimate regional contexts and have to undergo transference\* from standard languages to accommodate to the demands of contemporary technological societies. Bettoni (1981a) finds that Italian dialect is not very viable in the long term in Australia and that ultimately the future of language maintenance among Italian-Australians rests in a gravitation towards Standard Italian. This argument is supported by similar developments in Italy (Bettoni 1985). Those parts of the Barossa Valley and Southern Queensland where Low German was the home and community language and High German that of the church were less resistant to language shift than those where a variety of High German was employed in home and community (see for example Theile 1938:20). The role of dialect or standard language is the focus of Pauwels' (1986) study of the maintenance of the first language by Swabians (from south-western Germany) and Limburgers (from the south-east of the Netherlands). There are no substantial quantitative differences in language maintenance between standard and non-standard speakers from each of the di-

glossic areas. However, there are differences due to the speakers' perceptions of their language. Limburgs speakers, who display dialect loyalty and have a discrete division between 'Dutch' and 'Limburgs', severely reduce their chances of language maintenance by not being willing to integrate linguistically into the Dutch speech community in Australia. Swabian speakers, who have a continuum of varieties (from more localized dialect to a strongly regionalized variety approaching the Standard), are able to accommodate linguistically to other German speakers and can share language maintenance efforts with the wider German-speaking community.

The next sections of this chapter use as their basis 1986 Census data which, despite its limitations, facilitates comparisons between a fairly large number of first generation (but only a restricted number of second generation) groups. It also enables various social variables (including age, gender, period of residence) to be tested for their possible impact on language maintenance. (Some of the data has been reported on in Clyne and Jaehrling 1989.)

## COMPARISONS BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS

Table 8 enables us to compare the language shift rates of different ethnic groups in the first generation. Taking Australia as a whole, Turks have shifted to English marginally less than Greeks, and Lebanese are also among the groups with a low shift. The Vietnamese have so far experienced the lowest shift of all. (The Chinese and Vietnamese groups from Vietnam can be separated on the basis of ancestry cross-tabulations, see Table 10; Kee 1989; Price 1990). Turks and Lebanese do not show a very consistent pattern of language shift throughout Australia. On the whole, the other groups demonstrate a remarkably uniform rank ordering of language maintenance/shift in the various states and territories of Australia — Greek, 'Yugoslav', South American/Spanish, Italian, Polish, Hungarian, Maltese, French, German/Austrian, Dutch. A continuum of language maintenance, where Southern Europeans maintain their L1 more than Northern Europeans and Eastern

**Table 8** Percentage language shift in first generation (Source: based on cross tabulation 'Home language — English only' — by birthplace, 1986 Census)

Birthplace	NSW	VIC.	QLD	SA
Austria	39.9	37.2	43.1	N/A
France	27.1	29.3	25.3	28.2
Germany	41.1	39.5	42.3	37.8
Greece	4.8	3.6	9.3	4.2
Hungary	24.1	21.6	30.9	23.3
Italy	11.0	8.9	15.9	9.8
Lebanon	4.4	5.4	20.8	10.2
Malta	25.6	22.2	44.1	35.0
Netherlands	49.0	48.9	48.8	47.4
Poland	16.7	16.3	20.4	12.8
South America	8.4	8.2	26.7	22.5
Spain	13.0	11.4	13.4	20.1
Turkey	3.3	4.1	18.5	9.5
Yugoslavia	7.9	8.6	17.8	13.9

(N/A = Not Available)

*Note:* 'South American' here covers only the Spanish-speaking countries of South America. 'Yugoslav-born' includes speakers of a number of languages. We have not included 'Vietnam-born' because of the confusion which this new mixed category (Chinese- and Vietnamese-speaking) would cause. Similarly, 'China-born' would include both Russian and Chinese speakers and 'Malaysia-born' at least Malay and Chinese speakers. But see Table 10 below.

WA	TAS.	NT	ACT	AUST. TOTAL
42.0	45.5	45.7	41.1	39.5
27.4	32.9	23.2	30.2	27.5
43.8	43.3	48.5	44.4	40.8
7.8	4.9	5.4	6.1	4.4
28.3	42.4	40.5	28.3	24.4
11.1	23.2	19.2	15.6	10.5
19.5	14.7	21.1	14.7	5.2
55.3	74.4	68.2	46.5	26.0
45.0	46.7	59.6	51.2	48.4
39.8	16.9	30.4	14.8	16.0
19.5	34.8	18.4	14.8	10.1
17.6	35.7	12.6	11.9	13.1
9.3	26.1	29.2	15.3	4.2
11.7	25.1	33.1	10.4	9.5

Europeans maintain their L1 more than Western Europeans, already apparent in 1976 (Clyne 1982:35) is thus also evident in the 1986 Census. The shift among the Yugoslav-born is the same as in 1976 and is now considerably lower than that for the Italian-born, which has risen from 6.26 per cent to 10.5 per cent (due partly to the change of question, see above, pp. 41–50). As I will explain on pp. 74–9, the decline in language shift among the Polish-born (from 20.18 per cent to 16 per cent) may be attributed to recently-arrived Polish migrants. Otherwise, the changed language question would

have affected the Polish statistics adversely. The 1983 ABS Survey showed a difference between 88.72 per cent for Polish native speakers' use of the language with relatives and friends, and 59.88 per cent for home use of Polish among native speakers of the language. All other groups for whom we have comparative data show at least some increase in language shift since 1976, except for the Maltese-born, to whose ethnolinguistic revival I referred on pp. 41–50. The increase must be seen in relation to the change in the wording of the question. The French and Hungarians, for whom we had no cross-tabulations in 1976, form a group of 'moderate language shifters' together with the Maltese. The German-born have now moved out of the intermediate category and, with the Austrian-born, into the high language shift group previously occupied only by the Dutch-born.

Table 9 shows that the rank ordering of language shift among second generations whose parents were both born in the same overseas country is the same as for the first generation: Greek, 'Yugoslav', Italian, Maltese, German, and Dutch. (Unfortunately, these are the only groups whose language shift is cross-tabulated with parents' birthplace.) As in 1976, there is a substantially greater language shift in the second generation than in the first — among Italian-Australians the inter-generational language shift increase is three-fold, among Australians of Greek and 'Yugoslav' descent it is nearly double, while it is more than double for Maltese-Australians. Apart from those whose parents were born in Greece, all the groups increased their language shift since 1976 — probably a reflection of the change in the question. The decrease in Greek language shift will be discussed below on pp. 88–91.

The data on 'ethnolinguistically mixed' households (Table 9) includes that for Australians of one overseas-born and one Australian-born parent, and also of Australians with parents born in different overseas countries. It is significant that the language shift in the second generation has decreased since 1976 in every group of Australians from exogamous marriages on which we have information. There are two possible explanations. First, many of the 'mixed' parents are really from the same group but one of them is a second-generation Australian and the 'mixed' marriage facilitates the maintenance, reactivation or reacquisition of the community language. Second, the more pluralistic attitude to community languages in Australia has led to the English-speaking partner in a

mixed marriage acquiring the community language or at least supporting or tolerating a situation where the other parent and the child(ren) communicate in the community language (see below, pp. 109–11). Apart from a slight transposition of German and Maltese (German being a more likely language for a non-German spouse to acquire or learn), the rank ordering of language shift is the same as for the first generation and for the second generation resulting from endogamous marriages.

In summary, there is a fairly consistent pattern in which languages of some cultural groups (Greek, Turkish, Lebanese) have a greater tenacity in the Australian context than others (German, Dutch, but also French, Hungarian, and to a lesser extent Maltese and Polish). To attribute this to language distance from English would be inappropriate since Hungarian (a Finnish-Ugrian language) and Maltese (a Semitic language) are both unrelated to English. French and Italian are both Romance languages closely related to English, but the French have experienced a much higher shift than Italians. On the whole, Poles shift to English more than

Table 9 Comparison between language shift in second generation of endogamous and exogamous marriages, 1976 and 1986 (Source: based on cross tabulation 'Home language — English only' — by birthplace of parents, 1976 and 1986 Censuses)

Birthplace of parents	Endogamous		Exogamous	
	1976	1986	1976	1986
Germany	62.28	73.1	96.16	85.4
Greece	10.08	8.7	68.40	41.3
Italy	18.56	29.3	78.51	70.8
Malta	53.68	58.8	94.58	86.8
Netherlands	80.29	85.4	99.09	92.0
Yugoslavia	N/A	18.0	N/A	65.0

(N/A = Not Available)

'Yugoslavs' although they too generally have a Slavic L1. On the other hand, Hungarian culture and to a lesser extent, Polish culture are Central European in their orientation. The Maltese have undergone strong cultural influence from Britain (as well as from Italy), something that is reflected in the lexicon of their language though not in its structure. This, together with the high status of English in Malta at the time when most of the Maltese emigrated (in the 1950s), contradicts any link between language distance and language shift. The groups with a very high language maintenance rate (Vietnamese, Turks, Lebanese and Greeks) are either racially

Table 10 Percentage language maintenance by ancestry by generation, 1986 (Source: based on Price 1990)

	1st Gen.	2nd Gen.	2.5	3rd+ Gen.
French	66.1	39.8	6.5	2.0
French mix	22.6	13.4	4.8	0.8
Mauritian	68.3	31.9	6.5	23.4
German	61.1	27.3	3.7	1.3
German mix	14.5	9.6	2.5	0.4
Austrian	52.4	24.0	3.7	6.2
Dutch	48.9	14.7	2.5	10.3
Dutch mix	13.8	3.3	0.9	0.6
Danish	53.2	19.3	1.9	0.6
Norwegian-Swedish	45.6	21.1	1.2	0.8
Finnish	75.1	59.5	13.3	7.1
Russian	70.0	49.5	14.3	13.4
Russian mix	20.4	11.9	2.4	1.8
Ukrainian	72.1	51.7	43.3	42.1
Polish	73.3	39.3	12.5	13.6
Polish mix	13.6	7.5	1.5	0.8

(continued opposite)

Table 10 continued

	1st Gen.	2nd Gen.	2.5	3rd+ Gen.
Czech	64.1	33.4	8.0	18.9
Slovenian	64.4	55.4	9.2	21.1
Hungarian	70.6	49.4	12.8	36.0
Croatian	94.8	92.7	54.2	62.5
Serbian	91.9	91.3	60.0	67.2
Macedonian	96.2	91.2	64.5	61.7
'Yugoslav'	79.5	66.7	26.0	35.8
Greek	92.2	88.3	56.6	48.5
Greek mix	31.4	34.9	11.4	3.6
Maltese	70.5	38.6	12.5	25.3
Italian	88.0	70.0	31.7	27.6
Italian mix	26.4	25.4	6.7	2.4
Spanish	84.2	76.3	6.6	8.1
Spanish mix	41.3	28.3	4.5	0.8
Latin American	89.3	84.2	7.5	42.2
Portuguese	83.0	78.2	15.0	18.2
Turkish	93.6	93.4	67.6	83.6
Lebanese	92.5	82.0	27.8	35.8
Arabic	87.8	87.3	24.3	32.8
Sinhalese	33.8	6.5	2.6	16.2
Vietnamese	94.9	89.4	41.4	79.9
Lao	94.4	93.7	-	76.5
Khmer	91.2	79.1	-	71.6
'Filipino'	75.2	46.0	25.0	50.9
Chinese	81.9	66.4	22.7	16.6
Chinese mix	30.6	13.1	3.5	0.6
Irish	2.2	0.4	0.3	0.2

*Note:* '2.5 Generation' denotes that one parent was 2nd generation, the other 3rd generation; '3rd+' denotes 3rd and later generations.

different or have distinctive religious affiliation, world-views and practices (Buddhist, Muslim, Eastern Orthodox or Eastern-rite Catholic) that distinguish them markedly from mainstream ones (mainly Roman Catholic or Protestant).

However, there are other variables that need to be considered in relation to cultural distance. Language shift continues to increase for most groups, although the 'home language' question again may have a distorting effect. In the first generation the ethnolinguistic revival has lowered the shift from Maltese, in the second generation that from Greek. Of particular interest is the decrease in language shift among the products of 'mixed marriages'.

The findings shown in Table 10 are largely corroborated through the cross-tabulation of the language data and responses to an ancestry question ('What is this person's ancestry?'), included for the first time in the 1986 Census. The responses to the latter are, of course, highly subjective, as some people have chosen to highlight one or more of their ethnicities and ignore one or more others (cf. below, pp. 102–4). The order in which they presented their ancestral origins would determine if, in the case of more than two (the maximum number processed for each person) they are counted. Thus, the ancestry question also has some features of an ethnic identity question and it is likely that those who choose not to state a particular ancestry do not speak the ethnic language. However, the ancestry data is of particular value to us in three ways:

- (i) It helps identify ethnolinguistic groups with diverse countries of birth and ones from multi-ethnic countries. Speakers of Macedonian (96.2 per cent language maintenance), Chinese (81.9 per cent), and Vietnamese (94.2 per cent) are important cases in point. Macedonians and Vietnamese show the highest levels of language maintenance in the first generation (see Table 10). Price (personal communication) notes that 79.1 per cent of those of Chinese ancestry, 50.4 per cent of those of Russian ancestry and 19.1 per cent with Greek ancestry were born outside the 'ethnic homeland'.
- (ii) Some of the issues raised in the discussion on pp. 55–61 and 86–8 are supported with otherwise unavailable data. Note for example that Australians of Mauritian descent do not maintain French more than those of French ancestry. However, Finns do maintain their community language better than

Norwegians and Swedes who are culturally similar but whose languages are closer to English.

- (iii) It facilitates a small amount of comparison with the work undertaken in the United States by Veltman (1983). He uses censuses and smaller demographic surveys to examine the relation between language other than English heard at home as a child and language maintenance and various socioeconomic factors. He finds (1983: 198), among other things, that socioeconomic status does not appear to play any important role in the maintenance (or loss) of minority language skills and that (p. 212) each cohort is more anglicized than its predecessors. However, there was a correlation between anglicization and occupational attainment, especially in the Spanish language group, but not necessarily between anglicization and educational attainment, especially in the non-Spanish language groups. Kee (1989), in a study of language maintenance and Australian labour force experience, finds that non-Aboriginal language groups with exceptional unemployment levels are Vietnamese (40.8 per cent), Turkish (29.4 per cent), and Arabic (28.4 per cent). These, however, tend also to be recent arrivals and often refugees. On the other hand, six language groups record unemployment rates lower than English-speaking monolinguals — Italian (a group with an increasing language shift), Slovenian (medium to high shift), Latvian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Estonian (medium shift).

## LANGUAGE SHIFT AND REGIONAL POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

The 1976 data suggested (Clyne 1982: 36–9) that there was a rather uniform rank ordering of states as to relative language shift which applied to most of the groups for which statistics were then available. South Australia tended to show the lowest language shifts, followed by Victoria and then New South Wales. In the 1986 Census (Tables 8, 9), the lowest language shift rates for Greeks and Italians were no longer in South Australia but in Victoria. The state

where the Dutch shifted to English least was no longer SA but Tasmania for the first generation, and Western Australia in the second. The French, Hungarians and Lebanese, for whom no cross-tabulations were available in 1976, maintained their L1 in the home more in NSW in 1986 than in either SA or Victoria. On the whole, the highest shifts tend to occur in the same states and territories as in 1976. Among Australians of 'mixed parentage' the situation varies, with the lowest shifts tending to be in NSW and the Australian Capital Territory.

Some groups' language shift is far more uniform than that of others. Greek-, Turkish- and Lebanese-born all record similar national language shift rates. But, while the state rates vary between 3.6 and 9.3 per cent for Greeks, the variation is 4.1 to 29.2 per cent for Turks and 4.4 to 21.1 for Lebanese. The language shift among French-, Hungarian-, and Maltese-born is similar. However, the

Table 11 Proportion of birthplace groups in relation to total population (Source: 1986 Census)

Birthplace	VIC.	NSW	QLD	SA
LEBANON	.2	.7	.02	.09
NETHERLANDS	.4	.2	.3	.4
GERMANY	.4	.3	.3	.6
AUSTRIA	.08	.07	.04	.08
GREECE	1.5	.8	.1	.9
ITALY	2.4	1.2	.5	1.9
MALTA	.5	.3	.05	.09
POLAND	.4	.3	.1	.5
YUGOSLAVIA	.8	.7	.2	.4
SOUTH AMERICA	.2	.4	.05	.06
SPAIN	.08	.1	.06	.05

French state rates are rather consistent (25.3 to 30.2) while the language behaviour of Hungarians (21.6 to 42.4) and Maltese (22.2 to 68.2) varies greatly between states.

On the basis of the 1976 data, absolute and relative numerical strength appeared to function only as co-determining factors in language shift. However, Table 11 indicates that in 1986 it is in the state where a group is, relatively speaking, numerically strongest that its language shift is lowest. Lebanese and Spanish speakers have experienced their lowest shift in New South Wales, the state where they are most numerous, in both absolute and relative terms. Those born in Greece, Italy and Malta maintain their L1 most as their home language in Victoria, the state in which they are, in both absolute and relative numbers, most strongly represented. The lower shift among German speakers and Polish migrants in Victoria than in NSW is commensurate with population ratios. These

WA	TAS.	NT	ACT	TOTAL AUST.
.03	.01	.0008	.06	.3
.4	.4	.2	.3	.3
.3	.2	.3	.5	.4
.05	.04	.05	.1	.07
.2	.2	.8	.5	.8
1.7	.2	.4	.9	1.5
.03	.003	.009	.09	.3
.4	.2	.06	.4	.3
.5	.1	.1	1.08	.6
.09	.02	.09	.3	.2
.06	.01	.07	.2	.08

groups have experienced their lowest language shift in South Australia, the state where they are most concentrated. On the other hand, the highest use of English only in the home for Italian-, Maltese- and Spanish-born is in Tasmania, where the groups are least concentrated. The highest shift also correlates with lowest concentration for the Greek-born (in Queensland) but not for those born in Austria, Germany or Poland.

By way of explanation, it can be argued that the availability of a sizeable community in a particular state with its concomitant language maintenance institutions (see Chapter 3) and a certain 'visibility' promote language maintenance, especially in the first generation, and discourage a shift to English in the home. It should be noted that, generally, non-English-speaking groups are concentrated, even more than the total population, in the state capitals and other urban industrial centres (such as Geelong in Victoria, which is very close to Melbourne's western suburbs, and Newcastle and Wollongong in New South Wales. Only in Queensland is there a substantial rural dispersion of community languages (Clyne 1982: 13-14).

## LANGUAGE SHIFT AND GENDER

It has been suggested (for example by Johnston 1972: 62; Smolicz and Harris 1976) that females tend to maintain community languages better than males. This tendency is evident in both the first and second generation in our data (see Table 12, and Tables A3 and A4 in the Appendix) and is far more marked than in 1976. The gender (male:female) difference in language shift has risen from 0.5 per cent to 2.2 per cent among Greek-born and from 1.5 per cent to 6.1 per cent among Italian-born. This sharp increase may also be related to the change in the Census language question for, in some homes, it is the fathers who are now providing a model of English for the children. The greatest differences in language shift are to be found among Hungarians, Dutch and Germans, and the least among Greeks. This is a pointer to the most plausible explanation, that the greater tendency among male migrants to shift is a reflection of inter-marriage patterns. Males out-marry more than females in the first generation, and Germans, Dutch and Hungarians in particular (see above, pp. 55-61; also Price 1988a). The Hun-

garian gender difference in language shift can be attributed principally to the gender imbalance in favour of males in the 1947–9 migration wave (Kunz 1969:229).

More recently arrived groups (Lebanese, Turks, South Americans) record most of the lower gender differences. Filipinos are an exception because of the large number of Philippines-born women married to monolingual English speakers (Table A3, Appendix). As in the United States (Veltman 1983: 193, 292), this leads to a very high language shift among people of Filipino background. In the first generation, marriage patterns, work and general assimilationist tendencies in some older established groups, mainly Northern and Central European males, have promoted gender differences in language shift. However, there is little or no evidence that — once period of residence is taken into account — there is a significant impact of the gender difference on language shift patterns in general. This can be illustrated conversely by a comparison

Table 12 Gender differences in language shift in the first and second generation, 1976 and 1986

Birthplace or birthplace of parents	1st generation M:F difference		2nd generation M:F difference	
	1976	1986	1976	1986
Germany	3.4	7.9	0.67	7.2
Greece	0.5	2.2	1.15	2.1
Italy	1.5	6.1	2.44	4.4
Malta	2.2	5.1	4.21	3.3
Netherlands	7.0	10.2	2.58	7.1
Poland	6.8	8.1	N/A	N/A
Yugoslavia	2.9	5.2	N/A	3.6

(N/A = Not Available)

*Note:* For further information, see Tables A4 and A5, Appendix.

between the Hungarian- and French-born. The two groups show approximately identical language shift rates in spite of a substantial variation in gender differences.

While gender differences in language maintenance/shift appear to increase with time of residence in Australia, all the second generation groups under consideration indicate a lower language shift gender difference than the first generation of the same ethnolinguistic group. The variables mentioned above as promoting shift to English in the male migrant generation appear to be affecting females more in the second generation than in the first. However, the gender differences for second-generation groups other than Maltese-Australians have risen since 1976.

The 1976 Census data made available statistics that showed (Clyne 1982: 114) that the main exception to an absolute lack of language maintenance among Australians whose parents speak different community languages was where the father was Italian and the mother Greek. The majority of them maintain Italian and a very large minority also regularly use Greek. If the father's language is Greek or Italian, that language is maintained the most, regardless of which is the other language. This seems to reflect the role in language maintenance of a patriarchal structure in traditional families of Greek and Italian background. On the other hand, Donohue Clyne (1980:114) found that parental pressure leading to the home use of Serbo-Croatian came from mothers or from both parents rather than from fathers alone.

Traditional assumptions about the role of mothers and fathers in language acquisition are being challenged in studies of bilingual language acquisition such as Döpke (1987, 1988a) and Saunders (1982, 1988) (but cf. above).

## LANGUAGE SHIFT AND PERIOD OF RESIDENCE

The cross-tabulations between language use and period of residence from the 1986 Census facilitate assessment of the effect of the number of years people from different backgrounds have spent in Australia on a shift in their home language. But there are two

complicating factors. Some sub-groups within a birthplace group, which migrated at a particular time — 'vintages' as Kunz (1969) terms them — are more, or less likely to shift to English. Also, having lived through particular periods of Australian history (such as the period of rejecting multilingualism, from the 1950s to 1970; or of accepting it, after 1970) may influence language behaviour.

Table 13 includes a number of vintages for some of the birthplace groups. The Czech-born migrated in three main waves — 1938–9 (refugees from National Socialism); 1947–9 ('Displaced Persons' — the largest group); and 1968 (refugees in the wake of the Prague Spring) although some have arrived at other times. Hungarian migrants are similarly subdivided into three significant vintages — 1938–9 (Refugees from Fascism); 1947–9 (the largest group); and 1956–7 (Refugees following the Revolution), again with some migrating later. While there has been a continuous migration of Germans and Austrians since the early 1950s, the largest wave was that of the early- to mid-1950s. The most recent subgroup (who came in the 1980s) have, on the whole, a higher socioeconomic status and educational level than their predecessors, seen by many of them as a young social and cultural elite, in part with different kinds of moral standards. The other significant subgroup, which was shared with Czechs and Hungarians, was the refugees from National Socialism (or Fascism), generally with Jewish connections though by no means all practising or self-identifying Jews. They, too, came from the more comfortable or educated middle class. Another ethnolinguistic group for whom World War II marked a boundary between vintages was the Greeks. The other landmark in Greek migration was 1967, when refugees from military dictatorship joined the economic migrants of the 1950s and early- to mid-1960s. The 'Yugoslav-born' category is too diverse (Croats, Serbs, Macedonians, Slovenians, Hungarians, Albanians, Slovaks and others) to be sociolinguistically meaningful. The only useful division that can be imputed is that between the political migrants of the late 1940s and the 'economic migrants' of the 1960s and 1970s. Before 1947, most of the Polish-born in Australia were Jews, who had arrived either in the 1920s or immediately prior to the war. The most important postwar vintages were the 'displaced persons' — mainly Catholics but also some Jewish survivors of the Holocaust (late 1940s) and members of the Free Polish Army —

**Table 13** Percentage language shift by period of residence (Source: based on cross tabulation 'Home language — English only' by period of residence, 1986 Census)

Birthplace	Years				
	<1	1	2	3	4
Austria	13.6	22.9	18.5	16.1	26.6
Czechoslov.	3.6	2.8	3.7	5.6	5.2
France	9.3	8.8	17.2	15.7	13.6
Germany	13.2	16.4	17.3	10.2	12.9
Greece	1.3	2.8	3.4	4.2	3.4
Hungary	8.2	5.1	5.4	6.3	5.5
Italy	5.2	4.2	6.1	7.0	7.2
Lebanon	1.4	1.8	1.7	1.8	2.4
Malta	15.6	13.6	18.4	19.4	18.5
Netherlands	19.2	21.4	16.7	18.5	15.0
Poland	2.7	2.4	2.7	3.1	2.0
Turkey	2.4	2.9	2.0	2.2	4.1
Yugoslavia	1.8	1.5	2.5	3.1	2.9

and the migrants of the past ten to fifteen years, when migration had become easier. (The Poles have been the largest non-English-speaking European migrant group in this latter period.)

As can be gleaned from Table 13, there is a tendency towards increased shift to English with a longer period of residence in Australia (see also Graph 1). Among exceptions to this rule are the remarkably high language shift rates among very recently arrived migrants, probably due to settlement pattern (more dispersed) and marital status (frequently single).

A number of clear cut-off points may be postulated:

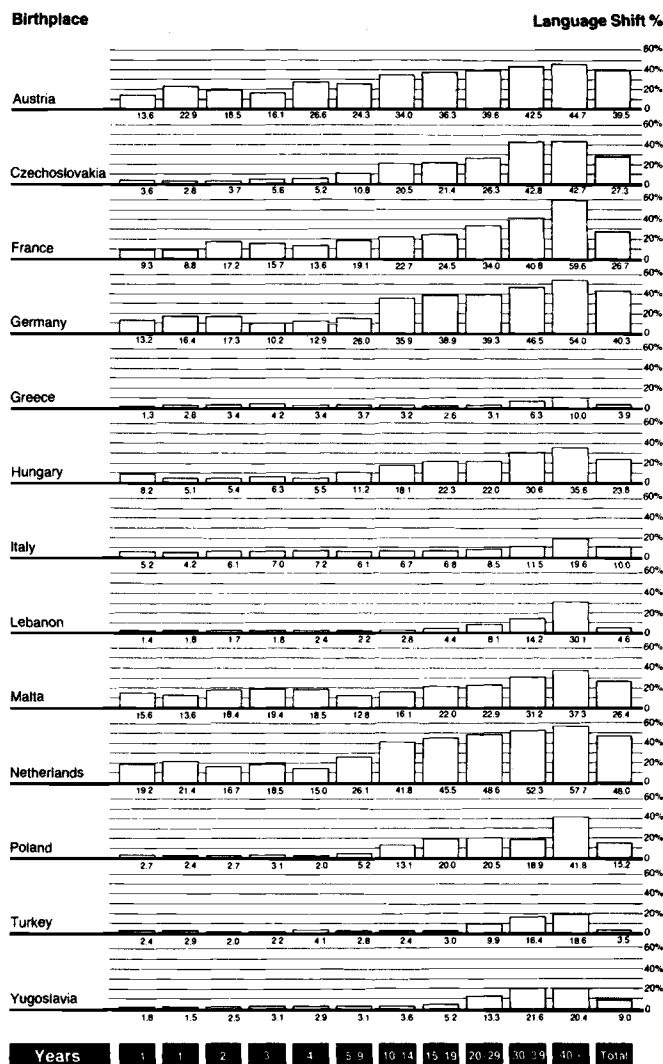
- (i) After four or five years in Australia, probably due to pressure

5-9	10-14	15-19	Years 20-29	30-39	40+	TOTAL
24.3	34.0	36.3	39.6	42.5	44.7	39.5
10.8	20.5	21.4	26.3	42.8	42.7	27.3
19.1	22.7	24.5	34.0	40.8	59.6	26.7
26.0	35.9	38.9	39.3	46.5	54.0	40.3
3.7	3.2	2.6	3.1	6.3	10.0	3.9
11.2	18.1	22.3	22.0	30.6	35.6	23.8
6.1	6.7	6.8	8.5	11.5	19.6	10.0
2.2	2.8	4.4	8.1	14.2	30.1	4.6
12.8	16.1	22.0	22.9	31.2	37.3	26.4
26.1	41.8	45.5	48.6	52.3	57.7	48.0
5.2	13.1	20.0	20.5	18.9	41.8	15.2
2.8	2.4	3.0	9.9	16.4	18.6	3.5
3.1	3.6	5.2	13.3	21.6	20.4	9.0

from the children. (This applies to Austrians, Czechs, Germans, Hungarians, Dutch, but not to Southern Europeans, Turks or Lebanese.)

- (ii) After ten years, in some cases marking the beginning of a new vintage — for example a new group of Poles, with additional opportunities for networking and language maintenance and new groups of more affluent and/or educated Germans, Austrians and Dutch, able to utilize improved means of communication with Europe: frequent trips to the country of origin, visits from overseas relatives, videos and publications from overseas. This periodization probably also reflects the changed policies and attitudes in Australia and the initiatives

in education, the media and libraries. Those groups affected particularly by this are those which normally show moderately high to high language shift, thus not Greeks, Italians and



Graph 1 Percentage language shift by period of residence (Source: based on cross-tabulation 'Home language — English only' — by period of residence, 1986 Census)

- 'Yugoslavs' whose shift patterns are more uniform.
- (iii) After 20–29 years — marking a new vintage in the case of the post-1956 Hungarian refugees only;
  - (iv) After 30–39 years (that is, those who migrated between 1946 and 1956), simply the result of a longer period of residence and of assimilationist pressures at the time of migration.
  - (v) After 40+ years (that is, pre-war migrants), related to the symbolic (identity) function of community languages. Here a reaction to political and/or racial oppression in the country of origin, together with wartime xenophobia in Australia, led to home language shift in many families. This seems to apply far more to German-born than to Czech-born or Austrian-born. In these two groups, the language shift for pre-war refugees is only marginally higher than for the Czech displaced persons of the late 1940s and the Austrian economic migrants of the 1950s respectively. It should be noted that Czechs were not classed as 'enemy aliens' during the war. Some Austrians, by propagating their own national variety of German, distance themselves from the German variety of the aggressor and invader. (The myth of Austria as the victim of Nazi Germany has become a feature of Austrian postwar foreign policy.) Language maintenance reflected the importance of some of the refugees' belief in being bearers of European culture in exile (see below, pp. 94–102). This position was particularly strong among immediate postwar 'displaced persons' and distinguishes their relatively lower shift from that of the pre-war Polish-born who have long been integrated into a predominantly English-medium Australian-Jewish community (see below, pp. 102–4).

Because of all the intervening sociopolitical and psychological factors, there is no universal linear correlation between language shift and period of residence.

## LANGUAGE SHIFT AND AGE

### First generation

In 1976, in most of the groups studied, the lowest language shift was experienced among those aged over 50, the second lowest in

Table 14 Percentage language shift by age, first generation (Source: based on cross tabulation 'Home Language — English only' — by birthplace by age, 1986 Census)

Birthplace	0-4	5-14	15-24	25-34
Austria	17.3 (185)	30.6 (503)	39.5 (1,059)	55.8 (2,477)
France	N/A	23.8 (953)	24.9 (2,603)	30.4 (2,852)
Germany	28 (515)	27.9 (3,252)	40.9 (7,173)	54.3 (13,031)
Greece	1.3 (346)	9.1 (1,718)	5.8 (7,702)	8.4 (17,888)
Hungary	N/A	4.6 (410)	15.9 (479)	31.9 (2,392)
Italy	19.7 (229)	14 (1,741)	11.5 (11,530)	20.3 (29,596)
Lebanon	8.2 (784)	5.4 (3,909)	4.8 (11,675)	4.6 (14,532)
Malta	24.4 (127)	28.3 (944)	32.4 (2,695)	34.8 (10,669)
Netherlands	42.5 (193)	34.9 (2,176)	43.2 (3,793)	67.2 (12,679)
Poland	6.5 (184)	2.5 (3,572)	6.5 (2,171)	11.5 (9,465)
South America	22.8 (915)	7.6 (5,740)	9 (9,550)	12.7 (8,703)
Spain	19.8 (111)	12.3 (1,196)	11.9 (2,030)	22.9 (2,956)
Turkey	N/A	4.3 (1,572)	3.5 (6,370)	4.7 (4,971)
Yugoslavia	7.4 (524)	5.4 (3,070)	8 (17,183)	11.9 (26,033)

(N/A = Not Available) ( ) = total number of speakers by birthplace by age

*Note:* Among the very young, 'English only' should be regarded as 'potential inter-generation language shift' in the sense of 'non-acquisition'.

35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	TOTAL
53	38.1	29	24.5	39.9
(5,947)	(4,816)	(4,073)	(3,577)	(22,637)
28.6	23.8	28.2	31.6	29.9
(3,573)	(1,988)	(1,648)	(1,056)	(14,870)
54.4	32.7	28.5	23.9	40.7
(36,482)	(21,753)	(20,730)	(11,889)	(114,825)
4.6	2.8	2.9	4.6	4.4
(35,887)	(42,458)	(20,731)	(10,923)	(132,653)
36.1	28.9	21.4	13.2	19.4
(4,481)	(6,605)	(6,706)	(6,071)	(27,204)
16.2	7	6.7	5.8	10.5
(55,380)	(67,273)	(58,967)	(37,217)	(261,933)
6	4.1	6	8	5.2
(12,146)	(6,731)	(4,332)	(2,153)	(56,298)
31.6	19.9	14.7	13.6	26
(18,049)	(11,630)	(7,242)	(4,889)	(56,245)
65.5	46	33.3	21.6	48.4
(27,622)	(18,134)	(16,650)	(13,785)	(95,032)
18	21.6	19.5	15.5	16
(8,800)	(16,747)	(19,241)	(17,531)	(67,711)
9.2	7.8	12.7	21.4	10.3
(12,348)	(5,683)	(2,120)	(1,656)	(46,715)
10.7	9.3	9.2	17	13
(3,586)	(3,442)	(2,168)	(794)	(16,283)
4.1	3.3	6.3	5.7	9.2
(5,394)	(3,087)	(1,290)	(1,675)	(24,529)
8.9	9.3	10.2	9.1	9.5
(37,128)	(36,658)	(18,909)	(10,569)	(150,074)

the 30–49 age group, and the highest language shift in the 20–29 age group (Clyne 1982: 42). While non-overlap of age categories between the censuses render comparisons very difficult, the correlation is less clear cut in 1986. On the whole, the oldest age group is still the one that maintains the community language most. The exceptions are due to exogamy among males in the older age group (as for Lebanese, Turks, Yugoslav-born) and to the interface of age, vintage and period of residence (as for Greeks, Poles). The older Polish-born are from the immediate postwar and pre-war vintages, the younger ones from the recent vintage.

The age group with the highest rate of 'English only' use in the home for nearly all birthplace groups is the 25–34-year-olds with a shift almost as high for Austrian-, German- and Dutch-born 35–44-year-olds. The 35–44 age group shifts most among those born in Poland or Yugoslavia. Both Polish- and Yugoslav-born are characterized by a very low language shift in the current 0–14 age group. These are the overseas-born children of very recent migrants. If we compare the younger generation language shift rates, that is for the 15–24-year-olds (those who would or might still be living in the parental home), with those of the same cohorts ten years earlier —

Table 15 Percentage language shift by age, second generation  
(Source: based on cross tabulation 'Home language — English only'  
— by age by parents' birthplace, 1986 Census)

Birthplace of parents	NSW	VIC.	QLD	WA
Germany	72.5	70.0	82.7	72.2
Greece	9.1	7.0	20.1	22.1
Italy	30.2	24.4	43.9	36.4
Malta	62.0	53.1	72.6	73.1
Netherlands	85.8	86.5	85.7	82.3
Yugoslavia	15.0	15.0	30.5	32.1

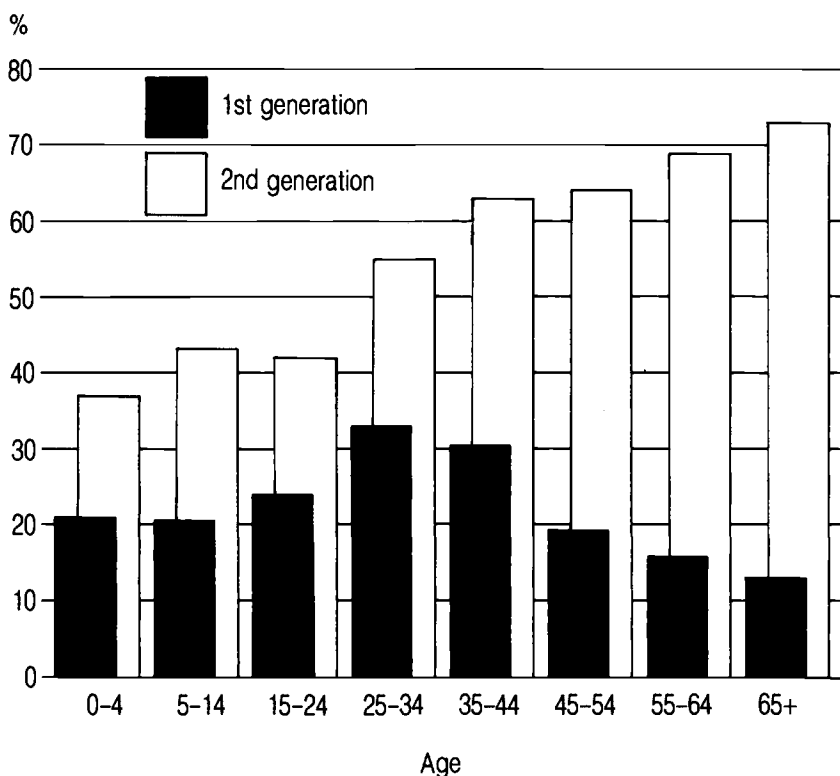
5-14-year-olds — we ascertain an actual decrease in 1986 for the Dutch, Maltese, Poles, and 'Yugoslavs'. The only group with a substantial movement in the opposite direction is young Germans. A comparison between the 5-14-year-olds of 1986 and the 5-14-year-olds of 1976 shows a drop in language shift for all groups except Greeks and Italians, whose language shift rates are traditionally relatively low in any case. This could furnish evidence that recently-arrived families from groups which in the past experienced medium to high rates of language shift are responding to the more pluralistic atmosphere in Australia. But we must not lose sight of possible differences between vintages (see pp. 74-9) and especially the comparatively low numbers of school-aged first-generation Australians in these groups.

Low language shift in the elderly and higher language shift in young adults may be attributed to a number of factors: the tendency for young people of all or most groups to speak English to each other means that it would ordinarily become the language of the new nuclear family established principally by those in the 25-34 age group (but cf. below, pp. 109-11). Schumann (1978) and others have argued that younger people acquire additional languages better than older people, and that they tend to be socially — and therefore linguistically — more flexible and motivated. I shall refer later (pp. 114-16) to the possibility of reversion to the L1 and attrition of L2 skills in the elderly.

SA	TAS.	NT	ACT	TOTAL Australia
57.6	75.8	75.1	69.8	73.1
8.3	5.3	8.3	12.4	8.7
27.6	43.0	42.9	38.2	29.3
70.3	84.0	88.9	74.1	58.8
84.6	84.1	83.5	85.9	85.4
25.1	36.5	42.5	16.0	18.0

## Second generation

In 1986, as in 1976 (Clyne 1982: 48), the oldest age groups were the ones most likely to shift to the use of English only, community languages generally spoken to people older than themselves (see above, pp. 51–61). Another contributing factor is the attitude of rejection of community languages in Australian society during and after the two world wars. Language shift in all groups except Dutch-Australians (where almost all the children already use 'English only') rises steeply in the 25–34 age group, probably due to marriage and



Graph 2 Percentage language shift by age — first and second generations for selected birthplace groups (Germany, Greece, Italy, Malta, Netherlands, Yugoslavia) (Source: based on 1986 Census)

the birth of the first child. There is another sharp increase in the 35–44 age bracket among German- and Italian-Australians.

I have mentioned above (pp. 61–9) that there has been a decrease in language shift among second generation Australians of Greek descent since 1976. An examination of cross-tabulations by age indicates that the use of 'English only' is more prevalent in the second generation than in the first generation (that is, the relatively small number of young children of more recent migrants).

## VARIABLES

In summary: the 1986 Census data indicates that the most clear-cut social variables in language maintenance/shift are relative population distribution, gender, and marriage patterns. Age is not quite so unequivocal a variable because it is distorted by period of residence and/or vintage and population distribution. However, the 25–34-year-olds tend to shift most or initiate a sharp shift. The oldest groups experience the greatest language shift in the second generation and the lowest in the first. Period of residence is particularly difficult to assess as a variable because of its inextricable link with vintage and the experience of Australian attitudes and policies over a given time. Refugee status can be accompanied by greater language maintenance (as for Polish Catholics, Chileans), greater language shift (as for Polish Jews) or either (like pre-war German and Austrian refugees).

The more complex and perhaps more interesting question is the cultural determinants of the language shift differential between different groups. Western European cultures (German, Austrian) akin to Anglo-Australian seem to promote a shift to English only. The lowest language shift in the ethnolinguistic groups under consideration is among the Mediterranean peoples who are either Muslims or Eastern Orthodox/Eastern-rite Catholics — Greeks, Turks, and Lebanese, with the 'Yugoslavs' (partly Central European, partly Southern European, partly Catholic, Orthodox, and Muslim) gravitating between the 'low' and 'moderate' shift group. The British-influenced Maltese and the French, Hungarians, Poles and Italians constitute the bulk of the intermediate group.

## MODELS FOR THE INVESTIGATION AND PREDICTION OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE/SHIFT

A number of scholars have developed theoretical or empirically based models to determine descriptive and predictive factors in language maintenance and shift. I shall briefly outline them here and try to examine to what extent they help us illuminate the Australian situation. It should be noted that most models have accounted for individual groups (or individuals) in their relationship to a dominant group in society. The interaction of many groups (including the 'dominant group') in a dynamic multicultural society is given little prominence. This point is missed by Wardhaugh (1988) who depicts a situation of competition in Australia between English and community languages but not between community languages. (This will be developed further in Chapter 5.)

### Kloss

Kloss (1966) employs the American situation to identify factors clearly promoting language maintenance and ones that are ambivalent in that they can promote either language maintenance or language shift. Excluding factors that are irrelevant to Australia (Clyne 1979c: 3), Kloss's clear-cut factors are:

- (i) Early point of immigration;
- (ii) *Sprachinseln* (linguistic enclaves);
- (iii) Membership of a denomination with parochial schools;  
and
- (iv) Pre-emigration experience with language maintenance.

His ambivalent factors are:

- (i) *Educational level of the migrant*: A higher educational standard facilitates a high culture around the community language, a lower one promotes isolation from the dominant culture and therefore language maintenance. A higher level of education brings migrants closer to the cultural life of the

dominant group, whereas less education may mean a more limited range of cultural activities within the ethnic group — both promoting language shift.

- (ii) *Numerical strength*: Large groups can afford extensive language maintenance efforts but cannot avoid multiple contacts with the dominant language and culture as much as closely-knit smaller groups can.
- (iii) *Linguistic and cultural similarity with dominant group*: These can favour language shift in that they render preservation of identity difficult. But smaller linguistic and cultural distance can enable groups and individuals to devote more attention to language maintenance as they do not need to expend so much effort on acquiring the dominant language and culture.
- (iv) *Attitude of majority to language or group*: Suppression of a language or of culture can lead to assimilation or to greater efforts to maintain both of them.
- (v) *Inter-ethnic differences*.

Of the clear-cut factors, 'time of immigration' may be of some significance, as I have mentioned. But 'early time of immigration' promotes language maintenance only if it goes hand in hand with rural *Sprachinseln*, as was the case for German in some parts of South Australia and Western Victoria in the 19th century. In urban areas, community languages were lost with more or less the same rapidity as they are now. Membership of a denomination with parochial schools promotes language maintenance only if the schools are conducted bilingually, as has been noted for the Lutheran schools in the late 19th century (see above, pp. 55–61). Most of the Christian Day Schools based on Reformed churches of Dutch origin do not teach any Dutch, none of them teach bilingually, and most of the Reformed Church services are in English, reflecting (and helping to promote) the language shift pattern of the Dutch. Pre-migration language maintenance experience is really an ambivalent factor. People from Egypt have maintained high levels of multilingualism in Australia, and *Volksdeutsche* from the Middle East and Eastern Europe have tended to maintain German better than German and Austrian migrants (Clyne 1967: 118). However, the Sorbian-German bilinguals of the 19th century dropped Sorbian (cf. below, pp. 102–4) and Frisian-Dutch bilinguals have generally abandoned both their languages in Australia.

We have no data to assess the clear-cut factor 'Educational level'. In absolute terms, 'numerical strength' has little impact on the language maintenance/shift differential *between* ethnolinguistic groups. Greeks maintain their language as a home language more than most other groups irrespective of whether their numbers are as large. (Their language maintenance rate is higher than that of Italians throughout Australia, Dutch and Germans in Western Australia and Tasmania, Serbs and Croats in the Australian Capital Territory.) Dutch is widely lost regardless of the numerical strength of the Dutch community, and the high language shift from German defies demographic considerations. However, the *rate* of language maintenance/shift varies in accordance with the relative size of the community in a particular state (or capital city). I have already tried to differentiate cultural from linguistic distance as a variable (see pp. 61–9), and cultural distance appears to be a clear-cut language maintenance factor. I have also mentioned community attitudes, which should be seen in relation to self-identification and political factors in the homeland. It is this trichotomy that leads to the ambivalence of the 'variable'. 'Community attitudes' are an important consideration which requires a reassessment of the Hansen (1962) hypothesis that the third generation revives an interest in the ancestral language and culture, for this depends largely on the mood of the society (see Chapter 1). In times of war, when there is hostility against some or all 'minority' groups in the community, the third generation is unlikely to revive the culture of 'enemy' grandparents, while times of support for cultural diversity will promote language and cultural maintenance in the second generation so that an 'ethnic revival' in the third generation is not necessary. In her case studies of some German families in Townsville, a Queensland provincial town, Harres (1987) found an absence of interest in German in the third generation.

'Inter-ethnic differences' ('sociocultural characteristics') remain the enigma, and there are two models — those of Giles and Smolicz (below) — that will help us understand this variable.

## Giles

Giles *et al.* (1977) combines three theories in a framework to explain the role of language in 'ethnic group relations'. They are: the

vitality of ethnolinguistic groups in contact, Tajfel's (1974) theory of intergroup relations, and Giles's own speech accommodation model. Giles's 'ethnolinguistic vitality' comprises a number of components: economic status, self-perceived social status, socio-historical factors such as historically acquired ability to cope with minority status (something that is well developed by, for example, Greeks, Poles, Latvians and Ukrainians — see discussion of Kloss above), the status of the language, and demographic aspects, such as numbers, group distribution, and institutional support. Tajfel's theory concerns group boundaries and comparisons the 'minority' makes with the 'majority'. Awareness of cognitive alternatives leads the 'minority group' to redefine its existing group attributes and seek new dimensions to strengthen its position *vis-à-vis* the dominant group. Speech accommodation in this case represents the choice to assimilate or to diverge from the 'majority'. The model's usefulness in the Australian context is limited by its reliance on relatively stable minority situations (such as Welsh-English) and on binary systems involving the choice between two dominant languages. By contrast, we are dealing with the maintenance or discontinuation of bilingualism in an English-dominated but highly dynamic and volatile society where there are many languages in contact with English. Nevertheless, we shall test a number of the suggested variables against the Australian situation.

- (i) *Economic status.* Evans and Kelley (1988) contrast birthplace of migrants with occupational status. The status scale ranges from 0 to 100, 0 representing the 'worst' jobs (e.g. labourer), 100 the 'best' ones (e.g. judge, architect). While Germans and Dutch — groups with high rates of shift to English only — record a relatively high occupational status (OS) (37) (comparable to English-speaking groups), the OS of Poles, who experience a much lower language shift, is nearly as high (34). The Chinese OS rate is much higher (45) despite their relatively high language maintenance. The Yugoslav-born have the lowest OS (22), slightly lower than Greeks and Lebanese (24, 25), groups with a lower language shift, but also lower than the Maltese (25) and Italians (25) with a considerably greater language shift rate. Thus there is no clear-cut connection between occupational status and language shift.

- (ii) *Perceived status.* The example of the declining Greek language shift in the second generation and other positive indications among younger speakers of community languages suggests that the improved status of non-English-speaking ethnic groups in Australia has benefited language maintenance. The Greeks have been the leaders in the ethnic rights movement in Australia, especially in Melbourne, and they are widely believed to be the largest non-English-speaking group, something symbolized by the slogan that Melbourne is the world's third largest Greek city. On the other hand, the attitude studies recorded above (pp. 31–4) do not altogether bear out the direct relationship between status and language maintenance, and the status of groups with a high level of language shift (such as Dutch, Germans; also Italians, Poles) has improved greatly to the extent of being on a par with the dominant group (cf. Morgan 1951; OMA 1989.)
- (iii) *Sociohistorical factors.* This issue will be considered in detail in the discussion of 'core values'. For the time being, it should be noted that attitudes towards language use and actual language maintenance do not always correspond.
- (iv) *Language status.* This is not a useful index in the Australian context. English has a superior status to all other languages, both nationally and internationally. Important languages of wider communication such as French and German are not well maintained, yet languages with hardly any international function, such as Greek and Turkish, have high language maintenance rates.
- (v) *Demographic factors.* The question of numbers and limitations to its explanatory power were discussed in the section on Kloss's factors above. Institutional support will be treated in Chapter 3. As to birthrate, it is doubtful if this is a factor promoting language maintenance in the Australian context, since children tend to speak English to their siblings (see above, pp. 55–61). Only children in the family are likely to keep up their L1 better than those with siblings (see for example Clyne 1967).

The above discussion has indicated some possible difficulties in establishing variables of ethnolinguistic vitality in the Australian context. This should not detract from the importance of perceived

ethnolinguistic vitality in the maintenance of some community languages (especially Greek in the recent period).

## Market-place

A number of scholars have discussed the 'linguistic market place' notion of Bourdieu (1982). That is, a language will persist for as long as it is useful socioeconomically. This notion was developed independently by Haugen (1980: 114) who writes:

*Language competence is a skill with a market value that determines who will acquire it . . . Even . . . the first language we learn . . . will be maintained only if it serves as a medium of communication with speakers with whom we wish to communicate.*

The idea has been developed also by Jaspaert and Kroon (1988), and particularly by Tandefelt (1988) in her study of language shift from Swedish to Finnish in Vanda, which has become part of the Helsinki metropolitan area. For instance, in the higher socioeconomic groups, bilingualism is an economic resource which it is not on the factory floor. This argument stands in contrast to the symbolic (identity) function of language which is the focus of Fishman's (1985a) studies of the ethnic revival in the United States. However, Fishman, too, (1985a: 370-2) refers to the 'language requirements of primary reward systems' in the US.

## Smolicz — language in cultural value system

A powerful explanatory model for language maintenance differential between 'ethnic' groups is the 'core value' theory expounded by Smolicz (see for example 1979a, 1981), which was born out of his research in Australia. He contends that each group has particular cultural values that are fundamental to its continued existence as a group, and those rejecting these values run the risk of exclusion from the group. Language is a more crucial core value to some cultures and ethnic groups than to others. So, for instance, according to Smolicz, Greeks and Chinese have language as a 'cultural

core value' and therefore maintain their language in a minority situation, while the Dutch rapidly lose their language under similar conditions, since it is not vital to the maintenance of their ethnicity. Recent support for the latter contention is the establishment in Melbourne of a second-generation Dutch-Australia ethnic cultural group named 'Going Dutch' which is conducted in English and which does not aim at revitalizing the language. I have found the 'language in cultural value system' theory tempting (see for example in Clyne 1982) because of its ready applicability to the explanation and prediction of language maintenance trends which are the main object of inquiry in this chapter. However, there are three problem areas that I wish to address through a number of Australian 'case-studies':

- (i) Problems in 'group definition';
- (ii) Multiple group membership; and
- (iii) Attitudinal changes such as ethnic revivals.

I must stress again at this juncture the possible discontinuity between language use and language attitudes. This is indicated clearly in Fishman's (1985) research on increased 'ethnic mother tongue' claiming in the United States which is not necessarily correlated with increased use of the languages. Smolicz and Harris (1976), Smolicz (1979b) and Smolicz and Secombe (1985) have ascertained (see p. 54 above) that language is held to be a 'cultural core value' by most of their Polish-Australian informants. But the language maintenance rate of Poles (especially those more established in Australia) is far below that of Italians (see Tables 8, 9) among whom Smolicz (1981:76) finds family cohesion taking precedence over language as a cultural core value. This discrepancy is addressed very successfully in a recent paper by Smolicz and Secombe (1989) which examines a wide range of ethnic groups: Chinese, Indian, Welsh, Italian, Greek, Latvian, Polish, Croat and Ukrainian. (In the case of the Welsh, language shift had already begun or even been completed before migration to Australia.) Smolicz and Secombe here differentiate between:

- *Negative evaluation of the community language*: Opposition to language maintenance;
- *Indifference*: Seeing no purpose in language maintenance and showing no interest in it;

- *General positive evaluation*: Regarding the language as a core value but not being prepared to learn it themselves; and
- *Personal positive evaluation*: Putting the commitment to the language into practice.

We must take care to view the cultural values according to the terms in which they are meaningful to the group concerned. Most Italians in Australia have a regional (Calabrian, Sicilian etc.) rather than an Italian ethnic identity (see *Il Veltro* 1987; Bettoni 1987). L1, a regional dialect, is intricately associated with family cohesion (as are language, religion and culture in the Greek value system). A high degree of intertwining of other values with language may, in fact, promote language maintenance. For instance, Smolicz, Lee, Murugaian and Secombe (1989–90) conclude that language is a core value only for Tamils who are devout Hindus. A parallel is the high first generation maintenance of Panjabi among the Sikhs in the small New South Wales country town of Woolgoolga, who have close cultural and religious ties. Family cohesion is expressed through Italian dialects and through language-related activities. This marks Italians off from the Dutch who, on the whole, as Pauwels (1980: 180–210) has shown, can maintain their dominant cultural core value, *gezelligheid* (social togetherness), without the Dutch language.

Donohoue Clyne (1980) shows that for Croats, language appears to be more central to their ethnicity than for the Serbs, whose ethnic culture is upheld through religion. However, this difference is not reflected in actual language use. In fact, 68 per cent of the Serbian- or Serbo-Croatian-speaking Adelaide school children in her sample used that language most (at least three-quarters) of the time. Apart from confirming a mismatch between language attitudes and language use, this supports Kipp's (1980) evidence of language maintenance being promoted more by use in the religious domain (where this is relevant) than by positive attitudes.

Smolicz introduces what I believe to be a dubious element into the discussion when he employs the preservation of literary language and 'purism' as criteria of language as a cultural value priority. Many languages have been preserved over the ages as vernaculars, and a regional variety will sometimes be linked with ethnicity, as Pauwels (1986) has demonstrated for Limburgs. 'Mixed forms' are a normal consequence of language contact (see

Chapter 4) and a cause of language change, and purism is only one response to it. (See discussion on Australitalian, p. 162.)

Let us now return to the three 'problem areas' identified above.

### *Problems in group definition*

Many of today's nations — and our understanding of many of the ethnic groups in contemporary Europe — originate from 19th century nationalism, which was largely language-oriented. Both Herder and Humboldt saw language as the *heart* of a people and the basis of group boundaries. Fishman (1972, 1989) gives an excellent account of the discussion on language and ethnicity. Most modern definitions of ethnicity (for example, Glazer and Moynihan 1975; especially Isaacs 1975: 32–4) ascribe less importance to language and presuppose the following features: the acquisition of history and origins of the group into which one is born; a sense of 'belongingness', including nationality, language, religion and values system (cf. Fishman *et al.* 1985a: 70). Vallée (1975: 167) defines an 'ethnic group' as one 'made up of people who share ethnicity . . . who share some peoplehood or consciousness of a kind, who are regarded by others as being in the one ethnic category'. As Fishman (1989: 276–84) has indicated, it is usually language that gives an ethnic group its authenticity and continuity. To what extent is there a clash between the two aspects, language as the basis of a group and language as a possible carrier of the group? To what extent do groups still rally around the language as an *independent* symbolic value? Let us first consider German in Australia as a case-study.

Of the 111,000 regular home users of German in 1986, about 90,000 were born overseas. More than one in nine speakers of German in Australia is either Austrian or the child of Austrian parents. There are over 3,000 German-speaking Swiss. The speech community divides thus according to migration vintages:

- Refugees and descendants;
- Templars (Palestinian-Swabians), see below;
- 'Displaced persons' and ethnic Germans from Central and Eastern Europe;
- Postwar migrants and descendants (main wave); and
- Postwar migrants and descendants (recent).

(This includes only migrants since the 1930s and discounts a few hundred descendants of 19th-century settlers who occasionally still use the language, though very few of them speak it at home.)

Except for the Swiss and the recent migrants, the groups listed above came to Australia as the direct or indirect result of Hitler's rise to power. This affects their attitudes to each other as well as their relationship to the German language as an identity marker. Yet while other factors may divide them, it is their use of, and identification with the German language that gives them an overarching unity, particularly in the Australian multilingual setting (see below). Concentration patterns within metropolitan areas reflect not only time of arrival but also group membership (for example Jewish refugees, Templars, ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe, postwar German migrants).

I have already mentioned (pp. 74–9) the first modern wave of German speakers, the refugees from National Socialism who arrived in 1938–9 from Vienna and Berlin and other German cities. Most of them were professional or business people, class conscious and speakers of Standard German. They had fled from an oppressive regime which had denied them the national identification which had been dominant in their families for several generations. 'Jewishness' (where relevant at all) having been an additional identification, was frequently seen as an alternative ascription to Roman Catholic and Protestant. Different cultural values and behavioural patterns are embedded in the language and communication rules of Germans and Austrians (Clyne 1984), something that was felt between German and Austrian refugees communicating in Australia. Austrians, having fled from the German annexation of Austria, would sometimes react negatively to features of the German national variety of German.

There were three quite different ways in which refugees responded to their recent experiences and the overseas events that were to follow. Some wanted to break with the past altogether and assimilate completely, marrying into Anglo-Australian families and abandoning the use of German. Others, seeing themselves as bearers of German-language European culture, continued using the language at home — a position made more difficult by antagonism to both Germans and Jews in wartime Australia and in Melbourne by negative attitudes towards liberal German and Austrian Jews on the part of the Eastern European-dominated Jewish

community there (Wiemann 1965). Many refugees, regarding Nazi atrocities as evidence of the failure of assimilation, identified more vehemently as Jews, became absorbed in the Sydney or Melbourne Jewish community, and in some cases even acquired a competence in Yiddish. I shall return to the German and Austrian refugees and their descendants as part of the *Jewish* community in the discussion below of multiple group membership.

After the war, many of the refugees who had maintained German formed the basis of a cultural elite which was joined by some postwar migrants. Others opposed the new wave of German speakers for fear that it would bring former Nazis to Australia. Several clubs and societies (including the Austrian Club in Melbourne), German restaurants, coffee houses and holiday guest houses, as well as one of the three German-Australian newspapers, owe their origin to the refugees. So did the Kleines Wiener Theater in Sydney (see below, pp. 206–7). As some refugees have reverted to the use of German in their old age, their involvement in German-speaking ethnic organizations has increased.

The group that contrasts most with the refugees is the Templars, the most closely-knit of all the German-speaking communities in Australia. The descendants of Swabian (south-west German) pietists who had formed closed agricultural settlements in Palestine between 1868 and 1875, they were deported to Australia by the British Government in 1941. Their acceptance of German nationalist ideology was widespread (Wagner 1976). However, the core values in their cultural system were and are pietist and non-dogmatic religion — the basis of their communities in the Middle East (Hoffmann 1881). Beyond that, they subscribe to the bland work ethic of Württembergers (Swabians), and identified as Palestinian-Swabians in the first place and as Germans in the second. After their release from internment camp, they reestablished their communities in outer Melbourne suburbs with a number of offshoots in other parts of Australia and relatives who joined them from Germany. Of all the 20th-century German-speaking groups in Australia, they maintained the language the longest, helped by their closed-group networks (including in-marriage patterns) and institutional infrastructure — including churches, Saturday schools, cultural, social and self-help groups, and, more recently, an old people's home. With exogamy and geographical mobility, group cohesion required a choice between religious and language

maintenance and, in accordance with their own group value system, they opted to stress the former. They have now acknowledged the advanced state of language shift in some families by introducing bilingualism into all their institutions (Imberger 1979). However, some of the educated Australian-born Templars have played a prominent part in the ethnic lobby in favour of German in primary education and other public domains. The Templar population clusters in the Bayswater area of Melbourne formed the nucleus of the largest concentration of home users of German in Australia, and provided the visibility and demographic basis on which German-English bilingual education in government schools was established.

Most of the 'displaced persons' of the late 1940s knew little or no English on arrival in Australia but they had varying degrees of competence in German due to bilingual upbringing, schooling or exposure to the language at camp in Germany. They continued to employ German as a *lingua franca* in Australia in migrant camps, at work, and in the polyethnic suburbs in which they settled. German was, for some at least, the language in which they were treated as underdogs, a role-relationship in which it was employed as a *lingua franca* also by the Australian authorities (Hrnčirčova-Potter 1984). Apart from having a pragmatic relationship to the German language, many of the 'displaced persons' were highly-educated Europeans from groups with long-standing cultural relationships with the German language, a pride in their multilingualism and a desire to use their languages wherever possible. Except in mixed marriages with German speakers, English gradually replaced German (but not completely, see Table A5, Appendix) as a medium of intergroup communication. Some of them have joined German-speaking organizations, and their descendants have been motivated to learn and study German.

The largest group, the postwar migrants, is quite heterogeneous. It includes Germans, Austrians and Swiss, all of whom use different national varieties of the language. All classes of Swiss use dialect for nearly all functions of the community language in Australia. The Germans include:

- West Germans;
- ethnic Germans from Eastern and Central Europe who had been forced to move to West Germany but who felt alienated there and remigrated;

- expellees from the former German east provinces who had been forced to move to West Germany but preferred to remigrate immediately or at a later stage; and
- refugees from the GDR who felt uprooted in the Federal Republic.

All these groups came to an anglo-conformist Australia which was rather hostile to things German. Different postwar migrants had developed different attitudes to the German past, ranging from guilt and distrust of their elders to resentment at the collapse of the ways of thinking into which they had been socialized. This and membership of the above sub-groups determined not only their decision to migrate but also their relationship to the German language (cf. Imberger 1986) and to other members of the German-Australian speech community. The immediate need to re-establish themselves socioeconomically generally took precedence over language and cultural maintenance.

Because of their different cultural traditions and own view of the recent past, and because there is a separate and neutral Austrian state, Austrians can free themselves from the above-mentioned inhibitions. They tend to have their own communication rules and behavioural norms, and although Austrians and Germans are brought closer together in Australia by the common 'minority' language, they tend to form independent networks and institutions.

The German-speaking Swiss, apart from those married to Germans or Austrians and those working for German firms, do not usually identify with the German-speaking communities. The institutional multilingualism of Switzerland makes Swiss identity language-neutral. The individual Swiss ethnic groups do not relate to the linguistically corresponding nation-state (such as Germany or France). Moreover, it is with a Swiss dialect and not with Standard German that German-Swiss identify (Clyne 1984). However, diglossia (functional specialization between dialect and standard, see Ferguson 1959) is valued even in the Australian context and taught at a Swiss Saturday school in Melbourne.

The most recent German-speaking migrants (mainly from the Federal Republic) were the most wealthy, educated and competent in English of the migrant groups, and the most distanced from the effects of Nazism and war. Their maintenance of German has

benefited not only from rapid cheap air travel to visit Europe, but also from a more linguistically tolerant Australia. Harres (1987) found that the more recently arrived migrants were stricter about children's language maintenance than were the earlier migrants.

So far I have depicted a very diverse and fragmented speech community, far from a single ethnic community. The different groups, based on migration history and vintage, religion, and the nature of their identity, cannot and do not have a single cultural value system with a fixed place assigned to the German language. Many of the social clubs and organizations within the German-Australian speech community are specific to a particular national or other group. Most of Australia's large urban centres have at least one German club and one Austrian club, and many also a Swiss club; but the great majority of German speakers do not belong to any of them. The Templars have a full range of group-specific activities. In Melbourne, the German-Lutheran Churches, the Templars, the Austrian Folkloristic Society, the Swiss Club, and two German parents' groups all run Saturday schools to support the German language development of the children.

However, the German speech community in Australia and particularly in individual states, also functions as an entity in some activities. In most cities, various German-speaking organizations join together for an annual German-Austrian-Swiss *Oktoberfest* which attracts large sections of the wider Australian public. Apart from a German 'ethnic' umbrella organization, *Die Brücke*, there are 'linguistic' umbrella organizations. The Australian-German Welfare Society in Melbourne and Sydney attends to the welfare needs of all vintages and groups of German speakers. It conducts outings and other functions for elderly German speakers — refugees and multilingual 'displaced persons' as well as postwar migrants and Templars. The Melbourne society has started a nursing home in association with the Templars. Common language and cultural experience tend to outweigh differences and prejudice in the age group where people often revert to L1 (cf. below, pp. 114–16). The Association of German-speaking Communities has acted as a lobby group since its foundation in 1974 to represent the interests of the German language in the distribution of public radio time, community language programs in schools and ethnic group funding. The president has been elected biennially from the

various German-speaking organizations which are represented in the Association. The majority of the sub-committees responsible for lobbying and innovative activities have been second-generation Australians from postwar migrant, pre-war refugee and Templar families.

So, while the German language is certainly not the core value of a unified and homogeneous 'ethnic German-speaking group', the language gives a heterogeneous collection of people a sense of cultural unity. This underlines the distinction between a 'speech community' and an 'ethnic group' in the contemporary Australian situation. In this respect, German shares features with Arabic, Spanish, French, Chinese and other languages. Lebanese Maronites and Orthodox Christians, Lebanese Muslims and Egyptians must be seen as separate groups. The same applies to Chinese from the People's Republic of China, to Hong Kong, Malaysian, Vietnamese and Timorese Chinese. Chinese is a majority language in Hong Kong and one of the official languages of Singapore as well as the language of the largest ethnic group there. In Vietnam and Timor it is a minority language. The *fangyan* (variety) of Chinese spoken in these countries varies — mainly Cantonese in Hong Kong, Hakka in Timor, and both of these in Vietnam; while Putoinghua, the official variety in the People's Republic of China, is making inroads in Singapore due to government policy (see Bradley *fc*). The Chinese from Malaysia, Hong Kong and Singapore tend to be wealthy, educated and proficient in English, while those from Vietnam are often small-business people with a more modest education. The largest number of Chinese speakers in Australia is from China (26,998), followed by Vietnam (22,931), Malaysia (22,826), and Hong Kong (22,390). Language maintenance has been higher among Chinese from Timor, Hong Kong and China than among Vietnam-born Chinese, but much lower among Singaporean Chinese (Kee 1988).

The Spanish-speaking community in Australia comprises: 16,693 Chilean-born, 13,021 Spanish-born, 10,245 born in Australia, 8,692 Uruguayans, 7,250 Argentinians, 1,827 Peruvians, and smaller numbers of other Latin American and Philippine speakers of Spanish.

Of the 52,000 French speakers recorded in the 1986 Census, 15,500 were born in Australia. Nine thousand were Mauritian-born, 8,500 were born in France, and nearly 3,000 in Egypt. The

remainder came from Belgium, Switzerland, the French Pacific Territories, Canada or elsewhere. Baggioni (1987) provides an interesting but ideosyncratic critique of multiculturalism and language policy developments throughout Australia from the viewpoint of a Frenchman with a strong French consciousness and the limited opportunities of a two-month stay in Sydney. On the basis of interviews in constituent sections of Sydney's French-speaking community, Baggioni argues that 'Francophones' are different from other groups because their language is not 'reduced' in communication like 'ethnic languages' and brings with it a vast symbolic background and the potential for extended communication. Francophones are not prepared to protest to their hosts about their language rights. Here is an example of a group *united* through its attitude to a language even though its members are representative of different cultures and ethnicities.

Language varieties can be termed languages either because of their distance from other languages or because they have been elaborated to absorb the functions of standard (national) languages (Kloss 1978). 'Serbo-Croatian' has a controversial status between a pluricentric language — one with a number of different *national* (not just regional) varieties — and two separate, elaborated languages, Croatian and Serbian. There have been diverging policies on this in Yugoslavia itself (Ivić 1989; Franolić 1988). There are some differences in the lexicon, phonology\*, morphology\*, syntax, and the nature of transference from other languages (Doucet 1990). Ethnicity and language being inextricably linked, the claim for the autonomous existence of Croatian is naturally made more strongly in a multicultural society such as Australia. However, contrary to popular belief, 55.42 per cent of speakers of the national language of Yugoslavia designated it as 'Yugoslav' or 'Serbo-Croatian' in the 1986 Census, as opposed to 44.48 per cent who called it either 'Croatian' or 'Serbian'. The claimants of a single pluricentric language outnumber the others in all states and territories except Tasmania (48.2 per cent) and the Australian Capital Territory (27.3 per cent), where the Free Serbian Orthodox Church is strong, and not only most Croatians but also most Serbs reject the notion of 'Serbo-Croatian'.

Even apparently more monolithic 'ethnic' groups such as Serbs (Donohue Clyne 1980), Hungarians, Czechs and Dutch (Pauwels 1986) vary in their core values according to their political and

religious views, migration histories, and regional origins. Such differences are self-defined within each community. Determining a group from the outside according to birthplace of parents (cf. Smolicz) is therefore problematic.

Unfortunately there are severe limitations, for confidentiality and financial reasons, on the processing and availability of census cross-tabulations with language, birthplace and birthplace of parents. This has rendered impossible much meaningful sub-categorization of 'ethnolinguistic groups' according to pre-1976 vintages and religious or ethnic groups.

### *Multiple group membership*

Many people come to Australia with multiple group membership. As has been mentioned above, the Templars identified first as Palestinian-Swabians and second as Germans. In the course of time an additional 'Australian' identification is added. Another group with multiple identification is those who are Macedonians, Yugoslavs, and Australians. They are Macedonians as are Macedonians from Greece, 'Yugoslavs' like Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, Bosnians and so on, but different. Eventually, three labels may prove too many, and they will need to discard one of them. In the 1986 Census, only 227 people in New South Wales and 181 in Victoria described their ancestry as 'German-Jewish' (0.26 per cent of the German-descended population) and 61 in New South Wales and 39 in Victoria as 'Jewish-German' (0.37 per cent of the Jewish-descended population), (Charles Price, personal communication). Then there is the case of the Israelis. They are Jews like Polish, Russian, German and other Jews, but different. (The German-Jewish and Russian-Jewish identity problem will be taken up below.) McNamara's (1987) study of Israeli native speakers of Hebrew and their children shows that, because of Zionist ideology they, as emigrants from Israel, are stigmatized by both Israelis remaining in Israel and the wider Jewish community in Melbourne. The stigma is sometimes internalized. They are in a new 'minority' situation in Australia in which they are primarily identified as Jews (an 'unmarked' identity in Israel). McNamara shows that the dilemmas created by the multiple group membership played a key role in language attitudes favouring English over Hebrew among the adults and a rapid language shift among the children. This stands in contrast with the high

status of Hebrew in the Australian-Jewish community (Klarberg 1976) and the widespread teaching of the language in Jewish schools in Australia (Klarberg 1983, see also pp. 117–24).

Smolicz (1979a: 61–2; 1981: 78) describes 'Jewish culture' as non-language-centered and views the importance of Hebrew as a core value in Israel as exceptional, and the consequence of other core values. However, Fishman (1987) demonstrates the importance of Jewish languages and varieties (including Yiddish and Ladinic) through the ages. Smolicz also begs the question in that he assumes a single ethnicity. In recent centuries there has been a major cultural gulf between Eastern and Western Jewry, and this is reflected in language. The diglossic relationship between Hebrew as the H language and Yiddish as the L language (Fishman 1967; Klarberg 1983) was central to Eastern European-Jewish culture. A language-centered Yiddish secular culture emerged, especially in Poland (Fishman 1985a, 1989). With the demise of West Yiddish as from the late 18th century, the German of German and Austrian Jews (or Jewish Germans and Austrians) was indistinguishable from that of other German speakers apart from stabilized Yiddish transfers\* employed in closed networks. German was the linguistic marker of German-Jewish ethnicity, and German and Austrian Jews contributed significantly to German culture (Billigheimer 1974).

This is an appropriate point to return to the Australian situation. The generation of the 1930s refugees continue to use German with much English transference and code-switching\* in informal settings. There has been, since the Six-Day-War, a redefining of Jewish 'ethnicity' in Australia with the old Eastern (Yiddish-based) and Western (German-based) cultural elements being reconstituted as an English-medium unity. The German-origin Liberal Jewish communities have dropped their opposition to Zionism and to Jewish day schools and have, in fact, founded their own day schools, in which Hebrew is taught in relation to religious and cultural studies (Klarberg 1983). By the third generation, the language of symbolic identification tends to be Hebrew rather than the language of the grandparents (for example German or Hungarian).

This is the situation into which the Russian-Jewish emigrants of the 1980s have come. Their multiple identity and dual linguistic loyalty is discussed by Kouzmin (1988) by reference to articles and letters published in *Shalom*, the Jewish Russian-language news

paper. It should be remembered that this wave of emigrants 'intended' to migrate to Israel — and they have generally settled in areas of Melbourne and Sydney with large Jewish populations, suburbs that are now sometimes referred to as 'Mini-Odessa' (Kouzman 1988: 57). The children have been encouraged to attend Jewish day schools by reduction of fees. Kouzman shows that, while Russian is the dominant language in the domains of what she calls the 'third wave' Russian migrants, their responses to attitudinal questions suggest relatively instrumental orientation to Russian language maintenance — communicative need, as well as motivation to pass on the language for educational and cultural reasons. Russian is the bearer of culture of a group that sees itself as culturally Russian and ethnically Jewish.

The arguments advanced above should not be considered contrary to the theory of language and core values, which I find plausible and useful, but rather as a contribution to its refinement. The recognition of sub-groups is, I believe, inherent in Smolicz, Lee, Murugaian and Secombe (1989–90) where the Tamil language is claimed to be a core value among Tamil Hindus but not among Tamil Christians.

### *Ethnic revivals*

I have mentioned earlier in this chapter (pp. 41–50) the increase in the number of people declaring the use of Macedonian and Maltese, and its possible relation to the notion of 'ethnic revival'. This is a further challenge to the 'core value' theory. If previously, say, Maltese was not a core value in Maltese culture, can it suddenly become one because of the impact of Australian attitudes? Does it mean that the Maltese cultural core value system has changed? Or that language has become a core value in Maltese-Australian culture? It should be noted that many of the Greeks who came to Australia in the 1930s changed their surnames, married Anglo-Australians, and/or did not pass on the Greek language to their children. This contrasts with the ethnolinguistic vitality and strong language maintenance efforts of the more recent Greek migrants.

Perhaps the best example of an 'ethnic revival' affects a language which is probably not spoken at all in Australia today — Sorbian (also known as Wendish or Lusatian), a West Slavic language akin

to Czech, Slovak and Polish. Bilingual Sorbs came to Australia as part of a German migration from Silesia (now part of Poland) and Saxony in the 19th century, particularly between 1838 and 1858. They settled mainly with Germans in rural settlements in South Australia, Victoria, Southern NSW and Southern Queensland, absorbing German as their language before later shifting to English. During field-trips to some of these settlements in the late 1960s and early 1970s, I found that some of my German-English bilingual informants could count in Sorbian or still remembered a few phrases (sometimes without their meaning) which they had learned from a grandparent. The almost complete absence of Sorbian use in Australia in the late 1960s is confirmed by Perkowski (1969). A strong interest in the 'Sorbian past' was initiated by an article by Pastor Rupert Burger (1976) in the *Yearbook* of the Lutheran Church of Australia in which he claimed, among other things, that many of the 'German-Australian' pioneers were, in fact, Sorbs, some of whom had changed their surnames to German ones. It will be recalled (cf. Chapter 1) that 1976 was during the heyday of multiculturalism in Australia. There are now Sorb Committees in three states promoting Sorbian culture and migration history (and even Sorbian recipes). Permanent and travelling exhibitions of Sorbs in Australia have been mounted. 'Trips home' are organized and an Australian-Sorbian Association has been established. There appear to be few sources for the learning of Sorbian in Australia, and some people are teaching themselves the language from books.

## TOWARDS A PREDICTIVE MODEL

Fishman (1985a) expresses caution about predictions of future use owing to the many intervening and imponderable variables between mainstream and sidestream use, including 'ethnic revivals' and immigration patterns. He does, however, propose sets of measures for predicting the relative survival rates of community languages (1985a: 158–66). This is in the context of his pioneering work on the increased identification with — but not necessarily increased use of — community languages in the USA between the 1960 and 1970 Censuses, and the reaction away from this 'ethnic revival'. The following are his three predictive measures.

- (i) The number of community language claimants *per se*, adjusted for average age;
- (ii) The institutional resources for language maintenance and other factors, such as religious and racial distance from the mainstream, in addition to period of major immigration; and
- (iii) A compromise between the two.

By criterion (i), Spanish, Italian, French and German come out on top in the US; according to (ii), the leading 'survivors' are Hebrew, Korean, Albanian, and the combined category 'Thai/ Lao' (presumably introduced by the US Census Office); and the compromise measure gives us Spanish, Hebrew, German, and Polish. Language communities group themselves into Northern and Central European (those with the least language maintenance), then 'small-language speakers', non-European, and Eastern Orthodox (including Eastern Rite Catholics), in that order. Let us try to assess whether these sets of measures and categories can be applied in Australia. (Incidentally, for the purpose of prediction, the home language data is more useful than the 'language regularly used' would be, and far more useful than the American 'Mother Tongue claim' question, for it is in the home that a language is usually acquired for intergenerational use.) We do have available to us the median age of speakers of various community languages. However, some of Fishman's classifications might need to be modified. For instance, in religion, he differentiates the groups: Mainstream Protestants 1, Western Catholics 2, Other participationist Christians 3, Non-Christians 4, Non-Participationists 5.

With over four million adherents, Western Catholics form the largest single religious group in Australia and could hardly be excluded from the mainstream even though their numbers are exceeded considerably by 'Mainstream Protestants' as a group (Anglicans, Uniting Church, Presbyterians and Baptists). Some languages have speakers of different religious affiliations. Lebanese speakers of Arabic fit into groups 3 and 4 (Eastern Catholic/Orthodox/Muslim). Other 'mixed religion' groups are speakers of Albanian 2,3,4 (Catholic, Orthodox, Muslim); German (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish); Hungarian (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Hassidic); and Russian (Protestant, Orthodox/ Eastern Catholic, Jewish).

There are also some problems with the institutional criteria. The

first is the inclusion of languages which are used mainly for liturgical or religious functions by ethnic groups in the immigration country, but are also the community and home languages of small minorities. The combination enables the large number of Jewish congregations to inflate the prospects of the maintenance of Hebrew when most of the people concerned are barely proficient (if at all) in the modern language. The numerically relatively insignificant group of Israelis may, in fact, not further Hebrew language maintenance at all (see above, pp. 102–4 and McNamara 1987).

A whole set of questions is raised by the use of the *number of language maintenance institutions* as a predictive criterion. Are twelve newspapers in a particular language with a combined circulation of 20,000 a greater resource than one with a circulation of 25,000? (This may be the case where there are distinct sub-groups within the speech communities.) Perhaps the number of hours of broadcasts and telecasts in a particular language (that is, with the community language as the medium) is more relevant than the number of stations broadcasting in the language. Perhaps the number of pupils is as important as the number of part-time ethnic schools, and the number of adherents or members and the number of services in a particular language need to be taken into account as well as the number of local religious units. Another problem is that Fishman's model seems to assume a linear quantifiable relation between language maintenance and certain institutions. While we might hope that all language maintenance institutions promote language maintenance, we do not know which of them are succeeding in doing so. Might the number of books, magazines and cassettes in a particular language (not mentioned by Fishman) available in libraries be as significant as the number of ethnic newspapers? On the other hand, if it can be proved that language is (or is not) a core value in the cultural value system of a particular group this could be worked into the model.

It may be that neither our data base nor our understanding of the impact of social variables is yet sufficiently complete for a mathematical formula to be developed at this stage which has predictive power for something as complex as language maintenance. But the model which Fishman has reluctantly put at our disposal goes a long way towards enumerating the factors that need to be included. At this stage I can only offer a statement of statistical facts that can be taken into account in prediction, as long as there is no new

migration from the countries where the languages are spoken, no major international conflict involving these countries, and no major shift in internal policy towards non-English-speaking ethnic groups (see p. 51). Such a statement of facts would include (see Table A6, Appendix):

- (i) The age distribution of speakers of the language in Australia.
  - a. The mortality rate: this could help predict the continuation of the oldest and most retentive groups of speakers.
  - b. The numbers coming into the 25–34 age group where the language shift rises substantially and also into the 15–24 age group where language shift also increases. (We must be cautious because it is not always possible to predict language behaviour of one vintage of speakers of a community

Table 16 Median age of speakers of selected community languages (Source: based on 1986 Census)

Language	Median age group	Community age*
Arabic	20–24	4
Chinese	25–29	3
Dutch	45–49	1
French	35–39	2
German	45–49	1
Greek	30–34	3
Italian	35–39	2
Maltese	35–39	2
Polish	40–44	2
Serbo-Croatian	25–29	3
Spanish	25–29	3
Vietnamese	20–24	4

\* The numbering in the third column indicates progression from the oldest to the youngest communities.

language on the basis of the behaviour of another vintage.)

- (ii) Tendencies in the inter-marriage rate: this may permit us to assess whether language shift for a particular language should be calculated on the 'endogamous' or the 'exogamous' rate.
- (iii) Language maintenance resources: see Chapter 3 and particularly pp. 154–5. Another factor that would need to be predicted is the birthrate of each group.

## CLOSING REMARKS – THE FUTURE OF COMMUNITY LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA

This chapter has presented statistical data from censuses, which paint a fairly pessimistic picture of the maintenance of community languages in Australia. The new wording of the census question, focusing on the most crucial domain for cultural reproduction, highlights the rapidity of language shift, at least for the more established ethnolinguistic groups. The 1986 Census data indicates the unequivocal significance of demographic variables in language shift — ethnolinguistic distribution, gender, and marriage patterns. While the oldest age groups shift most in the second generation and least in the first, the 25–34-year-olds tend to shift most or initiate a sharp shift to English only. Cultural distance (including religion) is a key variable. Period of residence is a complex variable, being intricately connected with vintage and therefore 'sub-group', and with the opportunity of experiencing particular periods of Australian attitudes and policies towards mono- and multilingualism (see pp. 24–5). The general situation seems to comply with Fishman's (fc) conclusion that Australia's unusually sympathetic, supportive and idealistic policies towards community languages will still not effect a reversal of language shift. 'Self-help and self-regulation, safeguarded by boundary setting and boundary preservation', he writes, 'are the *sina qua non* of RLS (reversing language shift)', something that does not concur with 'the ethos of shared participationism'. This, of course, does not prove that language shift would not have been much greater without the policies, for where there is a personal choice in favour of community languages

it is now supported. Most of the groups that appear to be maintaining their community language strongly have the cultural distance that Fishman (1985a) predicts would enable them to keep their language alive. But the Turkish, Arabic and Chinese speakers are also the groups with a predominance of new migrants — and Chinese and Arabic are likely to become the prominent Australian community languages of the future. The Greeks and Macedonians, whose ethnolinguistic vitality has been greatly strengthened in the past decade, are not necessarily culturally more distinct than Serbs or Russians, whose ethnolinguistic vitality has not been appreciably affected in this way. Are the new vintage of Poles maintaining Polish so well because they are recent migrants or because of the sympathetic policies and attitudes in Australia? Will the language maintenance tendencies of the newer 'more distant' groups encourage the maintenance efforts of the older established and 'less distant' language groups such as Italian, German, Hungarian and Spanish speakers, or will these groups align themselves to an increasing extent with the monolingual English-speaking majority? Fishman (fc) sees geographical dispersion and exogamy frustrating a reversal of language shift, but these phenomena are typical features of a mobile dynamic society.

The lower language shift among the second-generation 0–24-year-olds than among their first-generation counterparts for groups with comparable data prompts us to ask what families do to reverse language shift. Anecdotal information suggests that four 'measures' have been adopted. Bear in mind that English has usually been the language of interaction between the young — the new parental generation within a non-English-speaking group.

- (i) Some parents adopt the community language as the home language at the birth of the first child. This is frequently the case among Latvian-Australians (personal communication, Viesturs Karnups). While the communication function of language generally determines the maintenance of that language in the first generation, it is the identity (symbolic) function that promotes its use in the home in the second generation.
- (ii) Some parents continue speaking English to each other but use the community language to their children as well as to their own parents. This is then strengthened by the cultural trans-

mission from grandparents to grandchildren. This pattern is frequently adopted by second-generation Greek-Australians in Melbourne. (Penny Tasios is writing a BA [Honours] thesis at Monash University on this topic.)

- (iii) In some 'mixed marriage' situations, children are brought up bilingually on the consistent principle of 'one parent, one language' (Saunders 1982, 1988). The language resources of the community may strengthen the endeavour. This pattern is adopted quite frequently for German but in many cases without much success (Döpke 1988a, b). Döpke has conducted a longitudinal study using conversational analysis based on parent-child interaction. She shows that it is not sociolinguistic factors such as the amount of exposure to the community language or the gender of the parent using it so much as the *quality* (child-centredness) of the interaction of the community-language-speaking parent in comparison with the English-speaking parent that determines successful language maintenance by the one-parent one-language method. (This method probably requires the other parent to understand though not speak the community language, to avoid any feeling of exclusion, for the success of the method rests on that person's goodwill.) Incidentally, some highly competent non-native speakers of community languages have adopted this pattern, Saunders himself among them.
- (iv) The formation of (pre-school) play groups. As Meyer (1982) has demonstrated, these rely heavily on the mother being the community language speaker and being a primary care-giver. They can only supplement, not replace home use of the community language.

The successful and unsuccessful implementation of these and other individual/family patterns of language maintenance need to be examined more closely and the results made known more widely, for there is much uncertainty, anxiety and scepticism surrounding the reality of language maintenance in the community (see for example Pauwels 1980). A language passed on in the home can be maintained outside. However, the future of community languages in Australia will probably depend on imaginative ways of home language maintenance tapping the resources of language maintenance institutions and taking advantage of support systems.

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## The use of community languages in Australia

### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

So far, I have put language maintenance and shift in Australia into a historical context and examined the statistical data on the distribution and fate of community languages. I have also attempted to isolate variables promoting language maintenance or shift, for explanatory and predictive objectives, in relation to various theoretical frameworks. Some of the data are general, others domain-specific, such as those relating to home use. This chapter will be devoted to the functions and domains in which community languages are employed in the supportive context of contemporary Australia. Due to the enormity of the data-gathering task, my data base will necessarily be limited. Where possible, 1986 statistics are given since this was also the year of our Census data.

### DOMAIN AND CODE-SELECTION

From Chapter 2 we see that community languages are employed widely in private and public domains. The role of domain in the code-selection of bi- and multilinguals has been an important discovery in the sociology of language (Fishman 1965, 1966, 1985a; Cooper 1967; Greenfield 1970). *Domains* are contextualized

spheres, or total interactional contexts of communication, such as home, work, neighbourhood, school and local religious unit. However, domains themselves are not the only significant factor in code selection. Sankoff (1971) shows that *interlocutors* (and their ethnic ascription, something which often correlates with age, see below) play an important role, even more so than situation, topic, style and medium. Other variables that have been identified are: *role-relationship* (such as parent-child, ethnic school teacher-pupil, minister of religion-member of congregation); *venue* (for example, community language used only in the grandparents' home, or only in one's own home, while English is used in other places); *interaction type* (the community language may, for example, be used for jokes but not for serious matters, for sermons but not for secular speeches, or for private but not for business communication); and *medium* (for example the community language may be employed for face-to-face interaction but not over the telephone, or for both but not in letters).

## HOME AND FAMILY

In many previous studies, both in Australia (such as Clyne 1967; Kipp 1980; Bettoni 1981) and overseas (see e.g. Haugen 1973: 63-4), it had been shown or assumed that the home domain and venue is the last in which a community language is employed. However, the data provided by the 1983 ABS Survey and the 1986 Census (Table 4) demonstrates that, for longer established languages, this is not necessarily the case. It is social communication within the extended family, not necessarily in the home, that maintains the language. Two important variables in community language use are then the presence of an extended family — especially grandparents — within easy reach and the cohabitation of the extended family. This is consistent with a well-attested fact that young people will speak minority languages only or mainly to older people (Smolicz and Harris 1976; Clyne 1968a; Kipp 1980), or to people identified with an old-fashioned (*sometimes* peasant) value system (cf. Gal 1979 on the use of Hungarian in an Austrian village). In former settlements in rural areas of Australia where German was 'dying' in

the 1960s and 1970s, the choice of German was determined by the age of the interlocutor, usually related to whether he or she had had bilingual schooling, and age at the time of World War I (Clyne 1981a, cf. also above, pp. 12–14).

Some older people will then address in English all people of their children's generation. It has already been mentioned (pp. 52–4) that in Australia, no matter in what language children address their parents, they will speak English to each other. This has a profound effect on both language maintenance/shift patterns and the restriction of registers in the community language. Even when Australians of similar ethnolinguistic background marry, they are likely to continue their previous peer-group pattern of communicating in English, making English the language of the new nuclear family home (but cf. pp. 109–11). Younger generation peer-group communication in English prevents most of them from ever acquiring a children's register in the community language, although this is counteracted in some cases by visits overseas and children's films on video and television.

It is the older generation that is usually identified as 'foreign'. In many families, a phonologically and sometimes also syntactically marked foreigner talk\* replaces the community language as the second generation's code of communication with parents, older relatives and, by extension, all people with a very conspicuous 'foreign accent'. Sometimes there is free variation between a community language and English 'foreigner talk', but the latter can be regarded as an advanced stage in language shift. While the users of this foreigner talk see its purpose as facilitating communication, it tends to have an identification function (Clyne 1981d; cf. above, p. 3).

## Bilingualism and language reversion in the elderly

As is suggested by the statistics discussed on pp. 79–85, children act as agents of language shift, whereas grandparents (especially the overseas-born) are catalysts of community language use. Many of them arrived in Australia with little or no English and had only very limited opportunities to acquire the language.

It has been observed (Clyne 1977b, 1981b) that *some* bilinguals over the age of 60 frequently transfer lexical items from L1 into English, and code-switch from English into L1. This direction is the reverse of the general tendency in code-switching (see p. 191). Elderly migrants themselves, their families, and ethnic communities are aware of reversion to the first language and culture (Hearst 1981; Lippmann 1977). In fact, the issue has become part of 'migration mythology' in Australia and the discussion has led to increased attention being paid to the care of the non-English-speaking aged by both governments and ethnic communities. Reversion to L1 is generally accompanied by a deterioration in English skills — attrition of vocabulary and sometimes the (re)emergence of what appears to be an earlier, pidginized phase of second-language acquisition (for example, with generalized present tense verbal forms), (Clyne 1977b, 1981b.) *Marginal passages* between the two languages have been observed in the speech of elderly migrants whose L1 is closely related to English (see p. 197). Most of the above observations are based on cross-sectional analysis (comparisons between bilinguals of different ages) and not on longitudinal studies. (In a few cases, data were available from the same informants at different times.) In the only longitudinal study of this topic conducted so far in Australia, a group of Dutch-English bilinguals was retested after about 16 years (De Bot and Clyne 1989). They had been selected on the basis of high competence in both Dutch and English in the first interview. This *may* have been responsible for language attrition not correlating with age. The results of this study, together with earlier data, have led to a hypothesis based on Neisser (1984) — that there is a threshold of competence beyond which attrition of L2 skills is not likely to occur.

Where they occur, L2 attrition and L1 reversion may be attributed to one or more of the following:

- (i) A decline in the use of L2 (such as following retirement, although L1 reversion and L2 attrition is also observed in elderly people still in the work force). Older people often tend to mix more with people of the same ethnolinguistic background. This is testified to by the large number of groups and circles for 'seniors' within ethnic communities, and the preponderance of retired people at many ethnic community meetings.

- (ii) Earlier acquisition leading to deeper processing of information and therefore better retrieval in old age (Storandt 1979).
- (iii) Hemispheric specialization involving a reversion to the use of the right hemisphere of the brain for L2 after L2, like L1, had employed the left hemisphere when it had become a (co)dominant language. (This explanation is based on the theory of Albert and Obler [1978] of hemispheric use in bilinguals.)

It is difficult to ascertain why L1 reversion and L2 attrition affect some people and not (or more than) others. Among the variables favouring stable bilingualism are the acquisition of English in childhood and bi- or multilingual development regardless of the languages (Clyne 1977b, 1981b).

## FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS

Smolicz (1979) shows that the primary group system of the extended family is supplemented, at least in some ethnic groups, by a primary network of close friends. Older migrants and even some Australian-born from 'ethnic' backgrounds draw these predominantly from people of the same background. At least in the first generation, this gives many opportunities for the use of the community language. Through friends, the second generation gains more 'input' in the language, but not all seize the chance to employ the community language to their parents' friends. Whereas Bettoni (1981: 51) found that the parents' friends are among those with whom Italian is used in North Queensland, only 39 per cent of Polish-Australians, 35 per cent of Italian-Australians and 24 per cent of Dutch-Australians in Smolicz and Harris's (1976) Adelaide sample use the community language to their parents' friends. As I have shown above (pp. 55–61), English is used between young people. In some groups (such as Latvian, Greek, Turkish), greater attempts are made to organize young people's friendship networks than in other groups (for example Dutch, German).

The high concentration of some languages (such as Macedonian, Turkish, Maltese and Yiddish) in particular areas of capital cities (cf. Clyne 1982: 16–26) offers additional informal opportunities for the use of the community language with neighbours.

## EDUCATION

During the assimilationist period in Australian history, schools acted as agents of language shift (Clyne 1968b; Smolicz 1971, 1979; Smolicz and Secombe 1985). Children were discouraged from employing their community language. They were rarely given the chance to learn it formally. Even where the appropriate community language was offered at school, children from the ethnic background were discouraged or discriminated against in class (cf. pp. 15–18). This led to a low estimation of community languages. It also prevented the children from developing a competence in the home language which was adequate to their cognitive development and to keep pace with their English. If we accept with Cummins (1976, 1979) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) that a threshold level in L1 is needed on which to build second-language and conceptual development, the unavailability of instruction in and through the L1 may have also prevented many first-generation migrant children from gaining a sufficient command of English.

There are three contexts in which community languages are used in schools:

- (i) Informal use of L1 between pupils;
- (ii) Instruction in community languages; and
- (iii) Instruction given (partly or wholly) through the medium of a community language.

As has been indicated above, the peer-group medium of communication amongst the younger generation is English. The exceptions, even in the school domain, are communication between recently-arrived migrant children (and between them and other speakers of their community language) and playtime discourse where one group of children is trying to exclude the others by use of a particular language. The latter does not appear to be a widespread use of community languages. However, teachers and pupils, especially in schools in areas of Melbourne and Sydney with 'high migrant density', have reported this phenomenon anecdotally. What it shows is that the present generation of young bilinguals does not see a need to conceal their knowledge of community languages, as have previous generations, and actually use them to fulfil both communicative and identification functions.

Table 17 Numbers of candidates, 1986 — matriculation examinations (Source: adapted from lo Bianco 1987: 28-9)

	NSW	VIC.	QLD
Arabic	196	2	—
Chinese	299	252	29
Czech	7	2	—
Croatian	76	114	—
Serbo-Croatian	30	36	—
Dutch	8	17	—
Khmer	—	3	—
Estonian	1	—	—
French	2,612	1,090	812
German	1,272	433	679
Greek (Modern)	679	1,168	1
Hebrew	48	115	—
Hungarian	7	21	—
Indonesian	196	311	23
Malaysian	145	—	—
Italian	805	791	84
Japanese	233	141	256
Latvian	7	8	—
Lithuanian	4	3	—
Macedonian	32	28	—
Maltese	—	5	—
Polish	43	39	—
Russian	19	53	—
Slovenian	9	4	—
Spanish	158	121	—
Swedish	—	2	—
Turkish	117	84	—
Ukrainian	12	19	—
Vietnamese	—	—	—

WA	SA/NT	TAS.	ACT	TOTAL
—	—	—	—	198
93	96	11	14	794
—	—	—	—	9
—	—	—	—	190
—	6	—	—	72
—	2	15	—	42
—	—	—	—	3
—	—	—	—	1
514	416	94	144	5,692
225	393	74	104	3,180
—	253	8	14	2,123
—	1	—	—	164
—	2	—	—	30
152	84	53	—	819
—	4	—	—	149
340	284	39	38	2,381
103	86	37	25	881
—	7	—	—	22
—	2	—	—	9
—	—	—	—	60
—	—	—	—	5
—	21	8	—	111
—	9	1	—	82
—	—	—	—	13
—	16	1	11	307
—	—	—	—	2
—	—	—	—	201
—	3	—	—	34
—	120	—	—	120

The policies outlined in Chapter 5 have led to a healthy increase, in the past ten years, in the number of primary and secondary schools teaching community languages as part of the normal curriculum. The number of languages examined at the Matriculation level also continues to rise and now stands at twenty-eight, with at least seven others in the process of accreditation. By co-operative arrangements, it is possible for candidates to be examined by authorities in other states. Some languages (for example Vietnamese) are now examined in more states than was the case in 1986 (cf. Table 17).

In some states, all community languages are potentially final examination subjects, and the states co-operate in examining languages that cannot be offered everywhere. (Education is a state prerogative.)

Australian Sign Language is to become a Matriculation (VCE) subject in Victoria. Awaiting accreditation are Armenian, Bengali, Farsi, Finnish, Hindi, Irish and Korean.

In the five years from 1981 to 1986, the number of candidates has almost quadrupled in Turkish and Vietnamese and it has doubled in Greek. Macedonian, not examined at all in 1981, had 60 candidates in 1986 (see comparative table, lo Bianco 1987: 28–9). Of course, not every school can teach each community language as part of the normal teaching program, and classes in a wide range of community languages are available at a state school each in a number of regional centres in Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide on Saturday mornings. This enables pupils to take and be accredited with any of the languages even if they are not offered in their own schools. The diversity of languages taught in any one building underlines the fact that community language study is a normal activity in Australia. A range of languages may also be studied by correspondence as part of schooling by pupils from both urban and rural areas. In spite of all this, only one in eight of pupils with a background in a community language is studying that language at school (ACMA 1988:121). However, the proportion is increasing, and was already nearly 26 per cent in South Australia in 1986 (Di Biase and Dyson 1988: 3).

All in all, the largest proportion taking the community language as a school subject is to be found in Hebrew (50.36 per cent), Italian (26.2 per cent) and French (23.6 per cent) due to the high percentage of Israeli and other Jewish students attending Jewish schools,

the predominance of Italian programs in Roman Catholic schools attended by children of Italian descent, and the traditionally widespread teaching of French. Languages which a low proportion of speakers study at school include Dutch, Polish and Russian (1.0

Table 18 Percentages of students with home background in a language who are studying it at school, 1983 (Source: National Survey 1986: 73).

	Primary	Secondary	All levels
Italian	17.8	37.3	26.2
Greek	8.6	22.4	15.3
Chinese	2.6	3.9	3.4
Arabic	10.6	4.2	8.6
German	2.4	33.1	17.5
Croatian	2.8	0.2	1.8
Serbian	3.2	0.1	1.9
Maltese	6.1	2.0	4.6
Spanish	4.6	4.2	4.4
Dutch	1.0	1.0	1.0
Macedonian	2.1	3.6	2.6
Vietnamese	1.6	2.5	2.0
Aboriginal languages	19.1	18.4	19.0
Polish	0.7	1.5	1.0
French	6.2	46.8	23.6
Turkish	10.0	6.5	8.7
Hungarian	0.1	0.2	0.1
Russian	1.0	1.1	1.0
Hebrew	49.6	50.7	50.3

per cent), and Hungarian (0.1 per cent). The community language percentages that are high at primary school are Hebrew (49.6), Italian (17.8), Arabic (10.6) and Turkish (10.0); while at secondary school they are Hebrew (50.7), French (46.8), Italian (37.3) and German (33.1). However, the proportion is increasing. On the other hand, many community languages are taught not only to pupils with a home background in them, but to any interested students.

It should be noted that the teaching of languages other than English in primary schools has expanded considerably since 1983, and opportunities for language maintenance and development have thus improved. There are three main categories of day schools in Australia — state, Catholic and independent — the latter normally being affiliated with other religious denominations. Non-government schools charge fees, and independent and some Catholic schools are identified with the middle and upper-middle classes. In some states, over one-third of the pupils attend non-government schools. Language maintenance programs have increased in state and Catholic schools. Most independent schools are associated with the Anglo-Australian Establishment although they are also attended by the children of many socially mobile 'ethnic Australians'. The situation differs in schools run by ethnic denominations. All Jewish independent schools teach Hebrew (cf. Table 18), Greek day schools teach Greek, and the few Islamic schools give instruction in Koranic Arabic. Community language teaching is developed most in Victoria, South Australia and New South Wales and least in Queensland, Tasmania and Western Australia. In South Australia, 18.4 per cent of all primary school pupils were learning a language other than English at school in 1986. The largest programs there are for German, Italian, and Greek (see Table A6, Appendix; also lo Bianco 1988: 232). Victoria has had, since 1983, a system whereby bilingual and community language teachers are appointed to state primary schools over and above the normal teacher allotment to teach a community language or other subjects through the medium of a community language. Most of those teachers are at present for Italian, Greek, German and Turkish programs (see Table A7, Appendix). A large-scale expansion of Japanese and Chinese programs is expected. All such programs, which generally commence in the Preparatory year (age 5) or in Grade 1 (age 6) involve at least three hours per week. A similar

scheme was started in NSW two years earlier but has developed more slowly there. The main languages taught in NSW primary schools are Greek, Italian and Turkish (see Table 9).

In addition, 223,000 pupils attend insertion classes, government-subsidized classes in a second language, usually in Italian, conducted by an ethnic community organization in regular school time. These lessons are usually only for two half hours per week and offered to children with or without a background in the language. Unfortunately some of the teachers are untrained and these programs fall short of a satisfactory time allocation. While giving children an introduction to language study, they seem to attract unrealistic expectations. Many schools, especially non-government schools, make their own arrangements for the teaching of community languages.

Although South Australia has had a longer history of teaching community languages in primary schools in the postwar period than any other state, it has paid relatively little attention to continuity from primary to secondary or to the appointment of full-time specialist language teachers in specific primary schools, most primary language teachers in that state being itinerant.

The major languages taken vary according to the state and the level (primary, secondary) as well as the school system (cf. Table A9, Appendix). For instance, (Modern) Greek has the highest enrolments in the final year of schooling in Victoria while Italian is the language most widely learned in Victorian primary schools and in Catholic schools throughout the country. French is still the most widely taught language other than English in state secondary schools in most states. However, German is the major second language in South Australian schools, and Indonesian predominates in the schools of the Northern Territory. Throughout Australia, the number of schools and pupils taking Japanese is rising faster than for any other language. Japanese has already overtaken the other languages in student demand in many tertiary institutions.

In the past decade, universities and colleges have greatly expanded their offerings in community languages in order to train teachers of the languages and people in other service professions. Twenty-eight languages other than English are now offered as full subjects in universities throughout Australia. Major study in Modern Greek, Macedonian, Ukrainian and Vietnamese, for example, is available at several institutions.

There is at least one tertiary institution in each state offering degree courses in interpreting and translating, with community languages in great demand as majors.

It must be stated that the tertiary education programs are not sufficient to satisfy the demand for community language teachers, especially in primary schools, not only for languages such as Maltese and Vietnamese, which are not traditionally taught widely, but even for the well-established community languages, German, Greek and Italian.

The problem of the unavailability of appropriate course materials has been largely overcome through the production of readers, textbooks, audio-visual material and cassettes in a wide range of community languages, often in co-operative projects between the states. The model has been the materials produced jointly by Victoria and South Australia which are specially designed for the teaching and learning of Greek in an urban Australian setting.

## Bilingual education

Bilingual education is teaching and learning through the medium of two languages (see for example Fishman 1977; Andersson and Boyer 1978). It will be remembered that such programs flourished in Australia in the 19th century (cf. above, pp. 6–11). By comparison with other countries, such as Canada and the United States, (20th-century) Australia has not yet implemented bilingual education on a large scale. There is variation in the objectives of different programs, but they generally combine the cognitive and identification functions of language. This is because of the range of students for whom bilingual programs are suitable. They include:

- those who have received a considerable part of their education (primary and perhaps some secondary) in L1;
- those who enter school with a good grounding in L1 from home but whose L1 needs to keep pace with English and cognitive development through a primary school program;
- those with an oral (but not a literate) background in the community language;
- those who respond in English when addressed in the community language, and whose passive skills need to be activated through

the necessary amount of 'input' and favourable psychological conditions;

- dialect speakers;
- those with no background in the community language.

(i) *General educational objectives*

Bilingual education may aim at the teaching of basic (and numeracy) skills in L1 as well as in English; *or* continuity at the late primary or secondary level of education begun overseas; *or* an entire educational program in two languages. The first two are assimilationist, being transitional types of programs phased out when the children's English is adequate to follow English-medium instruction. They are characteristic of situations of either cultural imperialism or compensatory anti-poverty measures in countries with disadvantaged migrant groups. They are based on the finding that literacy skills can be learned better and more efficiently in the first (or dominant) language and then readily transferred to another language (Macnamara 1966: 34; Blanco 1978: 472-3; Gaarder 1972; Kloss 1969: 284; Österberg 1961; Cummins 1978, 1979; Skutnabb-Kangas 1981; Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa 1976, but cf. Engle 1975). I am not aware of any empirical study on the transfer of literacy skills between languages with different systems (such as English and Chinese, Arabic, Thai or Yiddish), Fishman *et al.*'s (1985b) pioneering study of biliteracy in some New York bilingual schools being an ethnographic one.

Transitional programs furthering basic literacy are rare in Australia today outside Aboriginal education (see Fesl 1988; Shopen *et al.* 1987) partly because of policies favouring language maintenance and partly because the number of children entering school with little or no English in any ethnolinguistic group decreases rapidly with an increase in period of residence of that group in Australia. (See Rubichi's [1983] discussion of the Italian bilingual programs in some Adelaide primary schools. These and the Richmond-Collingwood Greek bilingual programs [cf. Moutsos Stergiopoulos 1983] in some inner Melbourne primary schools have been transformed from transitional to maintenance programs as needs, insights and ideologies have changed.) The temporary need for bilingual programs guaranteeing continuity of education for recently arrived older pupils continues. In such programs the community language is the medium of instruction in language centres

often attached to migrant hostels where recent arrivals receive intensive English courses, or in schools in first areas of migrant settlement. The main languages involved at present are Khmer and Vietnamese. Schools teaching basically in L1 and conducted for temporary residents in French are attached to English-medium schools in Sydney and Melbourne. There is a private Japanese school in Sydney and a Japanese-English bilingual section within a state primary school in Morwell, a brown-coal mining town east of Melbourne. Both schools are intended for the children of Japanese temporary residents. A private German school founded in Sydney in 1989, currently with only a primary division, is aspiring to become a binational, bilingual school.

(ii) *Language maintenance or second language acquisition:*

Such programs seek to promote the maintenance of the child's first language, or the acquisition of an additional one, in the interests of the child, the family, and a multicultural nation.

Examples of bilingual programs aimed at language maintenance include a Maronite primary school in Sydney, where children maintain two languages of Lebanon by learning reading, writing and singing in Arabic and French, numbers in Arabic, and all subjects in English, with one period each per day devoted to the French-medium and the Arabic-medium curriculum. Twenty of the community language programs in Victorian state primary schools are maintenance bilingual programs, in Chinese, Greek, Macedonian, Vietnamese, and Khmer. The Chinese programs use Mandarin or Cantonese or both as a medium, the choice being determined by consultation with the parents.

A number of schools, mostly in Victoria and the ACT, operate bilingual programs involving children with or without some knowledge of the community language. We can include under this category two Canberra primary schools, one with a French-English program and one with a Spanish-English one, the (private) International Grammar School in Sydney offering bilingual education with French, German, Italian, Greek and Japanese streams; and a number of the bilingual programs in Victorian state primary schools, mainly in German, Italian, and Japanese. The main features of the Victorian programs are (see Clyne 1986b):

- a. *Functional specialization.* The community-language-medium teachers use that language exclusively to the children both in

and outside class, thus creating a 'one person, one language' situation (which has proven successful in the simultaneous acquisition of two languages by children — see Ronjat 1913; Saunders 1982, 1988; Taeschner 1983; De Houwer 1990). Different subjects are assigned to different languages.

- b. By making the community language the language of particular subjects, a *communicative need* to use the language is stimulated. The subjects are selected partly from the point of view of their value in language acquisition and development and are alternated at a later stage.
- c. *Comprehensible input* (Krashen 1981) is provided in class and through community-based activities and supplemented through language classes based on functional-notional criteria.

Comparisons between bilingual and second language programs have favoured the former in proficiency in all skills and in the development of creativity and communicative competence as well as in the programs' capacity to cater for children of different backgrounds and abilities. As with the Canadian immersion programs, which require a much greater time allotment than the Australian 'partial bilingual' ones, there are no adverse effects on subject skills but indications of positive impact on English competence (Eckstein 1986). The influence on language maintenance is also favourable, but its extent depends largely on psychological factors in the family (Imberger 1986).

Several schools offer a bilingual program for maintenance purposes and a second language program in the same language (such as Greek) or another language (as German or Italian) for second language acquisition. Others have a range of alternative languages which are the mediums of the non-English component of the bilingual program (for example Greek or Macedonian for maintenance purposes in one Melbourne primary school, German or Italian mainly for second language acquisition in another primary school, Arabic, Greek, Italian or Turkish for children with these native languages and Italian for others in an inner Melbourne high school). Attempts are now being made to ensure that children receiving bilingual education at primary school can continue the language at an appropriate level at secondary school. This is done either by offering an advanced stream in the language or by teaching some subjects in the community language. (For example, one

Melbourne high school which has three primary schools teaching German in its catchment area gives instruction in Geography and History in German.)

(iii) *Ethnic identification*

Melbourne has seven Jewish day schools, all of which teach Hebrew, and several of which teach religion or Jewish Studies through the medium of Hebrew. As Klarberg (1983) has shown, each school represents a different strand of Judaism (such as orthodox religious, Zionist, secular Yiddishist, Reform), and ideologies determine the variety of Hebrew used, emphasis on writing or speech, and the role (if any) of Yiddish. All the programs, however, teach language as a value representing Jewish identity. Most of the Jewish schools follow a pattern of diglossic education.

All in all, four categories of bilingual schools exist in Australia:

- a. Instruction through the medium of two languages, one for some subjects and one for others, for example Hebrew for religious and English for secular subjects in ultra-orthodox Jewish schools; L2 for subjects with a strong non-verbal or cultural component in some primary school German, Italian and Japanese programs in Victoria.
- b. Instruction through the medium of two languages, the division being made according to teacher (as in some Canberra programs), syllabus content (as in the pre-World War I bilingual schools), or both teacher and syllabus content (for example Bayswater South Primary School in Melbourne, where some segments of science, art, physical education, music and social studies are taught in German).
- c. Instruction through the medium of two languages, both of which are used in the same lesson (for example at Brunswick East High School, where there is team teaching between an English-medium and a community-language-medium teacher. There are Arabic, Greek, Italian and Turkish streams).
- d. Instruction through the medium of one language, with the other taught as an additional first (not foreign) language and including an extended culture/history/literature component at the primary level (such as at several Greek Orthodox schools and also at a number of state primary schools in Canberra).

Bilingual pre-schools and child-care programs are not yet well developed, partly due to a shortage of suitably qualified staff. There is, for instance, in Melbourne a kindergarten with bilingual programs in English and Vietnamese, Chinese, and Turkish. There are also ethnospecific programs involving Arabic, Greek, Italian, Spanish, Turkish and some Yugoslav languages. Some of these programs are conducted haphazardly or minimize the use of the community language (Priscilla Clarke, personal communication).

## Ethnic (supplementary) schools

In 1986, more than 220,000 pupils were studying more than 50 different languages in government-funded part-time ethnic schools and insertion classes, conducted by 778 ethnic organizations, principally clubs, churches and parent associations. Most part-time programs (154) teach Greek. The other languages well represented are Arabic (80), Chinese (53), and Turkish (46). Victoria (101,209 pupils in 1986) and NSW (78,123) are the states with the highest enrolments in ethnic supplementary programs (Commonwealth Ethnic Schools Program 1986 Statistics). Greek schools are usually held several afternoons a week after school although there are also Greek Saturday schools. Other community language schools are generally conducted on Saturday or Sunday mornings. The Italian community, especially in Victoria, has increasingly opted for insertion classes in normal school hours.

Most ethnic schools teach language and culture (CTMLS 1976: 222; Norst 1982: 43). Many, especially Greek ones, also give instruction in religion, and some impart history in order to instil group loyalty. Some organizations hope to recruit future members from among the pupils. Several churches (such as the German Lutheran and Hungarian Reformed) see community language instruction as a means of avoiding a large-scale dropout due to language shift. However, the classes are open to 'outsiders'. Among reasons for attending ethnic schools are: improvement of communication with parents and grandparents, travel plans, language maintenance, and preparation for future secondary school language studies (cf. Monheit 1975: 61-4).

The competence range of pupils enrolling in the ethnic schools is vast — recently arrived native speakers, passive bilinguals, those with only aural-oral skills in the community language, those employing only local or regional dialects, those employing a variety strongly influenced by English (see Chapter 4) and those with one native-speaking parent but no knowledge of the language. This requires a balance between age/cognitive development and language development in the class composition — a challenge for small ethnic schools. This problem is one of the causes of discontent. Another is the absence of materials appropriate to the Australian situation (CTMLS 1976: 68–9; Tsounis 1974; Monheit 1975: 41), most of the textbooks used being intended for much younger children in the country of origin, ethnic *day* schools in foreign countries using the language as a medium of instruction, or for English-speaking (or other) foreigners in the country concerned. Some of the schools use antiquated methods (Tsounis 1974; Monheit 1975) and/or employ teachers unfamiliar with the Australian education system with whom the children have difficulty identifying. On the other hand, in many communities the classes are gradually being taken over by second-generation Australians who are trained teachers. In some communities, the parents speak English to the children but transfer the responsibility for language maintenance to the schools, which can hardly fulfil the obligation in a mere two hours per week. With the help of government grants, education consultants and universities, some communities have been able to run in-service seminars for teachers, and to produce more adequate materials. There are also materials for primary school programs (cf. above, p. 58) which can be employed for ethnic schools. The problem remains that many pupils lack motivation and see after-hours school as an unnecessary burden (cf. Martin 1978: 130–1; Lewins 1980: 31). The memoirs of Greek- and Polish-Australians examined by Smolicz and Secombe (1981: 87–90, 1985) contain some negative evaluations of experiences of ethnic supplementary schools. As it is not imaginable that all community languages are taught in all day schools where there is any demand for them, the ethnic supplementary school will continue to offer many their only opportunity to receive instruction in the community language. As some groups would prefer the language to be taught without government ‘interference’, some require the

schools for ethnic cohesion, and others consider their language 'unlearnable' for foreigners, it can be expected that ethnic schools will remain an important force in the maintenance and spread of multilingualism in Australia (cf. Lewins 1980).

In recent years there have been many initiatives to teach languages to young children, mainly stimulated by the work of Glen Doman (1984) in the United States. This is part of a middle-class drive to 'do the best by the children' by teaching them not only additional languages, but also reading and mathematics, as babies. Bilingual language acquisition is thus often attempted where it is completely divorced from the functions of the languages which are essential for it to take place. However, the same movement has given confidence to many parents who are second-generation Australians, and to those with a spouse not speaking their community language, to pass on their community language to their child(ren). This has given rise to parent- and community-run playgroups in community languages.

## RELIGION

Religion and a community language may be linked in two ways: as the most private of the domains, and as a collective domain intertwined with identity, ethnic culture, and group cohesion. Religious organizations may use a community language as a language of religious observances, and/or as a medium of the group's social interaction.

Large-scale immigration has been accompanied by religious as well as linguistic diversity through the establishment or great expansion of ethnic churches (such as Greek, Serbian, Macedonian Orthodox, Armenian Apostolic, Coptic, Maronite and Ukrainian Catholic), and non-Christian faiths (for example a range of Jewish denominations, Muslim, Buddhist). (Orthodox Christians, with 427,445 members, now form the fifth largest religious grouping. Australia has 109,523 Muslims, 80,387 Buddhists and 69,087 who profess the Jewish religion.) In recent years, 'mainstream churches' — Roman Catholic, Anglican, Uniting and Baptist — have adopted policies promoting their own use of community languages.

Four alternative models have existed in Australia for attitudes and practices relating to community languages in the religious domain:

- (i) *Rapid assimilation*. There are no community language parishes. Periodic services in community languages for the benefit of recent migrants are phased out as soon as possible so that the newcomers are integrated into monolingual English-speaking parishes.
- (ii) *Transitional assimilation*. No link is perceived between religion and the community language. Ethnic parishes or community language services and activities are seen only as a transition to either a complete integration into an English-medium denomination or to the 'de-ethnicization' of an originally ethnic one.
- (iii) *Structural bi- or multilingualism*. This model provides for self-contained ethnic congregations conducting different community language or bilingual services within a wider, English-dominated denomination. The bilingualism is intended to cater for both the older and younger generations and to provide a link between the ethnic congregation and the wider church.
- (iv) *Pluralism*. This model maintains a close relationship between language and religion. Religious groups adhering to model (iv) vary in the concessions they make to the younger generation (for example, occasional English or bilingual services and/or youth groups) to prevent dropout. Basically, the community language remains the language of the congregation.

(The following is based mainly on questionnaires administered in writing, in person or over the telephone to clergy of the respective denominations.)

Model (iv) is fundamental to the Orthodox Churches, which function traditionally on a 'national' basis. Despite the schisms in Australia concerning the churches' relationship to authorities in some home countries (for example, the pro-Yugoslav Serbian Orthodox Church and the anti-Yugoslav, anti-communist Free Serbian Orthodox Church: the official and independent Greek Orthodox Churches), Orthodox congregations are united by ethno-linguistic bonds. They also observe diglossia (Ferguson 1959; Fish-

man 1965). While Old Church Slavonic is the liturgical language of most Slavic Orthodox churches, and Katharevousa that of the Greek Orthodox, the community language (Serbian, Macedonian, Russian, Ukrainian, Greek [Dimotiki], etc.) is the medium of sermons and social interaction. In 1986, the Greek Orthodox Church had 101 churches and 150 communities throughout Australia (Houston 1986: 102). There are also Romanian and Antiochian Orthodox Churches, the latter catering mainly for Lebanese. With few exceptions, the younger generation has been kept in the fold not through linguistic adaptation (language shift or bilingualism) on the part of the church but by language maintenance efforts, particularly part-time ethnic schools. Olesch (1969:156) found that the last generation to maintain a Slavic language in Texas was the one which had still received religious instruction in the language. However, there is now, among Australian-born Greek Orthodox clergy, some support for a de-ethnicized Orthodox church (Tamis 1989; Chrysavsis 1988). The Russian Orthodox Church in Melbourne appointed an English-speaking (former Anglican) priest to one of its Melbourne congregations.

The uniate Catholic churches (Lebanese Maronite, Russian, Ukrainian) use the community language in a way similar to the Orthodox but, as they are in communion with Rome, their members will send their children to Roman Catholic schools. The second generation will then frequently intermarry with Roman Rite Catholics of other ethnic backgrounds (see for example Lewins 1978: 111–12).

The Roman Catholic Church itself has modified its policy on community languages from (i) to (ii) or (iii), having lagged behind even the guidelines from Rome on pastoral care for ethnic minorities (see also Overberg 1981; Hally 1979). Increasingly, ethnic parishes — Croatian, Dutch, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Maltese, Polish, Slovenian, Spanish, Vietnamese — have been established. These were apparently originally intended as a transitional measure, with the second (or at least the third) generation joining a mainstream generation. Some of the ethnic congregations, especially Italian ones, are structurally part of a suburban general Roman Catholic parish with an English-medium Irish-Australian tradition. However, the ethnic parishes themselves purport to maintain and develop model (iv), something that was promoted by the Vatican's ruling on Mass in the vernacular.

For the Lutherans we have to differentiate between the Lutheran Church of Australia (LCA), the migrant congregations of the Evangelische Kirche Deutschlands (German Protestant Church) and specific migrant parishes functioning in languages other than English or German. The LCA is the product of a merger in 1967 between the UELCA, whose forerunners espoused a strong language maintenance policy, and the ELCA, which had subordinated cultural and linguistic considerations entirely to religious ones, severing its ties with Germany well before World War I, and attaching itself to the Missouri Synod (USA). (For the development of these policies, see Lehmann 1981, also pp. 55–61 above.) Both ELCA and UELCA ministered to post-World-War-II migrants from Europe. ELCA's response was model (i), and the UELCA's models (ii) and (iii). Past experience had taught the UELCA that a strong attachment to German had led to a loss of many of its members as well as engendered Anglo-Australian antagonism. Some of the postwar German-, Finnish- and Slovak-speaking congregations remain within the LCA. However, the Latvian and Estonian Lutherans, who are only loosely associated with LCA, are following model (iv). And migrant congregations of overseas churches, such as the EKD and the Swedish Church, have traditionally tended towards model (iv), using ethnic schools to support the maintenance of the community language in use. But language shift among the younger generation has caused a change in language policy in the German-based Lutheran churches. Monthly evening services in English and/or monthly bilingual services with simultaneous translations using headphones have been introduced.

The Baptist New Settlers' League embraces independent congregations which conduct services and the main work of the parish in a community language — Arabic, Chinese, German, Greek, Italian, Spanish, several Slavic languages or Vietnamese. On the whole, they follow model (iii), though there is variation in the language of youth ministry. One German Baptist congregation in Melbourne, for example, has a bilingual Sunday school, while another employs English for both Sunday school and youth group.

Two of the churches that have recently recognized their multiculturalism and multilingualism are the Anglicans and the Uniting Church (an amalgamation of the Methodists, Congregationalists and most of the Presbyterian Church). In the Anglican Church,

congregations using a community language tend to be non-European ethnic groups from non-Christian or Roman Catholic countries evangelized by Anglicans. The languages are, in Melbourne, Chinese, Farsi, French (for Mauritians, migrants of the 1950s who had never before sought community language services), Maori, Spanish (for El Salvadorians), and Tamil; and, in Sydney, most of these and Italian and Turkish. In 1984 the then Anglican Archbishop of Melbourne, the late Dr David Penman, a strong advocate of multicultural policies, appointed a commission on Multicultural Ministry and Mission (Archbishop's Commission 1985) which made 99 recommendations. These included the establishment of ethnic congregations across parish boundaries (Recommendation 7), the provision of the Eucharist and the Pastoral Offices in multilingual form (31), encouragement for parochial use of multilingual prayers and hymn singing (12), and improvement of facilities for community language study among clergy and theological students (56, 57). Anglican community language congregations tend towards model (iii). Some orders of service in ethnic parishes (such as Maori) are bilingual. One of the Chinese clergymen in Melbourne even translates his sermon sentence by sentence to cater for both earlier and more recent migration vintages. Most community language congregations meet weekly (for example Chinese, Farsi), some monthly or fortnightly, with members also belonging to an English-medium geographical parish.

At its fourth assembly in 1985, the Uniting Church declared itself to be a multicultural church and passed a series of recommendations strengthening the position of Aboriginal and ethnic congregations, encouraging them to use the liturgical resources familiar to them and to make them available 'for the enrichment of the whole Uniting Church' (Houston 1986: 161). Following model (iii) the Uniting Church has about 20 ethnic congregations, functioning in Tongan, Fijian, Samoan, Rotuman, Korean, Indonesian, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, Armenian, Chinese, Macedonian, and Arabic.

The move towards a more pluralist model has been accompanied by a devolution of the most truly multilingual of Australian congregations, the Church of All Nations in Melbourne, which linked various ethnic groups (including Arabic, Assyrian, Italian, Macedonian, Spanish) with its English-language congregation through

simultaneous translation of services, using headphones, as well as a network of social-welfare activities. Its reduction to a Spanish-English bilingual congregation, with an Arabic service conducted in the hall at the same time as the English one, is due to the foundation of independent ethnic congregations within the Uniting Church and to demographic movements.

Among Christian sects conducting services and other activities in community languages are the Seventh Day Adventists, with a strong Polish following, the Pentecostals, who minister in Italian and Hungarian, among other languages, and the Jehovah's Witnesses, whose appeal to Italians Lewins (1980) sees as a possible consequence of residual assimilation ideology in the Roman Catholic Church.

Model (i) is adhered to by the Reformed Church, founded in 1951 by Dutch Orthodox Calvinists, which has experienced a high degree of language shift. There are fortnightly, monthly or three-monthly Dutch services in some parishes, attended by a few elderly people, and Dutch bible study for older women in some areas. The 'de-ethnicization' of the Reformed Church is intended to make its (characteristically Dutch Calvinist) doctrine accessible to all Australians and to ensure that the second and third generations are not lost to the church for linguistic reasons (cf. Overberg 1981).

Generally speaking, a link between religious and secular activities promotes the use of a community language. Examples are the Greek Orthodox, Ukrainian Catholic, Hungarian Reformed and Latvian Lutheran Churches today, and the (German-medium) Lutheran churches of the 19th century.

The use of a community language sometimes suffers in the need for a choice between cultural and language maintenance and religious maintenance. One instance is the Temple Society, the Pietist Palestinian-Swabian sect (see pp. 94–102). Having been strong proponents of model (iv), the Templars are now tending towards (ii) in order to keep within the community the younger generations and their non-Templar spouses who find it difficult to maintain the Templars' diglossia between Standard German and Swabian, the former for services, formal meetings and Saturday school, the latter for informal interaction (Imberger 1979).

The main liturgical language of Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox Jewish synagogues is Ancient Hebrew, though English is the language of sermons. Yiddish is still employed for some services in a

very few conventionally Orthodox synagogues. In Liberal Jewish congregations, English predominates, with some use of Hebrew at all services. Social interaction in Jewish communities in Australia is generally in English (often in a variety retaining Yiddish markers), Australian-Jewish society being quite multicultural in nature. The elderly also use Yiddish, German, Hungarian, Russian, Modern Hebrew (Ivrit) and other community languages in social networks and in old people's homes. The most ultra-Orthodox group, Adass Israel in Melbourne, has shifted from German (1948–60) via Yiddish (1960–mid-1970s) to English as its *lingua franca* (Menke 1974). The increasing significance of Hebrew through Zionism and the resulting change in identification of the Jewish communities with languages other than English was discussed above, pp. 102–4.

Islamic communities are often organized on an ethnolinguistic basis — there being, for instance, Albanian, Arabic, Turkish and Yugoslav mosques. While the language of religious observances is Koranic Arabic, social activities are conducted in the community language. Buddhist temples are also generally ethnolinguistically specific, and therefore offer opportunities for the use and maintenance of languages such as Vietnamese and Tamil.

Increasing numbers of 'no reply' and 'no religion' in recent Australian censuses and the widespread 'nominal membership' of religious denominations indicate rapid secularization. This could mean that the significance of religious groups as language maintenance institutions may wane. At present the indications are in the opposite direction.

## SECULAR COMMUNITY GROUPS

Ethnic community organizations are generally set up to offer support to new arrivals or to act in the interests of the ethnic group. In 1980–1 there were over 3,000 such groups in Australia (Ethnic Communities in Australia 1981), and the number has probably increased since. Ethnic groups also conduct social and cultural activities such as social gatherings, welfare, folk-singing and dancing, sport and other recreation in the language in which the migrants are (most) proficient and with which they identify. Often a

large society embraces a number of special interest groups. To varying degrees, they engage in activities which consciously reinforce and develop the use of the community language, such as theatre groups performing plays in L1 and even in an artificial 'mixed language' (e.g. the Kleines Wiener Theater in Sydney). The same may be said for Limburg *carneval* functions and 'ethnic' games such as *bocce* (Italian bowls) and *klaverjas* (a Dutch card game), which are culturally specific and therefore identified with the use of a particular language or dialect. Among Italian- and Greek-Australians, regional social groups and brotherhoods are an important feature of communal life, forming the basis of friendship networks (see above, pp. 61–9) and providing a domain for language (especially dialect) use. Melbourne alone has about 50 Italian regional social clubs and over 60 Greek brotherhoods. As Romaine (1989: 44) points out, the Italian regional clubs are partly co-ordinated and supplemented by supra-regional organizations using a near-Standard Italian as the medium.

Many communities conduct special groups for the younger generation (for example, folk-dancing and soccer). In some of the Eastern European ethnic groups, youth and scout groups and especially summer camps (such as the three- to four-week annual nationwide Latvian camp) facilitate a community language immersion experience.

The need for an ethnic support group may diminish over time. It may increase temporarily with the ageing of the first generation or for some economic or political reason. Subsequently it may be taken over by new vintage migrants or by a second generation committed to language maintenance. Or the second generation may wish to continue the organization but mainly in English. Due to declining 'ethnic' interest and a high rate of exogamy and language shift (see Chapter 2), some German, Austrian and Dutch clubs all over Australia now have a minority of members who speak the community language. Some ethnic communities (for example, German, Italian, Chinese, Scandinavian) are more interested in 'outreach' to the wider Australian community than others (for example Albanian, Latvian, Laotian). Oktoberfests and fiestas throughout Australia attract large crowds.

Already in the late 1970s, a study of meeting routines in 20 organizations (social, welfare, religious and sporting — Clyne and Manton 1979) from each of four ethnic communities in Melbourne

Table 19 Language use in ethnic organizations (Source: Clyne and Manton 1979:31)

	Dutch %	German %	Greek %	Italian %
English	37	20	13	20
Ethnic language	42	55	68	65
Mixed	21	25	19	15

(Dutch, German-speaking, Greek, Italian) showed a variation in language use patterns which reflects differential language maintenance trends (cf. Chapter 2).

The relatively high use of Dutch here as compared to that in other data (for example Table 4; Chapter 3) may be attributed to the clustering of elderly people in billiard and *klaverjas* clubs included in the survey.

## WORK

The work domain is the most multilingual in that it is the meeting point of people from diverse ethnolinguistic backgrounds. About 40 per cent of the Australian work force was born in a non-English-speaking country. In some factories, especially in the textile and heavy industries, the proportion is 80 per cent or even higher. At the same time, the work domain is the one in which all community language speakers are most likely to come into contact with English. According to the ABS Survey fewer people use a community language at work (estimate, 94,000) than at home (143,900) or with relatives and friends (151,000).

A study of language use in eight Melbourne companies in the footwear, clothing, food and heavy industries (Clyne 1977c) indicated variations in language use patterns mainly according to the

ethnolinguistic distribution of the staff according to work groups. On the whole, these are multi-ethnic, with some incidental concentrations of particular languages. A policy of English as the language of general communication and of authority is followed widely, and supported enthusiastically by older established migrants in supervisory positions (Germans, Poles, Dutch). However, language choices are made in restricted areas on the factory floor. Newer migrants are more likely to promote multilingualism, with Greeks, Turks and Vietnamese using their L1 more than other community language speakers. Company policy is readily modified where multilingualism is seen to improve productivity. Notices relating to health and safety are still largely in English but this varies from factory to factory.

Community languages are usually spoken in dyads\*, the language being chosen according to the identification of the interlocutor. Code-switching occurs when additional speech partners come on to the scene. Community languages predominate in informal situations, such as work breaks.

Companies with multilinguals in the management will either promote multilingualism, encourage the use of their own language (as in many owned and run by Italian-Australians), or discourage community languages to avoid any semblance of favouritism or exclusion (as in some German-Australian firms). The employment of Spanish and Portuguese speakers in factories with Italian owners or supervisors has promoted the development of *ad hoc* pidgins and of semi-communication strategies similar to those described by Haugen (1977) for Scandinavia.

Factors promoting the use of community languages in the work domain are (Clyne 1977c): the number of speakers of community languages in the company; the number of community language speakers in the top management and among supervisors; the extent of anglo-conformist attitudes among them; noise level (which may impede communication); and the degree of sequential or reciprocal work situations — the latter furthering, the former preventing verbal exchanges.

There are five main options for the employment and distribution of staff in relation to their language background:

- (i) Homogeneous community language groups with bilingual supervisors.

- (ii) The entire company speaking the same community language.
- (iii) Mixed groups, comprising speakers of different community languages.
- (iv) Mixed English-speaking and different community-language-speaking groups.
- (v) The occurrence and encouragement of multilingualism throughout the company.

Option (i) gives bilingual supervisors control of upward and downward communication to the likely disadvantage of the other workers.

Option (ii) deprives migrants of opportunities to acquire and practise English and of participating in the multilingual work force.

Options (iii) and (iv) are likely to promote pidginization and foreigner talk in English. 'Industrial pidgin'\* is based on universal tendencies of simplification, frequently causing ungrammatical forms, some L1 interference (Clyne 1977c: 49), spread and reinforcement from different non-English speakers in the multilingual work situation, and probably some reinforcement from foreigner talk.

Syntactically-marked foreigner talk is used by some monolingual English-speaking supervisors to non-English speakers. Their stated motive is improved communication, but there are other pragmatic\* and emotional considerations (cf. Hinnekamp 1982) as well as, sometimes, an element of 'putting the migrant down'. The migrants' English may be a factor determining the use and non-use of foreigner talk to them (cf. Snow, van Eeden and Muysken 1981). Most Australian English speakers, at least in the factory situations investigated, raise their voices and slow down the tempo of their speech without modifying the syntax in situations of (potential or actual) cross-cultural communication breakdown. Some supervisors with a bilingual or bidialectal (for example, regional English - Australian English) background will employ to non-English speakers a phonologically and syntactically marked English foreigner talk similar to the second-generation foreigner talk mentioned above, pp. 113-14 (Clyne 1977c: 51-7). All non-English speakers questioned claimed that supervisors adapting *both* phonology *and* syntax were much easier to understand than the others.

The companies studied with bi- and multilinguals in all strata, who encourage the use of community languages, appear to have developed a generally harmonious relationship between employees and between them and the employers.

The English in the Work Place Program has offered English classes during work time since 1973. Average length varies between 46 and 60 hours depending on the state, but there are also full-time courses on a week-on, week-off basis, involving about 150 hours of English instruction per student (Courses in Industry 1984.) A few companies also offer English speakers short courses in a community language prominently represented in their work force. Traditionally, the work domain has been a domain of language assimilation. While it is still the domain in which people are most likely to shift to English (ABS 1983), it is also reinforcing and propagating the multilingualism of Australian society.

## Multinational companies

Among the companies where bi- or multilingualism is propagated in all strata are those which, in a sense, are themselves 'migrant'. Melbourne alone has 50 German firms and over 200 Japanese companies. Multinational companies of different language backgrounds have developed different policies and patterns of language use (Clyne 1976b, 1977d). German and French firms generally promote the use of their 'national language' while Dutch and Swiss ones adopt English almost entirely.

In the only study so far of communication in a Japanese company in Australia (a trading company), Yoshimitsu (1986) finds that the official language and medium of day-to-day communication between Japanese and non-Japanese is English. Japanese is used, alongside English, for telexes, letters, forms, memos and formal meetings. It is employed as an exclusive language for Japanese top management. English is the language of board meetings. Even non-Japanese with good Japanese skills are rarely encouraged to use the language.

The main factors favouring the use of German in German companies in Australia are:

- (i) the number of employees transferred from and to the parent company;

- (ii) the number of employees in all strata of the company identified with German; and
- (iii) the use of discourse bases in German, such as specifications and instructions.

Here too, English is the language of authority to avoid giving the impression that the management has solidarity with, or shows favouritism towards German speakers. German is used between Germans in the top management, while the German skilled workers generally employ more English than German to each other. Some Southern European unskilled workers who had previously worked in Germany use as a *lingua franca* a variety of German. (On migrant varieties of German, see Dittmar and Klein 1979, and Clahsen, Meisel and Pienemann 1983.) Board meetings are in English to accommodate to English-speaking board members. Smaller meetings are frequently in German. In two of the companies studied, instruction booklets and guidelines are in German. The higher professional staff in some of the firms are required to gain a competence in German and succeed in doing so. (For effects of this on the English of the companies, see Chapter 4.) Internal communication is principally in English. Letters and telexes to the German head office may be in either language or formulated bilingually to be 'sorted out' by the bilingual secretary.

The factors determining the use of German also apply to the choice of French in French companies. Management meetings are in English, smaller discussions in either language, and the language of internal communication varies according to the company. However, direct communications with the parent companies are in French. English is used 'down' the hierarchy and French 'up' the hierarchy.

In both French and German companies, the high status language is that of the parent company. In the factory, however, as in Australian companies, English is the status language, to which everyone adapts. This applies also to French- and German-speaking migrants (Mauritians, Germans and Austrians) who occupy prominent positions on the factory floor but have generally mastered English better than the Greeks, Yugoslavs and Vietnamese in their charge.

There are few Swiss working in Swiss companies in Melbourne. Thus all but private communication is in English. Also, the absence

of a single Swiss language and the Swiss policy of affording independence to subsidiaries has strengthened the use of English in Swiss multinational companies throughout the world.

In the four Dutch companies studied (Clyne 1977d), English is the language of internal and external communication. Like Dutch migrants (see Table 4; Chapter 3), Dutch firms attach relatively little importance to their language. In fact, English already has a substantial presence in the domains of business and technology in the Netherlands.

## TRANSACTIONAL DOMAIN

The domain of business transactions has generally been an English one. The need for verbal communication was reduced with the coming of the supermarket. Concentrations of particular ethnolinguistic groups has facilitated the clustering of shops trading in community languages. The 'continental' delicatessen, butcher and cake shop even in ethnolinguistically mixed areas offer a combination of two vestiges of cultural markers — food and language — and often stock community language newspapers and magazines, display notices of ethnic community groups and sometimes sell ethnic crafts or imported pottery. They function as 'social centres' for speakers of a particular language, such as Chinese, Vietnamese, Italian, Greek or German. In some German-speaking delicatessens and cake-shops as many as 70 to 90 per cent of the transactions are conducted in German. Shopkeepers and assistants generally expect customers to initiate the use of the community language even if they recognize their ability to use the language (Clyne 1980a). An exception is where a customer is struggling with English. A switch to a community language involves a strong element of personal involvement — the crossing of the boundary into the private sphere, a shift from a transactional to a personal role-relationship entailing the identification as well as the communication function of language.

Among other institutions which offer opportunities for the use of a community language in an appropriate sociocultural atmosphere are continental restaurants (which, of course, are patronized by people of other ethnolinguistic backgrounds), Central European coffee houses where German, Hungarian or Yiddish is spoken, and

billiard parlours-cum-café for Greek-, Italian- or Turkish-speaking males seeking companionship. Mention can also be made of continental guest houses in mountain holiday and ski resorts which attempt to recreate the atmosphere of Central Europe and offer hospitality in German, Hungarian, Czech and/or Polish.

Bilingual members of the professions, such as doctors, dentists, lawyers and accountants, find that they have much occasion to use their community language, as do social workers, estate agents and business people. The availability of government welfare services, state-funded ethnic welfare facilities and public notices in many community languages, and the Telephone Interpreter Service, increases options for the use of community languages. The telephone counselling service Lifeline now operates in six languages in some capital cities.

## ETHNIC PRESS

There are more than 120 Australian newspapers published mainly weekly, some monthly, bi- or tri-weekly) in over 30 community languages. The largest number are in Greek, Turkish, Italian, Serbo-Croatian and Vietnamese (see Table 14). This does not take into account the many club, church and other newsletters. The number of community language publications tends to decrease and the circulation of the remaining ones often increases after the early years of settlement. Circulation is frequently dependent on new immigration waves. The newspapers are the only major privately financed community language institution. They present material in varying proportions on homeland and international events and the Australian news, especially from the multicultural scene and the relevant ethnic communities. Some, such as *La Voce* and *Australische Post*, mainly reprint articles from overseas newspapers. This helps readers maintain and develop vocabulary and structures, often introducing them to neologisms\* reflecting socio-economic, political and technological change in the country of origin. Local news as reported in most of the ethnic press gives readers a model for expressing in the community language the realities of living in Australia. Some ethnic newspapers are written, consciously or unconsciously, in a variety of the language which represents its state at the time of the group's migration. Most editors

see themselves as guardians of standards, which they sometimes apply with vigorous purism. Advertisements and letters to the editor better reflect the varieties of the community language employed by most speakers in Australia (cf. Chapter 4).

In spite of a limited appeal to the second and third generation, few community language newspapers run English-language youth or children's sections. One of these is *Neos Kosmos*, the Greek-language newspaper with the largest circulation.

Occasionally an English-language newspaper will print an article in a community language. This is usually a country newspaper, but in the event of a natural disaster in the homeland (such as an earthquake) metropolitan daily papers sometimes publish notices in the appropriate language. The *Adelaide Advertiser* has, for years, printed birth, death and funeral notices in Italian.

Table 20 Newspapers in community languages, 1986 (Source: based on Australia 1987)

Language	Newspaper(s)	Language	Newspaper(s)
Arabic	7	Latvian	1
Armenian	1	Macedonian	2
Bulgarian	1	Maltese	2
Chinese	2	Portuguese	2
Czech	1	Polish	5
Dutch	3	Russian	2
Estonian	1	Scandinavian	1
Finnish	2	Slovenian	1
French	1	Spanish	6
German	3	Turkish	14
Greek	15	Ukrainian	5
Hungarian	4	Urdu	1
Italian	10	Vietnamese	9
Korean	3	'Yugoslav'	*10

(\* Croatian 5, Serbian 3, all Yugoslav languages 2)

## RADIO

Twenty-seven radio stations throughout Australia broadcast in a total of 61 community languages for nearly 600 hours per week. (See Table 21 for breakdown of community language broadcasts on the 11 stations with the most non-English programs in 1988 — two each in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, one each in Canberra, Brisbane, Perth, Hobart and Alice Springs.) Two of them are government ethnic (multilingual) stations (2EA Sydney and 3EA Melbourne), each transmitting in over 50 languages. Another two are public ethnic (multilingual) stations (4EB Brisbane and 5EBI-FM Adelaide). Most of the remainder are public broadcasters who include some programs in community languages, some of which are provided by the government stations. Six are Victorian country commercial stations which transmit weekly sponsored sessions in Greek, Italian and (in one case) Turkish, depending on demographic considerations. Most of the stations broadcast in Greek (20), Italian (19) and/or German (16). In addition, Melbourne also has a commercial station (3AK) which broadcasts in Italian and English for 24 hours per day. Apart from its communicative value to those with limited English competence, radio in community languages raises the status of these languages. It demonstrates that they are not restricted to the home domain and, in fact, also belong to the public sphere being used by many Australians outside the family circle. Segments for young people and children (for example with rock music and modern stories) promote identification with the community language, motivation to maintain it, and the development of a peer-group register in it.

In 1989 an ethnic (multilingual) access station was started in Melbourne through public subscription and a grant from the state government. Broadcasts are transmitted in 25 languages. The advantage of access stations is that language maintenance can be promoted by members of the audience making programs. The language is then identified with more people, and the amateur broadcasters have to maintain and develop their language to an appropriate level. (See pp. 216–18 for an earlier attempt at multilingual access broadcasting.)

Table 21 Transmission in community languages on the 11 stations with the most non-English broadcasts — hours per week, 1986

Language	Number of hours	Language	Number of hours
Aboriginal	3.0	Kannada	0.125
Albanian	1.0	Khmer	3.0
Arabic	17.75	Korean	2.0
Armenian	5.0	Kurdish	0.625
Assyrian	2.5	Laotian	2.0
'Baltic'		Macedonian	13.63
Estonian/ Latvian/		Maltese	20.5
Lithuanian	11.5	'Pakistani'	0.75
Bengali	0.25	'Philippine'	3.75
Bulgarian	2.75	Polish	20.75
Catalan	0.75	Portuguese	9.25
Chinese	8.5	Punjabi	1.0
'Cypriot'	1.5	Rumanian	2.0
Czech	5.25	Russian	10.75
Dari	0.125	'Scandinavian'	
Dutch (incl. Flemish)	21.0	Danish/Swedish/	
French	14.0	Icelandic/Finnish	14.25
German (incl. Austrian and		'Scottish'	2.75
Swiss)	31.0	(Serbo-Croatian	2.0
Greek	68.0	(Croatian	16.35
Gujerati	0.25	(Serbian	9.85
Hindi	0.5	('Yugoslav'	7.85
Hindustani	1.5	Slovak	3.5
Hungarian	12.0	Slovenian	6.1
'Indian'	5.25	Spanish	33.0
Indonesian	2.375	('Sri Lankan'	2.0
Irish	3.0	(Sinhala	1.25
('Islanders'	1.0	(Tamil	2.75
(Maori	1.0	Timorese	1.00
(Samoan	0.75	Thai	0.5
(Tongan	2.25	Turkish	18.5
Italian	51.5	Ukrainian	12.75
Japanese	0.5	Urdu	1.0
'Jewish'		Vietnamese	7.5
Hebrew/Yiddish	8.0	Welsh	0.25
		TOTAL	509.25

(Designations — as reported by stations)

## TELEVISION AND VIDEO

TV is the medium with the greatest impact on the community. When it was a monolingual English-language domain in Australia, all viewers had been exposed to many extra hours of English per week. When discussing programs, speakers of community languages switched to English or their other language was strongly influenced by English (Clyne 1967a: 33; 74). In addition to one ABC (government) channel which is rather British in its orientation and three American-oriented commercial channels, Australia now has a government multicultural TV channel (SBS).<sup>1</sup> This channel, which can now be received in all states of Australia, offers films and other programs in more than 30 languages, with English sub-titles (see Table 22), has corrected the impression that all television disseminates from predominantly English-speaking countries. Time allocation is made on an annual basis, taking into consideration number of speakers and the availability of suitable films. Because of the high quality of the programs on the Special Broadcasting Service, it attracts viewers without a knowledge of any given language. Thus the status of community languages among 'Anglo' and 'ethnic' Australians alike is raised. However, the largest proportion of programs is in English — newscasts, interviews, commentaries and inter-ethnic reviews. An independent audience research survey (SBS 1986-7: 60-1) shows that SBS-TV has a weekly following of between 1.2 and 2 million viewers, as many as two-thirds of whom may have been born in Australia or another English-speaking country. Twenty-eight per cent of a sample and 66 per cent of Arabic, Chinese, Greek, Italian and Polish speakers in the sample watched SBS-TV one to seven days per week. The ratings for Adelaide are 47.1 per cent of homes with TV sets, and 42.1 per cent in Melbourne, 40.3 per cent in Perth, 38.4 per cent in Brisbane and 30.8 per cent in Sydney. Fifty-four per cent of the viewers were aged 40 or older and 43 per cent aged 18-38. Approximately 28 per cent of people born in non-English-speaking countries tune in to SBS-TV programs each week. They

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<sup>1</sup> The ABC Channel now sometimes shows late-night films in community languages such as Italian and German. They are generally of 'film festival' type interest.

Table 22 SBS-TV programs by language 1986 (Source: based on SBS Annual Report 1986-7)

Language	Number of hours	% of total program time
Arabic	33.95	1.09
Armenian	3.94	0.13
Bengali	1.47	0.05
Bulgarian	5.62	0.18
Chinese		
Cantonese	19.48	0.62
Mandarin	15.29	0.49
'Czechoslovakian'	43.72	1.40
Danish	8.97	0.29
Dutch	46.06	1.47
English	541.78	17.32
English SBS-TV Productions	1,171.91	37.46
Finnish	10.29	0.33
French	136.81	4.37
German	197.09	6.30
Greek	123.53	3.95
Hebrew	6.07	0.19
Hindi	14.07	0.45
Hungarian	32.54	1.04
Icelandic	2.54	0.08
Indonesian	3.37	0.11
Italian	255.63	8.17
Japanese	77.16	2.47
Korean	4.77	0.15
Macedonian	9.22	0.29
No dialogue	33.48	1.07
Norwegian	2.83	0.09
Polish	42.43	1.36
Portuguese	36.08	1.15
Russian	36.71	1.17

*(continued opposite)*

Table 22 continued

Language	Number of hours	% of total program time
Serbian	10.97	0.35
Serbo-Croatian	33.54	1.07
Slovenian	10.16	0.32
Spanish	105.68	3.38
Swedish	25.25	0.81
Turkish	20.56	0.66
Ukrainian	1.50	0.05
Welsh	4.32	0.14
TOTAL	3,128.79	100.00

also watch programs in community languages other than their own. A 1987 survey showed 35 per cent of Italian viewers watching French programs and 51 per cent of Greek viewers watching films in Italian or German (SBS 1987-8: 36). It should be noted that the ultra-high-frequency band on which SBS transmits requires a special antenna which not all homes have.

Adult viewers are kept up-to-date with their community language as spoken in the countries in which it is used in all the public domains. Children's television films have been perhaps more instrumental than anything else in confronting the second (and later) generations with a peer-group register, fields of vocabulary and idiomatic expressions not (or no longer) usually in use in their home.

The enormous popularity of videos in the past few years has added another source of 'input' in community languages. Many migrants have videos sent by relatives in the home country for themselves and/or for their children, or purchase them on periodic visits. Videos are sold locally in the languages of some of the more numerous groups. There are also video libraries particularly for material in Greek, Turkish, Chinese, German, and some Indian languages. The advent of subscriber television could also increase the opportunities for the use of community languages.

## LIBRARIES

Libraries, together with educational institutions and the media, have made great efforts over the past decade to serve more appropriately the multicultural, multilingual society that Australia has become. The number of books in community languages in the local libraries of Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia (Table 17) has risen between 1981 and 1986 from 188,832 to 440,658. The increase in Victoria has been nearly four-fold (from 57,739 to 213,384). However, the provision of services in some languages is inadequate in relation to the size and needs of the group. Chinese is a case in point. The numbers using Chinese have probably been underestimated because Chinese speakers from Vietnam have apparently been misidentified, especially in NSW, as Vietnamese speakers (see Table 23). In comparison, the resources for Spanish are particularly good, especially in NSW. This may be partly due to the high level of literacy among Spanish speakers (cf. Table 4). As well as books, magazines and cassettes in community languages are among the holdings of some libraries. Resources are shared through an inter-library loans system.

Some ethnic communities have their own impressive libraries. That of the Latvian community in Melbourne (14,200 volumes) is reputed to be one of the world's finest libraries in the language. The Istituto Italiano di Cultura and the Goethe Institut (the official Italian and German institutes for spreading culture abroad) also have large lending libraries. In the past it had been the ethnic community and cultural institute libraries which had been the main source of reading material in the community languages. In addition there are, and have been for over three decades, city bookshops specializing in community languages and 'continental reading circles' renting out, on a weekly basis, folders of magazines in specific community languages imported from overseas. They are delivered to private subscribers and also to doctors, dentists, hair-dressers and people in other service professions.

Reading helps reinforce the community language in the first generation, especially in domains in which it is not employed in Australia. It also promotes revitalization of a language which has fallen into disuse. To those with an inadequate knowledge of English it gives access to knowledge. Through reading, members of the

Table 23 Books in community languages in public libraries in NSW, Victoria and South Australia, 1986 (Source: based on public library records in these states)

Language	NSW	VIC.	SA	TOTAL
Albanian		438	21	459
Arabic	11,347	8,344	824	20,515
Armenian	505	78		583
Assyrian	51			51
Bulgarian		4	3	7
Chinese	8,167	5,131	3,014	16,312
Czech.	612	912	703	2,227
Danish	696	61	21	976
Dutch	3,351	6,381	3,267	12,999
ESL		1,110		1,110
Estonian	96		69	165
Finnish	199	53	182	434
French	8,709	9,011	4,988	22,708
German	12,112	13,074	8,530	33,716
Greek	22,959	39,821	13,303	76,083
Hebrew	453	74	124	651
Hindi	13	325		338
Hungarian	2,219	4,134	1,134	7,487
Indonesian	171	115	176	462
Italian	22,864	57,152	11,411	91,427
Japanese	956	306	668	1,930
Khmer	16	106	173	255
Korean		91		91
Laotian		6	15	21
Latvian		260	209	469
Lithuanian		645	87	732
Macedonian	744	3,188	81	4,013
Malaysian			144	144
Maltese	1,674	3,369	415	5,458
Norwegian	2	4	126	132
Polish	4,589	6,748	3,339	14,676
Portuguese	2,110	1,800	317	4,317
Rumanian		147		147
Russian	4,181	3,650	1,866	9,697

*(continued overleaf)*

Table 23 continued

Language	NSW	VIC.	SA	TOTAL
Serbo-Croatian/Croatian/ Serbian/Yugoslav	9,812	9,602	2,058	21,472
Slovak	63	110	39	212
Slovenian	23	1,493	124	1,640
Spanish	23,592	15,283	1,753	40,628
Swedish	496	14	261	771
Tagalog		10		10
Thai	222	242	191	655
Turkish	853	1,222	589	2,664
Vietnamese	8,541	3,601	4,108	16,250
Yiddish		370		370
TOTAL	162,059	213,384	65,215	440,658

second generation are exposed to structures and functions and a register that are not usually encountered in the social domain. It enables them to develop their community language to express those matters that interest them, as well as bringing this generation into closer contact with the culture of their family's country of origin.

## A NOTE ON 'MAINSTREAMING'

There has been a large progressive increase in opportunities to use community languages, both actively and passively, over the past two decades. These opportunities are by no means limited to private domains. Nor do they depend on individual and ethnic group initiative, although it is mainly community efforts and demands that have led to government support (see pp. 213–16). Many community languages are now taught within the regular school systems at both primary and secondary levels. Part-time ethnic schools are receiving financial and other aid from governments. Broadcasting and television in community languages, particularly on government-run stations, has become a normal feature of Australian

society. Public libraries are acquiring and upgrading holdings in community languages in order to serve the totality of Australian society. The basically Anglo-Celtic churches are demarginalizing, and increasing the provision of, religious and social services in community languages. The Telephone Interpreter Service and the appointment of bilingual public servants and interpreters in hospitals and other key institutions has reduced the previous need for those with limited or no English skills to seek their own interpreters among family and friends.

## CLOSING REMARKS – LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE RESOURCES

In Chapter 2, I suggested that we were beginning to see in the language maintenance data what could be the first positive results of new attitudes, policies and support systems. However, the general picture was of continuing language shift for most languages. Indications are obscured by the limitation of the 1986 Census language question to the home domain, and the language maintenance institutions — educational, media and libraries — that have been furthered over the past decade would strengthen language maintenance even in cases where the community language is no longer the home language. The languages that are promoted particularly by the language maintenance support institutions are (in order): *Primary school*: Hebrew, Italian, Arabic, Turkish, Greek.

*Secondary School*: Hebrew, French, Italian, German, Greek (see Table 18.) (The case of Hebrew, but also of French, German and Italian, shows that the school programs' language maintenance objectives may be incidental.)

*Radio*: Greek, Italian, Spanish, German, Serbo-Croatian. (See Table 21.)

*TV*: Italian, German, French, Greek, Spanish. (See Table 22.)

*Libraries*: Italian, Greek, Spanish, German, French. (See Table 23.)

In these domains, resources are provided largely on the basis of previous rank ordering of language communities together with the availability of high-quality books and TV programs (that is, the use of the community language as a language of wider communication). (See also below, pp. 236–9.) While the evidence of reversal of shift from these languages, apart from Greek, is not yet very great, we do not know whether the number of people actively or passively maintaining these languages would be less if it were not for these language maintenance resources, and whether the level of language competence would be much lower. There is certainly scope for extensive research in this area in Australia in the decade to come.

# 4

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## Structural and typological aspects of community languages

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the formal aspect of the community languages that are being used, maintained and rejected in Australia. I shall discuss how limited use of and exposure to community languages as well as English influence have led to changes in the way in which speakers of the languages in Australia use them. I shall also address interlingual code-switching and its causes, and attempt to assess the possible implications for linguistic theory of Australian language contact phenomena (notably syntactic change and code-switching). Non-linguists may prefer to disregard the sections on grammatical change and code switching, pp. 176–84 and 191–207

As early as 1950, Haugen pointed to the theoretical gains that could be derived from studying languages of different typologies all in contact with the same language (English). Australia is an outstanding linguistic laboratory for this. However, of the approximately 100 community languages spoken in Australia today, hardly a dozen have so far been subjected to detailed linguistic analysis, and almost all of these are Germanic, Romance or Slavic languages.

## THE DATA

The main corpus\* base in this chapter is that examined for my studies of German and Dutch in Australia — drawn from tapes of the following: 200 German-speaking postwar migrants and their children and 200 Dutch-speaking postwar migrants and their children (Clyne 1967, 1977a); 50 German-speaking pre-war refugees (Clyne 1973); 70 Australian-born children of pre- and postwar German-speaking emigrants; and 340 descendants of German pioneer settlers in rural areas of South Australia, Victoria, and southern New South Wales (Clyne 1968a, b).

The corpus comprises descriptions of pictures, talk about the speaker's daily activities, a book or film, and — where applicable — his or her first impressions of Australia, or an account of life in a German settlement in Australia during the speaker's youth.

I am also including comparative data from the work of colleagues on other community languages: a study of the *Italian* of 47 first- and second-generation Italian-English bilinguals in a rural settlement and a provincial town in North Queensland (Campbell 1979, 1980; Bettoni 1981); an examination of intergenerational attrition of Italian skills in Sicilian and Veneto families in Sydney (Bettoni 1985, 1986); various papers on Italian in Australia by Andreoni (1967, 1971) and Rando (1968, 1971); a study of 20 hours of recorded interviews with 19 *Spanish* speakers in Melbourne (Kaminskas 1972); research on 46 *Russian*-English bilinguals in Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane, 32 of them postwar migrants (Kouzmin 1972, 1982); an examination of *French* interviews with 66 French people, 38 Mauritians, 6 French-Swiss, and 5 French-speaking Belgians in Melbourne (Ludwig-Wyder 1982); an analysis of 45–60-minute interviews and follow-up interviews with ten *Japanese* in Melbourne (Matsumi-So 1983); and a study of the *Greek* of 201 first-generation Greek-English bilinguals in Victoria aged 25–65 who had been in Australia for at least ten years (Tamis 1986). I shall also draw on an investigation by Kim Chong-Woon on *Korean* in Queensland, based on the speech of 49 bilinguals in conversations (Chong-Woon 1990; Chong-Woon and Ingram 1989). Other sources referred to include research on features of *Polish* (Sussex 1981; Wierzbicka 1985),

*Serbo-Croatian* (Doucet 1990), and *Sinhala* in Australia (Dipemala de Silva, research in progress). The reader should consult the above works for further explanations and examples.

## MODELS

As in other bi- and multilingual countries, students of 'minority' languages now have a diversity of paradigms available to them, with considerable overlap in objectives, but different methodologies (Clyne 1986b).

The *language contact* paradigm has traditionally focused on 'language as a system' and especially on the lexicon. It was extended by Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1953, 1956) to take account of sociological and psychological factors and has subsequently embraced contact processes and interactional aspects (for example Gumperz 1976; Neustupný 1985) as well as Giles's (1973, 1977) accommodation theory.

The *language shift(ing)* paradigm (Fishman 1966, 1985a), dealt with in Chapter 2, has not included the examination of linguistic consequences. However, as I shall attempt to show in this chapter, correlations between language contact and shift studies indicate reduced use of a language in all or some domains accommodating transference.

The *language death* paradigm, following its extension to include factors other than sociopolitical ones (from Kloss 1969 to Dressler 1977, Dorian 1977, 1981) can be regarded as a sub-set of language shift. Nevertheless, it also encompasses the linguistic aspects of those languages which are abandoned and for which no external heartland is available for its continued existence. Because the language shift paradigm does not usually include a linguistic component, it may be erroneously believed that speakers with an imperfect competence in the community language (in Dorian's terminology, 'semi-speakers') in the last stages of a 'dying' language have grammars very different from their counterparts in a language shift situation. The 'language death' paradigm is adopted in Aboriginal language studies but, strictly speaking, not applicable to community languages.

The *language attrition/loss* paradigm (Lambert and Freed 1982; Weltens, De Bot and Van Els 1986; *ITL* 83–84 [1989]; *SSLA* 11(1) [1989]) — basically a psycholinguistic one involving assessment — has been extended from aphasia research to first- and second-language development. While there are strong parallels between the language contact and attrition paradigms, attrition can really only be examined comprehensively if there are data on what was known before it was lost. Yet there is an almost complete dearth of longitudinal studies in this field, and surrogate methods are employed, such as parents' language, data from competent speakers, and comparative data from a control group in the country of origin (Jaspert *et al.* 1986; Bettoni 1985). I believe there is a need to restate the problem in terms of the positive 'remembering' rather than the negative 'forgetting'. This would facilitate research in accordance with the available data and also make the results more applicable, for it is remembering, not forgetting, that would be the goal of curriculum development arising from this kind of investigation. An important difference between the language attrition and language contact results from the role played by interference in the latter.

As is shown by Bettoni (fc), studies of the bilingualism of successive groups in Australia have built on the American classics of language contact, and then moved through language shift into language attrition, attitudes, interaction or typology.

## A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

The literature on language contact has produced a very rich and ambiguous terminology. In this book, as in Clyne (1967, 1972a, 1981a, 1982), Bettoni (1981a), Tamis (1986), and a number of other Australian studies, the term *transference* is employed for the process of bringing over any items, features or rules from one language to another, and for the results of this process. Any instance of transference is a *transfer*. Transference is examined at the lexical\*, semantic\*, syntactic, morphological, phonological, prosodic\*, graphemic and pragmatic\* levels of language. Whereas lexical transference tends to take place from L2 to L1, the direction of

phonological transference is usually from L1 to L2. Syntactic transference occurs in both directions (Rayfield 1970). Code-switching is the alternate use of two languages, either within a sentence or between sentences. The speaker stops using language A and employs language B. Syntactic connections (such as between articles, adjectives and nouns) are then with items from system B. As Schatz (1989) points out, there are many conflicting criteria applied by different scholars to distinguish between lexical transference (or 'borrowing', as it is sometimes termed) and code-switching. For instance, some regard the number of words in the switch (one or more) as a criterion; others do not. To some the absence of phonological or grammatical integration\* (see pp. 170–3 and Glossary), that is, pronouncing the word as it was in the source language or not adapting its grammar to that of the recipient language, signifies code-switching. Others permit such unintegrated items to be regarded as transfers. Another ambivalent basis of differentiation is the alternate use of the L2 item along with an L1 equivalent. The reappearance of the term '(code-)mixing' has not helped clarify the issues, and has refocused attention unnecessarily on the lexical level. (See Romaine [1989: 131–47] for a comprehensive treatment of differences between 'borrowing' and 'code-switching'.) In this monograph, we recognize the occurrence of both integrated and unintegrated lexical transfers. Code-switching involves items requiring *some* separate processing of the items or passage from the other language or an alternation on sociolinguistic grounds (see below, pp. 189–90).

## VARIETIES

### National varieties

In most community languages, non-standard varieties, whether of a regional or social nature, predominate as vernaculars in Australia. In pluricentric languages, that is, those with different national varieties, such as Arabic, German, Spanish and Portuguese, the competing norms (such as Castillian, Chilean, Peruvian,

Uruguayan Spanish; Lebanese, Egyptian, Iraqi Arabic) are in contact in Australia. Some languages, such as Italian and German, exhibit very wide local and regional diversity with a recent tendency towards the use of a broader regional colloquial variety gravitating towards Standard (German *Umgangssprache*, Italian *lingua popolare*). In some migrant source countries or regions, there is a diglossic relationship between the vernacular, a dialect or a creole, and the superposed Standard which is used for the written language and in some formal domains (German-speaking Switzerland, Mauritius, Limburg). Standard versions of the transferred examples are given in the following sections merely as a guide — and only where the standard language is relevant and a non-standard variety is not the source of the linguistic change.

## Australian variation

I would like to stress that there are as many varieties of community languages in Australia as there are speakers, since the nature and degree of English influence and general adaptation of the base language to the Australian context will depend largely on the individual speakers' activities and life-style as well as to their experience of both languages and cultures. This is not recognized by those attempting to declare 'Australitalian' a national variety which should be the one taught in Australian schools (Andreoni 1980, cf. also Leoni 1981). This argument has been refuted by Bettoni (1981b, 1982; Campbell 1980). Leoni's (1981) dictionary of 'Australitalian' is, in fact, a kind of list of English transfers used by some Italian-Australians. Actually the Queensland cane-cutter, the tobacco-farmer in Northern NSW, the Western Australian fisherman, the academic and the city fruiterer will all have different Australian needs to be satisfied by the Italian language.

An exception to the heterogeneity of contact varieties in Australia is the closed network of bilinguals such as existed in some German-settled rural areas of Australia in the 19th century (see below, pp. 163–5, 173–4 and 176–7). Yet there *are tendencies* in the development of each community language which are related to linguistic and cultural distance, linguistic typology (for example, the potential for grammatical integration of lexical transfers, see below, pp. 170–3), and general sociolinguistic factors.

## THE LEXICON

It is the lexicon which is the first and most common area of interlingual influence. The Australian experience is also expressed by *neologisms* (new words based on morphological devices productive in the language as a whole, not just in Australia). For instance, European German employs *-ieren* as an ending for verbs of Latin or French origin, such as *lancier* (to lance, < French lancer) and *sanieren* (to restore, improve sanitary conditions of < Latin sanitare). The German of later generation bilinguals in the Barossa Valley and the Western District of Victoria includes words ending in *-ieren* that have never been employed in European German, for example *farmerieren* (to 'farmer', intended meaning: to farm), *gärtnerieren* (to garden), and *schneiderieren* (to tailor), based on the German nouns *Farmer* (originally transferred from English), *Gärtner*, and *Schneider*. Italians in Australia use the existing suffix *-ista* to create new professional terms based on English nouns (such as bus, farm), *bassista* (bus driver), *farmista* (farmer) (Bettoni 1981a); and the Greek professional suffixes *-iko* and *-doros* are employed for similar purposes, for example *engineeriko*, *agentadiko*, *contractorodoros*, *farmadoros* (Tamis 1986). Dutch diminutives are formed from nouns transferred from English, for example *fensje* (little fence), *flockje* (little flock), as are Greek diminutives, such as *boksaki* (little box), *milkbaraki* (little milk bar) (Tamis 1986).

On the other hand, *archaisms* are also employed by descendants of earlier settlers and by migrants of earlier vintages. The incidence of archaisms increases with every generation in Australia. In the old rural German settlements, the usual word for aeroplane was *Luftschiff* (air-ship). This was the flying machine in use when German-language newspapers (mainly from the United States) were last widely read in the settlements. Some people confused *Luftschiff* with *Luftwaffe* (air force) during and after the second world war and adopted the latter word for 'aeroplane'. *Gewohnet* (for 'gewohnt', lived), *Sommerzeit* (for *Sommer*, literally 'summer-time'), *wahrlich* (for 'wirklich'; literally 'verily') and other biblical archaisms testify that the bible and German hymnal were the last remaining sources of written German in the settlements. Many German-speaking pre-war refugees employ words now never used

in Europe to express a contemporary reality; that is, items of their vocabulary undergo *semantic expansion*: for example, *Backfisch* (flapper) is used for 'teenager' (Ger. Teenager) and *Eiskasten* or *Eisschrank* (ice-chest) to mean 'refrigerator' (Kühlschrank). Refugees from Eastern Europe (such as Poles, Ukrainians, Croats, Latvians, Estonians and Hungarians) who arrived about 1947–9 generally resisted the lexical and semantic changes which took place in their L1 in the country of origin, changes reflecting (and at the same time promoting) a conceptual transformation to a socialist political and socioeconomic system. While the use of Hungarian *elvtárs* ('comrade'), *külföldre szakadt hazánkfia* ('refugees to the west') and similar expressions is practically non-existent in this group, they would be employed ironically by post-1956 immigrants (Leslie Bodi, personal communication). Here, as in many other cases, the time of emigration is of crucial importance (Leslie Bodi, personal communication). Items from this 'new variety' are sometimes employed ironically by refugee communities. Some bilinguals in Australia avoid using, in their L1, words now frequently transferred from English in the country of origin (such as camping, job, boom, pipeline) because of their lack of familiarity with or repugnance for such transference. However, *transference* from English is by far the most usual means of renewal in community languages. In more closed rural settlements, such as the 19th century German enclaves (*Sprachinseln*), there developed not only idiolectal transfers (that is, transfers made by the individual), but also features and items shared by the entire community, with the German used in a district often consolidated into a compromise dialect, in spite of differences in the German regional origins of the speakers (families). For instance, in one Western Victorian German-speaking settlement, the following characteristics have contrasted with the greater flexibility in the speech of 20th-century migrants in Australian cities and country towns: stabilized lexical and semantic transfers (see below, pp. 165–9 and 175–6), stabilized use of some archaisms and neologisms, and a regular pattern of integration of lexical transfers, including the stabilized assignment of genders to transferred nouns (see below, pp. 170–3). This distinctive type of situation does not apply to the same degree in the Italian settlement of Giru (North Queensland) where Bettoni (1981) and Campbell (1979, 1980) found evidence of a shift from

local (or regional) dialect towards popular Italian, but no marked differences in transference patterns from those in the provincial city of Townsville.

## Lexical transference

There are two principal reasons for lexical transference — contextual factors and speech economy.

### *Contextual*

Lexical transference occurs frequently in references in the community language to concepts outside the realm of experience of the speaker or group in the country of origin. This is especially common in the Australian work and school domains and when referring to Australian institutions and landscape, for example, beach, gum-tree, creek (*landscape*), toolmaker, machine-operator, equipment, overtime, shift; fixen, serven (verbs transferred into German and Dutch) (*work domain*), farm, fence, paddock (*landscape or work*), chemist (covering both Ger. Apotheke/Dut. apotheek and Ger. Drogerie/Dut. drogist), milk-bar (Australian corner-shop), newsagent (local newspaper vendor/distributor) (no direct equivalent in country of origin), spelling, maths, assembly, period (*school domain*), TV (or television) watchen (Ger.), televisie watchen (Dut.) (*leisure activity* associated with life in Australia by pre- and immediate postwar migrants), carburettor, gear change (*car vocabulary*, transferred mainly by those who did not drive cars in country of origin), Vegemite (Australian yeast extract), brick veneer, double-fronted, weatherboard (*housing/life in Australia*).

In common with American research (cf. Haugen 1953: 406) it has been found in Australia that nouns are the most common word class transferred. This is principally because of the large number of nouns in a language and the direct form-content link with nouns.

However, all parts of speech are subject to lexical transference, for example:

### *Verbs:*

attend, enjoy, shop, pick-up, clear-up, clean, decorate, impress, look, rescue, relax, settle, smash, sponsor, sunbake,

vacuum (found in Dutch, German, Greek, Italian, Spanish).

*Adjectives/Adverbs:*

continental, busy, easy, happy, lucky; about, alright, actually, hopefully, just, mainly, shocking, terrible, desperate, off (Ger. ich war jetzt ein Jahr *off* — I was off for a year), bloody (Dut. het was *bloody* heet — it was bloody hot).

*Conjunctions:*

because, but, or, and.

The latter is frequently employed as a hesitation phenomenon beside the conjunction *und* in the German of German-speaking migrants (Clyne 1967: 40–1) and also as a ‘fuller’ form beside *en* in the Dutch and English of Dutch migrants.

*Prepositions:*

at, between, except.

*Discourse markers:*

well (very frequently used), anyhow, anyway, you know, sort of, all of which are hedges expressing caution, modesty or a non-committal attitude characteristic of English discourse\*, for example:

[In response to a request to talk about daily work]

Ger. *Well*, wir müssen zuerst sagen, was wir von Beruf an und für sich und was . . .

(Well, we have to first say what our occupation actually [is])

[A principal talking about his school.]

Dut. *Well*, je kunt haast zeggen, ieder kind op de school ken ik, sort of.

(Well, you could almost say I know every child in the school, sort of)

*Anyway* is employed to change the topic or parenthesize what has been said or what is to follow:

[Description of picture]

Ger . . . es könnte anywhere in Australien sein, in Victoria or New South Wales or Queensland or / wie ich gesehen (sic) habe, dieses particular Bild ist/ *anyway*, dies’ Bild zeugt nicht

von einem sehr fruchtbaren Boden. (It could be anywhere in Australia — in Victoria or NSW or Queensland or as I saw (= said), this particular picture is/ anyway, this picture does not testify to very fertile soil.)

[Description of daily activities]

Ger . . . dann wasch' ich ab und ziehe mich an/ *anyway*, was mache ich dann? (— then I wash up and get dressed/ anyway, what do I do then?)

### *Speech economy*

The bilingual, having the choice of items from two systems, is able (usually quite subconsciously) to select less complex forms from the two languages in preference to more cumbersome ones. Sometimes such a choice will be made on the basis of semantic features\*. Items with several marked (special) semantic components (that is, components of a meaning) may be rejected in favour of ones with a single, unmarked (general) feature. For instance, German has several equivalents of English *put* — legen, setzen, stellen, hängen, and stecken — depending on whether the object (animate or inanimate) is being placed in horizontal, upright or sitting position respectively.

(+ causation)	(+ direction)	(+ horizontal)	(- upright)	→ p 1 → legen
"	"	(+ position)	(+ capable of sitting)	→ p 2 → setzen
"	"	"	(+ upright)	→ p 3 → stellen
"	"	"	(+ suspended)	→ p 4 → hängen

*BUT:*

(+ causation)	(+ direction)	(+ position)	→ p 0 → putten
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Where the final semantic feature is redundant or not significant, the lexical transference of *put* may take place. The same applies, for instance, to *happy* which lacks the second feature of:

(+ contentment)	(+ actual)	→ h 1 → froh
	(- actual)	→ h 2 → fröhlich

Similarly, *gehen* undergoes semantic transference in:

(+ movement)	(+ forward)	(+ foot)	→ f 1 →	gehen
"	"	(+ vehicle)	→ f 2 →	fahren
"	"		→ f 0 →	gehen.

(cf. Viberg [1987] for similar examples from second language acquisition).

Where indication of the position is not of significance in communication, the English pattern of non-differentiation is preferred by many bilinguals in Australia, resulting in the transference of *putten*; for example: Ich hab's schon auf den Tisch *geputtet* (I've already *put* it on the table) (Standard Ger. *gelegt, gestellt, gesetzt*)

Similarly, English *happy* is transferred by some speakers who do not need (or want) to differentiate between *froh*, with the semantic feature [+ actual] and *fröhlich*, one with the semantic feature [+ potential], focusing on a personality trait, for example:

Er ist nicht *happy* darüber. (He isn't happy about it.)

Sie ist ein sehr *happy* Kind. (She's a very happy child.)

The use of *butcher* and *rubbish-tin* avoids the use of regional expressions where Standard German does not have one uniform lexical item. Thus transference of an English word can lead to convergence in a regionally heterogeneous language community in Australia. Similarly, the use of *plumber* saves a choice between a number of items because there are several German occupations which cover the same work, and also because of lexical variation between 'northern' and 'southern' varieties of European German.

Yngve (1960) and Miller (1956) have demonstrated that there are limits to the storage capacity of the temporary memory. One of the ways in which bilinguals reduce the strain is to choose constructions from L2 that are less taxing than ones from L1. The main outcome is syntactic transference (see below, pp. 175–6) but lexical transference may save the planning of some elements of the sentence, for example:

Ich kann seinen Vater nicht *remembern*

(Standard Ger. Ich kann *mich an* seinen Vater nicht erinnern)

avoids the reflexive pronoun, preposition *an*, and the case-form of *der Vater* (accusative or dative). Transferring an English lexical

item (word) can avoid discontinuous constituents. The separation of German (or Dutch) verb — in second position — and its prefix or participle — in final position:

*Ich prefer diese Straße*

(Standard Ger. *Ich ziehe diese Straße vor*)

Other instances: joinen, looken, listenen, watchen.

## INTEGRATION

Ever since Weinreich's (1953) classic work on language contact, there has been much confusion between the transference of grammatical rules from one language to another — what Weinreich terms 'grammatical interference'\* — and the *grammatical integration of lexical items* transferred. This confusion is to be found, for instance, in Grosjean's (1981) very readable account of bilingualism. Haugen (1956) provided a basis for this confusion to be resolved. A speaker (or writer) transferring lexical items from English into a community language can choose the extent to which these items are to be integrated into the semantic, phonological and graphemic systems\*, as well as into the grammatical system of the recipient language. This will determine how central or peripheral the item is in the speaker's system in the community language. Grammatical integration, far from being a form of *grammatical interference*, may be an indication that the L1 grammar is still relatively intact. In fact, grammatically integrated lexical transfers are used in a study of German acquisition in a primary school bilingual program as an indicator of grammatical competence (Clyne 1986: 61). (They are employed as surrogate evidence of the retention of grammatical rules in De Silva's research on the Sinhala of children in Melbourne.)

## Semantic integration

The best indication of the centrality of a lexical transference is whether its adoption entails a restructuring of the lexical field\* or even of larger sections of the vocabulary of the recipient language. Such a process is not unusual since lexical transference takes place

to fulfil a semantic, stylistic or sociolinguistic function for which there is currently no appropriate item in the language. When Italian *bosco* takes on the meaning of 'Australian bush', *foresta* is restricted to a European forest. When German *Schule* is specialized to mean 'German classes after school or on Saturday mornings', *school* or *high school* is employed for (English-medium) day school. When the semantic transfer *fattoria* (see pp. 175–6), which in Standard Italian means 'farm', assumes the meaning of 'factory' in the speech of some Italian speakers in Australia, the lexical transfer *farma* becomes synonymous\* with English 'farm'. A semantic shift occurs where the lexical transfer *rent* and *renten* are employed in German for the English noun and verb 'rent'. *Pension* is then often transferred as an equivalent of German *Rente*, while *mieten* (< to rent) may assume the same meaning as English 'to meet'.

## Grammatical integration

Many community languages mark genders through noun inflexions, in definite articles, and some also in adjectives. Where any lexical transfer from English will require at least a gender and a plural form, some also oblique case forms (for example accusative, dative, genitive). Also, some community languages require a verb to be assigned to a particular verbal class. In this way, lexical transfers are integrated into the grammar of the community language.

German and Greek have masculine, neuter and feminine genders, French, Italian and Spanish masculine and feminine, and Dutch neuter and non-neuter. Criteria for assignment of gender of lexical transfers include:

- (i) Natural gender, e.g. Italian *il boss*, *una girl*; Spanish *el plumber*, *las nurses*, *el/la teacher*; Greek *o b6sis* (boss), *o salesman*; French *un cleaner*, *une chamber-maid*; German *der rubbish-man*, *die secretary*, *der/die teacher*.
- (ii) The gender of a synonymous noun in the recipient language, e.g. *der creek* (der Fluß, der Strom, der Wasserlauf), *das pattern* (das Muster), *die library* (die Bibliothek); French *un job* (un travail), *la fence* (la haie, la palissade); Dutch *de shop* (de winkel), *het level* (het peil); Spanish *el ocean* (el océano), *la line*

(la linia); Italian *il builder* (il costruttore), *la farm(a)* (la fattoria); Greek *to karpeto* (to xali), *to milkbar* (to bakaliko, to magazi). In Greek, the neuter appears to be the main recipient of nouns assigned in this way (see Tamis 1986a: 158–9).

Bettoni (1981a: 66) raises the valid point that it is difficult to justify the semantic equivalent as a criterion of gender assignment if this equivalent is not known to the speaker. However, she does support its explanatory value (p.67). It could be argued that grammatical integration patterns are passed on within a community language network.

- (iii) The gender of a homophonous noun with a different meaning in the recipient language, e.g. Greek *o stókos* (stock, cf. Standard Greek *o stókos*, putty), *o blókos* (block, cf. Stand.Gk. *o blókos*, raid, ambush), *to káro* (car, cf. Stand.Gk. *cart*), *to depóziro* (deposit, Stand. Gk *tank*); German *die Form* (school class, cf. Stand.Ger. *die Form*, shape, mould, form), *der Schauer* (shower, cf. Stand. Ger. *shudder*, anxiety, down-pour).
- (iv) A suffix, e.g. German nouns ending in *-er* and *-ment* are masculine and neuter respectively (hence, *der plumber*, *das department*). Greek nouns ending in *-a* are feminine while the English *-er* suffix is replaced by *-as*, which is masculine, e.g. *oi kaunta* (counter), *oi rula* (ruler), *o ueldas* (welder), *o klinas* (cleaner) (Tamis 1986: 156). In the last items, this is an alternative explanation to (i) above. Examples of suffix analogy from other languages include French *la bakery* (-ie), *la finance*; Italian *il tichetto* (ticket), *la biccía* (beach), Spanish *una dictation*, *un reflector*. This applies especially to Russian, where nouns ending in consonants are masculine, and most transfers end in a consonant (Kouzmin 1972).
- (v) A general tendency towards one gender, in the absence of clear-cut factors leading to a particular assignment. Language contact studies in Australia have ascertained a masculine tendency in Italian in North Queensland (Bettoni 1981a: 67), Spanish in Melbourne (Kaminskas 1972: 86), Russian in Australia (Kouzmin 1972: 90), and Serbo-Croatian in Queensland (Doucet 1990); a neuter tendency in Greek in Victoria (Tamis 1986a: 141); a non-neuter tendency in Dutch in Victoria (Clyne 1977a: 10); and a feminine one in rural settlement German (Clyne 1986a, c) but not in the German of

pre- or postwar German-speaking migrants (Clyne 1967, 1972a).

Widespread variation in gender assignment is due to multiple semantic equivalents or to the tension between semantic and phonological criteria — (ii) and (iii) above, for example German *der roof* < *der Ruf*, call, reputation or *das roof* < *das Dach*, roof); *das car* < *das Auto*, car, *der car* < *der Wagen*, car, and, to a lesser extent, *die car* < *die Karre*, cart; French *le carpet* < *le tapis*, carpet, rug, or *la carpet* < *la moquette*, Wilton carpet.

Rules for *plural formation* are determined by phonetic shape where integration takes place. Otherwise, the English form is taken over in its entirety. Such unintegrated plurals are prevalent in languages where the *-s* plural is an existing option — in Dutch, where it is the main plural form and, to a lesser extent in German, where it functions as a ‘foreignness marker’, that is, it is used as a suffix only for nouns originally transferred from another language and therefore not central to the German vocabulary. Nouns ending in [ə] *-er* (*-or*) which are transferred into German may be integrated through a  $\emptyset$  (zero) plural (for example *die carpenter*, tractor) or unintegrated with the *-s* plural morphemes\* (for example *die carpenters*, tractors). The *-s* plural occurs occasionally in migrants’ Spanish (Kaminskas 1972: 93) but there are no incidences recorded in the studies of migrants’ Italian mentioned above. However, I have seen *T-shirts*, *overlockers*, and *units* in the Italian press in Australia, alongside  $\emptyset$  plurals such as *film* and *tram* which are standard in Italy. Transferred nouns are assigned to the first masculine or the second feminine declension in Russian (Kouzmin 1972: 94), while in Greek, the plural form is determined by the gender assignment, for example *o masinistas*, *oi masinistes* (machinist, -s); *o b́osis*, *oi b́osithes* (boss, es); *i st́ofa*, *oi st́ofes* (stove); *i semutsa*, *oi semuteses* (sandwich, es); *to bokso*, *ta boksja* (box, -es) (Tamis 1986).

In most community languages for which there are data, verbs appear to be the most highly integrated word class of transfers. Transferred verbs tend to be assigned to the regular first conjugation in Italian (*-are*) and Spanish (*-ar*) and to the *-er* conjugation in French (for example *parquer*). In German and Dutch, they usually but not invariably follow the weak conjugation, for example German (*hat*) *gefixt*, *getalkt*, *gewatcht*; *geshrinkt* beside *gesch-*

*runknen*; Dutch (heeft) getind, opgerond (rounded up). In both languages, integrated and unintegrated forms occur, such as *called* as well as *gecalld*, *parked* beside *geparkt*, *mixed* in addition to *gemixt*; *opmixen*, *mixen up*; *aufunden*, *rounden up*. In Greek, however, transferred verbs are frequently used with an auxiliary *kano* (to do) or *yinomai* (to become), for example:

kano enjoy ti douleia mi

I enjoy my work.

Also: *kanoume* renovate, *yinoume* retire, *yinete* affect (Tamis 1986)

In Sinhala — drive (fix, start) *kərən wa* (drives /is driving, fixing, starting)

frightened *wenəwa* — (got frightened)

(Dipemala de Silva, personal communication)

As in French (for example, *je dois* translate), the use of the auxiliary means that the transferred verb does not need to be integrated. In Korean in Australia (Choong-Woon 1990; Choong-Woon and Ingram 1989), *ha* is used to integrate transferred verbs, for example:

ma neun drive — jal — ha- eyo

I drive well.

*Adjectives* tend to be uninflected in German, Dutch and Greek but inflected in the Romance languages. In Korean in Australia, adjectives are often integrated by the use of *-ha* or the essive suffix *-i* in a verb phrase, for example artificial — *ha* (become artificial), gentle — *i* (is gentle) (Chong-Woon 1990).

## Phonological integration

An English lexical item transferred into a community language may be given the original pronunciation or it may be integrated, to a higher or lower degree along a continuum, into the phonological system of the recipient language. A high degree of integration entails replacing phonemes\* that do not exist in the community language and ones that do not occur in the particular environment with ones that are part of the recipient language and appropriate to that environment, for example German [ʃvɪmɪŋk] 'swimming', [tʃeɪl] 'jail'; Dutch [frɪts] 'fridge', [lʌnts] 'lunch'. There is a great

deal of individual variation, e.g. German [gamtRi:], [gʌmtri:] and [gʌmdri:] for 'gum tree'. The most important factor determining degree of variation is level of competence, but base dialect in the community language and attitude to transference (see below, pp. 205–6) are also of significance. Also, more highly integrated forms prevail in closed networks including rural ethnic settlements (cf. Clyne 1968a, b). This is because such forms are not always easy to identify and therefore to comprehend. Tamis (1988a: 89) points out that some words are integrated by Sydney Greek speakers but not by their counterparts in Melbourne. He does not offer an explanation.

According to Chong-Woon (1990), the phonological form of Australian Korean is heavily influenced by prosodic form dictated by L1 grammar. There is also much syllabic restructuring, for example [gɾɛId]'grade' → [kWreidW].

## Graphemic integration

This entails the replacement of graphemes\* or grapheme clusters that are 'foreign' to the community language or the adaptation of a lexical transfer to the phoneme-grapheme\* relations in the community language, for example German public → Publik, fence → Fenz. The capitalization of transferred nouns in German is, in itself, a form of integration.

## Compromise forms

Consisting of morphemes of the two languages, these are a means of integrating transfers, for example Dutch *bloemenshop* (flower shop), *schapenfarm* (sheep farm), *differentheid* (difference), German *Kettenstore* (chain-store), *Beachlandschaft* (beach-landscape), and *mostens* (mostly).

Compromise forms also combine phonemes from different languages. For example [həl'drant] Eng. ['hʌldrənt] + Ger. [hy'drant] with German stress, [ɔf] Eng. [ɔv] + Ger. [aUf] in meanings *auf* and *von*; [siste:m] Eng. ['sɪstəm] + Dut. [sɪs'te:m].

## SEMANTIC TRANSFERENCE

Semantic transfers preserve the forms in the community language but attribute to them the meanings of English homophones\* or

Table 24 Semantic transference in some community languages

Language	Lexeme	Usual meaning of item in column 2	English homophone or partial synonym providing new meaning	CL equivalent of column 4
Dutch	stil	silent	still	nog
German	ab	down	up	auf
Greek	depozito	tank	deposit	katatheto
Italian	fattoria	farm	factory	fabbrica
Spanish	liberia	bookshop	library	bibliotheca
Dutch	dan	then (non-past only)	then	toen
German	sehen	see (with your eyes)	see (visit)	besuchen
German	bei	near	by (passive) (a book <i>by</i> Nevil Shute)	von
Italian	bosco	bush, shrub	bush, forest	foresta
Spanish	oficio	office (task, job)	office (work-place)	oficina
Greek	grámi	line	production line	paragogi

partial homophones resulting in semantic extension, an extension of meaning. They are thus functionally similar to integrated lexical transfers, sometimes cannot be distinguished from these, and can be regarded as 'compromise forms'. Table 24 provides some examples.

The semantic transference of prepositions is very common in languages where many of them are homophonous with English ones but express a different semantic range, such as Dutch *bij*, *in*, *op*, *voor*, and German *bei*, *in*, *für*. Idioms are sometimes translated morpheme-for-morpheme: Dutch *kijken achter* (look after, Stand. Dut. *passen op*; conveyed meaning: look behind); German *über X sein* (be about X; Stand. Ger. *es handelt sich um X*); Italian *non può essere di uso per me* (it can't be of any use to me; Stand. It. *non mi puo essere utile*); Greek *perni photographies* (takes photographs, Stand. Gk *vrázi photographies*).

Like highly integrated lexical transfers, semantic transfers are used most in close networks of bilinguals, being less readily comprehensible and identifiable as English transfers than unintegrated lexical transfers. They may also be indicative of a puristic tendency on the part of the speaker to avoid 'English forms'.

## GRAMMATICAL CHANGE

It is in grammatical change that language contact studies can provide the most insights into questions of universals and typology (cf. above, p. 157). In the case of syntax, they enable us to assess the effects of competing typologies and of markedness. Greenberg *et al.* (1978), Lehmann (1977), Comrie (1989) and others have proposed a number of language types based mainly on the relative position of subject, verb and object in the sentence, for example SVO (examples: English, Italian, Spanish), SOV (examples: Hungarian, Turkish), VSO (examples: Arabic, Tagalog/Pilipino). Other features such as the order of adjective and noun are taken into account, for example N + adj are characteristic of SVO languages and adj + N typical of SOV languages. There are, as Sapir (1921) has shown, tendencies in the development of a particular language which continue, and are intensified over time. Comparing two

languages typically, it is possible to demonstrate how they are 'drifting apart', and how all typological differences are complementary, as Hawkins (1986) has done for English and German. English is more dependent on word order and German on case-markings\*.

Eckman (1985) suggests that, in a second-language acquisition situation where L2 has features that are more marked\* than those of L1, these are likely to cause the greatest difficulty. Heine (1981) had previously claimed that marked forms are lost in pidgins. We have already given some instances of the unmarked English form predominating in lexical choices resulting in lexical or semantic transference (see above, pp. 165–9).

My examination of German and Dutch in contact with English in Australia gives support to the role of markedness in language change and also to the continuation and acceleration of drift in a language contact situation, especially where there is limited exposure to the community language. The latter concurs with progress results of research on Finnish-Swedish bilingualism in Sweden (Boyd and Andersson *fc*) and Spanish-English bilingualism in the United States (Silva-Corvalán *fc*). It also suggests an interaction of linguistic and sociolinguistic factors in language change.

## Syntactic transference

Both German and Dutch can be regarded as partly SVO and partly SOV languages (cf. Bartsch and Vennemann 1974, and also the controversy in the 1960s on this typological question — see Clyne [1972: 37] for references). In German and Dutch, SVO occurs in unmarked position, in statement sentences and main clauses, while XYV (verb-final) occurs in dependent clauses and XVSO in main clauses where there is a focus on the direct or indirect object or adverbial phrase which then commences the sentence. Both Dutch and German separate constituents such as *auxiliary* + *infinitive* (or *participle*), for example:

Er *hat* seinen Freund heute morgen vor dem Bönner Bahnhof *getroffen*.

(He has his friend this morning in front of the Bonn Station met.)

The two dominant types of syntactic transference in German and Dutch in Australia are:

- (i) the bringing closer together of discontinuous constituents; and
- (ii) the generalization of SVO word order.

For example:

- (i) *Das kann fotografiert sein* im Norden [ɔf] Victoria.  
(That may have been photographed in the North of Victoria. Stand. Ger. *Das kann* im Norden von Victoria *fotografiert sein*.)
- (i) *Ze heeft gestudeerd* op Hobart University.  
(She studied at Hobart University; Stand. Dut. heeft . . . gestudeerd)
- (ii) *Jedes Jahr die Schafe werden geschert*.  
(Each year the sheep are 'sheared' ; Stand. Ger. *Jedes Jahr werden* . . .)
- (ii) *Wenn der Vater hat* keine Farm.  
(If the father hasn't a farm; Stand. Ger. *Wenn der Vater* . . . hat)
- (ii) *Als wij spreken* Hollands, ze *verstaat* drommels goed.  
(When we speak Dutch, she understands darned well; Stand. Dut. *Als wij* . . . *spreken*, *verstaat* ze . . .)

In former German *Sprachinseln* in Australia, the auxiliary normally preceded the participle or infinitive, for example *daß er uns das hat gezeigt* (Stand. Ger. *gezeigt hat*) which may be due to the East Central German base dialects.

There is now a tendency towards proximity of constituents in both Standard German and Standard Dutch in Europe. However, the instances of syntactic transference in our corpus are ones that would be ungrammatical in the home countries. Syntactic transference promoting proximity predominates in the German of the first generation (both pre- and postwar arrivals). The SVO generalization, which was mainly a second and later generation phenomenon in German, is already the dominant type of syntactic change in the first generation in Dutch (that is, among the Dutch- and Belgian-born), and in this respect there is little difference between the first and second generation of Dutch speakers in Australia.

Table 25 Main syntactic transfers by generation — German and Dutch in Australia

		German %	Dutch %
Discontinuous)	1st generation	74 (postwar) 50 (pre-war)	14
Constituents )	2nd and later generations	31	15
SVO	1st generation	20	60
	2nd and later generations	51 (children of immigrants) 45 (settlers)	66

(To nearest percent)

The more advanced syntactic change to the unmarked (cf. above, pp. 176–7) among Dutch speakers may be explained by two factors (Clyne 1990):

- (i) Dutch is less case-marked than German. Thus, word order would ultimately play a more important role in Dutch than in German. (In this respect, Dutch would become more like English.) The generalization of SVO is thus part of 'drift' and of a consistent 'unified contrast' between German and Dutch (see pp. 176–7, references to Sapir and Hawkins).
- (ii) The emphasis on grammatical, rather than pragmatic, word order — that is, the fixing of particular positions in the sentence for particular parts of speech rather than letting that be determined by communicative factors (see Givón 1979: 296) is accelerated in a language contact situation where the exposure to Dutch is even more limited than exposure to German (see Chapters 2 and 3).

Nevertheless, the increase in SVO in German in the second and later generations indicates that the unmarked form, based on English general use of SVO, will advance even without (or contrary to) drift.

A parallel case is the Central Australian Aboriginal language Warlpiri, some of whose younger speakers are adopting a SVO word order with a reduction in the use of case-markers (Bavin and Shopen 1985). Other examples are Old English whose typological change from SOV → SVO Stockwell (1977) explains as having started as 'error' and Milroy (1984: 23) as the result of language contact; and Niger-Congo, whose similar change Hyman (1975) attributes to afterthought and language contact. A recently-described example of SOV → SVO change in a language contact situation is Adyge in contact with Russian in the USSR (Lalor and Blanc 1988). The generalization was identified as a feature of languages that are the product of a SVO-SOV contact by Whitney as early as 1881. On the other hand, the Dutch Creole of Berbice (Guyana) has a SVO structure although the presumed African substratum\* Ijo and, to some extent, the superstratum\* language, Dutch, has too (Stolz 1987).

Apart from discontinuous constituents and SVO generalizations, the main areas of syntactic transference in German and Dutch in Australia are: adverbial word order (Eng. place – manner – time rather than German or Dutch time – manner – place); reflexive pronoun deletion; definite article deletion; and the use of perfect for present, for example:

Ik *ben* vijf jaar in Australië *geweest*.

(I *have been* in Australia for five years. Stand. Dut. *ben* al vijf jaar in Australië; no *geweest*.)

Dann hat er *gewaschen*.

(Then he dressed (himself). Stand. Ger. Dann hat er *sich* gewaschen; reflexive pronoun has been deleted.)

Die zie je *nooit hier*. (These you never see here; Stand. Dut. Die zie je *hier nooit*. English order of adverbs followed here.)

Wir gehen heim für mittag jeden Tag. (We go home for lunch every day. Stand. Ger. Wir gehen jeden Tag zum Mittagessen heim. English word order of adverbs followed here.)

Definite articles are often deleted before street-names, meals,

months or seasons where they are required in Standard German:

Sehr viele Doktoren sind in \_\_\_\_ Collins Street  
(Very many doctors are in Collins Street. Stand. Ger. . . . in der Collins Street.)

Nach \_\_\_\_ Frühstück. (After breakfast. Stand. Ger. nach *dem* Frühstück)

in Juni (in June. Stand. Ger. *im* Juni)

in Winter (in winter. Stand. Ger. *im* Winter)

In Greek:

ephtasa \_\_\_\_ Febrouariou 1857 (7 February. Stand. Gk eph-tasa *stis* Febrouariou) (Tamis 1986)

Among Russian speakers in Australia, Kouzmin (1980) records the construction of utterances in linear manner without the use of inflectional endings to denote syntactic relations (cf. below, pp. 183–6) as well as the redundant use of personal pronouns with agreeing verbs.

In Italian and Spanish in Australia, the position of adverbs/adjectives is also affected by word order:

. . . son mica stato a lungo *abbastanza*

(. . . have been nearly long enough? Stand. It. *abbastanza* a lungo)

Oh, credo che sta OK, bene *abbastanza*, se?

(Oh, I think that it's OK, well enough, see? Stand. It. *abbastanza* bene)

(Bettoni 1981: 71)

la mas viéja casa

(the oldest house; Stand. Sp. la casa mas viéja)

la gordo hombre

(the plump man; Stand. Sp. el hombre gordo) (Kaminskas 1972: 10)

However, there appears to be no evidence as yet of a large-scale shift to adjective + noun in later Australian generations of Romance language speakers attracted by English word order and the marked word order\* in the community language. Such syntactic change would give rise to a mixed typology, for SVO languages such as Italian and Spanish have noun + adjective order as one of their properties.

In languages with a marked auxiliary 'be' as well as an unmarked

auxiliary 'have' to form the perfect and pluperfect, the unmarked one is generalized to correspond to English usage, for example *ik heb gegaan* (Dutch), *wir haben gegangen* (German), *abbiamo andato* (Italian), *il a venu* (French). In all these verbs, the appropriate auxiliary in the standard language is 'be'. However, this does not necessarily have to be due to English influence. Bettoni (1981: 72) suggests Italian base dialects as a possible source of this phenomenon. De Rooij's (1987) diachronic study of Dutch dialect auxiliary use shows a gradual increase in the use of *zijn* (be) especially in the most recent period. However, the north-western, north-eastern and south-eastern regions of the Netherlands which have provided Australia with most of its Dutch population are in the 'mixed' (*hebben-zijn*) rather than in the *hebben* (have) auxiliary area. Often a number of factors in language change (such as dialect base and contact with another language) reinforce each other. Kaminskas (1972: 109–11) observes a syntactic and semantic merger of the two Spanish equivalents of the 'be' auxiliary, *ser* and *estar*, in the speech of some Spanish speakers in Melbourne.

Especially in the second generation, there are attempts to render the English progressive in various community languages that do not have a direct equivalent; for example:

(In response to the question: '*Que hacen aqui?*' 'What are they doing?' on the picture)

*Esquiando. Bailando. Trabajando.*

(Skiing. Dancing. Working.) (Kaminskas 1972: 103)

*Männer sind baden* im See.

(Men are bathing in the sea. Stand. Ger. baden)

als wij waren komend naar Australië.

(When we were coming to Australia. Stand. Dut. kwamen)

## Lexicosyntactic transference

A syntactic rule and one or more lexical items may be transferred simultaneously from English. This will occur where speakers have evidently mapped out a sentence according to the English rule and require the English lexical item(s) to avoid producing an ungrammatical sentence in the community language; for example:

*because* die Grieksen *hebben* een heel typische inslag

(because those Greeks have a very typical trait; word order should be verb-final)

*Ik was achtenzestig jaar before ik kon get mijn pension.*

(I was sixty-eight before I could get my pension; Stand.Dut. *kon krijgen* in final position)

...since mein Vater *ist* tot.

(Since my father is (has been) dead; Stand. Ger. *ist* in final position)

Similarly, English verbs are transferred to replace German equivalents requiring a separation of verb and separable prefix, which can be taxing on the temporary memory (cf. above, pp. 167-9):

*Ich listen jeden Tag zu diesem Programm.*

(I listen to this program every day; Stand. Ger. *Ich höre (mir) jeden Tag dieses Programm an.* The construction in this example is a compromise between English and German word order.)

Specific English question tags are frequently transferred to replace the general ones, Dutch *hè?*, *niet waar?*, French *n'est-ce pas?*, German *nicht wahr?*, *gel(t)?*, Italian *davvero?*, for example:

Er spielt die Orgel, *doesn't he?*

(He plays the organ, *doesn't he?*)

Oh, dat is in Duitsland, *is it?*

(Oh, that's in Germany, *is it?*)

## Morphological change

There is evidence of developing morphological change in some community languages in Australia which may or may not be the result of English influence.

In the section above on grammatical integration, I mentioned the non-neuter tendency (that is, the tendency to use *de* rather than *het* as the article) in the assignment of nouns transferred from English into Dutch in Australia (see pp. 172-3). No tendency towards any particular article is apparent in the speech of German-English bilinguals in Australia except in the close rural settlements, where *die* was preferred for some nouns (see above, 171-2). A non-neuter tendency has also been recorded in the use of Dutch nouns not transferred from English among Dutch-English bilinguals in Australia. Fifty-two different *het* (non-neuter) nouns were changed to

*de* (neuter), by 13 generation 1a speakers (who came to Australia as adolescents or adults, Haugen 1953: 334) and 30 who are either second generation (Australian-born) or generation 1b (who came to Australia before the age of 12). But only nine *de* nouns were changed to *het*. This could be explained by the phonetic similarity between *de* and *the*. In some cases, it is accentuated by the phonetic similarity between the English and Dutch nouns (such as *bed*, *café*, *land*, *soort*) but the overgeneralization is to be found also in other nouns, like *gebouw* (building), *gedeelte* (part), *gezin* (family), *paard* (horse), *verhaal* (story). *De* is the main and unmarked article for Dutch nouns (see Berckel's [1962] frequency count) and the move in the direction of a uniform *de* article could be part of a drift in Dutch — one that will not occur in Australia because of the virtual disappearance of the language within two generations (see Chapter 2). In German, where the gender/article system is more complex — with three genders and many case-forms — the basic structure remains, despite unsystematic variation\*, even in the second and later generations. The comparable German data indicate only ten gender deviations, including:

3 *die* → *das*, 2 *das* → *die*, 2 *die* → *das*.

Two studies of generation 1b and second-generation children attending part-time ethnic schools, based on tests (Clyne 1970; Monheit 1975) indicate a 12 per cent shift to neuter, 11 per cent to masculine, and 7 per cent to feminine in the examples tested (Clyne 1985: 156–7). In almost all the former German settlements there is a similarly inconsistent reorganization of genders. The exception is the Apostolic community of Hatton Vale, settled in the late 19th and early 20th century from Braunschweig, Westphalia and Berlin. Bleakley's (1966) study shows a tendency towards a uniform *de*. Thus, with regard to gender in German in Australia, a large number of marked forms does not, on the whole, increase grammatical change. The more advanced developments in Dutch concur with those in syntax mentioned previously, pp. 158–9.

Kaminskas (1972) notes among second-generation Spanish-Australians morphological confusion (rather than transference) in Spanish in verb morphology, gender, and mood distinctions.

In Hungarian, a language with a complex case system (14 cases) involving postpositions\*, Endrody (1971) found frequent deviation rather than transference, as the following examples show.

Melbournen (on M.) for Melbourne-*ben* (in M.)  
 with some instances of case-ending deletion, for example:  
 gyereket rendes viselkedés tanetsa  
 (teach his child good behaviour; deletion of direct object ending -*re* on *viselkedés*).  
 Nagyanyam mar nem emlékszem  
 (I don't remember my grandmother very well; deletion of direct object -*ra* on *Nagyanyam*).

In her study of Russian in Australia, Kouzmin (1972, 1982) also ascertains a preference for analytical (that is, ending-less) forms rather than the original synthetic ones. This development, too, appears to be the most advanced in Dutch, where our corpus shows the beginnings of an unmarked, uninflected verbal form. Among ten generation 1b and second-generation subjects and two of generation 1a, I have recorded forms such as *wij eet* (Stand. Dut. *eten*), *wij kan* (kunnen), *moest* (moesten), *houd* (houden) and *mensen zit* (zitten). For this, too, there is no parallel in my German corpus despite ungrammatical endings. Again, the Dutch system makes fewer distinctions than the German equivalent (Dutch: three endings in present tense, cf. German four).

Similar developments can be observed in plural allomorphs\*. Dutch has two main ones, German has seven. Dutch -*en* is far more usual than the other plural allomorph -*s*. English influence is undoubtedly responsible for twelve of my Dutch informants (ten of them generation 1a) employing -*s* instead of (Stand. Dut.) -*en* in 15 nouns, not all of which are cognate with English ones (for example *koeis* 'cows', *zondags* 'Sundays', *hoofdleidings* 'mains', and *lantarnpaals* 'lamp-posts'. However, there were only two instances of -*en* being substituted for -*s*. In German in Australia, there is only unsystematic variation and overgeneralization, in both interviews and tests (Clyne 1970; Monheit 1975).

The same tendencies have been reported from other Dutch contact situations. Stolz (1987) records a slight tendency towards a one-article system, a generalized -*s* plural, and analytical verb forms in New Jersey Dutch and, to a lesser extent, in Mohawk River Dutch. These features are much stronger in Dutch creoles. The unmarked plural (e.g. *ons denk*, 'we think'), a uniform article and a gravitation towards the -*s* plural were also developments in Afrikaans.

Bettoni (1985: 71–2) notes deviant agreement between adjectives and nouns in the children of Italian migrants in Sydney. For instance, one informant uses *bene* for feminine and plural as well as masculine (singular nouns). Bettoni (1985, 1986) contrasts this morphological reduction, which increases the younger the children's age, with the 'fuller' system of the parents (cf. similar tendencies in the USA, Gonzo and Saltarelli 1983: 120).

As in syntax, these tendencies support the hypothesis of the transfer of unmarked features. A further example from a contact situation is a tendency towards generalizing neuter gender and imperfect aspect in American Greek (Seaman 1972: Ch.3). It is interesting that Tamis (1986: 276) reports practically no syntactic change in Greek in Australia. This may be related to the high language maintenance rate.

The above tendencies could be expressed in a pair of hypotheses, to be tested on examples from other languages in contact — that a language which has drifted more towards an analytical structure (here Dutch) develops further in that direction with a yet more analytical (related) language (here English). Or, a less complex system (Dutch) is more likely to undergo further simplification than a more complex one (German). For theoretical conclusions based on code-switching, see below, p. 198.

## PHONOLOGICAL TRANSFERENCE

The phonological level is the last to give way to L2 influence (Rayfield 1970). It marks divergence of some second-generation German- and Dutch-English bilinguals from the speech of the overseas-born first generation. The former transfer the alveolar [ɹ] from Australian English, loss of /ts/ and /ç/ and the substitution of /s/ and /k/ for them are also not uncommon. In extreme cases, there is a complete transference of the diphthong system of Australian English.

The speech of Bettoni's (1981) North Queensland Italian speakers is marked, if at all, by alveolar [ɹ], the deletion of /r/ in words such as *parla*, *dentro*, and *prima*, and the substitution of English central /ə/ for unstressed [ə] as in [ən'keɹə] *ancora*. Second-generation Polish-Australians studied by Sussex (1982) generally reduce

articulatory effort by not voicing final stops, centralizing all unstressed vowels to [ə] and diphthongizing and/or lengthening stressed vowels. Some phonological transfers (e.g. underdifferentiation of š š, č č, dž dž) affect even recently arrived migrants.

Most of the 19th-century rural *Sprachinseln* were settled from East Central Germany (notably from Silesia, Prussia, Upper Saxony, and Pommerania). The base dialects were characterized by some major phonological deviations from Standard German which overlap with the more 'cultivated' end of the Australian English sociolectal continuum\* (cf. Mitchell and Delbridge 1965); for example:

There were no rounded vowels and monophthongs, but

/ɛI/ for Stand. Ger. /e:/ or /ø:/ (lesen, lösen)

/ɛU/ for Stand. Ger. /o:/ (groß)

/i:/ for Stand. Ger. /y/ (fühlen)

There were no affricates\* but only fricatives\*

/f/ for /pf/ (Pferd)

[s] for [ts] (Zahn)

Not having evidence of the spoken German of the original settlers we cannot assess the relative importance and possible reinforcement of base dialects and Australian English in the phonology of latter-day Barossa Valley, Western Victorian, Wimmera and South Queensland German.<sup>1</sup> Regionalisms had been largely levelled out by the influence of schoolteachers, pastors, and the written language. In some cases, General or Broad Australian English vowel phoneme systems\* (Mitchell and Delbridge 1965, Horvath 1985, Bradley and Bradley 1990) are transferred to German — ones which do not overlap with East Central German. Examples are the use of:

/ʌI/ for Stand. Ger. /e:/ or /ø:/ (lesen, lösen)

/ʌU/ for /o:/ (groß)

/əu/ for /u:/ (Mut)

/æU/ for /aU/ (faul)

The *gradual* spread of phonological change (e.g. diphthongization, fronting, de-affricatization) has been demonstrated in a

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1. The writings of the early-20th-century Barossa Valley authors 'August von der Flatt' and 'Fritz vom Schkrupp' attempt to reflect the Silesianisms of earlier generations.

study of the speech of two generations each from five fairly typical families — one from the Wimmera, two from the Victorian Western District, and two from the Barossa Valley (Clyne 1972: 83–5; see map, p. vii). The younger (that is, middle-aged) generation had, in most cases, absorbed general phonological tendencies prevalent in the district which became either categorical (obligatory) or variable (optional) rules. The changes to categorical rules took place principally in the more stable and (dialectally) homogeneous settlements and the changes to variable rules in the larger and less homogeneous German enclave. Phonological change is a topic that invites far more extensive language-contact studies, involving a diversity of languages.

## PROSODIC AND TONEMIC TRANSFERENCE

The influence of English intonation on community languages is a relatively unexplored area, which requires far more study, especially in relation to tone languages such as Chinese, Vietnamese and Swedish. Bettoni (1981: 80–2), Sussex (1982) and Tamis (1986: 197) have observed the transference of Australian rising intonation for statements in Italian, Polish and Greek respectively.

## GRAPHEMIC TRANSFERENCE

This has been examined so far only for Spanish (Kaminskas 1972: 206–9) and German (Clyne 1972: 41–7) although there is much data available, for example from day and part-time ethnic schools and from universities. Three main types of graphemic transference have been described:

- (i) the transference of English phoneme-grapheme relations\*, for example German <ie> for <ei> as in: *schrieben*, *ziehen* for *schreiben*, *zeichnen*. Spanish <oo> for <u> as in: *toocha* for *ducha*;

- (ii) the dropping of distinctive graphemes in the community language, for example German <ü> and <ö> as in: *stühle*, *sohne* for *Stühle*, *Söhne*;
- (iii) the dropping of distinctive sequences in the community language, for example German <sch> replaced by <sh> as in: *shatten*, *shreiben* for *Schatten*, *schreiben*; Spanish <qu> for <cqu> as in: *querdo* for *acquerdo*.

Where several alternative phoneme-grapheme rules exist in the community language, one of which is unmarked in English, this is the preferred option, for example German *fiel* for *viel*, *Verwanten* for *Verwandten*, *schiken* for *schicken*. Children of Spanish-speaking migrants encounter confusion between consonants <b> and <v>; and between <g>, <j>, and <gu> for instance.

Second and generation 1b bilinguals will often experience greater difficulty in spelling the community language than second language acquirers of the language due to the time lag between the bilingual children's acquisition of the spoken and written language.

## PRAGMATIC TRANSFERENCE

Most languages other than English require speakers to choose between two or more forms of address which mark pronouns, and usually verbs as well. The pronoun of solidarity (e.g. Italian *tu*, German *du*, Russian *ty*) (cf. Brown and Gilman 1960) is used far more widely in Australia than in comparable situations in the country of origin (especially at the time before migration) because many migrants adopt the Australian practice of addressing work colleagues and acquaintances by their first names when communicating in English. This prevents them from expressing special relationships (friendship rather than acquaintance). The emotional problem associated with not being able to differentiate is frequently solved by switching to English. The second generation do not generally conform to the rules of address because they either do not know the pronoun of power (e.g. *lei*, *Sie*, *vy*) or have had very little occasion to use it (Bettoni 1981a: 79–80; Clyne 1981a: 34). They will also prefer Australian appellatives even when speaking the community language. This means dropping Polish patterns,

for instance, a more distant Pan(i) + first name (e.g. Mrs Anna) as well as a more close and affectionate diminutive (Ania) and the neutral Anna (in favour of Australian Annie) (Wierzbicka 1985).

The lexical transference of discourse markers such as *well* and *anyway* (see pp. 166–7) is at the same time a type of pragmatic transference reflecting a change in rules of social interaction, and often even an integration of cultural value systems. Second-generation Polish-English bilinguals will transfer the more ‘indirect’ Australian English rule for a speech act of request, for example:

Mamo czy możèsz mi proszè dàc soku?

(Mummy, can you please give me a drink of juice?)

rather than

Mamo daj mi proszè soku?

(Mummy, give me please a drink of juice) (Wierzbicka 1985: 202)

In terms of Brown and Levinson (1988) this reflects negative rather than positive politeness. Further examples of pragmatic transference from Australian English into the community language include the semantic transference of ‘Nice meeting you’ and the opening routine ‘How are you?’ into Polish (Wierzbicka 1985) and the realization of farewells in Greek according to the Australian formula ‘See you later’ (Tamis 1986: 194). In German in Australia, *danke* (thank you) has assumed a positive meaning in a reply to an offer in accordance with the English model, whereas in German it would normally be used to decline a similar offer.

## Discourse structures

Bettoni (1985) demonstrates that the second generation of Veneto families in Sydney tends towards looser co-ordination and avoids subordination in clauses and sentences. The topic-comment structure is preferred. This supports the argument that there is a gradual development towards what Givón (1979: 296) designates the ‘pragmatic mode’. Paradoxically, this has led to a change from more pragmatic to a more grammatical word order in later generation German and Dutch speakers (see pp. 174–6) as well as in young Warlpiri speakers (Bavin and Shopen 1985).

## CODE-SWITCHING

Generally speaking, code-switching can be explained by one or more of the following:

- (i) The speaker is metalinguistically aware and wishes to avoid 'mixing languages' (that is, engaging in lexical transference). Code-switches are sometimes accompanied by metalinguistic\* discourse markers such as:  
     come si dice in inglese (as is said in English)  
     das kann ich auf deutsch nicht sagen (I can't say that in German)  
     or a change in tone of voice, signalling inverted commas (Haugen 1956: 65).
- (ii) The context of situation is identified with one of the languages. For instance, the two languages contrast the speaker's past and present, or home or away-from-home settings.
- (iii) Two complete systems coexist. Any element of one of these languages can cause a complete switch to the other (see below, pp. 193–6). Code-switching (as well as transference) may be used to quote what has been said in that language or to reinforce something already said in the other language (cf. Romaine 1986).

Baker (1976) has distinguished between situational and conversational categories of code-switching and Heller (1988) between interlocutor- and discourse-oriented ones. I shall refer here to sociolinguistically and psycholinguistically conditioned code-switching.

## Sociolinguistic variables

The sociolinguistic (situational) variables promoting code-switching (cf. factors in code-selection, pp. 112–13) are:

- (i) *Interlocutor*. Giles (1977) has introduced the notion of speakers converging towards one another's speech. This can

be done by switching to the language being used by the speech partner or with which he or she is identified. In Australia, as in other environments, this is often linked with *age* (cf. above, pp. 55–61, 79–85). The role of the interlocutor in code-switching is particularly significant in transactional situations (Platt 1980: 346) where people join or drop out of a conversation or when a passive participant becomes an active one.

- (ii) *Role relationship*. The same two people may have two (or more) different relationships — such as family friend (or daughter of friends) and ethnic school teacher (or pupil) — which are marked by the use of different languages — say, English and a community language. Where the role relationship changes, there may be code-switching.
- (iii) *Domain*. The domains of home, religion and (in some cases) community life may, in the Australian context, require a switch to a community language, and the work and school domains a switch to English. Where the society from which the person or family has originally migrated has a (fairly) stable diglossic situation with a rigid division between the functions of the H and L languages\* (Pauwels 1986), there may be further potential for code-switching according to domain (for example, Mauritian Creole for home, Standard French for religion).
- (iv) *Topic*. Because of different spheres of experience in Australia and the country of origin, some people will switch from the community language to English when they talk about their job (in Australia) or about cars, school or cricket.
- (v) *Venue*. Some people speak the community language in the actual home but English in the garden, where they can be heard by neighbours, or the community language in home and garden but English on the street and in other public places. Certain buildings (such as ethnic churches or clubs) may be strongly identified with the use of particular community languages. As interlocutors may move from one venue to another during a conversation, code-switching may occur.
- (vi) *Channel of communication*. Interlocutors with whom face-to-face interaction is usually in English are often addressed

in English over the telephone. Many children who communicate verbally with their parents in a community language will use English when writing to them (cf. the differences between spoken and written use of community languages, above, pp. 52–4).

- (vii) *Type of interaction*. Formal business transactions tend to be in English (but cf. above, p. 85) while informal interaction with the same interlocutor may be in the community language. As the interaction type changes within discourse, there may be a code-switch.
- (viii) *Phatic function*. Code-switching can indicate a change in tone, such as dramatic effect (Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez 1975; Appel and Muysken 1987: 119). Australian research in code-switching between community languages and English has not as yet adopted the conversational-analytical approach which is promoted by Gumperz (1976) and on which the papers in Heller (1988) focus, including McConnell's study of the code-switching of Aborigines in Northern Australia. Probably an analysis of the kind undertaken by Poplack (1988) would unearth some differences in code-switching patterns between closed and open networks (cf. Milroy 1980) and facilitate, in particular, a typology of 'switchers'. Clyne (1977a) found, for instance, that adult Dutch-English bilinguals in areas of strong Dutch concentration in rural areas of Victoria switched from English to Dutch far more than Dutch-English bilinguals in other areas.

## Psycholinguistically conditioned code-switching

This is far more relevant to structural change in community languages and typological and other theoretical issues. It is promoted by *trigger words* — words at the intersection of two language systems which, consequently, may cause speakers to lose their linguistic bearings and continue the sentence in the other language. Examples of trigger words (in bold) are:

- (i) *Proper nouns*, for example:
  - (1) Es war Mr Fred Berger, der wohnte da **in Gnadenthal** and

*he went down there and Mrs Reher said to him. . .*

(It was Mr Fred Berger, he lived there at Gnadenthal. . .)

(*Gnadenthal*, being the name of an old German settlement in the Western District of Victoria, occurs in both English and German linguistic contexts.)

(ii) *Lexical transfers*, for example:

(2) Ze zijn gedeeltelijk **waitress** 'n / *and the others are staff*.  
(They're partly waitresses 'n . . .)

(3) Ich les grade eins/ das is' ein/ handelt von einem alten/  
**secondhand-dealer** *and his son*.

(I'm just reading one/ that's a/ about an old . . .)

(A filled or unfilled hesitation pause immediately before a trigger word gives a speaker some time to forget which language was being spoken.)

This category includes *stabilized 'loanwords'* from English in the standard language, for example:

(4) Come che l'ha conosciuto su i **film**? *Not in the films, are you, these pornographic films he gets in?*

(How he recognized him in the films? . . .) (Bettoni 1981: 76)

(iii) *Compromise forms between the languages*, for example:

(5) Das [**Is**] *taken round the coast here*.

(6) Wir haben se gehabt but oh, großes Feuer [**kam**] *come through and killed the trees*. (We had them but, oh, big fire . . .)

[**kam**] is a compromise between German [ka:m] and English [keIm] reinforced by Eng. *come* [**kam**].

(iv) *Bilingual homophones* (words that sound the same in the two languages, at least in the two language systems of the speaker), for example:

(7) Dat is **de** *hardest thing for immigration*.

(8) Dit kan [**kan**] *be anywhere*.

Frequently, code-switching is accompanied by transferred discourse markers (hedges), such as *well, you know, you see, anyway, anyhow*, for example:

(9) Wenn ich mich so fühle, geh' ich 'raus in den Garten und/  
**well** *look after my flowers*.

(When I feel like it, I go out in the garden and . . .)

In the above examples, the code-switch follows the trigger word. We have termed this *consequential triggering* (Clyne 1967). The trigger word is sometimes *anticipated* at the beginning of the unit of sentence planning to which it belongs, the noun phrase (NP) or prepositional phrase (PP), for example:

- (10) Wir packen alle die alte Kleider, das/ für *the missions*.  
(We pack all the old clothes, that . . .) (Beginning of NP)
- (11) Hij staat *on the bridge*. (He's standing on the bridge.)  
(Beginning of PP)
- (12) El léon *as king of the jungle* (The lion . . .) (Beginning of PP) (Kaminskas 1972: 213)
- (13) To Sydney einai *very slow-moving* (Sydney is . . .) (Intensifier before adjective) (Tamis 1986: 259)

In the 50 most frequent anticipational switchers in my corpus from German-English bilinguals, 33 per cent of the clear-cut instances occur at the boundary of a NP and 43 per cent at the beginning of a PP. This gives some indication of sentence planning at the phrase level.

The same words that cause code-switching from a community language to English also trigger off switches into the community language or, more frequently, a return to that language after English has been spoken, for example:

- (14) Sie war in **New Guinea**, *when the Japanese came there* and dann haben's/ mußten sie 'raus von **New Guinea** *at the time of war*. (She was in New Guinea . . . and then she/ she had leave New Guinea . . .)
- (15) Five o'clock it was so quiet in the street and I thought 'Oh dat *heb je nou in Australië*, in de *large lamps* in Australië, *I can't understand it.*'
- (16) 'ne Strandszene in **Dromana**/ *I think, no, Dromana*/ mit 'n paar Häusern. (A beach scene . . . with a few houses.)

About 30 per cent of my German-English and Dutch-English bilinguals produced examples of triggering. The same categories have been found in a comprehensive study of the Dutch of descendants of rural settlers in the United States (Schatz 1989). The

phenomenon has also been observed in the speech of bilinguals speaking Greek and English (Tamis), Italian and English (Bettoni 1981), Spanish and English (Kaminskas), Russian and English (Kouzman), Estonian and English (Areng, cited in Clyne 1980a), Latvian and Estonian (Rūke-Draviņa 1969: 28), Russian and German (Braun 1937), as well as Swedish and English in the USA (Hasselmo 1961). Its incidence has also been recorded in the *Tischreden* of the German-Latin bilingual Martin Luther (Stolt 1964). A trigger word in one language can cause code-switching between two other languages, for example:

Dutch (17) Die heb ik van de (Those have I from the	English  <b>British Council</b>	German  <i>bekommen</i> received)
Russian (18) Ja sprasivaju vas (I ask you	English  <b>my dear friend</b>  <i>my daughter?</i>	Yiddish  <i>wos zol ig tun mit</i> what am I to do with)
Slovak (19) Nasa cela rodzina  (Our whole family works	Hungarian  már sok éveket for many years	German  orewet dort in der Stadt <b>Sydney</b> there in the City of S. and we are all happy)

(The last two examples are from Rót 1985: 203)

### *Code-switching and syntactic transference*

Code-switching, like lexical transference (see above, pp. 167–9), is prevalent in conjunction with syntactic transference, that is, it often occurs where syntactic convergence has already taken place between the languages (as Gumperz [1964] shows in his study of Hindi-Punjabi code-switching in Delhi.) In examples such as the following, the speaker, having mapped out the sentence, needs English lexical items to produce a ‘grammatical’ construction.

- (20) *Before that* wir haben gewohnt about vier Meilen von hier. (Before that we lived about four miles from here; Stand. Ger. Vorher *haben wir* vier Meilen von hier gewohnt; Ger. context; switch facilitates SVO)  
The intricate links between code-switching and syntactic transference are demonstrated by the gradual morpheme-for-morpheme substitution of the sentence which the speaker had mapped out in English:
- (21) Das is' ein Foto, gemacht an der beach. *Can be*, kann *be*, kann sein in Mount Martha. (This is a photo taken on the beach . . . ; the third attempt is possible in colloquial German but ungrammatical in Standard German. Stand. Ger. . . . kann in Mount Martha sein).

### *Marginal passages*

A specific type of code-switching, observed by Hasselmo (1961: 39–78) among elderly Swedish migrants in America and termed by him 'marginal passages', also occurs among some older Dutch-English bilinguals in Australia. It is characterized by unlimited switching (in both directions) at the grammatical and lexical levels between closely related languages promoted by a large number of lexical transfers and compromise forms, and a phonic pattern derived from L1, for example:

- (22) En hier is al *hilly*, you know. So dat was de *first impression we made*, you know.
- (23) Ja, in de, in de *big places* is het *a lot*, nou je kan 't/ 't is de *same* als hier. Je hebt Melbourne en de *other places* met de *high flats* an(d) /en so. Dat heb je in Holland ook. Maar 'n, maar *a lot of places* nou, de *same before we go*. D'r is, we go to my sister in *Apeldoorn*, en [zi hef] de *same place* nog.

Because of the large amount of code-switching, this is sometimes erroneously mistaken for random or unstructured switching. For instance, from their research on the Danish of over-80-year-olds in America, Kjaer and Bauman-Larsen (1974) suggest that there are no *structural* constraints on code-switching. However, if we examine their examples (see Clyne 1980a: 30), we find frequent triggering and 'marginal passages'.

## THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF CODE-SWITCHING

Over the past decade, some theoretical linguists (mainly American) have sought to establish from code-switching data from various pairs of languages in contact, universal constraints on switching which will support specific models or frameworks of theoretical linguistics, notably Government and Binding. Appel and Muysken (1987: 122–8) show that this follows a period of language-specific (particular) constraints. The most important example of this is probably Hasselmo's (1974, 1980) work on ordered selection in American Swedish. By the mid-1980s, linguists were engaged in a search for relativized constraints, 'resulting from the interaction of universal principles and aspects particular to each code mixing situation' (Appel and Muysken 1987: 126). In this section, I shall summarize some of the constraints proposed in the literature as well as the underlying assumptions, and examine whether the Australian data will support them (see also Clyne 1987).

### Constraints and similar universal issues

The main universal constraints proposed in the literature are:

- (i) *Structural integrity, or equivalence constraint.* The syntax on either side of the code-switch must be grammatical for the language concerned (Sankoff and Poplack 1979; Woolford 1983).
- (ii) *Free-morpheme constraint.* No switch can occur between a bound morpheme\* and a lexical form unless that lexical form is phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme (Sankoff and Poplack 1979; also Wentz and McClure 1977:706).
- (iii) *Semantic constraint.* Whole PP switches, which are infrequent, involve figurative or temporal, but not locative, switches (Pfaff 1979).
- (iv) *Conjunction constraint.* Gumperz (1976) claims that the conjoined clause conjunctions must be in the language of the

second clause. In contrast, Kachru (1978) contends that they must be from the language from which the conjoined sentence is introduced. Pfaff (1979) and Bentahila and Davies (1983) find that both are possible.

- (v) *Government constraint*. Switching is possible only between elements not related by government (for example, V governs O, and P governs the NP in a PP). (Di Sciullo *et al.* 1986). This constraint, it is claimed, has precedence over all others, and it incorporates some of them. Di Sciullo *et al.* (1986) claim universal validity. Bentahila and Davies (1983), having disproved the universality of various previously postulated constraints, argue that sub-categorization rules\* of a word — by which other elements from either language can be employed in combination with a particular head-word — are the determining factor. They draw their examples from Arabic-French code-switching in Morocco. The following two related issues have been discussed alongside the constraints.
- (vi) *'Mixed grammar' or 'grammar for code-switching'*. Despite the preference of many theoreticians for the idea of 'two independent grammars, co-operating in code-switching', arguments are also presented against a 'mixed' grammar (Pfaff 1979; Di Sciullo *et al.* 1986; Sankoff and Poplack 1979). Klavans (1983) contends that, if government holds over code-switched sentences, they must be generated by a code-switching grammar. This is supported by Lederberg and Morales (1985) on the basis of acceptability tests. Joshi (1984) assumes a system Lx in terms of the grammars of the two languages (though not a third grammar for 'mixed' sentences).
- (vii) *'Matrix language'*. In arguing for asymmetrical directionality (code-switching will usually occur more in one direction than in the other), Klavans (1983) develops the notion of a 'matrix language', determined by the inflection-bearing element of the verb. For example, in the sentence 'Dieses Material shrinkt sehr leicht', the matrix language is German. This notion is supported by native-speaker judgments (but cf. comments of Pfaff [1979] and Sankoff and Poplack [1979] on the problems of acceptability testing). On this basis, Klavans

establishes constraints in languages with different case-marking. Joshi (1984) similarly postulates a matrix language for each utterance, and the notion of the matrix language is implicit in Woolford (1983) and Di Sciullo *et al.* (1986). Sankoff and Poplack (1979) refute the concept by recourse to single sentences with several switches. However, their own labelling system is very similar. Here superscripts on the symbols for various grammatical categories are introduced to avoid violations of code-switching constraints (e.g. NP + det N sp:N Adj sp.adj — where sp = Spanish).

## Assumptions

Implicit in the 'formal linguistic' studies on constraints (such as those by Woolford, Di Sciullo *et al.*, Joshi, Klavans already mentioned) are a number of assumptions about languages in contact which are subject to challenge.

- (i) *Standard languages*. That there are two standard languages in contact which can be described in normative terms, i.e. according to grammaticality. Code-switched utterances are discarded as 'ungrammatical' if, in the experience of the author(s), or in the corpus with which they are familiar, do not occur (Klavans) or contravene constraints (Woolford).
- (ii) *Stability of grammatical systems*. That the speaker has a stable grammatical system without grammatical convergence.
- (iii) *The inclusion of trigger-words in the switch*. In the 'formal linguistic' literature, triggering is not mentioned and there is a tacit assumption that the trigger point is part of the switch.

## Critique of assumptions

I have already commented on the question of varieties (see pp. 161–2). The studies of German and Dutch in Australia suggest that the syntactic system of the community language in many individuals does, in fact, converge towards English, and that syntactic convergence often accompanies code-switching in specific sen-

tences. Example (20) on p. 197 is but one instance of this. In cases where a speaker or community has adopted syntactic rules from another language consistently, the structural identity constraint will hold automatically. But variation occurs not only between speakers but also in the speech of the same speaker:

Typische australische Bäume, welche wir im Continent nich'  
*haben*.

(Typical Australian trees which we don't have on the conti-  
nent)

Wir haben in Berlin eine Straße, welche *is'* Unter den  
Linden.

(We have a street in Berlin which is Unter den Linden; Stand.  
Ger. welche (die) Unter Den Linden ist [heißt].) (Same  
speaker)

Und so packt *man* alles ein. (And so you pack everything  
quickly)

So *ich* prefer die self-service shops. (So I . . . ; SVO order) (Same  
speaker)

On the inclusion of the trigger word it can, I believe, be argued persuasively that *secondhand-dealer* in (3) is just as much part of the vocabulary of that speaker in BOTH languages as *Gnadenthal* in (1) is part of the other speaker's two languages. If the switch in (1) begins at *and*, then so does the switch in (3). Although *Gnadenthal* is a place-name in Australia and therefore common to both languages, *New Guinea* in (14) is part of that speaker's English and German systems, something which is confirmed by its use in a German context twice in one sentence. Category (iii) indicates the difficulty of defining an item from the 'grey' area such as the compromise form [kʌm]. In closely related languages (such as Dutch and English) it is sometimes uncertain if triggering is actually taking place, for example:

(24) Ik hebt een kop of *tea, tea or something*. (I have a cup  
of . . . )

Either [kɔp ɔf] could be a phonologically integrated form of lexical transference from English [kʌp ɔv], or [ɔf] could be a semantic transfer from English (Stand.Dut. een kop(je) *thee*; Dutch *of* (meaning 'or') may be used in the meaning of English *of*.

## Critique of constraints and other universal issues

- (i) *Structural integrity*. As I have already pointed out, the structural integrity constraint is affirmed in the Australian corpus largely because code-switching is so frequently accompanied by, or preceded by, syntactic convergence. For counter-evidence from Arabic-French code-switching, see Bentahila and Davies (1983). Chong-Woon (1989) gives instances of inflexions used in code-switching between Korean and English, what Hasselmo (1961) would term 'morphologically ragged switching', for example:

beautiful song-eu mannal  
Take it easy-ha — seyo.

This may be due to the structure of Korean, and especially to suffixes, and may be interpreted as a violation of the free morpheme constraint (see below).

Appel (1987) points out that actual creative use may violate this and other constraints, and Giesbers (1989) demonstrates that all relevant constraints are broken in code-switching between Ottersum dialect and Standard Dutch.

- (ii) *Free morpheme*. There are a few examples in our corpus of switches between a bound morpheme and a phonological un-integrated lexical transfer, for example:

(25) That's what Papschi *mein's* to say. (German *meinen* = mean)

(26) Es waren hunderts und hunderts *of* Leute. (There were hundreds and hundreds of people.)

There are also instances of a switch triggered off by a bilingual compound — perhaps promoted by the ambivalent affiliation of the following verb:

(27) ...dat de arbeidspace *was very much slower than it is in Holland*.

( ... that the work-pace ... )

Further counter-examples have been found in code-switching between Dutch and Turkish (Boeschoten and Verhoeven 1985, 1986); Yoruba and English in Nigeria (Goke-Pariola 1983); Adāŋme and English in Ghana



or in the course of one. Examples (10) and (11) would both be 'ungrammatical' according to the government constraint.

Consequential triggering, being conditioned mainly by the lexical environment together with phonological convergence (compromise forms) and phonological correspondence, can occur anywhere and can thus be the cause of an exception to any constraint including the government constraint. (But note again the relation between syntactic convergence and code-switching.)

Triggering also accounts for other 'violations' of the government constraint which are quite commonplace in my German and Dutch corpuses, for example:

(27) You don't see *dat* in *Australië*, where [*dat*] and [*In*] are common to the speaker's English and Dutch together trigger *Australië*.

(vi) *Matrix language*. The claim (Klavans, Joshi) that all sentences can be assigned to a matrix language according to the linguistic affiliation of the verb presents some problems in the Dutch-English corpus and, to a lesser extent, in the German-English one for two reasons:

- a. Some verbs are common to both systems, for example *is* in (23) can be either English or Dutch and, in fact, functions as a trigger word.
- b. Some verbs are compromise forms or lexical transfers promoted by partial phonological correspondence and are therefore common to both systems. Examples (5) and (8) are instances of this.

The above approach — 'resulting from the interaction of universal principles and aspects particular to each code-mixing situation' — is characteristic of what Appel and Muysken (1987: 126) describe as the third stage of the constraints debate, 'the search for [lexical and grammatical] neutrality' which is the condition for (psycho)linguistically conditioned code-switching.

## The perception of code-switching

This was tested on 50 (German-English) balanced bilinguals\* (Clyne 1972b). They were played 32 ten-word sentences with a

code-switch in the middle, presented in random order, read on tape by a bilingual. They were then asked to repeat what they had heard. Subjects were distracted by 25 per cent compression of the sentences (increasing the rate of presentation) and by ten seconds of music before they were required to recall each sentence. There were eight sentences each in four categories:

- (i) switching at the clause boundary at a potential trigger word;
- (ii) switching at the clause boundary but not at a potential trigger word;
- (iii) switching at a potential trigger word but not at the clause boundary;
- (iv) switching but at neither the clause boundary nor a trigger word.

On the whole, subjects could recall the meaning of the sentence but many were unable to remember which part was in which language. This suggests language-neutral de- and recoding. Correct recall correlated highly significantly with code-switching at the clause boundary (regardless of the presence of a trigger word).

## Attitudes to transference and code-switching

There have as yet been few attempts in Australia to test bilinguals' attitudes to transference and code-switching. In a small pilot project (Clyne 1975), bilinguals were videotaped watching videotapes of another bilingual using integrated lexical and semantic transfers in German. The transfers were ambiguous in that they were similar-sounding German words with a different meaning; for example, *Ein Ei zu kippen* (Intended meaning: to keep an eye on; Stand. Ger. to throw an egg); *Ruf* (Intended meaning: roof; Stand. Ger. reputation). This offered potential for amusement. Informants were also asked to retell the story in their own words and comment on the language of the videotape, thus both verbal and non-verbal (gestural) reactions were filmed. The highly integrated and semantic transfers were generally recognized as deviations from the norm, but not necessarily as ambiguous or humorous. However, some regarded the transfers as normal and typical of their own speech.

Bettoni and Gibbons (1988) applied a matched guise test to bilinguals taped speaking texts in Italian dialect, regional Italian, a 'light' (English-Sicilian or Veneto) 'mixture', a 'heavy' one, and English. Bilingual listeners were asked to rate the taped informants according to certain personal traits as if their English, Italian and mixed tapes were spoken by different people. The 'light mixture' was identified with the second generation and regarded with hostility. Italian and English were afforded the most positive responses.

Pauwels (1990) administered questionnaires among Dutch-English bilinguals in Australia and a Dutch control group in the Netherlands in which reactions were elicited to 25 sentences with lexical, semantic, morphological or syntactic transference. Whilst 83.5 per cent of the first-generation Dutch-Australians could identify deviations from the norm, 22.5 per cent were unable to provide a correct version. Lexical and semantic transfers were regarded as 'Australian' and viewed with indifference, while syntactic transference was identified with the second generation and received hostile responses.

The three studies, representing three different community languages, indicate a variation in the recognition of transference, but generally a perception of these and a puristic attitude towards their 'excessive' use. This concurs with the results of overseas research (see Romaine 1989: 358-69).

## Linguistic creativity

The polysemy created by semantic and integrated lexical transfers is frequently the basis of bilingual humour in circles using a particular community language. Jokes and anecdotes employing bilingual puns are directed at the linguistically more aware, for example: *jemandem einen Ring geben*, 'to give someone a ring, to ring someone up', Stand. Ger. interpretation: to give someone a ring (as a present); *Das ist nahrungsvoll, es ist mit iron (Eiern)* 'It is nourishing, it is with (contains) iron'; Stand. Ger. . . . it contains eggs. Here bilinguals who 'mix their languages' without recognizing the second meaning they are conveying (cf. pp. 204-5) fall victim to the irony. Semantic transfers in the speech of Dutch-English

bilinguals in Australia which create polysemy — even taboo ambiguity — were collected by Nijenhuis (1967). Among his examples are *plee* (Eng. play, Dut. privy) and *bil* (Eng. bill, Dut. buttocks). However, since Nijenhuis does not give the social context of the utterances in which the words were used, it is not clear whether the transfers were employed intentionally, though Nijenhuis implies that they were not.

Bilingual homophones have formed a substantial element in the plays and revues of the Kleines Wiener Theater in Sydney, the Theaterfreunde in Melbourne, and other ethnic repertory companies, for example:

(Do you miss Australia?) *Miss?* Ein Land ist das, wo mich jeder *mies* nennt.

(Miss [it]? What a land this is where everyone calls me wretched.)

(A podiatrist is speaking), *Fees*, that's it, I treat the *Füß* (in some sociolects of Viennese [fi:s], the same as a Viennese pronunciation of English *fees*).

(Cited in Liffman 1984: 35, from productions of the Kleines Wiener Theater, which developed its cabaret humour based on the refugee experiences on 'in-group' mixture of Viennese German, Australian English, and Yiddish elements.)

Beyond this, lexical and semantic transfers are frequently included in community language novels, short stories and poems as well as in cabaret set in an Australian environment. This is intended to add a local flavour, to characterize Australians of the appropriate ethnic background, to appeal to readers from such a background, and/or simply to capitalize on the combined potential of the two languages. In the 1920s, this technique was employed by two Barossa Valley German writers who called themselves 'August van der Flatt' and 'Fritz vum Schkrupp' whose prose was intended to capture the language and culture of the readers' grandparents. More recently, the Italian-Australian writer Pino Bosi has incorporated transfers into his novel *Australian Cane*, as have Greek-Australian writers (Tamis 1988b: 529). Songs and ballads in community languages — from those of the Barossa Valley from the 19th century to present-day ones in Melbourne's Lebanese community — contain typical instances of code-switching and stabilized transference, some of which are exaggerated by being strung together.

## ENGLISHES IN CONTACT IN AUSTRALIA

I have been conforming, in this monograph, to current Australian usage in employing *community language* to denote 'transported' languages other than English in Australia (in preference to 'Community languages other than English — CLOTEs' — see p. 3). However, it should be remembered that the national language English is also a community language and that there are 'non-mainstream' national varieties of English which have been brought here through immigration. Some instances are standard American, British, New Zealand, Scots, Indian, Ceylonese Burgher and Singapore English.

Contact between Englishes shares some of its linguistic effects with contact between languages of the kind that has been discussed in this chapter. There are, however, marked differences which are determined by the status and functions of the national variety in contact with Australian English. Standard British English still enjoys a prestige status in Australia, especially in the domains of religion (institutional church, especially Anglican), education (especially private schools and tertiary institutions), and the media (especially the government's Australian Broadcasting Corporation). There is overlap between Standard British and the top of the sociolectal continuum\* in Australian English (cf. Mitchell and Delbridge 1965). American English is regarded as more 'foreign' and discrete, but has functions in Australian society, in the pop and entertainment spheres — and, by extension, as a peer group register among some adolescents, in the media (especially on commercial radio and TV) and in religion (among some fundamentalist evangelical groups). It also commands a position of status in science and higher education because of trans-Pacific academic migration and the leading role of the US in many disciplines. Moreover, Australian English has undergone progressive Americanization, as Sussex (1989) has documented. On the other hand, Ceylonese Burgher English and Singapore English are generally not recognized as standard varieties by Australians.

The degree of accommodation towards Australian English (Giles 1977; Trudgill 1986) is promoted by integrative motivation and resisted by the relative lack of instrumental motivation. There is little incentive to be 'bilingual' in two national varieties as such

bilingualism, unlike that between languages, is not considered an asset. The closeness between the varieties furthers the development of conversion formulae both at the phonological level (e.g. among Americans, deletion of [ɹ] in some words; increased diphthongization, e.g. in [æu] for [au], [ʌu] for [o:]; substitution of lexical items, e.g. 'paddock' for 'field', 'petrol' for 'gas', variation between 'sidewalk' and compromise form [fʊtpe:əθ]). Americans have no ethnic structures or group activities. Their group perceives no ethnolinguistic vitality or 'group consciousness' in spite of the international importance of the USA. Informal contacts between Americans is incidental and not due to national origins. No structural assistance is given to speakers of American or British national varieties of English to 'adjust' to Australian English, although there is evidence of discrimination in education (for example compulsion to change orthography, in spite of Australian fluctuation between British and American norms [Peters and Delbridge 1989]).

Individual variation was very evident in a pilot study of nine Americans, mainly young middle-class people. They ranged from a woman who had migrated at the age of 20, and was married to an Australian, and whose speech had converged very much towards Australian English in phonology, lexicon, and intonation, to a 21-year-old student who had come to Australia at the age of 7 with her divorced mother who married an Australian. The latter code-switches between Australian and American English depending on which of her identities she wants to emphasize and on which setting she is talking about. There is clearly a strong attempt at times to diverge from either Australian or American English. Second-generation children of American parents tend to be indistinguishable from other Australian speakers. This is a field which requires far more research on different native and indigenized varieties of English in contact and could test universals of language contact.

## 'Migrant English' and Australian English ethnolects

There is a great deal of individual variability in the English spoken by migrants from non-English-speaking countries. The variables

determining this include the migrant's L1 and other language(s) spoken; age on migration; previous contacts with English, the national variety of English concerned and the nature of this contact; educational background; and work and social contacts in Australia. (Some of these factors also determine the acquisition of the national language by guest workers in Europe. See HPD 1975; Dittmar and Klein 1979.)

The sociolect of Australian English employed by the migrants is determined largely by their first work environment in Australia. Some intellectuals have acquired Broad Australian phonology, vocabulary and syntax from workmates while doing unskilled factory work. This has led to a mismatch between their education, former socioeconomic status and L1 variety on the one hand, and stigmatization on the basis of their Australian English on the other. Conversely, some migrants (especially young people) have, through social and/or work contact in Australia, acquired a sociolect of English higher than that of their L1. In her book on English in Sydney, the first to take Australians of non-British background into account, Horvath (1985) postulates an 'ethnic broad' Australian used by Italian and Greek migrants in her sample — employing [aI] and [aU] as in Standard Australian English *bye* and *mount* — in *snake* and *bone*. This is broader than Broad Australian [ɔI] and [ɔU]. She claims that 'the Italian ethnic community is leading in the direction of "natural" change' (Horvath 1985: 91). As I pointed out earlier (Clyne 1970), the phenomenon represents an approximation to (Broad) Australian based on the nearest diphthongs in L1. Horvath herself provides evidence of this by stating that second-generation Greek- and Italian-Australians are leading a reversal to General Australian. What I believe is happening, however, is that they are *not* experiencing their parents' transference from L1 and are moving in the same direction as the rest of the population.

I have referred in the previous chapter, pp. 113–14, to the syntactically and phonologically marked foreigner talk employed by some members of the second generation to the first generation. There is also evidence of stabilized in-group ethnolects (ethnic varieties) of Australian English, based on transference from community languages but used also by later generations in 'in-group' communication. Examples are Greek Australian English, Jewish

Australian English and Chinese Australian English. Edina Eisikovits is commencing work on some of these.

Another ethnolect is the English spoken by Lutherans in rural areas originally settled by German speakers. Special features of the English phonology of (second-, third- and fourth-generation) Australians in the 80-plus age group, less strongly represented in the 65-and-over age group in former German enclaves include:

[ɛ] as in German, slightly more open than in 'normal' Australian English (e.g. *back* for *back*);

[ɔ], closer than in Australian English;

far more nasalization than is usual in German or Cultivated Australian;

[o:] and [e:] instead of, or in free variation\* with the more usual Australian English diphthongs; and especially

[d] for initial [ð] (as in *this*) but not for initial [θ] (as in *thick*);

devoicing of final [d], [z] and [g] to [t], [s] and [k] (as in: *bad*, *does*, *bag*);

[ʊ] for [əu:] in [lʊθəɪn] 'Lutheran';

free variation between [w] and [v] and between [ɹ] and [r]; and the near generalization of the stressed form of the definite article [ði:] as in: He brought *the* Germans to South Australia.

Even in the generations of Australians of German ancestry in these areas who do not speak German, the English speech is marked by the use of 'bring with', 'come with', and 'take with' (based on *mitbringen*, *mitkommen*, and *mitnehmen*, 'bring, come, take along') and the semantic expansion of 'yet', 'already' and 'different' based on German *noch*, *schon* and *verschieden* (Clyne 1968b: 40).

Listener tests were administered on a number of pastors and other community leaders in the Barossa Valley to ascertain if 'heavily accented' Barossa Valley accents can be distinguished from 'lightly accented' general rural Lutheran ethnolects from South Australia and Western Victoria. The 'lightly accented' speech from all areas was identified as typical of the Barossa Valley while the 'heavily accented' speech was identified geographically but as characteristic of older people or 'the way people used to speak'.

## A NOTE ON THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNITY LANGUAGES ON AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH

In spite of, or because of Australia's ethnolinguistic diversity, community languages have not exerted much influence on present-day 'mainstream' Australian English. The main exception is transfers of names of foods reflecting the 'multiculturalization' of Australia's eating and drinking habits, accompanying mass immigration. *Tortellini*, *gyros*, *moussaka*, *wiener schnitzel* (*weiner snitzel*), *bienenstich*, *papadams* and *wan ton* are but a few examples. There is virtually no recorded instance of syntactic or phonological influence of other languages.

## A CLOSING NOTE

In this chapter, I have attempted to show that speakers of community languages in Australia are adapting them to comply with their social and communicative needs. They are responding, in a linguistic way, to the tension between monolingualism and multilingualism. In addition, there are tendencies towards structural changes which can be posited in terms of a theory of linguistic change. In view of the potential significance of language contact research in Australia to linguistics, it will be necessary to examine as many community languages as possible from a structural point of view.

# 5

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## The formulation and implementation of language policies

In Chapter 1, I showed how, from the early 1970s, Australia had adopted positive attitudes and policies towards immigrant languages and cultures. Drawing on information in earlier chapters, I shall outline the development of co-ordinated language policies at the federal and state levels. It is not my intention to discuss in detail the events leading to the National Policy on Languages. These are dealt with comprehensively in Ozolins (1988). An attempt will be made, however, to compare the present state of implementation with the formulated policies. The question will be addressed if other countries have anything to learn from Australia's language policy experience.

### THE PUSH FOR LANGUAGE-RELATED POLICIES

The push for a National Language Policy came in two phases — the first in favour of policies on language-related issues and the second explicitly for a National Language Policy. There was, of course, considerable overlap between them. They are part of the change from assimilation to multiculturalism policy.

The language-related policy suggestions came through demands to end discrimination against ethnic minorities in access to facilities and information and also for the education system(s) and the media to take into account the multicultural composition of the population. The first concerns only non-English speakers. Examples of demands relating to language are:

- the employment of interpreters in offices, hospitals, law courts, prisons and schools and interpreter facilities at driving tests;
- improved facilities for ESL teaching;
- the introduction of maintenance-oriented community language programs in primary, secondary and tertiary education;
- the introduction of bilingual education, where appropriate;
- the establishment of an ethnic radio station.

The second type of demands directed to all Australian institutions which related to language are:

- making community languages an integral part of the education of all Australian school children;
- the showing of films in community languages on television channels.

Such demands came initially from coalitions of ethnic groups, academics, teachers and teacher organizations and trades unions which formed Migrant Education Action Committees in Melbourne and Adelaide, organized conferences in Melbourne in 1974 and 1977 and participated in Migrant Workers' Conferences (Melbourne 1973, 1975; Sydney 1975, 1981). They were part of the log of claims of the ethnic groups, which were gaining in political importance at the time, and they were among the objectives of Ethnic Communities Councils, set up between 1974 and 1976 in Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide. Most of the demands made clear how it was expected that they should be realized: courses in community languages within the professional training of doctors, lawyers, teachers and social workers, the appointment of more interpreters and of bilingual staff in industry and the service areas, including old people's homes. These questions were discussed in the various government inquiries which took place in the 1970s and recommendations were contained in numerous reports, including those of the Committee on Community Relations (1974),

the Inquiry into Schools of High Migrant Density (1974), the Schools Commission (1975), the New South Wales Ethnic Affairs Commission (*Participation*, 1978), and the Committee on Post-arrival Services and Programs for Migrants (Galbally Report, Australia 1978). The latter, presented in ten languages, was the first multilingual report to pass through Parliament. It recommended, among other things: the extension of ethnic radio and introduction of Multicultural TV, improved facilities for ESL, social welfare information in community languages, an increase in the number of civil servants speaking community languages, a Central Health Interpreter Service, financial aid for ethnic self-help schemes, community language teaching at all levels, and the establishment of an Institute of Multicultural Affairs and to give expert advice to the government on multiculturalism policy.

Often recommendations of one report are held up until the next inquiry of its kind which reiterates them in an updated form or in another context. For instance, the Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools made in its report (1976) recommendations of a seminal nature which were to find their way into numerous language and education policies in the future:

- (i) All children should be given the opportunity to acquire an understanding of other languages and cultures from the earliest years of primary schools;
- (ii) Schools should endeavour to meet the needs of migrant children to continue learning their own language, and opportunities should be available for them to study their own language at secondary level;
- (iii) The teaching of migrant languages has to take into account the different backgrounds of the pupils;
- (iv) Day and ethnic schools should co-operate so that as many languages as possible can be taught;
- (v) Curriculum materials appropriate to the Australian situation should be developed for languages;
- (vi) Retraining should be available for potential teachers of migrant languages.

It was mainly inaction over these recommendations that led to the migration education action meetings and the signing of petitions in Sydney and Melbourne in 1977.

By 1979, the Victorian Education Department had formulated a policy centering around three principles (Shears 1979):

- (i) All citizens should be proficient in English;
- (ii) Children should have the opportunity to learn the language and cultures of their forebears; and
- (iii) All should have the opportunity to study other languages and cultures, particularly those represented in the population.

The *Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education* conducted by the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, in reiterating the importance of bilingualism for all Australians, made some practical suggestions to the government — *per capita* grants to ethnic schools and grants to tertiary institutions for the establishment of community language courses. Both these proposals were implemented. *Perspectives on Multicultural Education* (1981), the report of the Committee on Multicultural Education of the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, argues that widespread monolingualism of the dominant group can jeopardize intercultural and international understanding, while multicultural education can lead to greater cohesion in Australian society and bilingual education to the learning of English as well as to equal educational opportunities for children from non-English-speaking backgrounds.

## Enabling changes

Apart from the development of multiculturalism policy, there were other major changes occurring in Australia or in some of its states that would facilitate the introduction of measures promoting multilingualism. These may be part of the reason for differences between, say, the United States and Australia (cf. pp. 27–31). In 1973, the Federal Government conducted an inquiry into the restrictions at the time on the use of radio transmission space. It was decided to make available far more licences for AM stations and also to introduce FM broadcasting. At the same time, the government established a new state health insurance scheme (Medibank). In June 1975, the then Minister for Immigration, Al Grassby, opened two experimental government ‘ethnic’ stations, 2EA Sydney and 3EA Melbourne to publicize the new scheme in a number

of community languages. The link with Medibank was soon abandoned. The experiment was extended several times, due to pressure from the 'ethnic lobby' at times of crisis, and the stations became the basis of an independent Special Broadcasting Service in late 1977. A third station of the Australian Broadcasting Commission in Melbourne, started in May 1975, was devoted to public access programs. Four-sevenths of the programs were in community languages. Through its representative committees, and individual language program committees, this station 3ZZ contributed to the widening of the existing network of people interested in language policies even though the colourful life of the station was relatively brief (Dugdale 1979). The concept of the station was revived by a group including some of the same people when 3ZZZ-FM came on the air following a state government grant in 1988. Whereas ethnic radio broadcasts in community languages to speakers of those languages, community language films on Multicultural Television (established in 1980) are accessible to others through English sub-titles (cf. above, pp. 147-8).

State governments in Australia have responsibility for schooling. In all states, the immediate postwar period was one of strict central control, inflexibility and massive expansion. Restrictions on curriculum and a rigid promotion system severely limited the number of languages taught at state secondary schools (see pp. 22-3) and prevented primary schools from introducing languages other than English.

One 'enabling change' in the educational area has been the increase in the number of tertiary institutions in any state and the universities' surrender of control of the public examinations system. An early indication of the new openness was the decision to make it possible for all community languages to receive accreditation as Matriculation subjects. This policy originated in Victoria in 1973 and spread to other states, notably NSW and South Australia. At the same time, restructuring, increased flexibility, and a measure of decentralization of curriculum planning to schools, were starting to benefit community languages. As from 1972, various states permitted other languages, such as German, Greek, Indonesian and Italian to share 'first foreign language' status with French. South Australia pioneered the postwar introduction of languages in primary schools, something that developed very gradually from 1962 onwards. That state was helped by the fact that

Grade 7 is still part of the primary school. Devolution of many powers to principals and/or school councils, together with relaxation of the school zoning system, has facilitated the present situation described pp. 117–24.

## THE PUSH FOR AN EXPLICIT NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY

By the mid-1970s, there were a number of major language policies in the process of implementation, including the Child and Adult Migration Education programs, the Telephone Interpreter Service, ethnic radio, and, in varying degrees, the teaching and examination of community languages at various levels of the education system. In education and the media, initiatives and lack of initiatives differed vastly from one state to another. While all these efforts underpinned the general policy of multiculturalism, the criteria on which facilities were provided in community languages differed greatly (numbers, perceived numbers, perceived needs, pressure from ethnic communities, availability of materials). In fact, many policies were quite *ad hoc* and piecemeal, with a mismatch between policy formulation and implementation, a situation which continued for some time. For instance, obligations were expressed to provide interpreters and yet there was no career structure for interpreters. Programs in community languages at primary schools were being developed without the adequate provision of courses in languages at primary teacher training institutions. Programs were starting and stopping according to the availability of teachers.

The first to press for a coherent comprehensive National Language Policy were academic linguists and other language professionals. For instance, at a conference on Migrants, Migration and the National Population Inquiry at Monash University in 1975, Neustupný (1975) offered a theoretical framework for 'migrant language planning' in Australia, and Clyne (1975) advocated a language planning commission to 'study and suggest criteria for the extension of multilingualism in Australia for the benefit of *all* its inhabitants' (1975: 38). Three organizations which spearheaded

the push for a co-ordinated National Language Policy were the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia (ALAA), the Australian Linguistic Society (ALS), and the Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers Association (AFMLTA) (and its constituent state bodies). From 1977, under the editorship of Terry Quinn, AFMLTA's journal *Babel* became one of the main vehicles for the discussion of language policy issues. The editorial, 'A national language policy' (*Babel*, Vol.4, No.1, 1978) advocated an activist role for language teachers in linguistic pluralism. In a previous article, Ingram (1977) had argued for a reorientation of language teaching towards the needs generated by multiculturalism and Australia's geographical and political location. The modern language teachers associations also advocated a National Language Information and Research Centre. The Applied Linguistics Association of Australia had the National Language Policy issue on its agenda from soon after its establishment in 1976, while the Australian Linguistic Society made a submission to the Prime Minister in favour of promoting multilingualism and linguistic awareness in 1978. (The role of linguists in the National Language Policy is discussed by Ozolins 1985, 1988, *fc.*)

In August 1981, representatives of six national professional language associations grouped themselves into the Professional Language Associations for a National Language Policy (PLANLangPol) to work together on a submission to the Prime Minister for the setting up of an inquiry into the need for a co-ordinated national policy. The associations represented were the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia, the Australian Linguistic Society, Aboriginal Language Association, Australian Association for the Teaching of English, Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations, and the Australasian Universities Languages and Literatures Association. The committee was jointly convened by Ross Steele (ALAA) and Roland Sussex (ALS). As it was, the government's decision to hold the inquiry preceded the completion of PLANLangPol's task, and theirs was one of the first submissions to the inquiry and the most substantial one. More importantly, the committee's early deliberations indirectly influenced the scope of the inquiry, which stressed the complementarity of English and other languages in Australia (Aboriginal, community and sign languages) and included all kinds of language issues, not just

educational ones and not just ones affecting migrant groups, thus mainstreaming such matters. Virtually all these issues were discussed in PLANLangPol's submission, which also addressed the possibility of a National Languages Institute to serve the National Language Policy.

PLANLangPol stimulated interest in language policy issues by conducting workshops in some states in late 1981. It worked closely with the Ethnic Communities Councils which strongly supported the notion of a National Language Policy. Language professionals, and Aboriginal, ethnic and deaf groups combined their efforts in a national forum held in Canberra in September 1982, soon after the inquiry began. (Incidentally, it was through the National Language Policy and through Multicultural TV, with subtitles, that deaf Australians saw their affinity with other linguistic minorities and declared Auslan [Australian Sign Language] to be a community language.) The Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia established a broadly-based National Language Policy Liaison Group to monitor the progress of developments towards a policy. It mobilized support whenever the initiatives were being delayed or jeopardized (cf. below, pp. 226–30)

The push for a National Language Policy was greatly supported by a small number of linguists in relevant federal government departments, notably Elizabeth Dines of the Department of Education. This department issued a document, *Towards a National Language Policy* (Australia 1982), which approached the issue from the points of view of needs, rights, and resources.

## THE SENATE INQUIRY

The committee charged with the responsibility of conducting the National Language Policy inquiry, the Senate Committee on Education and the Arts, comprised six parliamentarians from the Senate — the Upper House of the Australian Parliament — three from the Government and three from the Opposition. The scope of the inquiry was vast, embracing: the role of English as a first and second language and its relationship to other languages in Aus-

tralia, the use of languages in various domains, Aboriginal languages, language teaching, Australia's external language needs and translating and interpreting needs, the special needs of the language impaired, adult illiteracy, and guidelines for and the implementation of a National Language Policy.

The report of the Senate Committee, tabled in December 1984, is the result of about 12 months of hearings with evidence from 94 witnesses in addition to 241 submissions from government departments, statutory bodies, ethnic and teacher organizations, other professional societies, and individuals. Its comprehensiveness is due in large measure to the commitment of the chairman of the committee in 1982-3, Senator Baden Teague. The report does not represent a National Language Policy but it does raise a considerable number of issues to be addressed in such a policy. Above all, it establishes the four guiding principles for a policy:

- (i) Competence in English;
  - (ii) Maintenance and development of languages other than English;
  - (iii) Provision of services in languages other than English; and
  - (iv) Opportunities for learning second languages.
- (cf. Victorian 1979 policy above, pp. 213-16)

The implementation is left to a National Advisory Committee, with little indication as to its composition or implementation strategies.

While the chapter on Aboriginal languages is enlightened and innovative, the sections relating to community languages are, on the whole, somewhat conservative and cautious. The sections are to be found in chapters on 'Languages and Australia's International Relationships', 'Teaching Languages other than English', 'Translating and Interpreting Services', 'Libraries' and 'Languages in the Media'.

*I will refer here and in the following sections on language policies only to those parts that are relevant to community languages.*

The Committee recognizes the disadvantage at which Australia has placed itself by having such a high proportion (70 per cent) of monolinguals in Foreign Service positions requiring a high proficiency in a second language, and recommends expanded language training programs, refresher courses, and a language proficiency

allowance throughout the Public Service. This is in contrast to the evidence of the Confederation of Australian Industry and the Department of Trade which indicated satisfaction with the present situation. It was the Australia-China Association, the Asian Studies Association and PLANLangPol who made the case for Australia's language skills needs (Ozolins 1988: 274–7). While recommending the right to interpreting facilities in courts and government departments, the Committee does so in a guarded way ('As a general rule . . .'; 'Where possible . . .'; '. . . should consider . . .'). The same applies to television, where a recommendation is so vague as to be practically meaningless: '. . . every effort should be made for the use of languages on multicultural television to include those languages used by ethnic communities in Australia.' (Senate 1984: 217)

The longest chapter in the report is the one on teaching languages other than English. Its sensible critique of the categorization of languages into watertight compartments (such as 'community', 'traditional/foreign', 'Asian') enables the committee to avoid alienating some teachers and other lobby groups sharing much common ground with those seeking to promote multilingualism on the basis of Australia's cultural diversity. However, many of the responses and recommendations are somewhat less innovative than those of earlier reports; for example:

- (i) That 'the learning of languages at primary school level should be substantially increased to give more children the opportunity to maintain their home language or to acquire another language' (p. 146) is far more cautious than the corresponding recommendations of both the Committee of the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools (1976) and the Victorian Government's policy (1985) (see below).
- (ii) 'Secondary school pupils should experience language learning for a minimum period of one year, at levels suitable to their abilities . . . secondary students of lesser academic ability should not be required to continue language learning for periods longer than a year until language programs have been fully developed and shown to be operating successfully' (pp. 153–4). This contradicts the Committee's criticism of the marginality of languages within the curriculum. The contrast

may be due to some dissatisfaction expressed in evidence (notably by Quinn, in PLANLangPol 1983: 128 and E[evidence] 403) with methods currently employed in schools and their success rate among some pupils. The Committee evidently misses other advice in the same submission that '... one or two years at the beginning of secondary school ... is probably not sufficient for any real progress to be made as a basis for reasoned choice' (p.128).

- (iii) While the Report is favourable to bilingual programs in general, it does not support immersion in spite of 'evidence (being) persuasive' on the grounds that it was unlikely 'programs of this kind will become a widespread model for second language learning in Australia, at least for some time to come' (p.138).

Some of the issues in second language learning to which the report does give significant support are: evaluation of programs, teacher training for community languages in primary schools, the extension of language offerings in teacher training, the urgent identification of requirements for teaching materials in languages of relevance to Australia, and an increase in opportunities for overseas experience. While recognizing the multiple categorization of some languages, the Committee suggests that, for most of the population, the choice of languages should be between two or three ethnic languages, Japanese, Indonesian and Chinese ('Asian languages of major importance to Australia'); French, German, Spanish, Arabic and perhaps Russian ('world languages'), and two or three Aboriginal languages. It recommends renewing financial support for ethnic schools because of the complementary role they play. More emphasis on practical language work and on combinations between language and vocational courses in tertiary institutions is advocated.

Although the Senate report *A National Language Policy* is the most comprehensive Australian languages policy document up to 1984, it is given a tentative character by cautionary clauses and very frequent recommendations for surveys or exploration rather than action. By the time the Senate report was released, it had already been overtaken by developments in Victoria and South Australia. Also, the Federal Government was already funding an

extensive Multicultural Education Program. Each state had its own Multicultural Education Co-ordinating Committee which was taking policy decisions and dispensing federal funds on language and cultural programs of an educational nature. (After 1987, only South Australia maintained this type of committee, with the other states taking decisions at the departmental level as federal funding was severely cut.)

In February 1985 the Curriculum Development Centre in Canberra, a federally funded body, and the South Australian Education Department, with the support of other state Education Departments, established the ALL (Australian Language Levels) Project, which has had an important language curriculum planning and co-ordination function at the national level. Its ongoing work has been to develop a coherent and learner-centered curriculum framework for all languages from the Preparatory year to the final year of secondary school for students of all types of backgrounds (Scarino 1988).

## STATE POLICIES PRIOR TO THE LO BIANCO REPORT

One of the most significant language policy statements in Victoria was contained in a Ministerial Policy Statement on Curriculum released in 1984, some time before the Senate report. Within the policy of devolution, it requires school councils to ensure that all students progressively 'acquire proficiency in another language used in the Australian community' (p.17), this applying to both primary and secondary schooling. A similar statement which stipulates giving *all* children the opportunity to maintain or acquire a second language is formulated in the South Australian Education Department working party's draft language policy *Voices for the Future* (1983), the South Australian task force report *Education for a Cultural Democracy* (1984), in the South Australian Education Department's language policy (1985) and the Victorian policy document *The Role of Languages other than English in Victorian Schools* (1985). The latter, which reviews the current status of languages other than English in Victorian schools, gives a strong

rationale for promoting multilingualism through the education system and makes recommendations to improve the situation. It proposes, rather optimistically, that 'a concerted effort be made over the next fifteen years to expand the teaching of languages other than English from P(reparatory) – (Grade) 12 so that by the Year 2000 a continued study in one or more languages becomes part of the normal educational experience of all children' (Victoria 1985: 12).

It also sets a minimum requirement for primary-school second language programs to take up at least three hours per week throughout the year and supports a range of different types of programs, including bilingual education for all children, which does not figure prominently in the language policies of the other states. The document was complemented later by a staged implementation plan and ultimately by a *Languages Action Plan* (1987) (see below, pp. 232–6).

Moreover, at the time of the Senate report, Victoria had already begun to implement aspects of its policy. From 1983 to 1985, 130 supernumerary teachers of languages other than English were appointed to Victorian state primary schools, and similar schemes were started in non-government (denominational) schools. Some of the programs are bilingual or immersion. Since then, the number has increased only marginally (see pp. 117–24; Table A7, Appendix), the expansion of this scheme having been frustrated by reduced funding flowing on from the Federal Government and by a shortage of trained teachers. This latter question and the need for translators and interpreters were the topic of a report on community languages by a committee of the Victorian Post-Secondary Education Commission (1984) which has never been acted upon.

As has already been indicated, South Australia developed two complementary reports, *Voices for the Future* and *Education for a Cultural Democracy*. The latter is concerned mainly with community languages and advances some basic principles concerning participation rights in one's own and other cultural and linguistic communities. These are reflected in recommendations declaring language maintenance a right, and English and at least one other language part of the education of all students from pre-school to the final year of secondary school. *Voices for the Future* deals with all languages regardless of whether they are community languages or

not, arguing also that all languages taught in South Australia should be accessible to first- and second-language learners. It stresses the need for the school and community to be able to choose the languages taught, for language teaching to follow communicative methods, for languages to be available at different entry points, and for school clusters to be established to facilitate transition from primary to secondary language programs. Small senior language classes should be allowed. The final South Australian Language Policy is a little more cautious. It expresses the desirability for 'people in our multicultural society to be familiar with more than one language, and (for) schools, wherever possible, (to) provide for the learning' at some stage of the child's education, of languages other than English. Procedures are recommended for continuity of language study from Reception (Preparatory year) to Grade 12.<sup>1</sup>

The state language policy documents discussed here and below, pp. 232–6 resulted from broadly-based committees which consulted widely among professional, ethnic and other community groups.

Both Victoria and South Australia devoted substantial resources to community language curriculum development. The most ambitious project, conducted jointly between the two states, culminated in a set of materials including readers, textbooks and audio-visual aids for the study of Greek, which are being marketed internationally. Some of these materials have been adapted for other languages, including German and Maltese.

South Australia also established an Institute of Languages (SAIL) with policy and co-ordination functions for all languages other than English in tertiary education.

## THE LO BIANCO REPORT

State governments, federal government departments and various interest groups were asked to respond to the Senate report. On the whole, strong support was expressed for the guiding principles and

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1. The term 'grade' is used consistently in preference to the Australian 'year' to avoid confusing overseas readers.

the spirit of the National Language Policy, though one very conservative state premier claimed that a National Language Policy was an infringement of states' rights! The submission of responses was followed by a period of inactivity in the area. By 1986, pressure was mounting from ethnic, Aboriginal and professional interest groups for urgent action on the policy. More and more states were developing their own language policies and there was an increasing need for a progressive and comprehensive national policy to which they could relate. A number of attempts by public servants to formulate a policy were found to be quite unsatisfactory. The Minister for Education, Senator Susan Ryan, who had been given jurisdiction over the language policy, appointed Joseph lo Bianco, Chairman of Victoria's Ministerial Advisory Committee on Multicultural and Migrant Education and the instigator of the Victorian policy, as special consultant on the National Policy on Languages, and asked him to draft a policy based on the Senate report and the responses to it. (Incidentally, the change in nomenclature to the unambiguous title '*National Policy on Languages*' had become necessary due to the misconception in some newspaper reports during the Senate inquiry that some languages other than English may be declared national languages of Australia.)

The *National Policy on Languages* (lo Bianco 1987, referred to as the lo Bianco Report) was completed in November 1986 and released in May 1987. It takes over the guiding principles from the Senate Report. However, since the author is an applied linguist, it makes far more use of the international literature on socio- and psycholinguistics and shows far more sophistication in its philosophical base as well as in its argumentation. Lo Bianco spells out four basic justifications for multilingualism which had been expressed more vaguely in previous documents on language policy — social justice, enrichment for all Australians, economic strategies and Australia's external relationships. Although other domains and contexts of language use (such as media, interpreting and translating, libraries) are discussed, there is a much stronger overall emphasis on educational matters, probably because the language policy issue was now being handled by the Department of Education. In terms of languages, the lo Bianco report has a similar scope to the Senate report. Rather than opening up areas for research and further consideration, it makes more specific recommendations,

describes and builds on state as well as federal developments, and is thus far more positive on matters such as 'immersion'.

Among the features of the report are:

- (i) *Its comprehensiveness*: the 'mainstreaming' of all languages and an explicit complementarity between English and other languages used in Australia, which had been implied in the scope of the Senate inquiry.
- (ii) *Its federalism*: it allows each state or territory to start from its position at the time, and to establish its priorities taking into consideration broader state goals, ethnolinguistic composition and geographical position. (As we have seen in other chapters, the language distribution varies greatly between states, as do educational initiatives. Western Australia and the Northern Territory need to consider their close proximity to neighbouring countries, especially Indonesia.)
- (iii) *Its provision for a broad representation in the implementation process*, involving ethnic, Aboriginal and professional groups in the decision making through an advisory council.

Perhaps the most important aspect, from a practical point of view, is that each substantive recommendation is accompanied by a budgetary one.

The report criticizes the 'deep and pervasive malaise' in language learning in Australia, contrasting the 20 per cent of Australians who speak a community language as a first language with the 86 per cent of native English speakers in Grade 11 (the second last year of secondary education) who do not, or no longer study a language other than English. The lack of attention given to language qualifications in trade and diplomacy is projected as being very harmful to Australia. Over a triennium \$A22.5 million is claimed to upgrade language teaching, partly through an Australian Second Language Learning Program, which would enable each state to set its own priorities (for example, distance education, the introduction of Indonesian into all schools, bilingual education, specialized language schools enabling gifted and motivated pupils to learn several languages). The report recommends that children be expected to study a second language from Grades 7 to 10 (the first four years of secondary school. After this, the number

of subjects demanded of Australian children is very small). A language should be a factor in selection for tertiary courses, and children with a background in a language should have an opportunity to maintain and develop it. Partly on the model of the Senate report, the *Lo Bianco Report* singles out nine languages as school subjects for local and international reasons: Arabic, Mandarin Chinese, French, German, Greek, Indonesian/Malay, Italian, Japanese and Spanish. These are the languages for which a significant base is available or can be attained in a short period. Provision would be made, however, for maintenance programs in other languages. For some languages so far underrepresented on school curricula, such as Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian, and Spanish, special promotion may be needed. *Lo Bianco* recommends that the Australian Bicentennial Languages Foundation, which was to be set up in 1988, spend \$1 million on language maintenance projects.

A series of key centres of teaching and research into language are proposed, to be funded by the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission. They include an Institute of Community Languages, an intensive, continuation and refresher language training centre for Australian representatives overseas, a language testing unit, and a national clearing-house on language teaching, research and information, as well as centres for applied English and Aboriginal languages. Earmarked funding is recommended to support Asian languages programs. Funds would also be allocated to tertiary institutions to support the introduction and extension of cross-cultural and community languages for special purposes components in the training of professionals and para-professionals (such as doctors, lawyers, social workers, nurses) and to develop curriculum materials for use in such courses.

The Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission, the Australian Education Council and other educational policy-making bodies are asked to stimulate teacher training for languages other than English. It is suggested that bilingual generalist teachers should be able to teach their curriculum in both languages. Languages offered in a school should be determined on the basis of school priorities, school and local demography, level of guaranteed continuity, support and provision of resources, and informal learning environments. For low-demand languages, co-operation with

ethnic schools (to be renamed Part-time Community Language Schools) is proposed. A five-year plan is advanced to increase community language materials in libraries.

The policy formulation is directed at developing the linguistic potential of Australia by depicting multilingualism as a national asset and laying it as a basis for an understanding of language as a symbol of group identification. It builds on the foundation of previous reports in stressing the complementarity of English and other languages in Australia. It goes much further in its ideological base and in its practical recommendations. No provision is made for ongoing policy evaluation and review.

The implementation progress is reviewed briefly pp. 241–2.

## Change in government direction

Before much implementation of the National Policy on Languages could take place, the emphasis in the Federal Government's education policy had shifted markedly in making its main goal the fulfilling of (short-term) economic goals. This is symbolized in the amalgamation of the Education portfolio with some others and its renaming as the Department of Employment, Education and Training. The Federal Government had been lobbied by business interests and by its own Asian Studies Council, set up in 1986, to expand and improve the teaching of Asian languages and cultures long neglected in Australia. This influence has resulted in the government's language policy intentions stressing 'training in the languages of Australia's main trading partners' (the *Australian*, 16 December 1989), Japan and China, while retaining other aspects of the National Policy on Languages. Japanese tourism also became a strong motivation for language learning. A similar emphasis was placed at the state level. For instance, a Victorian government report (Briggs 1987) recommended a self-financing Commercial Language Centre to be established in Melbourne to provide in-service language training and interpreting/translating services. This was to help Victoria become more competitive in trade, especially with Japan but also with other key countries using Arabic, German, Indonesian, Korean, Mandarin, Spanish and Thai.

This has reactivated a longstanding struggle between the proponents of different languages. The controversy had been rather

bitter in the 1970s when some people advocated the teaching of 'community languages' rather than 'foreign languages', with the categories established not on the basis of the goals and methodology of the program but through a politically determined labelling of the language (cf. Clyne 1982: 133-6). The issue came up again in 1984 with the first version of the Victorian language policy (Victoria 1985) which was termed *The Role of Community Languages in Victorian Schools*. The emphasis on community languages alienated teachers of French and Japanese and also a minority of German and Italian teachers. The term 'Languages other than English (LOTEs)' is now used widely to avoid the categorization. Unfortunately, the term 'business language', often synonymous with Japanese, is now often contrasted with 'community language' or 'foreign language' referring to European languages; and the development of Asian languages is frequently explicitly presented as having to happen at the expense of other languages. New South Wales is retraining teachers of French, German and Italian as teachers of Japanese in short courses. There is an erroneous belief especially in some independent (non-government non-Roman Catholic) schools that only Asian languages will be funded, when in fact there is general as well as Asian language funding.

The unfortunate and continuing atmosphere of competition is undermining the opportunities presented by the unprecedented appreciation of the national asset of multilingualism, at least in the economic context. On the other hand, the argument for multilingualism is presented very much in economic terms with the social and cultural issues played down. Proponents of community languages have had to develop economic rationales in favour of their languages (see Veit 1988 and Bettoni and lo Bianco 1989). After all, among languages of economic importance to Australia are Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Italian and Spanish as well as Japanese. Australia's need for these languages is likely to increase after 1992. It remains to be seen to what extent this matter is resolved in the light of Prime Minister Hawke's speech to the Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils congress in December 1988:

*I want to make it clear that second language learning will remain a balanced program as long as this Government is in*

*office. There will be no artificial distinction made between economic and community languages, or between Asian and non-Asian languages. The fact is . . . that many community languages — such as Italian, Spanish, Chinese, German and Arabic — are also vital for our economic future . . . we will continue to fund and promote a balanced program of second language learning — languages that we need for our economic future, for the efficient delivery of social welfare, and for the celebration of our cultural diversity.*

## STATE LANGUAGE POLICIES FOLLOWING THE LO BIANCO REPORT

Following the lo Bianco Report, those states and territories without a language (or languages in education) policy accelerated efforts to complete the development of such a policy, and at least two states with policies produced implementation strategy plans.

The Victorian *Languages Action Plan* (of which lo Bianco 1989, was also the author) describes recent developments in language education in Victoria. It centres around educational principles, already reacting to the stress on economic arguments in education, recommends short-, medium- and long-term goals, and sets a time table for their implementation. Among the principles relevant to community languages are: a balance between needs and demands based on economic relevance, social justice, and 'excellence' orientation; limitation of support to high-quality programs with good prospects for supplying successful language acquisition; continuity of the language learning experience (e.g. from primary to secondary); and co-operation between Federal and State authorities and between the government and non-government sectors of education. In the short-term (1989–91), additional staff should be provided each year for language other than English programs in primary and secondary schools, and encouragement needs to be given to languages in non-metropolitan schools and to technological innovation. Greater co-operation was to be brought about between day and part-time ethnic schools. 'Hub' or 'magnet' day schools with a strong language specialization should be set up with

a mandate for experimentation, a curriculum based on several languages, and the requirement to assist other schools in developing language programs. Clusters of primary schools and a secondary school teaching the same language would be developed. In the middle term, the plan provides for attrition between Grades 10 and 12 to be halved so that by 1993, at least one third would present a language other than English in the final secondary school examinations; and it is recommended that those with a language would receive a special mark bonus for university entry. (This has already been introduced by Monash University for 1990.) By 1995, half the state's primary schools would teach a second language. The number of bilingual (including immersion) programs would double every three years for a decade. In the long-term, all schools would offer at least one language other than English. All students would take at least one such language in the compulsory part of their secondary education (Grades 7 to 10) and be encouraged to continue it into the non-compulsory years. Those with a community language ought to be assured of language maintenance opportunities and those who had taken a language at primary school should be guaranteed continuity. It is recommended that a much higher proportion of generalist bilingual teachers be employed, thus reducing the dependence on supernumerary language specialists. The Action Plan added Russian and Korean to the 'languages of wider teaching'. Provision is made for a review of the Action Plan in its third year.

A South Australian implementation plan was drafted in 1989. It summarizes previous policy statements, sets a time-table for their implementation and review, and deals with practical strategies. It reiterates the commitment to give all students the opportunity to learn at least one language other than English during their formal education, their 'mother tongue' and/or one of the following: Chinese, French, German, Greek, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, and Spanish, and also to offer continuity. The integral part of languages in the curriculum and the nature of language learning would be reflected in class size, time allocation, and time-tabling procedures. Among resources to be developed are: curriculum materials, schools with a language focus, cluster schools, distance education, and closer liaison between 'mainstream' and part-time ethnic schools with achievements in ethnic schools to be acknowledged in day-school term reports. The period 1992-5

would be one of review and replanning.

Four priorities are expressed in the South Australian Implementation Plan: 'Mother tongue' development of primary school children from non-English-speaking background, second language learning needs in Grades 4 to 7, community language 'mother tongue' development at secondary school, and second language learning at secondary school. For primary and secondary school second language learners, very modest goals are set ('at least the minimum measurable level of language proficiency') whereas secondary school students with a 'mother tongue' other than English would 'be given the opportunity to study their mother tongue to the level of proficiency commensurate with a speaker of the country and origin of the same age and ability'. On the other hand, the possibility of merging the strands is mentioned. The implementation plan aims at offering mother tongue maintenance and development for all children of non-English-speaking backgrounds (based on needs surveys) and to introduce and increase, throughout primary and secondary school, programs in 'languages which are of regional geographical significance to Australia' (defined as Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese, and Spanish). Other language programs at primary school would be maintained but not extended. However, there is also a mention of languages taken for 'heritage' reasons. Primary school programs are set to commence in Grade 4 due to limited resources but also to facilitate positive transfer, though it is stated that some community languages may be started as second languages in the preparatory year in schools that have them as 'mother tongue' programs. Minimum instruction times recommended are 120 minutes per week (Primary other than Immersion), 150–180 minutes (Grades 8–10), 240 minutes (upper secondary). The South Australian development plan would be harmonized with the National Policy on Languages and a representative advisory committee set up to monitor, respond to, and evaluate the state policy.

*Languages for Western Australians* is the title of the report of a Ministerial Working Paper on the Development of a Policy for the Teaching of Languages other than English in Western Australian schools, completed in March 1988. It is based on the following principles: a language other than English for all; the integration of second language study into the general primary and secondary curriculum; and stability and continuity of language education. The

policy attempts to develop a unified framework for languages other than English as an integral part of the continuing education from Preparatory to the last year of secondary school. It is recommended that students be required to take at least one language other than English in Grade 8 (the first year of secondary school in Western Australia) and that they be expected to continue this study into Grades 9 and 10. All secondary schools, including those in rural areas, should teach two languages other than English in Grades 8 to 12, with a minimum contact period of 160 minutes per week in Grades 8 to 10 and 240 minutes per week in Grades 11 and 12. The 'languages of wider teaching' are taken over from lo Bianco (1987), and the expansion of Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian is suggested while French, German and Italian are maintained, and at least one secondary program in Arabic, Russian and Spanish is introduced. The report recommends the setting up and trialling of a Primary Specialist Language Teacher Program over three years. Programs for students of different backgrounds should be established, including some bilingual programs, a limited number of partial immersion programs on the Victorian model (see pp. 125–6), and second language tuition with a minimum class contact time of 60 minutes per week. 'Wherever possible', continuity from primary to secondary should be ensured. Insertion classes should be evaluated and their state funding dependent on their meeting ministerial requirements. The report recommends a representative advisory committee and an implementation task force as well as a state Language Teaching, Information and Research Centre. The Western Australian report distinguishes itself by its advanced recommendations on secondary programs, and by very conservative ones on primary programs in accordance with the present state of language teaching in Western Australian primary schools.

The report of the New South Wales Ministerial Working Party on the State Language Policy, completed in December 1988, like its counterparts in other states, is a language in education policy. Its recommendations on general policy are somewhat more modest than those of Victoria and South Australia (though practical suggestions are quite innovative). It wishes schools to introduce a language in Grade 7. By 1993, such courses should offer a minimum of 100 hours per year and, in Grade 8 and (where feasible) in Grade 7, for 200 hours per year, which is the goal upon a future restructuring. Access to Grades 8–10 should be guaranteed to those

completing a Grade 7 language. Present provision of languages in primary schools 'should be gradually extended' with the aim to offer programs in all priority languages (Io Bianco's 'languages of wider teaching' and, in addition, Korean, Russian and Vietnamese). At the secondary level, priority for new school programs should be given to Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Russian and Spanish. The working party obviously has the problems arising in insertion classes (see above, p. 123) in mind when it recommends that the guidelines of such classes be revised and made consistent with other primary school second language programs in teacher qualifications, content, time allocation and resources. An increased flexibility is aimed at in range of provisions of language programs, and National Policy on Languages funding would be sought to establish some bilingual programs for children from non-English-speaking backgrounds. Some schools would be targeted to introduce a wide range of priority languages, and teachers would be recruited in a number of ways, including bridging courses for overseas-trained teachers, school leavers' scholarships, and cadetships for undergraduate students. The recommendation that separate syllabuses be provided for 'native' and 'non-native' speakers could lead to discriminatory procedures (cf. Clyne 1982: 118–20) especially considering the wide range of pupil categories (cf. p. 124–9).

Queensland, Tasmania and the Australian Capital Territory are currently drafting their policies on languages in education.

## Some comparative remarks on state language policies

All states (New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia) take as a starting point the 'guiding principles' of the National Language Policy and express the aims and advantages of languages other than English in education in much the same terms. All state policies deal solely or almost exclusively with education, not even with other state areas of interest. (Exceptions are the Victorian report on language services [see pp. 239–41] and a proposal in the Victorian Languages Action Plan for a review of interpreting and translating services.) However, there are implicit policies, for

instance, on the necessity for public notices on health and public safety (including warnings about bushfires, sharks and deep water), citizens' rights, and for education to be accessible to non-English speakers. There is also a multilingual page in the telephone directory of each capital city. (This is a federal service, but languages vary according to state.) State Ethnic Affairs Commissions generally offer a translation service to government bodies, voluntary organizations, and trade unions. Some states have Health Translation Services, and some Education Departments use their own translation facilities. The languages of such notices vary from state to state, partly because of variations in linguistic demography. The Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commissions employ full-time translators covering 11 languages and contract translators working in a total of 26 other languages. The 11 'main languages' are Arabic, Chinese, Croatian, Greek, Italian, Macedonian, Polish, Serbian, Spanish, Turkish and Vietnamese. The (implicit) criteria for determining the languages of translations appear to be: (perceived) size of language community and perceived needs. This means that the two largest groups' languages are included, as are those of communities with large numbers of non-English-speaking monolinguals. Language services in local government areas are decided on the demography of the district. Concentrated groups are perceived to be larger or to have greater needs than more dispersed ones. Newer but smaller groups are catered for according to the content of the notice (for example, in Victoria, traffic safety announcements are in Laotian and Farsi, Children's Hospital notices are in Khmer and Laotian, and a notice on domestic violence in Tagalog, the language of many women married to English-speaking men).

In other areas, there are still greater discrepancies in the availability of community language resources. A comparison between Table 23 and Table A1 (Appendix) shows variation between the three main immigration states in library acquisition policies. But in all cases, actual and perceived size of the community speaking a language, together with patterns of library use (see Ashby and Whitehead 1988: 13) are the main criteria. This accounts for the large number of Greek books held in New South Wales and South Australia in comparison with Italian ones, the larger number of Arabic books than Chinese ones in NSW, and the relatively small number of Macedonian and Maltese books in NSW libraries. The preponderance of Vietnamese books in NSW may be due to the

enthusiastic use of birthplace figures and the assumption that all Vietnam-born are Vietnamese speakers. New, fairly small groups are not served well, though provision for them is best in South Australia. NSW, the state with the majority of Laotian and Tagalog speakers, and the largest number of Khmer speakers, offers these groups virtually no library books in their languages. Finally, widely taught languages, languages of wider communication, and/or ones with a rich internationally known literature — Spanish, German and French — are better covered than comparable ones. The availability of suitable high-quality films combined with population statistics and the interest of particular groups in films from their countries of origin co-determine choice of community language television films (Table 22).

In radio (Table 21), earlier statistics are still the basis of allocation of programs. This accounts for the relatively small allotment for Chinese and Turkish. Smaller and newer groups (such as Filipinos, Kurds) have often had to rely on public access rather than ethnic stations for air time.

The 'languages of wider teaching' are based on lo Bianco (1988), with the deletion of Arabic in South Australia, and the addition of Russian in Western Australia, of Korean and Russian in Victoria, and of Korean, Russian and Vietnamese in New South Wales. Victoria, the state which has experimented most with some measure of bilingual education for pupils of all types of background, is most supportive of 'partial immersion' programs. Western Australia advocates a limited number of such courses, while New South Wales appears to favour bilingual education only for children from the appropriate community language background. New South Wales and South Australia seem to favour a more rigid division between 'native' and 'non-native speakers' (cf. pp. 124–9).

The various state languages in education policies start from different levels of development and different premises.

Victoria is seeking to make a second language part of the normal school experience of children from the first year of primary school. In South Australia this will usually be from Grade 4 on, while Western Australia will trial various year levels as had been done in Victoria in the early 1980s. New South Wales does not commit itself on this point.

New South Wales will compel all pupils in Grade 7 to study a second language. Western Australia will encourage universal par-

ticipation in language programs in Grade 8 (the first year of secondary school in that state), and Victoria in Grades 7 to 10. By 1995, it is planned that all state secondary schools and half the state primary schools in Victoria will offer at least one language other than English. The Western Australian language policy provides for all secondary schools, even those in outlying areas, to make available ultimately at least two languages other than English from Grade 8 to the final year. Students in South Australian schools will have the right to instruction in a language other than English under that state's Curriculum Guarantee Plan. The minimum number of hours of second language instruction stipulated also varies between states — at primary school from one hour per week (Western Australia), two hours (South Australia) to three hours (Victoria).

Among common areas of concern and action are: closer co-operation and liaison with part-time ethnic schools (all the states); making insertion classes follow the general guidelines for primary school language programs (NSW, Vic., WA); continuity between primary and secondary and clustering of schools with programs in a specific language (SA, Vic., WA). (It should be mentioned that problems of continuity between primary and secondary often result from geographical mobility or from widespread movement from state to independent [private] schools at the end of primary education.) South Australia and Victoria provide for a period of policy review. The South Australian and Western Australian policies are to be assisted by representative advisory committees whereas the other states will presumably draw their input mainly from the Education Department bureaucracy. Many of the above comparisons reflect historical differences between the states (cf. pp. 25–7).

## OTHER POLICY DEVELOPMENTS

The very comprehensive report of the Inquiry into the Teaching of Asian Studies and Languages in Higher Education, *Asia in Australian Higher Education* (the Ingleson Report), was released in January 1989. The report addresses the increasing need for Australians to be proficient in Asian languages and cultures, an area of study which previous initiatives had not been very successful in

stimulating in Australia. The report contains a large number of recommendations on how the base of Asian languages teaching can be extended whilst improving the quality of the programs at the same time. As the emphasis is entirely on the learning of Asian languages by students without a home background in them, the report will not be summarized here. (The category 'Asian languages' in the report includes major community languages such as Chinese and Arabic.) However, in the section on Teacher Education, we find an important potential link with the community languages question: 'One source of recruitment (of teachers), hitherto either ignored or inadequately catered for, is the large number of Australians bilingual in an Asian language as well as English.' (Ingleson 1989: 16)

In the area of multiculturalism, the Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services (Jupp Report, Australia 1986) recommends more emphasis on good community relations and participation of all groups in Australian society. One of the main principles is language and cultural maintenance. Within the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* (1989), a review is proposed of the effectiveness of the Australian Public Service's Linguistic Availability Performance Allowance, which was to promote an improvement in services in community languages. As was mentioned in Chapter 1 pp. 30-1, the Agenda calls for consideration to be given to a Multicultural Bill which could enshrine both the status of English as national language and the right to one's own culture (including language).

Ashby and Whitehead (1988) surveyed library use of six migrant communities in western and northern suburbs of Melbourne, where branches of the Moonee Valley Regional Library had worked hard to provide holdings in community languages. The collections were still found to be too small, lacking in the range and variety required by users, and to have too little new material. Recommendations of Ashby and Whitehead's report include:

- (i) a more comprehensive collection policy for community languages;
- (ii) application of standards providing 5,000 books for a group of 1,500 people with a per capita acquisition of 625 books a year;
- (iii) improving the book request and interlibrary system;
- (iv) continuing to encourage the appointment of bilingual library

- staff and providing cultural sensitivity for librarians; and  
 (v) extending multilingual publicity and promotion programs  
 (including multilingual signs and notices).

## IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIONAL POLICY ON LANGUAGES

Early in 1988, the Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education (AACLAME) was formed. It comprises appointees from various sections of the community interested in language, including education, ethnic and Aboriginal groups, tourism, the trades unions, and business. Its function is to advise the government on the implementation of the National Policy on Languages as well as on multicultural education and on the dispensing of funds, especially for second language education. The Council produces a periodical, *Vox*, to publicize language policy issues and developments, a regular newsletter, and occasional reports.

A Review of the Teaching of Modern Languages in Higher Education has been set up by AACLAME and is being conducted during 1990 by three language academics appointed by the Federal Government (Barry Leal, Camilla Bettoni and Ian Malcolm). It is covering those languages not included in the Ingleson Report (see above, pp. 239–40) and was preceded by a survey of language courses in tertiary institutions. The review will determine the nature and quality of the programs, the extent to which they address the demand for levels of proficiency in individual languages, and the role of languages in institutional and faculty profiles. It will consider the degree to which the backgrounds and needs of the population are taken into account, and the need for languages for special purposes in some professions is met. Student demand and destination of graduates will also be assessed.

Most of the centres recommended in the lo Bianco Report will be established within the framework of the National Languages Institute of Australia, set up in late 1989 and early 1990. Based on a co-operative model, its functions include:

- the provision of professional development for language lecturers, teacher trainers and teachers;

- creating and operating, and disseminating information from a data base on language education;
- research; and
- testing.

The Institute comprises:

- a central secretariat (in Melbourne), co-ordinating its nationwide activities;
- testing centres at the University of Melbourne and Griffith University (Brisbane);
- research centres for Language and Society (Monash University, Melbourne); Second Language Acquisition (University of Sydney); Language and Technology, including data base (University of Queensland, Brisbane);
- Teaching and Curriculum Centres which eventually will be spread all over Australia; and
- Nationally Co-ordinated Programs (lo Bianco 1989b, Sussex 1989).

The Institute will facilitate a co-ordination and sharing of resources that will encourage research and its application in areas such as successful models of second language acquisition and learning, language maintenance and reactivation, and curriculum development. It has the potential to increase language awareness in the general Australian community.

It is still too early to assess the process of implementation and its success or otherwise. The following are merely a few cursory observations.

## Funding

The Federal Government has assigned \$A15 million of its 1987–8 budget to the National Policy on Languages, and \$A28m each in 1988–9 and 1989–90. This is augmented by about \$A7m additional federal funding in the latter year, and several states have contributed further amounts. The schemes relevant to community languages which are funded out of the National Policy on Languages budget include the Australian Second Language Learning Program (granted \$A22.5 m over three years), which disperses monies to the states. They are used for such purposes as curriculum

development, supernumerary teachers and professional development. The Program also allocates a proportion of its funds to specific projects. Then there is the Asian Studies Program (about \$A1.9m a year). The Cross-Cultural Supplementation Program was developed for the training of professionals and para-professionals (such as doctors, nurses, lawyers and social workers) in cross-cultural skills and community languages for special purposes. This program is being phased out on the assumption that centres and projects started with this funding can become self-supporting. These projects are among the few initiatives that could aid the provision of (non-education) services in community languages.

A Bicentennial Multicultural Foundation will fund language competitions for children based on tests in six languages (Chinese, French, German, Greek, Indonesian, Japanese) produced by the University of Melbourne and the Australian Council for Educational Research. Among those second language recommendations in the lo Bianco Report not funded were \$A1 million for language maintenance projects and the monies required for the five-year plan to increase community language materials in libraries, which was deemed to be a state responsibility.

There is still a great shortage of second language teachers, particularly at the primary level. For instance, some primary language programs in Japanese, German, Macedonian, Khmer, Vietnamese and other languages in Victoria have been interrupted or could not be started because there were not enough suitable teachers. This shortfall of teachers is especially marked in rural areas for all languages other than English. This question is being addressed in a National Inquiry into Language Teacher Supply and Need (Coordinator: Howard Nicholas).

## Duration

The future of the National Policy on Languages is at present in the balance. Because governments are elected for three-year terms and funding is on a triennial basis, 1990 is the last year for which financial support for the policy and the advisory committee is guaranteed. There is no ongoing review of the policy. As the National Languages Institute of Australia was slow in starting, its life will continue at least until the end of 1992. But some funding

beyond this time is likely to flow from the Universities' Key Centres Program and/or through the outside earnings of constituent centres. (The Institute's Language and Society Centre will conduct some research of an evaluative nature on the language policy.) It is self-evident that, if the National Policy on Languages is to have a lasting impact, it must be sustained on a continuing basis and reviewed periodically. A White Paper on Literacy and Language Education is expected in 1991.

## THE LANGUAGE POLICIES FROM NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

It is difficult, at this early stage of implementation and from this vantage point, to assess the effectiveness of the national and state language policies. They represent part of the continuing tension between monolingualism and multilingualism in Australia. Though there is an unprecedented general awareness in Australia of the importance of languages other than English, the complementarity of English and other languages is not beyond challenge. However, Australia's multiculturalism involves reducing group boundaries, rather than marking or crossing them. One of the ways in which this can be achieved is through multilingualism.

An appreciation of multilingualism as a national asset in Australia is accompanied by a widespread ignorance of how language acquisition and language maintenance take place. Yet Australia offers both economic and psychological support for those wishing to maintain community languages and to pass them on to their children. This includes a positive atmosphere, language programs in educational institutions, state-supported part-time ethnic schools, radio and television programs and library holdings in community languages. Also, interpreting and translating facilities and multilingual services are more widely available in more languages than previously. With the 'de-privatization' of many language maintenance institutions (such as education, radio, libraries),

there *may* be a diminished motivation at the grass-roots level (family, ethnic community) for language maintenance. It is therefore important that Australian public and private employers and other institutions intensify their systems of incentives for those whose language skills are of value in Australia's internal and external relations. Some people are seeking their own means to reverse language shift. Innovative measures need to be developed to combine public and private (individual, family, group) efforts to promote language maintenance, second language acquisition, and language reactivation.

## CLOSING REMARKS – THE AUSTRALIAN EXPERIENCE AS A MODEL?

Nations which have a major language as their national language tend to be very strong in their propagation of that language as the sole marker of national identity. This applies particularly to English-speaking countries. So Australia is unique beside comparable nations — first, because it has a National Policy on Languages; and second, because of the complementarity of English and other languages in its policies. As I have tried to show (pp. 19–22), national identity is still evolving, and Australia's multiculturalism, and by extension its multilingualism, is seen as one component. This is despite English, in its Australian national variety, being universally accepted as the 'overarching' national language. In fact, during the recent period when multilingualism has been promoted, Australian English has been acknowledged more enthusiastically than ever (Collins and Blair 1989). English-speaking societies have the advantage of being able to offer school children a choice of second language since they do not need to settle for English. Australia has available rich linguistic resources as well as a wide diversity of languages used in its region.

In the next few years, Europe will face significant changes through closer economic and political integration and territorial subdivisions. The situation there will be markedly different from the Australian one. And yet many of the measures already adopted

in Australia, especially in the educational domain, may prove far more applicable to the new Europe than the 'guest worker' and *Sprachinseln* policies hitherto developed. Australia's experience with language maintenance and shift across many ethnic groups may also offer some pointers to emerging European parallels. Countries which have been grappling with language planning and language problems, such as Sweden and Switzerland, do not have as yet a co-ordinated national languages policy and may benefit from the processes in the Australian experience. The consultative process has facilitated a combination of grass-roots and 'top-down' decision-making involvement with linguists playing both an advisory and an activist role.

Australia's National Policy on Languages has not escaped comment from the United States — see for instance the Fishman quotation (p. 31) alluding indirectly to the US English Movement. The promotion of multilingualism with an American language policy has been discussed from time to time in the American literature — see for example, Fishman (1981). It is significantly addressed in McKay and Wong's (1988) collection, which presents linguistic diversity as a national resource, not a problem, and stresses minorities' rights to both the acquisition of English *and* to language maintenance. However, official recommendations such as those of the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Study (1979) seem to have discounted the language resources which can be harnessed and developed among bilingual Americans. Perhaps the Australian experience could give heart to American colleagues to engage in even more political activity in order to bring about a balanced and co-ordinated National Languages Policy. It may also offer Canadians some ideas about what might happen if the resources available for their official languages could be extended further to the heritage languages.

The tentativeness of my findings in this book will be obvious. The strength of the policies is most significant in education. The rights of non-English speakers to services in community languages could perhaps be formulated more explicitly; so could obligations to provide such services. The implementation process of Australia's language policies still has a long way to go. But a very significant start has been made, one that should encourage the Australian government to continue its financial commitment.

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## Appendix: More detailed tables from Censuses

Table A1 Languages used in the home by state (Source: 1986 Census)

	NSW	VIC.	QLD
Aboriginal languages	806	374	5,017
Afrikaans	1,203	953	512
Albanian	532	3,443	300
Arabic	88,475	24,515	1,590
Armenian	8,211	1,773	50
Bengali	762	372	99
Bulgarian	278	289	75
Burmese	611	290	170
Chinese	66,974	40,443	9,696
Croatian	20,522	19,893	2,194
Czech	4,498	2,886	817
Danish	1,751	904	1,624
Dutch	15,852	18,278	9,820
Estonian	1,514	548	167
Fijian	2,050	450	467
'Filipino languages'	12,966	5,956	3,144
Finnish	2,459	1,067	2,637
French	20,256	14,803	6,807
Gaelic	1,089	686	270
German	35,324	32,665	14,526
Greek	96,652	128,562	10,491
Hindi	4,749	2,098	970
Hungarian	12,683	11,731	2,391
Indonesian/Malay	8,180	3,883	1,404
Italian	113,203	178,097	26,115
Japanese	5,801	3,018	1,573
Khmer	3,853	3,501	192
Korean	6,973	646	254
Lao	4,166	1,485	233
Latvian	2,747	3,101	732
Lithuanian	1,229	1,548	213
Macedonian	15,131	24,090	373
Maltese	24,086	30,535	2,076
Maori	1,680	656	877
Norwegian	533	344	204

WA	SA	TAS.	NT	ACT	AUST.
8,420	2,970	15	23,138	50	40,790
605	165	58	25	64	3,585
175	133	10	30	—	4,623
1,446	2,415	204	69	473	119,187
106	70	10	3	18	10,241
137	96	72	13	130	1,681
57	469	9	3	13	1,193
1,920	23	7	15	97	3,133
11,389	5,833	820	1,965	1,980	139,100
2,890	3,263	327	65	2,714	51,868
519	799	181	66	191	9,957
680	470	86	141	92	5,748
8,272	6,473	2,013	447	1,026	62,181
179	524	45	3	87	3,067
99	94	52	30	40	3,282
1,336	1,052	244	697	351	26,746
385	611	135	85	955	8,334
5,375	2,994	804	547	1,204	52,790
299	177	20	38	37	2,616
8,206	14,910	1,999	992	2,654	111,276
5,864	28,622	1,508	2,747	3,026	277,472
476	379	157	55	292	9,176
1,251	2,675	202	102	604	31,639
4,084	881	296	475	684	19,887
43,590	48,179	1,590	1,040	3,951	415,765
1,048	440	123	83	325	12,411
410	1,448	—	16	152	9,572
434	121	30	52	142	8,652
60	226	43	41	509	6,764
641	1,769	103	35	255	9,383
218	848	90	10	144	4,300
4,801	861	7	3	344	45,610
632	1,839	26	29	283	59,506
465	144	34	80	43	3,979
178	113	32	14	66	1,484

(continued overleaf)

Table A1 continued

	NSW	VIC.	QLD
Polish	21,362	22,920	4,889
Portuguese	12,321	3,268	778
Romanian	1,513	2,091	400
Romany	217	212	26
Russian	10,377	6,644	2,540
Serbian	5,607	2,769	509
Serbo-Croatian	2,321	2,653	482
Sinhalese	918	1,922	270
Slovak	759	1,273	180
Slovenian	1,839	2,347	203
Spanish	42,783	18,556	4,770
Swedish	1,580	796	853
Tamil	1,855	1,336	284
Tetum	336	214	11
Thai	1,762	723	517
Tongan	3,701	556	474
Turkish	13,883	18,977	353
Ukrainian	4,618	5,548	980
Urdu	1,304	445	154
Vietnamese	25,506	21,680	5,560
Welsh	551	350	213
Yiddish	640	2,916	67
Yugoslav	29,507	24,181	3,975
Other African languages	646	573	239
Other Asian languages	7,885	3,278	1,492
Other European languages	1,095	975	851
Other Oceanic languages	3,471	1,190	3,796
Other languages	1,719	4,087	1,461
Inadequately described	14,737	12,341	7,497
Not stated	19,515	19,187	8,363
Not applicable	4,581,754	3,271,587	2,427,048
TOTAL	5,403,881	4,019,478	2,587,315

WA	SA	TAS.	NT	ACT	AUST.
7,295	9,044	1,499	185	1,444	68,638
3,393	585	15	678	362	21,400
292	231	21	6	45	4,599
30	39	3	1	6	534
487	1,792	105	48	316	22,309
505	800	34	9	558	10,791
581	682	53	23	266	7,061
220	105	24	54	142	3,655
89	242	11	10	31	2,595
433	374	37	17	242	5,492
3,231	2,114	228	391	1,888	73,961
408	232	57	64	102	4,092
477	302	39	138	191	4,622
22	14	0	39	0	636
666	137	55	192	234	4,286
55	33	12	48	125	5,004
494	327	23	31	52	34,140
1,018	2,539	175	17	272	15,167
135	61	20	24	98	2,241
5,046	6,158	193	427	1,286	65,856
303	174	55	31	31	1,708
152	11	10	2	32	3,830
7,686	4,104	283	151	968	70,855
261	130	40	24	99	2,012
1,193	965	133	114	364	15,424
584	420	125	88	125	4,263
298	206	82	168	165	9,376
509	138	20	55	33	8,022
5,648	5,591	1,300	707	1,140	48,961
5,826	5,381	1,061	823	835	60,991
1,242,939	1,170,928	419,288	117,129	214,959	13,445,632
1,406,923	1,345,945	436,353	154,848	249,407	15,604,150

Table A2 Age breakdown of selected community languages in four capital cities and Australian totals (Source: 1986 Census)

		0-4	5-9	10-14	15-24
Arabic/Lebanese	Sydney	9797	11,325	9,562	15,024
	Melbourne	2,504	3,108	2,588	4,070
	Adelaide	209	247	207	367
	Perth	146	152	100	193
	Australia	13,154	15,428	13,019	20,536
Chinese	Sydney	3,819	4,538	5,032	11,236
	Melbourne	2,303	2,873	2,979	8,566
	Adelaide	349	406	470	1,344
	Perth	558	753	815	2,079
	Australia	8,327	10,203	10,957	28,379
Dutch	Sydney	120	188	258	991
	Melbourne	136	173	297	1,224
	Adelaide	49	91	109	396
	Perth	99	141	217	641
	Australia	729	1,066	1,533	5,528
French	Sydney	465	634	985	2,386
	Melbourne	332	405	812	2,145
	Adelaide	58	76	187	457
	Perth	121	178	337	763
	Australia	1,407	1,866	3,679	8,894
German	Sydney	486	535	903	2,709
	Melbourne	350	623	825	2,858
	Adelaide	137	222	442	1,342
	Perth	146	231	279	816
	Australia	1,843	2,649	4,153	12,720
Greek	Sydney	3,495	5,757	8,725	19,497
	Melbourne	4,406	7,656	12,146	29,024
	Adelaide	932	1,340	2,010	5,998
	Perth	209	316	407	905
	Australia	10,389	17,294	26,201	62,211

25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	TOTAL
14,753	12,023	7,098	4,193	2,284	86,059
4,288	3,496	1,950	1,195	729	23,928
414	341	204	171	90	2,250
242	226	123	86	44	1,312
20,772	16,961	9,866	6,010	3,390	119,186
13,430	10,564	5,127	3,855	3,781	61,382
8,353	6,222	2,857	2,013	1,894	38,060
1,098	937	357	296	246	5,503
1,950	1,821	915	527	451	9,869
30,054	23,643	11,384	8,292	7,897	139,136
1,377	1,835	1,883	2,237	2,031	10,920
1,586	2,045	2,396	2,556	2,130	12,543
637	958	842	1,028	1,041	5,151
846	1,172	1,095	1,307	1,350	6,868
7,678	19,525	19,827	12,458	11,804	62,148
3,314	3,480	2,072	1,836	1,854	17,026
2,455	2,519	1,782	1,424	1,344	13,218
401	420	285	270	239	2,393
928	854	530	429	344	4,484
10,267	10,273	6,344	5,209	4,843	52,782
3,174	4,331	4,741	4,363	3,567	24,809
2,969	3,717	5,575	5,241	3,927	26,085
1,353	1,434	2,009	2,904	1,814	11,657
954	1,330	1,038	1,089	654	6,537
13,990	17,348	21,177	21,971	15,419	111,270
10,714	13,807	14,880	8,045	4,285	89,205
14,528	19,400	21,313	10,654	4,782	123,909
3,751	3,252	4,139	2,580	1,366	25,368
772	753	906	664	577	5,509
34,421	42,090	46,376	25,247	13,214	277,443

(continued overleaf)

Table A2 continued

		0-4	5-9	10-14	15-24
Italian	Sydney	2,832	4,348	6,689	17,578
	Melbourne	4,331	7,376	11,846	32,982
	Adelaide	1,052	1,824	3,054	9,641
	Perth	810	1,399	2,503	7,324
	Australia	10,734	17,747	28,760	82,044
Maltese	Sydney	591	950	1,204	2,941
	Melbourne	969	1,529	1,892	4,387
	Adelaide	24	44	82	201
	Perth	10	14	20	70
	Australia	1,674	2,667	3,404	8,251
Polish	Sydney	646	826	728	1,150
	Melbourne	730	907	874	1,588
	Adelaide	342	390	353	656
	Perth	296	324	251	419
	Australia	2,457	3,078	2,819	4,965
Serbo-Croatian/Croatian/ Serbian/Yugoslav	Sydney	2,206	3,336	4,831	7,806
	Melbourne	1,801	2,932	3,928	7,584
	Adelaide	260	409	579	1,244
	Perth	338	604	848	1,462
	Australia	6,003	9,367	13,401	23,755
Spanish	Sydney	2,073	3,266	3,896	6,538
	Melbourne	932	1,497	1,929	3,381
	Adelaide	97	145	153	322
	Perth	148	235	272	511
	Australia	3,896	6,150	7,525	13,457
Vietnamese	Sydney	2,261	2,372	2,295	5,330
	Melbourne	2,031	2,294	2,061	4,597
	Adelaide	703	719	588	1,264
	Perth	485	497	527	1,090
	Australia	6,436	7,049	6,540	14,363

25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	TOTAL
12,542	12,410	15,516	12,634	8,057	92,606
21,575	20,299	25,755	21,191	13,150	158,505
6,371	5,459	7,511	6,178	3,748	44,838
5,627	5,134	6,091	5,573	3,991	38,452
57,319	53,663	68,949	58,600	37,860	415,676
3,785	4,921	3,664	2,546	1,827	22,429
5,030	6,229	4,602	2,902	1,811	29,351
251	362	321	279	191	1,755
102	126	119	83	48	592
9,998	12,830	9,687	6,592	4,440	59,543
3,237	3,026	1,167	3,031	2,915	16,726
3,369	3,363	1,602	3,788	3,609	19,830
1,459	1,295	569	1,850	1,490	8,404
1,299	964	437	1,003	788	5781
11,864	11,625	4,980	14,381	12,512	68,681
6,262	8,734	8,292	3,546	1,880	46,893
5,772	7,761	7,724	3,169	1,486	42,157
1,014	1,158	1,356	882	588	7,490
1,236	1,728	1,705	1,031	1,051	10,003
18,630	25,400	25,549	11,693	6,807	140,005
5,754	8,650	4,695	2,063	1,100	38,035
2,577	3,637	1,970	865	451	17,239
308	302	209	140	68	1,744
509	544	317	161	71	2,768
11,419	15,868	9,111	4,330	2,240	73,996
7,085	2,623	1,063	592	359	23,980
6,338	2,366	795	521	314	21,317
1,694	627	187	160	73	6,015
1,305	525	176	88	65	4,758
18,956	7,277	2,630	1,613	985	65,849

Table A3 Comparison of first generation language shift in the younger age groups, 1976 and 1986

Birthplace	1976		5-9	1986	
	5-9	10-14		10-14	15-24
Germany	35.1	35.5	24.8	30.4	40.9
Greece	5.1	5.5	10.3	8.2	5.8
Italy	11.7	9.4	18.6	12.2	11.5
Malta	39.6	40.4	31.8	25.6	32.4
Netherlands	47.7	44.1	39.3	31.5	43.2
Poland	18.7	12.9	2.0	3.0	6.5
Yugoslavia	11.6	11.1	5.4	5.4	8.0

Table A4 Percentage first-generation language shift by gender  
(Source: based on 1986 Census)

Birthplace	Male	Female	Difference
Austria	43.8	35.2	8.6
France	28.4	24.9	3.5
Germany	44.7	36.8	7.9
Greece	5.5	3.3	2.2
Hungary	29.7	16.3	13.4
Italy	13.3	7.2	6.1
Lebanon	6.0	4.3	1.7
Malta	28.4	23.3	5.1
Netherlands	53.1	42.9	10.2
Poland	19.8	11.7	8.1
South America	11.3	9.3	2.0
Spain	14.2	11.6	2.6
Turkey	4.1	2.8	1.3
Yugoslavia	11.9	6.7	5.2

Table A5 Percentage second-generation language shift to English only (Source: based on 1986 Census)

Birthplace of parents	Male	Female	Difference
Germany	46.4	39.2	7.2
Greece	7.2	5.1	2.1
Italy	20.4	16.0	4.4
Malta	39.9	36.6	3.3
Netherlands	62.4	55.3	7.1
Yugoslavia	13.7	10.1	3.6

TABLE A6 Projected home use retention of selected languages, 2001

Dutch	21,586
German	48,641
Greek	210,595
Italian	251,156
Maltese	28,208

*Note:* The second generation projections are obtained by subtracting from the total number of second generation speakers 1986 the expected language shift. The shift is calculated on the basis of a ratio between the exogamous and endogamous language shift rates (Table 9) determined by inter-marriage rates. (Table 7).

(Dutch 100 per cent exogamous, German 100 per cent, Maltese 75 per cent, Italian 70 per cent, Greek 65 per cent).

Mortality over 15 years is calculated on the Australian average for the age group concerned.

The first generation projections are derived from Table 14 and the average Australian mortality rate by age.

The projections do not take into account either new migration, return migration, the birth in Australia of new speakers of the language, or the effects of ethnic revivals.

**Table A7** Supernumerary second language teachers, Victorian state primary schools, 1988 (By courtesy, Anne Eckstein, Victorian Ministry of Education)

Language	Equivalent full-time teachers	Number of schools
Arabic	4.5	6
Chinese	6.6	6
Croatian	1.0	2
French	0.5	1
German	13.5	10
Greek	28.0	21
Hebrew	1.0	1
Italian	51.5	48
Japanese	3.0	3
Khmer	1.0	1
Macedonian	6.0	4
Maltese	2.0	2
Serbian (and Serbo-Croatian)	2.0	2
Spanish	8.0	3
Turkish	9.5	11
Vietnamese	5.0	6
TOTALS 16 (17) languages	143.1	117

Table A8 Language programs in South Australian state primary schools, 1986 (Source: lo Bianco 1987: 232)

Language	Programs	Number of students enrolled
Adnyamathanha (Aboriginal)	2	53
Arabana (Aboriginal)	1	49
Chinese	2	28
Dutch	1	16
Finnish	1	42
French	19	2,283
German	52	6,371
Greek	36	4,148
Indonesian	8	824
Italian	47	5,800
Khmer	1	30
Ngarrindjeri (Aboriginal)	1	28
Pitjantjatjara (Aboriginal)	8	537
Serbo-Croatian	3	232
Vietnamese	5	107
TOTAL	187	20,548

**Table A9** Community language programs in NSW state primary schools, 1988 (Source: based on Di Biase and Dyson 1988:58)

Language	Teachers	Programs
Arabic	14	15
Chinese	4	5
German	2,6	3
Greek	20	21
Italian	19	19
Macedonian	7	6
Maltese	1,4	3
Portuguese	1	1
Serbo-Croatian	1	1
Spanish	6	6
Turkish	5	5
Vietnamese	8	8
TOTAL	89	93

Table A10 Percentage of Australian schools teaching various languages, 1983 (Source: National Survey 1986: 11-12)

	Government	Catholic	Other	All schools
<b>Primary schools</b>				
Italian	2.9	13.1	6.5	5.0
German	1.7	0.3	8.4	1.6
French	1.5	0.7	9.1	1.6
Modern Greek	1.5	0.3	—	1.2
Indonesian	0.4	0.2	1.3	0.4
Spanish	0.2	0.8	1.3	0.3
Arabic	0.2	0.7	0.6	0.3
Japanese	0.3	0.1	0.6	0.3
Chinese	0.3	0.2	—	0.2
Croatian	0.1	0.6	—	0.2
Maltese	0.1	0.1	—	0.1
Serbian	0.1	—	—	0.1
<b>Secondary schools</b>				
French	68.8	68.4	61.8	68.4
German	50.1	23.2	52.7	44.3
Italian	16.0	46.5	9.1	22.3
Indonesian	11.5	4.8	12.7	10.1
Japanese	8.3	3.9	10.9	7.5
Modern Greek	8.6	0.4	5.5	6.6
Latin	5.2	2.2	29.1	5.8
Spanish	2.1	2.6	—	2.1
Chinese	1.7	—	5.5	1.5
Arabic	0.4	1.8	—	0.7
Aboriginal languages	0.1	1.8	—	0.5

*(continued overleaf)*

Table A10 continued

	Government	Catholic	Other	All schools
Vietnamese	0.7	—	—	0.5
Turkish	0.7	—	—	0.5
Ancient Greek	0.4	0.4	1.8	0.5
All schools				
French	13.8	16.7	42.8	16.1
German	10.1	5.3	32.4	10.5
Italian	5.1	21.9	7.0	8.6
Indonesian	2.3	1.6	11.0	2.7
Modern Greek	2.6	0.3	3.7	2.2
Japanese	1.7	1.0	9.6	2.0
Latin	0.9	1.1	13.4	1.7
Spanish	0.5	1.2	1.9	0.7
Chinese	0.5	0.2	2.9	0.6
Aboriginal languages	0.4	0.8	0.5	0.5
Arabic	0.2	0.9	0.3	0.4
Dutch	0.1	0.2	1.6	0.2
Croatian	0.1	0.4	—	0.2
Vietnamese	0.1	0.3	—	0.1
Turkish	0.2	—	—	0.1
Russian	0.1	—	1.1	0.1
Ancient Greek	0.1	0.1	1.3	0.1
Hebrew	b	—	1.9	0.1

(b = Less than 0.05 per cent)

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# Glossary

*Affricate*: a consonant produced by stopping the airstream from the lungs and then slowly releasing it with friction. It consists of two parts, one similar to a stop, the other similar to a fricative, e.g. German or Greek [ts] or German [pf].

*Allomorph*: non-distinctive (positional) variant or concrete realization of a morpheme.

*Balanced bilingual*: a bilingual who has approximately equal competence in two languages at the syntactic and semantic levels.

*Bound morpheme*: see morpheme.

*Case markings*: endings on articles, adjectives and/or nouns which indicate the function of a noun or noun phrase in a sentence, e.g. in German:

Der Mann liebt die Frau

Den Mann liebt die Frau

*Mann* is the subject in the first sentence, but the direct object of the second.

*Cluster*: group (e.g. of phonemes or graphemes) bunched together to form one unit, e.g. /pf/ or <sh>.

*Code-switching*: switching from one language to another in the middle of a text or sentence, due either to sociolinguistic variables or trigger-words.

*Corpus*: a body of linguistic data.

*Dialect*: geographical variety of a language.

*Diglossia*: a language situation in which two different languages or varieties are functionally complementary, one (H, the

'high' variety) being used for written and more formal purposes, the other (L, the 'low' variety) for ordinary interaction. (Adjective: diglossic)

*Discourse*: the level of language beyond the sentence level.

*Domain*: institutionalized context, sphere or activity, totality of interaction (e.g. family, work, school).

*Dyad*: group of two.

*Foreigner talk*: modified (often reduced) variety used to people with less than full competence in a language, or generally to people identified as foreigners.

*Free variation*: variation between forms by speakers so that there appears to be no pattern determining the choice.

*Fricative*: a consonant produced by allowing the airstream from the lungs to escape with friction, e.g. /v/ as in *vine*.

*Grapheme*: the smallest unit in the writing system of a language, e.g. English <this> comprises <t>, <h>, <i>, and <s>. (Adjective: graphemic)

*H language*: see Diglossia.

*Homophones*: words sounding (approximately) the same, but not necessarily having the same meanings. (Adjective: homophonous)

*Industrial Pidgin*: reduced (simplified) variety which arises for restricted communicative functions between migrant workers of different L1's. It is particularly prevalent where native speaker contribution in the target language is limited or reduced through foreigner talk.

*Interference*: deviation from the norm as a result of competence in another language.

*Integration*: adapting transfers to the phonological, grammatical and graphemic systems of the recipient language — see p. 169.

*L1*: first language acquired.

*L2*: second (or 'non-native') language acquired.

*Lexical*: referring to the vocabulary (lexicon) of a language.

*Lexical field*: an area of vocabulary into which related words and expressions are organized to show their relationship to each other, e.g. *outstanding*, *excellent*, *good*, *mediocre*, *defective*, etc.

*Lingua franca*: a language used in communication between two or more people for whom it is not a native language, e.g. English used between Poles, Turks and Vietnamese.

**Marked:** elements that are less basic, natural and/or frequent than others in a particular language, e.g. *ewe* is less general or basic than *sheep*. Object Subject Verb word order (e.g. *this I find impossible*) is less usual in English than Subject Verb Object, thus marked. (Opposite: unmarked)

**Metalinguistic:** (Reflecting) about language in general.

**Morpheme:** the smallest significant unit of grammatical form, seen as part of a system. There are free morphemes (e.g. *bad*) and bound morphemes (e.g. *-ly*).

**Neologism:** the creation of a new word.

**Phoneme:** the smallest significant unit of sound, seen as part of a system.

**Phoneme system:** Phonemes in a language or variety form a system of oppositions. For instance, Broad Australian *main* and Cultivated Australian *mine* are pronounced in a similar way. In Broad Australian *mine* then rhymes with Cultivated Australian *groin*.

**Phoneme-grapheme relations:** in most languages, grapheme relations to phonemes, e.g. in English, <this>, <th> corresponds to /ð/, <i> to /I/ or /ə/, and <s> to /s/.

**Phonology:** the 'sound' system of a language.

**Politeness, negative:** redressive action directed to the addressee's desire to have his or her freedom of action and attention unimpeded so that their face is threatened as little as possible.

**Politeness, positive:** redressive action directed to the addressee's desire for his or her wants to be thought of as desirable.

**Postposition:** a word or morpheme following a noun (or noun phrase) which indicates case, location, direction, possession, etc. While English tends to use prepositions, Hungarian, Japanese, Turkish and other languages employ postpositions, e.g. Hungarian *Melbourneben* — in Melbourne.

**Pragmatic:** referring to the communicative function or intention of an utterance; pertaining to speech acts.

**Prosodic:** referring to intonation.

**Semantic:** referring to the meaning level of language.

**Semantic features:** the smallest units of meaning in a word. The meanings of words can be divided into components, e.g. *father* comprises <+ animate> <+ adult> <+ male>, *child* <+ animate> <-adult>.

*Sociolectal continuum*: a continuum of differences in variety of a language used from the more standard form identified with more privileged social groups to the most non-standard form used by the least privileged.

*Sprachinsel*: (< German 'language island') Defined by Kloss (1966) as an area where at least 80 per cent of the population uses a language other than the national one.

*Subcategorization*: rules to ensure that features of a lexeme, say, [– abstract, + animate] are compatible with those of other parts of speech in the sentence.

*Substratum*: the effects of a language previously used by earlier generations of a community on the language now used by the community.

*Superstratum*: the effects of an additional language on the main language used by the community.

*SVO*: subject-verb-object word order. Languages are sometimes categorized typologically according to their predominant syntactic patterns (e.g. SVO, VSO, SOV). English is a SVO language.

*Synonyms*: words having a similar meaning. (Adjective: synonymous.)

*Transference*: taking over forms, meanings, and rules from one language to another.

*Trigger-word*: word at the intersection of two language systems which may cause speakers to lose their linguistic orientation and code-switch to the other language (for examples, see pp. 193–6).

*Unmarked*: elements that are more basic, natural and frequent than others in a particular language (cf. marked).

*Variation*: differences in pronunciation, grammar or vocabulary within a language, usually related to regional, social class, educational background, or situation. Free variation is where no apparent functional motivation governs the variation. Unsystematic variation is where forms are used randomly, by the same speaker, e.g. sometimes *il* and sometimes *la* is the definite article of an English noun transferred into Italian.

(For a full set of definitions, see Richards, Platt and Weber 1985.)

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