AUSTRALIA, MEETING PLACE OF LANGUAGES

Michael Clyne, ed.

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INTRODUCTION

Michael Clyne

The present collection responds to the need for an updated volume to replace *Australia talks*. That book presented a sample of studies on the language situation in Australia, encompassing Australian English, migrant languages, and Aboriginal languages. *Australia, meeting place of languages*, however, concentrates on language contact in Australia. There are a number of reasons for this. A book of contemporary readings being prepared by David Blair and Peter Collins will cover Australian English, while three introductions on Aboriginal languages (Dixon 1980, Blake 1981, Yallop 1982) have appeared in recent years. Another collection is planned by Bruce Rigsby and Suzanne Romaine. *Language in Australia* will survey the sociolinguistic situation of English and other languages used in Australia, as well as provide short structural descriptions of (at least) Kriol and Torres Strait Creole. *Australia, meeting place of languages* is a first attempt at starting a dialogue between scholars working on a range of issues concerning contact between English and other migrant languages and those studying similar questions relating to contact between English and Aboriginal languages. It is therefore intended to be a representative collection rather than a coherent or comprehensive treatment. The effects of contact between non-English languages, or between varieties of English in Australia, are outside the scope of this volume. They too are fields that warrant comparative study (e.g. Aboriginal language contact, Italian-Spanish, German-Yiddish or inter-Slavic 'semi-communication', German and other non-English lingue franche, American, Scottish and Irish English in Australia).

In this introduction, I shall first briefly discuss demographic aspects of the language situation in Australia. This will be followed by a summary of the effects of English on other languages in Australia and on their use, based mainly on previous studies. Australian language contact will then be put into its global contact by reference to the recent international literature on the theoretical implications of language contact and the linguistic indices on language attrition or death. Then follow some comparisons between the language situation of, and research on, Aboriginal and migrant languages. Finally I shall outline the organisation of the volume, introducing each chapter.

1. ON THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN AUSTRALIA

According to the 1976 Census — the only one so far to elicit data on the use of specific languages — 12.3% of the Australian population over the age of five reported *regularly* using a language other than English. The percentage of CLOTE

(community language other than English) users is particularly high in the
Northern Territory (27.4%), where Aboriginal languages are widely spoken, and
in Victoria (16.7%), with Melbourne recording 20.7%, but especially low in
Queensland (5.9%) and Tasmania (4.9%) which had been affected less by postwar
immigration than the other states. Only 4.2% of the Australian-born regularly
use a CLOTE. The Northern Territory figure for 25.3% (mainly Aborigines) con-
trasts with 5.5% in Victoria and South Australia, and 1.4% in Tasmania. The
most widely used CLOTEs in Australia in 1976 were Italian (445,000), Greek
(262,000), German (170,000) and Serbo-Croatian/Croatian/Serbian (142,000)
(estimates based on Census, Clyne 1982:12). Other languages with over 50,000
regular users are Dutch, French, Polish, Spanish and, taking into account recent
migration, Chinese.

Of the 150 Aboriginal languages still spoken, about 100 are estimated by Dixon
(1980:18) to be 'on the path towards extinction', some remembered by 'only a
handful of old people' and others with such small numbers of speakers — 'a few
dozen or less — that these languages seem bound gradually to drop out of use
over the next few generations'. The remaining 50 are spoken by a few hundred
or, in a few cases, a few thousand. These include Pitjantjatjara, Warlpiri,
and Aranda. Genocide, the ruthless pressure on Aborigines to 'assimilate', and
detribalisation have caused a rapid language shift and the death of about 50
Aboriginal languages since the European colonisation of Australia. At the same
time there has occurred the development of Aboriginal varieties of Australian
English (see Kaldor and Malcolm, this volume) and of pidgins for inter-tribal
communication some of which have been creolised. Forms of Kriol, the English-
based Aboriginal creole, are now spoken over an extensive part of Northern
Australia, where it is partly replacing, and in some places has replaced
Aboriginal languages (see Harris and Sandefur, this volume). Aboriginal English,
which can be seen as part of a continuum, and which shares some linguistic
features with Kriol, is employed by monolingual fringe Aborigines but also for
certain functions by speakers of Aboriginal languages and Kriol (see Harris and
Sandefur, Kaldor and Malcolm, this volume). One of the features of Aboriginal
communities is their multilingualism, even with the expansion of English and
Kriol as lingue franche and the death or functional reduction of some Aboriginal
languages. The 1976 Census, which found that 1.4% of the population of the
Northern Territory, mainly Aborigines, used more than two languages regularly,
falsified the picture because (due to computer space limitations) the statis-
ticians processed 'Aboriginal languages' as one language.

The number of non-Aboriginal CLOTEs (i.e. '(im)migrant languages') currently
used in Australia has been estimated between 75 and 100, depending on what is
classed as a language.[1] Such languages have been part of the Australian scene
since early in the history of white settlement in Australia — in 19th century
cities and on the goldfields, where there was a fairly rapid language shift —
as well as in rural enclaves, such as the German-speaking area of South Australia,
Western Victoria, and south-east Queensland. Here language maintenance persisted
for three to five generations.

The mass immigration program launched in 1947 brought about a marked change in
Australia's population composition, eating habits, and attitudes to non-
Britishers and CLOTEs. The widespread acceptance of multiculturalism and, by
implication, multilingualism, has been associated with a new national identity
within Australia. This has led to policies supportive of multilingualism in
fields such as education, radio, TV, libraries, and interpreting and translating
(see Ozolins, this volume).

It is too early to assess exactly what the new attitudes and policies have contributed to the maintenance of CLOTEs, especially among the second generation. This has been far less marked in some languages (e.g. Greek) than others (e.g. Dutch). It has also varied between states, with South Australia recording higher language maintenance rates across languages than Queensland and Western Australia (see Clyne 1982: chapter 2 for details).

A number of linguistic phenomena have accompanied the reduction in functions of Ll (= speaker's first language). They have previously been discussed in studies of migrant languages here and overseas and are described in this volume also for Aboriginal languages. They include lexical, semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic transference[2] from English into Ll, the integration of lexical transfers (loanwords) into the phonological, grammatical, semantic and graphemic systems of Ll, and code-switching from Ll into English. (In the second and later generations of migrant language speakers, phonological and prosodic transference may also occur.) Code-switching is often prompted by sociolinguistic factors, such as interlocutor, domain, topic, venue, interaction type or role relationship, or by trigger-words such as proper nouns, lexical transfers, compromise words and bilingual homophones which are at the intersection of the two language systems. (Descriptions of specific migrant languages in Australia may be found, e.g. in Bettoni 1981 *Italian*, Clyne 1967 *German*, 1977b *Dutch*, Doucet 1984 *Serbo-Croatian*, Kaminskas 1972 *Spanish*, Kouzmin 1972 *Russian*, Tamis 1984 *Greek*; general summary in Clyne 1982: chapter 4).

The complexity of code-switching in the Aboriginal context is depicted in this volume by McConvell. In his paper on code-switching between different Gurindji dialects and Kriol, he focuses on group relations, with code-switching usually promoting either convergence towards or divergence from the other speaker or group (cf. Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977). In another paper, McConvell (forthcoming) develops his own diachronic models of the social meaning of code-switching, building on Gumperz (e.g. 1970) and Scotton and Ury (1977).

The nature and extent of English influence on other languages in Australia depends on their functions, as well as the networks in which they are employed. Despite valiant attempts to declare an 'Australitalian' the Italian language of Australia (Andreoni 1980, Leoni 1981), there is little uniformity in any CLOTE today. Variation occurs between individuals, families and groups according to their experiences and everyday communication needs through English and the other language (see the references in the previous paragraph for migrant languages, Bavin and Shopen (this volume) for Warlpiri, and Schmidt (this volume) for Dyirbal.). Hence, homogeneous 19th century German rural enclaves developed relatively homogeneous German varieties, compared to present-day migrant families in urban areas. Nevertheless there *are* common tendencies within each language, especially in the rules for integrating English transfers, and in syntactic (and even morphological) transference which can facilitate cross-linguistic comparisons that take account of the vitality of the language as well as their structural properties (e.g. Clyne, this volume).

While many factors can operate in favour of either language maintenance or language shift, depending on the combination of factors, as has been shown by Kloss's (1966) study of the American situation, three appear to be of decisive importance in the Australian context (Clyne 1982: chapter 3). They are the role of the language value in the system of a particular culture (Smolicz and Secombe, this volume), the degree of cultural similarity to Anglo-Australians, and the extent of exogamy (Pauwels, this volume). In Aboriginal cultures, however, the core values of kinship, land, and language are closely interwoven. (Rigsby and Sutton 1981, Rigsby 1980.)

The vast majority of speakers of other languages regularly use English as well. This applies least in the Northern Territory where 4.9% of persons in the 1976 Census were reported as not using English regularly, as compared to 2.3% in Victoria and 0.2% in Tasmania. The need for English in isolated areas of the Northern Territory is undoubtedly more limited than in the major industrial centres of the country.

On the basis of a language survey conducted on $^2/_3$ of 1% of the Australian population in May 1983, the Australian Bureau of Statistics estimated that 86.75% of non-native speakers of English employ the language at home and 90.15% use it socially. Table 1 indicates that English use in the home varies between 97.01% among Dutch native speakers and 55.91% among Vietnamese speakers, with German, Maltese, Italian and Greek speakers all recording high use of English at home (ABS 1983).

Table 1: Use of English in the home by native speakers of specific languages in Australia. (ABS 1983)			
Dutch	97.01%	German	96.07%
Maltese	93.98%	Italian	84.57%
Greek	84.46%	Spanish	76.63%
Chinese	75.03%	Vietnamese	55.91%

This shows the extent of bilingualism, even in the domain often regarded as the last in which CLOTE will persist (see, for instance, Bettoni 1981, Clyne 1967, Kipp 1980). When two languages are used in the home, interlocutor (especially his/her age) and topic can determine the choice of a language. Children tend to speak English with each other. If parents speak English at home, it is generally to the children rather than among themselves (Clyne 1982:57-59).

2. AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGE CONTACT RESEARCH IN A GLOBAL LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

In recent years, there has been renewed international interest in the theoretical implications of transference and especially code-switching. Issues such as possible constraints on the position of the switch have been debated largely against the background of current linguistic theories (e.g. Joshi 1974, Gumperz 1976, Wentz and McClure 1977, Pfaff 1979, Poplack 1978, Sankoff and Poplack 1980, Klavans 1983, Woolford 1983, Di Sciullo, Muysken and Singh 1984). To help us understand such phenomena, as well as the nature of grammatical and phonological simplification and change, extensive data from a large number of languages of different types in contact with one language are required, to check the universality of findings. Corpuses of this nature are available in Australia, considering the wide variety of languages in contact with English. They are not yet introduced in this volume, which covers more general issues. The potential of language contact research within the one country was recognised in the U.S. by Haugen as early as 1950 (Haugen 1950).

Recent work on language death by Dorian (1977, 1978, 1981, 1983) and others and the development of a 'language attrition' paradigm subsuming language contact, language acquisition, asphasia and geriatic language studies (De Bot and Weltens 1985, Gonzo and Saltarelli 1983, Seliger 1984) have also focused new attention on universals. The language attrition paradigm has been applied by Bettoni in her family case study (this volume) by comparing the Italian of two generations. However, her study bases its theoretical framework on Givón's

(1979) distinction between pragmatic and syntactic modes. She is able to demonstrate a tendency towards the former through such properties as morphological simplification, slow, hesitant speech, inconsistency, and loose co-ordination (rather than tight subordination). As Dorian (1981:151) reminds us, dying languages show the same sorts of change as 'healthy' ones. Among patterns of simplification she describes (Dorian 1983) are: reduction in the number of allophones for grammatical morphemes (e.g. plurals, gerunds), reduction in competing structures, and a replacement of synthetic by analytical structures. Supporting evidence for at least some of these changes may be found in the articles by Bavin and Shopen, Bettoni, Clyne and Schmidt in this volume. McConvell (this volume) finds pervasive code-switching side by side with language shift, but is cautious about causal relationships. The Americans Gonzo and Saltarelli (1983:12), even point to *formal* similarities between pidgins, interlanguage systems, and migrant languages — lexical transference, reduction of redundant code distinctions (e.g. gender, number), a reduction in sentence embeddings, levelling of paradigmatic and morphological systems, and a decline in tense and aspect markers.

Australian language contact situations might well provide data on the spread of phonological change. It would be interesting to check, in different contexts, results based on data from two generations of five families from former German enclaves (Clyne 1972:83-85). The younger generation had, in most cases, absorbed general phonological tendencies prevalent in the area, which became either categorical or variable rules. The changes to categorical rules occurred predominantly in the more stable and homogeneous settlements and the changes to variable rules in the larger and less homogeneous German enclave.

3. COMPARISON BETWEEN 'ABORIGINAL' AND 'MIGRANT' LANGUAGE SITUATIONS

Contributions to this volume reveal many similarities between 'Aboriginal' and 'migrant' language contact with English in Australia, both at the linguistic and sociolinguistic levels. But they also point to intriguing differences, some but not all of which are the natural consequence of the different history and position of the groups speaking the languages. The similarities include:

(i) Lexical, semantic and syntactic transference, integration of transfers, and code-switching (Bavin and Shopen, Bettoni, Clyne, McConvell, Schmidt, and see also earlier references on page 3, above). In particular, there is a generalisation of SVO (Bavin and Shopen, Clyne), which Whitney (1881) had identified as a feature of 'mixed languages'. More recently, Milroy (1983:23) has shown that in English itself, SVO is a consequence of language contact.

(ii) The rapidity of the language shift process (Schmidt, Clyne).

(iii) Morphological simplification, increasing with age (Bavin and Shopen, Bettoni).

(iv) The use of Aboriginal English or a phonologically marked foreigner talk based on a migrant variety of English t
or to non-native speakers of English in general. This appears to have an identity as well as a communication function (Schmidt, cf. Clyne 1982, but see also (v) below). It is not clear if avoidance of correction in Ll is a motive in migrant families as it is in the Dyirbal community.

(v) Old people act as catalysts for language maintenance while young people promote language shift. (It would be interesting to ascertain the extent of Ll reversion and L2 attrition in the two groups, cf. Clyne 1977a).

From a methodological point of view, linguists investigating Aboriginal and migrant language contact situations are faced with the problem of not having available to them adequate records of the precontact language. This applies both to Aboriginal languages and to the non-standard varieties of migrant languages spoken prior to emigration.

The importance of exogamy in the shift to English in migrant communities, discussed by Pauwels in this volume, may be partly counteracted by the success of bilingual language acquisition, according to the principle one parent, one language.   For an Australian example, see Saunders (1982). Harris and Sandefur (this volume) indicate that this has been the norm in some Aboriginal communities (where neither of the parents' languages was English).

Just as comparisons of languages in contact can throw light on linguistic universals, they can also extend our knowledge of the relation between language and society. In this respect, the following differences between Aboriginal and migrant languages are of importance:

    (i) Migrant languages (especially in the first generation), unlike Aboriginal languages, are subject to grammatical norms outside Australia.

    (ii) Migrant languages are generally learned in the home, and often not retained by the children as they get older, or their use is at least temporarily discontinued. Aboriginal languages are not learned until later (Harris and Sandefur, cf. also Shnukal).

    (iii) There is no phonological integration of English lexical items in young Dyirbal speakers (Schmidt). This cannot be said for second and later generation speakers of migrant languages (Bettoni 1981, Clyne 1967).

    (iv) Second generation speakers of migrant languages will almost universally speak English to each other, regardless of what they speak to their parents or grandparents (Smolicz and Secombe, this volume; Bettoni 1981, Clyne 1967, Harvey 1974, Klarberg 1976, Smolicz and Harris 1976). The situation on Mer, a Torres Strait eastern island, is comparable, in relation to code-switching between the traditional language and creole (Shnukal, this volume). While Schmidt (this volume) points out that young Dyirbal speakers use the language mainly to older people, she also gives evidence of an Aboriginal language being employed as an in-group language among young 'semispeakers' with blatant disregard for adult norms. This probably accounts for the differences in (iii), for Bettoni (1981: 96) attributes phonological integration in the younger generation partly to 'their wish to conform to the norm established by the older generation of migrants'.

    (v) Aboriginal English continues to fulfil a function, in contrast to the temporary interlanguage nature of most 'Migrant Englishes'. South Australian and Western Victorian rural dialects of Australian English based on a German substratum (Clyne 1970a:130-133) are probably a dying exception, but the English of later generation Australians with a strong Jewish or Chinese identification talking to each other could warrant investigation. Horvath (1985) shows that Italian and Greek migrants further develop broad Australian vowels but that their teenager children move away from this change. Aboriginal English reflects forced assimilation and, at the same time, the white Australians' unwillingness to accept Aborigines as equals.

    (vi) Three Kriol-using regions have been identified by Harris and Sandefur (this volume) — those where it is a dominant language, those on the edge of a traditional Aboriginal language-speaking area, and those where the traditional

Aboriginal language is still dominant but Kriol is making inroads. However, there are no 'migrant creoles'.

The situation mentioned under (ii) may gradually develop for migrant languages as language survival programs (in and out of school) are devised for the third (and later) generations.

An adequate comparison between the situation of Aboriginal and migrant languages would be possible only within a comparative study of the functions of the languages in all the geographical contexts in which they are used. With the launching of satellite communication, the future of even the more isolated Aboriginal languages is likely to become even more precarious. A crucial difference in language maintenance and shift is that shift from Aboriginal languages necessarily represents language death whereas there continue to be overseas communities using the migrant languages in some form.

Research to date on Aboriginal languages has been concerned with the demanding and exciting task of analysing hitherto undescribed languages. Often it was a 'race against the clock', for many languages were in an advanced stage of disappearing, with a small number of old speakers. Scholars of Aboriginal languages have contributed significantly through their description to the literature of universals and typologies. In that context, the result of the language contact situation (as well as the geriatric nature of the informants) were very much a secondary consideration. The contact nature of contemporary Aboriginal languages has only recently been acknowledged. Just as in traditional studies of dialects, there were assumptions of homogeneity rather than an interest in variation. On the other hand, it was the theoretical framework developed as a result of immigrant language studies in America and elsewhere by Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1953, 1956) that marked the beginning of American sociolinguistics and paved the way for variation research in a monolingual context.

In Australia, (socio)linguistic studies of migrant and Aboriginal languages have been regarded as separate areas. Scholars engaged in them are not always aware of one another's work and sometimes regard the two areas as belonging in 'different compartments'.[3] The emerging Aboriginal language — English contact literature partly uses different terminology to immigrant language studies (borrowing, lexical borrowing, loanword — beside syntactic interference (Bavin and Shopen), lexical substitution beside transference (Schmidt), assimilation rather than integration (Bavin and Shopen, Schmidt)).

Because of the threat of extinction to Aboriginal languages, scholars of Aboriginal languages have been influenced more by Dorian's work on language death than by the (somewhat older) migrant contact literature, which has taken over its paradigms mainly from Haugen, Weinreich, and Fishman.

Since linguists studying migrant languages who have been concerned with transference and code-switching have been working in this area for longer, such topics are now less prominent in their publications, and the reader is referred for comparison to the studies cited on page 3. It is clear that the effects of contact with English on *most* Aboriginal and migrant languages has not yet been studied. While the investigation of lexical transference in more languages may not produce new discoveries, integration of lexical transfers, constraints on code-switching, grammatical simplification and syntactic change do appear to vary according to typological and sociolinguistic factors. It is therefore hoped that this collection may generate a lively discussion, leading to a systematic treatment of language contacts across languages in Australia and their theoretical implications.

The three papers based on temporary residents from Asia are all interactive studies, and their approaches have much to offer research on longer-term language contact in Australia. Neustupný, for instance, challenges the more narrowly linguistic product analyses and casts doubt on many assumptions in previous language contact research (see also Pride 1984). He establishes the concept 'norm of contact situation' against which deviations in contact situations are measured. Such notions differ from those of native situations. This concept is basic to what he terms the 'new paradigm' in language contact studies. He discusses issues in the study of norms and applies research techniques of universal applicability. Apart from contributing to linguistic theory and methodology, Australian linguists have been already successful in initiating widespread interest in language policy and have been participating in a significant way in its planning and implementation, as Ozolins demonstrates in his paper.

4. THE ORGANISATION OF THIS COLLECTION

The first eight papers are on languages other than English, the next three on interaction in a wider sense between Australians and temporary residents. Then follow four articles on English and English-based creoles in Australia, with the closing chapter dealing with the National Language Policy issue.

We begin with the crucial variables in the maintenance of non-Aboriginal CLOTEs — core values (Smolicz and Secombe) and intermarriage patterns (Pauwels). Smolicz and Secombe use memoirs and personal statements to help interpret questionnaire responses indicating that language is the central core value in the cultures of three groups of young ethnic Australians — Greek, Latvian, and Polish. Pauwels compares language maintenance in two Dutch samples (Dutch-Dutch and mixed marriages). Klarberg deals with the function of classical Hebrew, Ivrit (Israeli Hebrew) and Yiddish in various sections of Melbourne's Jewish community. He argues that any deliberate mixing or enhancement of these is unlikely to increase language maintenance. This brings us to sociolinguistic studies of language change or language attrition — under the influence of language contact — on Italian in Sydney (Bettoni), Warlpiri (Bavin and Shopen), Gurindji (McConvell). Bettoni's is a family case study of parents and four children, while Bavin and Shopen study the Warlpiri of children and young people. Part of their paper is a comparison between the speech (in story telling) of two Warlpiri children, a schoolgirl with no lexical transference and considerable transference of grammatical and discourse structures, and a 'non-schoolie' with a little lexical transference and little other English influence. McConvell challenges the importance of domain in Aboriginal language choice. He describes and explains code-switching among the Gurindji in relation to the local language situation, social formations and ideologies. The structure and functions of Dyirbal in its last generation of speakers are described by Schmidt, whose research benefits from the study of the social networks of two groups. Then follows a comparison by Clyne between tendencies in German and Dutch, showing how even closely related languages react in different ways, and at a different pace, to the influence of the same contact language.

The three papers on the language of temporary residents from Asia all relate to communication strategies rather than to language change. Neustupný's discussion of interaction in English between Japanese and English native speakers in Australia is a contribution to the theory and methodology of language contact research. Bradley and Bradley deal with communication breakdown

and focus on the *form* of responses in miscomprehension in the English of Malaysian, Thai and Indonesian students. The relation between communication breakdown, speaking ability and national background is discussed, as are the characteristics of miscomprehended questions. Rado shows that both good and poor speakers of English among Asian students master pragmatic aspects of language, such as ellipsis. Thus the emphasis on the pragmatic level noted in the maintenance of migrant and Aboriginal languages (e.g. Bettoni, Bavin and Shopen) is also present in early second language acquisition.

Johnston's paper on 'Migrant English', employing recent paradigms in second language acquisition, focuses on natural acquisition sequences and development stages in adult migrants whose Ll is very different — Spanish and Turkish. Consequences for 'migrant English' teaching are outlined. Kaldor and Malcolm discuss the structure, variation, and function of Aboriginal English as spoken by children in Western Australia, drawing some implications for language policy in schools. Harris and Sandefur put Kriol in the context of multilingualism (albeit a receding one) in the 'Top End'. Mühlhäusler's paper is the result of archival research and salvage work among the descendants of indentured Kanaka labourers in Queensland to trace the Pidgin previously spoken in their communities. This example of cross-cultural communication is of particular interest because of its role in the development of other Pacific pidgins. The Creole discussed by Shnukal is spoken on the eastern Torres Strait islands off the Australian coast by people who share with Aborigines the status of indigenous peoples of Australia. On two islands, it has replaced the traditional languages and stands in a diglossic relationship with English; on a third, it is in unsystematic composition with the traditional language and English. Like the Kanaka pidgin before it, this symbol of islander ethnicity is undergoing decreolisation and language shift.

On each of the topics we proceed from the more general papers to the particular and comparative ones, from the more sociological papers to the more linguistic ones — but we end on a political note. Ozolins gives the historical and socio-political context of the discussion around, and inquiry into the National Language Policy prior to the recommendations of the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts. At a later stage it will be possible to reflect on how effective the National Language Policy that is to be implemented in the near future will be to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal CLOTEs and their speakers.

NOTES

1. Among 'debated categories' are national varieties and national dialects — e.g. Swiss German, Lebanese, Croatian/Serbian/Serbo-Croatian, Cantonese/ Hakka/Hokkien/Mandarin.

2. Transference of speech act and discourse routines.

3. For a comparison of policies on bilingual education see Kaldor (1976).

COMMUNITY LANGUAGES, CORE VALUES AND CULTURAL MAINTENANCE:
THE AUSTRALIAN EXPERIENCE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
GREEK, LATVIAN AND POLISH GROUPS

J.J. Smolicz and M.J. Secombe

The press for language maintenance among minority groups in Australia can, in part at least, be accounted for in terms of the theory of core values (Smolicz 1981). The term 'core value' refers to those values that are regarded as forming the most fundamental components or heartland of a group's culture, and act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership. It is through core values that social groups can be identified as distinctive cultural communities. Rejection of core values usually carries with it the threat of exclusion from the group. Indeed, the deviant individual may himself feel unable to continue as an 'authentic' member.

Whenever people feel that there is a direct link between their identity as a group and what they regard as the most crucial and distinguishing element of their culture, the element concerned becomes a core value for the group. Such core values are most clearly discerned when the group concerned is under threat and needs to defend its culture against external pressures. If the identity of a people is threatened with extinction, cultural life grows correspondingly more intense, more important, until culture itself, and especially its core elements, become the fundamental value around which people rally. This can be observed at present in the case of Central and Eastern European nations subjected to pressures foreign to their civilisation, or in the response of the corresponding ethnic groups in societies where the dominant majority is bent on a policy of cultural assimilation, as has been the case in the United States and Australia.

Cultural groups differ in the extent to which they emphasise their native tongues as core values. One may, for example, be an Irish nationalist and be unable to speak Irish Gaelic; indeed, the decline in the everyday use of the national language of Ireland (O'Buachalla 1984) has not extinguished the flame of Irish national consciousness or the desire to remain a distinctive people. There are also people in various countries of the world with a strongly developed sense of Jewish identity who for everyday communication purposes speak neither Hebrew, nor Yiddish, nor, indeed, any other Jewish-developed language or dialect. (It should be noted, however, that in Israel itself today there is hardly any doubt of the core valuation attached to Hebrew).

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There are, however, cultural groups that have continually stressed their language as the principal carrier of their culture and relied upon it as the main defence mechanism against assimilation. In this respect we need only mention Polish, the Baltic languages, Greek, or French in Québec. In each of these cases the groups concerned had to struggle against dominant neighbours to preserve their cultures and considered their languages as chief emblems of their survival. Major nations of the world, such as the English, have not in modern times been in danger of losing their languages, but have shown their attachment to them by propagating them among other ethnic groups (starting with the Celts) that came into their political or economic orbit. Indeed, the English language is a most important core element for the overwhelming majority of the British people and their descendants in former British possessions. Even English minority groups in such countries as Argentina and Chile have preserved their mother tongue after several generations of settlement in a Spanish-dominated environment.

In Australia, differences appear to exist in the degree of commitment that ethnic groups reveal toward their native languages. Evidence of this from the 1976 census data (Clyne 1982) and from figures on ethnic school attendance (Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs 1982) has been discussed elsewhere (Smolicz 1984a).

For minority groups that are language-centred, the preservation of their linguistic core is indispensable for the transmission of their cultures to the next generation. Hence the defence of their mother tongue is seen by many cultural minorities as their first priority. In this light, the struggle for language maintenance is not some kind of abstract or 'high culture' phenomenon, but the effort of a group of people to preserve their ethnic identity. For such language-centred ethnic groups, there is hardly any doubt that language and culture are highly significant phenomena since they are concerned with people deciding their own destiny.

INVESTIGATING CORE VALUES IN AUSTRALIA

This paper reports research investigations designed to identify more clearly what constitutes the core values of the various cultures that make up the Australian multicultural reality. The concept of core values forms part of a humanistic sociological framework for the study of culture which has been outlined elsewhere (Smolicz 1974, 1979; Smolicz and Secombe 1981). Any research investigation therefore needs to follow the methodology of humanistic sociology and enable the participants within a given cultural context to define their own reality. This means analysing the activities and finding the beliefs of those involved in the life of a particular ethnic group. Such an investigation of what people think and do directs one towards identifying the core values of their group's culture. Cultural facts in the form of assessments and attitudes of group members may be gathered in a structured way by asking respondents to tick the appropriate box on a questionnaire form. This may prove a useful way of gathering much data in a comparatively short time, but suffers from the disadvantage that the researcher has set up the terms of the question in a standardised form which may ignore important features specific to one particular group.

Furthermore, the researcher has no means of ascertaining how the respondents have interpreted the question. Variations in the meaning given to words by

individuals from the same ethnic background, and even more across ethnic groups, may substantially influence the pattern of responses. Possibly, one of the greatest dangers of the questionnaire approach, when used alone and shorn of any humanistic component, occurs when the researcher from another ethnic (and especially the dominant) group asks questions which are either so simple that they merely scratch the surface of the real concerns of the group being investigated, or impose the values of his or her own group upon the respondents, in the erroneous belief that such values are universal (not to say superior) and hence should manifest themselves in all the responses. In this connection Skutnabb-Kangas (1984) remarked that it was perhaps not an accident that researchers from dominant groups studying minorities generally preferred to approach their subjects from a quantitative-positivistic standpoint, while it rested with investigators who themselves originated from the group studied, and who were familiar with its culture, to undertake in-depth qualitative researches.

A second less structured way of investigating core values involves asking participants to write memoirs or personal statements about their cultural experiences at home and school. According to humanistic sociological principles this method has a number of important advantages. Respondents are free to write in their own way with far less interference from the researcher in expressing their thoughts, feelings, aspirations and assessments. Their explanations and discussions often provide a cultural and linguistic context for the researcher to better understand the meaning which the respondents give to a particular cultural activity or situation. Such comments may provide insights and breadth of understanding of the phenomenon in question which go beyond what can be gained from the ticks and crosses of an 'unaided' questionnaire survey. Such data can be seen as 'dry' and hence fail to show what minority group members 'think and feel, what hurts them, what they need and what is their attitude toward the other (ethnic groups), the nation and the State' (Grabski 1982).

In summary, then, the most important advantage of the memoir approach to the study of current cultural reality in Australia lies in the fact that the attitudes of the writers are examined in the social context of their lives and that such attitudes can be studied as evolving rather than as static entities. This in turn throws light upon the whole process of reconstruction of the values of the Australian society under the impact of the changing attitudes of both the minority and majority group members brought about by the post-war influx of people and their corresponding cultural cores.

The two sources of cultural facts discussed above have been used for the investigations into core values reported in this paper. In addition, however, it is necessary to relate such *attitudinal* data to *concrete* facts about cultural patterns activated by the respondents. It is important to know whether the aspects of culture assessed as 'core' are in fact being used within ethnic groups in Australia, or whether they have been reduced to ideational, symbolic level only, with positive attitudes which are hardly ever activated in practice, as in the case of Gaelic for the great majority of the Irish people.

SURVEY DATA

In this section we report the results of a number of surveys that have been designed to find out more about the extent to which languages are regarded as

the core values of minority ethnic cultures in Australia. In each survey respondents were asked to indicate, by ticking a questionnaire sheet, what cultural features they considered most vital for the survival of their group's culture in Australia. The sheet provided a number of different aspects of culture for them to evaluate and asked respondents to assess them as 'vitally important', 'important' or 'not important'.

The question was first given to the leading officials of ethnic school organisations, as part of Norst's 1982 survey of ethnic schools in which one of the authors participated. The study was done on behalf of the Australian Schools Commission (1983) which, however, did not make use of these data in its report.

Later, in the summer of 1982-83, the same question formed part of questionnaire study carried out among various ethnic youth, as they were gathered at their respective summer conventions or holiday camps. Replies were received from 75 young Latvian-Australians who were participating in the Latvian Summer High School at Aldinga in South Australia. The questionnaire was administered by one of the camp leaders, Professor Janis Priedkalns of Adelaide University. A second group of respondents consisted of 73 Polish-Australian young people, from all over Australia, who were attending a leadership Training Camp at Healesville near Melbourne. The third set of respondents were 103 Greek-Australian university students gathered in Adelaide for the conference of the National Union of Greek-Australian Students (NUGAS).

Another source of data was the graduate diploma in education course at the University of Adelaide in 1982 and 1984. Students were given the same question on core values at the beginning of their course. The respondents were classified into two groups: 42 were students from a non-English speaking background (i.e. at least one parent was of non-English speaking background) and 74 were students from an English speaking background (i.e. both parents were born either in Australia or in Great Britain). The latter group was included in the full understanding that most of them were monolinguals and as such would have a different vantage point on the study of language and culture to those who were from bi- or multilingual backgrounds. Hence the results from this group are reported not for comparison purposes, but to provide information on an important aspect of Australian society, namely the views on language and culture of at least some members of the majority group in this country.

It must be stressed that in fact none of the groups were intended to be used in the statistical analysis of correlations, cross-correlations, or regression pathways. Hence they were not matched on age, sex, birthplace, family background, length of residence in Australia, parental occupations or education. The purpose of gathering such data was to illuminate current social and linguistic reality and to better understand how the members of the ethnic groups concerned viewed themselves and their cultural heritage in the Australian context. It is useful in this connection to consider what similarities and differences there are in the evaluation of these groups, while accepting that the data are representative only of that particular group of respondents, in that particular time and in that particular situation. However, the three groups of ethnic youth surveyed were comparable in certain important ways. All were voluntarily attending activities designed to promote the language and culture of their group and to encourage social interaction among young people of the same ethnic background.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

For each survey group the aspects of culture were rank ordered on the basis of the percentage support given to the 'vitally important' category. These results are presented in Table 1 (p.34ff.). The analysis revealed that in all the groups surveyed *speaking the ethnic language* was given the highest priority. Although the actual percentage support for the vitally important category ranged from 91% among the Latvian group to 54% among diploma in education students of English speaking background, the percentage who claimed that speaking the ethnic language was *not* important was very small in all groups (0-3%). Among our respondents, the support for speaking the language is thus very clear cut, and represents a result not replicated for any other aspect of culture which they were asked to evaluate.

Not surprisingly the strongest support for *reading and writing* the ethnic lan-guage came from the ethnic school organisations; in most instances, the achievement of literacy in the home language was one of the primary aims of their existence. However, the degree of support from other groups (except the diploma students from a variety of non-English speaking backgrounds) was con-siderable. In the case of respondents from Latvian and English speaking back-grounds literacy ranked second in their evaluation of the most vitally important aspects of culture needed for survival. Amongst the respondents of Polish and Greek background, the second place in rank order went to *close family ties*. This is an aspect of culture which often is very closely linked with the maintenance of oral language skills. This may help to explain why reading and writing the home languages have a slightly lower priority for these respondents. Again, among all the groups surveyed, the proportion who claimed that reading and writing were *not* important, was less than 10%.

In terms of rank ordering, the diploma in education students of English speaking background gave a higher priority to *literature* as vitally important for their group's survival than any other group of respondents. In part this result may be interpreted as a consequence of the specialised educational background of this particular group of respondents, about a quarter of whom would have been graduates in English. It may also serve to highlight the fact that at the time of the surveys, opportunities for the respondents of Polish, Latvian and Greek background to study their ethnic literature at tertiary level were very few indeed.

Some idea of the relative strength of the respondents' evaluation of language as important for cultural survival, can be gained by comparing the support given to aspects of language, with that given, for example, to aspects of religion. With the interesting exception of the comparatively high priority given to *liturgy and ceremonies* among respondents of Polish background, the rank order given to the various aspects of religion ranged between 16 and 22. The percentage claiming that these aspects of culture were *not* important to their group's cultural survival ranged from 18% in the case of Greek respondents when assessing liturgy and ceremonies, to 90% for the English speaking group's evaluation of religious laws and rules.

It should also be noted, that the evaluation of those respondents of English-speaking background concerning the importance of English was comparable to that of the minority groups for their ethnic language. Perhaps the 'vitally important' category for speaking was somewhat lower because members of the English speaking group were predominantly monolingual and did not feel that

the maintenance of their 'ethnic' language was under any kind of threat in Australia. However, when the three aspects of language are considered together, respondents of English-speaking background gave a higher priority to *their* ethnic language than any other group of respondents. This emphasises the high valuation of their own language by monolinguals from the dominant group, as well as by the bilingual members of the ethnic minority members studied.

In the case of the respondents of Polish, Latvian and Greek background it is possible to compare their evaluation of the importance of their home language with data on their *actual language usage*. Table 2 (p.37) shows that the majority of the respondents in all three groups claimed to speak only or mainly their ethnic language to parents and to older relatives. However, the proportion who said they used their ethnic language solely or mainly in conversation with brothers and sisters and ethnic peers fell substantially, and in the case of the Greek group amounted to a comparatively small number. This last result is comparable with the generational decline in language usage noted in earlier surveys (Smolicz and Harris 1977; Smolicz 1979). The fact that between a quarter and a half of the respondents of Latvian and Polish origin maintained their ethnic language with their peers represents a higher level of maintenance than that reported earlier for most ethnic groups. Even more important, is the comparatively high level of mastery in the ethnic language reported by respondents from all these groups. Table 3 (p.38) shows that 64% (for the Greeks), 69% (for the Poles) and 83% (for the Latvians) assessed their ability to understand and speak their home language as 'very good' or 'good'. In the case of reading and writing skills, 51% of the Greeks, 60% of the Poles and 75% of the Latvians claimed that their capacity to read and write their home language was 'very good' or 'good'.

The high level of usage and mastery revealed by the respondents of Latvian background reflects the high priority given to the ethnic language in the life of the home, their ethnic community, and in the organisation of the summer school which they were attending when completing the questionnaire. Table 4 (p.38) indicates that as many as 90% of the respondents of Latvian origin had attended Saturday School classes for four or more years — a fact which suggests their efficient organisation and effective language teaching, as well as the parental support they enjoyed. In the case of the Greeks, too, the respondents' ability to read and write their ethnic language was almost certainly the result of classes in Greek held after school hours, which parents insisted on their children attending. Approximately two thirds of the Greek-Australian respondents said they had attended such classes for four or more years.

PERSONAL COMMENTS ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ETHNIC LANGUAGE

The quantitative data generated from surveys, such as those discussed above, provide useful and important information on the extent to which the ethnic language was highly evaluated by the respondents concerned. However, by itself a tick in the column under the heading 'vitally important' for 'speaking', and 'reading' and 'writing' the home language, does not enable the researcher, and ultimately the readers, to understand what the ethnic language *means* in the experience of a particular respondent. This deeper level of understanding can be achieved through reading memoirs or personal accounts which enable individuals to explain their thoughts and feelings in their own way. A number of the respondents included in the diploma in education surveys later wrote about their

experiences of growing up in 'multicultural Australia'. One of the aspects they often chose to discuss was their ethnic language; how they acquired it; the extent of their mastery of it; and what it meant to them.

(a) Latvian memoirs

One young Australian-born graduate of Latvian descent summarised his experiences as follows:

> Throughout my time at both primary and secondary school there was never any outright discouragement of my ethnicity but there was also no encouragement given by the education system to preserve my Latvian language and culture. Most teachers that taught me thought it was of value for me to maintain my cultural heritage and as far as possible to remain a bilingual person. This opinion came only from individual teachers and was not in my way encouraged or provided for by the state system of education, or the school. The general attitude of the education system at the time was perhaps one of non-recognition or indifference towards ethnic languages and traditions ... My schools did not provide any curricular time for the study of any ethnic language, culture or history. Lessons of history or social studies were concerned only with the Australian scene, or general Anglo-Saxon aspects of world history. Other cultures rarely got a mention in these lessons, except where they were in a conflict situation with the Anglo-Saxon culture i.e. when discussing wars in history. So although ethnicity was not considered bad or as a threat to the Australian way of life (although some people did think in this way), it was treated with indifference and to a large extent ignored. The fact that the Latvian culture, or any other ethnic culture, could have any positive value for Australians was not considered.

> In my home the orientation was entirely different, as is to be expected. With the Latvian culture, as with many others, language was of central importance. My parents actively encouraged me to speak Latvian at home as a young child and so preserve my native tongue. They sent me to Latvian school each Saturday where I learnt about Latvian history, geography and traditions in general, but mainly so I would be able to speak, read and write in Latvian. Although there was a great deal of emphasis on Latvian culture, the Anglo-Saxon aspects were not ignored or discouraged. My parents never discouraged me from reading Australian books or comics or watching T.V. nor from having my Australian friends around and speaking English with them at home. I feel that this attitude of my parents and ethnic people generally is commendable for its broadmindedness and in most cases the complete reverse of the ways of thinking and general attitudes towards ethnics and their languages by Anglo-Australians...

> Although my education in Latvian has not been at
> formal school level and my linguistic competence is
> not as developed as it should be to be able to discuss
> complex, intellectual matters, nevertheless I have at
> least been able to make use of my ethnic cultural
> reservoirs and I am a much wealthier person as a result.

A German-born woman of Latvian origin, who at the time of writing her comments
was a secondary school teacher, as well as married with her own children,
described her experiences with an even greater emphasis on language.

> The Latvian culture is greatly dependent on the
> Latvian language. The preservation of the language
> caused many a contentious moment in my life. Although
> we spoke Latvian at home, I was never in the midst of
> a Latvian community of close friends or neighbours. As
> 'displaced' persons, we lived with a German family in
> Germany, not in a 'displaced' persons camp. This meant
> that, while the family spoke Latvian, everyone else
> spoke German and so I could speak either language —
> assuming, so my mother tells me, that everyone not of
> the family must speak German. On arrival in Australia,
> everyone around us spoke English. My father chose to
> live in the Adelaide Hills, again away from the main-
> stream of the Latvian community and so the use of Latvian,
> for me, was restricted to family and Saturday school.
> There were no Latvian children in my primary school and
> it is at this time that I can remember rejecting the lan-
> guage to the extent of walking on the opposite side of the
> road from my mother if she dared to speak to me in Latvian.
> Assimilation pressures at work!...

> The Latvian school engendered only feelings of
> distaste because the customs and artifacts described were
> totally outside our experience and being reprimanded for
> not knowing what some obscure Latvian agricultural
> implement was did not endear the language or its teachers
> to many students. Also, the majority of students spoke
> English amongst themselves. Finishing Latvian (Saturday)
> school, which only went to seventh grade, and starting
> Australian high school occurred at the same time and for
> the next five years my contact with other Latvians was
> minimal. It was at university that my dormant ethnicity
> was reawakened. I had reached an age where being dif-
> ferent was more acceptable and I stopped shying away from
> Latvians and the Latvian language. Today I consider
> myself to be conversationally fluent but marginally
> literate. Whenever technical language needs to be used
> it is necessary to insert English words. Peer pressure
> at school — after all, they could use no other language
> than English — and the assimilationist policies of school
> as well as the attitudes of surrounding society,
> benevolent as they were, overcame family pressure. From
> this it is apparent that even strong family pressure
> cannot maintain an ethnic language without external
> support...

Other language-oriented aspects of the Latvian culture such as literature, folklore and songs contribute to another value that could be said to be central, that being historicity. Latvians tend to see themselves as having maintained and transmitted a very old language against massive external pressures by various invading hordes and through much suffering. This suffering and pride at overcoming tremendous odds over the centuries is very evident in the music and traditional songs and listening to these has had a very powerful effect in developing my pride in being Latvian...

The transmission and development of the central features of Latvian culture was thus achieved by family perseverance more than anything else. Intra group inter-action with other Latvians was minimal and so was not a prime factor. One could not say that living in an Anglo-Australian society had any positive effects on retention, but on the other hand the effects were not as negative for me as they were on other acquaintances who have been stopped in the street and told to speak English if they are going to live in Australia. Peer pressure and assimilationist schools were probably the fundamental factors in leaving me with only an ethnic linguistic residue. Needless to say, transmission to my own children is virtually non-existent.

Another Australian-born woman who was a science graduate revealed a similar evaluation of the importance of Latvian, but a different experience of the effectiveness of Saturday school:

Academically, I was not hindered as a result of my ethnicity or because I learnt English as a second language. My parents considered education as being very important and they always gave me their full encouragement. My education, however, did not end Friday afternoons. Every Saturday morning for eight years I attended Latvian school. Here I was taught to read and write in Latvian, Latvian folklore, history, geography and most importantly I met other Latvian children...

Reading provided no difficulty, however writing did. I had no errors or only an occasional error in dictation in English. However my Latvian dictations were teeming with errors. As Latvian is a phonetic language, you write what you hear; whereas in English you just had to learn to spell. Somehow, I could manage the second case a lot easier. This is possibly related to learning processes of different kinds.

During the early years I resented having to do extra homework associated with attending school Saturday mornings. As the years passed, I began to look forward to Saturday mornings, not because of the work, but for seeing my friends. Making Latvian friends is the first step towards becoming an active member of Latvian society, especially for the young. Most second generation Latvians, who attend Latvian Saturday School, make friends predominantly with other Latvians...

Gradually English became the dominant language although it was learnt as a second language. English is used at schools, at work wherever you go. Soon it becomes easier, especially about more complex subjects, to express yourself in English rather than in Latvian. Latvian is solely preserved for speaking with one's family, although this usually excludes brothers and sisters. The conversations with one's family are about everyday things. For such conversations only a limited vocabulary is required. If one's parents understand English there is no need to try to figure out a word in Latvian but its English equivalent is used instead. This has become a fairly common practice. I became acutely aware of this fact when I spoke to Latvians whose other language was German. I found myself having to offer explanations. Another factor, which limits vocabulary development is lack of suitable reading material. There are numerous Latvian books, however most have no appeal to the young generation.

Only recently [since moving to the Northern Territory] have I become more aware of my ethnic heritage. Living in an area with no Latvian community has made me see the importance of trying to preserve my ethnic heritage. I try to speak as much Latvian as possible with my husband...

I wish to make a further distinction here. When speaking of ethnics, people tend to dump all different cultural groups together as one. I feel that for the Latvian youth there is more at stake. This being that our homeland is not free to guide its own destiny. As a result the survival of the Latvian people and their language has become of prime importance to many young Latvians. This aspect is of little concern to such groups as Greeks and Italians as their homelands are flourishing nations...

Some of my parents' friends believed that the teaching of Latvian would hinder their children in an Anglo-Saxon society, so they attempted to bring up their children as Australians. Most of these children today lack a cultural identity and many cannot associate with either culture. Having no Latvian language limits their mixing in Latvian society and they do not feel that they belong to the Australian society either. This I believe can be explained by the fact that although they were not taught the language, their parents' homes were Latvian in the sense that both parents still spoke Latvian to one another, listened to Latvian music, had Latvian friends and ate Latvian foods. By withholding the teaching of the language they ostracised their children from their way of life. Today, the children are adults and it is too late to learn the language as it requires a lot of patience, hard work and perseverance. I find that some resent the fact that their parents did not teach them their mother tongue.

Today many different languages have become acceptable at the Matriculation level, including Latvian in Adelaide

> since 1976. However to do Latvian, you must attend
> lessons after normal school hours. Is this right or
> wrong? Firstly, as Latvians are ... scattered through
> Adelaide's suburbs, the only feasible way of conducting
> classes is out of school hours, in a central location...
>
> Secondly, I think that preserving the language of
> a national group does not necessarily lead to the
> preserving of the culture as a whole. I believe that
> you have to within yourself, see that you are Latvian.
> I studied German at school for five years but I did not
> associate myself with Germans. I did not feel I was a
> German.
>
> So if Latvian was taught at school (outside its
> cultural context) you would not develop this affinity
> for being a Latvian. I believe that centrally located
> Saturday Morning School has more chance of success because
> you receive a *total* education in the culture and you make
> *good friends* with other Latvians.

Another German-born Latvian-Australian, who had specialised at higher degree
level in German, wrote:

> I could speak, read and write Latvian before I arrived
> in Australia, and very soon after my arrival I could
> speak, read and write in English as well. I always spoke
> Latvian at home, at the Latvian 'Saturday school', and
> with older Latvian friends, although I tended to speak
> English with my Latvian peers because it quickly became
> the language of immediate concerns and current interests.
> I spoke English at school, with my Australian friends and
> in public. (On public transport, for example, two
> Latvians would tend to speak Latvian in lowered voices,
> because there was an intangible air of resentment if they
> spoke in a language unknown to the majority)...
>
> I firmly believe that language and culture are
> inextricably intertwined, and that each language I speak
> carries with it a different world of meanings. Language
> draws our attention to the way things are categorised in
> a particular community, illuminating what that community
> thinks is important and revealing particular aspects of
> environment and culture.
>
> Latvian gives me a more affectionate, homely and
> sentimental view of the world. In Latvian, the use of the
> diminutive is a frequent stylistic device, expressing not
> only smallness but more often tenderness and endearment,
> and can refer to inanimate as well as animate things. Its
> abundant use in folk songs reflects a culture which has an
> affectionate regard not only for people and all things in
> nature, but also for the utensils used in daily life. My
> ability to see the world in this light does not switch off
> when I speak in English, just because these sentiments
> cannot find expression in English. In the same way, it
> may not be possible to translate into Latvian the complexity

of an English poem, with its delicate associations and
linguistically conditioned subtleties, and I can under-
stand that poem, as I can understand the Latvian folk
song, and they both enrich my world...

The Latvian people in Australia attach great
importance to the retention of the Latvian language.
There is a feeling that if the language goes, the
whole culture goes. Without the language, how can you
adequately transmit all the other cultural values? The
folk dancing I practised and the tapestries I still
diligently sew would be empty gestures without the
language.

(b) Polish memoirs

The comparative success of Latvian immigrants in maintaining their language
even at literary level among their Australian-educated children can be seen in
the case of three out of the four young people whose comments were recorded
above. The personal statements of two Polish-Australian diploma in education
students give a very different picture. One social science graduate explained
that she was making her comments

in the light of the work *The Australian School through
Children's Eyes*.   The experiences related in this book
were of particular interest to me because I know now my
feelings of alienation and discrimination on both
cultural and class levels were not, as I imagined,
merely feelings of paranoia on my part. Many of my
experiences have fallen into perspective and the renewal
of old wounds has added to my sense of having lost my
cultural heritage and tradition ... [The idea that]
amongst the Polish people the core value is language ...
was quite a revelation to me and explains why I feel
such shame when I am asked by a 'Pole' if I speak Polish,
and I have to reply that I do not. The Polish language,
I have discovered, is symbolic, as it has allowed the
'Poles' as a group to survive the partition of Poland
and subsequent persecution. My mother, although brought
up in Germany always spoke Polish at home and considered
herself Polish, I think because she was never accepted
into German society due to her Polish parentage ...
[For my part] I was not accepted in the Polish community
in Australia because I cound not speak Polish. This was,
of course (so the Polish community assumed) due to my
father's death (...when I was eight) and my mother's
laxity...

Anglo-Australian ideology has made me (without being
aware of it) deny my cultural background. I cannot speak
Polish, I know nothing of Poland's history, I have given
up Polish dancing and rarely mix with Polish people. I
am still drawn however, to exhibitions of Polish art and
I am determined that I shall learn to speak Polish and
surprise Polish friends of the family. I seem to feel a

> great sense of pride when the Pope appears on television
> or is mentioned at church, and I nearly always feel like
> crying when I hear of the plight of the Polish people, in
> the media.

The account of another Polish-Australian diploma in education student highlights
the efforts he had to personally make to maintain his home language in the face
of the overwhelming pressure for speaking English which he experienced. He had
arrived in Australia with his family at about six years of age and considered
that his

> whole schooling experience was totally in the Australian
> context ... Even though the language of common ethnic
> origin was used by all the students from the migrant hostel
> when they started school, within a few weeks, English took
> over. It quickly became the medium of communication among
> children of the same ethnic background and even children
> from the same family group. Generally, they maintained
> their own language at home or speaking with elders but at
> peer group level, English expressions became dominant in a
> matter of weeks...
>
> The latter primary school years and secondary schooling
> were spent at Catholic Schools where the proportion of Polish
> students was very low. Polish language and history were
> maintained in the home and in Saturday morning classes but
> the schools had nothing. There was no opposition or derision
> to ethnic culture and values but very little recognition was
> given to Eastern European origins in the midst of an Anglo-
> Irish-Australian curriculum.
>
> The lack of ethnic support in the formal school setting
> was not only magnified but brought to the level of opposition
> in the peer group situation. There were many examples of
> derision and comment which were directed at migrant
> peculiarities and gave the impression that being different
> was wrong...
>
> The migrant label could never be eradicated but there
> was a tendency during school days, to try to minimise its
> reality. The personal stance during those primary and
> secondary school days was to try to adopt a position of
> anglo-conformism whereby any apparent differences were kept
> quiet and the behaviour was to fit in with the peer group
> mode.
>
> The home and the church were the only influences that
> tried to do the opposite. The parental attitude in the
> home was that English language and culture was all around
> us and we did not need to encourage it whereas Polish had
> to be given positive support. This meant that no English
> was allowed in the home except in the case of contact with
> people who could not speak the ethnic language. Saturday
> morning was set aside for studying the language formally
> in lessons that concentrated on the basics of reading,
> writing and history.

The church too did a little bit. Faithful allegiance to the Catholic Church has been a hallmark of Polish life throughout the centuries. Even though the parish was a strong Irish-Australian centre with an Irish parish priest at the head, the visit of the Polish chaplain to our country town once every two months allowed the local community to come together and strengthen ethnic ties. Even though the rest of the time there was strong adherence to the Australian parish, the sense of ethnic identity was preserved by this regular bi-monthly ritual in the Polish language...

Weight of study responsibilities as well as distance from centres of Polish culture (i.e. school groups and dancing groups based in Adelaide were too distant for regular involvement) meant that the Saturday study sessions faded. The basic language was maintained but the scope of historical and cultural development began to narrow...

After matriculation, the writer was accepted for a seminary where he began to study for the priesthood. The semi-monastic style of life meant that apart from the name, most other traces of Polishness were eradicated. The first thing to noticeably disappear was language. Enclosed in the seminary for nine months in the year and seeing the family group for a couple of hours a month did nothing for language retention. Even the holidays were mainly spent in part time work which brought the use of Polish down to a minimum. By the end of the second year of seminary study, the loss of fluency in the ethnic language was almost complete. It was hardly possible to construct a sentence without recourse to English words or phrases, let alone carry on a conversation which demanded breadth of vocabulary and grammatical experience.

The one saving feature was the beginning of language appreciation in the seminary. A couple of the seminary professors were keen on promoting a study of languages and had a lot to do with maintaining Italian, Greek and Latin studies for those who wanted to continue with them. They, on hearing about the difficulties of preserving Polish, became active in supporting me in trying to maintain what was already there. There was no possibility of introducing Polish into the curriculum as there was no other Polish student in the place but the family supplied good reading material and a short time was set aside once a week for personal study in the seminary. Through this, the basics of fluency in the language were preserved...

After ordination and reawakened contact with the Polish community, a return to some semblance of conversational Polish allowed for normal communication but still created problems in any type of formal speaking. To be able to offer mass was possible since only reading skills were required but in order to preach, wider cultural and language

capabilities were necessary. These slowly returned although genuine possibilities at literary Polish were limited.

In looking at that era it is difficult to assess the real factors that were at work in this cultural interaction. The writer's personal feelings would be towards bilingualism but the reality of the situation dictated that the ethnic language came almost to the point of extinction. Even after its resurgence, genuine bilingualism appeared absent. English remained the easiest medium for cultural life and contact. To go to a play or to read a book in Polish was never for leisure or pleasure, it was purely as a symbol and a way of maintaining one's ethnic position and stance...

To indicate that school had no part to play in deletion of a culture is an assertion that is difficult to accept. The seminary experience was not against culture and yet the environmental circumstances created by the institution were such that extraordinary means had to be taken to preserve the status quo. The fact that a semblance of language and culture was maintained could pinpoint that internal motivators play a significant part in final outcomes but they cannot be divorced from other influences and decisions which are part of the educational world. It does not mean that culture was consciously suppressed as happens in some totalitarian regimes but unconscious attitudes which on the surface are neutral, may indirectly give a sense of negativeness...

(c) Greek memoirs

We received quite a number of personal statements from diploma in education students of Greek origin. A number of their comments on the Greek language in Australia are given below. Though their accounts are not always as extended as the Polish and Latvian ones considered above, it is possible to isolate common themes and patterns. One girl, born in Greece, wrote:

When I came to Australia at the age of nine I found it very difficult to adjust to the primary school which was one of total Anglo-assimilation. I didn't have a good grounding in the Greek language and I didn't know a word of English. I felt uncomfortable, inferior and handicapped amongst the other children who knew their English so well. The only place I felt comfortable was the migrant English classes since the other children were new migrants as well. The other Greek children I knew went to Greek school on Saturdays. I also felt as if I didn't belong to their group and felt left out. The reason my parents did not want to send me to Greek school was because they wanted me to become familiar with the English language first which in their eyes was much more 'important' at that stage. I will always remember the culture conflict and discrimination I experienced at primary school.

At high school it was different, I had become competent with the English language and my Greek accent had disappeared.

I did not have any problems about not being accepted by the other students. Modern-Greek was introduced as part of the curriculum. Even though I could have chosen another language, I wanted to develop full literacy potential in the Greek language. This is because the Greek language constitutes the first major value for people of Greek origin. I was, however, not given the chance through my education to learn the Greek culture. My parents had taught me what I know but I have always felt that this was not adequate. I stress again the importance of multicultural education in both language and culture at both primary and secondary school...

Today I would most commonly identify myself as a Greek-Australian. I am proud to be Greek first and secondly Australian. The bicultural approach is very important to me since if there is a knowledge of and a feeling of both the Australian and the Greek cultures you don't feel alienated from the Australian community and from the Greek community.

Other respondents of Greek background were not fortunate enough to be able to study Greek as part of their secondary school curriculum. One Australian-born girl, an arts graduate, wrote:

Both my parents migrated to Australia from a coastal town in northeast Greece. Their level of schooling is not very high as neither had the opportunity to complete their primary school education. I was born in Adelaide and throughout my school years I attended state schools. It was only once I started school that I learnt the English language...

During my parents' first few years in Australia, they were sharing a house with other brothers and sisters until they could afford their own. The collectivist tradition and the extended family tradition was exercised very much in the same way as in Greece. I remember growing up in a house occupied by an uncle or an aunt who lived with us until they finished their studies or got married.

As I was the first born, Greek was the only language that I was initially exposed to but as the years progressed it became my second language. The influence of the school and the lack of facilities for the teaching of ethnic languages within the school curriculum resulted in the gradual decay of my use of my first language. My parents had always insisted we speak Greek at home and to our relatives but this became increasingly difficult to enforce. I began to speak English to my peers, my brother and sister and occasionally to my parents.

For six years I attended afternoon school but the fact that my Greek never reached a reasonably literary level is evidence of the standard of teaching provided by these schools. The students always spoke English amongst themselves; Greek being spoken to the 'teacher' only. We were situated in one big room, all the grades from one to

six arranged in rows. The teacher managed to spend approximately ten minutes with each grade, each individual reading a few lines from the text, and then tested on one line which was dictated to us by the teacher. The history and geography of Greece were never taught at these afternoon schools nor was Greek folklore. None of the students had any understanding of their ethnic culture, its values and traditions.

Greek was not offered as a subject at the school I was attending and consequently I did not have the opportunity to improve my Greek, which led to my gradual alienation from the Greek community. I have never joined a Greek club or organisation, nor has my brother or sister...

In my personal experience, my attitude towards learning my ethnic language was positive but because Greek was not offered at school, my parents sent me to an afternoon school in the hope that I would improve my Greek. Due to the inadequate standard of teaching available at the Greek afternoon school, the development of my ethnic language was very limited...

A basic value of the culture of the Greek people is that of language which is viewed as a central part of their self identity. A member of the Greek ethnic group is expected to speak Greek. Greeks therefore stress to their children the importance of learning their ethnic language and insist on it being used in the home. They also support efforts to teach the language outside the home, as is evident by the large number of Greek afternoon schools.

Nonetheless, despite these efforts by the Greek community, many second generation Greeks are unable to speak the language fluently. The reason for this is the ideology of the school system is representative only of the dominant cultural group. I was taught in the Anglo-Australian way and I knew the language at the expense of the Greek language which was left to gradually decay. Hence, communication with my parents was often problematic because of my difficulties with the ethnic language and the constant clashing of two cultural ideologies...

A big turning point in my life came when I deferred from my tertiary studies and travelled overseas. I stopped over in Greece and stayed for four months. It was there that I realised the sad state of my ethnic language and the lack of understanding I had of Greek culture. On my return to Australia I was adamant to develop my ethnic identity and enrolled in a college that was offering modern Greek. This is my second year at college. I am also a qualified Level 2 interpreter.

It is evident after tracing through some of my past experiences, that great changes have taken place in my attitudes vis-à-vis my ethnic identity. The fact that I lived in Greece and was exposed to a 'pure' Greek way of life helped me to realise the extent of cultural assimilation prevalent in Australian society.

In the opinion of another Australian-born girl of Greek-Cypriot background,

> It would be impossible for Greek culture to maintain itself without the values of language, the family as a dependent unit and the religion of the Greek Orthodox Church. A culture cannot be maintained on the basis of folk dancing, national costumes and national food... As a university graduate I have accepted English as the universal language of Australia, ... yet throughout my school career there was no transitional course to help adjust to English as a new language, and bilingualism was not considered valuable. If anything, trying to maintain and develop your native tongue and learn English at the same time was thought far too difficult and a hindrance to Anglo-Australian conformism...
>
> Many ethnic children have, like myself, been brought up to feel a conflict between being successful at Anglo-Australian school and retaining our ethnicity through our native tongue. The fear of losing my Greek culture heritage has been intensified by my parents, particularly now with the trend of mixed marriages. Their constant fear is that family relationships and ties of responsibility will break down with the loss of language. There is a fear and sorrow of not being able to communicate with a non-Greek daughter-in-law or son-in-law and subsequent grandchildren. With the loss of the Greek language so will other values such as the following of the Greek Orthodox religion be lost. The Greek language represents more than just a means of communication, it represents ties with the homeland which in turn provides a sense of really belonging.
>
> The above explains the constant attempt by most Greek parents to make their children attend Greek school. In the past this has not been successful in retaining the Greek language within the individual. This was due to insufficient and inefficient teachers who were usually friends of the family and not trained to teach children. The method of teaching and learning was based on two activities which were remote from real understanding. Firstly, rewriting slabs of the text book (which incidentally was the only teaching material available) into an exercise book perfecting your style of writing, and secondly, reading out aloud to the teacher. These lessons were conducted after school hours and viewed by children like myself as an extra burden. Expecially when time could be spent catching up on English homework, learning a musical instrument, or playing a sport like the Anglo-Australian children.
>
> It is only recently that other languages apart from the traditional 'academic' French and German have been introduced into schools up to matriculation level. This has enabled the status of ethnic languages to be lifted and considered by many students as subjects worthy of serious study.

A fourth respondent gave a rather different assessment of her primary schooling, and the usefulness of Greek ethnic school classes.

> Language, as a central value of our Greek culture, was transmitted to me from a very young age. Firstly, and most importantly, Greek was spoken with my parents in my home, with relatives and with family friends. However, this did not mean that English was banned in the home. As my parents owned a shop and we lived in a house behind the shop, I learnt English mainly through listening to customers and chatting away to them. Secondly the neighbourhood in the city in the late 1950s and early sixties, was predominantly Greek; those families who were not Greek, were Italian. There was therefore a network of Greek families with whom I spent much of my time; playing in their homes, playing in the street, walking to and from school. Greek, as the dominant language, was therefore reinforced in most aspects of my day.
>
> After the age of five, the importance of the Greek language was instilled and developed in me by my compulsory attendance at Greek school on two afternoons per week. The fact that my parents took the trouble to take me to and from Greek school and that I had to attend, implied that it was important and natural to learn my native language. Many people have criticised ethnic schools because of uneven and poor teaching; there are also claims that the curriculum is geared to religious or other sectarian interests within the ethnic community; that there is a high drop out rate and that in the end little appears to be learnt. Some people also feel that ethnic schools are harmful competitors for the child's time and attention. Some of these points may be true in varying degrees in different schools, but what the critics must realise is that it is an advantage and not a disadvantage for a child to be bilingual. In my own personal experience, in the absence of Greek language and culture lessons at primary school, the Greek school was my only formal contact with the Greek language.
>
> At the end of each year and on Greek national days such as the 25th March and the 28th October, school concerts were held. These were truly memorable events — standing on stage before a sea of beaming, proud parents we recited Greek poetry, sang songs, acted in short plays and danced in our colourful, national costumes. We were able to do these things, and do them well, because we were in the process of learning the language — through language we were able to become acquainted with Greek literature, traditions and our heritage.
>
> The Greek school had another important value, indirectly linked with language; through speaking, reading and writing the same language as our parents we forged a common bond and prevented the possible disintegration of family life. My feelings now are that since the community and my parents

undertook the responsibility for the transmission and development of the Greek language as part of my education, it is now my responsibility to retain my language as a core value to the best of my ability and to transmit and develop this concept in my own family...

At primary school, where 80% of the children were Greek, we were not discouraged from using Greek in the school yard. We were fortunate in that we had teachers and a headmaster who did not make us feel ashamed of using our language and living our culture. In fact, our Grade Seven teacher, who later became and still is headmaster of the school, asked us to teach him Greek. He practised his Greek with mothers who were only too willing and proud to help him; he also visited his pupils and made every effort to speak Greek in their homes. By learning our language he upheld its worth and instilled in us a pride in our language and culture. I even remember him sitting in the Greek school, which took place in one of the school's classrooms, helping the Greek teacher maintain order and discipline; woe betide any pupil who did not turn up for Greek school! However, at the same time, it was stressed to us how important it was to learn to speak, read and write English correctly and English lessons were a very important part of the curriculum. By giving the English and Greek language equal status and worth, by accepting his students and their backgrounds for what they were, this teacher helped eliminate any insecurities his students may have had. I can honestly say that in primary school I experienced no culture conflict, no prejudices, no racial injustices. Judging by other people's personal experiences and literature, this seems to be indeed a rare situation.

The transmission and development of the Greek language was not evident at high school. Although I attended a high school where the main emphasis was on the arts and especially languages, Greek was not introduced into the curriculum until year 11. The mere fact that French and German were in the curriculum and Greek was not, denigrated the language's worth. Even when the language was introduced in year 11, it did not have the same status as French and German and we were not particularly encouraged to take it up. The school therefore devalued, through neglect and then indifference, the language values that I had brought to the school with me.

The comments of a girl of Greek background who represented the *third* generation of Greek-Australians are also very pertinent in regard to language maintenance.

My primary, secondary and tertiary years have been spent in 'Anglo-conformist' schools. I never found great difficulty in 'fitting in' with these educational institutions and indeed with the Australian way of life in general, probably because I am a third generation Australian-born Greek... and used to regard my Greek background in a secondary light in comparison with my largely Australian

background. Consequently, although I now consider myself
as a bicultural individual, I am linguistically and
culturally impoverished with respect to my Greek back-
ground which I feel is largely due to the Australian
school system...

It is today that I wish the Australian school system
had not been so blind to the long-term benefits of multi-
cultural education. I do not feel that ethnic schools,
operating outside normal school hours can be totally
successful in attracting pupils and hence producing secure
bilingual and bicultural individuals, precisely because of
their physical set-up. During my primary school years my
mother urged me to attend Greek school, which was held
from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. on two nights a week after school.
However, being stubborn, (a very Greek trait!) I refused
to attend because these sessions were held outside normal
school hours, which not only made the subject matter seem
somehow inferior to the subjects studied in normal school
hours, but also because this would lengthen the school day
and decrease leisure time; namely it would be tedious!...

One of the reasons why I am today an 'insecure
bilingual' is that my parents did not consistently speak
Greek to me and my younger brother. The only real oppor-
tunity my brother and I had to practise our Greek was with
our two grandmothers (both of whom migrated to Australia
in the 1920s) and who only spoke Greek anyway. However, the
Greek my brother and I spoke to them was purely conversa-
tional and although our comprehension of the language was
and still is reasonably good, our spoken Greek is still
basically conversational. Hence, my brother and I are
living proof that the home environment is not enough for
the perpetuation of ethnic languages...

The important point which arises here in my opinion,
is, that if Greek linguistic and cultural education, had
been part of the normal school curriculum, (i.e. afforded
formal subject status along with mathematics, English, etc.
at both primary and secondary school levels), I would have
gladly studied this subject and would not have considered
my ethnic language and culture inferior.

CONCLUSIONS

These memoirs or personal statements illustrate the way the maintenance of
these particular cultures (Latvian, Polish and Greek) are seen by members of
the generation which has now reached young adulthood to be essentially linked
to the survival and development of their ethnic languages in Australia.
Although, when taken on their own, these represent the views of only a handful
of individuals, the figures from the larger scale surveys suggest that the
general opinions and assessments expressed by the memoir writers (those re-
corded in this paper and in our previous works (cf. Smolicz and Secombe 1981),
as well as those still unpublished and held in our files) are shared by a
considerable number of their ethnic peers who responded to the questionnaires.

Evaluations contained in such memoirs form an effective basis for describing the structure of the social milieu of their authors, and when taken in conjunction with data obtained from other sources cannot be discounted as the eccentric obsessions of a few ethnocentric individuals. Objective facts derived from the continued and accelerating press for an expansion of the teaching of community languages in schools are also in line with the attitudes revealed in the memoirs. Moreover, all of the memoir writers, and all the participants in the Greek-Australian survey, as well as many among the Latvian- and Polish-Australian respondents, were tertiary students within the mainstream society dominated by Anglo-Australian derived values.

One interesting difference that seems to emerge is that there is a greater level of satisfaction with the working of the ethnic school system and its effectiveness in teaching the ethnic language and culture among most of the Latvian-Australian respondents, than among those for the other two ethnic backgrounds. Most Polish- and Greek-Australian writers commented on the school's failure to recognise and teach them their home languages and cultures, and evaluated rather negatively the effectiveness of ethnic schools. Many expressed regret and disappointment that they did not have the opportunity to pursue studies in their home language and culture as part of the regular school curriculum. Without this sort of *formal* and 'mainstreamed' educational support for their home linguistic experience, they had been unable to achieve the level of literacy they desired in their ethnic language.

The enormous expansion of the teaching of English as a second language to people from other linguistic backgrounds, both at school and adult levels, as witnessed by the funding of both the Commonwealth Schools Commission, and the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs of its Adult Migrant Education Project (1983-84) shows that English in Australia is already accepted as a shared language and an overarching value (Smolicz 1984b). Marjoribanks' 1980 empirical studies also show the support of minority parents for this development. What has not yet perhaps been grasped by the dominant group is that this must be understood in relation to the coexistence of such a shared language with other community languages of ethnic minorities. Such coexistence is essential since, if these other languages were to atrophy, the cultures concerned would also crumble, leaving behind a residue which would not lead to cohesion but to resentment at the implied state of inferiority of minority group members. This feeling of resentment at the past neglect and devaluation is one of the most striking characteristics expressed by many of our memoir writers.

In his recent book on the growth and decay of languages, Stevenson (1983:127) comments on the bilingual (and often trilingual) abilities of the speakers of Scandinavian languages, which are small in size and scattered over a large area yet 'show no signs of withering'. In this connection he states an important principle that,

> Languages tend to come under threat when the destinies
> of their speakers are taken over by others, as happened
> to the once widespread Celtic tongues.

With the precarious fates of Scottish and Irish Gaelic in mind (as well as the extinction of the Celtic tongues of Cornwall, and the Isle of Man), non-English language communities in Australia must be on their guard to see that their linguistic rights are protected and that their 'destinies ... are not taken over by others'. In contrast to the fate suffered by the Celts, the history of the Scandinavian peoples has been 'of their own making'.

In a multicultural society the various ethnic communities must take account of one another's cultural values and social aspirations. It is only the denial of diversity that breeds separatism and undermines cohesion. In particular it should be accepted that bilingualism (or even multilingualism) of individuals and linguistic pluralism in the state are perfectly compatible with the development of a stable Australian society. The application of this principle to educational policy is to be found in the report of the South Australian Ministerial Task Force on Multiculturalism and Education (1984) and, in particular, its recommendation that two languages (English, plus one other, foreign or community) 'should be part of the education of all students from reception to year 12'.

Table 1: Respondents' assessment of their culture's core values

(All percentages rounded to nearest whole number)

Aspect of culture	Assessment of importance	Polish-Australian (N = 73)		Latvian-Australian (N = 75)		Greek-Australian (N = 102)		Dip.Ed. students (non-English speaking background) (N = 42)		Dip.Ed. students (English-speaking background) (N = 74)		Ethnic school organisations (N = 223)	
		Rank order	%	Rank order	%	Rank order	%	Rank order	%	Rank order	%	Rank order	%
Language: Speaking	Vitally important Important Not important	1	69 30 1	1	91 9 0	1	81 18 1	1	62 36 2	1	54 43 3	1	86 14 0
Reading and writing	Vitally important Important Not important	3	45 46 9	2	71 29 0	5	46 52 3	11	35 58 7	2	52 41 7	2	79 20 1
Literature	Vitally important Important Not important	11	28 42 30	13	34 58 8	15	27 54 20	16	23 62 5	8	37 58 5	10	43 47 10
Knowledge/ appreciation of: History of ethnic group	Vitally important Important Not important	9	34 65 1	9	51 45 4	11	39 56 5	7	43 40 17	7	38 54 8	12	42 50 8
Geography of home country	Vitally important Important Not important	16	22 73 6	14	33 59 8	17	24 65 11	9	38 50 12	13	29 54 17	16	32 54 14
Love of homeland	Vitally important Important Not important	4	43 47 10	6	61 31 8	10	40 45 15	17	22 56 22	10	34 45 21	14	36 53 12
Contribution of ethnic culture	Vitally important Important Not important	8	37 51 13	14	32 60 8	13	34 63 3	4	47 42 11	14	25 59 16	8	48 40 12
Customs, celebrations	Vitally important Important Not important	7	40 56 4	7	59 37 4	3	48 50 3	14	24 73 2	15	21 56 23	13	38 55 7

Table 1 (continued)

Aspect of culture	Assessment of importance	Polish-Australian (N = 73)		Latvian-Australian (N = 75)		Greek-Australian (N = 102)		Dip.Ed. students (non-English speaking background) (N = 42)		Dip.Ed. students (English-speaking background) (N = 74)		Ethnic school organisations (N = 223)	
		Rank order	%	Rank order	%	Rank order	%	Rank order	%	Rank order	%	Rank order	%
Religion: Doctrine	Vitally important	18	19	20	23	19	19	18	18	16	6	17	31*
	Important		45		41		58		39		31		55
	Not important		36		37		22		43		63		14
Liturgy and ceremonies	Vitally important	11	28	18	10	18	23	20	14	16	6	—	n/a
	Important		60		56		59		50		20		
	Not important		12		34		18		36		74		
Laws and rules	Vitally important	22	12	21	11	22	9	22	6	19	3	—	n/a
	Important		43		24		38		23		7		
	Not important		46		65		53		71		90		
Folklore: Songs and music	Vitally important	10	30	3	66	5	46	13	31	11	34	10	43
	Important		70		32		52		59		52		52
	Not important		0		1		2		10		14		5
National dances	Vitally important	14	26	4	65	7	44	14	24	17	18	14	36
	Important		70		35		53		52		49		53
	Not important		4		0		3		24		32		11
Traditional arts and crafts	Vitally important	15	23	8	56	14	33	10	36	17	18	18	28
	Important		68		40		55		51		49		52
	Not important		9		4		12		13		32		20
Social relations: Respect for the aged	Vitally important	19	17	19	26	12	37	8	41	12	33	6	56
	Important		67		60		55		49		54		40
	Not important		16		14		8		10		13		4
Close family ties	Vitally important	2	46	12	44	2	51	2	51	6	40	3	65
	Important		51		51		43		44		40		31
	Not important		3		6		6		5		20		5

* For this group of respondents, Religion was presented as a general category and not broken down further into the three components listed here.

Table 1 (continued)

Aspect of culture	Assessment of importance	Polish-Australian (N = 73)		Latvian-Australian (N = 75)		Greek-Australian (N = 102)		Dip.Ed. students (non-English speaking background) (N = 42)		Dip.Ed. students (English-speaking background) (N = 74)		Ethnic group organisations (N = 223)	
		Rank order	%	Rank order	%	Rank order	%	Rank order	%	Rank order	%	Rank order	%
Friends from own ethnic group	Vitally important	5	41	4	65	16	24	19	15	16	20	9	46
	Important		50		33		62		45		33		48
	Not important		9		1		14		40		47		6
Marrying within own ethnic group	Vitally important	21	14	11	47	21	15	20	14	18	5	19	24
	Important		41		37		49		8		10		32
	Not important		46		16		36		78		85		44
Communication with family and ethnic community	Vitally important	5	41	10	49	4	47	6	45	9	36	3	65
	Important		54		51		53		50		52		30
	Not important		4		0		1		5		12		5
Living in multicultural Australia: Helping fellow ethnics settle	Vitally important	17	20	17	30	9	43	3	48	4	42	5	57
	Important		68		60		51		48		40		36
	Not important		12		10		6		4		18		8
Teaching other ethnics your language	Vitally important	20	16	21	11	20	18	12	34	3	43	20	18
	Important		39		41		44		34		38		45
	Not important		45		49		38		32		19		37
Contributing to multi-cultural Australia	Vitally important	11	28	16	31	7	44	5	46	4	42	7	49
	Important		51		53		49		41		42		47
	Not important		21		16		7		13		16		4

Table 2: Patterns of language usage				
(All figures expressed as percentages rounded to nearest whole number)				
		RESPONDENTS		
Language used to	Language used	Polish-Australian (N = 73)	Latvian-Australian (N = 75)	Greek-Australian (N = 102)
Grandparents	only ethnic	51	84	54
	mainly ethnic	15	8	7
	mainly English	0	1	4
	only English	4	0	2
	n/a	30	7	33
Mother	only ethnic	47	52	36
	mainly ethnic	26	40	42
	mainly English	12	8	12
	only English	9	0	9
	n/a	6	0	1
Father	only ethnic	45	60	31
	mainly ethnic	27	33	35
	mainly English	6	4	17
	only English	13	0	10
	n/a	9	3	7
Older relatives	only ethnic	45	39	12
	mainly ethnic	41	55	51
	mainly English	11	7	30
	only English	3	0	7
	n/a	0	0	0
Siblings	only ethnic	24	12	1
	mainly ethnic	6	49	7
	mainly English	36	33	69
	only English	25	4	23
	n/a	9	1	0
Friends	only ethnic	40	3	1
	mainly ethnic	14	24	8
	mainly English	36	64	72
	only English	11	7	19
	n/a	0	3	0

Table 3: Self-assessment of ability in home language

(All figures expressed as percentages rounded to nearest whole number)

Language skills	Assessment of ability	Ethnic group		
		Polish-Australian (N = 73)	Latvian-Australian (N = 75)	Greek-Australian (N = 102)
Understanding and speaking	very good	48	51	33
	good	21	32	31
	fairly good	22	16	24
	a little	10	1	9
	none at all	0	0	3
Reading and writing	very good	44	32	20
	good	16	43	31
	fairly good	18	23	23
	a little	18	3	19
	none at all	4	0	8

Table 4: Attendance at ethnic school

(All figures expressed as percentages rounded to nearest whole number)

Ethnic school attendance	RESPONDENTS		
	Polish-Australian (N = 73)	Latvian-Australian (N = 75)	Greek-Australian (N = 102)
never	42	5	11
< 1 year	0	0	7
1-2 years	6	1	12
2-3 years	10	3	5
4+ years	42	91	66

THE ROLE OF MIXED MARRIAGES IN LANGUAGE SHIFT
IN THE DUTCH COMMUNITIES

Anne Pauwels

1. EXOGAMY (MIXED MARRIAGE) AND LANGUAGE RESEARCH

For many years the phenomenon of exogamy has been considered of interest mainly
to sociologists and demographers. More recently, sociolinguistic attention has
been drawn to the linguistic effects of, and consequences resulting from, a
mixed marriage. Are both languages maintained and passed on to the next gen-
eration? Are the languages used alternately or are they assigned to specific
domains? Which factors influence the decision as to which language is to be
maintained? These are only a few examples of questions involved in this kind
of research. Here[1] I shall be concerned mainly with the topic of exogamy in
its relation to language retention and shift in a migration context.

2. EXOGAMY AND LANGUAGE RETENTION IN AUSTRALIA

In an immigration context, exogamy refers to a marriage where the partners stem
from different ethnic rather than religious backgrounds. Also relevant to a
sociolinguistic investigation in Australia is the distinction between marriages
in which both sides come from an ethnolinguistic background different from that
of the indigenous population and/or that of the longest established settler
group, and marriages in which one partner is a member of the latter group.

Price and Zubrzycki (1963) and Johnston (1965) have pointed out that inter-
marriage patterns[2] (i.e. between Anglo-Australians and non-English-speaking
immigrants) can be regarded as useful indices for assimilation but not for
integration: they are the expression of an eagerness and willingness to become
part of the new society but do not guarantee a sense of integration into that
society.

Until recently, it was considered a foregone conclusion that exogamy would
impair language maintenance, a fact which led to its being ignored. This was
also the result of the study of language maintenance relying heavily on the
theoretical guidelines in Kloss (1966) and Clyne (1976). Kloss (1966) divides
his factors (demographic, sociocultural, linguistic, etc.) into those clearly
promoting language maintenance[3] (LM) and those with an ambivalent character.
Clyne (1976) applies Kloss' categories to the Australian context and finds
that very few of Kloss' LM promoting factors are operative in Australia. He
did, however, discover that two factors not mentioned by Kloss are clearly

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favourable to LM in Australia: the status and usefulness of the ethnic language in education and world-wide communication, and the presence of overseas relatives having little or no knowledge of English. Ambivalent factors in the Australian context are similar to those in the German-American context, e.g. the educational level of the immigrant, numerical strength of the immigrant group, similarity to the dominant group, prior knowledge of English, political situation in the home country, ethnic denominations, number of children in the family, attitude of the majority to the ethnic language and group as well as sociocultural characteristics.

Thanks to Clyne's cross-tabulations of the language material contained in the 1976 Australian Census (Clyne 1982), far more prominence has been given to the effect of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic marriages on the language use patterns in the second generation.

The following tables establish that inter-ethnic marriages involving either partners of different non-Anglo-Australian backgrounds or one Anglo-Australian and one non-Anglo-Australian partner, have a negative effect on LM in the second generation, so much as that they can be regarded as clearly promoting language shifts (LS).

Table 1: Percentage of language shift in the second generation children of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic (involving an Anglo-Australian partner) marriages.		
Country	Intra-ethnic	Inter-ethnic
Germany	62.28	96.16
Greece	10.08	68.40
Italy	18.56	78.51
Malta	53.68	94.58
Netherlands	80.79	99.09

Source: Clyne (1982:43, 50)

Table 2: Percentage of language shift in the second generation of some inter-ethnic marriages.			
Father's language	% LS	Mother's language	% LS
Italian	49.2	Greek	53.3
Greek	75.4	Italian	62.0
Italian	83.2	German	88.4
German	89.7	Italian	83.1
German	94.3	Dutch	91.9
Dutch	92.2	German	91.3
Italian	89.7	Dutch	95.9
Dutch	100.0	Italian	95.6
Greek	76.0	Dutch	96.0
Dutch	100.0	Greek	75.6
Maltese	92.6	Dutch	95.6
Dutch	90.7	Maltese	94.2

Source: adapted from Clyne (1982:54)

Table 3: Percentages of language shift in the second generation of marriages between an Anglo-Australian and another ethnic partner.		
Birthplace of non-Anglo-Australian partner	Language shift from father's language	Language shift from mother's language
Germany	96.42	95.64
Greece	71.63	48.41
Italy	79.71	70.48
Malta	94.55	94.64
Netherlands	99.28	98.70

Source: Clyne (1982:51)

The previous statistics show that inter-ethnic marriages accelerate LS in the second generation considerably. Table 3 also shows that, if the father's language is the ethnic language in a marriage with one Anglo-Australian partner, the shift rate on the whole is slightly higher than if the mother's language is the ethnic language. The picture is less clear-cut in the case of an inter-ethnic marriage between two non-Australian partners.

3. AIM OF THE INVESTIGATION

It is my intention to investigate the effect the marriage situation, i.e. Dutch-Dutch (G1), Dutch-Anglo-Australian (G2) and Dutch-other-non-Anglo-Australian (G3) can have on the Dutch language use patterns as well as those of their children. This will be done through a comparison of the language use patterns of three different groups (G1, G2, G3) of Dutch immigrants in Australia.

The following aspects will be examined:

— Is there a systematic difference in LM rate among the three groups?

— Which domains (areas of language use) are greatly affected by the marriage situation and which domains are not?

— Are there sex- or age-related differences?

— Are there significant differences with regard to LS in the second generation due to the marital situation of the parents?

4. LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE SHIFT AS A FIELD OF STUDY — SOME TERMINOLOGICAL CLARIFICATIONS

This investigation is couched in the terminology of the sociology of language as outlined by Fishman (1964) and will therefore adopt the concepts associated with this field of study. Its main concern is to locate bilingualism and to determine the degree of language maintenance or shift in relation to the demographic factor of 'marital situation'.

BILINGUALISM is taken to mean the alternate use of two languages regardless of proficiency rate in either language (Weinreich 1953:1).

By LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE is meant the retention of Ll (the immigrant's first language) in one or more spheres of usage (domains, see below), either together with L2 (here, English) or instead of it. LANGUAGE SHIFT, conversely, is used to indicate the process by which Ll is (gradually) replaced by L2 in all spheres of usage.

Crucial to locating bilingualism and establishing the degree of LM or LS is the concept of DOMAIN which is generally taken to indicate 'an institutionalised context, sphere of activity or a set of interactions for which implicit rules of appropriate behaviour exist' (Fishman et al.(1971:136)). The main elements that make up a domain include interlocutors, their roles and relationships, locales and situations. The question regarding the number of distinguishable domains resulted in various enumerations. The best guidelines are probably provided by Fishman et al. (1971) who point out that the number and the labelling of domains should be determined empirically for any speech community. In their own research, they tend to employ five: family, friendship (neighbourhood), religion, education and employment. The Dutch-Australian context justifies the distinction of five domains in which some form of bilingualism can be found. These include the domain of (extended) FAMILY, the FRIENDSHIP domain, the domain of ETHNIC ORGANISATIONS, the domain of CHURCH and that of EMPLOYMENT. Other domains such as government services, courts, the military and education are exclusive English language domains.

DEGREE OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE will be measured mainly in terms of the amount of Ll use in the specified bilingual domains. If a domain records less than 50% of Ll, it will be regarded as one subject to language shift.

5. INVESTIGATION

5.1. The Dutch community in Australia

According to the 1981 Census, there were around 98,890 Dutch-born living in Australia. This makes the Dutch the fourth largest non-English-speaking group in Australia. Most Dutch immigrants arrived in Australia between 1950 and 1965 and could probably be described as migrants seeking better economic or social conditions for themselves and their children.

The Dutch did not differ greatly from other migrant groups in their choice of settlement areas: New South Wales and Victoria received the lion's share. They did, however, distinguish themselves from many other nationalities in their pattern of metropolitan settlement. The Dutch not only favoured living in the outer suburbs but were also able to bypass the inner suburbs.[4] Map 1 illustrates this settlement pattern for Melbourne.

A sociodemographic profile of the Dutch immigrants in Australia reveals the following: most of them had had primary schooling, were skilled workers or housewives, had had little knowledge of English prior to arrival in Australia. Although there is a substantial stream of Protestants (*Gereformeerden*[5] and *Hervormden*[6]) of Dutch origin in Australia, most Dutch immigrants in Australia are Roman Catholic.

Dutch community life embraces many aspects: social welfare organisations catering for the elderly and newly arrived migrant, social and recreational clubs concentrating on the perpetuation of Dutch traditions and customs, especially *gezelligheid* (social togetherness). The Dutch have never really expressed great concern about the maintenance of their language and have left

Based on ABS 1976

Whittlesea

Bulla

Eltham

Healesville

Melton

Diamond
Valley

Broad
meadows

Keilor

6

9

Lilydale

5

7

10

Sunshine

8

11

23

Melb.

12

Croydon

4

13

22

2

14

16

20

Altona

1

15

21

Knox

3

17

18

Sherbrooke

Werribee

St Kilda

19

Brighton

24

25

Sandringham

26

Berwick

27

Pakenham

Mordialloc

Springvale

Chelsea

Cranbourne

Frankston

Mornington

Hastings

Flinders

1 South Melbourne
2 Port Melbourne
3 Williamstown
4 Footscray
5 Essendon
6 Coburg
7 Brunswick
8 Northcote
9 Preston
10 Heidelberg
11 Fitzroy
12 Collingwood
13 Kew
14 Richmond
15 Hawthorn
16 Camberwell
17 Prahran

18 Malvern
19 Caulfield
20 Box Hill
21 Nunawading
22 Ringwood
23 DoncasterTemplestowe
24 Waverley
25 Oakleigh
26 Moorabbin
27 Dandenong

0   10   20

Kilometres

MAP 1: AREAS IN MELBOURNE WITH A HIGH CONCENTRATION OF DUTCH-BORN

the teaching of Dutch up to the state education system rather than establish their own ethnic schools. They do, however, have access to Dutch language broadcasting on both radio and television. There are also several weeklies and bulletins published in Dutch or in a mixture of Dutch and English. Although most Dutch Catholics have joined an Australian Roman Catholic Church, churches in the major cities in Australia provide occasional services in the Dutch language. Dutch-language services are also provided for the *Hervormden* and the Reformed Church of Australia.

5.2. Informants: sampling procedures and description

5.2.1. Sampling

The investigation was conducted among Dutch-born post-war (1945) migrants in Melbourne and elsewhere in Victoria, Australia. The concentration on the Dutch language was partly a function of the researcher's native language (Dutch), but was also prompted by the fact that relatively few papers and studies have been devoted to Dutch, the mother tongue of approximately 98,890 immigrants in Australia.

Since Australian population records do not provide information on marriage patterns[7] with regard to nationality of the partners, several other sources were used to obtain names of potential informants. Through the help of Dutch chaplains, secretaries of Dutch ethnic clubs and societies, the Dutch immigration office and advertisements in local and ethnic newspapers, 250 potential interview candidates were found.

5.2.2. Description of the informants

All 250 informants were born in the Netherlands (Frisians[8] were excluded) and had migrated to Australia between 1950 and 1970. 180 had come to Australia as adults (18 years and over) and 70 as children. There were 127 women and 123 men. 100 were married to another Dutch-born person (G1), 97 had intermarried with Anglo-Australians and the others were married to immigrants of other ethnic backgrounds (Italian, German, Yugoslav, Danish, Polish, Latvian, Swedish).

It was decided there should be 20 informants in each group with an equal balance of the sexes: ten males and ten females per group. The 60 informants were selected from among the candidates at random:

Sample:

     G1: involving two Dutch-born partners ——— ten males
                                                         ten females

     G2: involving one Dutch and one Anglo-
         Australian partner ——— ten males
                                                   ten females

     G3: involving one Dutch and one non-
         Anglo-Australian partner ——— ten males
                                                   ten females

In group 3 (G3), three Dutch males and two females were married to Yugoslavs, one Dutch female was married to a Danish immigrant and one Dutch male to a Swedish-born female, four Dutch men and two Dutch women had married Italian-born spouses, two Dutch-born women had Polish husbands, two Dutch men had German-speaking wives (Austrian and German) and two Dutch females had married Germans. One Dutch woman had a Latvian husband.

The distribution of age was well balanced in the three groups: most informants belonged to the age group 35-50 years. The 65 years and above informants and the under 35 informants were least represented in all three groups:

Table 4: Age distribution of the informants					
Group	Total	20-34	35-50	51-65	65+
G1	20	1	11	5	3
G2	20	2	10	6	2
G3	20	1	12	5	2

The selected sample appeared to be representative of the Dutch population in Australia with regard to occupational status, educational status and length of residence in Australia. Most male informants worked as skilled tradesmen (often owning a small business) or in intermediate (floor) managerial positions (38). 85% of the female informants were housewives. Many informants (58%), both male and female, had had some form of secondary schooling. 20% (more women than men) had only received primary education and about 22% had finished high school and/ or attended some form of tertiary institution. 56% of the informants arrived in Australia between 1950 and 1956 and the rest between 1956 and 1960 (19%) or after 1960. These figures reflect the official statistics: the peak years of permanent and long term arrival of people from the Netherlands were 1950-1951 with 16,832, 1952-1953 with 13,996 and 1955-1956 with 14,126 immigrants. There was a marked decrease after 1960.

5.3. Data collection and processing

The data in this investigation were collected by means of a language use questionnaire personally administered to the informants in an interview. Habitual language use patterns of the respondents were examined through a fixed set of questions. The questions were formulated in terms of interlocutors typical for the different domains. The informants were asked to reply what language(s) they used when speaking with the indicated interlocutor. If two languages were used alternately to the same interlocutor, the informant was asked to specify which language he/she used more often, e.g.

What language do you use when talking to your spouse?

1. English   2. Dutch   3. Other: which _____

Could you indicate which language you use more often?

1. English   2. Dutch   3. Other

After each question the interviewer asked if the informant could give a reason for this choice of language.

The questions chosen to elicit data were based on the description of similar
questionnaires used by Fishman (1964) and Gilbert (1970). The interviewer asked
the questions in the language preferred by the informants, i.e. Dutch or English.
All informants were interviewed separately.

5.4.   Dutch language use patterns in groups 1, 2 and 3 — presentation, analysis
       and interpretation of data

5.4.1. Differences in Dutch language use patterns due to the marital situation

Table 5: Overall use (active) of the Dutch language by Dutch-born informants and their children in all groups (%)		
Group	Informants	Children
G1	62.4	29.0
G2	35.7	0.0
G3	35.6	10.0

Table 6: Overall use of the Dutch language by Dutch-born females and males in the groups (%)		
Group	Male	Female
G1	58.7	66.2
G2	30.0	41.5
G3	33.7	37.5

Table 7: Proportion of Dutch used to various interlocutors by the Dutch-born informants in the three groups						
Spouse	Children	Parents	Relatives	Friends	Others	
2	4	2	3	4	2	(Group 1)
2	4	4	4	4	2	(Group 2)
4	4	4	4	4	2	(Group 3)

Code: 1 Dutch only   4 more English than Dutch
        2 more Dutch than English   5 English only
        3 Dutch equals English

	Group 1			Group 2			Group 3		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Spouse	90	90	90	20	20	20	0	30	15
Children	30	50	40	0	20	10	0	10	5
Parents	100	100	100	100	100	100	90	100	95
Relatives	70	70	70	40	60	50	40	60	50
Friends	60	80	70	40	60	50	50	60	55
Church contacts	50	60	55	0	20	10	0	0	0
Club contacts	70	60	65	30	20	25	60	30	45
Work contacts	10	10	10	10	0	5	30	10	25

Table 8: Dutch language use of Dutch-born females and males to various interlocutors (%)

Tables 5, 6, 7 and 8 show that the marriage situation in fact influences the language use patterns of the Dutch-born informants. Marrying outside the Dutch group reduces LM to approximately half that in the case of intra-ethnic marriages. In this sample the differences between G2 and G3 marriages are negligible.

Combining the findings from tables 7 and 8, we can see that not only do more informants belonging to G1 use Dutch to more interlocutors, but those that use Dutch in this group use it more than the informants in G2 and G3. Table 8 furthermore reveals that Dutch language use is drastically reduced by the marriage situation with respect to the nuclear family (spouse and children). It is also reduced in other domains though not as drastically as in the latter.

5.4.1.1. Domain analysis

Five domains: family, friendship, (ethnic) church, work and ethnic organisations were selected as potential bilingual domains. The family domain was interpreted as including the nucleus (spouse, children) as well as parents (living in Australia) and relatives (brothers, sisters, etc. living in Australia).

DOMAIN: NUCLEAR FAMILY   INTERLOCUTORS: SPOUSE, CHILDREN

Group 1

18 informants in G1 reported that they still used Dutch in conversation with their spouse (usually more Dutch than English). Principal reasons given for using Dutch with the spouses were *gezelligheid*, secrecy and habit:

a. *gezelligheid*

Dutch people have their own distinctive way of socialising with Dutch friends and relatives. They engage in a particular sort of small talk which is automatically linked with a cup of coffee or tea. The concept of *gezelligheid* (social togetherness) is also used as a complex symbol to refer to a mixture of feelings concerning the situation of the Dutch in Australia. Dutch migrants tend to indicate their dissatisfaction with particular aspects of Australian life with the absence of *gezelligheid*.

b. Secrecy/habit

For some informants Dutch was mainly used to secure private conversations between the spouses. Others retreated to the more vague explanation of 'a matter of habit'.

c. Reasons connected with *language loyalty*, cultural heritage or an emotional attachment to the language were given only as secondary reasons.

Very few of the Gl informants who spoke Dutch to the children (not always receiving or expecting to receive from them a Dutch reply) did so out of a conscious effort to maintain the Dutch language. The use of Dutch to the children was mainly a result of the informants' habit of speaking (some) Dutch with their spouse or with Dutch-speaking parents living in the house. The presence of the latter had a great impact on the children's use of Dutch. Children were far more willing to communicate in Dutch with their grandparents, whom they did not expect to have any great proficiency in English, than with their parents. Most informants in group 1 had started out by speaking Dutch to their young children, and had gradually shifted, willingly or unwillingly, to the exclusive or, at least, dominant use of English in communcation with their offspring. This is a phenomenon typical of many immigrant families. (Haugen 1953, Bettoni 1981, Clyne 1977b, Pauwels 1980 and others). The move towards more use of English is usually instigated by the child when coming into contact with the L2-speaking world through school and playmates. Sometimes outsiders (teachers, chaplains, social workers) would advise parents to switch to the use of English in the family to alleviate linguistic and assimilation difficulties for their children. In the case of some parents, the children were regarded as useful sources of parental English language learning. Most informants of Gl were quite pleased if their children understood Dutch and did not usually insist on active command of Dutch. If parents in group 1 used Dutch to their children, its use was low, i.e. much more English than Dutch was spoken to them. They avoided using Dutch to their children in public or if English-speaking friends were around. Dutch language use usually increased temporarily before a planned visit to the Netherlands or from Dutch-speaking overseas relatives to Australia.

Group 2

Since the use of Dutch to either spouse or children was extremely rare in this group, informants usually gave reasons why they did not speak Dutch with either spouse or children. Some frequently recurring reasons given were:

a. *The non-Dutch background* of the other partner and children and therefore their assumed lack of interest in Dutch culture and language. Interestingly enough, this view was not shared by some of the Australian wives. Three Australian wives had undertaken serious attempts to learn the Dutch language, so that their understanding of it could facilitate a bilingual upbringing of the children.

b. *The linguistic obstacle*[9] of using two languages in the family. Most Dutch spouses were not keen on the introduction of bilingualism since it would put too much pressure on family relations and would not be worth the effort.

c. *Personal rejection of the mother tongue* caused by various factors. If the informant's emigration from the Netherlands was prompted by negative feelings towards any aspect of his/her home country, the rejection of his/her mother tongue might be a result. Experience might have taught the migrant that monolingual Australians are more inclined to accept L2 (English)-speaking migrants. Some Australian males were found to be outspoken opponents to the idea of the maintenance of Dutch in Australia (Pauwels 1980).

Two Dutch females in this group, one of whom was a kindergarten teacher and the other a university student of Dutch, tried to pass on some Dutch to their pre-school and primary school children by teaching them Dutch songs and phrases or occasionally using Dutch baby-talk and Dutch nursery rhymes to their babies. This sort of Dutch language use was very restricted: the children neither under-stood nor could they use Dutch phrases and expressions other than the ones they had learned.

Group 3

Dutch language use patterns in an inter-ethnic marriage involving a partner from another non-Anglo-Australian background, were very similar to those found in G2. Three women used Dutch to their Danish, Polish and Yugoslav partner respectively. The Danish husband had studied Dutch at university level and had also spent some time in the Netherlands. The main language used in the Danish-Dutch household was, however, English. The Yugoslav spouse had worked as a guest worker in the Netherlands and the Polish husband had spent some time there as a refugee before migrating to Australia. The wives of the Polish and Yugoslav husbands only spoke Dutch with them in the company of Dutch-speaking monolinguals (e.g. parents, overseas visitors) or in the company of very good Dutch (elderly) friends; otherwise they spoke English. In the Danish-Dutch household Dutch was used more often as the wife tried to pass on some Dutch to the children. (The latter were also introduced to some Danish by the husband).

In most other G3 marriages, English was the only means of communication between husband and wife as well as between the informants and their children. With the exception of the German-Dutch marriages, none of the informants had attempted to learn their partner's language. The same was true of their spouses. Due to the linguistic similarity between German and Dutch, partners could usually understand each other's language. In the case of two German-Dutch and two Dutch-Italian marriages, the other ethnic language, i.e. German, Italian, was passed on to the children. The maintenance of Italian was taken very seriously; the children attended Italian language classes both at school and after school. Its use in the nuclear family was limited but was necessary in communication with the Italian grandparents.

Although the example is too small to suggest the existence of a hierarchy of languages with regard to language maintenance, the present findings, especially in relation to the Italian-Dutch marriage, seem to confirm Clyne's statement:

> In the family of an inter-ethnic marriage, Italian seems
> to survive most ... and, if the father's language is
> Italian or Greek, that CLOTE[10] is maintained the most,
> regardless of which is the other language. (Clyne 1982:53)

DOMAIN: EXTENDED FAMILY   INTERLOCUTORS: PARENTS, RELATIVES

Table 8 indicates that the interlocutor group 'parents' recorded most incidences
of Dutch language use. It also reveals that the marriage situation has little
effect on language use with either parents or relatives. Table 7, however,
shows the proportion of Dutch used to relatives and parents to be higher in the
Dutch-Dutch group (G1) than in the other groups.

Reasons given for the use of Dutch to parents were very similar in all three
groups: speaking Dutch to parents was usually inspired by feelings of respect
for their language habits, as well as by the consideration that it was easier
for the parents to communicate in Dutch. G2 and G3 informants communicated in
Dutch with their parents in the absence of non-Dutch-speaking interlocutors,
i.e. when visiting the parents in their home, when alone with them, etc. G1
informants did not in any way restrict their Dutch language use to parents.
Their use of Dutch was neither topic nor locale bound. Some even communicated
with them exclusively in Dutch.

Parents, grandparents, elderly migrants and persons with a limited knowledge
of L2 (English), are generally regarded as L1 interlocutors *'par excellence'*.
More recent research has also established that migrants who migrated later in
life (40 years and over) revert to a L1-speaking world once they have retired
from the work force or the pressures of assimilation have eased (Clyne 1982).
Linguistically they might experience a deterioration in their English and
regress 'to an earlier, pidginized phase of second language acquisition'
(Clyne 1982:59). It would be interesting to follow up the difficulties mixed
marriage partners could face when entering that period in life.

With regard to Dutch language use to relatives, marriage situation is not the
decisive factor, but rather the age group to which the relatives belong. The
language used in communication with brothers, sisters, cousins belong to the
same age group as the informants (or a younger one, in the case of informants
over 50) would be predominantly English. Uncles, aunts and those relatives
who are of the same generation as the informants' parents, would generally be
spoken to in Dutch.

DOMAIN: FRIENDSHIP

Exogamy had only a small effect on Dutch language use with Dutch-speaking
friends. G1 informants, however, had (expectedly) more Dutch friendship con-
tacts than either G2 or G3 informants. Although the proportion of Dutch used
in all three groups was roughly the same, the all-Dutch environment created
by a Dutch-Dutch marriage led more easily to the establishment of *gezelligheid*
and the use of Dutch. G2 and G3 informants usually imposed more restrictions
(mostly locale) on their use of Dutch, probably a result of their constant
exposure to another language.

DOMAIN: CHURCH

Affiliation with an ethnic church or parish can be a LM promoting factor,
especially if the church adopts a pluralist view.[11]

REFORMED CHURCH

None of the G3 informants attended Dutch language services as a member of the Reformed Church. Only two female informants in G2 attended English language services of the Reformed Church. They did, however, speak some Dutch during their occasional attendance of a Ladies' Guild meeting. The language of these meetings was usually Dutch as they were attended by many elderly Dutch women. In the Dutch-Dutch marriage group (Gl), six informants (four females and two males) regularly attended services in the Reformed Church and used Dutch with either the pastor or with fellow members.

Although the Reformed Church is far from being an institution promoting language maintenance as it does not view itself as an ethnic church, i.e. catering mainly for immigrants, it still draws the majority of its members from the Dutch ethnic group as its doctrine and teaching are deeply rooted in a Dutch tradition. For many Dutch, especially in country areas, the Reformed Church was their first and only contact in Australia. Without the intention of preserving the Dutch language, they did in fact maintain the language more because most people they associated with were Dutch, and members of the same church.

HERVORMDEN AND ROMAN CATHOLICS

Some Gl informants went to occasional Dutch language services held by the migrant chaplain of the *Hervormden* or the Roman Catholic Church.

The marriage situation seems to influence the Dutch language pattern in the domain of church only indirectly: it has more impact on church affiliation. Mixed marriage informants (G2 and G3) almost always associate themselves with an English medium church, if any religious affiliation is sought.

DOMAIN: WORK

In the present sample, there is no evidence to suggest that marriage situation can affect the language use in the work domain. Those informants who used Dutch in the work domain were all self-employed (shopkeepers or tradesmen). They generally spoke Dutch only at the request of their (elderly) customers.

DOMAIN: ETHNIC ORGANISATIONS

Ethnic organisations in Australia usually provide immigrant groups with culturally and ethnically specific entertainment. Dutch clubs cater for such Dutch activities as playing *Klaverjassen*, a Dutch card game, *Sjoelbak*, a game with disks, or attending Dutch festivals, e.g. *St. Niklaas*. Dutch social clubs do not generally impose ethnic restrictions on membership or attendance, anyone being invited to attend activities: these are usually of a Dutch nature but the larger social clubs do include more Anglo-Australian pastimes (bingo, golf, Australian football, etc.).

Club life clearly attracts more male than female members (cf. Table 8). The figures in Table 8 also seem to indicate the existence of a Continental versus Anglo-Australian attitude towards club attendance and club life: Dutch-born informants married to another Dutch-born person or a European-born informant are more likely to show an interest in ethnic organisations than those with Anglo-Australian partners. Again I would regard the marriage situation as

having an indirect impact on Dutch language use. The proportion of Dutch used in the club situation is usually very high in the case of card games and when the informants are in all-Dutch company.

SUMMARY: DOMAIN ANALYSIS

Summing up the findings of the domain analysis, it can be said that the effect of the marriage situation is seen foremost in the domain of the family. Any form of exogamy has virtually banned Dutch language use from the (nuclear) family domain. Its impact is less strongly felt in other domains.

5.4.1.2. Gender- and age-related differences

An important aspect in analysing the LM/LS rate of an ethnic language in an inter-ethnic marriage of type G2 or G3 is, whether the rate of LM is influenced by the sex of the ethnic partner(s). It has been claimed that women are often better L1 carriers than men because of their role in the immigrant family. Not only do they spend more time with the children before school-age but the fact the existence of many immigrant women is centred around the home can lead to less contact with and lower proficiency in English, and therefore to the more frequent use of the native tongue (Johnston 1965). On the other hand, family structure (e.g. patriarchal) could support the maintenance of the father's lan- guage. Statistics in Clyne (1982) tend to indicate that in marriages involving an Anglo-Australian partner, the loss of the language other than English in the second generation is slightly higher if it is the father's language. This finding is seen confirmed on the parental level in this investigation: women in G2 maintained Dutch slightly better than Dutch-born males in this group. As indicated above, an explanation for this pattern has often been sought in the relative isolation of the immigrant woman leading to an insufficient knowledge of English. This is certainly not the case for Dutch-born women. Official statistics (ABS Census 1976) recorded in Australia 1.2% Dutch-born males and 2.2% females with no English.[12] I believe that in the case of Dutch a more likely explanation for the slightly higher rate of LM among women is the factor *gezelligheid*: Dutch-born women seem to have a greater need for, as well as a greater chance to establish *gezelligheid*, leading to a more frequent use of Dutch.

Age-related differences in connection with Dutch language use patterns outside the nuclear family were similar in all three groups: informants who are now in their fifties used far more Dutch than the younger informants, no matter which group they belonged to. The greatest use of Dutch was recorded in the 65 years and over group. Informants who retired from the work force often expressed a greater need for a Dutch(-speaking) environment; many including those who had an Anglo-Australian spouse or a spouse of a different ethnic background, had joined a club or an activities' group especially catering for elderly Dutch people. In contrast with the Dutch clubs catering for a wider public, where a lot of English is used, the main language of communication in the clubs for elderly is Dutch.

5.4.2. Dutch language use patterns in the second generation

All informants had children. These ranged in age from infants to 35 years old. My interest will, however, extend only to the Australian-born children, i.e. second generation.

Table 5 not only showed a complete shift to English for children in G2 but also indicates a very limited use and command of the Dutch language for the second generation in the other groups. Though it can be claimed that the marriage situation has a strong impact on LM patterns in the second generation of Dutch-born, it is probably less strong than in other ethnic groups where the maintenance in the first generation is higher, as illustrated in Table 9.

Table 9: Second generation language shift to English only: males and females; inclusive a comparison with first generation				
Birthplace of parents	Male 2nd generation	Female 2nd generation	Male 1st generation	Female 1st generation
Germany	61.94	62.61	30.0	26.6
Greece	10.64	9.49	3.6	3.1
Italy	19.75	17.31	6.6	5.1
Malta	55.72	51.51	30.4	28.2
Netherlands	82.05	79.47	46.8	39.8

Source: Clyne (1982:42, 47)

The impact of the marriage situation is felt more with regard to the passive command of the language. About 51% of children in G1 can understand Dutch and 14% in G3. None of the G2 children can be said to have an understanding of Dutch.

Trying to explain why the rate of LM in the second generation is so low leads us to another issue, namely that of language as a core value (Smolicz 1976). By core value is meant the ethnic or national group's own set of social and cultural systems consisting of cultural, linguistic and other values which are unique to that group. Those values which are central to the group's cultural system, without which cultural traditions and heritage would disintegrate, form the core value system. An investigation into the attitudes of Dutch immigrants towards the maintenance of several cultural values (Pauwels 1980) showed that the Dutch in Australia did not regard language as an integral part of the core value system. This could explain why they are not much interested in maintaining Dutch and passing it on to their children.

A comparison of Tables 5 and 8 with regard to the interlocutor group 'children' reveals that many families display a bilingual communication system: parents address their children in Dutch but the children reply in English. This communication pattern is widespread in immigrant families.

6. CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that the factor of exogamy affects the Dutch language use patterns of both the immigrant spouses and their Australian-born children in a negative way, i.e. it promotes language shift.

The use of Dutch has almost completely disappeared in the interaction with non-Dutch spouses and with the children springing from a mixed marriage. The use of Dutch has also been affected in other domains, i.e. with regard to the proportion of Dutch used. Mixed marriage (G2 + G3) informants are, furthermore, more likely to put restrictions on the locale for Dutch language use. Based on the patterns of language use with eight different interlocutors, the Dutch-Dutch group (Gl) displays a LM rate of 62.5%. The Dutch language use patterns in G2 and G3 have undergone a major shift to English with the former displaying only a 33.7% and the latter a 36.5% maintenance rate.

The impact of the marriage factor is even greater with regard to the language use patterns in the second generation. Children of mixed marriages are characterised by almost complete monolingualism. The Ll of their parents is neither understood nor spoken by them.

The chances of survival of the Dutch language in a mixed marriage situation are very low. Since the family domain, the domain *'par excellence'* for LM when the Ll has no longer access to domains such as education, employment, public life, etc., has become an English language domain and the use of Dutch seems to be linked entirely to interaction with the older generation, it is very likely that complete language shift may take place within the first generation (G2 and G3) with the passing of the elderly in this generation.

NOTES

1. This article is based on my M.A. Thesis: 'The effect of mixed marriage on language shift in the Dutch community in Australia', 1980. A slightly different version appeared in *ITL* 66, 1984:1-24.

2. Intermarriage can of course be a result of the migration of single men: many single male immigrants did not return to their home country to select a bride, but married into another ethnic group.

3. In the German-American context, Kloss found the following factors to be language maintenance promoting factors: religio-societal insulation, i.e. presence of closely-knit religious groups, early time of migration, i.e. earlier or simultaneously with the arrivals of the first Anglo-Americans, existence of *Sprachinseln* (language islands), affiliation with denominations fostering parochial schools, pre-immigration experience with language maintenance efforts, former use as the only official tongue during pre-Anglo-American period.

4. The general pattern of migrant settlement has been for the poorest and the most recent migrants to settle in the inner city areas first before being able to move more outward.

5. The *Gereformeerden* established the Reformed Church of Australia in 1951. It is a strict orthodox Calvinist Church.

6. *Hervormden*: Dutch mainstream Protestant. They are affiliated with the Uniting Church in Australia.

7. Australian population records do not provide ethnic information on marriages having taken place outside Australia (i.e. immigrants' marriages) prior to migration.

8. Frisians were excluded as the Frisian language, though similar and related to Dutch, is recognised officially as a separate language.

9. Saunders (1982), however, is a clear proof that using two languages in the family does not have to be regarded as an obstacle. In his book Saunders describes the language patterns in his own family in Australia: the mother speaks to, and is spoken to by the children in English, the father (a native speaker of English but also a fluent speaker of German) constantly speaks German with the children who always reply in German.

10. CLOTE: Community Language Other Than English. This is one of the more recently developed terms to refer to languages spoken by ethnic groups in Australia.

11. There appear to be three basic models for attitudes towards the use of CLOTEs in various denominations (Clyne 1982).

    Pluralist: Language and religion are seen as closely linked. The language of the congregation should therefore remain L1.

    Transitional assimilationist: Religious services in L1 and ethnic parishes are seen as a transitional measure to a complete integration into an English medium church.

    Assimilationist: Religion is not language-specific. Integration into an English medium congregation as soon as possible is seen as desirable.

12. % of males and females in Australia not regularly using English (selected countries of birth)

Birthplace	% Males	Females
Netherlands	1.2	2.2
Germany	1.7	2.2
Greece	16.0	22.0
Italy	14.0	22.3
Poland	4.4	7.1
Yugoslavia	13.1	18.9

Source: ABS 1976 Census

HEBREW AND YIDDISH IN MELBOURNE

Manfred Klarberg

1.0. THE LANGUAGE IN SOCIETY

1.1. Hebrew and Yiddish

A century ago, anyone publishing a book on languages would have allocated
Hebrew and Yiddish to different chapters. During the heyday of philology,
research concentrated on the genetic relationship between languages. On this
basis one might examine the state of Hebrew together with that of Arabic,
Maltese and Assyrian. All of these Semitic languages are at present used by
sizeable though very distinct communities in Melbourne. On the same basis
Yiddish would be bracketed with German, Dutch, and indeed English — Melbourne's
major Germanic languages.

Popular confusion of Hebrew with Yiddish is due to both being associated with
Jews and both being written with the same alphabetic characters (though these
do not always represent the same sounds).

1.2. The relationship between Hebrew and Yiddish

This century, academic interest has shifted strongly towards the study of the
current state of society. This is evident in the popularity of such disciplines
as Sociology, Linguistics and Sociolinguistics. Research in these fields has
brought about a growth of interest in the situation where people in the one
community habitually use one language or variety of language for certain com-
municative domains and another for others. These varieties have been labeled
H and L.

In the traditional Jewish society Hebrew and Yiddish stood in this relationship,
Hebrew being the H variety and Yiddish the L variety. Max Weinreich (1953)
calls the relationship between Hebrew and Yiddish 'internal bilingualism'.
Ferguson (1959) describes four societies in which an esteemed variety of a
language and a more popular variety of the same language are maintained in
this type of complementary distribution. Ferguson coined the term 'diglossia'
for the situation which he described. Fishman (1981:744) argues that the two
notions are essentially identical.

1.3. Modern society and diglossia

Diglossia is a useful modus vivendi for a society with deep-seated social divi-
sions. However, its association with traditional stratified societies has made
it anathema to the development of modern egalitarianism. Hence, the development
of democracy may well be associated with the ousting of Latin by state and
church. In Europe, the establishment of nation states was associated with the
expansion of vernaculars to fulfil all communicative functions.

On the basis of this background it might have been expected that Yiddish was
destined to become the sole national language of the Jewish people. Indeed
many expected this, and in the late 19th century a movement developed to facili-
tate the extension of Yiddish to all domains of intracommunal communication.
However, feelings for Hebrew were strong, and a counter-movement aiming at
extending the use of Hebrew to all domains vigorously took up the cudgels. In
the *yishuv*, the Jewish communities which later established the State of Israel,
Hebrew won this battle during the 1920s.

Both these movements tended to be secular though not entirely so. The preser-
vation of traditional religion went together with other aspects of convervatism,
and the maintenance of diglossia, particularly in the synagogue and school, may
truly be the mark of ultra-orthodoxy.

As a result of the acceptance of Israeli Hebrew (I propose to refer to it as
'Ivrit') as Israel's dominant language, the diaspora came to accept that it
could be used for all domains and should therefore be taught as a vernacular —
Ivrit. Thus in most sectors of the Jewish communities the diglossic structure
was crumbling.

1.4. Hebrew and Ivrit

Popular opinion distinguishes between Hebrew and Ivrit on the basis of pronun-
ciation. This is clearly a factor which, given the historical circumstances of
the revival, was inevitable (Klarberg 1970a). However, Ivrit as a variety of
Hebrew is not only distinct phonetically, it also has identifiable items of
vocabulary and syntax. Even proper nouns are distinct (Klarberg 1981). Thus
popular demand for a particular variety may be satisfied by reading a classical
text in the appropriate phonetic pattern for Ivrit (this is quite common) or an
Israeli text known as Ashkenazic (this is less common). Indeed written material
may draw on varieties of the language from many periods of its history. As a
result there is no clear line between the two varieties.

2.0. HISTORIC BACKGROUND

2.1. The early Jewish community of Melbourne

The growth of Jewish population during the first century of Melbourne's exis-
tence (1834-1934) was slow, not quite reaching 10,000 (Klarberg 1976).
Synagogues and schools were established as were the traditional charitable
institutions.

2.2. The position of Hebrew

During most of this period Hebrew maintained its traditional position as the language of ritual. (A study of the challenges to this situation would provide an understanding of the antecedents to the establishment of Liberal Judaism in this country.) It was also used for traditional scholarship, a number of books in Hebrew having been at least partly written in Australia. Some rabbis corresponded in Hebrew too. As the language of the synagogue it was taught both at the part-time schools and at the day school to children from the earliest age of attendance. The goal was to be able to follow services in the prayer book and translate passages from the classical texts. The variety of Hebrew which the Jewish settlers brought with them from central and eastern Europe was Ashkenazic.

While the first part-time school to teach Ivrit was established in the 1930s there are reports of groups employing a tutor to instruct them in the newly revived language even earlier.

2.3. The position of German

While English appears to have been the dominant language from the beginning (it was used both for synagogue records and instruction in the Jewish day school (Goldman 1954)), it was German rather than Yiddish that appears to have had the next most important place in the community of that era.

In the 1860s a German newspaper was seen as a useful medium for reaching Jewish customers. 'For several months before the Jewish holidays, two businessmen Levy (Leichardt St., City) and Wolff (Collingwood) would announce on the front page of *Germania*, that they were taking orders for Matzos (unleavened bread)'. (Clyne, forthcoming).

Hebrew prayer books with German instructions and translation were popular. The fact that Louis Monasch (the father of Sir John Monash — the family anglicised the spelling of the name) acted as the Australian agent for the Monasch Press in Germany explains the abundance of Hebrew/German prayer books from that press among old collections of Jewish books in this country (Rabbi R. Lubofsky, personal communication).

2.4. The position of Yiddish

Though Yiddish may well also have been used during this period, possibly as a home vernacular or for preaching in some synagogues, it was only in the 1930s that Yiddish manifested itself through the establishment of a weekly newspaper and a part-time school (Klarberg 1970a).

3.0. GROWTH

During the following half century (1934-1984) the Jewish population of Melbourne more than tripled to over 30,000. Most of the increase occurred following the second world war between the censuses of 1947 and 1961. The new settlers brought with them a marked diversity of expressions of Jewishness that had developed in Europe during the previous decades.

The increase in numbers, diversity of focusses of Jewish identity, and encouragement of expressions of ethnic diversity by agencies of the dominant host groups, led to unprecedented growth in many areas where Hebrew and/or Yiddish were important. Many new synagogues, and a plethora of organisations, including seven day schools, were established. Many of the organisations and at least two of the schools were secular.

4.0. THE CURRENT SCENE

4.1. The schools

By far the major manifestation of community language activity takes place in the schools. With over 4,000 children attending the eight day schools and perhaps another 1,000 or so attending part-time classes, education is clearly the largest community enterprise. All of these children are exposed to at least one variety of Hebrew and some also to Yiddish. All the schools, irrespective of their ideological persuasion, commence their language program in kindergarten.

4.1.1. Ivrit — a vernacular

At Bialik College (the secular Zionist school) this is the only form of language teaching and a central part of the overall Jewish studies program. At King David (the Reform religious school) language is regarded as a less central element in Jewish education but in practice much the same place is given to the teaching of Ivrit. Sholem Aleichem (the Yiddishist secular school) also teaches Ivrit — as a second vernacular.

Mount Scopus College (the communally owned school), Yavneh (Zionist Orthodox) and Beth Rivkah (Lubavitch girls), all teach Ivrit. They also all teach significant amounts of classical texts — from the Bible, prayer book, and elsewhere. At Mount Scopus and Yavneh these are invariably read as Ivrit. The extent to which children are made aware of the fact that they are studying different varieties depends largely on the individual teacher. At Beth Rivkah it is policy (not rigidly enforced) to read these texts in Ashkenazic. Yeshivah (Lubavitch boys) divides its day into two major time-table segments, sacred and secular (Bullivant 1978). Ivrit is allocated time within the secular segment.

During 1984 Ivrit was introduced at Doncaster Park State Primary School. There was some unease in the community that this might serve to undermine the Jewish day schools. However the more likely effect is that the inclusion of ethnic options will in future be viewed much as optional religious instruction was in past decades. Parents will feel that it is 'nice' that the system recognises minority groups but that the quantity and quality of the provision is such that those parents who are serious about the subject will continue to obtain supplementary tuition elsewhere.

4.1.2. Hebrew — a language of study and prayer

All the schools teach their pupils about the traditional Jewish holidays. In this framework appropriate passages of traditional texts such as verses from the Bible or prayers and blessings may be recited. How much of this is done varies with the degree of emphasis which each school places on religious practice.

In two schools, however, this is the central part of the program of Jewish studies. The boys at both Yeshivah and Adass Israel (Central European ultra-orthodox) spend many hours reading and translating classical texts. At Yeshivah the language of instruction is English. At Adass Israel an effort is made to maintain Yiddish as the language of instruction — and translation. The products of these schools can read and comprehend fairly difficult texts by the age of 11 or 12. The girls' religious studies program at Adass Israel is far less intense.

4.1.3. Yiddish — a vernacular

While the boys classes at Adass Israel use Yiddish as a language of instruction only, at Sholem Aleichem and Mount Scopus it is taught as a target language. The small number of pupils enrolled at the first two, and the number opting for Yiddish when it is offered at Mount Scopus, appear to be a measure of the popularity of Yiddish in the community.

4.2. Places of worship

In the Reform temples it is policy for all Hebrew reading to be carried out as Ivrit. In the middle-of-the-road orthodox synagogues there is ambivalence on this issue. As one moves to the right on the traditionalist spectrum, opposition to reading prayers (or any part of the service) as Ivrit becomes stronger. The likelihood of preaching in Yiddish rather than English follows the same pattern.

4.3. Libraries

It is in the libraries that the distinction between traditional Hebrew and Ivrit as literary languages can be nicely demonstrated. The State Public Library has fairly extensive holdings of rabbinical literature in Hebrew. At the St. Kilda municipal library, which caters for Melbourne's largest Jewish population, the 'Hebrew' paperbacks on the shelves are clearly Ivrit. There are also shelves of Yiddish books at the St. Kilda library. None of these collections is in heavy demand.

4.4. The theatre

The Yiddish theatre has regular seasons. When a play is staged thousands of people attend, indicating support going far beyond the numbers who enrol their children in Yiddish school. It is clear that this is an area of Yiddish culture with particular support.

4.5. Radio

There are weekly radio programs in both Yiddish and Ivrit. Both are geared to the Jewish community at large rather than any particular faction. An effort is made to maintain standards of pronunciation. For Ivrit, Israel provides the norm while for Yiddish, the Lithuanian dialect is the standard. As most script-readers are speakers of other dialects the standard is not always adhered to.

5.0. DISCUSSION

In the traditional society Hebrew was an H language and therefore commanded a certain amount of prestige. Yiddish was an L language rarely taught before the Yiddishist movement commenced its compaign to suit it for all domains.

Here as in many other areas of society previously institutionalised rules prevail. Hebrew remains the H language utilised in worship and taught at school. Its place at rites of passage — on Bar-mitsva and wedding invitations and on tombstones — has been noted elsewhere (Klarberg 1976). Yiddish the L language must compete with other languages of communication be they German or English.

Tim McNamara has observed that Israelis in Australia tend not to choose to speak Ivrit, regarding it very much as an L language (personal communication). It is a common observation among teachers of both Hebrew and Ivrit that children from traditional homes tend to do better at them than do others. It may be that the H status of Hebrew motivates these children in their studies of both varieties. Even if the children are aware of the distinction there may well be a halo effect which tells them that knowledge of any variety of Hebrew is important for their Jewishness.

I have argued elsewhere that the status of the teacher affects the attitude of the pupils (Klarberg 1979). Here I am adding that the status of the subject is inextricably bound up with the status of the teacher. Schools belong to the same part of culture as do H languages. It is therefore perceived as appropriate to teach H languages and difficult to teach L languages at school.[1] By presenting Hebrew as the language of Israelis — not a particularly high status group — the teaching of Hebrew is made more difficult and indeed its survival even in the limited form of an H language, further endangered.

In the development of Community Language courses it must be remembered that students resent having the wool pulled over their collective eyes. While linguists may have a predilection for studying stigmatised varieties of languages, students planning to work in teaching and various government services do not. They must be taught to accord full respect to the communications of their fellow human beings no matter what variety of language is employed. However their own communication needs to be appropriate to their status as educated members of society.

NOTE

1. We noted that Ivrit as a vernacular was central to policy at Bialik. The difficulty of teaching an L language contributed to the many problems the school experienced. Hence the announcement of negotiations to absorb (Australian Jewish News, August 2nd and 9th 1985) by Mount Scopus College should not be surprising.

ITALIAN LANGUAGE ATTRITION: A SYDNEY CASE STUDY

Camilla Bettoni

1. INTRODUCTION

Italian-English bilingualism is extremely dynamic in Australia. Yet the dyna-
mism of the situation is not shared equally by both languages. While English
remains unchallenged as the dominant language of the country, and is therefore
relatively stable, Italian alone, as one of many migrant languages (see Clyne
1982), has to bear the burden of rapid and conspicuous changes. Two main traits
of Australian Italian stand out. They are interrelated: one is that Italian has
ceased to be independently creative so that all its innovations have English as
a source: and the other is that, as English takes over, Italian is gradually
eroded. Studies on Australian Italian have so far concentrated on the first
of these phenomena. A typology of English transference has been devised and to
a certain extent transfers have also been quantified (Bettoni 1981). The second
phenomenon is widely commented upon by the layman, fully recognised by linguists,
but as yet little documented. It is the purpose of the present study to examine
the ways in which Italian is eroding in the case of an Italian family living in
Sydney.[1]

Language attrition begins as soon as Italians leave Italy, so that if one were
to test the language competence of first generation migrants after some time in
Australia one would find some deficiencies vis-a-vis their competence at the
time of migration. Interesting though this might be, there is here the compli-
cation of not having recorded their competence when they first arrived in
Australia. For comparison one would have to rely on the current competence of
their peers who remained in Italy, keeping in mind that only the latter would
have participated in the normal evolution of Italian in Italy, which in recent
times has been remarkably fast. This very reason, together with the fact that
language loss among the first generation does not seem to be very conspicuous,
makes the initial stage of attrition somewhat awkward to analyse. Moreover,
there seems to be little urgency in giving it our attention. Even if it is
clear that a seriously concerned effort towards Italian maintenance should
start from the first generation where language erosion sets in, we do not yet
envisage providing Italian courses for first generation migrants. On the other
hand, there are at least three good reasons for beginning a study of language
loss from that incurred by the second generation: firstly, their loss of lan-
guage skills is quite conspicuous; secondly, it can be measured with reference
to the language of their parents; and thirdly, most Australian Italians who
enrol in maintenance courses belong to this second generation. Also of great

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interest is the final stage before language loss is complete. Here, however, only the fact that historically partial loss precedes total loss justifies giving attention to the intermediate stages first. Thus this study will analyse and compare the Italian language skills of parents and children in order to determine what and how much Italian has been lost between the generation dominant in Italian and that dominant in English.

2. METHODOLOGY

The Veneto family (as it will be called here) shares its history with many other Italian families in Australia. The father came to Australia as a highly skilled blue-collar worker 32 years ago from a small town in the province of Padua in the north-east of Italy. After a few months in the Bonegilla Camp, he settled in Sydney, worked very hard, and bought a home. A few years later he returned to Italy and brought back a wife from a nearby village. Thus Venetian dialect is regularly spoken in the Veneto home. Both parents have also an excellent command of colloquial Venetian Italian,[2] and a competent to moderate command of English. They are both of the opinion that their few years of primary schooling in Italy are equivalent to almost twice as many here in Australia.

> ... là era diferente⌐ / ... / insegnavano più di qua
> perchè io ho fato là fino ala quinta / ma⌐ si faceva
> di problemi si faceva di temi si studiava la storia⌐
> che qua studiano adeso sule skuole alti⌐ eh⌐ / e⌐
> s'imparava molto di più⌐ kuando andavamo a scuola
> insoma⌐.   (Mother)[3]

Some feelings of nostalgia for Italy remain, especially because some older members of the family are still living there; but on the whole, after the hard initial period, they are happy here, have achieved economic security, and enjoy the company of other relatives and friends from the same village and region. Contacts with Italian relatives are maintained by regular correspondence, occasional telephone conversations and rare visits. Since migrating, the Veneto parents have gone back to Italy twice and have been visited here once by the father's parents.

There are four children in the family, all born in Sydney and still living at home: three boys of 20, 17 and 15 years of age, and one girl 12 years old.[4] The two older children are working as bank clerks, while the younger two are still at school. Venetian dialect is their native mother tongue, but it is clearly no longer their dominant one. It remained dominant until the older brothers went to school, socialised with English-speaking peers and brought fluent English into the home. Thus the two oldest children remained dominant in the dialect longer than the youngest; and in the case of the girl, eight years younger than her oldest brother, it is doubtful whether she ever was dominant in Venetian at all. Their English is native-like and indistinguishable from that of their English monolingual peers. Italian is the language they are less familiar with, because in the mother's own words:

> - *A casa che lingua parlate?*

> eh un poco di tuto tuto mischiato / e un poco italiano
> un poco ingleze un poco dialeto e⌐ / tuto mischiato
> cozì // gnerebe parlare⌐ / l'italiano per far prendere
> l'italiano ai figli / e⌐ loro ti rispondono in ingleze
> e cozì...

> *- Ma lo parlano abbastanza però l'italiano.*
>
> eh non tanto sa non tanto lo parlano / biamo cercato di
> mandargli anche a scuola a Laika ma non han imparato
> propio niente / masima a scrivere po niente niente.
>
> *We speak all mixed up, some Italian, some English, some*
> *dialect. We should speak Italian for the children to*
> *pick it up, but they answer back in English. They don't*
> *speak Italian well. We tried sending them to school,*
> *but they didn't learn anything; especially in writing,*
> *not a thing.*

In fact, even if they have gone to some Italian classes on Saturday mornings,
the results are regrettably scarce; for any practical purpose it can be assumed
that in the case of three of the Veneto children (S20, S17 and D12) it is a
question of natural language attrition, unchecked by any formal study of Italian.
On the other hand, S(15) has been learning Italian as a school subject for four
semesters, studying 'verbs, how to use the future and perfect tenses'.

The Veneto children normally speak only English among themselves and with their
peers. However, they admit to socialising a lot with young people of Italian
families, and sometimes also of other European countries. A few years ago they
went to Italy with their parents, but their memories are rather vague. What
attracts them there now is not so much the family or the family village, as the
novelty of a different place, such as 'Venice amid the waters'. In any case
they would not want to live there.

Only the mother listens regularly to Italian programmes on the ethnic radio in
the mornings and evenings; the father does occasionally, the children never do.
As for television, one son (S17) professes that zè tuto rabiscio (a transfer
from 'rubbish'), and the father says that they show too much porcaria (a per-
sonal interpretation of porcheria, the Italian equivalent of 'rubbish'). There
are some Italian newspapers in the home, both local and from Italy. The boys
don't bother with them, the girl says she reads a magazino de ragasi (children's
magazine) called mesangero da ragasi.

All members of the Veneto family were interviewed individually in their home in
April 1984 by a young Sicilian woman. She spoke her regional Italian, was very
friendly and kept a casual conversational style which did not exclude sponta-
neous remarks on either side. However, there was no doubt that specific
questions had to be asked and answered. The conversation was loosely structured
around the following topics: family history and family life, attitudes to lan-
guage use, a visit from Italian relatives, hobbies and favourite entertainments,
memories of primary school and (after a particularly bad summer in Sydney)
comments on the weather. All the Venetos actively co-operated and clearly gave
their best performance. The tape-recorded interviews were then transcribed and
analysed.

3. ANALYSIS

The main hypothesis underlying the following analysis is that, along a continuum
of communicative modes which has at its two extremes the pragmatic mode on the
one hand and the syntactic mode on the other, the children would be closer to
the pragmatic extreme than their parents. Givón (1979:223) has summarised the
structural properties of the two modes, and further shown how these are

similarly distributed in three contrastive pairs of human communication: Pidgin versus Creole, Child versus Adult, and Informal versus Formal language. If we consider that the Veneto children learned Italian under the dominance of English, that their native childish Italian scarcely developed after they started their schooling in English, and that it is used almost exclusively within the family domain, it seems reasonable to assume that their language will show some properties typical of Pidgin, Child and Informal language. This hypothesis is here verified by analysing some of the structural properties listed in Givon (1979: 223-231). Compared to their parents, the Veneto children's discourse will tend to:

1. Be delivered at a much slower rate, and involve more pauses and repetitions.

2. Involve a reduction and simplification of grammatical morphology.

3. Exhibit a great amount of internal variation and inconsistency.

4. Favour loose co-ordination over tight subordination.

5. Exhibit a much more prominent topic-comment structure as against a more prominent subject-predicate, and show more topicalised constructions.

3.1. Slow delivery and hesitation phenomena

There is no doubt that in terms of communicative performance in Italian (and/or dialect) both parents can be placed at the highest level among expert speakers on a nine-band interview-assessment scale compiled by Carroll (1980:135) along parameters such as size of the text produced, complexity, accuracy, appropriateness, etc. On the other hand, according to two competent teachers, the Veneto children were judged to belong to the mid bands 6-3 among good to extremely limited speakers, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1		
Band	Speakers	Informants
9	expert speaker	Veneto parents
8	very good non-native speaker	
7	good speaker	
6	competent speaker	son 20
5	modest speaker	son 17
4	marginal speaker	
3	extremely limited speaker	son 15 and daughter 12
2	intermittent speaker	
1/0	non-speaker	

The tabulation of the informants' and the interviewer's total word output shows immediately a clear difference in performance within the Veneto family. While father and mother provide answers which are on average about seven to four times longer than the questions they are asked, the two older son's average output is 2.5 times larger than the interviewer's and the two younger children's is about equal in size (see Table 2).

Table 2			
Informants	Informants' word output	Interviewer's word output	Ratio
father	3022	441	6.85
mother	2313	570	4.05
son 20	1424	581	2.45
son 17	1406	559	2.51
son 15	394	394	1.00
daughter 12	531	559	0.94

Of course, such differences in word output cannot be explained solely in terms of language loss. Too many other factors are at play here. For example, young people do not indulge in reminiscing about their past experiences as readily as adults, so that some of the conversation topics were, perhaps, less suited for them than for the parents. Moreover, the greater the age difference between the interviewer and the children, the shyer the latter might become. Unfamiliarity with the interlocutor can also inhibit children more than adults. Nevertheless, the differences cannot be disregarded, especially if considered together with other features, such as interview length (see Table 3).

Table 3			
Informants	Length of interview in minutes	Informants' word output	Word output per minute
father	21	3022	143
mother	18	2313	128
son 20	23	1424	62
son 17	18	1406	78
son 15	13	394	30
daughter 12	15	531	35

The length of the interview with individual informants varied from 23 minutes to 13 minutes. Tabulated with the word output it confirms that the children not only speak progressively less, but also progressively slower than their parents as their age decreases. In fact, even if without calculating the interviewer's question time and output the figures are rather rough, it is nevertheless clear that father and mother speak almost twice as fast as the older children and four times faster than the younger ones.

All sorts of hesitation phenomena slowed the children down during the interview. Some examples follow, approximately classified according to Blankenship and Kay (1964).

Silent pauses:

    (1) YEAH si spoza / in ogosto / e dopo / si spoza qui.   (S20)

    (2) ah⌐ / sì in febraio / FEBRUARY / ah'⌐ / so dato in piscina baso
        qua co amico / che abita baso qua / e zè / u⌐ n FRIEND OF F /
        f famiglia / io mi ho ato baso piscina co lu.   (S17)

Filled pauses:

    (3) ah mi lavoro su⌐ ah PERSONAL LOANS. (S20)

    (4) sì ah / i miei zii ah / mio nono e nona / cugine. (S15)

Non-phonemic lengthening of phonemes (drawls):

    (5) ah⌐ / iera⌐ / s EASY. (S15)

    (6) ho⌐ dato⌐ spiagia⌐ in piscina / ho giocà / co miei frateli amici. (S15)

Stutters:

    (7) oh i verbi ah⌐ come toperare i f fu ah⌐ / futuro⌐ PAST / pasato prosimo. (S15)

    (8) oh⌐ / ho fato / quatro sia⌐ m / sim / SEMESTERS e ogni seme-SEMESTER zè / è mez'ano. (S15)

Repeats:

    (9) oh più di un ano JUST LIKE THAT / YEAH più un ano. (S17)

    (10) ah e zè fredo inverno / ma zè neanca⌐ / REAL fredo zè neanche tanto tanto ma / SOMETIMES zè tanto fredo ma / zè ALRIGHT. (D12)

Omissions of parts of words:

    (11) i frateli i sorè de me mama. (D12)

    (12) so ato baso là / YEAH BUT / TRe setimane s / e dop andato / a lavorà di nuovo. (S17)

Word change:

    (13) un amichi vuo ndare su NAVY / lavorà su NAVY. (S17)

    (14) sì / venesia / roma / ah / FLORENCE firenze. (D12)

Sentence corrections:

    (15) ah STEVEN / e zè / il / ah / ha vinti ani. (D12)

Sentence incompletions:

    (16) iera gente lì che / che⌐ / non iera interese interesada / mparare italiano giusto... (S20)

    (17) - *Studiavate molto?*

            oh A BIT / oh / deso sì / ma... (S15)

As a normal and inevitable consequence of planning and execution difficulties during spontaneous speech production (Clark and Clark 1977:260-292), hesitation phenomena do not occur only in the children's interviews, but are to be found also in the parents' interviews. There are, however, significant differences. First, the children hesitate rarely using only one type of hesitation. For example, S(15) in (8) uses both filled and unfilled pauses, as well as drawls and stutters; and S(17) in (13), besides changing ndare with lavorà, repeats himself and omits parts of words. Secondly, the children hesitate at least twice as much as their parents. The figures in Table 4 are quite rough, and

			Table 4				
Informants	Word output	Unfilled pauses	Filled pauses	Drawls	Others	Total	Ratio
father	3022	291	5	54	97	447	6.7
mother	2313	142	23	109	68	342	6.7
son 20	1424	236	78	50	105	469	3.0
son 17	1406	289	39	13	67	408	3.4
son 15	394	92	51	27	22	192	2.0
daughter 12	531	91	48	19	24	182	2.9

serve merely as a conservative estimate. In fact, if length of pauses had been taken into account, and if repetitions, changes and corrections of words and word sequences had been excluded in the count of the total word output, the difference between parents and children would have further increased. Moreover, no calculations were made to relate the number of hesitations to the length of the answer sequences. As the parents have much longer sequences, many of their silent pauses would not be due to hesitations at all, but would be necessary breaks in the flow of speech.

Thirdly, parents and children hesitate for different reasons, or rather they hesitate for the same reasons, but to a different extent. According to Chafe (1980:170) the fundamental reason for hesitating is that speech production is an act of creation. Sometimes speakers hesitate while they are deciding *what* to talk about next, and sometimes they hesitate while they are deciding *how* to talk about what they have already chosen. The interviews of the Veneto family suggest that the children's enormous increase in hesitations is predominantly due to a more time consuming effort in verbalising something they already had in mind.

Of course all the Venetos hesitate while thinking about what to say. They do it, for example, in order to find and clarify an initial focus before embarking on an answer to a why-question. In this case hesitations typically occur at the very beginning and then between the phrases and clauses which express the foci of consciousness (Chafe 1980:178).

(18) - *Come mai avete deciso di restare?*

oh⌐ sa prima un figlio dopo un altro⌐ e veramente⌐ la mia intensione era sempre quella di tornare in italia e dopo⌐ cozì⌐ eh⌐ siamo rimasti qua insoma eco. (Mother)

There is no denying that children too hesitate in answering why-questions. Indeed for younger people these are sometimes quite difficult to answer:

(19) - *Sì perchè [ti piace di più la High School]?*

ah ah⌐ / e zè / di più coze da fare / ah / pe⌐ zè⌐ di più FRIENDS che te fe / e zè e zè GOOD. (D12)

However, a high number of their hesitations occur within phrases and clauses, thus suggesting that the children encounter greater difficulty than their parents in coding certain concepts in a suitable way.

It is important at this point to notice how often the Veneto children hesitate before (or after) transferring from English. In (2), FEBRUARY occurs as a

repetition after a pause, and FRIEND OF F, itself an incomplete unit, is pre-
ceded by a drawl and followed by a pause, a stutter and repetition. In (3)
PERSONAL LOANS follows a drawl and a filled pause; EASY in (5) follows a drawl,
a pause and what looks like a stutter, and so on through to SEMESTER in (8),
NAVY in (13), FLORENCE in (14), etc. Similar markers of transference from
English can be found also in the parents' interviews, as well as in the speech
of other first generation migrants (Kinder 1984). Yet both the fact that the
children use many more transfers, and that these are almost all very conspicuous,
phonically unintegrated code switches makes them hesitate much more. It seems
then that in a semiformal conversation the children would rather avoid using
code switches, but are forced to do so as a compensatory strategy aimed at
solving problems due to insufficient linguistic resources (Faerch and Kasper
1983:46). While there is no doubt that in certain cases radical message adjust-
ment strategies such as topic avoidance (Corder 1983:17) do cut the children's
answer short, it is worthwhile noticing here that, once started, rarely are
their messages left hanging. A positive achievement strategy such as a code
switch, even if accompanied by a pause, a drawl or a repetition, is a more fre-
quently used way of solving a problem than a negative reduction strategy which
would leave the message incomplete. Indeed in a bilingual situation where both
languages are understood, code switching is a more efficient way of coping.
Often, it is the result of uncertainty or memory limitations due to performance,
rather than permanent gaps in competence:

> (20)   – *E quanti anni hai?*
>
> eh⌐ // FIFTEEN
>
> – *Scusa?*
>
> DON'T KNOW HOW TO SAY IN ITALIAN / eh⌐ quindici. (S15)

3.2. Reduction and simplification of morphology

Phenomena of deviant agreement between adjectives and nouns can occur for two
quite different reasons; either because of lack (or a temporary collapse) of
discourse planning, or because of gaps in the speaker's lexical and/or morpho-
logical competence (Sornicola 1981:57). The few examples of deviant agreement
in the parents' interviews seem mainly due to the first reason. Lack of planning
can affect even adjacent elements:

> (21)   ... e lui mi ha deto dice sai dice non c'è tanto posibilità
> se vuoi andare per il belgio in miniera / se vuoi andare in
> francia in miniera dice / sarebe un'oportunità in CHanada o
> in australia dice no ma / non c'è tanta f / futuro dice
> evero / ...   (Father)

or elements further removed, as when the mother, having perhaps feminine words
such as scarpe or calzature (*shoes*) in mind, makes quele fate a scarpone alto
deviantly agree with the masculine dzocoli (*clogs*) mentioned earlier. Occa-
sionally, hypercorrections might also occur, as in:

> (22)   qualche volta fano qualche⌐ / coza di bela da vedere no. (Mother)

instead of qualche cosa di bello (*something nice*).

The parents' categorical (if sometimes deviant) marking of grammatical gender
and number starts to exhibit some variation in the children's interviews. Also
the children use deviant agreements sometimes as a result of a gap in their

lexical competence, as in questo estate and qualche volte, both in S(17), some-
times as a result of weak planning:

>   (23)   ... vao a mie amici caza.   (D12)

instead of miei amici (*I go to my friends' home*).   Sometimes perhaps a hyper-
correction is due to some floundering in connection with a syntactic transfer
from English, which by the way is also used in (23):

>   (24)   l'ostralia so che quanto d du ducento ani veci.   (S20)

Here veci agrees with ani instead of with ostralia (*Australia only how much,
two hundred year old*).

Quite often, however, although by no means consistently, the adjectives, es-
pecially in the predicate position, is not made to agree.   For example, in the
whole of S(20)'s interview, out of a total of 37 agreements, 24 are correctly
made, five are deviant, and eight, six of which are predicates after a copula,
are unmarked, because either an English transfer or an Italian adverb is used.
Table 5 gives the figures for the other Veneto children, and shows how this
weakening of the agreement increases as the children's age decreases, with the
only exception of S(15), perhaps because he is learning Italian formally at
school.   Thus, for example, in S(17), la scuola and i maestri, as well as il
lavoro are all bene; la HIGH SCHOOL, il TECH, and again i maestri are all VERY
GOOD; il clima zè NICE, BALMAIN è QUIET, and mi so neanca CERTAIN.   On the other
hand,

>   (25)   se ho / beo / cinema che fa su televizion el vardo.
>   *If I have / good / film shown on television I watch it.*

and BALMAIN again is referred to as bel paeze.   In D(12) the weakening of the
agreement is even clearer, as grammatical gender is reduced to semantic gender
only.   In fact, her six regular agreements are all made with nouns referring to
people, such as compagni, amici/amica, parenti.   Her only deviant agreement is
a tuto used collectively to mean her father's relatives.   All the others, refer-
ring to il tempo, il maestro, la scuola, etc. remain invariable, and are all
predicates but one.

Table 5			
Informants	Adjectives regularly agreed	Adjectives deviantly agreed	Invariable adjectives	Total no. of adjectives
S(20)	24	5	8	37
S(17)	30	6	14	50
S(15)	19	1	4	23
D(12)	6	1	7	14

Also of interest concerning the agreement is the regularity with which some
children leave the past participle invariable when they delete the essere aux-
iliary in a compound tense.   Consider, for example, the following excerpt, where
S(20) is talking about a girlfriend:

(26)   YEAH si spoza ed è R / ritornaTHa da italia / ah⌐ andato fato
       fato un giro co lui na trovare so parenti in italia ndato / tre
       mesi credo che sia andato / esa / e⌐ / quano è ritornata / ah
       diceva che / piaceva multo italia.

       Yeah she got married and / returned from Italy / went did did
       a tour with him went to see his relatives in Italy went / three
       months I think she went / she / and / when she returned / she
       said that / she liked Italy a lot.

With the only exception of sia andato where the agreement is not made despite
the presence of the auxiliary, all other past participles are regularly made to
agree when the auxiliary is present, but remain invariable when it is deleted.
Unfortunately, it is not possible to check this pattern in S(17) and S(15)
because during the interview they do not use a compound tense requiring essere
and having either a female or a plural subject. With the youngest girl, however,
the same pattern emerges again clearly:

(27)   - *Cos' hai fatto?*

       andato a⌐ mi MUM's frateli ah / mi⌐ / mi so andata me cugine...
       Went to my Mum's brothers' / I / I went my cousins...

Time and space constraints do not allow us here to pursue the reduction of
morphology further, relatively to the subject-verb agreement, or pronominal
case marking, for example.

3.3.   Internal variation and inconsistency

Before categorical loss occurs, the language of the Veneto family exhibits a
lot of variation, both within the output of the same speaker and across the
members of the family. The fact that the children, and especially the two
younger S(15) and D(12), speak so much less than their parents does not allow
us to illustrate this variation with many features. The forms of the copula
and those of the verb piacere (*to like*) are here selected for analysis as they
recur often enough in all the interviews.

Let us first consider the most common form of the copula, the third personal
singular of the present indicative. Table 6 gives the occurrences during the
interviews and shows how rapidly the Italian register is lost in the Veneto
family.

Table 6			
Informants	è	iè	zè
father	29		1
mother	18		
S(20)	19	1	
S(17)	3	2	40
S(15)	2		2
D(12)			15

In the eldest son è is still quite strong with 19 occurrences, and he uses only one dialectal form, in any case this being a weakened form of the dialect closer to Italian. S(17) strongly favours the dialect copula, but still retains both the Italian and the weaker dialect forms. S(15) despite his formal learning of Italian, uses Italian and dialect forms in equal numbers. Finally, D(12) only uses the strong dialect form.

Table 7 gives the occurrences of the Italian, dialect and intermediate forms of the third person plural of the imperfect tense, and Table 8 gives those of the whole verb essere. Together with Table 6, they confirm that during the process of language attrition, between the parents' phase which diglossically distin-guishes between Italian and dialect, and the youngest child's phase which knows only the dialect, there is an intermediate stage in which the children are unable to distinguish between Italian and dialect forms. They therefore use them both, seemingly at random.

Table 7					
Informants	erano	era	ierano	iera	gera
father	1	2			
mother	1	1			
S(20)				1	
S(17)					4
S(15)					
D(12)				1	

Table 8				
Informants	Italian forms of the copula	Weak dialect forms	Strong dialect forms	Total
father	119	1	1	121
mother	68	2		70
S(20)	32	15		47
S(17)	14	6	49	68
S(15)	8	1	4	13
D(12)	1		32	33

The verb piacere is also commonly used during the interviews. It is also dif-ficult enough for the children to master and show a lot of variation. As expected from expert speakers, father and mother use it regularly in its Italian forms, whether the subject precedes:

     (28) il clima qua mi piace. (Father)

or follows:

     (29) di principio qua non mi piaceva restare in Australia. (Mother)

If we limit ourselves to consider only the most common occurrences of the verb *piacere*, that is those expressing the likes and dislikes of the speakers, then the children seem to alternate between Italian and dialect forms on the one hand, and between the orthodox use of indirect personal pronoun followed by the verb agreeing with its grammatical subject and a regularised use of the verb agreeing with the personal pronoun as the subject:

(30) - *È meglio lavorare?*

YEAH me piazo / mi vo a SYDNEY TECH / mi studia note / mi piazo kozita studiare note e lavoro / giorno / il giorno zè lungo però mi piazo / e zè / NEW FRIENDS amiki mi ho fato / ah⌐ su TECH / e zè VERY GOOD / me piaze Tanto. (S17)

Sometimes the personal pronoun is left out altogether, whether the verb is supposed to agree with it or not,

(31) - *E l'inverno ti piace qua l'inverno?*

OH YEAH / YEAH / basta che / oh no piove nu piace mia il tempo che / che tanto piogia / zè pioge / no no non piacio però. (S20)

whether it is dialect of Italian:

(32) - *Perchè ti piacerebbe andare?*

oh⌐ / tanti ah / bei paezi / le gonde entro venetsia piacio / piazo venetsia pechè è sopra l'aqua / e roma e⌐ / tuta. (S15)

While io piacio in

(33) - *Senti, cosa ne pensi del clima qui a Sydney, ti piace?*

ah⌐ / q questo ano? / io io piacio sì. (S20)

leaves no doubt as to the agreement between the personal pronoun and the verb, some confusion in the children's mind might be due to the fact that mi can either be the Italian indirect pronoun, or the dialect subject pronoun, as in mi no capiso (*I don't understand*).

So far only variation within the verbal system and between Italian and Venetian dialect has been mentioned, but other variation is quite obvious. For example, most transfers from English alternate with the Italian they replace. In (30) English and Italian dentals alternate. The two English syntactic structures in (23), (24) and (27) are by no means regularly used. At the lexical level, febraio and February in (2), and Florence and Firenze in (14) alternate within the same utterance. There is more variation within the Italian itself. Amici alternates with amichi as the plural form of amico (*friend*). Miei, the masculine plural of the possessive adjective, becomes either me, mi or mie respectively in me frateli (*my brothers*), mi noni (*my grandparents*) and mie amichi (*my friends*), all of which appear in S(20). The same verb can be conjugated with either auxiliary as in so ndato and ho andato (*I have gone*), both in S(17); and so on.

3.4. Lack of subordination

Table 9 confirms the hypothesis that, at least during the interviews, the Veneto children favour looser co-ordination and avoid subordination between clauses and sentences. Moreover, the few subordinate clauses they do use are limited to

Table 9							
Informants	Loose sentences		Co-ordinate sentences		Subordinate sentences		Total	
father	141	37%	121	32%	119	31%	381	100%
mother	87	29%	145	48%	70	23%	302	100%
S(20)	74	46%	51	32%	35	22%	160	100%
S(17)	110	58%	56	29%	23	12%	189	100%
S(15)	26	65%	10	25%	4	10%	40	100%
D(12)	24	39%	34	55%	4	6%	62	100%

temporal clauses, introduced by quando, causal clauses with perchè, and relative clauses invariably with che as a pronoun. However, the occurrences thus calculated might not do justice to the children's skills. In fact, their texts are much shorter and frequently broken up by the interviewer's questions. They thus inevitably display a smaller variety of features than those of their parents. On the other hand, until further research will clarify the issue, it is also possible to doubt whether their short answers, numerous hesitations, frequent transfers from English, variations and uncertainties about morphology displayed during the interviews might not be indication enough that the children are unable to cope with the linguistic sophistication and longer term planning required by tight subordination.

3.5. Prominence of topic-comment structure

The semiformal question-answer format of the interviews does not allow for a display of the full range of conversation structures. However, something can be said about the prominence of the topic-comment structure in the opening of the answer sequences. In the interviews three basic ways of starting off an answer have been noticed. First, the topic of the question is deleted in the answer and only the comment is given:

(34)   - *E quanti anni ha?*

Cinquantasei. (Father)

(35)   - *Dove lavori?*

ah⌐ OXFORD STREET in città. (S20)

(36)   - *Ti piace di più la high school o la primary?*

HIGH SCHOOL. (D12)

(37)   - *Sono più grandi di te?*

YEAH. (S15)

In these cases, whether the question is a wh- question, a disjunctive or a polar question, the new information of the comment depends totally on the co-text for interpretation. Despite the fact that this deletion of the topic is most common, Table 10 shows that only the two younger children use this structure more often than other ones.

Informants	No topicalisation		Comment topic		Topic comment		Total
father	16	28%	21	36%	21	36%	58
mother	21	33%	24	38%	18	28%	64
S(20)	43	45%	33	35%	19	20%	96
S(17)	41	38%	37	34%	29	27%	107
S(15)	53	79%	12	18%	2	3%	67
D(12)	66	77%	14	16%	6	7%	86

Table 10

Secondly, the topic is expressed in the answer, but following the comment, often as an afterthought:

(38)   – *Senta cosa gliene sembra del clima qui?*

non poso mica lamentarci come clima qui... (Father)

(39)   – *Tu eri il più bravo della scuola?*

oh⌐ no io non iera il più bravo... (S20)

(40)   – *E prima cosa facevi?*

oh⌐ / steso JOB / mi fazevo SAME THING... (S17)

As can be seen from these three excerpts this type of postponed topicalisation does not add any information to the autonomous content of the preceding comment. Its main function here seems to be that of slowing down the communicative progression, even if sometimes the topic repeated at the end of the answer sequence could be seen as the conclusive element of an argumentative sequence, after a *propositio* (i.e. the topic expressed in the question), and a *ratio* (i.e. the comment expressed in the answer), as in (18) further above. However, it is also possible that in the course of making the topic clear some new information is added:

(41)   – *Siete andati tutta la famiglia?*

YEAH YEAH / tuti YEAH pe tre mesi sono andato / tuto YOU KNOW. (S20)

Despite the added information in (41), it remains nevertheless clear that the topic which follows the comment constitutes here a delaying device. This is not necessarily so, as one could imagine a reinstatement of the topic for emphatic purposes, but the intonation here denies this possibility. This type of postponed topicalisation is remarkably common. It is used in just over a third of the parents' and older children's answers, with the only difference that the parents seem to add more information than the children after the reinstated topic.

Finally, the topic imposed by the interviewer is taken up by the informants, using one or more elements in her question sequence:

(42)   – *Senta e lei in Italia ha fatto la scuola elementare?*

l'ho fate fino a sesta. (Father)

(43)   – *E quanti anni hai?*

ne ho venti.   (S20)

(44)   – *Senti, e la scuola elementare dove l'hai fatta?*

la?

– *elementare, vuol dire primary.*

PRIMARY ah⌐ / SAINT AUGUSTINE'S.   (S17)

(45)   – *Facevate un poco di sport?*

ah⌐ un poco di sport / non tropo.   (D12)

(46)   – *Cos'è che fai?*

mi? / ah giusto servire i CUSTOMERS.   (S17)

As can be seen from Table 10, with the exception of the two younger children, this reinstatement of the topic before providing the answering information in the comment is quite common, although it is not as common with the rest of the family as is the postponed topicalisation. Most of the time, as in (42) and (43), the parents and to a certain extent also the eldest child, repeat elements of the question in an elaborate way and syntagmatically integrate them in their answer sequences. On the other hand, the other children leave the repeated topical element hanging, as in (44), (45) and (46); then the comment follows grammatically unrelated, often after a pause, sometimes with an interrogative intonation. Again, as with the postponed topicalisation, it seems that these answer structures can be accounted for in terms of a delay in linguistic production, especially in the examples (44)-(46).

To conclude, three more observations need to be made. First, the topic deletion in the answers of the two younger children can well be explained with their greater reluctance to speak and to provide elaborate answers. In any case, it seems that their delaying devices, i.e. their hesitations, are of the simpler kind shown in 3.1.

Secondly, the type of topicalisation in (44)-(46) which occurs in a sequence without a verb clearly points to the younger children's preference for a topic-comment structure rather than a subject-predicate. Two beautiful examples of topic-comment structure in a sentence without a finite verb occur in S(17), perhaps the most self-confident of all the Veneto children:

(47)   – *Cos'è che fai?*

mi? / ah giusto servire i CUSTOMERS / i CUSTOMERS / coza
vuoi far coza / [inaudible].

– *Come scusa?*

oh quando s'⌐ servivo CUSTOMERS eh / THAT'S IT/ oh no come /
come un TELLER / coi soldi nie niente cozita giusto / coze
che vuoi savere per la banca e / mi giusto ANSWER QUESTIONS
cozita.

(48)   – *Senti com'è stato il tempo quest'estate?*

Teribile / il Temp gera / Teribile / e zè sempre fredo e /
e soe mai visto fuora / THAT'S IT.

Duranti and Ochs (1979) have convincingly argued that in Italian conversation left dislocations, such as coi soldi in (47) and e soe (il sole) in (48), compared to the left location of the subjects, are potentially competitive actions and that they occur mainly in connection with turn-taking and with maintaining the floor. As during the interviews there was little competition from the interviewer, this might explain their limited occurrences, and hence the fact that we are unable to quote meaningful figures.

Thirdly, the frequent, and one can say from the point of view of informational content, useless reinstatement of the topic by the Veneto family must not be seen as a separate phenomenon from what have been called repeats in 3.1. Together with the repeats and other hesitation phenomena on the one hand, and together with nominal structures such as those occurring in (44)-(46) on the other, they clearly point to difficulties in the children's planning of their speech. These difficulties seem to increase in the children as their ages decrease, until they reach a point when even repeats are no longer helpful, and only pauses and drawls, as well as frugality with words, or, in the extreme case, silence, can overcome them.

4. CONCLUSION

Even this brief survey of selected features of the Veneto interviews confirms our initial hypothesis, that the children's language erodes in the direction of a pragmatic mode, philogenetically (in terms of the history of various languages) and ontogenetically (in terms of language development from child to adult) anterior to a syntactic mode. To the extent that the analysed features of this pragmatic mode are also characteristic of the informal unplanned spoken discourse in general, and of the less educated lower socioeconomic classes in particular (cf. Sornicola 1981) they are shared also with the parents. It is, therefore, not so much a question of discrete features categorically lost in the children's texts, as a continuum which presents degrees of variability.

From the data, it seems clear that, in descending age order, the children speak less, slower and more hesitantly than their parents. There are indications that regarding the adjective agreement their morphology is weakening gradually as their age decreases. Internal variation and inconsistency at the phonic, morphological, syntactic and lexical levels are quite obvious, especially regarding alternation of dialect and English forms with Italian ones. The frequency of subordinate sentences, as against loose and co-ordinate sentences, decreases regularly with the age of the children. Furthermore, the few subordinate clauses in the younger children are limited in range and never subordinate to subordinate clauses. Finally, although no conclusive evidence of a more prominent topic-comment structure can be put forward here, there is no indication that points in the opposite direction. The common presence of the topic in the answer sequences, preceding or following the comment providing new information, suggests that yet another delaying mechanism is at play here.

Of course, before drawing firmer conclusions more linguistic features would have to be taken into account, more interviews of members of different families would have to be analysed, and where possible diagnostic feed-back oriented tests would have to be devised. On the other hand, a preliminary reading of interview transcripts of some 12 more families, both Venetian and Sicilian, suggests that the Veneto family is representative of linguistic trends in the Italian community.

Finally, what so far, in terms of the wider Italian community in Australia, has been called language erosion, should, in terms of the personal histories of the Veneto children, be qualified as a failure to acquire (Andersen 1982:85). Their childish, informal pragmatic mode never had the chance to develop into a more elaborate syntactic mode. Italian is for them an oral tool only, used almost exclusively in the family context dealing with obvious topics and simple tasks, involving face-to-face communication within a small group of intimates who share much of the pragmatic presuppositions about their universe and its social and motivational structure (Givón 1979:231). As the Veneto children grew up, the transition from a more pragmatic to a more syntactic mode was not achieved within the same mother tongue, but across languages. School English and peer-group English gradually replaced Italian where this childish and informal language became inadequate. If Australia is interested in language maintenance, the task it faces would be that of giving the children of migrant families a chance to develop their mother tongue to a level adequate for adult use, before even this poorer language is totally lost. As can be seen from the interview excerpts given above, the base on which to build is still quite strong.

NOTES

1. Research for this paper was funded by a 1984 Special Project Grant from the University of Sydney. I would like to thank Antonia Rubino for her invaluable assistance in recording and transcribing the interviews, and for her intelligent comments.

2. A variety of the national language marked both socially (lower socioeconomic classes) and geographically (the Veneto region in north-eastern Italy).

3. As far as possible normal Italian and English spelling has been used. However, English sounds occurring in Italian or Venetian words, and English words, when all pronounced with English sounds, have been capitalised. Moreover, as /s/ and /z/ have a slightly different distribution in Venetian dialect, and as /ts/ and /dz/ are quite rare in Venetian Italian and unknown in Venetian dialect, 's' and 'z' have been used for /s/ and /z/. Where necessary, 'ts' and 'dz' substitute the normal spelling.

4. They will be called here S20, S17, S15 and D12 respectively.

WARLPIRI AND ENGLISH: LANGUAGES IN CONTACT

Edith Bavin and Tim Shopen

1. WARLPIRI: THE FIRST LANGUAGE OF YUENDUMU

In this paper we will discuss the influence of English on the Warlpiri spoken by children at Yuendumu,[1] a town 300km. north-west of Alice Springs. There are from seven to eight hundred Aboriginal people and about 70 non-Aboriginal . Warlpiri is the first language of the community; while a few Aboriginal families use it extensively, English is very much a second language.

Since 1974 official support for Warlpiri has been manifested through government funding for bilingual education in the Yuendumu school. It has been a 'transition' program with most Warlpiri in the early school years and most of the teaching of academic subject matter in English; nevertheless, it has been an important factor in language maintenance and a program in which Aboriginal children have been able to adapt to formal educational standards. Outside the school, there is little functional use of Warlpiri literacy. To the extent that literacy is used for the management of the community, people rely on English. But unlike other Aboriginal groups and many migrants in Australia, the Warlpiri people feel their language has more prestige than English and want to maintain it.

In spite of the fact that Warlpiri is the first language of the community, contact with English has had considerable effect. When two languages are in contact in one community, unless each has separate functions, as in a diglossic situation, it is likely that there will be interference. One of the languages may eventually be lost. Dorian (1982) states that the displacement of one language by another occurs most typically when there is a sharp difference in prestige and in levels of official support for the two languages, and that usually there are marked differences in the utility of the two. At Yuendumu, there is official support for Warlpiri as well as English, but there are a number of domains where English is used in preference to Warlpiri, where Warlpiri is used with a high level of interference from English, or even where there is code switching. These domains include all those involving contact with Europeans, as well as communication among Warlpiri people about topics introduced from European culture, and among younger Warlpiri speakers, inter- ference from English is evident even on topics traditional for Aborigines.

2. LEXICAL BORROWINGS

Many of the words incorporated into the Warlpiri language from English reflect new situations or new concepts. Examples include rayipul *rifle*, jijiji *scissors*, turaki *truck*, juka *sugar*, pulawa *flour*, jati *shirt*, and wijipitirli *hospital*. Borrowed English words show varying degrees of assimilation to the Warlpiri sound system. Warlpiri words end in vowels and so we see the borrowings for *scissors*, *truck*, *shirt* and *hospital* with a final vowel added, though the pronunciation we cite for *rifle*, common in the community, remains more like English with no final vowel. Warlpiri lacks fricatives, and so substitutes /p/ for English /f v/ as in the words for *rifle* and *flour*, and the lamino-alveolar stop /j/ for the other English fricatives, /θ ð s z ʃ ʒ/, as in the words for *scissors*, *sugar*, *shirt* and *hospital*. Warlpiri lacks /h/, and we note the substitution of the Warlpiri phoneme /w/ for the /h/ in *hospital*. Non-Warlpiri consonant clusters tend to be broken up by vowels, as in the words for *truck*, *flour* and *hospital* (see Nash 1983).

Other pronunciations of English borrowings show less adaptation to the Warlpiri phonological system; however, in English verb borrowings, the morphological system is maintained. Warlpiri has a productive system of compound verb deri-vation using the pattern 'preverb' + verb, with the verb carrying all the inflec-tions for the compound expression. All English verbs we have heard borrowed into Warlpiri become preverbs: verbs borrowed with intransitive meanings are usually attached to the inchoative jarrimi, and those borrowed with transitive meanings to mani *to get*, *take*, *affect*, a verb used to form many compound causa-tive expressions in traditional Warlpiri. Jarrimi and mani then carry all the regular Warlpiri verbal inflections (suffixes). In the chart below we give examples of these derivations. (We have used English spelling in words that have not adapted to the Warlpiri sound system.)

Intransitive verbs (non-past forms)

English	Warlpiri
grow	grow-jarrimi
sleep	sliipi-jarrimi
play	play-jarrimi
swim	juwimi-jarrimi
win	wina-jarrimi
jump	jampi-jarrimi
work	warrki-jarrimi
hide	ayiti-jarrimi

Transitive verbs

English	Warlpiri
hold	hold-mani
chew	ju-mani
miss	misi-mani
smell	smeli-mani
taste	tasti-mani
chase	jasi-mani
wash	waji-mani
sweep	jiwipi-mani

In many instances, English borrowings are used when there are traditional words with the same meanings. For example, among verbs, play-jarrimi is used alongside manyu-karrimi *to play*, a verb compound made up of the preverb manyu, a noun meaning *fun, enjoyment, play*, and the verb karrimi *to stand*; slipi-jarrimi is used alongside jarda-ngunami *to sleep*, a compound verb made up of the noun jarda *sleep* and the verb ngunami *to lie*; hold-mani is used alongside mardarni *to hold, to have, to keep*; tasti-mani is used alongside pajarni *to taste*; and jasi-mani is used alongside wajili-pinyi *to chase*, a compound verb made up of the preverb wajili *running* and the verb pinyi *to attack*. This is also true of other parts of speech, for example, nayipi *knife* is used as well as junma *knife*.

In addition to single verbs, other expressions may be borrowed and verbalised with the addition of jarrimi or mani. For example, happi-jarrimi *to become happy*, jatimapi-mani *to shut up, close*,[2] and goround-mani *to go around* which we heard used transitively in *to go around the house*.

In Warlpiri, there is no part of speech adjective; adjective-like meanings are expressed by nouns, so when English adjectives are borrowed into Warlpiri, it is not surprising that they are nominalised with the suffix one, sometimes pronounced wani. We should point out, however, that the use of one with adjectives is common in Aboriginal English. Examples follow (English spelling):

English	Warlpiri
black	black-one
hot	hot-one
sweet	sweet-one
slippery	slippery-one
short	shorty-one
good	good-one
new	new-one
same	same-one

In addition to these, the conjunctions and (an, ani) and or (o) are both heard in Warlpiri utterances, as are interjections, particles and adverbs such as well (wali), isn't it (inti), too much (tumaji), not (nati), no (nuu), still (jili), anyway (yiniwayi) and inside (yinjayiti).

3. SEMANTIC EXTENSION

Not only may words be borrowed, but senses may also be borrowed for words already in the language. In traditional Warlpiri, ngurrju-mani means *to make* in the sense of *to fabricate, to manufacture*; it can also mean *to improve, to make better*. This is a compound verb formed from the noun ngurrju *good* used as a preverb, and the verb mani *to get, take, affect*. It traditionally takes only noun objects, to express meanings such as *to make (a spear)* or *to repair (a truck)*. However, we have heard it used with an infinitive (INF) complement in sentences such as the following (DAT = dative, lsgS = first person singular subject):

(1)a. Kurda-rna   ngurrju-manu yulanja-ku.
        child(ABS)-lsgS *make*(PAST) *cry*(INF)-DAT
        I made the child cry.

    b. Ngurru-manu-rna   Jampijinpa   kuyu   ngarninja-ku.
       make(PAST)-lsgS   *Jampijinpa*(ABS) *meat*(ABS) *eat*(INF)-DAT
       I made Jampijinpa eat meat.

One Warlpiri speaker said that (1b) was interchangeable with the following
traditional Warlpiri sentence (jinyjinyi is the preverb instead of ngurrju):

  (2) Jinyjinyi-manu-rna Jampijinpa   kuyu   ngarninja-ku.
       make(PAST)-lsgS   *Jampijinpa*(ABS) *meat*(ABS) *eat*(INF)-DAT
       I made Jampijinpa eat meat.

4. SYNTACTIC INTERFERENCE

Interference from English in the vocabulary is easily identified. Less obvious
is the syntactic interference.

4.1. Properties of standard Warlpiri

Three of the properties of Warlpiri that we will discuss in terms of interference
from English are case markings, word order and cross-referencing.

4.1.1. Case markings

Warlpiri has a complex system of case marking, complex because there is a large
number of cases (18 by our count), and because there are three basic case frames
for transitive verbs. A sentence describing an event uses a verb to convey the
plot. In Warlpiri, if the plot involves two participants, case markings always
signal who does what to whom, but different verbs select different case frames.
Most transitive verbs take the ergative-absolutive case frame (ERG/ABS). Out
of a list of 119 transitive and intransitive verb roots listed in Nash (1980),
74 take the ERG/ABS case frame in which the transitive subject is marked by the
ergative and the object by the absolutive. These include the verbs pakarni *to
hit* and kanyi *to carry*. Twelve others take the absolutive-dative case frame
(ABS/DAT). These include pardarni *to wait for*, and japirdimi *to threaten*. Here
the subject is absolutive and the object is dative. One verb root, warrirni *to
look for* takes an ergative-dative case frame (ERG/DAT), with the subject in the
ergative and the object in the dative. These three case frames are illustrated
below (NPST = non-past, AUX = auxiliary base):

  (3)a. Karnta-ngku ka ngarrka pakarni.
       woman-ERG   AUX *man*(ABS) *hit*(NPST)
       The woman is hitting the man.

    b. Karnta   ka-rla   ngarrka-ku japirdimi.
       woman(ABS) AUX-DAT   *man*-DAT   *threaten*(NPST)
       The woman is threatening the man.

    c. Karnta-ngku ka-rla   ngarrka-ku warrirni.
       woman-ERG   AUX-DAT   *man*-DAT   *look for*(NPST)
       The woman is looking for the man.

Warlpiri has many more transitive verbs that use these three case frames: compound verbs are derived from verb roots; both simple and compound verbs may be derived from the verb roots with alternate case frames (see Hale 1982 and Nash 1982).

In addition to the case markings, core and peripheral, Warlpiri uses other endings on nominals and verbs to express a wide range of concepts. An example, provided by a three-and-a-half year old, follows. The girl was playing with a friend and asked for some chocolate (IMPER = imperative, 1sgO = first person singular object):

> (4) Ngaju-rlangu-ku-ju   yungka-rni.
>   *me-also*-DAT-1sgO   *give*(IMPER)*-here*
>   *Give some to me over here too.*

The first word, the first person singular pronoun, is marked with the dative case to identify it as the recipient for the action of giving. But the dative case marker -ku, an enclitic, is flanked by two other enclitics. To its left is the morpheme meaning *also, too* and to its right is the cross-reference marker for the first person singular indirect object; this is part of the auxiliary, appearing in second position.

4.1.2. Word order

The case marking system facilitates an almost completely free word order. There are no syntactic slots for core or peripheral arguments. The examples given above in (3) can occur with any word order so long as the imperfect auxiliary ka appears in second position. Speakers will understand any of these variants as repetitions of the same utterance; in addition, modifying words may be separated from the head nouns that they modify.

Closely related to the free word order is the fact that traditional Warlpiri makes extensive use of anaphoric ellipsis (zero anaphora; see Hale 1983). When anaphoric pronouns are used, they have a foregrounding effect. Because the subject and object functions are not signalled by word order, there is no need to fill any position with the anaphoric pronouns. This use of anaphoric ellipsis complements the free word order.

4.1.3. Cross-referencing

Anaphoric ellipsis in turn is facilitated by cross-referencing. Warlpiri cross-references subjects and objects with a set of bound pronouns that follow a nominative-accusative pattern. These pronouns occur as enclitics on the auxiliary base, which generally occurs in second position, and carry information about person and number for subjects, objects and indirect objects (see Laughren 1977). Thus, for example, to distinguish *I see you* from *you see me* there is no need for independent subject and object constituents. The subject and object will be clearly signalled in the auxiliary. The bracketed portions of the following examples can be ellipsed.[3]

> (5)a. Nyanyi   ka-rna-ngku   (ngajulu-rlu)   (nyuntu).
>   *see*(NPST) AUX-1sgS-2sgO *I*-ERG   *you*
>   *I see you.*

> b. Nyanyi   ka-npa-ju   (nyuntulu-rlu) (ngaju).
>   *see*(NPST) AUX-2sgS-1sgO *you*-ERG   *me*
>   *You see me.*

In summary, Warlpiri has three properties which we will discuss in the next section in terms of interference from English: case marking, free word order and cross-referencing.

4.2.   Interference

4.2.1.   Word order

We conducted a series of comprehension tests with the children at Yuendumu using varied word order and the three case frames for transitive sentences described above. The tests included subject-before-object and object-before-subject sentences (Bavin and Shopen, forthcoming). The children were asked to act out the sentences with plastic toy animals, sentences such as:

> (6) Marlu-ngku   ka   maliki pakarni.
>   *kangaroo*-ERG AUX *dog*   *hit*(NPST)
>   *The kangaroo is hitting the dog.*

The children made no errors in the nature of the actions, only errors in choosing which of the two animals named was the actor and which the patient. We found that as the children got older there were fewer errors, but the proportion of errors in sentences with object-before-subject word order was higher for the older children than for the younger. The results for the comprehension test on transitive sentences are given in Table 1.

Table 1: Errors in transitive sentences by word order						
Group	N	Mean age	School level	% Sentences with errors	% Errors in S-O sentences	% Errors in O-S sentences
a	6	3.2	–	47.22	52.94	47.05
b	5	4.4	–	45.55	51.21	48.78
c	5	5.5	–	37.77	50.00	50.00
d	17	5.5	Preschool	36.60	40.18	59.82
e	14	6.2	Transition	26.98	38.23	61.77
f	16	6.0	Grade 1	19.10	32.73	67.28
g	13	8.3	Grade 2	23.50	40.00	60.00
h	13	11.0	Grades 5/6	11.97	25.00	75.00
i	12	16.4	–	12.5	11.00	89.00

Note that for the groups older than c, when an error is made it is more likely to be in a sentence with the object-before-subject word order. That is, the most likely error is to take the first noun as the subject, regardless of case marking. We believe that contact with English is an important factor here.

We have listened to the children speaking in a variety of contexts. Most of the data we report on here is from situations where we withdrew children from classes one or two at a time, and where we controlled the content of what they

were saying.[4] We have noticed that as the children progress through school, most of them appear to speak more with the subject as the first constituent of the sentence. See Table 2.

Table 2: The development of subject-first word order		
A.	% of sentences with independent subjects	% of those sentences with subject first
Transition. (14 children 518 sentences recorded)	26.8%	38.8%
Grades 1 & 2. (9 children 447 sentences recorded)	48.3%	71.8%
Grade 3. (7 children 141 sentences recorded)	89.4%	95.2%
Grade 4-7. (7 children 109 sentences recorded)	91.7%	100%
B.	% of sentences with independent subjects and objects	% of those sentences with subject preceding object
Transition. (14 children 518 sentences recorded)	20.3%	48.6%
Grades 1 & 2. (9 children 447 sentences recorded)	38.9%	86.8%
Grade 3. (7 children 141 sentences recorded)	83.7%	95.8%
Grades 4-7. (7 children 109 sentences recorded)	80.7%	100%

These figures correlate with the results of the comprehension tests, in which the older children made fewer errors in transitive sentences in which the subject preceded the object. The high percentage of subject-first sentences among many of the older school children is made possible by their relatively infrequent use of subject ellipsis (see Table 2A). We have noted that speakers who use free word order appear to name subjects only for specific purposes, such as naming a topic for the first time or re-establishing one; when they do name them, they often place them at the beginning of the sentence, a focus position. At least in some discourse contexts, there appears to be a number of young speakers who can talk at length without using subject ellipsis, always naming the subject even when there is no new topic, and always putting it at the beginning of the sentence. Adult speakers of standard Warlpiri and some younger speakers do not converse this way, and we infer that it is because of the contact with English that many young people have adopted this style. Sentences without independent subjects are a major variant to subject-first sentences. If a sentence has no subject constituent, then it cannot have SVO word order.

As long as the cross-reference system for subjects and objects is maintained, the ellipsis of these arguments in anaphoric situations can occur with little loss of information. However, once this system breaks down, there is more motivation to retain overt arguments. We surveyed 169 speakers under 35 for their use of the third person cross-reference markers for subjects and objects. Table 3 shows the statistics on the percentage of speakers supplying complete combinations of overtly marked subjects and objects in the third person, when both the subject and object are either dual or plural.

Table 3: Speakers with complete combinations (Sp+CC) for third person cross-referencing for subjects and objects			
Age	N	Sp+CC	%
4–10	51	3	5.9
11–18	50	12	24.0
19–26	41	26	63.4
27–34	27	23	85.2

Ten of the speakers in the 4–10 age group (19.6%) produced at least one of the four combinations of overt subject and object markers, and the other 41 produced none. This compares with 30 of the 11–18 age group (60%) who had at least one of the combinations marked, 33 in the 19–26 age group (80.5%), and 26 in the 27–34 age group (96.3%). Only 13 in the youngest group (25.5%) appear to have the standard -palangu as the marker for dual object, as compared with 29 of the 11–18 group (58%), 33 in the 19–26 group (80.5%), and 24 in the 27–34 group (88.9%). The other third person standard forms were produced by most of the children tested, -pala as the dual subject marker, -lu as the plural subject, and -jana as the plural object. However, each of these forms is used by some of the children in the youngest age group with incorrect meanings; for example, seven (13.7%) used -lu sometimes as the plural object marker and 12 (23.5%) used -pala for the dual object marker; in both cases, the subject-object contrast was neutralised in favour of the subject. Many children showed variability as to whether they included the cross-reference markers or not, leaving them out in contexts that did not appear to justify their omission.

4.2.2. Case marking

The children make mistakes with case markers, not so much by using the wrong ones as by sometimes leaving them out. This may be related to the use of a more fixed word order. If speakers can rely on word order to signal core grammatical relations, then case markers become redundant. In fact, we have examples of missing case markers for peripheral as well as core arguments, where word order could not be a signal for grammatical function. Some examples follow (--- represents a missing case marker; INS = instrumental):

(7)a. Wati--- ka   payirni   purlka
       man-ERG AUX *ask*(NPST) *old man*
       The man is asking the old man.

b. Luwarnu-lu   maliki yapa---.
    shoot(PAST)-3plS *dog*   *person*-ERG
    The person shot the dog.

c. Marlu---   ka wapa.
    kangaroo-DAT AUX *walk*
    (He) is going for a kangaroo.

d. Warnapari ka muku-luwarni   kularda---.
    dingo   AUX *all-shoot*(NPST) *spear*-INS
    Everyone is shooting the dingo with a spear.

In addition, we have recorded some wrong allomorphs, some of which are presented below. Note that for two syllable words in Warlpiri, the ergative and instrumental case marking is -ngku/ngki, but for words longer than two syllables -rlu/rli is used[5] (FOC = focus):

(8)a. kurlarda-ngku
       spear-INS (should be -rlu for instrumental)

b. yapa-rlu-ju
    person-ERG-FOC (should be -ngku for ergative)

c. wirriya-ngku-ju
    boy-ERG-FOC (should be -rlu for ergative)

5. TWO ELEVEN-YEAR-OLD SPEAKERS COMPARED

5.1. The Kangaroo Story

In this section we will compare the Warlpiri of two 11-year-olds. One is a girl who seems to be typical of the regular school attenders from whom we obtained the data summarised in Table 2, and the other is a boy who has been referred to as a 'non-schoolie', one who seems to have spent more time out of school than in. The girl recently won a prize at the Yuendumu school for English. Her Warlpiri displays a great deal of influence from English. In contrast, the boy has a number of English loan words in his Warlpiri, but in both lexicon and structure his language adheres to many characteristics of traditional Warlpiri. In fact he comes from a family of 'good talkers' and is particularly articulate.

As part of our investigation into the development of discourse structure, we had 36 speakers describe three sets of pictures for us; each set was bound into book form and each subject saw the pictures in sequence, one at a time. We asked the subjects to describe what was happening. The speakers ranged in age from four to 49.

One of the 'books' contained six pictures showing:

1. a man out hunting with a rifle
2. a kangaroo
3. the man discovering the kangaroo
4. the kangaroo seeing the man as he comes towards it firing his rifle
5. the man stopping and taking more careful aim, hitting the kangaroo as
      it runs away
6. the kangaroo lying on the ground as the man approaches.

We will call this the Kangaroo Story. The two versions are given below in
Figure 1 (numbers correspond to the pictures being described; brackets around
part of a Warlpiri word indicate it was not pronounced):

THE GIRL	THE BOY

1. Wati   ka   yani   marlu-ku.
    man   AUX   *go*(NPST)   *kangaroo*-DAT
    The man is going for kangaroo.

1. Wati   ka   yani   wirlinyi
    man   AUX   *go*(NPST)   *hunting*

    marlu-ku.
    kangaroo-DAT
    The man is going hunting for
    kangaroo.

2. Marlu   ka   nyinami
    kangaroo   AUX   *sit*(NPST)

    pirli-wana.
    rock-along
    A kangaroo is sitting near the
    rocks.

2. Pirli-nga(wu)rrpa-ku
    rock-dweller-DAT

    nayimi-ki-ji   kanyarla-ku.
    name-DAT-FOC   *rock-wallaby*-DAT
    For the rock-dweller that goes
    by the name of kanyarla.

3. Wati-ng(k)i   nyangu   marlu
    man-ERG   *see*(PAST)   *kangaroo*

    ngarinja-kurra.
    eat(INF)-*while*
    The man saw the kangaroo eating.

3. Ngula-jangka-ju   luwarnu-lku.
    that-after-FOC   *shoot*-(PAST)-*then*

    Marlaja-kutu-kanjani-lki
    because-close-go along carrying
    (NPST)-*then*

    ka-rla.
    AUX-DAT
    After that he shot it. He got
    closer because of it.

4. Wati-ng(k)i   ka   luwarni
    man-ERG   AUX   *shoot*(NPST)

    marlu.
    kangaroo
    The man is shooting the kangaroo.

4. Nyangu-lku.   Kiripi-kanja-rla
    see(PAST)-*then*   *creep-carry*(INF)-
                                          LOC

    nyangu.   An   marna-lpa
    see(PAST)   *and*   *grass*-AUX

    warru-ngarnu.
    around eat(PAST)
    Then he saw it. Having crept
    up, he saw it. And it was moving
    around eating grass.

    Wati-ji   yanu-rnu   pirli-wana.
    man-FOC   *go*(PAST)-*here*   *rock-around*
    The man came this way around the
    rocks.

5. Marlu   ka   parnkami
    kangaroo   AUX   *run*(NPST)

    ngurra-kurra.
    home-towards
    The kangaroo is running home.

5. Nyan(ung)u-ju   parnkanja-ku-lku
    this one-FOC   *run*(INF)-DAT-*then*

    jata-nyangu.
    confusion-see(PAST)
    It was too confused to run.

6. Wati-ng(k)i   luwarnu
    man-ERG   *shoot*(PAST)

    marlu.
    kangaroo
    The man shot the kangaroo.

6. Ngula-jangka-ju wantija-lku.
    that-after-FOC *fall*(PAST)*-then*

    Wardinyi-lki ka   wati-ji
    happy-then   AUX *man*-FOC

    yani-rni   marlu-ku-ju
    go(NPST)*-here* *kangaroo*-DAT-FOC

    maninja-ku-ju.
    get(INF)-DAT-FOC
    Then after that it fell down.
    Happily the man is coming this
    way to get the kangaroo.

Figure 1: The Kangaroo Story

We will use these texts to demonstrate differences between these two speakers in terms of (a) fixed versus varied word order and anaphoric ellipsis, (b) vocabulary, and (c) the structure of narrative. The stories from most of the children (male and female) were more like that of the girl. We should point out that the boy whose story is presented here not only demonstrates a good command of standard Warlpiri, but also an extremely fluent style. Some of the differences between the two speakers are individual and are not the result of contact with English. However, it is clear that the girl's speech is influenced more by English, and that in this respect she is representative of her peer group.

The girl uses one sentence per picture. In this story, as in the other two she told, there are no English loan words. However, we have heard her using English loan words in talk with her peers. Every sentence in the text is grammatically correct, and the third one contains a complex infinitive construction ngarninja-kurra *eat*(INF)*while*; here the suffix -kurra marks the subject of the infinitive as being coreferential with the object of the main verb. However, every sentence has English word order. In spite of the fact that the man and the kangaroo occur repeatedly in the pictures, there is no instance of anaphoric ellipsis; this in turn makes it possible for every sentence to begin with a subject, and for every transitive sentence to have SVO word order. In the three stories told by the girl, there were 27 sentences; only at the end of the third story did she deviate from English word order. Two of the 27 sentences had subject ellipsis and one named the subject in non-initial position; the other sentences had English word order.

The boy's story includes three English loan words (name, creep and and). Such loan words are common in Warlpiri. The word order is notably free; there are ten sentences: four begin with adverbial constituents, three with subjects, two with verbs, and one with an object. Six of the sentences have subject ellipsis; of the four sentences with overt subjects, three are subject initial.

In the three stories told by the boy, 48 sentences were used, 29 with subject ellipsis and 19 with overt subjects. Thirty-six out of his 48 sentences begin with a constituent other than the subject, and more than half have subject ellipsis; when subjects are overt, they appear in initial position 12 out of 19 times. When it is in initial position, the subject is always a new topic. This is true for all of his three stories.

5.2. Compound verbs

The boy has a wide vocabulary. He uses many Warlpiri words with standard meanings; for example, in the third story he uses three words for different types of spears. He also displays innovations including reanalysis of traditional meanings and borrowings from English. An outstanding aspect of his Warlpiri is the use of compound verbs. Traditional Warlpiri has a relatively small set of verb roots, but a productive system of verb compounding yields numerous verbal expressions that are in use.

In the first two stories the girl did not use any compound verbs; she used three in her third story. Altogether, the boy used fifteen; there are four in the kangaroo story, in the sentences for pictures three, four and five.

Warlpiri is a living language with internally motivated historical change as well as the changes resulting from language contact. For example, the first compound verb the boy used is in his description of the third picture:

(9) Marlaja-kutu-kanjani-lki   ka-rla.
     because-close-go along carrying-then AUX-DAT
     He got closer to it.

The core of the compound verb is kanjani *to go along carrying* (NPST), one which some older speakers still pronounce kanja-yani *carry* (INF)-*go* (NPST). It is a preverb-verb construction where the preverb is an infinitive. In the speech of most of the community, the infinitive suffix has now become fused with the verb for *to go* to produce a new form meaning *to go along doing X.*

Kanjani is combined with the preverb kutu *close* to produce kutu-kanjani *to go along getting closer*. This use of kutu appears to be an innovation: standard Warlpiri has the adverbial nominal kutu *close* but this has not been reported as a preverb. Instead, there is a homophone, a preverb kutu *to do it in any way* which can be used, for example, with the verb yinyi *to give* to mean *to give anything at all*.

To the already complex expression kutu-kanjani, the boy adds marlaja, a standard Warlpiri preverb for *because*. Marlaja is one of four dative preverbs the boy used in the three stories, preverbs which add a dative argument extending the propositional structure of the verb to which they are attached. Marlaja makes reference to the kangaroo as the cause of the hunter's getting closer. This cause is an argument for the verb and is cross-referenced with the -rla on the auxiliary. In this way, what would otherwise be just an intransitive verb with a single argument becomes a two-place predicate and makes reference to both the hunter and the kangaroo.

The second compound verb the boy used, in his description of the fourth picture, shows the result of contact with English:

(10) Kiripi-kanja-rla   nyangu.
      creep-carry (INF)-LOC *see* (PAST)
      Having crept up, he saw it.

Kiripi-ka- *(creep-carry) to crawl, creep* exhibits a well-established feature of Warlpiri word formation. This derived verb is intransitive with just one argument in the absolutive even though it is based on the transitive root ka-*to carry*. With data from an earlier generation, Hale (1974) lists kiripi-ka- with the same meaning. Traditional Warlpiri has two other verbs of motion with ka- as stem, both meaning *to sneak up on*, yura-ka- and wurru-ka-. Ka- on its own is ERG/ABS (fully transitive), but yura-ka- and wurru-ka- are ABS/DAT;

the innovation kutu-ka- *to get closer*, discussed for picture 3, is another
instance of an intransitive verb of motion with ka-. Harold Koch has suggested
to us that this root might be contributing a durative meaning to the compound
expressions (compare English to carry on meaning *to continue*).

5.3. Discourse structure

A mastery of standard Warlpiri entails being able to use discourse-linking
strategies. Some of these have already been discussed: the use of ellipsis for
nominals, and the use of word order for foregrounding. In addition, the boy's
use of preverbs with dative adjuncts allows him to make reference to more
participants in a single clause; this provides a more cohesive unit. Another
factor is the use of morphology to focus and link elements. In the text above,
the girl uses no ellipsis, no focus marker and no linking morphology to connect
the sentences into a coherent story. However, the boy uses all of these. He
names the hunter as wati *man*, for the first picture; for the third and fourth
pictures he uses this argument as the subject for a succession of five verbs
but with subject ellipsis each time; when he re-establishes the hunter as the
topic with wati, the focus marker -ju/-ji is attached.[6] This is used to fore-
ground nominals already mentioned in the discourse or which are assumed to be
known to the listener. In the boy's story, -ju is used eight times; in the
three stories with 48 sentences, -ju is used 25 times. The girl only used -ju
once; this was in her third story.

The boy uses other morphology to link the utterances. In the kangaroo story,
he uses -lku/-lki *after, then, now* on six predicates, five verbs and one predi-
cate nominal. In the other two stories, he uses this morpheme 14 times. The
girl only used it once, in the third story. -lku/-lki has the effect of focus-
sing the constituent on which it is attached, and it relates an event or situ-
ation to what has previously occurred. For example, its use in (6) in wardinyi-
lki *happy-then*, has the effect of focussing the hunter's happiness and relating
it to what has just happened: it implies that the hunter is happy because the
kangaroo has fallen down. This is not fully captured in the English translation.

5.4. Summary

The Warlpiri of these two 11-year-olds shows the result of contact with English
in different ways. The boy shows influence from English in his lexicon, but
the grammar and structure of his stories follow standard Warlpiri. The girl
shows a great deal of influence from English in word order. In addition, she
rarely used the linking devices available in standard Warlpiri.

6. CONCLUSION

When a culture borrows new concepts from another, we can expect the associated
vocabulary to be borrowed as well. But in young people's Warlpiri at Yuendumu,
we see the beginnings of an influence from English on grammatical structure,
and this change in grammatical structure has implications for discourse style.

As the children grow older, they are increasingly influenced by peers.[7] We
assume that because the Warlpiri of the peer group has more features of English
in it than that of older generations, there is an acceleration of English
influence.

NOTES

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2. Jatimapi *shut up* probably comes from some variety of Aboriginal English in which it is common to have -im as a transitive marker.

3. In all further examples, we will not mark the absolutive case; when a noun appears without a case marker, it should be assumed that it is the absolutive form.

4. We have spent extended periods of time in Yuendumu over the past two years, and have made a point of using Warlpiri, not English, with the children. We are well known to the children, and we are confident that our presence has not influenced their Warlpiri. In addition, we have compared our results with those when Aboriginal assistants have interviewed the children and found no differences.

5. The final vowel of the morpheme depends on the preceding vowel: [i] is used with a preceding front vowel; otherwise [u] is used.

6. The vowel harmony rule applies to the focus marker as to other morphemes.

7. See Schmidt's paper, this volume, for a discussion of peer groups in another Aboriginal community.

DOMAINS AND CODESWITCHING AMONG BILINGUAL ABORIGINES

Patrick McConvell

INTRODUCTION

Stephen Harris makes the following statement (1977:135):

> Between two cultural systems that are still very different
> (for example, traditional Aboriginal and white Australian
> cultures), the use of domains rather than code-switching is
> likely to be found.

Harris argues (1977:121) that:

> The use of different language in different speech domains is
> probably a reality already in most Australian Aboriginal
> communities.

He also advocates the separation of Aboriginal bilingual school classes into
English and Aboriginal language 'domains':

> the idea of language domains seems both practical and
> essential to a maintenance curriculum model of bilingual
> education.

This view is contrasted with that of O'Grady and Hale (1975:14):

> Education has the goal of enabling an Aboriginal scholar
> to write and talk about literally anything under the sun,
> either in English or in his native tongue.

Some of Harris' views on domains and codeswitching, which have achieved wide
currency in Aboriginal bilingual education circles, deserve critical
re-examination. I hope to show here:

(a) Codeswitching is a reality in many Aboriginal communities;

(b) Codeswitching is more likely to occur when cultural differences are
     greater between the two languages;

(c) Codeswitching is mainly used by the speaker to convey social meanings;

(d) Codeswitching between a traditional language and English or Kriol
     produces social meanings in the same way as codeswitching between
     different traditional languages and dialects;

(e) The fact that language can switch in codeswitching without a change
in domain casts doubt on the strong form of the domain model, in
communities where this occurs;

(f) The idea of a necessary correlation between separation of language
domains and stable bilingualism remains a hypothesis, with little
supporting evidence, and should not be an assumption in planning
educational and language maintenance programmes.

DO ABORIGINES CODESWITCH?

The phenomenon of codeswitching between different Aboriginal traditional lan-
guages and forms of English or English-based pidgins/creoles is common through-
out a wide area of Northern Australia, and is well recognised by Aboriginal and
Islander people themselves, and by European observers alike. Such speech is
often referred to by non-linguists of both groups as 'mix' or 'mixture', or, in
Kriol, mikijimap (mix-im-up).

John Haviland, an ethnographer and linguist who has worked for years at Hopevale,
North Queensland, describes the situation there as follows (1982:55):

> Hopevale talk is riddled with small-scale switches between
> Guugu Yimidhirr and English ... most talk at Hopevale mission
> involves a mixture of both languages. This mixture consti-
> tutes the unmarked register in conversation.

Vanessa Elwell, who studied multilingualism at Maningrida, notes examples of
switching between different Aboriginal languages and between these and English,
'for a variety of reasons' (Elwell 1983:95-97). Jennifer Lee writes of the Tiwi
of Bathurst Island, where the Tiwi language has undergone radical changes in the
younger generation (1983:25): 'The language situation of the Tiwi community is
further complicated by the amount of codeswitching which occurs'. Bruce Shaw,
who has collected much oral history material around Kununurra in Western
Australia, writes of the type of speech gathered (Shaw 1981:4): 'Words and
phrases of the indigenous languages frequently were inserted into the Aboriginal
English; neither was divorced wholly from the other'.

In the nearby Victoria River District of the Northern Territory in the period
1975-1980, I also found codeswitching between sentences of the traditional lan-
guages and sentences of English, and insertion of phrases of one into sentences
of the other, in both directions, to be the normal pattern of Aboriginal people
roughly in the age range 25-55. Examples of this in Gurindji are presented and
analysed below. Although Aboriginal people participating in a survey of the
Kimberleys do report some differentiation of languages according to domain,
they also report a 'mixture of 'language' [i.e. traditional language] and
'Broken English'' as being appropriate to a wide range of situations (Hudson
and McConvell 1984).

In the Torres Strait, younger people in both traditional language groups have
become habitual codeswitchers. Of Murray Island, Ron Day has this to say
(Day 1983:20):

> The speaker commences the sentences in very good, if sometimes
> simple, Meriam Mir, but suddenly switches and ends in Pidgin.
> Let's take this question for example:

(1) Ma pe nako pe ma nali | IU GO KAM TU?
     How about you | *WILL YOU COME TOO?*

Similar examples are given for the Western Island language (Kalaw Lagaw Ya) by
Bani (1976). This common style involving pervasive codeswitching is there known
as Ap-ne-ap *(Half and half)*.

LINGUISTIC REASONS FOR CODESWITCHING

Explanations offered by Aboriginal people to explain their own codeswitching
behaviour include (a) temporarily forgetting a word or phrase and substituting
an equivalent in the other language; and (b) changing to a language because the
idea cannot adequately be expressed in the other language. These reasons are
expressed in the following quotations from Kimberley Language Resource Centre
workers (Hudson and McConvell 1984:43):

> (a) We box-im-up English and our language. Sometimes we
> forget English and stick on our language; sometimes we forget
> our language and stick on English. (David Mowaljarlai, Mowanjum)
> [Box-im-up is a Kriol term meaning *join or collect together*]

> (b) We put it in our language when describing certain things
> that do not have an English name. (Daisy Utemorrah, Mowanjum)

The idea of 'forgetting' as a description of the subjective feeling a bilingual
has when he switches languages is by no means confined to Australian Aborigines.
It does not actually explain anything about the switch, but inasmuch as it does
have content, it would relate to the question of the psychological 'switch
mechanism' or monitor (Albert and Obler 1978). This question cannot be pursued
here: the linguistic and in particular, the social parameters of codeswitching
are what concern us here.

The linguistic aspect of codeswitching is the one highlighted by the second
quotation, especially the contrast in semantics and lexical organisation of the
two languages involved. This is particularly important in the case of switching
between English and Aboriginal languages. There is of course a vast technical
and cultural vocabulary stemming from European traditions, modern technology
and institutions, in English which had no equivalents in the traditional
Aboriginal languages. Numerous English words for modern introduced items have
been borrowed and assimilated into the languages, as well as new items being
coined from the existing resources of the language or neighbouring languages.
The two Gurindji words for 'car' illustrate both of these processes: kurririj
(probably from Goodrich); rarrajkaji lit. *running thing*. It is increasingly
common however for bilingual Aborigines to 'stick on' (as Mowaljarlai described
it) words or more extensive passages of only partially assimilated English when
modern things or processes are to be mentioned. Arguably sometimes such items
have a 'triggering' effect which will cause speakers to stay in English for
some time after the strict lexicosemantic necessity for it has passed. It is
usually difficult to distinguish between true cases of 'triggering' by lexical
items, and cases where a social meaning is also attributable to the switch to
Kriol or English, since the total activity being talked about has associations
with what I, following Scotton and Ury (1977), call a different social arena
(see further below). Dixon (1980:82-84) adduces similar reasons for those
examples of Dyirbal codeswitching for which he can find an explanation.

Such codeswitching for apparently 'linguistic' reasons does not only work in one direction, of course. The above quotation from Daisy Utemorrah singles out the opposite case, where there is no appropriate English word to use.

Two kinds of contrastive relationships are involved in such 'linguistic' factors:

(a)   where the lexicosemantic field in the two languges is organised in a radically different way, and

(b)   where there is a lexicosemantic field or an aspect of meaning in one language which is *absent* or virtually absent in discourse in the other language.

Examples of (a) can be found in kinship terms, e.g. ngaji and jaju in Gurindji, compared to the 'nearest equivalents' father and grandparent in English. Ngaji is wider in reference than father: it includes father's brothers (called uncle in English) and father's classificatory brothers. Jaju on the other hand is in one way more restricted than grandparent — it refers to mother's mothers and their siblings only — but it is less restricted in that it refers to grandparents' siblings, great aunts and uncles.

Kriol kinterms are organised more similarly to Gurindji than to English. However, there is a strong tendency for Gurindji to use Gurindji kinterms, even when talking Kriol amongst themselves (except for the term uncle, oddly).

Body parts constitute another area in which semantic organisation is different in Gurindji, Kriol and English. To take a simple example, the term for 'leg' in Gurindji, jamana, only refers to the hind leg of an animal. The foreleg is called wartarn, the commonest term for referring to the hand or arm of a human being. When people are involved in butchering a cow, as in the text to which I shall be referring frequently, this creates something of a dilemma. The term 'leg' in English is though appropriate in that it belongs to the butchering register; it also has the advantage over the Gurindji term jamana, that it is not ambiguous between 'foot' and 'leg'. (There are also Gurindji terms for upper and lower leg, but these are too restricted in their meaning for common use.)

However, the fact that English 'leg' does not distinguish between the hind leg and foreleg of an animal, often creates the need to disambiguate between the two. Thus, in the following passage of text, J is standing on one side of a slaughtered cow: in his request to G to cut a 'leg' of the beast, he could only be referring to one of the two legs on his side. In order to clarify the referent, he has to add ngayinyjarni nyawa (*this one right next to me*). Had he used the Gurindji term, such qualification would have been unnecessary. In the last line of the passage, C switches to Gurindji/Wanyjirra and uses the terms wartarn and jamana. Not only does this clarify a practical request, it also gives C a chance to make a pun.

Wanyjirra and Gurindji are very similar. In the examples, lexical items shared by both have been given in bold face. Lexical items unique to Gurindji are given in bold face and are underlined, those unique to Wanyjirra are given in *script*, and those belonging to Kriol are in CAPITALS. The English equivalents of common Gurindji/Wanyjirra items are in *light italic*, those of uniquely Gurindji items are in *light italic* and underlined, those of uniquely Wanyjirra items are in *script* and those of Kriol items in *CAPITALS*.

(2) J: Nyawa | NOW LEG | parra ngayiny-ja-rni   nyawa
         this   *cut   me*   LOC ONLY *this*

     G: Parntara-rni wayi nyila-ma | LEG?
         whole   ONLY Q   *that* TOPIC

     C (to N): Ngapu, <u>kataj</u> <u>parra</u>-yi   kanyju-pal
                father *cut*   *cut* 1sO *below* ACROSS

     J: | PUT-IM | jimpiri
                    hole

     C: Jimpiri *yirra*-yi   wartarn-ta   jamana-rla
         hole   *put* 1sO *arm*   LOC *leg*   LOC

                        — — —

     J: *Cut this | LEG NOW | this one right next to me.*

     G: *The whole of that | LEG.*

     C (to N): *Daddy, <u>cut</u> it across the bottom for me.*
                (could also mean *Cut me across the bottom*)

     J: | *PUT* | *a hole (in it).*

     C: *Put a hole in the foreleg and hindleg for me.*
         (could also mean *Put a hole in my hand and foot*)

There are a number of instances of switching into English for body-part terms
which refer to cuts of meat in English butchering terminology, where there is
no exact equivalent in Gurindji. The English technical register of body-parts
used in butchering is in common use, (not always solely in relation to domestic
animals), as well as a more standard English set in the acrolect and a more
'Aboriginal' set in the basilect of the Kriol, and more or less 'deep' Gurindji.
There is also semantic interference (in both directions) between the languages
in the field of body-parts.

There is considerable switching from Kriol into Gurindji to insert body-part
names where these have no direct exact equivalents in Kriol or English. Use
of vague terms in Kriol or English is discouraged, particularly by the older
men, in favour of switching into Gurindji for more precise terms. The following
textual example shows G berating N for not doing this:

(3) N: WHERE THAT ROUND THING?

     G: WENIM 'ROUND THING'? | Wankarr-wankarr, marri! Marri nyampa?
                                'round guts'   EXCL   EXCL *what*

     N: | HERE, THAT ROUND ONE HERE

     G: | Nyampa-ma?   Yini-murlung? Wayirt?
         what TOPIC *name* WITHOUT *'round yam'*

                        — — —

N: *WHERE'S THAT ROUNG THING?*

G: *WHAT'S A 'ROUND THING'?* | *Do you mean* wankarr-wankarr (*'round guts'?*), *or what?*

N: | *HERE IT IS, THAT ROUND ONE IS HERE.*

G: | *What is it? Is the name tabooed? Is it a* wayirt (*'round yam'?*)

'Linguistic' motivation of type (b) comes about where there is a virtual absence of the type of concept concerned in the discourse of one language. In relation to switching into an Aboriginal language, this is perhaps a more extreme case of 'things that do not have an English name' than (a) above, or the more familiar absence of vocabulary items in English for, say, a local plant or a ceremonial decoration.

Examples of the (b) type are:

    (i)   the triangular kinterms in Gurindji;
    (ii) the elaborate system of directional terminology in Gurindji.

Heath, Merlan and Rumsey (1982:11) have this to say of triangular kinterms:

> These are terms which simultaneously relate the designated referent to the speaker and to another person, commonly the addressee, so that three (rather than just one) relation-ships are indexed by a single term (speaker-referent, addressee-referent, speaker-addressee), though usually any two of these relationships make the third predictable.

A hypothetical example may serve to elucidate this type of system. It is taken from an invented language which happens to have the same lexicon and grammar as English, but has in addition triangular kinterms. In such a language the speaker would have to choose a particular lexical item from the set father/dad/papa which all index the same father relationship on the basis of what the relationship is between the speaker and the propositus (the 'possessor'). This I, as speaker, would say:

    (a)   'your father' or 'his father' if my relationship to you or him happened to be, say, husband;

    (b)   'your dad' or 'his dad' if my relationship to you or him happened to be, say, uncle; and

    (c)   'your papa' or 'his papa' if my relationship to you or him happened to be, say, son.

Let us take some actual examples of triangular kinterms from Gurindji. The unmarked most neutral word for 'father' is ngaji; this covers also actual and classificatory father's brothers. To say 'your father', you say ngaji-marnany (*father-your*); similarly for 'his or her father' you say ngaji-nyan (*father-his/her*).

In practice, however, these terms are only used where the propositus (you or he/she) is in the category of husband, wife, mother, mother's brother, or sister's child to the speaker. If the propositus is in a different kinship relation to the speaker, different terms for father must be used:

(a) If the propositus is the speaker's brother, sister, father's father('s sister), father('s sister) or brother's child (or vice versa).

> parnara-marnany; parnara-nyan
> *father your*   *father his/her*

(b) If the propositus is the speaker's cross-cousin or mother's father('s sister) (or vice versa).

> yarriki-marnany; yarriki-nyan
> *father your*   *father his/her*

(c) If the propositus is the speaker's wife's mother('s brother), mother's mother('s brother) or vice versa.

> wurrurru-marnany; wurrurru-nyan
> *father your*   *father his/her*

Such triangular kinterms are very commonly used in Gurindji discourse, presumably because the indexing of kinship relations among participants along several dimensions is of far greater significance in Aboriginal culture than in European culture. Similarly directional terminology is far more elaborated and commonly used in Aboriginal discourse than in normal European discourse.

In a large number of Gurindji sentences, in all contexts, reference is made, using such directional terms, to the relative position or direction of movement of people or things. The directional term system consists of basic terms for:

(a) the cardinal points (north-south-east-west) and

(b) topographical orientation (upstream-downstream-up and down (away and towards the river)).

In addition, there are a number of suffixes which produce various combinations of (a) and (b) (e.g. north and up), relation to terms (e.g. across north and up), and other modifications of the basic terms (e.g. on the north side of the river, on the north end of the ridge, etc.). (For a listing of some terms, see McConvell 1982b.) In most English, parallel to Gurindji discourse with directional terms, the physical orientation would either be omitted entirely, or conveyed using different (and usually less precise) means, e.g. demonstratives, 'left' versus 'right' (never used in this way in Gurindji), and gestures.

Example (4) below shows the use of a triangular kinterm (pilirlingurra, in the first line) and two directional terms (kurlarrak and karlarniwariny, in the second and third lines respectively). Here the passage is entirely in Gurindji/ Wanyjirra.

(4) J: Nyawa-ma   ngu-rna-yina kangku   pilirli-ngu-rra-wu
         this TOPIC AUX 1sA 3pO *take* FUT *MoMo*   *your* PL DAT

     G: Kurla-rra-k-kurla-wu   patati-rla-rni?
         south ALL TURN LOC DAT *'ringplace'* LOC ONLY

     J: Karla-rni-wariny-ja-wu
         west UP END LOC DAT

— — —

J: *I'm going to take this to your 'grannies' (who are my 'aunties')*

G: *To the ones on the south fork of the road next to the initiation ground?*

J: *To the ones farther west and higher up.*

The 'unmarked' form of the term for mother's mother('s siblings) is jaju, but since in (4) the relationship of J (speaker) to G (propositus) is wife's mother's brother J calls G's 'grannies' (Kriol for mother's mother('s siblings) pilirli. -ngu here is a western dialectal (Wanyjirra) form equivalent to Eastern Standard Gurindji -marnany.

Since English and even Kriol are inadequate to express the subtleties of the triangular kinterms and directional terms of the traditional languages, such terms are particularly prone to cause switching into the traditional language, from English or Kriol.

In the following example, from the Gurindji butchering text, the discourse has switched to Kriol, but Gurindji kinterms and directional terms are still used.

(5) J (to N and K): kaa-rni-mpal | SIDE ALL RIGHT YOU
                      east UP ACROSS

                      TWO-FELLA CUT-IM | ngaji-rlang-kurlu
                                         father RECIPd ERG

                      YOU TWO | father and son | CUT IT | across the east side.

J's relationship to N is classificatory brother-in-law, and that to K, classificatory mother's brother. Since neither of these relationships is one which demands the *marked* triangular terms for father parnara, yarriki or wurrurru, (discussed above) the unmarked term ngaji is correctly used, here in its reciprocal dyadic form ngaji-rlang *father and son*.

The use of the directional term kaarnimpal here illustrates the difference from both English and Kriol. In English, the term 'east' would be completely inappropriate in this sort of context; a vaguer expression such as 'across there' accompanied by a gesture, would probably be used. In the local Kriol there is a term for east, jangedap (*sun-get-up*), and there are not even terms for north and south, let alone the complexities of the Gurindji system. Further jangedap would be probably inappropriate for this type of context in Kriol, as 'east' is in English.

Thus it seems that the greater the cultural and linguistic contrast is in a particular field, between the traditional language and English and Kriol, the more likely it is that items or phrases will be codeswitched into the more appropriate language.

SOCIAL REASONS FOR CODESWITCHING

It is well recognised that social factors play a major role in how bilinguals codeswitch. Many writers speak of (a) interlocutor(s); (b) setting or place; and (c) topic of discourse as factors influencing choice of code. The concept of 'domain' is also commonly used in studies of societal bilingualism, diglossia and loss of domains in language shift and language death (Dorian 1982) as well as in relation to codeswitching. The concept is particularly associated with

Fishman and associates (Fishman 1972a, b) but actually derives from the work of Schmidt-Rohr and other German scholars working on German speaking minorities outside Germany, in the 1930s. Lists of 'domains' are usually based on names of places or institutions, such as 'home', 'school', 'office', 'church'. There has been some debate about what the list of domains should include, but this seems to have little real theoretical interest. Despite Fishman's efforts, 'domain' seems to be still a vague notion with an uncertain theoretical status, which different researchers pick up and use in their own chosen ways.

The domains represent a conflation of several factors including typical inter- locutors and their roles, type of activity and discourse generally carried on in the setting, etc.; physical location itself is not usually of major conse- quence. For instance, two Belgians having an intimate conversation in an office (where the 'official language' is French) would speak Flemish (Fishman 1972a) and could probably code-mix (Baetens Beardsmore 1982:42-43). 'Setting' rarely figures in strict or unique correlation with language selections: e.g. in Sauris (Denison 1971):

> other ingredients of the situation, especially the roles of
> the participants have greater priority than physical setting
> in diatypic selection.

On the question of interlocutor, language competence is obviously a relevant factor. One does not normally speak to a person directly in a language that one knows he does not understand, except perhaps to be deliberately rude or provocative. However, it is quite common for a speaker to shift into a lan- guage which is not known by some of the interlocutors. I have observed this recently among Ngarinman speakers:

(a)   young people (who usually talk Kriol, rarely Ngarinman, amongst
      themselves) switching from Kriol/English to Ngarinman when discussing
      a delicate matter to do with another Aboriginal, because of the
      presence of a white person, and

(b)   switching from Kriol/English to Ngarinman, when talking on the short-
      wave radio to another Ngarinman speaker about local matters of a
      confidential nature, because of the large number of Kriol and English
      speaking non-local Aboriginals who can listen in.

Hatch (1976:202-204) gives examples where speakers do not switch despite the presence of an interlocutor repeatedly cueing for a switch to another language.

Clearly in these cases, we are looking at speakers who, in Denison's words (1971): 'seek to steer situations — or better, perhaps — create situations to their own advantage'. Their choice of language is not determined by the interlocutors, but on the contrary, the choice of language determines who shall be in the 'inner' group of interlocutors.

In other cases, as we shall see, this involves more subtle groupings of partici- pants and their roles. For the above cases, we find realised in the most stark fashion the exclusion/inclusion mechanism which Gumperz sees as basic to 'meaning bearing' codeswitching (Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez 1972; see further below).

Investigating the speech of bilinguals in the company of other bilinguals who share at least partly the same linguistic repertoire is our main concern here, and that of most researchers into codeswitching. In the context, it is not the

competence of interlocutors in particular languages or lects which is usually
at stake. Other factors are influencing the choice of language, where code-
switching is occurring in such a group.

One such factor may be the *status* of interlocutors. It seems a fairly rare
occurrence in most bilingual communities that the relative status of two
bilinguals is so fixed on all occasions that a fixed pattern of language use
is always demanded. Interlocutors may alternate between different *roles*, which
may be loosely or strongly associated with alternation between different per-
ception of their own and other interlocutors' roles, or beyond that, distort
the linguistic reflection of role-relationships for comic or other expressive
effect.

Only a proportion of cases of codeswitching amongst people who share the same
linguistic repertoire can be explained by direct reference to the identity of
interlocutors, or the setting or to a combination of both. In many cases, as
in the Gurindji case we are examining, this proportion is vanishingly small.
In order to capture some of the more elusive instances within the net of
'situational' switching, the third factor is often adduced: topic of discourse.

Unfortunately 'topic' in this sense is less easy to define than 'interlocutors'
or 'setting', and tends to shade off imperceptibly into the various categories
that have been used to account for 'non-situational' switching: social meaning
(Blom and Gumperz 1972), mood (Denison 1971), tone (Hatch 1976).

It is of course possible for certain areas of behaviour to be so strongly associ-
ated with a particular group that a certain language or lect is considered over-
whelmingly appropriate for it. However, it would appear more common:

   (a)   for the same activity to have different social connotations depending
         on the participants involved, and other factors, and engender differ-
         ent language choices, as a result; and

   (b)   for the same activity to be regarded from different social viewpoints
         and engender different language choices as a result of this too.

Such complications are often thought to go beyond the 'situational' determination
into the realm of 'metaphor', 'mood', 'tone', 'rhetoric' or 'style'. It is
sometimes believed that these devices are somehow 'linguistic' or 'internal'
(Hatch 1976) as *opposed* to being 'social' or 'external'. This is a mystification
because it confuses the *form* of the discursive device, with its content, or
meaning, which is social.

Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1972:99) have broken through this type of confusion
to some extent in separating the 'wide variety of contextual meanings — degree
of involvement, anger, emphasis, change in focus' from the 'basic meaning
inclusion (we) versus exclusion (they)', and in likening the meaning of code-
switching to lexical meaning. A linguistic form with social meaning is meaning-
ful because a choice (between languages) is involved, and away from its normal
environment, in 'a new context, it becomes socially marked'.

A further extension of Gumperz' work, and of Brown and Gilman (1960), is that
of Scotton and Ury (1977). Although this study does not formally break with
the situational/metaphorical dichotomy of Blom and Gumperz (1972), it does
launch a new approach to the social functions of codeswitching, through the
concepts of strategy and social arena, which actually transcends the dichotomy.

> The situational and metaphorical classifications are useful
> because they describe how and when code-switching occurs.
> But to know that a code-switch signals change in topic or
> lends emphasis to a topic still does not tell *why* a speaker
> code-switches. To explain the 'why' of code-switching means
> to explain the switch as an extension of the speaker. It
> means to explain the relationships between the subject of
> discourse and the participants of an interaction and the
> societal norms which give a language choice a meaning.
>
>   (Scotton and Ury 1977)

It is suggested that a speaker switches codes for the following reasons:

1. To redefine the interaction as appropriate to a different social arena, or

2. to avoid, through continual codeswitching, defining the interaction in terms
    of any social arena.

Scotton and Ury diagram their model of 'social arenas' as follows:

Identity arena   Transactional arena   Power arena
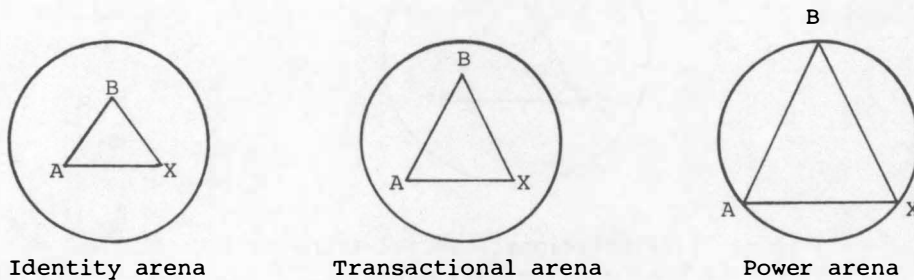
Figure 1: Social arenas in codeswitching (after Scotton and Ury)

> A and B are 'participants'; X is 'the discourse'. The length of the
> line joining A and B represents their 'social distance', which is
> 'the separation which exists between A and B, participants, in terms
> of their mutual relationship to X, the discourse'.

The approach to codeswitching by this paper is similar to that of Scotton and
Ury in the following respects:

(a) It dispenses with the situational-non-situational and the switching-
     mixing dichotomies;

(b) It adopts the idea of the speaker employing strategy in discourse;

(c) It adopts the idea that codeswitching is primarily connected to the
     definition of social arena.

However, their model has been modified in several respects, which are more fully
described in McConvell (forthcoming). One of the main differences concerns the
characterisation and interrelation of the social arenas.

Scotton and Ury define the social arenas as universally three: identity, power, and transactional. The present approach prefers not to define the social arenas a priori, but to discover them on the basis of local social formations, their linguistic composition and local ideologies.

Not only should the arenas be named for each situation, but their interrelations should be defined within the theory. The example of the Gurindji situation is presented below in which arenas are nested within each other (symbolised by concentric circles). This is only one possible type of relation between arenas, however, not universally valid for all sociolinguistic situations.

The following is the basic trirelational- social arena unit from which the model used in this paper is built up. It is derived from Figure 1 (Scotton and Ury 1977) but I have modified it considerably, adapting some ideas from Laughren's model of triangular kinterms (Laughren 1982).
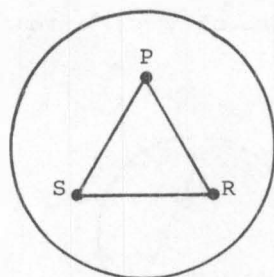
Figure 2: Trirelational- social arena unit,
as used in this paper

S stands for speaker; P for primary participant (could be addressee, or a third person of particular significance in the interaction); R for referent (the person thing or event which undergoes switching in discourse). The points of the triangle, and the circle are given particular values for the situation being examined. The circles (social arenas) are linked to each other in constrained ways, which represent the functional relations between social arenas in a particular speech community (they are not universally defined as in Scotton and Ury's model, Figure 1). As they represent the overall sociolinguistic structure, the configuration of these circles remains constant for one community at one time. The configuration of the triangles and the positions of S, P and R within them vary with the circumstances of the particular interaction or exchange, and the position which the speaker assigns to P and R. This assignment of position represents the speaker defining who are the 'them' and who the 'us' on different occasions, the promoting the standpoint from which he wants people, things and events to be viewed.

GURINDJI CODESWITCHING

Nearly all the examples in this paper are of codeswitching among the Gurindji, an Aboriginal group living mainly in the Wave Hill area of the Northern Territory of Australia, with whom I did linguistic fieldwork in 1974-1977.

The Gurindji situation may be briefly characterised as follows: a numerically relatively small (about 500) group of classless former hunter-gatherers, Gurindji speakers inhabit a large area with groups linked through residence or descent to smaller areas within the larger area, some of which groups speak identifiable dialects of the main language. The language has been somewhat standardised by the concentration of people in non-traditional centres (a large cattle station and a government settlement) for some decades. They have been, for about one hundred years, progressively and acceleratingly absorbed into the colonising society and economy, which in their area is mainly repre-sented by cattle stations (for whom they work as stockmen) and governmental and missionary institutions, which function to assimilate them to a western way of life and cultural values. The language of these institutions is exclus-ively Standard Australian English. Traditionally, links with some neighbouring non-Gurindji groups were strong, through trade, ritual, intermarriage, etc.; communication was mainly possible through widespread multilingualism. Today contacts with other Aboriginal groups are more frequent and widespread, and carried out using a Pidgin English which developed on the cattle stations. This Pidgin/Creole (Kriol) is also used today (switching with Gurindji) among older Gurindji speakers and has become the first language of the younger generation.

The Gurindji conceive of certain social arenas relevant to languages as embedded within each other. Some of this embedding is in part traditional in nature: the position of locally based dialect groups within a wider speech community of Gurindji speakers. However, the current manifestation of this departs from its traditional form in having been moulded by European contact: 'standard' Gurindji has largely grown up by a fusion of different dialects first on Wave Hill Station, then at Wave Hill Settlement and Daguragu, whereas local origin dialectal groups now are based more on smaller stations (e.g. Wanyjirra at Inverway) than strictly on traditional estate or foraging range. The other arenas of the model presented in Figure 3 are more direct results of contact: the wide network of Aboriginal people who speak Pidgin/Kriol either as a first or second language, and the wider Australian society for which Engish is the standard language.
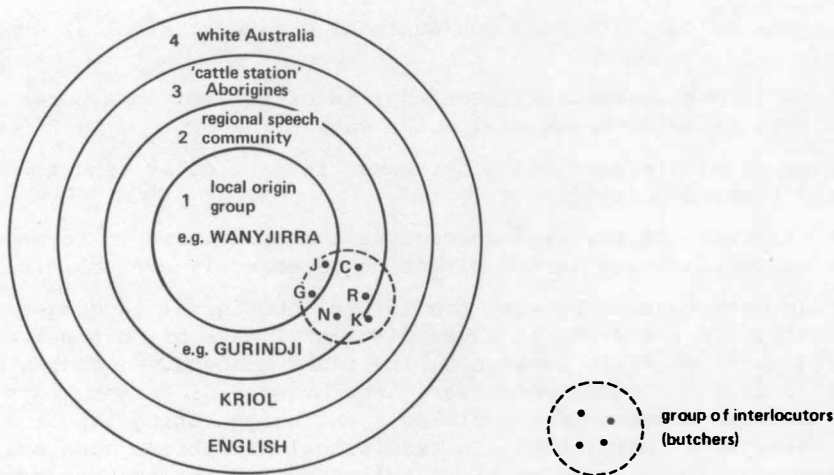
Figure 3: Model of Gurindji social arenas

All the Gurindji examples, including those in the previous section, are drawn from the soundtrack of a film shot by Kim McKenzie and myself in 1976 of Gurindji stockmen butchering a cow on Daguragu station. The tape was subsequently transcribed by me and discussed with the help of some of the participants (whose names are replaced by letters here for the sake of privacy). The orthography used for Gurindji is a practical orthography in general use for that language, and for neighbouring languages Warlpiri and Walmajarri. Kriol is transcribed using a variant of English spelling, rather than the orthography used at Bamyili, to ease the reader's task.

By concentrating on this one group I do not mean to imply that the pattern of codeswitching among them is identical in detail with that of other Aboriginal groups, much less with that of any non-Aboriginal groups. I do however believe, on the basis of my own observation, that the linguistic situation of the Gurindji is quite typical of a large number of groups in Northern Australia.

Similarly, although the butchering event naturally has its own particular social character, I do not believe it to be atypical in terms of the distribution and motivation of codeswitching. The full text, partially analysed here and in McConvell (forthcoming) has around one third fully Gurindji sentences, one third Kriol and/or English and, of the remaining 'mixed' third, about a half basically Gurindji in grammatical structure with Kriol insertions and the other half basically Kriol in grammatical structure with Gurindji insertions. (In the above I use the word Gurindji to include Wanyjirra dialect forms.) I would estimate, from several years of observation of Gurindji conversation, that this distribution is fairly common in everyday discourse in many situations.

There are some circumstances in which a less 'mixed' form of speech may be selected:

(a)   among children, or with adults speaking to children, a much higher proportion of Kriol and less Gurindji is used;

(b)   in the presence of Europeans, Kriol/Pidgin is used by older people and a closer approximation to Standard English, by younger people (unless the European is being excluded from the talk, in which case both groups may talk full Gurindji, or as near as they can manage);

(c)   in speaking to Aboriginal non-Gurindji speakers, Kriol is generally used;

(d)   in traditional ceremonies, Gurindji is often used in a purer form, but this is by no means always the case;

(e)   groups of middle-aged and older women in particular tend to use a purer form of Gurindji.

Some of these observations may lend themselves to an analysis in terms of *domain*, but adherence to one language in one situation is scarcely ever maintained.

Codeswitching in conversation between traditional Aboriginal languages also occurs frequently. In the Victoria River District I have often observed frequent switching back and forth between Gurindji and Mudbura, Ngarinman and Ngaliwurru, etc. and in the Western Desert area between different Western Desert dialects, and between Western Desert dialects and neighbouring languages, e.g. Nyangumarta, Walmajarri, Jaru, etc. In traditional situations such switching would have been used and is used mainly 'stylistically', to express *meanings* about social situations. As with other types of codeswitching discussed, very

little of it is amenable to analysis in terms of *determination* by situation, whether this is defined as including person, setting, topic or any combination of them, unless determination is seen in some vague, probabilistic way. In the modern situation, this type of traditional codeswitching is often combined with codeswitching between vernacular and a creole and/or a form of English. This is a feature of the butchering text too: there is codeswitching between Standard Eastern Gurindji and Wanyjirra. Again there is little evidence of determination by situation or domain.

The two older men J and G are associated with the western area, and are basically Wanyjirra (W) speakers. Both of them more often use Standard Eastern Gurindji (SEG) forms when they are at Daguragu or Wave Hill however, as in the present text. Although there is a tendency for them to use Wanyjirra when speaking to other Wanyjirra speakers, this does not always occur, as we shall see in examples below. J and G both on occasion use SEG to each other, as well as W on other occasions, to convey specific social meanings, as I shall argue. Although they mainly use SEG, J and G they also sometimes use W when speaking generally to the group, again to convey social meaning. The younger men are SEG speakers and do not use W, but in one instance C does use a W form for a particular effect.

The presence of two *kartiya* (white men) — Kim McKenzie filming and myself recording sound — may have had some influence on the choice of language at some points, but I believe this was minimal. The men asked me before the filming started if they should talk in English, and I said no, talk just as you would normally — which is, on most occasions a 'mix' of Gurindji and Kriol, as in the present text. More significantly, the butchering had to be done very quickly as it was the middle of the day in full sun. Everyone was working hard and had little time to relate to the whites observing them or to carefully monitor their speech. The result is a fairly natural and typical piece of modern Gurindji conversation.

For the purposes of studying codeswitching of the 'non-situational' type, the butchering sequence is well-suited in a number of ways. Firstly, all present were adult bilingual speakers of Gurindji and Kriol; differences in depth of knowledge certainly exist, but not great enough to make speakers switch languages solely because of the competence or lack of competence of any participants in either language. The additional presence of Wanyjirra speakers provided an interesting sidelight on codeswitching between Gurindji dialects; Wanyjirra is sufficiently close to standard Gurindji to be understood, in most cases, by all the participants. As we shall see, the use of Wanyjirra is not determined simply by the speaker, or addressee, or both being Wanyjirra speakers, but by other 'non-situational' factors. One factor which may perhaps be seen as 'interlocutor'-determined 'situational codeswitching' is the tendency to use Kriol more than Gurindji when speaking to younger people. However, this is evidently not a firm rule, and may not even account for the majority of utterances of older to younger men, which are in both languages.

'Situational' factors of interlocutor play a limited role; factors of 'setting/ place' and 'topic' are clearly even less relevant to codeswitching here. 'Setting' remains constant throughout: butchering a cow in a bush paddock. 'Topic' is similarly very limited: the great majority of the talk is about either the detail of butchering the animal or about the distribution of the meat. There are some joking references to other people and places. Since switches happen in the middle of talking about one of the two major topics,

and switches often do not happen when changing from one to the other or inserting jokes, we can conclude that there is no strong connection between 'topic' (at least in the superficial sense) and the pattern of codeswitching.

Since the obvious factors of 'situation' or 'domain' are almost completely absent here, the text provides a good testing ground for the theory of code-switching which is being developed in this paper. There is not space enough to analyse the whole text, so reference will be made to particular examples of codeswitching, set in a brief discourse context.

Most of the exchanges between the butchers during their work concern the distribution of meat. The Gurindji now own Daguragu Station; some of their white advisors want them to run the station according to their particular concept of an 'economic basis', which involves restricting as much as possible the people to whom beef is given without payment. On the other side, it has been traditional hunting practice to distribute meat killed in hunting on the basis of kinship obligations. Neither traditional lore nor 'modern' station practice give unambiguous answers to questions about meat distribution. On many white-owned stations, at least some of the resident white people get free beef, often according to a varying combination of factors of staff and sometimes family position. Who are staff and who are family in the Daguragu situation where everyone is kin of some kind? Who is the 'boss' who makes the decisions (in European times), or the 'hunter' who controls the meat (in Aboriginal terms), in this new situation? If there is such a person or people, what criteria do they use to assign cuts of meat to people?

In this context there are obviously competing interests. It is not common for proponents of such interests to argue for them explicitly, but more common for subtle verbal cues (such as codeswitching) to be used to place an issue in the particular framework in which they would like it to be viewed.

Consider the passage. (Specifically SEG forms which contrast with W forms are underlined; specifically W forms are in script. Kriol continuum elements are in capitals. Codeswitches are indicated by a vertical line. The same conventions are followed in the translation below the example (beneath the broken line) and in all textual examples.)

(6) G: MINE | *pampirla* | THERE AGAIN, OLD MAN | *pampirla, waku nyarra?*
                shoulder   *shoulder* or *which way*

         kankurla-pala-nginyi   ngu - yi - n | *kuma-wu* |
         above   ACROSS SOURCE   AUX 1sO 2sA   *cut* FUT

     J: | Laja   -ma | ngartji ma-ni   W-rlu
           shoulder TOPIC *choose* *get* PAST   ERG

     G: | *Nganinga*-ma
           my   TOPIC

                          — — —

     G: *The shoulder* | THERE IS MINE, OLD MAN | *the shoulder, or what?*
         You have to | cut | *some for me from across the top.*

     J: W - *picked out* | the shoulder.

     G: *(It's)* | *mine.*

G begins in Kriol, but switches to Wanyjirra to emphasise the close local bond between himself and J, in relation to J's giving him the shoulder, and the cutting action which will provide G with the shoulder. J however responds by shifting back on to the wider community arena by using SEG, and emphasising the rights of a non-Wanyjirra community member. G reasserts his claim within the narrower arena by using the W term for 'mine'.

There is continuing ambiguity throughout the text about the assignment by J and G of the giving or receiving of meat, to the local group arena or to the wider community arena, and as a result, continual codeswitching between W and SEG when talking about it. J and G each speak in both dialects, at different times, even where the addressees are the same, and the other elements of the situation the same. In a number of instances, one begins in one dialect and the other possibly deliberately switches to the other for effect, but no overall gener- alisation can be made about who will start, and which dialect they will use; this depends on the interaction of the social meaning of the switch with the basic meaning of the utterance.

(7) J: Nyila-ma   kanyju *nganinga*
         that TOPIC *under* *mine*

     G: Nyununy, wayi?
         yours   *eh*

     J: Nyawa-ma   ngu-rna-yina kangku   pilirli-*ngu*-rra-wu
         this TOPIC AUX 1sA 3pO   *take* FUT *MoMo*   *your* pl DAT

                              — — —

     J: *That (meat) underneath is mine.*

     G: *Yours, eh.*

     J: *I'm going to take this to your 'grannies' (who are my 'aunties')*

Here J at first makes the 'we' of discourse the Wanyjirra group specifically, thus especially drawing G's attention to his claim to a certain cut of meat. G switches to SEG to bring the decision into the wider social arena, presumably to disassociate himself from 'collusion' on J's previous statement. J counters by putting the transaction in the context of G and J's *shared* kin (J's rela- tionship indicated by the triangular term pilirli), to whom he is going to take the meat, and re-emphasises the close kinship solidarity he wishes to impute to the event by using the W second person kin possessive suffix -ngu, rather than SEG -marnany.

Indexing the social arena by means of codeswitching need not simply result from manipulation of a situation to advantage, by the speaker trying to influence the framework within which the thing or event is perceived. Use of a particular language for an item, phrase, etc. can be used to denote the kind of circum- stances under which the particular item is normally raised, or has been raised in the discourse. This can be close to the use of quotation to refer back to a part of an utterance; in this case of an item which is in a codeswitching paradigm, it is not only the fact that it was spoken by a particular person which is recalled, but the social meaning intended in the context. An example of this in the text concerns the shoulder, which G earlier called (in W) pampirla,

and J (in SEG) laja. Finally, the shoulder is again mentioned by J who tells
R to cut it. Although speaking to an SEG speaker, and using mainly SEG, the
word pampirla is used to refer not to J's own viewpoint on the social arena in
which the shoulder enters discourse, but rather to refer to G's earlier use of
the W word, and G's viewpoint about the relevant social area. In fact pampirla
here could be glossed *the shoulder which G asked to be an issue between J and G
only, as joint local group members*.

(8) J: HERE, R-, CUT-IM, GIVE IT LONGA 'IM | nyila *pampirla*   parra kataj NOW
                                                that *shoulder* *cut* IMP *cut*

Ngu-rna kang -ku parntara-rni, ngantu-wu-warla?
AUX 1sA *take* FUT *whole* ONLY *who* DAT FOCUS

--- --- ---

   J: *HERE, R-, CUT IT, GIVE HIM IT | cut that shoulder | NOW*

       I'm going to take the whole lot; whose is it?

The type of quotation of codeswitching variants sometimes comes close to mimicry
and parody: the above example has more than a touch of humour in it. When C in
example (2) (not a W speaker) uses the W verb yirra- *put*, it may be that he is
trying to show deference to J, or that he is asserting some identity with J's
group (he is J's sister's son). However, given that C is a known joker and
mimic, and that C and J are in the approved joking relationship, some humour
is almost certainly intended too.

The social meanings being played upon in SEG/W codeswitching concern only the
two inner circles of the model of Gurindji social arenas (Figures 4 and 5).
The position of the interlocutors in these two concentric circles is to be
interpreted in this way: J and G belong potentially to both the Wanyjirra local
origin group area and to the wider Gurindji speech community; for present
purposes, the others belong to the latter, not the former. J and G can choose
to define particular events or relationships involving R in the model as falling
within: (a) the local origin arena, or (b) the wider community arena, by
speaking in (a) Wanyjirra or (b) Standard Eastern Gurindji. In terms of the
model, the option (a) places R in the inner circle, and (b) places it in the
second circle.

The examples of codeswitching between SEG and W in most cases reflect an attempt
to 'shift ground' — to locate the discourse in a slightly different framework.
In terms of our social-arenas/triangular model, this is expressed by saying that
R moves from one code (social arena) to another. R is the referent in the
discourse which links together the speaker(s) and the primary referent P (in
most cases here, the participant who is a joint member of the W group).

In the figures below we see presented the configurations involved in the example
(6) above. Figure 4 represents the case of G using the W form pampirla; Figure 5
represents the case of J using the SEG form laja.

Figure 4: G using W pampirla in (6)   Figure 5: J using SEG laja in (6)

Variations and extensions of this model are required to deal with cases of
quasi-quotation as in (8), creation of fictional situations as in (2), three
way switching including Kriol described in the next section, and various other
situations not described here. More details can be found in McConvell (forth-
coming).

Whatever further connotations may be created by individuals, or through dis-
course, there is a common core of feeling about the difference between a local
dialect and the standard language Gurindji. Judging by the examples, in the
butchering text, a major element in this is overall closeness of kinship ties
in the local group arena, and a commensurate lack of value placed on non-kinship
roles and relations, such as position in the cattle station workforce, Council,
etc. in that arena. It is for this reason that triangular kinterms are fre-
quently associated with local dialect use, and that local dialect is used to
reinforce adherence to traditional avoidance practice, on the basis of actual
kin relations, as opposed to a looser 'matiness' of co-workers. Most importantly
it is this set of kin-based values which ensures that requests or claims for
meat or assistance are most appropriately expressed in a shared local dialect,
where this is possible. Sharing and help between kin is an obligation, and the
closer the tie, the more pressing the obligation. 'Asking' for something
(yangki panu and other verbs) is predicated on such ties, which are most sig-
nificant in the local group.

Kinship ties of various kinds also exist, of course, among most people in the
wider speech community. Less of such ties are close, actual kinship links than
in the local origin group, and more are distant and classificatory. Such links
are therefore less intimate in general, and less strong in conferring rights
and duties to others in terms of sharing food, and rendering other assistance.
Also other types of relations, of a political or ritual nature within or between
large communities or involving work relationships, etc. come into play more
strongly, whereas in the local origin group context these are overshadowed by
close kinship ties. It is for this reason that a switch to SEG from a local

dialect indicates a less personal and more distant relationship, one in which larger numbers of people are involved, at the level of community, or cattle station. It is the dialect appropriate to questioning, or detaching oneself, from claims made on the basis of kinship ties, in the local dialect.

THE POSITION OF KRIOL

A switch from W to SEG only takes the discourse one step up in the hierarchy of social arenas, by transferring R into the second circle of the model, and thereby defining the S-P role relationship as being (at least temporarily) enacted at the wider speech community level. But there are further steps up the hierarchy of social arenas.

All Gurindji speakers also have Kriol as part of speech repertoire. For the youngest speakers it is their first language, Gurindji being acquired more slowly, and mostly as a passive competence. Most of the younger speakers have a better passive command of standard English than the older people, and actively control a more acrolectal Kriol (as well as basilectal), and, in some cases, fairly standard English too.

Kriol, in the model proposed here, is for middle-aged Gurindji at least the language of the next higher social arena, which is equated here with Aborigines in general, of which the Gurindji community is a small part. There is of course a limit to the range of Aborigines with whom the Gurindji actually interact and use Kriol as a medium of expression. For most of them this would only include people in the cattle station belt of the central-west of the Northern Territory, and the Eastern Kimberleys of Western Australia; actual delimitation of this group is not particularly important.

In what follows there is no discussion of the variation within the local Kriol between forms which are closer to Standard English, and those which are farther removed from it. Examples of this type of variation do occur in the text, and could well be regarded, in some cases, as a type of codeswitching with social meaning. Neither the form nor the function of such variation/switching has been thoroughly studied, however, so it will only rate a brief mention here. For the most part switches will be referred to as between Gurindji (G) and Kriol (K) without detailing the Kriol lect involved. Since there is no Standard English in this text, switching involving Standard English (which does occur elsewhere) will not be discussed either. Since Standard English is not available to many speakers or frequently used and such speakers do not often distinguish between Kriol and Standard English, Kriol discourse usually covers a social arena which includes not only Aboriginal matters beyond the community level, but also many other matters relating to a wider social arena of the majority (English-speaking) culture and the social, economic and cultural systems associated with it.

From what has been said about the social functions of W/SEG switching, it might be hypothesised that K will bear a relation to G analogous to that which SEG bears to W, but on a higher level of generality, impersonality and social distance. K-G switches represent moves from relatively impersonal statements or orders to more personal, affective utterances linked to solidarity on a local community basis (joking relationships, traditional or semitraditional obligations, shared identity vis-a-vis other Aborigines or whites). Switches from G to K demonstrate the same kind of differences, moving in the opposite direction.

It has often been pointed out that code is switched to a more 'familiar' lan-
guage or dialect when joking, swearing, etc. occurs. There are a number of
examples of a switch from K to G in order to make some joking or uncomplimentary
remark about someone else.

(9) G: I'LL TAKE-IM BOTTOM AND GO BACK; | ngalking-ku   kungulu-yawung
                                           greedy DAT *blood*   PROP

     J: I'LL HAVE-IM | kungulu-yawung. Nyuntu marntaj
                         blood   PROP   *you   all right*

                             — — —

     G: *I'LL TAKE THE BOTTOM AND GO BACK; | the bloody meat is for greedy ones.*

     J: *| I'LL HAVE | the bloody meat. You're right.*

This second part of G's contribution is a referent to J, who has just expressed
a liking for bloody meat; ngalking *greedy* can be interpreted as being fairly
abusive. The different style of the two parts of both the above utterances is
typical of K and G switches; K often encodes statements about the speakers
intentions or attitude, or about the situation, which are relatively impersonal
in the sense that they do not refer to another person (interlocutor or other
referent). The contrasting G utterance directly (and often bluntly) refers to
an interlocutor.

Other examples of K-G switching do not involve joking directed at individual
interlocutors, but semihumourous comments on the butchering situation as a
whole.

(10) G: THIS ONE MINE

      J: CUT-IM | nyawa | LITTLE BIT | wanyji-ka-warla | RIB BONE FIRST
                   this   *where* LOC FOCUS   TIME?

      G: Kayili-yin ngutji-ngutji-rla yan-ku-rra-ngala
          not   ABL *haggle* REDUP LOC *to* FUT HORT 1inclpO

                             — — —

      G: *THIS ONE MINE.*

      J: *CUT | this | A LITTLE BIT | where's | THE RIB BONE FIRST?*

      G: *| Let (the helicopter) from north come and see us haggling (over meat).*

Here G injects an element from the kartiya (white man's) world into the dis-
cussion — the helicopter from the neighbouring station which had been flying
around — to throw the butchering scene into relief, as it were. The helicopter
is viewed as an outside presence here from the point of view of solidarity with
the Gurindji people on the ground (cf. -ngala inclusive *we* used), and this is
reinforced by choice of language.

The following example also contrasts the 'we' of the butchers, with a 'they'
but the latter is a rather different group from that of the last example:

(11) J: CUT-IM RUMP, ROAST, CHUCK | *ngara*-ngala   -ngkulu yarriyi marnana
                                        LEST 11inclpO 3sP   *say*   PRES

      J: *CUT THE RUMP, ROAST AND CHUCK* | *so they don't grumble about us.*

The first part has J well in the role of head stockman impersonally issuing
orders, on the pattern of a white man and using English items for cuts of meat.
The switch indicates a more personal concern about the relationship between the
people in the camp (ngurra-ngarna *camp people*) and the butchers, about whether
they will be satisfied with what they are given (a community level concern).
It is interesting to note that a W form is used here (ngara) despite the fact
that all the butchers are included in 'us': this, it seems, indexes the fact
that J and G (the W speakers) are the senior men present and the higher ranking
one i.n station work, so that most of the blame for any dissatisfaction would
come to them, rather than to the SEG speakers.

It must be noted that no particular rhetorical category is necessarily cor-
related with a particular language. We have seen examples of switching into
G to make jokes, but G does not have the monopoly on jokes. Speakers also
switch from G into K to make jokes; the jokes however, are of a different kind.

(12) C: Nyawa-ma   jutany   ngu man-ku   murlu-ngku...
          this TOPIC *neck bone* AUX *get* FUT *this* ERG

    J: J²- tu
             ERG

    C: M - *kuya*-wula
             REL   2dS

    G: CHICKEN ...FOWL | -U | THEY WANT-IM NECK BEEF
                              DAT

    J: Punyu?
             good?

    G: YEAH, 'IM FEED-IM CHOOKY-CHOOKIES

    C: FOWL LONGA FOWL-SHED GOOD WORKER; HE'LL WAKE-IM UP YOU EVERY MORNING

             — — —

    C: *This neck bone will be got by...*

    J: *J²-*

    C: *M's wife*

    G: | *THEY WANT THE NECK BEEF FOR THE FOWLS.*

    J: | *Good?*

    G: | *YEAH, IT FEEDS THE CHOOKS.*

    C: *THE FOWLS IN THE FOWL-SHED ARE GOOD WORKERS; THEY WAKE YOU UP
             EVERY MORNING.*

C is talking about meat distribution, in G, the normal language for this. J interposes a joke against his joking partner, J[2]. G, as he frequently does, switches up to K to make a more general comment about the use of the neck beef, unrelated to kinship considerations and more in the context of the modern activity of keeping chickens. C then makes a joke on the basis of the worker/ non-worker distinction; the chickens are getting beef because they are suppos- edly good station workers, whereas he is having it withheld because he is supposedly not a 'worker', although he is working. Such a play on concepts relies heavily on being within the type of discourse associated with the economics of 'modern' cattle station operations, for which K is more appropriate.

In some passages there are rapid switches in codes, and it may be hard to find a particular reason for every single switch. Scotton and Ury (1977) regard this pattern as a way by which the speaker can avoid commitment to one or other arena. Analysis of the butchering text seems to bear this out in most cases. A vari- ation of this is where the speaker attempts to relate to two or more arenas at the same time, instead of being non-committal.

Rapid switching can indicate that a speaker or speakers wish to define an interaction or event as belonging in more than one arena simultaneously, which given our 'nesting' model of arenas for the Gurindji situation, is usually possible. In the following example the same underlying assertion — a claim by a speaker to a certain cut of meat, of which we have had a number of examples already — is phrased in three different codes. The order is W, K, SEG.

(13) J: Nyawa-ma   ngu-yi *nganinga*
          This TOPIC AUX 1sO *mine*

      G: I WANT-IM THIS SKIRT

      K: WHAT ABOUT THE WIRE?

      G: Kujarra | THERE | ngayiny-ma,   Jangari
          two   *mine* TOPIC   = K

                          — — —

      J: *This is mine.*

      G: *I WANT THIS SKIRT* (meat).

      K: *WHAT ABOUT THE WIRE?*

      G: *There are two | THERE | that are mine, Jangari (K).*

Here J's use of W indicates foregrounding of the relationship between him and G (as discussed earlier). G makes his claim first (in a way which is far removed from this mode), by reporting it as a property of his feelings (I WANT-IM), apparently devoid of social connotations. Gurindji does not have an equivalent of English/Kriol 'want', in fact, and Kriol seems to be the medium for expres- sing what are in fact claims of a share in a particular group's goods as statements about one's self (I want, I like ..., etc.), overtly devoid of social context. In the last sentence, however, G makes his claim more straight- forwardly in terms of the butchering group using SEG. Scotton (forthcoming) has now adopted the position that some types of speech involving numerous small- scale switches like this can be seen as the unmarked style of speech, and that

further detailed analysis of the reasons for switches in this context is unnecessary, since, presumably, much of it is random. I do not hold this position with regard to Gurindji/Kriol switching in the butchering text: the majority of switches, even the rapid ones as in (13) can be seen to reflect assignment by the speaker of statements and events to certain standpoints associated with social arenas.

Shifting to Kriol for middle-aged people means moving into a more inclusive arena with less emphasis on close bonds of kinship or even language group. For the younger people it may have already become the unmarked code: there is further discussion of the position of Kriol in the following section.

CODESWITCHING AND THE FUTURE OF ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES

Uriel Weinreich (1953:73) describes the 'ideal bilingual' as follows:

> The ideal bilingual switches from one language according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.) but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence.

Stephen Harris clearly believes that bilingual Aborigines do generally approximate to this ideal. It is however true that the Gurindji of today, and other Aboriginal groups whose language situation is similar, are not 'ideal bilinguals', in Weinreich's sense. They switch languages and dialects in unchanged speech situations, and within single sentences, as we have seen.

Weinreich tended to regard 'abnormal proneness to switching' as an individual psychological problem. But among the Gurindji and many similar groups, this 'deviation' is endemic throughout the group. He does describe a situation in Romansh Sutselva (Weinreich 1953:84) involving 'the use of both languages [French and German] to the same interlocutors'. His explanation runs as follows.

> Since this is largely a peasant population with little schooling and a loose social hierarchy, one is led to expect that the type of bilingual who mixes both languages indiscriminately will be relatively frequent.

It is interesting to compare this with Harris' statement (1977:135) that 'Code switching usually involves highly educated bilinguals'. The ideal codeswitcher seems as elusive as the ideal bilingual.

Weinreich and many other observers of bilingualism and codeswitching have an unfortunate tendency to regard language switches which are not organised in a pattern which the observer discerns, as being indiscriminate, unorganised or random. This assumption disregards two rather obvious methodological principles:

(a) The switches may be determined by external factors of a type which the observer has so far failed to recognise; and

(b) The switches may be determined by the speaker making meaningful choices between codes, without external determination.

It is no more to be expected a priori that bilinguals will switch strictly in accordance with domains or situations, than that a speaker of one language will always use the same words in the same situation. Once an avenue of expressing meaning is open — in this case the differential social meaning afforded by the

choice of two or more language codes — then it is more or less inevitable that this avenue will be taken, on at least some occasions.

In the model adopted here the speaker decides in which social arena the referent R is to be placed; that decision is not, in most cases, made for him by the type of discourse topic, 'domain', or other aspects of the situation. In the preceding extracts from the text we have seen examples where the choice of language is not dependent on fixed attributes of the interlocutors, situation or topic. Many such examples *can* however by analysed in terms of the social arenas in which the speaker *wishes to place* his relation to the interlocutor, and/or another referent, for the purposes of the discourse. In this way, *point of view* towards a person, thing or event can be expressed.

Shifting social arenas in discourse can be indexed by language choice amongst the Gurindji as kinship relations between speaker and referents can be indexed by the use of triangular kinship terms. The use of different dialects of Gurindji, and the use of Kriol instead of Gurindji, or Gurindji instead of Kriol, each carries with it a social meaning in terms of the background arena against which the elements of discourse are to be viewed. Such language-related arenas may not be absolutely and rigidly definable, but the differences between them in relative terms is apparent.

This meaning-bearing function of codeswitching is not to be considered necessarily secondary or 'metaphorical' in relation to 'situational' codeswitching. Codeswitching is more or less marked relative to the accompanying social situation. Use of Kriol as a relatively 'unmarked' option in more and more situations may be one way of characterising the progress of language shift amongst the Gurindji.

We have seen that the uses of K(riol) in contrast to G(urindji) can be seen as positive and negative. In its positive form, the use of K stresses that the matter spoken of is viewed from a non-community, non-traditional outlook (such as that of a head stockman or manager in a European model of this role). In its negative form, the use of K indicates that factors associated with the G social arenas (speech community and local origin group) such as pervasive kinship rights and duties, are being ignored or played down. The two may seem to be merely two facets of the same function; it seems important to distinguish them because they reflect the question of markedness of the codes. In this particular text, as has been noted, K and G are about evenly distributed. If K is mainly viewed *negatively* though, it is the *unmarked* code in this type of discourse: it is the neutral language used when there is no particular reason for choosing otherwise. K's position of association with the wider, overarching social arena which includes the smaller community groups, would tend to make it the unmarked form. There is some indication that this is the case for the younger speakers in the present text. They certainly use Kriol slightly more frequently, and they may use it in circumstances where the older ones do not. What is harder to say is whether this may partly result from a gradual change in the field of discourse, as well as in code; perhaps the younger people actually talk less in terms of the kinship and local group ideologies than older people do, and it is partly for this reason that they use less G.

However this may be, the shift from G(urindji) to K(riol) over the last thirty years is unmistakable, and is paralleled in many other areas of Northern Australia. This situation is one which many of the speakers of the languages find confusing and disturbing. They worry that:

(a)   the situation shows that the traditional language is about to be completely lost and replaced by English;

(b)   the younger people are not fully learning either language;

(c)   the linguistic mixing is being caused by, and/or is causing problems in educational and other institutions.

Speakers of Aboriginal languages often come to linguists asking for help and advice in such situations. Educators are often confused about such situations too. Both these groups mainly want to know:

(a)   what is the likely future situation in such a bilingual situation with heavy codeswitching?

Can our approach to codeswitching tell us about the future of Gurindji and Kriol in this area? Can we develop a more satisfactory model of the language changes which are having profound effects on most surviving Aboriginal languages?

(b)   Is there anything which can be done to influence the outcome?

Will a model of language shift and codeswitching assist the Aboriginal groups who are concerned about these changes to maintain their languages? It is the urgency of such requests which has brought home to me the practical importance of linguists understanding such situations as wholes, not simply by being an expert in grammar, or even literacy techniques.

It would be a brave linguist who would give off-the-cuff answers to such questions. Such answers, if available at all, would have to rest on theoretical underpinnings — and there are certainly many differing assumptions and differing emphases available.

The phenomenon itself can be approached from a number of directions:

(a)   through studies of 'language shift', 'language death', 'language decay';

(b)   through studies of 'creolisation';

(c)   through studies of bilingualism.

(a) and (b) are both partial in that they only study one half of the situation, either the traditional language, or the creole/pidgin, and not the functional relations between the two. Moreover they tend to have a historicist approach: phenomena are studied in relation to a hypothesised (and often assumed) end-point: extinction of a language and attainment of 'full language' status, respectively.

Studies of language decay and death have pointed to decline in the functional range of the subordinate language as a symptom of its pathological stage.

The functional range may be considered in relation to the factors of situation or 'domain' already discussed: interlocutors, place or setting, and topic. Certainly in many language shift situations, one might find, for example, use of the minority language first declining and finally disappearing in public functions, and this process only happening later in the home. (This is not always the pattern; it may be partially the reverse as in the case of Maori.)

From our present perspective, such generalisations could be of less interest than the analysis of the actual use of different languages within a single 'domain' or across 'domains'. It is unlikely that the shift in any domain

takes place in a single step from language A entirely, to language B, entirely. An interim period involving codeswitching is likely to occur. If the examples of 'non-situational' codeswitching we have discussed have more general validity, then this 'transitional' codeswitching too will involve expressions of 'social meaning' not determined by 'situational factors' in the above sense.

It is quite possible, indeed likely, that there are changes in the patterns of codeswitching involved in this process of language shift, and that these changing patterns represent changes in the assignment of social meaning to the different languages involved. Thus, in the case we have been examining, the Gurindji situation, there is an apparent shift in progress between Gurindji and Kriol. Not much of this change seems to be related specifically to language domain or function, and even if some statement could be made about this, it would not be particularly enlightening about most of the changes in use of the two languages. As we have seen, the use of Kriol at a certain stage as against Gurindji can signify that an event or relationship being talked about is being seen from a more general, less local and less kin-based viewpoint (perhaps deriving from its original lingua franca status). At a later stage, or among a younger group, the use of Kriol could lose these specific connotations and take on some of the 'social meanings' previously associated with Gurindji. Concurrently, Gurindji would become more highly 'marked' and restricted in social meanings or solidarity, etc. which it expresses.

Such changes could be formulated, in terms of the triangular social arenas model advanced here, as changes in the scope and configuration of the social arenas associated with languages, relative to each other. In terms of an additional 'social-situational markedness' theory associated with the model, use of a particular code could change its markedness value and this could eventually lead to a change in the language-social arena configuration itself. This is in line with a theory of change of social meaning in codeswitching which parallels a theory of change in lexical meaning, in which 'marked' occurrence of lexical items in new environments may precede a change in substantive meaning of the item.

Thus in the Gurindji case, the use of Kriol in an intimate group could be changing from a marked one of detachment, certain types of jokes, talking 'down' to a younger person, etc. to a more neutral one lacking that special set of meanings. Conversely, Gurindji could be becoming more marked as an indicator of arenas of certain traditional relations, involving ritual, etc. The roles of the languages could then be redefined in terms of social arenas. Ultimately such a process would end in total language shift, if these small shifts continued in the same direction. At no intermediate stage would the shift necessarily be obvious as the total loss or gain of a 'domain' for either language.

A further elaboration of a diachronic model of codeswitching bilingualism could be the proposal of hypotheses about which social arena configurations are relatively stable and which relatively unstable, either generally or under particular social conditions.

Some studies of bilingualism tend to have historicist assumptions: a bilingual situation can be portrayed as a 'vanishing' or 'transitional' phenomenon, or as 'stable bilingualism'. It is often not clear whether the distinction can be gleaned from synchronic data, or what kind of diachronic data may be needed to confirm the prognosis, if any. Other writers on bilingualism have been more explicit in advancing hypotheses about what factors in a synchronic bilingual situation lead them to predict either language shift or maintenance of both the

languages. These hypotheses are generally weakly supported by evidence, and may be flawed by not taking into consideration factors of social meaning in language use, such as those discussed in this paper. They are however better out in the open than smuggled into descriptive work as covert assumptions.

Uriel Weinreich (1953) considered an important task in the future of socio-linguistics to establish valid correlations between the type of bilingualism and its diachronic consequences:

> It remains to be determined empirically whether habitual switching of this type [within a single sentence of phrase] represents a transitional stage in the shift from the regular use of one language to the regular use of the other. (p.69)

> It would be a worthwhile problem in sociolinguistics to determine the correlation between obsolescence [of a language] and the extent of interference in it.

Since then hypotheses have been advanced relating stable bilingualism to func-tional differentiation of two languages into 'domains'. The strongest form of this hypothesis which I have seen in print is that of Di Pietro (1970:19), which he calls 'Universal Number One':

> The presence of multilingualism in a speech community depends on the association of each language involved with specific domains of social interaction.

The diachronic corollary of this is as follows:

> A perfect balance of multilingualism in which, say, English and Spanish would be used equally as well for all domains of interaction is highly transitory and represents the step just before a new stage of monolingualism in one or the other language.

This hypothesis is based on the view, attributed to Fishman and Mackey, that no community of speakers needs more than one language to communicate.

> Given two or more codes to convey the same set of messages, all but one will be abandoned.

There is undoubtedly a tendency towards simplification by removing redundant codes. This is only one side of the coin, however: there is contradictory tendency towards the development and maintenance of differences, whether these are of dialect, register or language (Labov 1963). The additional resources provided by these different varieties are then available to convey social meaning. We have seen in the Gurindji examples how what are apparently the 'same set of messages' in different dialects and languages are in fact not so, because they contain additional different messages in the channel of language choice. Given this type of bilingualism, it is also doubtful whether the notion of 'domains of social interaction' is adequate in the formulation of hypotheses.

Other writers have framed similar hypotheses more cautiously, for example, Ervin-Tripp (1964):

> Bilinguals who speak only with other bilinguals may be on the road to merger of the two languages unless there are strong pressures to insulate by topic or setting.

and Fishman (1972b:115):

> if a strict domain separation becomes institutionalised so
> that each language is associated with a number of important
> but distinct domains, bilingualism may well become universal
> and stabilized even though an entire population consists of
> bilinguals interacting with other bilinguals.

There are well-known cases in which stable bilingualism is reported to go hand-in-hand with separation of language domains, for example, Guarani and Spanish in Paraguay (Rubin 1962). However, there seem to be numerous counter-examples to the strong form of the hypothesis proposed by Di Pietro, for example, French and English in French Canada (Heller, forthcoming); French and Flemish in Belgium (Baetens Beardsmore 1982); Tagalog and English in the Philipines (Bautista 1980). In such places intrasentential codeswitching, and codeswitching apparently unconstrained by domain occurs, yet bilingualism appears to have been fairly stable for some time, and to show no obvious signs of giving way to monolingualism. Denison (1971) uses historical records to show that the pattern of multilingualism observed today between German, Friulian and Italian in Sauris has not changed much probably in the last century at least, despite the fact that switching has more to do with speakers assuming different social identities and viewpoints than determination by domain. He quotes an earlier writer Dorezoui as recording in 1938 that:

> the same group of speakers switches from German to Friulian
> and back again to German without apparent reason, perhaps
> even without noticing it.

Gumperz, in commenting on Di Pietro's presentation of his 'universals', calls for more ethnography to validate statements made about the supposed links between linguistic and social phenomena:

> Too many of our bilingual studies tend to extrapolate from
> the linguistic to the social phenomena without adequate
> evidence. (Di Pietro 1970:23)

In discussing 'extreme' codeswitching or 'language mixing', Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1972) note that it is 'held in disrepute', but that it is 'very persistent whenever minority language groups come into contact with majority language groups under conditions of rapid social change'.

Some support for the Di Pietro hypothesis, in a negative sense, could be said to come from linguistic situations in which there is pervasive non-'situational' codeswitching, concurrent with a language shift in progress in the younger generation. This is the situation of the Gurindji and many other Aboriginal language groups in Northern Australia at present. Logically, this is not strong evidence for the hypothesis unless the two factors are always correlated, which, as we have seen, they are not. Also in the light of our previous discussion, it seems likely that codeswitching within domains will be part of the process of language shift. This does not imply, however, that the codeswitching behaviour is necessarily a cause of the shift. It may be that it is, at least in some cases, but a theory along these lines would have to build in mediating factors between the synchronic situation and the diachronic process, such as the theory of markedness discussed above and the analysis of the effect of codeswitching on language acquisition mentioned below.

Despite all the problems with the domain separation/stable bilingualism hypothesis, it has won adherents in Australia, particularly among people connected with Aboriginal bilingual education. It seems to be gaining the status of an assumption with some people, rather than that of a hypothesis. On the basis of this assumption of the intimate connection between domain separation and stable bilingualism is built a set of language maintenance strategies which enforce separation of 'language domains' in education. Apart from Harris (1977) already quoted, I can cite Brown (1983) who rejects translation and the use of the vernacular for mechanics and mathematics, because such practices 'blur the distinction between language domains'; and Sayers (1983) who writes in a similar vein:

> As I see it, unless there is a community desire to develop vernacular terminology, as in Anindilyakwa, it would be better if English terms were used and the vernacular left for family life and traditional interest. This could lead to a stable bilingualism, a much more realistic goal than having Aboriginals able to talk about anything under the sun in both languages, as Hale and O'Grady suggested in 1974.

I have elsewhere made a lengthier critique of this line of argument (McConvell 1983). There may well be good arguments, linguistic, social, educational or, as Harris mentioned, simply practical, for language maintenance strategies to emphasise the distinction between 'language domains'. I have argued that the Di Pietro/Fishman hypothesis is not one of the good arguments for this policy, nor does the concept of 'domain' fully explain the reality and subtleties of language choice and language usage in bilingual and multilingual Aboriginal communities.

It is also necessary for a diachronic model of codeswitching to come to terms with the relationship between codeswitching and language acquisition. Among important aspects to be considered are:

(a) codeswitching behaviour amongst bilingual children;

(b) codeswitching behaviour of adults addressing, or in the presence of, children and its consequences for their later bilingual development. (Oksaar 1976, Volterra and Taeschner 1978).

Studies seem to indicate that bilingual children's use of a language often corresponds initially to the presence of certain people who typically speak the particular language concerned, but is also metonymically expanded to a place or situation associated with such people (e.g. the apparent association of father and his language and 'outside', in Volterra and Taeschner's examples). The child's conception of such associations is usually different from the adult's conception of social arenas, but may prefigure it. Study of the transition from one to the other could be rewarding.

Where the child's adult models themselves continually codeswitch in a manner not amenable to clear situational analysis, association of a language with a person or fixed situation is not possible.

How the 'social meaning' of the codes is acquired and what changes could be expected in the children's 'social arena' configuration as compared to the adults', is a further matter for investigation. It may be that extreme cases of codeswitching lead to a degradation or lack of analysability of the input to the child, resulting in a radical disjuncture between the adult's and

child's speech.   In other cases the use of one of the languages (in the Gurindji case, Kriol) as a child language register could hasten the language shift.

Understanding of these issues and formulation of theory to deal with them could make the framing of language policy and language maintenance strategies of Aboriginal bilingual situations, whether in education or generally, less haphazard, and potentially dangerous, than it is today.   Aboriginal people want to control their own language policy, but are asking for help in understanding a rapidly changing situation; applied linguists should take up that challenge.

SPEECH VARIATION AND SOCIAL NETWORKS IN DYING DYIRBAL

Annette Schmidt

INTRODUCTION

This paper demonstrates the importance of social networks and role-relationships in explaining linguistic variation among speakers of Young Dyirbal. As the deculturisation process advances and dying Dyirbal is replaced by the victorious code, English, radical changes are occurring in both the social fabric and the linguistic system. Although the confluence of language systems appears to result in rather ad hoc language mixing and hybridisation, it is revealed that distinct speech styles are used, even in this terminal stage of the language. Sociological factors such as communication networks, role relationships, and the corrective mechanism form a complex network of conditioning forces which govern speech styles of subgroups within the Jambun community.

Section one briefly describes sociolinguistic setting. In Section two, socio-logical features such as Dyirbal communication network and corrective mechanism are discussed. Description of two in-groups is given in Section three. This is followed by an outline of problems and methodology in Section four. Section five quantifies the frequency of five linguistic features in in-group speech. The maintenance of in-group language norms is discussed in Section six; and compari-son of casual in-group speech with formal elicitation style is made in Section seven. Finally, Section eight observes other studies of close-knit network structures and linguistic norms.

1. SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING

The Dyirbal language is nearing extinction. Originally this language of at least ten dialects was spoken over more than 8,000 square kilometres in the rainforest area of north-east Queensland. Today Dyirbal is virtually limited to isolated pockets of the Jambun Aboriginal community at Murray Upper. Even within this closed group, Dyirbal is currently being replaced by a variety of English. As a result of intense contact with English, radical changes are occurring in the grammar of traditional Dyirbal (TD), this change in progress being manifested in Young Dyirbal (YD). By 'traditional' speech, I mean speech consistent with traditional grammatical norms, as detailed in Dixon 1972. Young Dyirbal involves departure from traditional linguistic norms. At the time of investigation (1982), there were about 15 speakers of YD, whose ages ranged

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from 15 to 39 years. (No individual under 15 years could speak TD or YD. These non-speakers of Dyirbal had only a smattering of Dyirbal vocabulary, and could not construct a Dyirbal sentence.) Approximately six months (January-June 1982) was spent at Jambun investigating Young Dyirbal. During this period two methods of data collection were employed: formal elicitation sessions for careful speech; and recording informal speech in a relaxed peer-group context for casual speech. This paper investigates the pattern of variation in YD CASUAL speech, referring only secondarily to data collected from formal elicitation.

2. DYIRBAL COMMUNICATION NETWORK

As a dying language, Dyirbal is limited to fixed networks of interaction within the community. While the TD speakers speak TD freely among themselves, YD speakers do not use YD to all other young speakers. Rather, there are set lines of Dyirbal communication for these YD speakers.

It is useful at this stage to introduce the term 'primary relations'. This is a sociological term referring to the closeness of relationships within the family or in-group. Charles Horton Cooley first used the term to refer to social groups:

> ... characterized by intimate face-to-face association and
> co-operation. They are primary in several senses, but
> chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social
> nature and ideas of the individual. The result of intimate
> association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of indi-
> vidualities in a common whole... Perhaps the simplest way
> of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a 'we';
> it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification
> for which 'we' is a natural expression.

> [Cooley 1909:23, cited in Broom and Selznick 1973:132]

(For further discussion of the term 'primary relations', see Broom and Selznick 1973:132-135.)

2.1. Primary relations in Dyirbal communication

Young speakers may use Dyirbal to certain other members of the community with whom they share primary relations. This may be a family or peer-group tie. Outside the primary relationship a variety of English is used. Dorian (1981: 110) also notes that the use of terminal Gaelic is restricted to primary rela-tions:

> Most semi-speakers seem to have rather fixed networks of
> Gaelic interaction, such that they use the language with
> a certain group of older bilinguals, mostly or wholly their
> own kin. They do not volunteer Gaelic with bilinguals out-
> side this network...

Table 1 indicates lines of communication where YD is spoken. To gauge the communication network, I asked (and observed) 12 YD speakers (my main informants) who they spoke to in Dyirbal. Note that in all cases, Dyirbal was used only between those sharing primary relations. These are three important points to note from the diagram:

(1) YD speakers do not use Dyirbal freely among themselves, in the way that TD speakers do. Rather the network of YD communication is much more limited.

(2) YD speakers in the 24 to 35 year age group use Dyirbal mainly to older members of the community. There is much vertical communication between the older YD speakers and TD speakers.

(There was only instance of a horizontal Dyirbal link between an older and younger YD speaker. These YD speakers, MJ (30 years) and PG (19 years) were close friends.)

The dominance of vertical communication in older YD speakers is also shown in the following conversations:

> Investigator: So when would you talk language?
>
> CH: Only if I'm talkin' to Mum an' Dad, you know.
>
> Investigator: Would you talk [Dyirbal] to young people, like your age?
>
> CH: No, well they don't bother 'bout talkin' [Dyirbal] to me, you know. They only talk English.
>
> [CH, 29 years, Aboriginal female, Jambun]

> Investigator: Who do you talk language to, Em?
>
> EM: Daisy an' Ida [each aged 60+], 'specially them old people I talk language to.
>   [I talk language] when I get in the mob [of Traditional Dyirbal speakers).
>
> [EM, 31 years, Aboriginal female, Warrami]

In terminal Gaelic, Dorian (1981:152) also notes the dominance of vertical communication networks:

> it is not the case that horizontal communication networks
> are generally stronger than vertical. Many speakers and
> most especially SSs [semi-speakers], use their Gaelic more
> frequently with older kin or neighbors ... than with peers
> or siblings near in age.

Because older traditional speakers are often upholders of the former way of life and closely associated with traditional culture and language, dominance of vertical communication is not surprising.

(3) In contrast to this, the younger semispeakers (15 to 24 years) use YD to their peers in isolated in-groups, bound by primary relations. Thus communication at this level is predominantly horizontal. The two in-groups formed by horizontal ties are indicated by smaller boxes on the diagram.

In the course of my investigation at Jambun, I was able to join in the activities of those of my peers who formed these two separate in-groups. One group of four female members identified themselves as 'Buckaroos'. The second group, called 'Rock'n'rollers', comprised three females. For these subgroups within the young Jambun population, Dyirbal played an important role by symbolising membership of the in-group. Each group had its own distinct brand of Dyirbal. A detailed description of peer-groups and distinctive speech features follows in Section three and Section five.

Table 1: Young Dyirbal communication network

Y : Young Dyirbal
    speaker

T : Traditional
    Dyirbal speaker

━ : main lines of
    Dyirbal com-
    munication for
    Young Dyirbal
    speakers.

Note: Table 1 shows
only YD interaction.
It does not show lines
of TD communication,
e.g. all speakers in
the top rectangle use
TD to each other, thus
forming a group. They
also use TD to Young
Dyirbal speakers (who
reply in YD or English).
This TD communication
is not represented.

Vertical networks of Dyirbal communication are weak for these younger groups. Primary relations within the family unit were rarely used for Dyirbal communication by these younger imperfect speakers. Although parents (TD speakers) speak to their children (YD speakers) in TD, the young speakers often reply in English. For example:

> Investigator: Do EH, DH [her children, YD speakers] ever answer you in language?
>
> IH: Lil'bit. Not much. Most of it's English.
>
> [IH, (TD speaker), 60+ years, Aboriginal female, Jambun]

Only one YD speaker (MM, 18 years) claimed to reply in Dyirbal[1] when conversing with her mother and father. This is indicated by the single vertical link on the diagram between the Buckaroo and TD groups. Other peer-group members recognised the in-group as the main domain of Dyirbal communication.

The phenomenon of subgroups in a society maintaining separate linguistic norms is also noted by Dorian (1981). The East Sutherland fisherfolk form a socially separate group which maintains a distinctive speech form. The utility of Gaelic, in marking social separateness and identity of the group, plays an important role in its survival in East Sutherland. As Dorian (1981:72) reports, 'social separateness can provide a kind of isolation which is perfectly capable of maintaining distinctive speech forms'.

2.2. Factors in the breakdown of Dyirbal communication

As Diagram 1 illustrates, the young Dyirbal speakers at Jambun do not form an homogenous group using Dyirbal as common code of communication. Various forces are at work in the community which are conducive to this breakdown of Dyirbal interaction. Two major factors are:

(1) the important *identity function* that Dyirbal has for the in-group. Due to its binding role within the group, use of Dyirbal to individuals outside the group may be resisted.

(2) *Corrective mechanism*. Older traditional speakers (in particular a few 'purists') often correct younger speakers when their Dyirbal departs from Traditional Dyirbal norms. One young man described such a situation:

> If I'm talkin' to Lenny an' say 'galga ban daman'
> [*leave*-IMP fem.*child = leave that child alone*]
> or anything she'll probably say 'that's not [correct].
> You can't say that. You gotta say this. You gotta
> say other word'.
>
> [EJ, 23 years, Aboriginal male, Bilyana]

Another speaker commented:

> [If] you make mistake, she [TD speaker] always correct it.
>
> [EH, 24 years, Aboriginal female, Jambun]

The corrective mechanism limits the Dyirbal communication network. Because of constant correction from older speakers, less-fluent Dyirbal speakers may hesitate to use Dyirbal when conversing with older members of the community. One group of 'imperfect' speakers once explained that they preferred to use

English when talking to older traditional speakers because it was 'easiest', and as the most efficient code of communication, did not involve constant correction by the older speaker. So, in short, the less proficient YD speakers often prefer to use English when speaking to TD speakers. The Aboriginal English spoken is acceptable as a distinct language that does not involve violation of Dyirbal traditional norms. By using English to TD speakers, less-fluent YD speakers can communicate more effectively and also avoid the constant upgrading of their 'imperfect' Dyirbal.

The main objection by TD speakers appears to be contamination of YD with English forms. The following is an example of the corrective mechanism in a conversation between a YD speaker and a TD speaker. PG (19 years) is speaking her brand of 'imperfect' Dyirbal (on my request) to BJ (50+ years). Because she cannot recall the Dyirbal term for 'cook', PG substitutes the English term as root and adds the Dyirbal verbal transitiviser [-iman] to incorporate it into the Dyirbal sentence. BJ corrects her, saying that she's become a white woman by using English words. Note that the TD speaker relies on English terms in order that PG understand the explanation.

PG: ŋanaji gotta cook - iman   bala   you   know
      1PL   - TR.VERBALISER   NEUTER
      We've got to cook that, you know.

BJ: nyajun!
      cook! [Dyirbal form]

PG: nyajun / cook - iman   baŋgu / nyajun bala
      cook   - TR.VERBALISER   NEUTER   *cook*   NEUTER
      cook   /   / cook it.

BJ: ŋinda mijiji - bin
      2SG   *white woman* - INTR.VERBALISER
      You've become a white woman [*using English like that*]

PG: wayi!   nomo
      EXC   NEG
      Hey, no I haven't!

BJ: ŋaja   ŋina   buwanyu you say banyin see that's cut-im
      1SG-NOM   2SG-ACC   *tell*   *slice*
      I'll teach you. You say 'banyin', that means 'cut'.

      banyin bayi   ŋanaji   barri-ŋgu nyaju-li   buni-ŋga jaŋga-ny
      slice MASC. 1PL-NOM   *axe*-INST *cook*-PURP *fire*-LOC *eat*-FUT
      We slice it with an axe, and cook it in the fire to eat.

      not   cook - iman! [laughter]
            -TR.VERBALISER
      Not 'cook-iman'!

Some TD speakers are extremely meticulous in upgrading YD speech. For example, the Dyirbal kinship system is a complex one. One YD speaker described his mother's [TD speaker] reaction to his collapsing the terms: mother's younger brother and mother's elder brother:

> When I talkin', say when I talk to Uncle, Uncle or anything
> [like that], when I talk to Mum there, if I say 'Oh, that's
> my gaya [m.y.b.] there'. She'll probably say 'You can't say
> gaya to me. That's thing. You gotta say mugu [m.e.b.] to
> me'. It still mean uncle but.

> [EJ, 23 years, Aboriginal male, Bilyana]

The corrective mechanism was also tested by another indirect method. I selected
a tape of a YD text, which involved marked departures from the traditional gram-
matical norms (e.g. a nominative-accusative type case system, use of English
words, allomorphic reduction). The TD speaker was asked to help me transcribe
the text by repeating YD speech, word-for-word. The result was striking. The
TD speaker could not repeat the YD without upgrading it to her own norms:

(1) Ergative case marking was added,[2] and the correct noun class membership was
assigned. For example:

> YD: bayi   ganibarra budin baŋun gujarra
>   MASC. *dingo*   *take* FEM.   *baby*

> TD correction: baŋun   ganibarra-gu budin baŋun gujarra
>   FEM.-ERG   *dingo*-ERG
>   *The dingo took her baby.*

(2) YD allomorphic reduction was corrected to the traditional allomorph, e.g.

> YD: naŋgay - ŋga

> TD: naŋgay - ja
>   *rock* - LOC

(3) English and pidgin forms were replaced by Dyirbal items, e.g.

> YD: 'e bin bungin

> TD: waybala   bungin
>   *white man lie down*
>   *The white man lay down.*

Summarising, the corrective mechanism appears to limit vertical communication
between less-fluent YD speakers and TD speakers. The less Dyirbal a speaker
has, the less likely he is to use it with TD speakers (because of the constant
correction); rather he reserves it for the in-group. In contrast to less-fluent
YD speakers, the more-proficient YD speakers often use Dyirbal to TD speakers.
They appear to be less subject to the corrective mechanism. A possible reason
for this is that their speech is closer to traditional norms. Having observed
sociological forces at work within the Jambun speech community, it is necessary
to relate such factors to speech in YD subgroups.

3. THE PEER-GROUPS

As mentioned above, in order to investigate YD in a more natural context, I
joined in the activities of my peers, as a participant observer in two in-groups,
the Rock'n'rollers and the Buckaroos. Because YD was the common code of com-
munication for members within each group, this provided an excellent opportunity
to observe YD speech in an informal casual situation. The two in-groups were

mutually exclusive, set apart by distinct aims and aspirations. The Rock'n'-
roller group consisted of three female members (LN, EH, LD), whose ages ranged
from 19 to 24 years. All three lived together in a small humpy. As they were
unemployed, during the day they spent much time listening to rock'n'roll music.
The three had various rock'n'roll idols as their figures of reference. (I was
only able to record two of the three members; part way through my field study
LD was sentenced by white law to 12 months in goal.)

The Buckaroos were a younger group of four members (15 to 19 years). These YD
speakers lived with relatives in two neighbouring houses. The common interest
of members was buckarooing and working on farms. (Buckarooing involves cattle
mustering and similar horseback work performed on cattle stations.)

Although the two youngest members were high school students, and the two eldest
worked during the day, the interaction between the four was intense. All spare
time was spent together, watching TV at night, and in activities such as fishing
and swimming.

Thus, each group formed a close-knit network. (There were no peripheral members
or 'lames' as described by Labov 1972.) Each in-group was tightly bound by
close personal ties. Group loyalty was symbolised by the use of Dyirbal. Across
in-group boundaries, a variety of English was used. The association between
close-knit networks and language use is illustrated in Figure 1.

BUCKAROOS   ROCK'N'ROLLERS

——————— : Close, personal, primary ties and Dyirbal use

– – – – : Secondary ties and English use

Figure 1

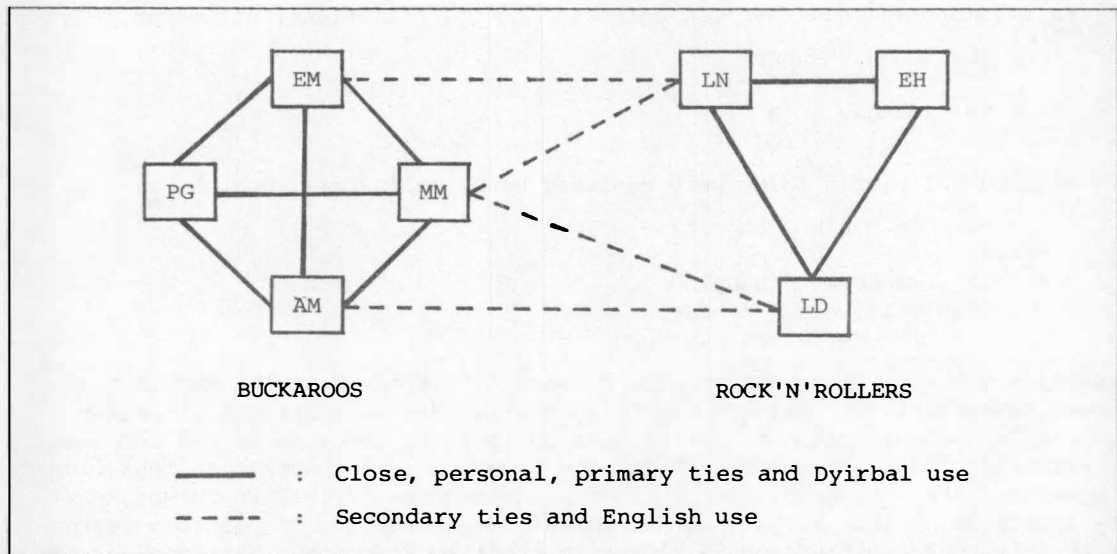## 4. PROBLEMS AND METHODOLOGY

It is important to be aware of the problems and limitations of participant
observation, for this influences the outcome of such a study.

(1) One disadvantage of focusing on two small in-groups is that the collected
data represents the speech of only a small cross-section of the community. It
does not represent the speech of the whole community, or other YD speakers

outside the peer-groups. Another restriction in sampling is that all members
of both groups were female. I was unable to record male YD speakers in a
natural context because of the tendency to switch to English in the presence
of a white person, especially a white female.

(2) *Observer's paradox.* The very presence of a stranger will influence speech
of the group under observation. In the case of the Jambun study, the physio-
logical difference in skin colour was a constant reminder of the presence of an
outsider. At first, this presented a real problem, as my peers would constantly
switch to English in my presence. However, after about two months, I was able
to establish close personal ties with these YD speakers, and join in their
casual daily activities such as fishing, swimming and camping. The YD speakers
were well aware that I was interested in their language. This awareness was
quite advantageous because, in partaking in group activities, members encouraged
me to speak the Dyirbal style which was a shared code of communication.

(3) Shyness of the tape recorder was less of a problem than I had anticipated.
Because these YD speakers were quite familiar with the use of cassette recorders
in everyday life, they were not nervous at the idea of speech recording. In
order to minimise awareness of the machine, I carried the recorder in a shoulder
bag on group activities.

Technique. In investigating the casual speech of each in-group, I taped both
conversations and texts. In particular, storytelling sessions around the camp-
fire, or on fishing trips were ideal. The sessions involved members chatting
among themselves, relating bits of gossip or stories. The atmosphere of these
sessions was relaxed. YD speakers were often unaware that the sessions were
being recorded at the time. To ensure consistency, I taped YD story sessions
on various occasions over a period of four months.

My initial impression upon hearing in-group speech was that certain YD speakers
used a more simplified style of Dyirbal, which differed from their notion of
'straight' Dyirbal taught to me in elicitation sessions, i.e. YD speakers did
not use their best Dyirbal in the peer-group situation. Rather they adjusted
their speech towards a shared group norm. For example, in formal sessions, MM
taught me a sentence, using TD future tense affix -ny. She rejected the sentence
in which the future tense affix was not used:

e.g. ŋanaji jaŋga - ny wuju   [MM's BEST DYIRBAL]
      1PL   *eat*-FUT   *food*
      We will eat food.

     *ŋanaji jaŋga - nyu wuju now
      1PL   *eat*-NONFUT *food*
      We'll eat food now.

In contrast, when we joined the peer group, MM produced the very sentence which
she had rejected in teaching me her 'best' Dyirbal:

     wifela gonna jaŋga - nyu now   [MM's PEER-GROUP SPEECH]
     1PL   *eat*-NONFUT
     WE're going to eat now.

It is therefore necessary to distinguish between (a) what the YD speaker
considers to be correct according to his individual Dyirbal system; and (b)
what is contextually appropriate in conversing with members of the in-group.

In the following, I will demonstrate that the careful speech of individual YD speakers is modified in more natural context, as peer-group members adjust their speech towards a standard norm. First, evidence of 'focusing' in peer-group speech is observed. Then, we will observe how individual YD speakers' careful speech is adjusted toward the in-group norm.

Focusing. It is necessary at this stage to explain the sociolinguistic term 'focusing'. This term refers to the adjustment of individual speech towards a standard linguistic norm shared by members in a close-knit structure Le Page (1968:192) remarks that:

> The individual creates his system of verbal behaviour so
> as to resemble those common to the group or groups with
> which he wishes from time to time to be identified.

(For more detailed discussion of this concept and its broader implications for sociolinguistic theory, see Le Page 1975, 1977, 1979.)

The Jambun material provides some interesting evidence of linguistic focusing. YD speakers of each group adjust their speech to a recognisable set of linguistic norms, thus using language variety functionally to express group loyalty and identity.

5. QUANTIFICATION

In order to confirm this impression of focusing, it is necessary to quantify linguistic features in in-group texts. Because the speech adjustment involved morphological simplification and the use of English and pidgin forms, I arrived at the following indices for quantification:

1. frequency of peripheral cases marked by affixation[3]
2. number of transitive subject NPs marked by ergative case
3. frequency of bound morphemes, i.e. morphological complexity
4. occurrence of pidgin form bin (past tense indicator)
5. use of English forms (both grammatical and lexical).

5.1. Peripheral case affixes

Peripheral cases in TD are marked by suffixation to the nominal stem (see Dixon 1972:42). In peer-group YD, there is evidence that some YD speakers drop these case affixes and indicate peripheral case by English preposition.

Thus the TD sentence:

    bayi   olman   nyinanyu   yugu - ŋga
    MASC.   *old man* *sit*-NONFUT *log*-LOC
    The old man sat on the log.

becomes in YD:

    bayi   olman   nyinanyu   on yugu
    MASC.   *old man* *sit*-NONFUT   *log*
    The old man sat on the log.

I quantified peripheral case affixation in YD in-group speech. The results are presented in Table 2. The table clearly indicates that:

Table 2: Peripheral case marking in YD					
Rock'n'rollers		Method of marking		Total opportunity	% of peripheral case by affixation	Average %
		Number of affix	Number of preposition			
	LN	48	1	49	98	92.8
	EH	63	9	72	87.5	
Buckaroos	MM	1	18	19	5.3	11.2
	PG	1	9	10	10	
	AM	7	34	41	17.1	
	TM	3	21	24	12.5	

(1) In the Rock'n'roller group, both members retain a high degree of affixation: LN 98%, EH 87.5%.

(2) In contrast, all YD speakers in the Buckaroo group rarely used affixation to mark peripheral case; scores ranged from 5.3 to 17.1%. The alternative device of an English preposition was commonly used.

(3) There is radical difference in the average scores of the two groups: Rock'n'rollers 92.8%; Buckaroos 11.2%. Thus YD speakers appear to focus their speech on distinct group standards: Rock'n'rollers retain peripheral case affixes; in the Buckaroo group English preposition is a common means of marking peripheral case.

5.2. Ergative case marking

In formal elicitation, only one YD speaker (LN) belonging to a peer-group marked the ergative case. Others showed syntactic function by word order, along a nominative-accusative type pattern as in English. It is interesting to observe if these YD speakers did mark ergative case in a more natural context. YD casual texts were quantified for ergative case marking on the A NP. The results are presented in Table 3. The table indicates that:

(1) In the peer-group situation, both members of the Rock'n'rollers frequently marked ergative case: LN 93.8%; EH 83.9%. It is important to note that EH adjusts her speech when speaking to peer-group members, by adding ergative case marking. In her response to stimulus sentences, EH did not mark ergative case.

e.g. buliman *ø* ŋanban   ban   bulaji   [RESPONSE SENTENCE]
      policeman   ask-NONFUT   FEM. *two*
      The policeman asked those two.

Table 3								
		Ergative Case marking					Morphological complexity		
		ERG noun markers used	ERG case affixes used	Total opportunities	%	Average score	Number of bound morphemes/ total words	%	Average score
	TD						268 / 613	43	
Rock'n' rollers	LN	3	12	16	93.8	88.9%	166 / 432	38.4	33.3%
	EH	0	26	31	83.9		240 / 851	28.2	
Buckaroos	MM	0	0	4	0	3.2%	8 / 151	5.3	4.6%
	PG	2	0	19	10.5		8 / 249	3.2	
	AM	0	0	11	0		27 / 640	4.2	
	TM	1	0	41	2.4		76 /1304	5.8	

(2) Table 3 also shows that in the Buckaroo group, ergative case marking was rarely used. There were only three instances of ergative in 75 opportunities in the entire Buckaroo speech samples. In all three cases, the ergative marking was shown by noun marker and not by affixation to the noun. (In TD, both the noun marker and head noun must take ergative marking.) Buckaroo use of the ergative case marker is exemplified below:

e.g. baŋgul   baŋgan / baŋgan bugal jaban girimu bali   baŋgul
      MASC.-ERG *paint*   *paint*   *bream* *eel*   *snake* *to there* MASC.-ERG

      bali   baŋgan bala
      to there *paint*   NEUTER
      He painted bream, eel, snakes.

e.g. ŋanaji reckon ŋaa / so baŋgun   get-im ŋanaji something to jaŋganyu
      1PL   *yes*   FEM.-ERG   1PL   *eat*
      We said 'yes', so she got us something to eat.

Because these are the only instances of ergative noun marker forms, it may be argued that these YD speakers do not productively mark the ergative distinction, and that these isolated occurrences of the ergative noun marker are merely relic forms, picked up from TD parents. In short, Rock'n'roller members frequently mark ergative case. In contrast, Buckaroo speech drops the ergative inflection and marks syntactic function by word order, in a nominative-accusative type pattern as in English.

5.3. Morphological complexity

The above findings indicate that there is a loss of affixation in YD natural speech, especially in the Buckaroo group where case affixes are rarely used. In order to confirm this impression of morphological simplification, I quantified the number of morphemes in peer-group speech. The degree of morphological complexity was calculated as follows:

$$\frac{\text{number of bound morphemes}}{\text{number of words}} \times 100$$

Thus a high score indicates high frequency of bound morphemes.

Before observing the incidence of bound forms in YD, it is necessary to describe the method of quantification. Bound forms were counted according to the following principles:

(1) Unmarked form[4] of the noun and verb was counted as $\emptyset$, i.e. the non-future unmarked verb form: bani - nyu = 0
                                                          come-NONFUT

but the future form counted as 1 point: bani - ny = 1
                                              come-FUT

Similarly, the nominative form of the noun: yara = 0

and the dative form scored 1 point: yara-gu   = 1
                                              man-DAT

(2) Reduplicated morphemes were not counted as bound forms.

                              e.g. bayi-m-bayi = 0
                                    MASC.-REDUP

(3)   Because the aim was to observe the productive use of bound morphemes in open classes, the closed word classes (noun markers, interrogatives and pronouns) were not included in the quantification.

Table 3 indicates the degree of morphological complexity in YD peer-group speech. The striking features of the table are:

(1)   All YD speakers used less bound forms than TD score of 43%, indicating the YD is morphologically simpler than TD.   (The TD count is based on texts from five TD speakers.)

(2)   Within each group, YD speakers used a similar degree of bound morphemes. For example, in the Buckaroo group, this varied from 3.2 to 5.8%. Rock'n'roller members registered 28.2 and 38.4%. Thus, members of each group appear to level their speech on a group standard of morphological complexity.

(3)   There is considerable difference in the group standards of morphological complexity. The average Rock'n'roller score was 33.3% in contrast to 4.6% average of the Buckaroo group. This indicates contrasting norms of morphological complexity between the two groups.

Having established that there is morphological simplification, especially in the Buckaroo group, it is necessary to investigate if any types of bound forms are more resistant to dropping than others. In order to do this, I quantified the number and type of bound morphemes per 100 words in random samples of TD and YD texts. The results are presented in Table 4. (*Derivational affixes*, placed between the root and the final tense ending, are divided into two types. One type which can be called 'aspectual' includes -yarra- *begin to*; -gani- *do repeatedly*. The other type, called 'syntactic', includes -yirri 'reflexive'; -barri 'reciprocal'. -Bayji type affixes are deictic affixes which indicate whether the referent of the noun is uphill, downhill, upriver, etc.)

In comparing TD and YD figures, the table suggests that:

(1)   Derivational affixes survive with remarkable tenacity in Buckaroo speech. For example, one Buckaroo member, TM, used aspectual affixes even more frequently than TD speakers: TM 4; TD 2-3.

(2)   Similarly, syntactic derivational affixes also appear quite resistant in YD, especially in Rock'n'roller speech: TD 8; Rock'n'rollers 7-10; Buckaroos 1-3.

(3)   There is a general decline in other bound morphemes in YD (case inflections, other nominal affixes, verb inflections, -bayji type affixes). This tendency is particularly evident in the speech of Buckaroo members, e.g. the frequency of case inflections reduce from TD 13-21 to 2-0 in Buckaroo speech. Similarly, TD texts had two and five -bayji type affixes per 100 words. Buckaroo speech had none.

The important point is that, while YD speakers use generally less bound morphemes than TD speakers, verbal derivational affixes appear more resistant to dropping than others. The tenacity of aspectual affixes in YD is particularly noticeable. The following sample of TM's speech illustrates the retention of these aspectual affixes in an utterance characterised by radical simplification and English intrusion.

e.g. George bin   banaga - yarra - nyu   with ban   back to ban - ban
                PAST *return*-ASP-NONFUT   FEM.   FEM.-REDUP

        now / an' 'e bin   ŋandan - gani - nyu   for ban - ban
                        PAST *call out*-ASP-NONFUT   FEM.-REDUP
      *George started to return with her₁ back to her₂ now, and he was calling
      out to her₂.*

Table 4: Type of bound morphemes (per 100 words) in peer-group speech							
	Nominal affix		Verbal affix			Noun marker affix	Total bound forms per 100 words *
	Case inflection	Other	Aspect derivation	Syntactic derivation	Inflectional	-bayji type	
TD sample 1	13	12	2	8	8	5	48
sample 2	21	6	3	8	6	2	46
Rock'n' rollers — LN	18	2	-	7	5	3	35
Rock'n' rollers — EH	10	4	-	10	3	2	29
Buckaroos — MM	2	-	1	2	1	-	6
Buckaroos — PG	1	-	-	1	2	-	4
Buckaroos — AM	2	-	2	3	-	-	7
Buckaroos — TM	-	-	4	1	-	-	5

* : Note that total bound forms per 100 words confirms the pattern of morphological
simplification in Table 3. The two tables measure morphological complexity in
different ways, but the results are the same:

1. YD has less bound morphemes than TD.
2. In contrast to Rock'n'rollers, all Buckaroos have very low frequency of bound forms.

e.g.   she bin   lilbit wuygi-bin   / ban bungi-gani-nyu
              PAST   *sick*-INTR.VERBALISER   FEM. *lie   down*-ASP-NONFUT

waymban-gani-nyu   oh she baji-baji-yarra-nyu   down
walkabout-ASP-NONFUT   *fall*-REDUP-ASP-NONFUT
She was a bit sick. She lay down, then she got up. Oh! She fell down!

Thus aspectual affixes provide areas of morphological complexity in otherwise
simplified YD utterance.

5.4. Occurrence of past tense indicator 'bin'

In YD there is evidence of intrusion of pidgin forms. The form bin was selected
for quantification because, as past tense indicator, it has high occurrence
possibility. Table 5 shows the occurrence of bin in peer-group speech. The
striking feature is that all members of the Buckaroo group used this form fre-
quently. The following illustrates PG's use of bin in Buckaroo conversation:

e.g.   ŋanaji bin   muguy   jananyu   an' wuygi   bin
        1PL   PAST *too much stand*-NONFUT   *old lady* PAST

wurrbanyu   hey
talk-NONFUT   EXC
We stood there for ages, and the old lady talked, hey.

In contrast, the Rock'n'roller group registered no occurrences of bin. Past
tense was indicated by the unmarked form of the verb and a separate time word
which specified when the event took place.

e.g.   ŋurugun-da gunyja-gunyja-yirri-nyu ŋanaji
        dark-LOC   *drink*-REDUP-REFL-NONFUT 1PL
        We drank at night.

Thus, bin as indicator of past tense is commonly used by Buckaroo members, but
not by the Rock'n'rollers.

		Table 5: Frequency of 'bin' and English transference				
		bin as past tense indicator		Non-assimilated English form		
		bin : Total words		English items : Total words	%	in-group average
Rock'n' rollers	LN	0 :	432	35 : 432	8.1	9.5%
	EH	0 :	851	92 : 851	10.8	
Buckaroos	MM	13 :	151	80 : 151	53	
	PG	14 :	249	110 : 249	44.2	47.8%
	AM	25 :	640	295 : 640	46	
	TM	99 :	1304	627 : 1304	48	

5.5. English transference

In YD casual speech, there is a noticeable use of English words. This is asso-
ciated with a limited Dyirbal vocabulary (see Schmidt 1983:235ff). When a YD
speaker cannot recall a Dyirbal term, the English equivalent is substituted to
fill in gaps in communicative competence.

e.g. ginya   wind lilbit gimbin   / ŋanaji bin   come down on
      NEUTER   *blow*-NONFUT   1PL   PAST

     the   jigay
        ground
     The wind was blowing a bit so we landed (the plane) on the ground.

It is important to note that the English transference in YD is predominantly
lexical substitution, i.e. the English term is not phonologically assimilated
to the Dyirbal sound system.

e.g. bayi   yanun   hospital - gu
      MASC. *go*-NONFUT   - ALL
      He went to hospital.

In the above, LN uses the English pronunciation rather than the phonologically-
assimilated loan word ŋabidal.

Two major reasons for the lack of phonological assimilation are:

(1) YD speakers have perfect command of the English sound system; English is
their primary language.

(2) English is a prestigious code. To the YD speakers, there is no stigma
attached to the English pronunciation of English forms. Had the YD speaker's
attitude been more resistant to the encroaching culture and English language, it
is possible that new words would be either:

    (a) loans adapted to the indigenous sound system; or
   (b) coined from the original Dyirbal language base.

YD in-group speech was quantified for non-assimilated English forms. (English
place names were not included in the count.)

The results are presented in Table 5. The table clearly indicates that:

(1) Within each group, members used a similar degree of English substitution.
Deviation from the group average was only slight. Rock'n'rollers registered
8.1% to 10.8%; the Buckaroo range was 44.2% to 53%.

(2) The Rock'n'rollers rely much less on English forms than the Buckaroo group.
Average Rock'n'roller score was 9.5% contrasting with 47.8% lexical substitution
in the Buckaroo group. Thus, there is a noticeable difference in the degree of
English substitution between the Rock'n'roller and Buckaroo peer-groups.

Summarising, in the in-group situation YD speakers focus their speech around a
group standard. This is clearly illustrated in Table 6 which summarises YD
speaker scores for four of the linguistic features described above. As the
table shows, there is only slight variation within each group. In contrast,
between the groups, the scores are radically different, i.e. the groups have
different norms. Speech within the Rock'n'roller group was characterised by
morphological complexity, ergative case affixation, absence of the pidgin form
bin, and slight English transference. In contrast, the Buckaroo speech contained
few bound forms, no ergative case affixation, frequent use of bin to indicate
past tense, and a high degree of English forms.

Table 6: Focusing of linguistic features in in-group speech
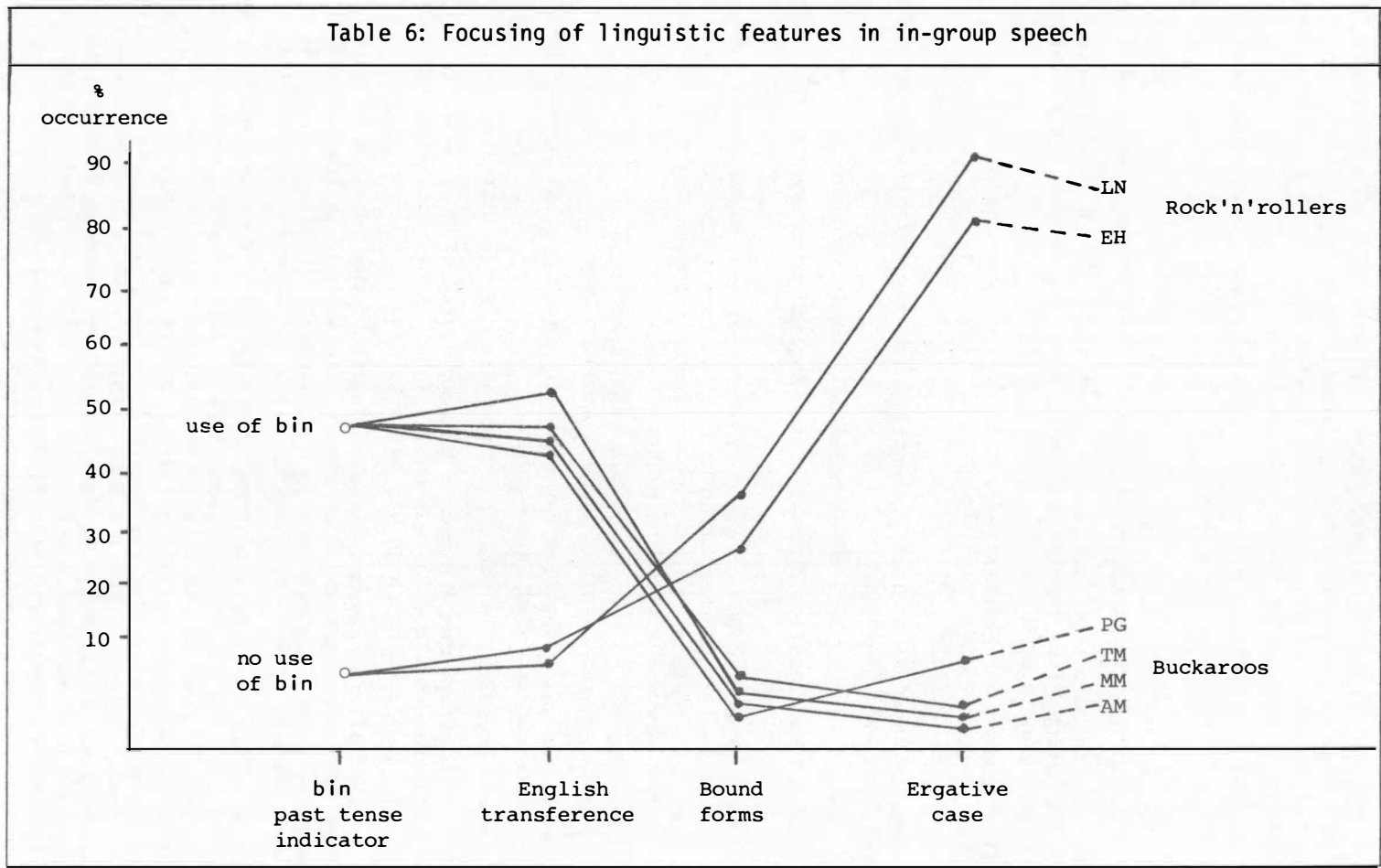
6. MAINTENANCE OF IN-GROUP NORMS

It is important to note the capacity of a close-knit network to impose linguistic norms upon its members. Within each group, members were persistent in maintaining the group standard. It was contextually inappropriate to speak of Dyirbal that was too simple or too complicated. For example, when I first joined the Buckaroos, I was unaware of a group norm, and so spoke TD. After about a week, one member explained that my Dyirbal was 'too flash'. Evidently, I had overstepped the group norm. It was necessary to modify my Dyirbal in accordance with the shared group norm.

Similarly, if the speech was too simple, or contained too many English forms, YD speakers were also corrected by peers. For example, TM was the least-fluent YD speaker in the Buckaroo group. She often relied on English forms to fill gaps in her communicative competence. In the following, she is telling PG about a book she'd read. Because TM's speech contains mostly English terms, PG reprimands her. TM then introduces more Dyirbal and pidgin forms.

TM: They bin nyinan-gani-nyu (sit-ASP-NONFUT) back here / George went
    out - George is the head ranger of Kenya / That's over in Africa
    somewhere an' George went out with what's-his-name -- Steven /
    dubala (3DU) went out / dubala (3DU) lookin' for the lions an' they
    shot this one lion.

PG: Don't talk in English!

TM: dubala bin   minban / dubala bin   see lion / dubala bin   minban
    3DU   PAST *shoot*   3DU   PAST   3DU   PAST *shoot*
    They two shot (the lion). They saw the lion and they shot it.

Similarly, when YD speakers used forms which were morphologically simple, they were also corrected. For example, in the following, TM uses the simple YD form of the genitive masculine noun marker,[5] bayi-ŋu rather than the complex TD form, baŋul. MM corrects TM, and supplies the complex form. TM then repeats the correction and continues her story:

TM: ŋanaji took ŋagi   back to bayi-bayi-ŋu   mija / ŋanaji bin...
    1PL   *grandfather*   MASC.-REDUP-GEN *house* 1PL   PAST

    ŋanaji bin...
    1PL   PAST
    We took grandfather back to his house. We...

MM: baŋul!
    MASC.-GEN   (TD form)

TM: --baŋul   mija / ŋanaji bin   waymbam-gani-nyu
      MASC.-GEN *house* 1PL   PAST *walkabout*-ASP-NONFUT
    ...His house. We walked about...

(It is difficult to estimate the extent to which my presence influenced these corrections.)

In this way, YD speakers uphold a shared norm for Dyirbal communication within the group. The strong control exercised by peer-groups over the vernacular has been noted in other linguistic investigations. For example, Labov (1972a) reports that among Harlem peer-group members, supervision is so close that a speaker making a single departure from group norms may be taunted for years afterwards.

7. CAREFUL VERSUS IN-GROUP DYIRBAL

Having established that members of each in-group focus their speech on a shared group norm, it is interesting to observe discrepancies between the individual's careful speech at formal elicitation sessions and his/her speech in the peer-group situation. In the following, we will investigate how YD speakers accommodate careful Dyirbal speech to demonstrate allegiance with their in-group.

There is much variation in 'careful' individual Dyirbal styles (see Schmidt 1983:65ff). This variation is demonstrated by the fact that YD speakers can be ranked on a continuum according to the degree to which their Dyirbal has been simplified.[6] Figure 2 shows where Buckaroo and Rock'n'roller members were ranked on the continuum. Although all six YD speakers occur consecutively, there are essential differences in their Dyirbal styles, with each YD speaker simplifying more as the continuum progresses.

In order to compare 'careful' and peer-group speech, I asked PG to tell me a story in her 'best' Dyirbal. Table 7 compares this 'careful' text with PG's in-group speech. The striking feature of the table is that, for all features, PG's in-group speech is much closer than her 'careful' Dyirbal, to the group norm. For example, in careful speech, PG marked peripheral case by affixation 91.7%. In contrast, when speaking to peers, this was radically adjusted to 10% which is similar to the group norm of 11.2%.
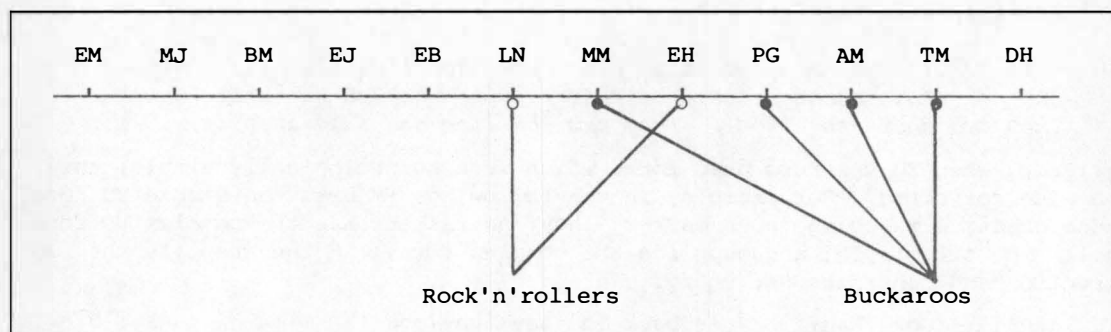

Figure 2

Table 7: Comparison of PG's 'careful' and 'in-group' speech					
	Bound morphemes	English transference	Peripheral case affix	bin occurrence		
				No. of bin :	Total opport.	%
Careful speech	16.6	26.8	91.7	2 :	16	12.5
In-group speech	3.2	44.2	10	14 :	26	53.8
Group norm	4.6	47.8	11.2			

PG used the past tense indicator bin much more frequently in the peer-group situation: 12.5% careful speech; 53.8% peer-group.

In careful speech, PG used many more bound morphemes (16.6%) than when speaking to her peers (3.2%). This is similar to the group average of 4.6%.

Similarly, English substitution in PG's careful text was only 26.8%. In the peer-group context, PG used far more English forms 44.2%, which is close to the group average of 47.8%. The above clearly illustrates that in the peer-group situation, PG adjusts her speech towards the group norm.

MM's speech also well exemplifies the difference between careful and peer-group Dyirbal styles. In her response to stimulus sentences, MM demonstrated her command of TD features and complex constructions, e.g. future affix -ny; negative imperative -m; noun marker and adjective agreement with case of the head noun; case marking on the embedded verb; S-O pivot in relative clauses (see Schmidt 1983:67ff for details).

However, in the in-group situation MM radically modified her speech. There was no evidence of the above-mentioned TD features. The following contrasts MM's peer-group speech with the same sentences translated by MM in formal elicitation.

Careful speech

MM: balay-bawal   alugeda nyinanyu / ganibarra budin wuda   gujarra /
there-long way 3PL   *sit*   *dingo*   *take*   *little* *baby*
They were way out there. The dingo took the little baby.

         alugeda gunimarrinyu / yimba / gulu jaymban
         3PL   *search*   *no*   NEG *find*
         They searched but didn't find (him).

In-group speech

MM: out Ayers Rock there dey   bin / dingo bin   budin the
                     they PAST   PAST *take*

         little gujarra /
               baby
         They were out at Ayers Rock. The dingo took the little baby.

         they bin   gunimarrinyu but they never bin   find-im hey nomo
             PAST *search*   PAST   EXC NEG
         They looked for him but they never found him, hey.

Note the English substitution, past tense indicator bin, and absence of bound forms in MM's peer-group speech, but not in her careful Dyirbal. The important point is that MM has command of TD morphological constructions, but does not use them in the in-group situation. Rather, she adjusts her speech to the norm shared by all members of her peer-group.

It is interesting that the norm of each in-group is similar to the careful Dyirbal style of the least fluent member (i.e. 'lowest common denominator' effect). This suggests an interlocutor rule that: speakers of the in-group modify their Dyirbal to a level that all members can respond in. The norm must be within the competence of all peer-group members. This rule explains, in part, the contrast between Rock'n'roller and Buckaroo norms. Because Rock'n'roller members (LN, EH) are quite fluent speakers, it is unnecessary to simplify their

common code below EH's competence. In contrast, the Buckaroo group contains much less fluent YD speakers (TM, AM), and the group norm is set according to this low level of proficiency.

8. OTHER STUDIES

The association between close-knit network structure and adherence to a vernacular norm has been reported in other linguistic investigations. For example, in his study of three adolescent peer-groups in Harlem, Labov (1972a) shows that Black English Vernacular [BEV] is an important mark of group identity, and that within the group, BEV norms are maintained in the teech of strong counter pressures from standard varieties of English.

> It [BEV] defines and is defined by the social organisation
> of the peer groups in the inner city.   (Labov 1972a:xii)

Lesley Milroy's (1980) investigation of three Belfast communities also demonstrates the relationship between social network structure and language use. In her network analysis approach, Milroy examines social network structures (i.e. the intensity of social relationships contracted by the individual), and then correlates this with aggregated linguistic scores. The major hypothesis of the Belfast study was that the closer an individual's network ties are with his local community, the closer his language approximates to localised vernacular norms, i.e. close-knit network structures maintain vernacular norms in a highly focused form.

Gumperz (1971) makes the point that individuals whose networks are close-knit often share general 'communicative preferences' of a non-standard kind. For example, in describing verbal repertoire in Khalapur, Gumperz (1971:160-161) reports that non-standard dialect use marks membership in localised close-knit groups.

> The official standard language is Hindi and villagers list
> themselves as speakers of Hindi for census purposes...
> Educated persons, village leaders, business men and all
> those who deal regularly with urbanites speak it... Purely
> local relationships, on the other hand, always require the
> dialect and everyone, including highly educated villagers,
> uses it to symbolize participation in these relationships.

Although there are essential differences between these studies (e.g. Milroy 1980:167 discusses crucial differences between her own work and Labov's), the important point is that each demonstrates an association between close-knit network structure and the adherence to a vernacular norm.

9. CONCLUSION

Summarising, although YD speakers deviate from the TD grammatical norms, they maintain definite norms of their own within each in-group. Certainly, the social subgrouping in the Jambun community is conducive to the maintenance of distinct speech norms. For both peer-groups, YD is an important symbol of loyalty and identity. However, there is a marked difference in the Dyirbal standards of each group. Buckaroo speech is characterised by high English

transference; frequent use of pidgin form bin; use of prepositions to mark peripheral case; and low incidence of bound morphemes. Such characteristics do not occur in Rock'n'roller speech.

The shared norm of each group was maintained in a highly focused form. There was only slight variation among group members. In adopting the verbal habits of their peer-group, the more proficient YD speakers did not speak their 'best' Dyirbal, but rather adjusted their speech toward the shared standard. There appear to be two major reasons for this linguistic focusing within close-knit network structures. One factor is that a highly focused set of language norms is able to symbolise solidarity and loyalty to the group. Second is the capacity of a close-knit network to exercise control over its members so as to ensure that they maintain this set of norms. Certainly, in the YD cliques there is evidence of constant supervision and control to uphold the group standard.

The Dyirbal data bears features which throw important light on general issues of linguistic debate. Firstly, the predominance of the corrective mechanism contradicts Dorian's (1981:154) suggestion that 'relaxation of internal grammatical monitoring is typical of language communities approaching extinction'. While this may be true of Gaelic and certain other language death situations it does not apply to terminal Dyirbal. In dying Dyirbal there is little evidence of relaxation of internal grammatical monitoring. Older TD speakers are grammatical 'purists'. As self-appointed monitors of TD grammatical norms, the TD speakers constantly correct the speech of YD speakers. Also, within the Rock'n'roller and Buckaroo peer-groups, there is evidence of constant supervision and control to uphold the group's linguistic standard. Thus it cannot be maintained that relaxation of internal monitoring is common to all language death situations.

One important factor influencing the degree of grammatical monitoring in a community may be the rapidity of the death process. Where the process is gradual as with Gaelic, the oldest most-fluent speakers may be themselves 'imperfect' speakers, and so lack proficiency and confidence to correct younger speakers' language. In contrast, where the extinction process is more rapid (e.g. Dyirbal), the older members are speakers of 'pre-decay' language. As original members with affinity for traditional linguistic and cultural standards, they attempt to maintain traditional language norms.

A second assumption is that when a dying language becomes limited to fixed networks of interaction, it is the vertical link (e.g. between YD and TD speakers) where the language survives. Certainly this may be so in many cases of language extinction. For example, Dorian (1981:152) reports that it is the vertical communication networks which are strongest in dying Gaelic. Many younger speakers use their Gaelic most frequently to the older kin rather than with peers their own age.

However, the Dyirbal situation contrasts with this. Among the less-fluent YD speakers of dying Dyirbal, it is the horizontal networks of Dyirbal communication which are the strongest. These less-fluent YD speakers use the language mainly within their in-group and not so much to older TD speakers (although they are addressed in TD by TD speakers, and can understand them). As this paper demonstrates, there are sociolinguistic reasons for the survival of horizontal Dyirbal links such as avoidance of the corrective mechanism by YD speakers, and the use of Dyirbal as a symbol of in-group identity.

NOTES

1. Presumably, MM adapted her speech towards her parents' TD style. Unfortunately, I have no further evidence to clarify which style MM actually used.

2. TD has an ergative-absolutive case system, i.e. intransitive subject and transitive object NPs are grouped together and take ∅ marking, and transitive subject is formally marked by an ergative suffix. Less-fluent YD speakers use a nominative-accusative type system (transitive and intransitive subject are placed before the verb, and transitive object is positioned after the verb), i.e. marked by word order as in English.

3. In TD, grammatical function (e.g. subject, object) is not shown by word order as in English, but instead by case endings on nouns. It is convenient to divide these into core cases (subject and object) and peripheral cases, which roughly correspond to English prepositions such as 'to', 'at', 'from'.

4. There are various interpretations of the terms 'marked' and 'unmarked'. The term may be used semantically or may apply to formal markedness. In this paper, a different criterion is used: an unmarked form is recognised as being the basic form that is employed in citation. Thus, for example, the citation form of the verb (non-future inflection) is recognised as 'unmarked', as opposed to other inflections which are considered 'marked'. For nouns, the nominative ∅ inflection is the unmarked citation form.

5. Fluent Dyirbal speakers divide nouns into four classes: masculine, feminine, edible matter, and neuter. The class of a noun is indicated by a noun marker (usually placed before the noun), e.g. bayi 'masculine'; balan 'feminine'; balam 'edible'; bala 'neuter'. The Dyirbal noun marker is a complex unit which also indicates the case of a noun, and its location vis-a-vis the speaker. For clarity in this paper, noun markers are glossed simply as 'MASC.', 'FEM.', 'EDIBLE', 'NEUTER'.

6. A standard set of some 200 stimulus sentences was presented to each informant in order to gauge continuum ranking order. The specific linguistic criteria by which the speakers were ranked will not be discussed in this paper. (See Schmidt 1983:67ff).

TYPOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC FACTORS IN GRAMMATICAL CONVERGENCE: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GERMAN AND DUTCH IN AUSTRALIA

Michael Clyne

1. THE PROBLEM

The fact that languages will change and simplify their grammatical systems when in contact has been well argued and well documented (e.g. Schuchardt 1884, Haugen 1953, Weinreich 1953). Little attention has so far been paid to the *differential* rate of adaptation of ethnic languages to the dominant language of a speech community. This paper[1] is based on comparative data concerning German and Dutch maintenance by immigrants and their descendants in Australia and attempts to demonstrate that some differences in the behaviour of these two languages can be explained both by factors of a sociolinguistic nature and by relative differences in grammatical typology between German and Dutch. It should be stressed that we will be dealing with *tendencies*, for there is certainly no uniform Australian variety of either German or Dutch.

1.1. Grammatical differences

In his book *Nederlands tussen duits en engels*, Van Haeringen depicts Dutch as being midway between German and English, in some aspects of morphology tending towards English, in syntax taking a position much closer to German. In the following comparison I shall be looking at:

(a)   Gender,

(b)   plural allomorphs (for nouns and verbs), and

(c)   the SVO word order.

(a)   German has three grammatical genders — masculine, feminine and neuter — with which are associated different forms of the definite article (der, die, das). English possesses only natural gender and one form of the definite article, the. Dutch occupies a middle position in that it, like German, has grammatical gender — in most varieties of the language two genders which are indicated by the definite article (non-neuter de versus neuter het).

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
German	der	die	das

non-neuter

Dutch	de	het

common

English	the

(b) While German offers a diverse system of plural noun allomorphs (e.g. -e, -er, -en, ̈e, ̈er, ø, -s), English is, according to Van Haeringten (n.d.:36) 'with a few strange exceptions simple, uniform, objective and systematic' (my translation). Dutch, again occupying an intermediate place in that it uses two main plural forms (-en, -s), is described as 'unsystematic'. In verbal morphology, English (we, they bring) does not mark plurality in verbal forms as does German (wir, sie bringen). Dutch shows far more variety than English, almost to the same extent as German (wij, zij

(c) Van Haeringen (n.d.:64) depicts German as a language with freer word order, English as one with a strict order, and Dutch as the 'syntactically most amorphous of the three languages, standing between the other two' (my translation). However, in both Dutch and German the verb stands in second position in statement sentences, irrespective of the place of the subject, and in final position in embedded sentences.

1.2. Differences in language use

Sociolinguistically, Dutch speakers have undergone more radical language shift than other migrant groups in Australia (cf. Zubrzycki 1964:130-131, Harvey 1974, Smolicz and Harris 1976:148, Clyne 1982). The 1976 Australian Census recorded a shift to the *regular* use of 'English only' by 27.79% of persons born in Germany and 43.55% of persons born in the Netherlands. In the same census there is a shift to 'English only' reported for 62.28% of persons born in Australia of two German parents and 80.79% of persons born in Australia of two Dutch parents. These differences are consistent in all parts of Australia (Clyne 1982:36, 43). A survey of two-thirds of 1% of the Australian population conducted in May 1983 by the Australian Bureau of Statistics also found that native speakers of Dutch were less likely to use the language at home, work or with relatives and friends than native speakers of German were to use German.

	Home	Work	Socially (with relatives and friends)
German	48.25%	28.8%	83.57%
Dutch	41%	12.13%	69.05%

In our studies of bilingualism, we found that Dutch parents have tended to speak English to their children, while German-speaking parents generally employ German to their children who, in turn, answer in English (Clyne 1967, 1970b, 1977b). Exogamy contributes further to language shift. (See Pauwels, this

volume; Clyne 1982:50-54). The Dutch are the only major migrant group in
Melbourne who do not run their own Saturday schools for language maintenance.
There are nine schools operating within Melbourne's German-speaking community.
English is employed more as the language of meetings in Dutch ethnic organis-
ations in Melbourne than in their German counterparts (Clyne and Manton 1979).
Originally Dutch churches in Australia have almost completely shifted to English,
while German ones are still in a transitional stage. (Clyne 1977b; 1981a:45-51).

Dutch immigrants are generally regarded, by themselves and others, as 'assimi-
lated'. In recent years this has been slightly offset among older people by a
reversion to the native language and culture characteristic of ageing non-
English-speaking immigrants. It should be noted that the Dutch are less widely
dispersed geographically within the Melbourne metropolitan area than are, for
instance, German-speaking immigrants (Buchanan 1976:6, Clyne 1982:39). This
can be seen by comparing the average concentration factor for the languages in
the six Melbourne local government areas (LGAs) where they are most concentrated,
according to the formula

$$\frac{\text{Number of users of the language in LGA}}{\text{Population of LGA}} \times \frac{\text{Population of metropolitan area}}{\text{Number of users of language in metropolitan area}}$$

The average is 3.57 for Dutch and 1.75 for German (cf. Greek 3.98, Italian
2.72). In addition, the six areas where Dutch is most concentrated are adjacent
while the concentration areas for German fall into three geographically distinct
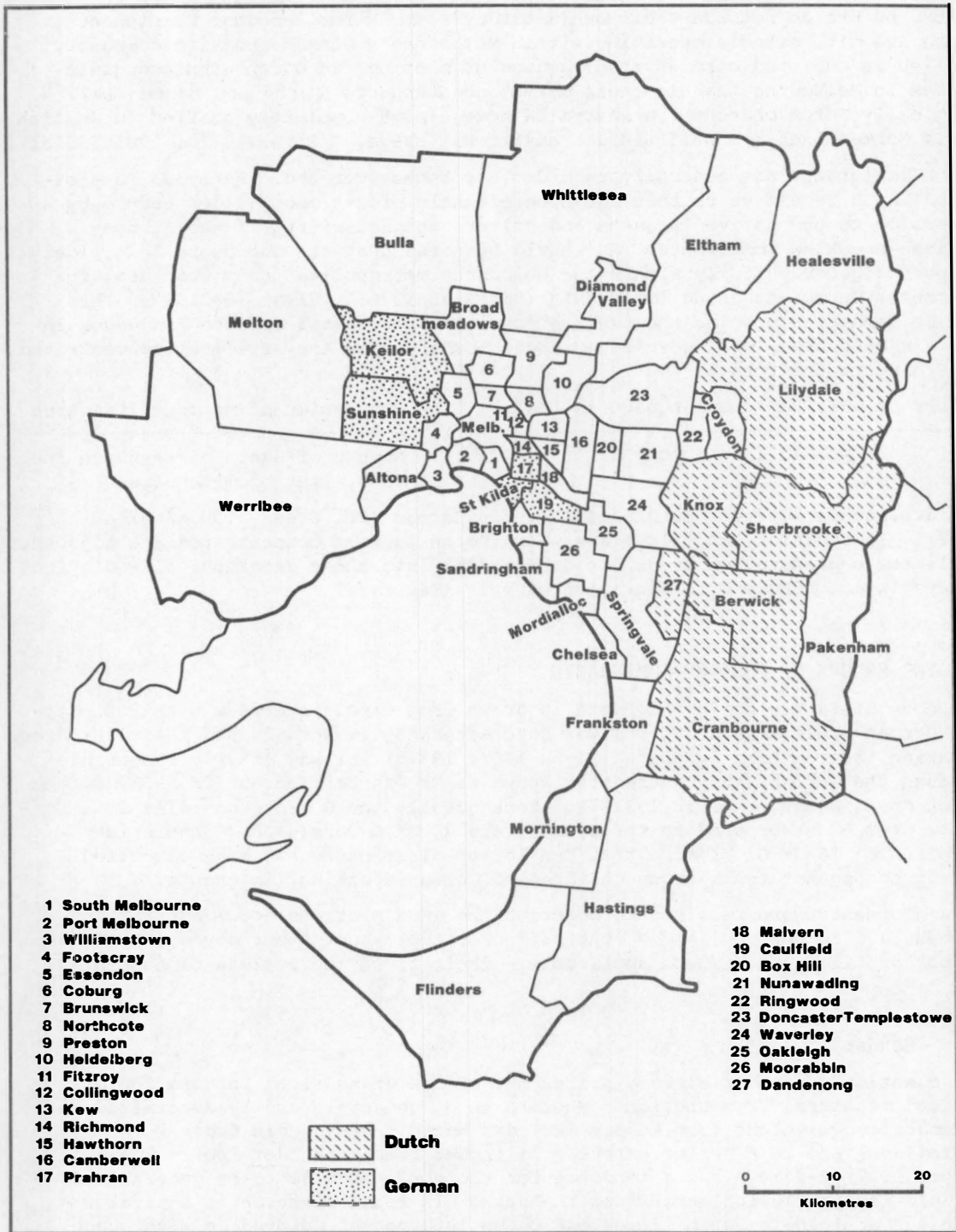groups in accordance with migration waves. (See map.)

2. TWO GROUPS OF POSTWAR IMMIGRANTS

Our body of fairly comparable data is drawn from taped interview with 200 post-
war German-speaking and 200 postwar Dutch-speaking immigrants and their children,
speaking their ethnic language (Clyne 1967, 1977b). I say 'fairly comparable'
because the German study (hereafter known as G) was carried out in 1963-64, the
Dutch one (hereafter D) in 1971-72. Consequently the D group contains 20 infor-
mants over 60 as opposed to three in G; and 40 of D were second generation
compared to 16 in G. I hope that the latter discrepancy has been cancelled
out by subsequent tests among children of German-speaking immigrants.

The informants were required to describe the same pictures — two Australian
scenes, a European one, and a 'neutral' one, talk about their day's activities,
a book or film, and — where applicable — their first impressions of Australia.

2.1. Gender

The question of gender already arises out of the grammatical integration of
lexical transfers from English. Whereas in G, gender is usully determined by
a semantic equivalent (der Lake < See, das Horse < Pferd, die Order <
Bestellung) and to a lesser extent a bilingual homophone (der Roof < Ruf)
(Clyne 1967:42-47), D has a tendency for the non-neuter de to be generalised
for all English lexical transfers in Dutch. In spite of semantic equivalents
with het article in Dutch, 33 of our Dutch informants employed de with beach
as compared to three het, and 64 said de fence, as opposed to 16 who used het
fence. In two areas with large Dutch-speaking populations, the Dandenong Ranges

Whittlesea

Bulla

Eltham

Healesville

Melton

Broad
meadows

Diamond
Valley

Keilor

9

6

Sunshine

5

7

8

10

23

Lilydale

11

Melb.

12

13

Croydon

22

4

16

20

21

Altona

2

14

15

3

1

17

18

Werribee

St Kilda

19

24

Knox

Brighton

25

Sherbrooke

Sandringham

26

27

Berwick

Mordialloc

Springvale

Pakenham

Chelsea

Frankston

Cranbourne

Mornington

Hastings

Flinders

1 South Melbourne
2 Port Melbourne
3 Williamstown
4 Footscray
5 Essendon
6 Coburg
7 Brunswick
8 Northcote
9 Preston
10 Heidelberg
11 Fitzroy
12 Collingwood
13 Kew
14 Richmond
15 Hawthorn
16 Camberwell
17 Prahran

18 Malvern
19 Caulfield
20 Box Hill
21 Nunawading
22 Ringwood
23 DoncasterTemplestowe
24 Waverley
25 Oakleigh
26 Moorabbin
27 Dandenong

Dutch

German

0   10   20
Kilometres

MAP OF MELBOURNE SHOWING LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS WITH THE HIGHEST
CONCENTRATION FACTORS FOR DUTCH AND GERMAN.   (1976 Census)

near Melbourne and the Latrobe Valley, a brown-coal mining district, 130-145km
south-east of Melbourne, all instances of fence and beach were non-neuter. All
in all, 82 transfers with Dutch de equivalents and 30 with het equivalents were
assigned to the non-neuter, and only 17 transfers with het equivalents and two
with de equivalents to the neuter. Ninety-four of the 200 D informants assigned
all their lexical transfers to de.

What is more significant is the difference between G and D as to the gender
change in nouns of *native German or Dutch origin*. In G, very little incidence
of a change in gender was recorded:

       der → das two words   der → die three
       das → die two   die → der one
       die → das one   das → der two

There was no clear direction of change; three nouns being reassigned to der,
four to die, and four to das. In D, however, 52 different het nouns were
changed to de, by 13 generation $1a^2$ speakers and 30 subjects who either were
Australian-born or who came to Australia as young children. There was consider-
able overlap in the items. But only nine de nouns were used with het. Thirty-
four of the 52 nouns undergoing the het → de change correspond morphosemantically
to an English word, e.g. bed, café, land, soort, voetpad (*footpath*), werk, zand,
although 18 did not, e.g. gebouw (*building*), gedeelte (*part*), gezin (*family*),
paard (*horse*), strand (*beach*), verhaal (*story*), and vuur (*fire*). It could be
argued that the convergence was promoted by the phonological similarity between
Dutch de and the English the, which is usually realised as [də] by generation
1a bilinguals.

2.2. Plural allomorphs and verb morphology

In G the plural allomorphs of seven nouns were changed, each by one subject
(four by generation 1a, three by generation 1b or 2). Only *two* allomorphs (one
-e, one Ø) were changed to -s. On the other hand, 12 D subjects (including ten
generation 1a) substituted -s for the appropriate plural allomorph of 15 dif-
ferent nouns, e.g. koeis, kamps, mijls, zondags, but also hoofdleidings,
lantaarnapaals). (Only two nouns were changed from -s to -en, paraplu and
parasol.)

Some ungrammatical verbal agreements were recorded in G, but no informants
generalised any part of the verb. In D, two generation 1a and ten generation
1b and second generation subjects generalised one or more singular forms in the
plural (e.g. wij <u>eet</u>, <u>kan</u>, <u>moest</u>, <u>houd</u>, <u>kijk</u>, mensen <u>zit</u>, they <u>praat</u>[3]). All
these instances use the unmarked/uninflected verbal form.

As the difference between G and D could be due to a greater first generation
bias in G, we shall now include in our corpus further interviews and tests
among second and later generation German speakers in Australia.

3.   OTHER GERMAN DATA

3.1. Gender

About 300 descendants of German settlers in what were in the 19th century rural
German enclaves in South Australia, Western and North-Western Victoria and the
New South Wales Riverina, mostly aged over 65, were also taped. The interviews

were similar to those described above, although reminiscences about the district during the informant's youth replaced the first impressions of Australia. Only ten gender deviations were recorded, all from seven informants:

```
das  →  die  two          der  →  die  one  (two informants)
die  →  das  three        die  →  der  two
                          die  →  der  or  das  one
                          das  →  der  one
```

(i.e. three nouns were reassigned to der, four to die, three to das, one to der or das).

The only hint of a uniform article in a German-speaking settlement in Australia is among the few remaining bilinguals in the Apostolic community of Hatton Vale, Queensland, settled between 1880 and the early years of the 20th century from Braunschweig, Westphalia and Berlin. There Bleakley (1966:79) recorded de in the masculine (nominative, accusative and dative), the feminine (accusative and dative), the neuter (nominative, accusative and dative), and the plural (accusative and dative). Otherwise Queensland German speakers also demonstrate an inconsistent reorganisation of genders (Wilson 1966).

Seventy-four children of German-speaking immigrants in Melbourne who were enrolled at Saturday schools[4] were asked to supply the articles of ten nouns: Atlas, Ball, Garten, Geschäft, Hund, Nachmittag, Nacht, Polizei, Straßenbahn, Wand (five masculine, four feminine, one neuter). The 74 subjects wrongly assigned a total of 21 items to the masculine, 22 to the neuter, and 16 to the feminine. Of a total of 740 possible gender deviations, 59 occurred. Monheit (1975) tested 76 second generation children from German Saturday schools in Melbourne nine years later. Her test comprised three commonly-used masculine nouns (Brief, Mann, Stuhl), three feminine ones (Frau, Hand, Zeitung), and seven neuter ones (Auto, Bild, Buch, Fahrrad, Flugzeug, Haus, Kind). The 76 informants misappropriated the masculine article 103 times, the neuter 67 times, and the feminine 63 times (Monheit 1975:97-100). Of 988 possible gender deviations, 233 actually occurred. It seems clear that there is no tendency in immigrant German towards a one-gender system in the second generation.

By multiplying the number of non-masculine words by the number of informants in the two studies (Clyne 1970b, Monheit 1975), we can calculate the total number of possible inappropriate assignations to the masculine. This works out at 1240, of which 113 (about 11%) actually occurred, as opposed to 85 out of 1200 feminines (7%) and 143 out of 1198 neuters (12%).

	Clyne 1970b		Monheit 1975		Total	
	Possible misappro- priations	Actual	Possible	Actual	Possible	Actual
To masc.	370	21	760	103	1130	124 (11%)
To fem.	444	22	760	63	1200	85 (7%)
To neut.	666	16	532	67	1198	143 (12%)

In the interviews with 40 second generation children, errors were frequently
made in the plurals of certain nouns (e.g. Auto, Baum, Boot, Bruder, Haus, Hund,
Kind, Laden, Lehrer, Schaf, Schirm, Stuhl). Four children (aged 8-13) general-
ised the (ˁ)en plural, one ˁe (e.g. Autoen, Bäumen, Leuten; Baumen, Hausen;
Böte, Häuse, Männe, Schäfe) *but none the -s plural allomorph* (Clyne 1970b:40).

3.2. Plural allomorphs

To verify these tendencies, 25 second generation children, aged 8-13, were asked
to write down the plurals of the 12 nouns mentioned above (Clyne 1970b:43-44).
The main deviations were the same as those in the interviews, though the tests
showed no evidence of a consistently applied rule. -e or ˁe was inappropriately
used 37 times, -(e)n 33 times, -er or ˁer six times, and -s or -es only four
times (Boots twice, Lehrers once, Ladenes once). While there were considerable
deviations, there was little evidence of an -s generalisation, even in nouns
like Boot, Haus and Stuhl, which bear some correspondence with English.

Monheit (1975) administered a plural test on 68 second generation children, the
items examined being the same as those in her gender test. Deviations tended
to lead to a generalisation of -e or ˁe (166 times). -(e)n or ˁen was wrongly
employed 68 times, -er or ˁer 85 times, and -s 23 times (including nine
instances of Zeitungs and five of Stuhls). (Monheit 1975:100-107). The one
instance of a noun with an -s plural allomorph was given a different ending
by 15 of the informants. Again the results contrast with tendencies towards
-s generalisation in D.

4. MORPHOLOGICAL CHANGE

The data described under 2.1. and 3.1. point to a tendency towards a one-gender
system, or rather a one-article system in Dutch, but not in German, in Australia.
This applies particularly to nouns bearing morphemic correspondence to an English
equivalent. Possible explanations would be:

(i)   Non-neuter is already the main gender in Dutch, while the genders
      in German are more evenly distributed; in Berckel's (1962) Dutch
      frequency count, there were 721 occurrences of de among 10,000 tokens.

(ii) Not only do many of the nouns in Dutch correspond very closely to
      English ones, but the article de itself corresponds closely to
      English /ðə/.

While the evidence in favour of an -s plural tendency in our D corpus is not
nearly as substantial, it does contrast with the situation in German where,
far from interlingual identification and systematisation, we see general con-
fusion. In D we appear to have the *beginnings* of a grammatical change. Some
of the Dutch-English bilinguals even employ free forms of the verb for the
plural, but this does not occur in our German corpuses.

It is interesting to consider Afrikaans in this context. Whatever theory we
may subscribe to as to its origins (Hesseling 1923; Valkhoff 1966, 1972; Bosman
1928; Louw 1948; Smith 1952), Dutch in South Africa certainly underwent major
and rapid morphological simplifications in the first 150 years. Vanderborght
(1953) shows, through an examination of South African letters written between

1750 and 1810, that the unmarked plural (e.g. denk for denken) was 'already well on the way to becoming Afrikaans' (p.45), and that 20% of the plurals in the letters had an -s ending (p.186). Moreover de appeared to be replacing het. (Appel (1978:29) detects a similar tendency in the Dutch of Turkish and Moroccan children in the Netherlands today.) In present-day Afrikaans, the common gender is die. Although these are not the only developments in Afrikaans, they bear a striking resemblance to those we have commented on in our corpus D. However, it is surprising that the *syntactic* changes never occurred in Afrikaans.

5. SYNTAX

In G, and in a study of the German spoken by 50 prewar refugees and by second and later generation descendants of 130 19th century settlers in rural areas of South Australia and Western Victoria, two types of syntactic change, both attributable to English influence stand out.

(1) *Bringing closer of discontinuous constituents (Proximity):*

(Example: Das Land wird gesät mit Weizen.)

38.7% of instances of syntactic transference among our German-English bilinguals.

(2) *Generalisation of SVO order,* either where the subject is not in first position or in embedded sentences.

(Examples: Jedes Jahr die Schafe werden geschert.
Wenn der Vater hat keine Farm.)

38.2% of instances of syntactic transference among our German-English bilinguals. (A combination of the two types accounts for a further 4.9% of syntactic transfers.)

In contrast, SVO generalisation represents 63% of the syntactic transfers in D, but proximity only 14.5% (and a combination of the two types accounts for a further 6% of the total). Other examples of syntactic transference in both corpuses are adverbial word order, reflexive pronoun deletion, and the use of perfect for present.

Proximity-conditioned syntactic transfers amount to 74% of the total among first generation postwar German-speaking immigrants and 50% among the prewar ones, while the generalisation of SVO was the dominant type of syntactic transference in the German of the second and later generations (51% of the syntactic transfers of children of immigrants, 45% of instances among descendants of settlers) but accounts for only 9.6% of prewar and 20% of postwar first generation syntactic transfers (Clyne 1971, 1972:31-33). However, in corpus D, proximity accounts for 14% of the first generation syntactic transfers and 15% of the second generation ones, while SVO generalisation represents 60% of the first generation instances and 66% of the second generation ones. In both standard languages the rules for proximity are not nearly as strict as those for verbal position. The only relevant difference between German and Dutch, the position of the auxiliary in embedded sentences like:

Ich weiss nicht, ob er kommen kann

Ik weet niet, of hij kan komen (less usual: komen kan)

(*I don't know if he can come*)

was not taken into account as many German dialects here deviate from the standard norm. I would suggest that the reason for the variations in syntactic change between G and D are to be found in the more extensive use of English in the home by Dutch immigrants, promoting sentence planning based on English, together with the almost total absence of case markers in Dutch, as in Letzeburgisch, the language of everyday interaction in Luxembourg, which has also adopted an SVO order (Hoffmann 1974:9).

6. SOCIOLINGUISTIC FACTORS

According to Weinreich (1953:64-65), 'loyalty to recipient language' offers resistance to grammatical interference. The difference in the extent of language maintenance of German and Dutch in Australia can be added to the 'linguistic' factors promoting the dissimilar contact behaviour of the two languages.

As Neustupný (1978:101-102) has pointed out, in addition to the grammatical and genetic typologies, a sociolinguistic typology represents another level of proximity or distance. The sociolinguistic closeness between Dutch and English leads to more frequent code-switching and thus works toward the same end. However, we should not forget that distance in grammar does not necessarily correspond to unions based on wider communicative systems. For instance, our research into the holding of meetings in ethnic groups in Melbourne (Clyne and Manton 1979) suggests that the Dutch tend to employ routines deviating more from Anglo-Australian ones than do groups with less related languages with a far lower rate of shift, notably the Greeks.

7. TRANSFERENCE — CONVERGENCE, GRAMMATICAL AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC FACTORS

The above data suggest that a degree of grammatical similarity along a scale of simplicity and perhaps also a degree of morphemic (and phonological) correspondence will make a language particularly susceptible to grammatical convergence with an even less complex one (cf. Sapir's (1921, Chapter 7) notion of drift). In contact with English, Dutch apparently fulfils this typological requirement while a closely related language, German, does not. In his valuable contributions to linguistic typology, Lehmann (e.g. 1977) demonstrates the relationship between word order and loss of inflections. It could be argued that, already in the first generation, Dutch in Australia is heading for typological change (from a more inflected, more systematic, less SVO to a more isolating, less systematic, more SVO language).

It is well established that the same lexical and semantic transference patterns occur in more and less maintained languages. (Weinreich 1953, Haugen 1956, Clyne 1982). In fact, the lexical and semantic transference patterns in corpus G (Clyne 1967) are replicated in corpus D (Clyne 1977b). Lexical and semantic transference may be intensified by the use of Ll with a high incidence of transfers. This is testified in the relatively small amount of lexical (and semantic) transference in third and fourth generation descendants who had hardly spoken German for over 40 years, in comparison to recent first generation immigrants.

From the correlations between language shift and the early occurrence of the syntactic changes and the morphological simplifications in Dutch, and from the SVO generalisation in 'later generation' German, however, I would hypothesise

that these could be promoted by extent of usage.[4]   This would reinforce the 'push effect' of the typological factors discussed above.   This is a further confirmation of Weinreich's (1953) dichotomy of 'structural' (linguistic) and 'non-structural' (sociolinguistic) factors.

NOTES

1.   This paper is a revised and updated version of 'Typology and grammatical convergence among related languages in contact' first presented at the annual conference of the Australian Linguistic Society, 1979, and published in *ITL* 49/50 (1980):23-36.   I thank *ITL* for permission to publish this version here, and am grateful for helpful suggestions from Bruce Donaldson, Anne Pauwels, Jiří Neustupný, and Monty Wilkinson.

2.   Those migrating after fixing of their speech habits, i.e. after the age of about ten.

3.   This example was in the context of code-switching to and from English.

4.   Some of the morphological simplifications have their parallels in the East Sutherland Gaelic spoken by Dorian's (1981, 1983) 'semi-speakers'.

LANGUAGE NORMS IN AUSTRALIAN-JAPANESE CONTACT SITUATIONS

J.V. Neustupný

A new framework for the study of 'languages in contact', radically different from the paradigm established by Weinreich and Haugen, is developing within sociolinguistic (cf. Neustupný 1985b). The most characteristic features of the new approach can be summarised as follows:

(1) Instead of focusing on the *product* of linguistic change in situations of contact between languages, emphasis is on the understanding of specific *processes* which take place in such situations. While the old paradigm asked what features of a language (or of two or more languages) did or did not change, we now are more interested in what it is that happens in a particular contact situation or in contact situations in general.[1] Within the new framework the concept of a 'contact situation' replaces the concept of 'languages in contact'. The contact situation is considered to be a specific category, which differs in many ways from 'internal (native) situations', such as have been the target of traditional linguistics (and, for that matter, most other disciplines of social science).

(2) Further, it is assumed that most, if not all processes which develop in contact situations represent various phases or types of what is referred to as the *correction process*. A correction process commences with a deviation from the norm, encompasses all processes which may follow as a consequence of such deviation, and often closes with a corrective adjustment. Correction processes in contact situations include the traditionally acknowledged interference or switching, but also cover processes such as evaluation of speech, precorrection, hypercorrection, secondary adjustment, 'foreigner talk', avoidance of communication, language treatment in contact situations, and many others.

(3) Thirdly, the new framework implies that limiting the scope of contact studies to the study of *grammatical competence* (phonology, lexicon, syntax, graphemics) is fruitless. Equal attention must be paid to the whole of *communicative competence* (cf. Hymes 1972) and to social *interactive competence* in general.

(4) Also, if contact studies are to concentrate on discourse processes, rather than on what has changed in the languages concerned, there is a need for the development of completely new *research techniques*, which will record

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161-170. *Pacific Linguistics,* C-92, 1985.
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as much of the processes involved as possible. The technique of 'follow-up interviews' (Neustupný 1981) and a further development of some other procedures (see section 4) are of particular importance here.

The new paradigm of contact studies places emphasis on the fact that within contact situations speakers deviate from *norms*.[2] As a matter of fact, the acceptance of point (2) above implies that the concept of the 'norm' is one of the most important primitive terms of the new theory. Yet, very little theoretical or other work has been undertaken so far with regard to the study of the norms of contact situations.

The concept of the norm was in disrepute in modern linguistics until reintroduced in a rigorous way in the Prague School by Bohuslav Havránek. Havránek emphasised that the norm was a fact of language, independent of what is sometimes called the norm in the narrow sense of the word, namely the codification of language norms in textbooks or prescriptive manuals of language use (Havránek 1932, 1936, Garvin 1964). While a large number of rules applies in the course of the generation of any discourse, some of them may be undesirable for various reasons — for instance, because they are rules of an inappropriate variety of language or because they are not correctly applied. A norm only includes rules which are judged by speakers as the 'correct' rules for the particular communicative situation.

The character of language norms differs in various societies and use situations. Languages used mainly for writing lack a phonological norm and speakers of many Standard Languages of the past (and the present) were (or still are) free to apply, when using these languages, phonological rules of pronunciation which originate in their own dialectal norms. The norm of languages used mainly for speaking does not necessarily include the rules of spelling and a considerable amount of variation may characterise such rules. This, indeed, was the case in medieval Europe. Remember that in Mozart's times it still did not matter how one spelled. On the other hand, in the Modern period, spelling rules move to the very centre of the norm of most European languages.

In the context of this paper it is important to realise that norms on the basis of which deviations are judged in contact situations, are not identical with the norms we know from internal (native) situations. A pioneering contribution to the topic is Haugen's paper in Hornby's *Bilingualism* (1977). Characteristically, however, the paper only deals with the problem of mixed bilingual norms (as products, rather than as facts of discourse) in the case of immigrant speakers who speak their native language. No doubt, this is an important issue, but the full range of the problem of contact norms is much wider.

In this paper I shall try to develop the concept of the norm of contact situations somewhat further, using for that purpose data collected in structured interviews with speakers participating in Australian-Japanese contact situations. The situations took place in Australia and were conducted in English. The study is necessarily a preliminary one and aims more at developing a framework than at a full description of any particular system of norms.

1. SELECTION OF THE NORM — THE GENERAL STRATEGY

The selection of a norm is not a 'purely theoretical' problem. All participants in contact situations necessarily use norms as a yardstick from which all deviations are measured, and to which evaluation of behaviour is firmly bound. Without norms discourse could not exist.

What, then, is the more general strategy for the selection of a suitable norm in a speech situation? We can say that if language A is spoken in a situation and at least one central participant is a native speaker of A, rules of A normally serve as the base for the norm of that situation.[3] All subjects interviewed for this study agreed that they expected norms of Australian interaction to prevail. However, this was, as some of them said, 'natural' and no conscious attention was paid to the strategy.

The matter would be simple if this were the whole story. But the presence of a general strategy such as this does not necessarily imply that the native norm of A will apply as such. It will be clear from further discussion that participants in Australian-Japanese contact situations vary the native norm of English to a considerable extent, omitting, applying norms from other systems and creating new ones.

2. VARIATION IN NORM

Thus, although the base of the norm of contact situations will be established using the general strategy described in the preceding paragraph, details show considerable variation. Of course, foreign and native participants must be expected to apply norms which differ to a considerable extent and the gap between norms of the two groups can be assumed to constitute one of the most characteristic features of contact situations.

2.1. Foreign participants

There are at least four ways in which the norm of foreign participants in contact situations -the Japanese participants in our case- differs from the norm of native -in our study native English Australian- situations.

First, the norm is *deficient*. For instance, data demonstrate that at the level of grammatical competence some Japanese speakers lack adequate rules for the use of the plural, the use of the tenses, or for adequate pronominalisation. Such speakers have a system in which there is only one rule for both singular and plural, in which by rule the past tense is identical with the present tense, etc. As a result of such norm deficiency speakers generate sentences which are ungrammatical for their native interlocutors. Of course, for some of these speakers the relevant English native norms are at least partly 'overt' (cf. section 4 below), they note their deviations and react to them. This fact has been confirmed in interviews as well as through the observation of attempts at post-correction of errors.

An important question is what happens in the case when the English norms are totally absent. Do the new reduced rules constitute for the foreign speakers involved new alternative norms? In order to accept a rule as a component of a norm we must possess some evidence that it is used not simply for the generation of speech acts but also for their evaluation. If we find that the failure to abide by the rule is noted, evaluated, or the misuse corrected we can speak of a new norm.

Should the lack of the plural in a speaker's English mean that he/she will notice the use of the plural in the case of other speakers, evaluate it negatively, and perhaps try to correct it (this is feasible if the other speaker is, for instance, his/her child) — then we could speak of a new norm. However, at this stage of

our knowledge it seems unlikely that any of the deficient rules which appear in my data would be of this nature. Rather they resemble the case of German spelling before the 19th century, a case where rules exist but norms do not — or, perhaps, where norms do exist but are weak.

Secondly, we must realise that the norm of foreign participants is not merely deficient but frequently also *adapted*. Since speakers have not yet correctly acquired all rules needed, for the sake of communicative efficiency they adapt rules which they already possess and use them as substitutes (interlanguage). This means that rules alien to both the foreign and the native speaker's norms appear in contact situations.

For instance, one of my subjects believed that the correct form of the TITLE+ LAST NAME address is 'Mr/Mrs/Miss+Last Name'. This rule is incorrect because in Australian English, in most situations, 'Mr/Mrs/Miss' can only be used if no other specific title (such as 'Reverend', 'Doctor', etc.) is appropriate. The speaker generalised in this case an existing English rule in a form that occurs neither in English nor, for that matter, in Japanese. Of course, some rule adaptations are decoded (noted) by Japanese speakers themselves as deviations from English norms appropriate for the situation, the speakers mark their own performance negatively, and sometimes make an attempt at a corrective adjustment.

Discussions with my subjects indicate that in a number of cases norm adaptations are not recorded as deviations from English norms. They are considered by Japanese speakers to be in full agreement with valid English norms. This means that an alternative new norm has been created. The speakers in question monitor the application of such adapted rules in their own behaviour and in the behaviour of other foriegn speakers in contact situations and use such monitoring for evaluation and (self-)corrective adjustment. In still other cases Japanese speakers produce rule adaptations which are not normative at all. What the conditions are under which adaptations create or do not create new norms remains to be established.

Thirdly, there are deviations from Australian English norms which are due to *borrowing*, interference from the speaker's native language. Here, too, we must distinguish between instances of breaking Australian norms, noted and negatively evaluated by the foreign speaker himself (sometimes with an ensuing corrective adjustment), and instances when the borrowed rule is considered to represent the correct English norm of behaviour.

My Japanese subjects use rules from their native system in a normative way not so much to generate their own behaviour but for the evaluation of behaviour of their native interlocutors in contact situations. Hymes' 'norms of interaction and interpretation' (Hymes 1974:60) come to mind here. One subject, for instance, noted her displeasure at the rather casual sitting posture of some of her Australian contacts, and made it quite clear that her evaluation of the behaviour was negative.

Of course, as in the case of rule deficiencies and adapters, borrowings, too, frequently do not constitute new norms at all. This is particularly true of interference in the phonemic system: Japanese speakers do show a strong influence of the Japanese system of intonation, but so far I have been unable to detect any evidence that the 'Japanese pronunciation of English' would be used as a new norm. The contrasts with the prerevolutionary use of French by the Russian nobility, in the case of which a clear norm existed — according to Roman Jakobson — which prescribed that one *must* pronounce the language with a

Russian accent. Of course, since the Russians spoke French to each other, as well as to other people, the situation was somewhat different.[4]

The Japanese treatment of English pronunciation means that the existing deviations from English native norms do not become the basis of any reactive behaviour for the speakers. Of course, they may be noted by English native speakers participating in the situations and become thus the basis of further action.

Fourthly, in some cases foreign speakers acquire a rule correctly, but lack more general strategies which would allow them to vary the application of the rule in particular situations. The resulting norm is therefore very *rigid* and does not easily accept variation. The 'rigidity' of foreign participants' norms becomes particularly noticeable in the processing of deviations produced by other foreign participants in the same situation. Japanese speakers interviewed for this study frequently reported 'errors' committed by other Japanese speakers. One of my subjects reported, with obvious disapproval, that another Japanese speaker introduced herself on the telephone by using the formula 'This is *Mrs* Y (surname)'. In Australian usage this formula is somewhat unusual, but it is acceptable. Some of these 'errors' are not likely to be noticed by native speakers at all, while others, even if marginally unacceptable, would most likely remain 'covert' (cf. paragraph 4 below) in an internal situation.

To summarise, we can say that native English norms, while being in general the target of Japanese speakers in Australian-Japanese contact situations, are not necessarily applied without alterations. In the speech (and behaviour in general) of Japanese participants Australian norms are deficient, adapted, rigid, and there are norms borrowed from Japanese. Although Australian English norms are applied, there are also norms newly created and rules which are used with no normative effect.

2.2. Native participants

Foreign participants are not the only ones who change their behaviour in contact situations. Native participants, too, adapt their norms in a significant way.

First, purposeful deficiency and adaptation appear in what has been called 'foreigner talk' (Ferguson 1981, Clyne 1981b). Although very few of our Australian subjects admitted large scale use of foreigner talk, it was obvious from observation of their behaviour that they did use considerable simplification and adaptation of rules they possessed in the interest of efficiency. Foreigner talk, of course, has the character of a norm: the application of its rules is often noted by its users, and when the strategy fails, such failure is evaluated and corrective adjustment can take place. However, sometimes foreigner talk may remain fully unnoted by its users and in this case does not give rise to new norms. Of course, it seems not to be uncommon for English speakers to apply English native norms with regard to their own foreigner talk: since foreigner talk quite clearly violates the norms of native English situations, they note in this case the resulting deviations, evaluate them and/or correct. This attitude appeared in the case of some Australian speakers interviewed for this study.

Australian speakers also borrow a limited amount of rules from the Japanese system. For instance, quite a few subjects were using the Japanese suffix *-san* *Mr/Mrs/Miss* in their English sentences and showed a considerable degree of

acceptance of Japanese non-verbal behaviour, topics, etc. In none of the cases I have recorded the usage seems to be purely optional and it is very likely that it constitutes new norms.

The phenomenon of non-normative use of rules, mentioned in the preceding section, also appears in the case of native participants. Australians who possess experience of communicating with Japanese speakers who speak only broken English report that they 'do not mind' how they speak, as long as the message gets through. It seems to me that these reports can be trusted. The implication is that the speakers concerned suspend the operation of many (or most?) of their English norms and appear in a 'non-normative' state, in which applications of a number of rules are unnoted, and remain of course without evaluation or correction.

Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, in particular with Japanese speakers who have developed a high degree of proficiency in English (and to whom therefore foreigner talk is not normally used), Australian participants in contact situations do use their English norms with relative consistency.

2.3.   Norm discrepancy

My discussion in the preceding sections points to an interesting fact. Not only norms used in contact situations differ from those used in internal situations, but there is a considerable discrepancy between different speakers within the situation. In other words, foreign and native participants look at deviations from English norms in different ways and problems may arise from such differences.

For instance, a native English participant reported that she 'felt uneasy' not only because of the consistent lack of plurals in the speech of her Japanese interlocutor, but also because of his apparent 'lack of interest to do anything about it'. She assumed that he should try and correct his speech. However, her interlocutor obviously did not possess the English plural norm and could not, therefore, monitor or further process his deviation from the English norm. The case shows that foreign speakers in contact situations can pay a double penalty: once for deviating from English generative rules, and the second time for deviating from rules of correction as prescribed by the English norm.

2.4.   The role of theories

Normative theories of a varying degree of rigour have recently been proposed with regard to the type of language which Japanese speakers should use in contact situations. One of them is the theory of Japlish. The word Japlish, used originally by foreigners in a derogatory reference to Japanese English, has recently been used by some Japanese writers who maintain that Japanese speakers are entitled to their own type of English, and that there is no necessity for them to attempt to approximate English native usage. The theory covers not only English grammatical competence but has been extended to rules such as letter writing. Proposers of this theory tell Japanese learners of English that they should retain in their English letters the introductory (and/or closing) passages which refer to the weather, as well as other particular features of Japanese letter writing which obviously deviate from English rules.

Attitudes such as this toward the suitability of rules in contact situations carry important consequences for the issue of language norms. If they spread throughout the speech community they can significantly influence a further

development of language norms in contact situations. Interference from the native language of foreign speakers can increase and cease being labelled as inadequate. On the other hand, the overall number of rules which a speaker must control may decrease and there is a possibility that in the case of a relaxed norm of this type foreign speakers may concentrate on the control of other rules, such as those which affect the content of the message and communication about their personality.

Theoretical constructs can also play a highly positive role when there is a necessity to reinforce positive attitudes of native participants in contact situations to their foreign interlocutors. The mechanism of teaching native speakers how to face deviations from their native norms generated by foreign interlocutors consists necessarily in establishing a 'lax norm' in the case of linguists concerned (language planners) and subsequently spreading it to the whole speech community.

3. AWARE AND UNAWARE NORMS

It would be totally incorrect to conceive of norms as merely aware norms. Only some linguistic norms cross the threshold of awareness. Others remain completely unaware for either the speaker or the hearer or both. A hearer may for instance expect that a certain type of 't' will be pronounced, without being aware of possessing this norm.

Only norms of which participants are aware will be reported in interviews. The existence of other norms cannot be established except on the basis of evidence furnished by other stages of the correction process. This includes evidence about unaware 'noting', 'inadequacy marking' and the presence of 'corrective adjustment'. In a VT recording of an interview a deviation may be accompanied by a hand movement of the hearer which provides a testimony that the deviation was 'noted' (for the technique of such investigations see Clyne 1975b). Native participants may obviously feel irritated when politeness norms are broken, without being able to report about the source of their irritation. A foreign participant may also perform self-correction (for instance, correcting a lexical selection) while remaining partly or totally unaware of the process.

On the whole it seems that compared with internal situations contact situations are characterised by a high degree of awareness. This is only natural if we consider the conditions under which contact processes occur. It is useful to realise this fact when approaching the study of contact situations.

The issue of the awareness of norms is of particular importance for research methods used in the study of contact situations. Direct questions can only be asked with regard to norms of which the participants are aware. Unaware norms cannot be investigated with the help of interviews. Some useful investigation techniques will be mentioned later in this paper.

4. COVERT AND OVERT NORMS

In my previous discussion I mentioned on several occasions the fact that a speaker may possess a particular norm but that the norm may not necessarily be used in a discourse. This feature is shared by all rules of language (and culture). We can say that rules are 'covert' or 'overt' in a varying degree.

For instance, a rule which assigns a particular social label to a linguistic form (e.g. a social or a regional marker) may work in some cases, while in other cases the label may not be assigned: it remains covert. Or, the meaning of personal names such as 'Peacock' is normally covert, except in special cases when it becomes overtised. This can happen, for instance, when the bearer of the name in some sense resembles a peacock(?), or when perhaps a large number of names on a list are all bird names: Peacock, Hawke, Crane, Finch, etc. A rule which remains covert has obviously no significance for the speaker in that particular discourse. The covertisation and overtisation of rules is an important phenomenon of language. No theory of discourse can be complete without it.

In the case of contact norms we must ask to what extent they are overt, and what are the conditions under which their status can change. The whole process of 'noting' a deviation (Neustupný 1985b) belongs here. It seems that native speakers in contact situations mostly 'note' a deviation under special circumstances which include the following:

(1) The speakers' metalinguistic attention is drawn to deviation through immediately preceding discussions of linguistic rules, or a direct request to monitor deviations.

(2) The same effect occurs because of the unfamiliarity of the interlocutor.

(3) The number of serious deviations is not very high. (When too many deviations occur within a segment of discourse, speakers find it difficult to note all of them at the same time.)

(4) A deviation causes a serious substantive problem in interaction — for instance when the misunderstanding of a message results in a serious inconvenience to one or more participants.

In general we can assume that the norm of native speakers in contact situations will frequently be covertised. This assumption is supported by our data. While in an internal situation a deviation, such as a wrong pronunciation of a sound, would be noted and might provide a starting point for a whole series of correction acts, in contact situations it easily escapes the attention of participants.

On the contrary, there may well exist cases when in a contact situation deviations from norms which would remain unnoticed in internal situations are noted and evaluated by native speakers. Our Australian subjects reported that they noticed, on a number of occasions, that Japanese speakers who had spent a long time in Australia used features of Australian 'general' (as opposed to 'educated') pronunciation of English and they commented that they 'did not like' such usage. I doubt whether the same features would have caused the same reaction in the case of native speakers of English.

Of course, it is essential to realise that the study of covertisation of rules cannot rely on interviews alone. Only some applications of overt rules are conscious (aware), many others remain below the level of awareness. It is therefore important to establish research techniques which would enable us to find deviations which are overt, though unconscious for a speaker. Several general strategies can be quoted here.

(1) One way of obtaining evidence concerning the overtness of linguistic norms leads through the identification of non-verbal reactions to the application of rules. This method has been pioneered by Clyne (1975b) who recorded non-verbal reactions of subjects to a videotaped conversation in a contact

situation. Participants unconsciously changed their facial expression, moved their limbs, altered their body position, etc. Speakers can also be expected to react by changing their addressee, the topic of conversation, the variety of communication means (for instance by becoming more formal, or by switching to a different variety of language) and in many other ways.

(2)   Even when participants in a speech act are not aware of the application of a rule, they can assume, on the basis of such application, a distinctively evaluative attitude towards a speaker. Some Japanese speakers in my sample while unable to explain why, had a feeling of being treated in a 'light-hearted' or even 'impolite' way. Obviously they reacted, in an unconscious fashion, to the informal mode of communication of their native English partners. I guess that the informal mode totally agreed with native English norms appropriate in the situation. The 'feeling' of the Japanese participants represented an overt, though not fully conscious, application of Japanese norms of interaction, which in the encounter in question pre-scribed a more formal mode of communication.

(3)   Another testimony concerning the overtness of a rule is furnished by the occurrence of corrective adjustment in discourse. If, for instance, a native participant replaces a difficult lexical item by a simpler one, this provides an evidence that he noted the communication problems of the foreign participant and was reacting to them.

No doubt, a more extensive repertoire of research techniques will be available in the future. Along with developing those which enable us to study unaware applications of norms, it will also be necessary to further augment our tech-niques for the study of cases in which norms operate on a fully aware level. An interview such as used for this study represents only the most primitive form of investigation. A more sophisticated form, referred to as the 'follow-up interview' has been developed but could not be used for this study.

5.   ARE SOME NORMS MORE STRONGLY AWARE AND/OR OVERT THAN OTHERS?

The question whether some types of norms are prone to being more aware or overt than others is certainly of interest. My interviews reveal that this, indeed, seems to be the case.

For instance, Australian native speakers of English seemed to be particularly sensitive in at least two areas: spelling and etiquette. It is interesting to note that these two areas are those which receive strong metalinguistic atten-tion in native situations as well. Spelling is an important correction item in schools and self-correction of spelling retains its importance even in adult life. Etiquette represents a relatively late addition (acquired mostly in the teens) to the individual's system of communication means. On the other hand it seems that grammatical errors do not reach a very high degree of overtness — at least they are not frequently mentioned among items which require attention.

On the other hand, grammatical competence seems to play a very important role for Japanese speakers. This fact may perhaps be related to their experience as learners of English in Japan, where strong attention is traditionally given to such matters. They do not, in general, pay much attention to non-verbal and non-grammatical competence or to stylistic differences.

6.   CONCLUSIONS: TOWARDS A DESCRIPTION OF NORMS OF CONTACT SITUATIONS

As long as the study of contact situations is based on the concept of deviation we must pay proper attention to the question: deviation from what? Following the theoreticians of the Prague School I have assumed that 'norms' of language use and interaction exist, and I have postulated that the concept is also applicable in the case of contact situations.

However, norms of contact situations are not identical with norms of native situations. I have tried to show that considerable variation is involved, that some of the norms are aware, some are overt, and some covert. Techniques necessary for the study of norms of contact situations have also been discussed.

A group of Japanese speakers living in Australia and Australian (native English) speakers who possess experience of communicating with Japanese speakers were interviewed and a number of hopefully useful observations has been made. However, the techniques of investigation were limited and the issue of the norm of Australian-Japanese contact situations still needs further systematic attention.

NOTES

1. Of course, apart from being interested in processes, we also remain interested in the products of such processes.

2. It is interesting to note that already U. Weinreich wrote:

> Those instances of *deviation from the norms* (italics mine, JVN) of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact, will be referred to as INTERFERENCE phenomena. It is these phenomena of speech, and their impact on the norms of either language exposed to contact, that invite the interest of the linguist. (1953:1)

It is not surprising that in a historical period which so strongly emphasised 'language as a system' Weinreich in his own work concentrated on 'language' and did not develop the concepts of 'deviation' and 'norm' as processes of speech.

3. Other strategies may be applied under different conditions, for instance when none of the central participants is a native speaker of English.

4. Haugen (1977) also describes a situation in which the use of 'pure Norwegian' by immigrants in the U.S.A. was evaluated negatively. Of course, the pronunciation of English loanwords in Japanese sentences in English, rather than in the accepted Japanised pronunciation, *is* negatively evaluated, but this is a totally different matter.

ASIAN STUDENTS' COMPREHENSION OF AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH

Maya Bradley and David Bradley

1. INTRODUCTION

Many studies of language contact discuss the situations in which the languages are used (domains), the characteristics of the languages spoken by bilinguals (interference) or the stages of learning a second language (interlanguage). In Bradley and Bradley (1984) we have done an extensive study of errors in English as a foreign language, spoken by a large sample of Asian students studying in Australia; but in this paper[1] a different viewpoint is adopted.

It seems that comprehension, as opposed to production, in face-to-face language contact situations has been neglected. While testing of comprehension is one of the main ways of measuring second language ability, it has concentrated on the *content* of the answers rather than the *form* of them, and has neglected the interactional characteristics of communication breakdown. We have attempted to remedy this gap.

This paper discusses failure of comprehension of spoken Australian English by students from Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia. A hierarchical classification of responses indicating incomprehension is developed and applied to data from a large corpus of interviews with these students, to clarify the pattern observed. Differences based on national origin, time spent in Australia, and whether Higher School Certificate (HSC) was done in Australia are quantified; a discussion of the correlation between comprehension and speaking ability follows, and finally the relation between incomprehension and the content and structure of the preceding question is briefly investigated.

Because one cannot usefully ask a non-native speaker of English what he thinks every question might mean, comprehension can only be judged by the responses observed. It is not always easy to determine whether a misunderstanding has taken place, but often the earlier or later context will reveal this. Any tourist who has visited Asian countries has had the experience of talking to local people who listen politely, say 'yes' and smile; but it later turns out that they did not understand a word of the 'conversation'. Long recorded face-to-face interviews, which may be further analysed, can be used effectively to determine how well a person understands English.

The data for this paper is a corpus of 47 interviews with Thai, Indonesian and Malaysian private students studying in Melbourne in 1982. The primary goal of the study was to measure the students' English speaking ability, and to classify and quantify errors in the use of phonology, morphology, syntax, and discourse.

The students for this intensive case-study were a quota sample, representative of the overall student population from these three countries: students doing HSC, undergraduate and postgraduate studies were interviewed; the undergraduates included some who had and some who had not previously completed HSC in Australia; some in universities and some in colleges or institutes. The tertiary students, undergraduate and postgraduate, were almost all students of engineering and science, or students of economics and related disciplines. The reason for selecting students from these three countries was that Thais, Indonesians, and Malay-medium educated Malaysians were observed to have greater English language problems than students from other countries which contribute substantially to Australia's overseas student intake; the intention was to measure these language problems.

The interviews were conducted by native speakers of the 'cultivated' variety of Australian English who attempted to establish a rapport with the students; they were quite long, providing a large quantity of speech. Most of the questions asked were highly predictable in context, and most of the students would have encountered many of the questions in other situations. Thus, in general, speech flowed rather freely; but comprehension problems did arise fairly frequently. One of the authors of this paper went through all 47 interviews, located all apparent instances of misunderstanding, and coded them according to the scheme given in the following section. These data were used for a brief discussion of comprehension in Bradley and Bradley (1984:201-205), and are analysed in more detail here.

The main analysis in Bradley and Bradley 1984 is of speaking ability: Chapter Two (27-65) on phonology, Chapter Three by Helen Jenkins (66-100) on morphology, Chapter Four (101-135) on syntax, and Chapter Five by Marta Rado (136-191) on discourse structure. In each case particular phonemes, morphemes, syntactic or discourse structures which appeared to be used incorrectly were systematically observed; and the proportion and types of errors made were quantified. Chapter Six (192-212) summarises speaking ability and discusses the other three language skills briefly; Chapter Seven (213-267) deals with culture-related language and other problems; while Chapter Eight (268-311) concerns culture-related educational problems. We believe this is the most extensive quantified and data-based study of foreigners' English speaking abilities which has been done.

2. DATA AND ANALYSIS

The classification of misunderstanding is based on the non-native speaker's responses to questions. The range of possible replies which reveal lack of comprehension is categorised into six alternatives, as set out and exemplified below. These six represent a scale from greater to lesser breakdown of communication; from strategies for coping with incomprehension which are less native-like, such as no response, to strategies which are also often used by native speakers of English, such as a request for clarification. The less native-like strategies often reflect greater incomprehension, and vice versa; in some cases this cannot be determined. In all cases, however, the response does not really constitute an answer to the question asked.

Instances of misunderstanding were coded according to the following categories:

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                        no response
major                   completely inappropriate response
                        partly inappropriate response

minor                   echo (partial repetition of question)
                        request for repetition

request for clarification
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Cases where the student does not answer the question were considered to be instances of misunderstanding because normally in a conversation one is expected to co-operate by supplying answers to questions (cf. Grice (1975), Labov and Fanshel (1977)). In some types of conversations one may be faced with a hostile speaker who does not respond. This was certainly not the case with our inter-views. The students had been informed about the interviews well in advance, and had all agreed to participate. During the interviews they were very co-operative and answered most questions at great length. The following are some examples of questions which were not answered. In most cases after a long pause the interviewer explained the question, and the interviewee replied.

(1)   Who ran the primary school that you went to?

(2)   Have you any idea how many hours a week you spent doing English at university?

(3)   And what did you have to do at the Australian Embassy before they gave you the visa to come here?

Inappropriate answers clearly demonstrate the student's lack of understanding. What is interesting about these answers is the fact that the student obviously thought that he/she was answering the question. That implies that the student was not aware of his own incomprehension. Giving an irrelevant reply leads to loss of face, which is usually avoided at all costs. When the students were aware of the fact that they did not understand some questions they tried to avoid total loss of face, and rather than giving inappropriate answers, they either repeated part of the question, asked the interviewer to repeat the question or requested clarification. The fact that in some cases the students did not resort to any of these face saving alternatives suggests that they were not aware that they did not understand the question. Inappropriate answers were divided into completely and partly inappropriate ones. Completely inap-propriate answers indicate total lack of understanding. Below are some examples:[2]

(4)   A.   You'd recommend to any student who comes here to write to MELCOS first?

      B.   I'm the only one.

(5)   A.   Do you think there is more or less emphasis on solving problems here?

      B.   Yeah.

(6)   A.   In what situations did you mainly use English in Indonesia?

      B.   We use Indonesian language in school.

What we have called 'partly inappropriate answers' are also irrelevant and therefore indicate lack of understanding. As in the case of completely inap-propriate answers the student is not aware of not comprehending the question,

attempts to answer it, and fails. The replies are, however, less inappropriate than the ones above. Clearly, in at least some of the cases there seemed to be some understanding of the question.

(7) A. Do you understand the words of those? (Moslem prayers)

    B. Yeah, prayer all the same, because we do it five times a day.

(8) A. Have you had anything like that before? (English test)

    B. No, I the...once or two in probably in the kindergarten.

(9) A. You didn't have any choice, you were given Australia, and were you happy with that?

    B. No, we have in fact, we weren't given any choice at all, cause we were offered only to Australia to do our course, I mean that's it, to do our course in Australia, so we didn't have any choice.

In the non-major cases of incomprehension there is no attempt to answer the question at all. It seems that the students are aware of their failure to understand the question, and manage to avoid complete loss of face by using various techniques which both make it more difficult to determine the degree of misunderstanding and make the reply somehow more acceptable to English speakers, more native-like. In some of the replies there is an indication of partical understanding. Many cases, however, are indeterminate.

Partial repetitions of questions occur frequently in native speakers' conversations. The usual reasons for repetitions is that the speaker is stalling so as to have more time to think, or that he is seeking confirmation that he heard and/or understood correctly. The repetition of a part of a question is usually followed by an answer, without any further explanations of the question. In our interviews most cases of repetitions were querying some lexical items. In a few cases the student repeated a portion of the question, and supplied the answer immediately after the repetition, as in:

(10) A. What sorts of things do you read?

    B. What sort of things? I read a newspaper.

In most cases, however, the repetition was followed by a pause, or a request for clarification, or a request for a repetition of the whole question, clearly indicating that the student did not understand the repeated words.

(11) A. And what level did you reach? (In school in Thailand).

    B. What level?

    A. Yes.

    B. What do you mean what level?

(12) A. Was there any difference (in the teaching of English in high school) from in primary school?

    B. Primary school? What? What is it?

(13) A. Have you found it easy to take part in tutorials here?

    B. To take part...? No, again please.

It is interesting to note that the words that the students repeated were sometimes not the ones that they did not understand, as shown in the following exchange:

(14) A. And does writing a thesis come into your education system somewhere?

     B. Writing a thesis?

     A. Yes.

     B. What do you mean, what do you mean when you say that writing a thesis *come in...*?

It would seem that in such cases the students repeated the most prominent part of the question, perhaps in the hope that the interviewer would repeat or explain the whole sentence.

With requests for repetition, it is not possible to tell what and how much the student misunderstood. Unlike a request for clarification (discussed below), a request for repetition does not indicate partial understanding of the question, and in most cases would be considered by native speakers as an admission of total incomprehension. It is, of course, possible that at least in some cases the interviewees did not hear the question. In most cases the interviewers considered requests for repetitions as an indication of incomprehension, and rather than repeating the question, they explained or rephrased it, as illustrated in the following examples:

(15) A. Have you been able to do all the reading that you've been expected to do while studying here?

     B. Pardon?

     A. Have you been able to do it all, do you find you have time for all the reading?

(16) A. Do students in Thailand get problem solving exercises to do as part of their learning?

     B. Again please.

     A. Do students in Thailand get problem solving exercises to do? Say when you were studying linguistics there, did you get problems to work out and come up with answers?

(17) A. What sort of tests do you get here?

     B. What do you mean?

     A. When you get tests and exams what do you have to do? Do you get multiple choice or lots of maths exercises, essays, short answers?

Unlike requests for repetition, which require the repetition or explanation of a whole question, what we have called 'requests for clarification' seek further explanation of a part of the question. The student indicates at least partial understanding of the question by requesting further specification of some part of it which he considers to be too vague or ambiguous, or queries some lexical item. Most replies of this type seek further specification of meaning, implying that the interviewer is at fault, rather than the interviewee, who in fact does not answer the question.

(18) A. Have you found it easy to take part in tutorials here?

     B. To take part in what way?

(19) A. Did you think the test was fair?

     B. How do you mean by fair?

(20) A. So what level did you get to in school in Thailand?

   B. You mean my result?

3. RESULTS

The overall pattern of comprehension failure for the three groups of students
is shown in the following table. The numbers indicate the mean for each type
of response, in significant turns.[3]

Table 1[4]: Comprehension failure: types of response per significant turn in percent			
	Major	Minor	Clarification
T	1.4	2.1	2.5
I	2.3	4.4	2.5
M	1.5	1.8	1.5

This would seem to indicate that the Malaysians understood best, and Indonesians
worst. As far as the Malaysians are concerned, this result is not unexpected,
since they tend to be significantly better at English than the other two groups.
It is however surprising that they did not perform much better. The Indonesians'
result is unexpected given the generally better speaking ability of the
Indonesians compared to the Thais.

All of the Malaysians had been studying in Australia for less than two years,
and in many cases only a few months, when they were interviewed. Thus, they had
had less opportunity to get used to Australian English. The Thais, conversely,
had all been here well over a year, and in some cases up to six years, while the
Indonesians ranged from three months to eight years in their time studying here.
The table below shows the patterns of comprehension failure in the three groups
for different length of stay in Australia.

Table 2: Comprehension failure: time in Australia				
Time in Australia		Types of response per turn in percent		
		Major	Minor	Clarification
	> 4 years	0.5	1.2	1.8
T	2-4 years	1.9	2.1	2.8
	< 2 years	2.1	2.9	3.6
	> 4 years	2.3	3.0	1.3
I	2-4 years	1.9	4.6	2.6
	< 2 years	2.6	5.1	2.9
M	< 2 years	1.5	1.8	1.5

This table shows better comprehension by Malaysians than Thais or Indonesians who have studied here for a similar period. However, the progressive improvement in comprehension of Thais and Indonesians due to staying in Australia is shown, with one minor (0.4 percent) reversal. This improvement is not dramatic but it is substantial; for the Thais, progressing from one response in 12 showing some degree of misunderstanding, to only one in 30, for the Indonesians, starting at more than one in ten and moving to nearly one in 15.

An Australian HSC is clearly a factor in comprehension. In our sample Thai but not Indonesian undergraduates in both main types of course who had done HSC showed better comprehension than those who had not. The Malaysian students in the sample had all done HSC here, or were doing it at the time they were interviewed.

Table 3: Comprehension failure: Australian HSC. Types of response per turn in percent.			
	Major	Minor	Clarification
T + HSC	0.6	1.2	1.8
− HSC	2.0	1.4	2.3
I + HSC	0.3	4.8	2.2
− HSC	2.3	2.3	6.7

At any rate, major misunderstandings are dramatically fewer for students with Australian HSC.

The mean of errors of comprehension per significant turn was six percent for the Thais, nine percent for the Indonesians, and five percent for the Malaysians. Individual speakers however vary greatly; from 0 to 20 percent. The following table summarises range of error rates for individuals.

Table 4: Comprehension failure: distribution of individual error rate			
Range	T	I	M
$\geq$ 15%	1	2	1
$\geq$ 10%	2	7	−
$\geq$ 5%	9	4	7
< 5%	6	2	6

Individual students also varied greatly in the proportions of different types of misunderstanding. For some, major misunderstandings accounted for as much as 60 percent of all failures of comprehension, while others did not have any. It should however be stressed that most students had fewer major misunderstandings than minor ones and requests for clarification. Also, those who understand better have a substantially lower proportion of major misunderstandings, as well as fewer failures of comprehension in general. This indicates

that simultaneously with the overall improvement in comprehension, the students acquire various strategies for disguising their failure to understand when these occur; that is, they learn to use more native-like face-saving replies in instances where they fail to comprehend.

As noted previously, the results in comprehension differ from the overall performance of the three groups of students. The Malaysians, whose speaking ability was substantially better than that of the two other groups, also show better comprehension. The Indonesians, however, have better speaking ability than the Thais, but seem to understand spoken Australian English less well. It is interesting to see how well understanding correlates with speaking ability for individual students. We have selected three students in each national group whose comprehension was best, and three whose comprehension was the worst. For these 18 students we compared the comprehension ranking with their phonology/syntax ranking.[5] In 13 of the 18 cases, there was a good correlation, and in five cases, a poor correlation. For eight students, the correlation was very good; three were very good at speaking and at understanding, and five were very bad on both. In five cases, the correlation was fairly good, with a comprehension ranking slightly better than the syntax/phonology ranking for four students, and slightly worse for one student. In three cases, there was a very bad correlation, two students had very good speaking ability and poor comprehension, and one poor speaking ability, and in fact, the best comprehension for his group. Finally, in two cases, there was a fairly bad correlation; one with comprehension substantially better than speaking ability, and one the other way around. The table below summarises these results, for the nine top and nine bottom cases in comprehension.

Table 5: Comparison of overall comprehension and speaking results		
	Comprehension	
Speaking ability	top	bottom
very good	3	2
good	4	1
(average)	–	–
bad	1	1
very bad	1	5

Of course, there is no necessity for speaking ability and comprehension ability to correlate exactly, though they would often do so, as they do for 13 of the 18 best and worst comprehenders. Individual differences in educational background, time of exposure to spoken English, age when first exposed to spoken English, language ability, and even personality may lead to different levels of error in speaking and comprehending. However, this occurs in only five cases.

If a question is not understood, the lack of comprehension is presumably due to one of several factors. It may contain a word or idiom which is not known; the structure of the question may cause problems; or it may be misheard, sometimes due to problems with the phonology. In this study, phonological problems were minimised by using interviewers familiar with the language difficulties of

foreign learners. They spoke slowly and clearly in relatively cultivated Australian English, the variety most often encountered in educational situations. The form of the question followed by a misunderstanding was investigated in the cases of misunderstanding by the nine worst comprehenders.

It was sometimes possible to be certain from the context that a particular instance of misunderstanding was due to a lexical problem. Of the question-answer dyads cited above, (11) and (12) appear to show difficulties with a particular word in one of its meanings: 'level' and 'primary'; (13) and (14) reveal lack of understanding of idioms: 'take part', 'come in'. This identifiable lexical comprehension failure accounted for 14 percent of all misunderstandings by the nine worst comprehenders; in many other cases, lexical difficulties may also be involved, but the context is not certain and other contributing factors may also have been involved. The clearest cases occur when the response is a result for clarification of the lexical problem, an echo of it, or a complete misunderstanding which is later clarified and corrected.

It is difficult to attribute misunderstanding to any one aspect of structure, since most questions contain several types of morphological, syntactic and cohesive devices; but it is possible to observe how often a given type of structure occurs in the questions which lead to misunderstanding. For example, a passive is found in dyad (9) above, and also a negative; a choice or comparison of two alternatives is required in (4); embedding structures are very frequent; for example, complements in (4), (13), (15) and (18); a relative clause in (1); and an embedded question in (2). Cohesive devices such as ellipsis as in (11) and (12), or third person pronouns as in (7) are also frequent, and may occasionally appear to be the main cause of communication breakdown, as in the following example (which also shows ellipsis).

(21) B. ...And my sister, she was educated in Australia too. That's a long time ago.

      A. Was that also in Melbourne?

      B. Yeah, in Melbourne.

      A. Did she go to school here, or (did she go to) university (here)?

      B. Who?

The following table shows the proportion of misunderstood questions which contained each of the above types of structure, ranked from most to least frequent.

Table 6: Percent of misunderstood questions containing a structure			
Complement	35%	Comparison/Choice	6%
Ellipsis	18%	Negative	5%
Relative clause	12%	Passive	3%
Embedded question	9%	Third person	2%

Of the misunderstood questions, half contained some type of embedding: a complement, a relative clause, or an embedded question; a few contained more than one type of embedding. Of course, complements are very frequent in English;

and in speaking, the same nine speakers made an average of only seven percent errors in the use of complements. Thus, care should be taken not to attribute 35 percent of the misunderstandings entirely to the presence of a complement in the question.

Ellipsis of various types was the second most frequently present structural characteristic of misunderstood questions; Marta Rado's contribution to this book investigates the use of ellipsis by the interviewees ranked as best and worst in speaking. As for embedding, ellipsis in the question may not be the only factor in a comprehension breakdown, as dyad (21) shows; but it appears to be a significant one. The other structural characteristics of the questions may occur less frequently, but they also contribute to incomprehension.

4. CONCLUSION

It should be noted that the high rate of comprehension shown in the data is partly due to the content of the interview. It contained many questions which the students had frequently been asked, and concerns rather predictable topics. In a less constrained context, one would expect much more misunderstanding; however, subjective judgements concerning poor comprehension of spoken English may in fact be based on rather infrequent instances of incomprehension.

We have presented a classification and hierarchy of types of responses used in cases of lack of comprehension of Australian English, using examples from interviews with 47 students from three countries in Southeast Asia. The overall pattern of communication breakdown according to the main types of response and background of the students was then presented. A more detailed look at the abilities of the best and worst students in comprehension and their ranking on speaking, and a discussion of the characteristics of the question which may lead to incomprehension concluded the presentation of data.

NOTES

1. We are pleased to acknowledge that the data in this study were collected as part of a Commissioned Research Project initiated and funded by the Department of Education and Youth Affairs. The views expressed here, and any errors, are the responsibility of the authors alone.

2. Material in parentheses, here and subsequently, was present in the preceding context but omitted in the turns quoted. This ellipsis is further discussed below; also in Bradley and Bradley 1984:141-151 (part of a chapter by Rado) and in the article in this volume by Rado. In all examples cited, speaker A is the Australian interviewer.

3. A turn is an uninterrupted string of speech by one participant in an inter-action. A significant turn contains more than just 'yes', 'no' or some other single-word utterance. Incomprehension is here measured as a pro-portion of significant turns.

4. T indicates students from Thailand, I those from Indonesia, and M those from Malaysia, in this and subsequent tables. The discussion in this section follows Bradley and Bradley 1984:201-205 closely; Table 1 is from p.202, Table 2 from p.203, and Table 3 from p.204.

5. The ranking of the students on speaking is based on their error rates in seven areas of phonology as discussed in Bradley and Bradley 1984:30-62 and seven areas of syntax in op.cit. 101-132, both summarised in op.cit. 193-195. The ranking on comprehension is based on the proportion of incomprehension per significant turn, not the raw number of responses showing incomprehension. A higher average error rate or proportion of incomprehension naturally results in a lower ranking.

ELLIPSIS IN ANSWERS TO YES-NO AND WH-QUESTIONS IN THE ENGLISH OF ASIAN STUDENTS IN AUSTRALIA

Marta Rado

INTRODUCTION

This discussion focuses on intercultural communication in Australia between 'foreigners' and fluent speakers of English from the point of view of the text building ability of the former, as manifested in conversational adjacency pairs.

'Foreigners' here refers to Asian students who are speakers of English as a second language and who are pursuing senior secondary or tertiary studies in Australia. Adjacency pairs are units of analysis used in segmenting conversations. They can be defined as utterances produced by two speakers immediately following each other (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974:295-296).

In general, conversations can be regarded as the training ground for learning to understand and construct meaningful and coherent spoken and written texts, that is for learning the rules that tie sentences together as distinct from and in addition to the rules that govern the internal structure of sentences. Undoubtedly the two areas overlap. There is sufficient evidence in first language development (Bates 1976; Halliday 1975; and many others) that ability to communicate meaningfully precedes rather than follows competence in grammatical accuracy. Similarly, one would expect that in a naturalistic setting, as opposed to formal instruction, meaningful communication would take precedence over grammatical correctness. Consequently one could hypothesise that the ability to use certain interactive communicative devices in English would not distinguish fluent and non-fluent interlanguage speakers of English as strongly as their phonological and morphosyntactic competence.

Successful communication is based on shared knowledge/beliefs and shared expectations (for details for example see Stubbs 1983). As not all presuppositions and expectations are shared cross-culturally, miscommunication is likely to occur (for illustrations, see Gumperz 1982 and Bradley and Bradley in this volume). In contrast to the study of misunderstandings the concern here is with the successful use made of shared knowledge. In particular, this study looks at the way shared knowledge has been lexicalised when directly relevant to the topic of conversation and has the status of given information and how additions to shared knowledge, namely new information, has been handled by foreign speakers.

This topic is of interest because second language speakers, whether temporary residents or newly arrived in Australia, frequently have to cope with answering questions in their everyday life, in social, bureaucratic and study situations. Responding to questions is, therefore, a skill they need, but also have the opportunity to practise.

In 1982, in order to gather information about the problems of Thai, Indonesian and Malaysian students in Australia, 47 such students were interviewed (Bradley and Bradley 1984). From among these students ten were selected for inclusion in this investigation. Some aspects of the discourse features displayed by the utterances of the total group were the object of a previous study (Rado 1984). Five of the best, to be called *good* and five of the worst, to be called *poor* speakers were chosen on the basis of their competence in English phonology and morphosyntax.

At the time of the interviews the *good* speakers on the average had been resident in Australia for three years, the *poor* speakers for two years. Three of the *good* and one of the *poor* speakers had had previous study experiences in Australia. The majority were undergraduate students, except for two *good* speakers who were enrolled for a Ph.D. and one *poor* speaker who was doing HSC. All the students had studied English at the secondary level overseas, three of the *good* but only one of the *poor* speakers also had tertiary qualifications in English. Clearly the *good* speakers have had greater exposure to English than the *poor*.

METHODOLOGY

The identification and coding of the questions revealed that interviewers used all the major types of questions listed by Quirk and Greenbaum (1973:191-199), namely *yes-no, wh-, tag, alternative* and *declarative* questions.

When for each question type the frequency of occurrence was established, it appeared that *yes-no* and *wh-*questions far outnumbered the others. These then were chosen for inclusion in the investigation. In order to make the responses of these two frequently occurring types comparable, 20 questions of each type received by each individual were selected giving a total of 400 questions to be analysed. The selection was made by firstly establishing for each question type a sampling fraction and then systematically sampling questions uniformly across the sample. By this method 40 adjacency pairs were identified for each student. Of the answer part of the pair only the first utterance was considered.

Shopen states (1973:65) that 'there is ellipsis when the propositions are not fully realized in the grammatical form of utterances'. Ellipsis is a stylistic device that helps to satisfy the pressure on language to be brief (see Slobin 1975; and Grice 1975). According to Shopen (1973:65) 'a command of ellipsis is an important part of knowing a language'.

Ellipsis is the result of shared grammatical rules as distinct from omission errors which are characterised by the absence of an item that must appear in a well-formed utterance (Dulay, Burt and Krashen 1982:154). Omissions or 'formal reduction' (see Faerch and Kasper 1983:52-53) have been frequently observed in the speech of non-fluent or interlanguage speakers. Compare adjacency pair 1.1. showing ellipsis with 1.2. showing omissions.

    1.1. Do you have many friends here?

          Yes, quite a few.

    1.2. Have you got any favourite places?

          Victoria...for country...yes...is in Grampians.

Omissions can impede communication because they are idiosyncratic and therefore unpredictable. Both ellipsis and formal reduction render a text less redundant. But whereas ellipsis justifiably operates on the principle that the absent information is recoverable from a previous stretch of text (Halliday and Hasan 1976), formal reduction is often resorted to by speakers when this assumption is false. However, the number of omissions like 1.2. is small in the data discussed below: none by *good* speakers and only 2% by *poor* speakers. Of course ellipsis and formal reduction can co-occur in utterances, just as grammatical and ungrammatical utterances may follow each other in the same stretch of discourse.

FRAGMENTS

Ellipsis in answers to questions can result in two types of grammatical forms. In both of these not all the given information contained in the question is repeated; however, one form is syntactically complete in that it satisfies the requirements of sentencehood, the other is felt to be incomplete, to be a sentence fragment. In Morgan's view (1973:720-721) fragments are generated by ellipsis from full sentences, they are remnants of full sentences, large portions of which have been annihilated by ellipsis. This view is controversial as some linguists hold that fragments are generated directly without the intervening stage of full sentences. One can compare this opinion with Shopen's (1973) contention that ellipsis is semantically and not linguistically based and therefore not the result of deletion. The theoretical question cannot be resolved here, but it may be useful to note that fragments are perhaps deceptively simple.

ANSWER TYPES

In answering questions respondents have a number of options available to them. Taking into account the connection between questions and answers, with special regard to ellipsis, the following eight answer type categories were established.

1. *Null category,* i.e. *yes* or *no* answers or *routine* expressions that were not continued so that there was no other utterance to classify.

    1.1. These discussion groups, are they small tutorial classes?

          Yes.

    1.2. Did you have any native English speakers teaching in schools?

          No.

2. *Fragments,* i.e. utterances that were felt to be incomplete.

    2.1. Did you try to prepare for it?

          A little bit, I think...

    2.2. How long have you been in Australia now?

        Thirteen months.

3. *Ellipted sentences,* namly utterances that were syntactically complete sentences but did not contain all the information lexicalised in the question.

    3.1. Are there many other students in the same position?

        No, I think usually there are not many.

    3.2. Which subjects did you do in HSC?

        I did English as a Second Language, Indonesian, General Maths, Legal Studies and Economics.

4. *Complete or non-ellipted sentences,* i.e. utterances that were syntactically complete and contained all the information lexicalised in the question.

    4.1. Whereabouts were you born?

        I was born in Central Java, in a small town.

    4.2. Was it very good?

        It's quite good actually...for that level I mean.

5. *Alternative answers,* i.e. utterances that formed a second part pair to the question but had no syntactic or lexical ties with it.

    5.1. And about how much time each week do you spend studying?

        Oh by, hm...it depends, we have a test, or what, but you do, you do have to do your notes and your homework, your assignments.

    5.2. Do you know how many years ago it was?

        I have to count...1960...1970...

6. *Subordinate clauses,* i.e. utterances introduced by a subordinate conjunction, e.g. *because*, where the question was to be understood as the ellipted main clause.

    6.1. Why did you change from the science subjects that you'd been doing in Malaysia?

        'Cause I intended to take Valuation.

    6.2. Did the lecturers sometimes give you written information about the lectures?

        Yes, and, but sometimes we have to find out in the library too.

7. *Main clauses,* i.e. utterances that treated the question as if it were an immediately preceding declarative sentence.

    7.1. How did you decide to do Sociology?

        I don't want to do Humanity and then work later.

7.2.   In what way is studying here different from studying in Malaysia?

In Malaysia I was in boarding school.

8.   *Unclassifiable answers,* i.e. utterances that consisted of false starts, and/or were disconnected, and/or unfinished and so could not be assigned to any sentence category.

8.1.   You learnt about Britain, America, the civilisation?

I can't remember because...they...I don't...I...I...

8.2.   How did you do that?

I ask I because if I...the reason why...

The discussion will focus on the types involving some form of ellipsis.

DISCUSSION

Since ellipsis also occurred in questions a few words about the use of ellipted questions by the interviewers are pertinent to the discussion.

Table 1: Frequency of question types received by good and poor speakers										
Speakers	Yes-no questions				Wh-questions				Total questions	
	full		ellipted		full		ellipted		full	ellipted
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Good	88	44	12	6	87	44	13	6	175	25
Poor	88	44	11	6	64	32	37	18	152	48

Table 1 shows that the *poor* speakers received almost twice as many ellipted questions as the *good* speakers. The ellipted questions directed to the *good* speakers were evenly divided between the two types. This was not so in the case of the *poor* speakers who received more than three times as many ellipted *wh-questions* as ellipted *yes-no* questions.

The following question-answer sequences show how a first question can be followed by an ellipted second question.

Yes-No question-answer sequences:

Did you ever have to use English for any of your other subjects at school?

No.

Such as reading a textbook?

Not in secondary school, no.

Wh-question-answer sequences:

> And where was your father born?

> > Indonesia.

> And your mother?

> > Indonesia too.

The status of ellipted questions is ambiguous. On the one hand one could argue that they are more difficult to understand and answer because the recoverable lexicalised information is not in the question pair but in a preceding discourse section so that it is at a greater distance from the answer. On the other hand, one could consider ellipted questions as easier to handle because through their brevity they reduce the perceptual processing load, and by modelling ellipsis, demonstrate how it can be used. As questions frequently also act as style setters on the formal/informal dimension, it might be interesting to see whether ellipted questions tend to elicit ellipted answers.

YES/NO AND ROUTINE ANSWERS

On the surface reducing answers to *yes* or *no* and/or a routine is the simplest answer form, as it fully ellipts the rest of the answer. (For details of *yes/no* answer systems see Pope 1973).

Table 2: Frequency of yes/no answers								
	Total			Good			Poor	
	n = 400	F	%	n = 200	F	%	n = 200	F	%
Yes		103	26		53	27		50	25
No		34	8		16	8		18	9
Total		137	34		69	35		68	34

As evidenced by the data in Table 2 of the total number of *yes-no* questions approximately one-fifth of complete *yes-no* questions and one-tenth of ellipted *yes-no* questions were answered by an initial 'yes' by both groups. In fact four-fifths of their 'yes' responses were given to full *yes-no* questions. The majority of *yes/no* responses were elaborated. Only one quarter of *good* speaker answers and about one-third (35%) *poor* speaker answers were not elaborated further, in other words led to total ellipsis.

The situation with *wh*-questions is different. Whereas four-fifths of *wh*-questions addressed to the *good* speakers were complete, only two-thirds of those addressed to the *poor* speakers were not ellipted. As can be expected none of these elicited a 'no' answer as disagreement with such questions would not make sense. Two percent of the *good* speaker responses and four percent of the *poor* speaker responses featured 'yes'. This should not be surprising as 'yes' can also fulfil the function of acknowledgement, acceptance and endorsement (see Stubbs 1983). In sum the overwhelming majority of 'yes' and all 'no' answers were given to *yes-no* questions by both groups. This could be expected as such questions demand a positive or negative answer.

ROUTINES

Besides 'yes' and 'no' there are other items in language that in utterance-initial position can introduce an answer or can function as complete answers to questions. They are a heterogeneous group belonging to different syntactic classes (see Stubbs 1983). In this discussion they will be referred to as 'routines'. They include the following expressions: not really, (that's) right, I think, I guess, well, I don't know, oh boy.

The use of routines as an initial response to *yes-no* questions make total ellipsis possible. *Good* and *poor* speakers used routines in a similar way. Twenty percent of their responses were of this type. They were fairly evenly divided between answers to *yes-no* and *wh*-questions, slightly favouring the former. One-fifth of routine answers contained a grammatical error or distortion of form. Most routine answers were continued. So neither group opted out of answering informatively by using routines only.

How can this almost identical pattern in routine use across the two groups be explained? Routines are easy to learn, they require no linguistic analysis, so do not involve the application of a rule system. They chiefly make demands on memory. Remembering them is a question of rote learning, a type of learning this group of speakers is used to. Exposure to routines in social interaction is frequent. Routines are one aspect of language directly taught to children from the earliest stage of language acquisition. (For details of the learning of routines see Gleason and Weintraub 1975; Wilhite 1983.)

ANSWER TYPES

If we now look at the distribution of answer types the following picture emerges.

	Total n = 400			Good n = 200			Poor n = 200		
Table 3: Frequency of answer types by speakers	F	%	Rank Order	F	%	Rank Order	F	%	Rank Order
Null category	57	14	(3)	26	13	(3)	31	16	(3)
Fragments	147	37	(1)	74	37	(1)	73	37	(1)
Ellipted sentences	26	7	(4)	17	9	(4)	9	5	(6)
Complete sentences	57	14	(3)	30	15	(2)	27	14	(4)
Alternative answers	67	17	(2)	30	15	(2)	37	19	(2)
Answers not classifiable	21	5	(5)	8	4	(5)	13	7	(5)
Subordinate clauses	16	4	(6)	8	4	(5)	8	4	(7)
Main clauses	9	2	(7)	7	4	(6)	2	1	(8)

As Table 3 shows fragments were the most frequently used answers by both groups (37%). The next most frequently used responses by *good* and *poor* speakers belonged to the null, alternative and complete sentence categories (approximately 15% for each). The other answer types were associated with less then ten percent of replies. The rank order of these answer forms is fairly similar. Perhaps the fact that *poor* speakers used more total ellipsis or null strategy, and gave more unclassifiable and alternative answers is worth noting. That the first two types occurred more frequently is not surprising. However, the alternative answer strategy deserves a comment. It may well be that the structure and/or vocabulary of some questions were beyond the competence of the *poor* speakers so that they had to rely entirely on their own linguistic resources, hence the total rephrasing of answers.

The distribution of answer types can be summed up as follows. Fragments dominate the answers of both groups in a similar proportion, approximately one-third of answers are in this category. This is the more striking when compared with the total of complete clauses of all kinds. This group of answers constituted somewhat less than half of all answers (*good* 47%, *poor* 43%). The unclassifiable answers were relatively few (4% versus 16%). This and the null category added together formed in the case of *good* speakers somewhat under one-fifth and in the case of *poor* speakers somewhat over one-fifth of the answers. So it seems that as an alternative strategy to fragments *poor* speakers show a slightly greater tendency to reduce their responses to *yes/no* or routine answers, or fail to formulate a comprehensible first response. This may be due partly to lack of comprehension (see Bradley and Bradley in this volume). In contrast *good* speakers tend more towards communicating in complete clauses. Interestingly, there is no difference between the two groups in the use of fragments.

The question-answer relationship showed the following pattern (refer to Table 4). There were very few ellipted questions (under 8%), except for ellipted *wh*-questions addressed to the *poor* speakers (21%). These questions attracted relatively more fragment answers than full *wh*-questions. However, it could not be shown in any clear way that ellipted questions attracted ellipted answers. As there were relatively few ellipted questions the matter must remain unresolved. It would, undoubtedly, deserve further investigation. *Wh*-questions as such received significantly more fragment answers than *yes-no* questions in the case of both groups. *Poor* speakers chose them twice as often and *good* speakers almost twice.

Fragments serve the pragmatic purpose of focusing 'attention on new information by avoiding repetition of given information' (see Quirk and Greenbaum 1973:410). *Wh*-questions with the help of the initial question word, e.g. *who, when, where, what* clearly specify the type of information sought which can often be supplied by a single sentence constituent. It could be said that answering them is a sort of cloze procedure. The *Q*-element in the question operates in various clause functions but is semantically unspecified. In answering such a question, one often has the choice of filling the syntactic slot occupied by the *Q*-element with the new information in a full sentence or isolated in a fragment. But not all *wh*-questions lend themselves to this type of answer. Some *wh*-questions demand a complex sentence answer and so do questions containing certain types of verbs. According to Bickerton (1981:275-276) verbs of reporting and perceiving and the psychological verbs of thinking, hoping, remembering, etc. entail multipropositional sentences. This explains the presence of sequential subordinate and main clause answers implying whole clause ellipsis. These answer forms played a very minor role. They were used by both groups but in some instances in only one percent of answers. The poor speakers did not use sequential main clause answers in responding to *wh*-questions.

TYPE OF QUESTION	FORM OF ANSWER														
	Fragment		Ellipted sentence		Full sentence		Alternative answer		Not classified		Sub-clause		Main clause		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Good																
1 Ell *yes-no*	5	3	0	0	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	5
2 Full *yes-no*	22	13	10	6	10	6	12	7	4	2	4	2	4	2	66	38
Total *yes-no*	27	16	10	6	12	7	14	8	4	2	4	2	4	2	75	44
3 Ell *wh-*	9	5	0	0	1	0.6	1	0.6	1	0.6	1	0.6	0	0	13	8
4 Full *wh-*	38	22	7	4	17	9.0	15	9	3	2	3	2	3	2	86	49
Total *wh-*	47	27	7	4	18	10	16	10	4	3	4	3	3	2	99	57
Total of all types	74	43	17	10	30	17	30	18	8	5	8	5	7	4	174	57
Poor																
1 Ell *yes-no*	3	2	0	0	1	0.6	3	2	1	0.6	0	0	0	0	8	5
2 Full *yes-no*	21	12	7	4	8	5	15	9	7	4	4	2	0	0	62	57
Total *yes-no*	24	14	7	4	9	6	18	11	8	5	4	2	0	0	70	62
3 Ell *wh-*	20	12	0	0	4	2	7	4	1	0.6	4	2	0	0	36	21
4 Full *wh-*	29	17	2	1	14	8	12	7	4	2	0	0	2	1	63	37
Total *wh-*	49	29	2	1	18	10	19	11	5	3	4	2	2	1	99	58
Total of all types	73	43	9	5	27	16	37	22	13	8	8	4	2	1	169	

Table 4: Type of question by form of answer

After fragments the next most favoured answer forms for both groups were full sentences and alternative sentences. They were used slightly more often in answering *wh*-questions than *yes-no* questions by both.

To sum up, one could suggest that the relatively frequent use of fragments by both groups indicates the early development and subsequent maintenance of the pragmatic skill of ellipting by second language speakers.

If we now look at the occurrence of the various constituents, the following picture emerges.

Table 5: Frequency of constituent ellipsis				
	Good		Poor	
Number of constituents ellipted	% of fragments (n = 74)	% of total ellipted answers (n = 91)	% of fragments (n = 73)	% of total ellipted answers (n = 82)
1	1	11	3	6
2	50	45	48	48
3	35	31	26	24
4	7	7	16	15
5	5	4	3	2

Table 6: Constituents lexicalised in ellipted utterances				
	Good		Poor	
Number of constituents ellipted	% of fragments (n = 74)	% of total ellipted answers (n = 91)	% of fragments (n = 73)	% of total ellipted answers (n = 82)
1	68	55	69	62
2	20	22	15	17
3	10	13	8	6
4	1	7	1	1
5	0	1	1	4

As evidenced by the data in Table 5, both *good* and *poor* speakers mostly ellipted two or three constituents. In other words they judged two units of information as dispensable on the basis of shared knowledge. In contrast they tended to

lexicalise a single constituent only, thus providing one unit of new information in a reply (refer to Table 6). Two-thirds of fragments uttered by *good* and *poor* speakers were of this nature. So from the information exchange point of view, there was no difference.

Table 7: The rank order of constituent ellipsis types			
Good		*Poor*	
Verb group	80	Verb group	87
Subject NP	68	Subject NP	82
Predicate NP	42	Adverbial P	24
Adverbial P	26	Predicate NP	19
Prepositional P	7	Prepositional P	11
Predicate adjective	1	Predicate adjective	6

Inspection of the data in Table 7 indicates that verb group ellipsis was the most frequent, closely followed by subject noun phrase ellipsis. Both mostly occurred in fragments. This is not surprising since fragments significantly outnumbered ellipted sentences. A greater percent of ellipted *poor* speaker utterances ellipted a verb group (*good* 80% versus *poor* 87%) and a subject noun phrase (*good* 68% versus 81%) compared with those of *good* speakers. Adverbial and predicate noun phrases were ellipted less often and in the inverse ranking order. The proportion of ellipted adverbial phrases was similar for both groups, approximately one-fourth, but there was a marked difference in the percent of ellipted predicate noun phrases (42% versus 19%). Perhaps *poor* speakers could not easily isolate these as independent constituents expressing given information. Prepositional phrases and predicate adjectives played a minimal role in ellipsis.

Eighty-one percent *good* speaker responses and 89 percent *poor* speaker responses containing ellipsis were fragments. In the case of *poor* speakers the dominance of fragments in ellipsis applied to all constituents. *Good* speakers' distribution of ellipsis between fragments and ellipted sentences was much more variable. For example, all noun phrase ellipsis occurred in fragments, but prepositional phrase ellipsis was evenly divided between the two types. However, there were only six of these.

NON-ELLIPTED CONSTITUENTS

As mentioned earlier it is also interesting to see what constituents have not been ellipted.

Table 8: The rank order of constituent in ellipted utterances	
Good % present in ellipted utterances	*Poor* % present in ellipted utterances
Adverbial P 39	Adverbial P 49
Predicate NP 37	Predicate NP 29
Subject NP 34	Prepositional P 17
Verb group 25	Subject NP 12
Prepositional P 12	Verb group 8
Predicate adjective 3	Predicate adjective 6

As evidenced by the data in Table 8, on the average the *good* and *poor* speakers used a similar proportion of constituents (1.5 versus 1.4) per utterance. Both groups relied most heavily on adverbial noun phrases to carry the new information in ellipted utterances, mostly in fragments. Half of the fragments uttered by *poor* speakers contained this constituent compared with over one-third of those of the *good* speakers. Predicate noun phrases also appeared with some frequency (*good* 37% versus *poor* 29%). *Good* speakers used subject noun phrases and verb groups as well for isolating new information. *Poor* speakers used these sparingly. It seems that the difference between the two groups is not in the overall frequency of lexicalised constituents in ellipted utterances but in the range of the type of constituents used.

The two groups differ somewhat in the rank order of frequency of usage. However, both rely most on adverbial phrases and predicate noun phrases and least on predicate adjectives. The lesser use of the latter constituent might be partly due to the type of new information sought.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, it appears that foreign speakers living in Australia master those aspects of English that have pragmatic value and don't make great demands on the speakers' productive skills. Nevertheless, any type of language competence presupposes familiarity with certain linguistic rules. The fact that the difference between the *good* and *poor* speakers in the use of ellipsis was not nearly as great as the difference between their morphysyntactic competence seems to point to the early acquisition of this discourse feature. The same can be said about routines. It appears that what can be memorised and reproduced without the need for linguistic analysis, and what can be passed over in silence, that is ellipted, is easier to master than other elements of language.

The positive role of immediate input from questions may be due to the fact that they make linguistic information instantly available and therefore lighten the memory load. They also provide a syntactic model for the answer. Perhaps this points to the counterproductive nature of simplification as in 'foreigner talk'.

It might be wiser to talk to foreigners or interlanguage speakers in full grammatical sentences or well formed fragments which then could be used as props for answering.

Since ellipsis is a language universal it is not surprising that it is used by second language speakers from the start. The foreign students, irrespective of their phonological and morphosyntactic competence in English, were remarkably skilled in this respect.

NOTE

1. I am pleased to acknowledge that the data in this study were collected as part of a commissioned research project, initiated and funded by the Department of Education and Youth Affairs. The views expressed here, and any errors, are my responsibility alone.

SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING IN ADULT MIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA

Malcolm Johnston

SECTION A: DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT

PURPOSE

The aim of the research is to develop a new approach to second language teaching based on a systematic study of the speech of adult learners of English within the framework of recent linguistic theory.[1]

Existing programs for second language teaching, despite improvements in teaching methodology over the past few years, are frequently ineffective. This is especially the case in the area of course content. A fundamental cause of ineffectiveness is that existing programs are not built upon secure theoretical foundations. At a conference held in 1975 in the United States on the problems of teaching minority languages it was stated that 'There is very little research on second language acquisition in the school setting that can provide direction or guidelines for curriculum development'. Derek Bickerton sums up the situation even more graphically in his remark that 'For all the thousands of works which deal with second language *teaching*, there are only a handful which deal with second language *learning*, and indeed, to the best of my knowledge, none at all which deal with the learning of second languages by untaught adults' (Bickerton 1975:170).

An understanding of the processes of second language teaching is necessarily dependent on an understanding of the process of language learning. This, in turn, is dependent on an adequate understanding of the skill being learnt, that is, what it actually means to learn a language.

Lack of such rationally-based programs has obliged second language teachers to often operate on a trial and error basis and to devise programs on assumptions which are frequently unjustified. While the behaviouristic approach of inducing conditioned responses by constant drilling is gradually dying out, there are still considerable grounds for dissatisfaction with current programs. One of the most important of these is that the sequential presentation of material to students is arranged in ways which patently run counter to the order in which the various structures of language are naturally acquired. Needs-based, thematic and functional-notional approaches to teaching, while far superior to the traditional grammar-based behaviourist programs as regards teaching methodology, frequently display the same expectations about the type of language

which can be learnt at a given stage. The need for research on orders of acquisition thus remains. It should be stressed that the outcome of such work would not result in the revival of some sort of 'structural' approach to teaching. Rather, the findings could be used to enhance the effectiveness of a variety of the newer approaches. Knowledge of developmental sequences would enable teachers and course designers to form realistic expectations about student speech for the different levels over a wide range of communicative tasks and to determine at which points new rules and items should be introduced and existing 'non-standard' structures modified.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

It should be pointed out that an adequate exposition of this is not possible in the limited space available.

(i)   Knowing a language consists in having tacit knowledge of a finite system of rules capable of mapping the infinite set of sentences of the language to their meaning.

(ii)   Acquiring a language consists in internalising that particular system of rules.

(iii) The speech of second language learners is rule-governed in the above way and, regardless of how it deviates from the target language, constitutes a system. So-called errors merely reflect differences between the learner's system and that of the target language.

(iv)   There are implicational relationships between various linguistic rules so that there are certain aspects of languages which cannot be acquired until other aspects have been acquired.

(v)   The actual process of rule acquisition can be described in terms of C.-J. Bailey's wave model theory of language change and variation (Bailey 1973). That is, rules originate in a single context and spread through a series of contexts which are arranged in an implicational scale. This is an important theoretical innovation because it overcomes the problem of determining the difference between 'formulae' and rules which have actually been internalised. The Bailey model provides a step by step mechanism for understanding how rules are actually incorporated into a grammar in a gradual fashion. Much previous research on language acquisition, because it lacked such an account of rule generalisation, was forced to establish quite arbitrary cut-off points for saying that a rule had been acquired (for instance, it has to operate in, say, 90% of obligatory contexts). Ability to account for variability in speech is vital to any theory of language learning.

(vi)   A language teaching program which based the sequential presentation of different types of structures on an understanding of the natural order in which rules underlying these structures are acquired, and of their interrelations, would be more effective than one not so based.

RESULTS TO DATE

Work done so far strongly indicates that our initial hypotheses were fruitful and we have now made considerable headway.

After an initial six month period of data collection (see Methodology) work on analysis commenced. The aim of the analysis was, as previously stated, to determine the natural order in which rules and elements were acquired in a given area of syntax as learner speech approximated more and more to standard English. This was initially done through comparison of speakers judged to be at different stages of English competence, and as time passed and longitudinal study became possible, by plotting the development of individual informants. (These two procedures appear to give very similar results.) At this stage of our work we are analysing the data under roughly the following syntactic headings: Negation, Question Formation, Tense and Aspect/Verb-marking, Be and Have/Existentials, Auxiliaries, Complementation/Subordination, Prepositions, Connectors, Pronouns, Quantifiers, Indefinites, Possessives, Comparatives, Plurals, Sentence Structure and Discourse.

We now have reasonably detailed information for a number of these areas, including those which seem to bear the heaviest functional load in typical communication situations. In the first instance, our results were based on the speech of Spanish speakers learning English. However, in 1978 work was also done on the speech of Turkish speakers. This latter research was motivated by the necessity of determining in what way and to what extent 'interference' from the first language facilitates or inhibits learning. Turkish was chosen as the first language background because, of the 'community' languages spoken in Australia, it is the most unlike Spanish in terms of word order typology and its many associated syntactic correlates. As well, in the area of phonetics and phonology, differences between Spanish and Turkish were expected to help resolve questions about the part phonetic difficulties played in inhibiting the acquisition of various rules, such as tense making, since where Spanish speakers appeared to have phonetically-based difficulties Turkish speakers should not have had as many.

METHODOLOGY

Since the research is concerned with the speech produced by learners of English in typical unstructured discourse situations, data are collected by interviews conducted as informally as possible with one or more informants. In this way real needs and performance can best be determined. The data are recorded and transcribed, either phonetically or conventionally, according to the area of investigation.

As outlined above, the informants have been drawn from two language groups, Spanish speakers and Turkish speakers, so as to facilitate conclusions about mother tongue interference.

The informants were also chosen so as to provide a range of levels of competence in English, from beginner level to that of speakers able to deal with everyday matters with confidence and to converse to some extent on more abstract topics.

In the paper on developmental sequences which we have included in this report (cf. Section B) we make reference to a seven-point proficiency scale for indicating the ranking of speakers and correlating syntactic development in the different areas under study. On this scale, zero indicates no knowledge

	Vocabulary	Fluency	Syntax	Comprehension	Effect on listener	Examples
	__ TABLE 1: A.M.E.S. SYLLABUS DEVELOPMENT PROJECT — SPEAKING PROFICIENCY DESCRIPTIONS (MARCH 1979) __					
0.5	Knows only a few words connected with immediate priority areas (e.g. local geography, transport, food.)	Utterances often consist of one word. Speaker tends to lapse into native language.	No grammatical knowledge. Isolated lexical items and a few fixed phrases (e.g. greetings)	Can understand only a few simple questions related to immediate needs. Needs to be spoken to very slowly and deliberately. Gestures, etc. usually necessary to communicate message.	Would not be able to communicate verbally with most native speakers. Frequent communication breakdowns even with persons used to dealing with migrants with little English. Speaker often very nervous, unsure. Sometimes unintelligible.	Can give name, nationality. May know some numbers, days of week, months.
1.0	Limited to areas of immediate need (e.g. family, work) and everyday items which may have been learned at school. Some common greetings and courtesy expressions.	Utterances tend to be very short (3-4 words) though some speakers can construct longer sequences. Speech very hesitant, with frequent pauses and recourse to native language.	Very fragmented. Extremely limited grammatical knowledge. Word endings often omitted. Generally dependent on memorised sentence-types and learned formulae.	Can understand limited repertoire of items. Responds to requests for basic personal information. Frequently requires repetition. Can understand only when spoken to slowly and deliberately. Dependent on face-to-face interaction for understanding. May rely on gestures to aid communication.	Great concentration necessary on the part of the listener. Errors in pronunciation and lack of grammar and vocabulary constantly require interlocutor to verify or paraphrase. Can be understood by persons accustomed to 'interpreting' migrant speech.	Can state name, basic facts concerning family work, place of residence Can ask very simple questions. (You marry? etc.) Can give appropriate yes/no answers to simple questions. Familiar with number system, days of week, months of year.
1.5			Beginning of autonomy of expression. First attempts to transfer grammatical knowledge.			
2.0	Adequate to handle most requests for basic personal information with confidence. Can supply details of job, accommodation, family, etc. but often lost for vocabulary when conversation is outside these areas. Has great difficulty expressing and justifying opinions and dealing with abstract topics.	Speech hesitant but some capacity for self-correction. Delivery slow, with repetitions and reformulations. Has difficulty connecting discourse.	Quite inaccurate but a few basic patterns beginning to appear (e.g. be and have). Grammatical limitations still force speaker to adapt content of message to forms at his/her disposal. At a loss to deal with unforeseen communication needs.	Can understand most questions concerning very familiar topics if phrased simply, but often has to ask for repetition. Has difficulty understanding faster rates of utterance.	Can be understood by most native speakers with effort, but patient understanding necessary in conversation. Some verification and paraphrase necessary on the part of the hearer owing to lack of cohesion in narrative, heavy 'foreign accent', and misplaced stress and intonation.	Can express likes, dislikes, desires. Can give simple information about house, family, job, etc. Can relate events in temporal sequence. Can initiate, but has difficulty sustaining, conversation.
2.5			Beginning of cohesion in discourse. Can attempt to construct logical sequence in English.			

3.0	Vocabulary for everyday matters fairly sound, but often has to grope for words when discussing more complicated matters. Could not participate in a group discussion with other native speakers at normal speed.	Can transmit chain of everyday factual information without long pauses, though sometimes has to reformulate owing to inadequate grammar or vocabulary. Discussion of abstract topics, expression of opinions, marked by long hesitations.	A wider range of structures appears (e.g. some tense marking, greater regularity in be and have, more complex negation patterns). Discourse markers used with greater frequency (then, so, but, etc.). However errors still very frequent.	Can understand questions relating to familiar subjects spoken by native speaker at normal speed. Repetition sometimes required. Has difficulty understanding longer utterances containing more complex structures. No appreciation of register requirements.	Can be understood by most native speakers without undue difficulty when discussing familiar topics but some strain on listener when more abstract ideas are involved and when detailed explanation or reasoned argument is required. Pronunciation occasionally causes hearer to verify.	Can relate events connected with job, family, immediate situation in Australia. Can give opinions, with hesitations, on familiar issues, but has difficulty justifying them. Lack of confidence still evident in social situations. Can give and follow simple instructions.
4.0	Wide enough to permit speaker to express himself/herself about most non-technical subjects. In more specialised areas may have to ask for help of interlocutor or resort to circumlocution or paraphrase. Would have difficulty participating in group discussion with native speakers.	Notably fewer hesitations more spontaneity, confidence in delivery. At ease when dealing with familiar topics. Some circumlocution and hesitation when discussing more complicated matters, but not often forced to silence by limitations of grammar or vocabulary.	Quite accurate in some basic patterns, but still has problems connecting discourse. Speech still 'foreign' with numerous grammatical errors, but these rarely interfere with understanding.	Able to follow speech in non-colloquial register but may miss points of detail. Careful attention necessary when listening. Can extract essential information from speech directed at him/her but experiences difficulty with longer chains of discourse, especially where colloquial register is used. May require repetition or explanation.	Can convey most types of information with little risk of confusion in listener, though some misunderstanding may arise from inappropriate vocabulary or grammatical error. Interaction with native speakers usually possible without imposing undue strain on either party. Faults of idiom and style occur. Beginning awareness or register.	Can handle common social situations (introductions, small talk, etc.) with confidence but not facility. Can sustain conversation on familiar topics with native speakers without undue difficulty. Can cope with some difficult linguistic situations but lack of register control may lead to misunderstandings.
5.0	Though at a disadvantage when compared to native speakers, can express ideas in all issues relevant to his/her learning experience. May occasionally seek help of interlocutor when discussing unfamiliar topic and lacking a word, but can always find a way of paraphrasing. Could participate effectively in group discussion.	Degree of fluency and spontaneity which enable speaker to handle most frequently recurring language situations with ease and variety. In continuous speech still needs to plan what is said and to adjust expression or to reformulate to find more effective way of communicating ideas. Can describe events in detail.	Able to construct complex utterances using a wide range of modifying devices. Reduction in frequency of grammatical errors but speech still obviously 'foreign'. Errors do not interfere with understanding and are rarely gross.	Can understand most speech directed at him/her without requiring repetition or explanation except where highly colloquial register is used or where subject is very specialised.	Speech entirely adequate to be understood by native speakers without seeking clarification, though this may happen sometimes when subject is complicated or grammatical errors could create misunderstanding. Native speakers not often obliged to reformulate or modify register to be understood, except if very colloquial register is used.	Can handle most common social situations with confidence and facility Can present and debate own ideas. Can make use of the telephone and receive/convey information accurately. Can relate sequences of events in detail.
6.0	Though not as wide as that of a native speaker vocabulary entirely adequate to discuss any topic and to switch levels where appropriate. Able to reformulate some ideas in different linguistic forms for emphasis, polemics, etc. May misuse some colloquial forms.	Can participate in any conversation with high degree of fluency and precision of vocabulary. Can express himself/ herself with confidence and conviction. Very rarely has to hesitate or grope for words. At ease in English.	Grammatical errors rare and unsystematic. Speaker can usually correct them in retrospect.	Can with concentration, follow all forms of speech understood by native speaker, though may have difficulty with some varieties of Australian English involving high frequency use of colloquialisms and cultural references outside her/his immediate experience. Less ability than native speaker to follow sudden change in topic and style.	Interlocutor would react as to a native speaker. Accent, though still 'foreign' does not impede understanding in any way.	Can convey exact meaning unrestricted by lexical or grammatical deficiencies. Has sufficient range to modify speech according to occasion. Can construct long chain of coherent connected discourse with native-like sentence structure. Can appreciate verbal humour and stylistic effects.
7.0	As for educated native speaker.	As for educated native speaker.	As for educated native speaker.	As for educated native speaker.	As for educated native speaker.	As for educated native speaker.

whatsoever of English and 7.0 indicates educated native proficiency. Originally, we employed a three-group system of ranking. However, as results became more detailed and a work group within the Adult Migrant Education Service looking into evaluation procedures and syllabus development became interested in our work, the more elaborate seven-point scale was adopted. This scale was developed for the AMES work group by Geoff Brindley after conducting a survey of various already extant proficiency scales and is basically derived from David Wilkins' seven-point proposals for Level Definitions (Wilkins 1977). A copy is included as Table 1 (p.200-201).

In all, we have used 21 informants, of whom 13 are Spanish speakers and the remainder Turkish.

SECTION B: PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

1. UTTERANCE STRUCTURE

The term 'utterance' is used in order to encompass spoken units varying in length and complexity from single words to stretches of discourse. We deliberately do not focus on the notion of 'sentence structure' in the standard sense, as while we find this helpful in analysing the output of the intermediate range of speakers (levels 1.0 - 3.5) we find the notion to be deficient in the cases of speakers above and below this range. This finding alone points to a serious defect in the standard pedagogic texts, which generally limit themselves to the level of the sentence and thereby exacerbate a number of learning problems in ignoring on the one hand elementary utterances and on the other discourse features. The question of how discourse features relate to grammatical organisation on the level of the morpheme, the clause, the sentence and the 'paragraph' requires far more attention that it has so far had. Most of the examples of speech given in standard texts involve dialogues consisting of brief exchanges of questions and answers and thus do not provide an opportunity for exploring this relationship in the classroom. Even the more advanced speakers in our data display a significant lack of control of discourse features over extended utterances and consequently lack coherence, and while such a situation undoubtedly reflects the inherent difficulty of learning to handle discourse features rather than the failings of teachers themselves, a higher degree of pedagogic awareness about the relationship between syntax and speech acts should help in some measure to facilitate the development of communicative competence at all levels of language development.

First, we propose to trace the development of very broad syntactic structure from the most elementary to the most advanced speaker in our corpus. This represents a development from minimal grammatical categories and no full sentences to fully worked out complex sentences and patterns of discourse, albeit with the shortcomings already mentioned. What is acquired then, in the various stages, are rules for the construction of simple (one verb) sentences, the co-ordination and subordination of such sentences and the maintenance of coherence over a series of sentences.

At level 0.5 we find only one-word or one-phrase utterances, mostly as answers to questions, and almost nothing comprehensible containing a verb except formulas like

I donno   (13/1/070)

Interviewer: ...and what were you doing in Chile?

    13   : Oh...estyudent.   (13/1/015)

The reply here is ambiguous between studying and (I was a) student, and indicates that the subject does not have the syntax to distinguish the two. Other examples are:

          dyou merry? (*married*)   (13/2/220)
          dyou age?   (13/2/208)
          dyou estuden?   (13/2/275)

This lack of distinguishing noun/verb/adjective morphology and syntax can also be found in the output of informant 10.

Interviewer: ...do you work?

    10   : Yeah, work.   (10/1/205)

Interviewer: You weren't studying?

    10   : Oh yeah study, ...no...no work.

Interviewer: And what study was that?

    10   : e'lectricia(n), e'lectricia(n)   (10/1/095)

          All...Southamerica...twel more...is europe
                                   (10/1/085)

Informant 10's use of study and work, as with 13, display vagueness as to the grammatical category of the words used.

At this stage the conjunction an' appears. Its use below level 1.0 seems to be solely as a connector of nouns or non-complex NPs, that is, it functions on an intraclause level alone.

          my sister merry (*sister's husband*) an my broder
          and my sister children   (13/1/050)

          three sister...a:n one brother   (10/1/120)

We have found no evidence then, that an' functions as a connector of larger syntactic elements, such as clauses, at this early stage.

Three other discourse connectors show up on our data for 0.5 speakers. These are o' (*or*), por/for (*because*) and if. The first two, it is safe to conclude, are lifted straight from Spanish. It seems that there is a tendency for speakers in the very early stages to use certain types of words, such as prepositions, articles and connectors, in their mother tongue form, much more so than other types. This state of affairs probably reflects the relative unimportance of such word categories to communication at this level.

The third connector if occurs only in echo contexts and as a result of direct cueing from a Spanish text and cannot therefore be considered as an example of spontaneous production.

By the time of his second interview 10 has moved from level 0.5 to level 1.0 and at this stage he produces a number of recognisable sentences. These sentences contain verbs (as yet almost entirely unmarked) and one or more NPs in various relations to the verb. The NPs are sometimes marked with an appropriate preposition and sometimes not.

```
          ...I go wis my girl fren... (   ) to walk for...
          de stree(t)...m...I come here...to my house...
          nine o'clo...ten o'clo...          (10/2/220)
```

(See section on prepositions for a treatment of the acquisition of these elements.)

Except for the misconstrued example to walk (*for a walk*) mentioned above, 10 uses no constructions displaying subordination spontaneously. He does use a conditional construction in an echo of the interviewer's question.

```
Interviewer:  ...but if your mother is sick, or something
              like that?

10       :    ...if my mother is sick...eh...no cook!
                                                 (10/2/260)
```

By level 1.0 there has also been further development in the area of discourse connectors. An' begins to function as a joiner of clauses as well as simple NPs.

```
          I habe workee an estudiant          (4/1/B 010)
```

(Syntax unclear, probably *I worked and studied*.)

```
          an I studin                         (10/2/32)

9        :  mih, yeah de...eat...de eat...
            es eh...es har(d)
            (i.e. *the food is inedible*)

Interviewer:  hard, it's not very good (?)

9        :  No very goo(d)...an de...libih...is
            very goo(d)                       (9/1/200)
```

It can be observed that for this speaker at least while an' has emerged as a connector of clauses its semantic near-relative but is still absent. Thus we may expect sometimes to find an' functioning as both and and but at this level. In any case bu(t) itself soon emerges, as can be seen from this example, also from a level 1.0 speaker.

```
          bery cousin bu(t) I libe wi(th) moder only
                                              (4/1/B 025)
          (i.e. *I had a lot of cousins but I lived alone
          with my mother*)
```

Another connector of considerable importance which emerges at level 1.0 is because. (We have seen it emerge earlier in Spanish form.) For one speaker apart from its standard semantic function because seemed to serve as a generalised device for introducing answers to various types of questions.

```
Interviewer:  ...how did you find the hostel?

9        :  ...m...

Interviewer:  How did you find it, was it alright, was it bad?

9        :  becau...because eh...my son...m...everyday go to
            de school                         (9/1/180)
```

Interviewer: but if you...if you cannot go...and work after
              this three months, what happens?

9   :   er...because is...no better

Interviewer: Yes, alright, so suppose...suppose it is not
              better in three months' time, what happens then?

9   :   er...

Interviewer: if in three months you cannot work, what do you do?

9   :   because m...(unclear)...I will...sick
                                                    (9/1/460)

Even when *because* is being used in the standard way, by far the most favourable context seems to be in answer to questions.

Interviewer: Yeah, but you don't like it.

3   :   noh

Interviewer: Why is that?

3   :   eh...because...eh...no beri gu...noh
                                                    (3/1/125)

Interviewer: Why...before...they didn't give you clothes?

3   :   because de...de ferd (*first*) day no a neber...
              a neber...(unclear)...after two weeky

From the above observations we can probably assume that level 1.0 speakers are still not in a position to connect large enough stretches of discourse in such a way that *because* would occur in an utterance medial position. The acquisition sequence for this connector probably involves its initial use as a focussing device for answers to questions, followed by its restriction to fields in which causal connection is definitely involved in the answer, followed then by its use as a connector to establish a causal link between two propositions in the one stretch of discourse.

Between level 1.0 and level 1.5 we can observe a variety of attempts to use subordinate constructions. (Some of these are dealt with more fully in other sections, e.g. Complements.)

              I know I go to de jo(b)   (9/1/067)

Attempts to use sequence markers also begin to be in evidence.

              an den I...wen to...Liverpool hospital
                                                    (9/1/306)

              I will for a mons estay in Australia eh
              I tak d job...job en Bicta factory   (9/1/205)
              (i.e. *I'd been in Australia for a month
              when I took the job in the Victa factory*)

              apta (*after*) I will have ode jo...I wan(t)
              a car   (3/3/109)

As can be seen, success is varying. The Victa factory example, in which the
speaker is quite confused about verb marking and seems to lack the sequence
marker before is not an isolated one of its type and points to the importance
of inculcating sequence markers before verb marking, since even with correct
verb marking time adverbs are often necessary. (It should be noted that speaker
9 has had no formal instruction in English, so that his errors cannot be
attributed to faulty teaching.)

Relative clauses, though infrequent, are another example of subordination which
occurs at the level 1.0 - 1.5 stage.

> he habe very soun (*songs*) beautiful...what
> speak of de...love...what speak of costumbres
> de chile   (4/1/180)

The sequence 'what speak of' here seems to be fairly clearly a relative clause.

> de problem...de I habe is de wer   (3/1/190)

By level 1.5 we find an example of who being used as a relative pronoun.

> an I have many...frens who...dey habe a car
>   (3/3/106)

In general level 1.5 witnesses a consolidation of the tendencies already pointed
out. The noun/verb distinction is by now fairly consistent, and thus most
utterances are recognisable attempts at English sentence patterns. While
examples of subordinate and co-ordinate constructions of the kinds exemplified
above occur they are by no means frequent, and speakers at this level are still
substantially restricted in their output to the level of the simple sentence
and its subparts.

Some further examples of subordinate structures are the following:

> eh dey make an table for eh...work on
> extractor (Purpose Clause)   (3/2/260)

> today dey say...egryday overtih de...
> ha(lf) pa(st) three ar (*to*) happas sik
> (Reported Speech)   (3/2/282)

> I understan woner (*when*) de teacher eh
> dice sone (*some*) many question   (3/3/265)

From this point (1.5), then, speakers have reasonable control of simple sentence
structures and some control of complex sentence structure, but what is striking
is the consistent lack of discourse features. Much more work needs to be done
on this area and what follows is no more than a sketch. However, it may serve
to illuminate some of the factors involved. To this end we turn now to an
examination of some representative discourse from a level 2.5 speaker, informant
5, and informant 2, who at level 4.5 is the most advanced speaker in our corpus.

> um...I went to...one factory...de tol(d) me:
> no Bacancy...I wen to, dyou know, confection...
> Katy's, you know, for make dres...a pik factory
> ...en de city...I wen to de personal office dey
> tol(d) me: no Bacansyh...always

I wake up very early en de mornin, I go to
every factory: tol(d) me no, no...after I wen
to de Hilton hotel, I write a form, de tol(d)
me: after I feled fo(ne) fyou...but I wri(te)
bef(ore)...one dyea ago, but never call meh...
eh for nothi(ng)...I write for nothi(ng)...I
don sometime give a dyob, someti(me) dyou waih
for nothi(ng)   (5/1/330)

Well, I think er it's been affected more de...
women dan de men...because de...dere are lot
of unemploy women dat er been sack lately...
spesyally migrant...an dey have to sort of
sept it an den dey don...half anybody where to
sort of wan(t) complain...an dey...can(t)...
go and comp...tell de dyunion because de
language barreras...and also because de...
union are not sort of interestin on gettin de
migrant eh involf in de tra(de) union...I mean
...dey don put...mush attention...on gettin de
...espesyally de migran gwomen   (2/2/260)

There is a marked difference between the standard of the discourse of 5 and 2,
as represented in these passages. The only hedge (hesitation marker) 5 has is
you know, whereas 2 has well, I mean, I think and sort of. The passage from 5
consists of very short simple sentences mainly just juxtaposed in a sequence
roughly determined by chronology. When she does use connectors, they are but
and after, but the predominance of unconnected clauses gives a jerky, incoherent
quality to her discourse. On the other hand 2 attempts more difficult syntactic
constructions: comparatives (been affected more de...women dan de men), because
clauses, relative clauses and passives (unemploy women dat er been sack lately),
qualified indefinite (anybody where to sort of wan(t) complain), qualified
adjective (interestin on gettin migrant eh involf in de tra(de) union). Though
she does not always succeed in mastering these constructions, the attempts she
makes allow her much greater flexibility of expression than is available to 5.
However, it is still noticeable that even 2 hardly uses such common discourse
connectors as although, however, anyway, in case, for the sake of, in terms of,
as far as, so far, as well, in spite of, as like, so, just, whenever and so
forth.

Further examples where particular discourse features are lacking are the fol-
lowing:

no...no es good...is...isn' good money...is de
same money...bu(t) is...en...bery clean jo...
very clean, is...isn' he...more bar because I
must eh...I mus...I mus be aywes (*always?*)...
be choo mas (*too much*) eh say, car...safety
about oder people a...anoder...de oder people
is workin in de area...dar is a good job...
                                     (12/1/220)

Speaker 12 is here comparing his present job with the one he had before, saying
it is better in some respects and worse in others. Because he does not have
however, or anyhow and cannot construct the relative phrase who are working in
the area his discourse is severely hampered: he has to constantly repeat and
seemingly contradict himself. Roughly translated the passage might be:

> *No, it's not good money, it's the same money,*
> *but it is a very clean job. Still, it's a bit*
> *harder because I've always got to be careful*
> *about other people working in the area. All*
> *in all, though, it's a good job.*

Another example comes from speaker 1.

> dey continue to import a lod of...er commodities
> ...particular from de asian region...well because
> it is...cheaper...cheaper cos(t) produce...
> respecto Australia, an...das de...explanasyon
> why...in dis momen...dere are about four hundred
> sousan of people unemployed...an de migration is
> ...close down...m...dere is no perspective...to
> reopen de migration to Australia.   (1/3/225)

One doesn't consistently use anaphoric pronouns, which are very important in
discourse ('cheaper cost produce' versus 'cheaper to produce them there') and
lacks the comparative construction compared with, lapsing at that point into
Spanish (respecto Australia). He also has recourse to periphrastic expressions
(das de explanasyon why) as a result of insufficient flexibility in manipulating
and juxtaposing structures — he could have said migration has been cut off, with
no prospect of reopening it.

A further example from the same speaker involves the function of relative
clauses in helping to sustain a single topic through a stretch of discourse.

> Well...I sin dat for Mister Fraser and his
> goverman...eh...dis...one an hallf year dat
> his been at office...it has been de mos
> difficult times for him...   (1/3/380)

He has made two topics, Mister Fraser and his goverman and dis...one an hallf
year dat his been at office, whereas the former should strictly have been
subordinated in a relative clause: the one and a half years that Mr Fraser
and his government have been in office have been very difficult for him.

We take the opportunity to mention in passing here one other grammatical area
that all speakers in our data have trouble with, namely, phrasal verbs. In the
passage cited from informant 5 she does use wake up and wait for, but she uses
write for fill in, following a common practice of avoiding phrasal verbs where
a one word verb is close enough. It seems that it is difficult to learn a
range of phrasal verbs until the semantics of the particles themselves (of,
away, along, etc.) have been mastered in discourse. Until this occurs, the
task of learning phrasal verbs is similar to that of learning any extended
paradigm, with the added complication that minimal differences in morphology
can mark very wide differences in meaning (consider all the phrasals that have
give or get as their stem).

Clearly, discourse features are neither easy to learn nor to teach and it would
be imprudent to claim that the various problems pointed out in this paper can
be overcome in any simple fashion. Nevertheless, the general orientation of
teaching materials and practices to the level of the sentence and/or its
subparts cannot but have a negative effect. Standard English texts have, to
date, taught only those aspects of language that their authors could readily
identify and describe, with little regard either to the overall patterns of
native speech or the particular needs of learners. Hence the disproportionate

amount of time spent on morphology, the main precinct of traditional grammar. The new orientation towards teaching communicative language use seems to be a promising alternative to older practices but a great deal of work — in the realm of theory and in the classroom itself — needs to be done so that both teachers and students can develop an awareness of how language functions on the discourse level and of how discourse situations affect what happens on the syntactic level. It is perhaps in these areas that research can make one of its most positive contributions to second language teaching.

2. THE DEVELOPMENTAL SEQUENCE IN NEGATION

After the use of no by itself, the first real patterns of negation emerge with the placing of no before various words (level 0.5). When this process first begins it is not always clear what categories to assign to a speaker's grammar at this stage. Thus it is not clear at times whether we are dealing with nouns or verbs or any other traditional part of speech.

Consider the following dialogue:

        Informant :   ......my moder...ma(ke) de cook

        Interviewer: ......but if your mother is sick, or something
                       like that?

        Informant :   ......if my moder is sick...he...no cook!
                                              (10/2/260)

As the noun/verb distinction becomes clear, no still continues to serve as a general negator. For example:

                no understan   (13/1/017)
                no everynight   (10/2/435)
                no gut   (13/1/151)

This is a state of affairs at about level 1.0. The one apparent exception to it is the expression donnoh, which we come across quite frequently. Since don occurs nowhere else in the speech of level 1.0 speakers, we can dismiss donnoh as 'formula', a phrase without internal structure, meaning the opposite of know. However, we should be careful when talking about 'formulae', since we run into all sorts of problems in determining how and when formulae cease to be formulae and become respectable, rule-produced, structured utterances. Formulae should in fact be seen as constituting a very important initial step in the learning process. Researchers into language change and variation have found that when new rules enter a linguistic system they frequently do so first by appearing in a single context and gradually spreading to others, until finally they might operate right across the board. In this process, the formula is the first step, the rule operating in a single context. Thus we could say that while level 1.0 donnoh does not really provide evidence for don as a negator, the phrase itself is the seed-bed for the growth of this new element. This process of analysing things learnt as single units into constituent parts is one of the most characteristic and important in language learning.

By level 1.5 we can actually see this process of rule-generalisation occurring. Speakers at this stage begin to use don as a negator of other verbs. For example:

                my family no...don like comin here   (8/1/117)

Some verbs are affected earlier than others (provide more favourable contexts for the operation of the rule), so that while the above speaker negates like with don on several occasions she also produces utterances like the following:

> I no remember   (8/1/68)

This sort of behaviour should not be seen as inconsistent.

A little before level 1.5 some interesting things happen with the negation of verbs be and have. At an earlier stage these verbs are often omitted and we find utterances like no good. When the verb appears it is placed before the negator to produce utterances such as:

> no...es no good   (3/2/354)

> I habe no...problem   (3/2/235)

It seems that in the system of such speakers, given their earlier use of verbless phrases like no good, the negator no is analysed as 'belonging with' the noun or adjective, etc. rather than with the verb at this stage. A little later, probably when the speaker has resolved the question of whether the negator 'goes with' the noun or verb in favour of the latter we find the contracted forms such as:

> now no...isn' difficool   (3/3/100)

haven' should also occur at this point. It is interesting to note that the speaker quoted above used have and no in the first two interviews and then switched to no + have in the third.

> I no have oder job   (3/3/233)

This could well be a result of his 'decision' to treat have like other verbs and use a preverbal negator with it, thus prefiguring the alternative standard pattern of negating have with don.

In line with the appearance of post-verbal negation of be and have we also find that the negative modal cannot appears.

> I cannos tell you   (8/1/142)

One other development of interest at this stage is the appearance of donnoh with a complement or object.

> I donnoh when   (8/1/130)

By level 2.0 don has become the general verbal negator and no seems to almost entirely disappear in this capacity, at least in present contexts.

> You don espeak   (7/1/100)

> I don remember   (7/2/220)

It is still not clear, however, that speakers at this level have analysed don into do and not. Thus, when asked to produce a question which required won't to be used, an informant came out with the following:

> If you will...if you will don
> ...van son days to back to
> Italia   (7/2/165)

Interestingly, even at this level ability to signify agreement with a negative statement by a negative response still seems to be absent despite the fact that Spanish has the same question-answer system as English.

```
Informant  :  ......dey no noh dehy don receive

Interviewer:  ......don't receive?

Informant  :  ......don receive any money

Interviewer:  ......any money at all?

Informant  :  ......dyes, no dey haven any        (5/1/130)
```

It can be seen, however, from this dialogue that at this level don has finally been analysed into its constituent parts. Thus, by level 2.5 - 3.0 the major rules for correct negation in English appear to have been learnt.

3. THE DEVELOPMENTAL SEQUENCE IN QUESTION FORMATION

0.5 At this stage there is in general no very clear distinction between the different grammatical categories of noun, verb, adjective, etc. Questions produced by learners at this level often appear to be 'verbless', though in view of the lack of categorial distinctions referred to above, such a description is not entirely satisfactory.

```
        dyou    age?                (13/2/208)
        dyou    merry?              (13/2/220)
        how broder...dyou?          (13/2/230)
```

Clearly, there can be no question of inversion or do-insertion occurring at this early stage where category distinctions are still forming.

Question intonation, however, is present in some form from the outset.

1.0 With the emergence of category distinctions questions take on a form which is recognisably closer to the standard one. 'Verbless' questions still appear, however, but are less frequent.

```
            how many...dyou how many broder?    (10/2/020)
```

Yes/no questions do not display either inversion or do-insertion.

```
            you habe boy?               (10/2/017)

            dyou libe this...wi(th) you family?  (10/2/030)
```

Wh-questions, on the other hand, do begin to provide some instances of inversion, with be as the first environment for this process.

```
            (H)ow old...are you?        (10/2/010)

            Where is you family?        (10/2/112)
```

Other verbs besides be can act as environments for inversion in wh-questions.

```
            What time finish de entrevista? (interview)
                                        (10/2/160)
```

This, of course, results in questions which are not well-formed according to the rules of standard English. It might be argued that the patterns observed to date, which have been exemplified from the speech of Spanish speakers, can be explained as the result of rule transfer from the mother tongue, since in Spanish wh-questions display inversion obligatorily, whereas in yes/no questions inversion is optional. However, this seems

not to be the case, as the same patterns emerge in the speech of Turkish speakers, whereas Turkish has question formation rules which do not involve inversion or wh-word fronting.

You marry?   (15/1/090)

how many...working me?   (15/1/100)
(*how many items was I making?*)

A clue to a possible explanation for this phenomenon is provided by another tendency to be observed in the question formation process at this stage. This is that wh-questions formed on objects frequently appear without any subject pronoun. Thus:

Where live in simmy?   (10/2/125)

gwhere wolkin aft...before in you   (4/2/150)
gwork today?
(*where did you work before the place*
you work now?)

What this latter phenomenon perhaps indicates is that there is a universal tendency for wh-words to be attracted to the verb and to form a strongly bound constituent with it. Wh-words, as has been suggested by Chomsky and others (Bach 1971) are related to indefinite words like something, someone, etc., and indefinites in many languages are also attracted to the verb, and generally immediately precede it. For example:

(1)   English:

Cats eat meat.
Cats are meat-eating animals.   (Madirussian 1975)

(2)   Turkish:

(i)   Definite versus indefinite subject.
Haber Mehmet ten geldi.
(*The news from Mehmet came.*)

Mehmet ten haber geldi.
(*From Mehmet news came.*)

(ii) Definite versus indefinite object.
Eti kasaptan aldim.
(*The meat from the butcher I bought.*)

Kasaptan et aldim.
(*From the butcher meat I bought.*)

In Turkish, also, wh-words occupy this immediately preverbal position. For example:

(i)   Orhana   ne   soylediniz?
(*To Orhan what did you say?*)

(ii) Mehmet   ne   yazdi?
(*Mehmet what did he write?*)

Thus, we can hypothesise, the learner is exhibiting a universal linguistic tendency in yoking the wh-word and the verb, and is then faced with the problem of developing a strategy for locating the subject NP or pronoun.

One solution is to put it after the verb; another is to omit it entirely. Interestingly, as we have seen, omission and inversion both come into evidence at the same stage.

To sum up, at level 1.0 instances in inversion and subject deletion in wh-questions are to be seen, but not in yes/no question.

1.5   Inversion becomes more common in wh-questions, and cases of auxiliary-subject inversion also occur.

> How long have you been in Australia?
>
> > (4/2/150)

Instances of do-insertion also begin to appear.

> Where do you live?   (4/2/150)
>
> before where do you work...working?   (3/3/030)

Do-insertion may also appear in embedded questions:

> How long in gwere do you live?   (4/2/170)
> (*How long have you been living where*
> *you live now?*)

It appears that certain verbs, such as live, go and work provide the most favourable environments for the operation of the do-insertion role.

In wh-questions formed on objects, subjects NPs or pronouns are still missing.

At this stage there is little evidence of either inversion or do-insertion in yes/no-questions.

2.0-
2.5   Both inversion and do-insertion begin to appear in yes/no-questions.

> are you marry?   (7/2/115)
>
> do you li(ke) dis country?   (7/2/140)

Be and have, of course, provide the most favourable environments for inversion and verbs such as like provide the most favourable environments for do-insertion.

At this stage there are some puzzling contradictions in our data, as while the majority of informants at this level and 2 above still provide more instances of inversion and do-insertion in wh-questions there is one informant who has the two rules operating regularly in yes/no-questions, but only the inversion rule in wh-questions. It is not clear why this should be the case, but at any rate it still seems safe to say that a speaker who exhibits inversion and/or do-insertion in yes/no-questions is level 2.0 or above.

any may appear in questions at this stage, but is not common.

> Have you any children?   (8/2/015)

It should be noted that tense/aspect distinctions are not made yet in questions (or elsewhere) and thus do functions where did would be correct in standard English.

3.0-
4.0   In general, speakers at these levels generally support the hypothesis that do-insertion and inversion are more advanced in wh-questions than in yes/no-questions for a given environment. Do-insertion can still be quite irregular in yes/no-questions for some speakers.

4.5-
5.0   By this stage, questions are overwhelmingly well-formed. There may be some difficulties with verb marking in tenses other than the present with negative questions and with questions in which the question phrase or subject NP is especially long.

> did you estudied dere while chou
> were living?   (1/3/015)

> did you estudyin while dyou were
> living dere?   (1/3/020)

> what sort of job...you have got?   (18/1/X)

4.   THE DEVELOPMENTAL SEQUENCE IN COMPLEMENTATION

0.5   Complements are rare at this stage. Verbal complements may appear after like or can. (At this point the standard distinction between modals and other verbs appears to be unmotivated.)

> you li(ke) wolky?   (13/2/260)

The only complementisers to appear are the null and -ing complementisers and correct use of the latter is probably accidental.

1.0   Complements are produced more frequently at this stage.

> I can wri(te) application   (4/1/080)

> I wan gworkin   (4/1/070)

Apart from the verbal complements exemplified above, sentential (that-type) complements may also appear.

> I know I go   (9/1/070)

Only the -ing and null complementisers appear at this level.

The number of complement-taking verbs used up to this point is strikingly restricted: like, want, can, learn, know.

1.5   As for level 1.0, except that the to complementiser makes an appearance.

> I wan to go to my country (echo)   (8/1/130)

> Y' sing go to de Australia
> ...you sing tu go of Australia   (3/3/140)
> *(Are you thinking of leaving Australia?)*

As can be seen from these examples this item is not very well established.

2.0-
2.5   Stage 2.0 is marked by various developments. One new complement type
        emerges. This is the complement of a verb of perception, and its
        appearance is interesting as all previous complements have been ones in
        which the subject of the higher verb is also the subject of the lower
        verb (i.e. same subject or equicomplements) whereas this complement type
        has a different subject for each verb.

                    I remember you writing   (7/2/200)

        The for ... component of the for ... to complement also makes an appearance.

                    if it is possible for start   (7/3/350)

        While there are some correct examples of complement/complementiser com-
        binations; there are still various cases of complementisers being misused.

        Correct: I try to foun (*find*)   (7/3/080)

                    I remember you writing   (7/2/200)

        Incorrect: You need do   (7/1/70)

                    You can't buying   (7/1/090)

                    I wan' say dis   (7/2/250)

                    You must be writing   (7/2/230)

                    Try to writin'   (7/3/010)

        There is, however, a considerable increase in the range of complement
        taking verbs:

                    need see   difficult try
                    must remember hard

3.0-
4.0   One feature which might distinguish this stage is the appearance of dif-
        ferent subject complements of verbs which express the speaker's attitude
        to or desire as regards the actions of others. (Previous different
        subject complements have been with verbs of perception only.)

                    I don like people say me   (11/1/320)

        This development is important, because it opens the door, as it were, to
        the spread of a structure vital to the communication of the speaker's
        likes, dislikes, intentions, etc. as regards the actions of others.

        Data for this level is somewhat incomplete at the moment, but we can
        surmise that a gradual increase in the range of complement taking verbs
        occurs.

4.5+   The main development by this stage is the spread of different subject
        complements of what Paul Postal calls W-verbs (that is verbs such as want,
        wish, prefer, hate, intend, like, mean, need, etc.)

                    de boss ask to go fast   (1/3/130)

                    de dyunta has call de companies
                    to come back   (1/1/177)

                    dey ask her to hurry up   (2/1/320)

As regards complementisers the main developments by this stage are:

(1)   The appearance of the for ... to complementiser.

> is very difficool for Australia
> to export   (1/3/280)

(2)   The appearance of the that complementiser.

> we can say dat dere is nothing   (1/3/150)

(3)   A reduction in the number of incorrect null and -ing complementisers.

To sum up, it is possible to present a rough typology of complement structures in the order in which they are acquired.

Same subject, equiverb, complements are the first to be acquired, at about level 1.0, or a little earlier.

> I can write   (4/1/080)
>
> You like wolky?   (13/2/260)

Also at level 1.0, or a little later, sentential (that-type) complements may appear.

> I know I go   (9/1/070)

- a wider range of these structures can be observed at level 2.0, and above.

> I know is bery har   (12/1/360)
>
> I sink is finish   (7/2/210)

The next complement type to make its appearance is the different subject complement of verbs of perception. This takes place at level 2.0.

> I remember you writing   (7/2/200)
>
> I saw you playing guitar   (12/1/B070)

(Correct use of the -ing complementiser here, given the prevalence of -ing marking in other contexts, may be accidental.)

At level 3.0 we encounter the first examples of different subject complements with verbs which express attitudes or desires the speaker has towards the actions or potential actions of others.

> I don like people say me   (11/1/130)

A wider range of such examples can be found after level 4.0.

> de boss ask to go fast   (1/3/130)
>
> che sort of shout er...very often
> to hurry up   (2/1/380)

Interestingly, causative constructions seem to be very rare, even at level 4.0+.

> dey not let eh...at de work, at de
> eschool, <u>at</u> de estuden eh...made
> estrike   (at = that)   (11/1/142)
>
> he doesn' permith dath de...trade
> union movement fight   (1/3/370)

Moreover, they do not occur in the raised form which is normal in English.

Looking back from this point, it is possible to form a hypothesis which might explain the order of acquisition of the different subject complement types. This is that different subject complement types are acquired in an order which reflects the degree to which the subject of the higher verb is 'associated' with the action of the subject of the lower verb. Structures in which the activities of the two subjects are closely linked (either causally or through the element of volition) seem to be acquired later than structures where their relationship is not so close. Thus causatives are hard to acquire, because of the direct link between the actions of the two underlying subjects. Complements of W-verbs, where the connection is volitional rather than causal and the action of the lower subject is not a presupposed consequence of that of the higher subject, are acquired somewhat earlier. Complements of verbs of perception where both causal and volitional elements are lacking, but where the act of perceiving and the perceived act still retain a degree of closeness (hence the 'collapsed' structure), come earlier still. Sentential complements, which display neither causal, volitional or perceptual connections are the first potentially different subject complement types to be acquired. Some extra support for this hypothesis comes from the fact that different subject complements of W-verbs, especially, often appear with the subject of the lower verb deleted in surface structure. Thus,

> de boss ask to go fast   (1/3/120)

The subject of the lower verb in such a structure is also the subject of the higher verb, or, in semantic terms, is both an actor and a patient. Learners have difficulty in formalising this dual state of affairs and sometimes try to resolve the problem by omitting explicit reference to the actor/patient.

5. THE DEVELOPMENTAL SEQUENCE IN TENSE AND ASPECT AND VERB MARKING

0.5 At this level there is no evidence of tense marking and, indeed, little indication that the category of verb has really emerged.

Time adverbs are not used.

1.0 As a rule, verbs are not marked in any way and when they appear do so in stem form.

> I arribe...eh twel' of febre   (3/1/100)

Often, even pronominal marking is absent.

> like...like job   (15/1/048)

However, at this stage one marking device does appear. This is the -ing suffix. At first this may appear simply as the invariant form of a single verb:

> no working   (15/1/097)

Work or come are the most likely verbs for the first appearance of -ing marking. Later, -ing marking spreads to other verbs. -ing marking at this stage appears to be a purely categorial phenomenon. Examples of -ing marked verbs can be found in both present and past contexts.

I workin...now...in...water boar(d)   (9/1/230)

before me working year...Presto   (17/1/257)

Nevertheless, such marking may be more frequent in non-present contexts. These contexts include not only past contexts but syntactic contexts, such as that of a verbal complement.

I wan gworkin   (4/1/070)

You can' buying   (7/1/090)

In these latter contexts -ing marking persists, irregularly, until even level 4.5.

de boss was'...was' (*wanted*) de
res of de worker askin   (2/1/320)

The use of -ing marking seems to indicate that learners feel the need for a system of marking and adopt a morphological marker before they have actually evolved a coherent system of their own or learnt the standard one. -ing is probably chosen as the first morphological marker because it is readily perceived by learners, as it is syllabic, unlike regular past /t/ or /d/, and is not subject to reduction unlike auxiliaries and modals (e.g. 'll, 'd).

Time adverbs — before, after and now — frequently serve as non-morphological tense markers at this stage.

Examples of irregular pasts like went may occasionally be encountered at this stage, but not necessarily in past contexts.

in de car wid my fader...I wen' wit...
with him   (10/2/350)

(Context is present.)

The present perfect may appear in formula questions after how long...? but never appears to be generalised outside of this restricted environment.

2.0   Marking, as at all stages up to level 5.0, is still frequently absent. However, a number of irregular pasts in past contexts begin to emerge at this stage, came, said, told and went are the most likely candidates.

2.5   A wider range of irregular pasts is used at this level. Verbs such as made, saw and bought add themselves to the ones already mentioned.

In addition, very occasional regular pasts appear, with the /d/ marker appearing, not in a consonant cluster, but at the end of an additional syllable.

I looked but I didn' find   (5/1/029)

Didn' (though not necessarily did) appears occasionally at this stage. Never also appears as a negative past marker.

SECTION C: CONCLUSION

1. THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

A number of the findings presented above can be explained by reference to the principle of functional load. In natural languages there is generally a good deal of redundancy built into syntax. Learners frequently simplify by stripping away these redundant features, since they are not essential to communication. They may also strip away non-redundant features which do not affect general meaning too radically. This principle of simplification according to functional loan probably explains the following phenomena: general lack of inflectional morphology, absence of filler verbs, like be and have, absence of inversion or do-insertion in questions, absence of prepositions and complementisers, omission of 'understood' pronouns, use of no as a universal negator, use of a single demonstrative, appearance of universal quantifiers first, appearance of definite article (which has a referring function) before indefinite article, and so on. Of course, our findings cannot always be explained in this way and some cases appear to be the product of complex interactions of semantic, syntactic and phonetic factors. However, we are beginning to arrive at conclusions about the relative weight of these different factors.

2. EXPECTED OUTCOMES

Our findings to date, as summarised above, have important critical and constructive consequences for the teaching of English as a second language.

   (i)   To take the critical aspect first. Our work indicates that in the early and intermediate stages (where the majority of migrants taking English courses are) much teaching effort is wasted on attempts to inculcate redundant and functionally unimportant features, which at that stage are neither produced nor probably even perceived. A great deal of time in beginner classrooms is misspent teaching inflectional morphology (such as tense/aspect and person marking), question transformations, complex patterns of negation, verbs like be and have, articles and so on. In addition, such things as deictics and articles are introduced in pairs, when one is in fact learnt much earlier than the other. Without a knowledge of developmental sequences teachers often try to suppress emerging structures which do not correspond to standard language patterns — for instance, in the areas of negation and verb marking — when such phenomena should be tolerated and even encouraged.

   (ii) On the constructive side, the project can provide a detailed body of information about developmental sequences in syntax and also relevant information on the facilitating or inhibiting role of interference from different languages. Such information has a number of immediate applications.

(a)   It could provide a basis for syllabus planners and
      course designers to devise structured programs which
      exploit natural orders of acquisition and introduce
      rules and elements in a readily assimilable form.
      Such internal structuring is a highly desirable
      feature in any program, regardless of the teaching
      methodology employed, and would be quite compatible
      with the newer thematic or functional-notional
      approaches to teaching.

      It should also be noted that our information is
      derived from a study of migrant speech in Australia
      and therefore provides much needed information on
      language needs in this country, including such things
      as core vocabulary and syntax necessary for basic
      communication and social interaction.

(b)   In the area of teaching methodology it could provide
      teachers with important information on how best to
      exploit natural learning processes. An example of
      this would be knowing what lexical items or expres-
      sions to use in introducing new rules.

(c)   In the areas of evaluation and testing an explicit
      knowledge of developmental sequences allows the
      establishment of a centralised measure for rating
      student proficiency and evaluating student progress.
      While recognising the need for functional criteria
      in measuring student progress we believe that
      syntactic criteria, properly applied, provide an
      economical and readily accessible form of evaluation.
      This is especially relevant to the area of teacher
      evaluation of student progress in the classroom.
      It also provides a measure for the evaluation of
      programs themselves.

3. SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

The Sample Project

The project described above was never completed due to funding difficulties.
In 1982 the Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs funded
a research project to be conducted by the author to enable the results described
above to replicated with a larger and better organised corpus. This project,
which bears the title *Syntactic and morphological progressions in learner
English*, compiled a data base consisting of two approximately 45 minute inter-
views with 12 Polish and 12 Vietnamese speakers, with this cross-sectional study
being supplemented by a further three interviews conducted over the space of
a year with a subset of eight of the original 24 informants. The areas of
syntax investigated in the SAMPLE project, as it is known, included the areas
already documented above, plus others, such as articles, prepositions and lexis.
The SAMPLE data base was typed into a computer, and in consequence, the analysis
produced by the project was considerably more detailed: one notable feature of
the analysis as a whole was its tendency to fall into implicational type

patterns, which of course very much reinforces the claims to value of this particular analytical tool. Once again, for most of the areas investigated, there was found to be little difference between the Polish speaking and Vietnamese speaking informants. The SAMPLE report runs to over 500 pages of text and tables and provides a quite substantial description of adult English learner language. The Commonwealth has now published the report in a limited edition.

The 'Explanations' project

During the writing up of the SAMPLE report the author began collaborating with Dr Manfred Pienemann of Sydney University on an explanatory model of language learning. Drawing on a theoretical model developed during the course of the West Germany ZISA project (see for instance, Meisel, Clahsen and Pienemann 1981) the authors found that they were able to 'predict' a number of findings in the SAMPLE data. This predictive model is built on the concept that learners must acquire a series of speech processing prerequisities if they are to be able to produce certain basic target language structures correctly. Working with the SAMPLE data, the authors found that they were able to refine the original speech processing model, and also increase its explanatory scope by extending it to morphological phenomena. A paper outlining the model for both German and English is currently in preparation. An effective predictive model for second language acquisition should have interesting consequences both for language learning theory and for language pedagogy, since in respect of this latter activity we are not in a position to make some very strong claims about the efficacy of particular curriculums. One further development of interest that has resulted from the 'explanations' work is the finding that language features not governed by speech processing prerequisites seem to be particularly prone to first language influence. Thus, our current research may also be able to contribute something to the complex question of under what conditions 'interference' or 'transfer' may take place.

In conclusion, it can be said that some interesting developments are taking place in second language acquisition research in Australia, and these developments are of increasing relevance to those engaged in language policy and language pedagogy.

NOTE

1. This is a revised version of a paper published in the *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics* 1980, 3/2:90-120. I thank *ARAL* for permission to publish this version here.

   I would also like to acknowledge the efforts and collaboration of Dr W.L. Bonney (Director of this project), Dr H. Wilson and Bruno di Biase in helping to shape this paper.

ABORIGINAL CHILDREN'S ENGLISH — EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Susan Kaldor and Ian G. Malcolm

The aim of this paper[1] is to present some features of Aboriginal English and to consider the educational needs of Aboriginal children whose first language and main means of expression is Aboriginal English.

Like many other terms in common use, the term 'Aboriginal English' is rather difficult to define. It has been known for some time and documented by various observers (including public figures, missionaries and writers of fiction) that many Aboriginal speakers, especially in Northern and desert areas, developed a form of speech in English which, although, on the whole, intelligible to speakers of Standard (Australian) English, differs in many features from the latter. It is only recently, however, that the comparatively newly emerging form of speech attracted the attention of linguists who began to collect samples of it from different parts of the continent in order to be able to identify its salient features. Linguists gave it the identifying label 'Aboriginal English' and an increasing number of descriptive statements have appeared in recent years illustrating the dialect thus identified.[2] Yet, today, after many years of painstaking study in different parts of the continent by a number of researchers, a satisfactory definition is still difficult to achieve.

On first attempt one may approach the problem by saying that Aboriginal English is a variety of English spoken by Aboriginal people. However, such a definition would be patently unsatisfactory as a very considerable number of people of Aboriginal descent speak a standard variety of English which is indistinguishable from the Standard (Australian) English[3] spoken by non-Aboriginal Australians.

As a second attempt, one might say that 'Aboriginal English is a non-standard variety of English spoken by many Aboriginal people'. This, too, turns out to be inaccurate as many Aboriginal speakers, especially in Southern areas, use a variety of English which is in most features indistinguishable from the non-standard English spoken by non-Aboriginal Australians.[4]

A further difficulty arises out of the fact that in Northern areas, many (according to some estimates 15,000) Aboriginal speakers speak some language varieties which, although based largely on English vocabulary, have developed into distinct new languages that are virtually incomprehensible to speakers of Standard English without previous study. These new languages have been referred to as 'creoles' by linguists and given the identifying labels Kriol and Cape York Creole. It has been argued convincingly (e.g. Sandefur 1984) that these creoles cannot be regarded as dialectal (non-standard) varieties of English.

Thus the creoles which are distinct from both English and traditional Aboriginal languages, have to be distinguished also from Aboriginal English and cannot be subsumed under the latter term.

Yet another problem presents itself when one considers differences between widespread use of terms by the general public and the more circumscribed use of terms in the professional literature of linguistics and other disciplines.

When travelling in remote areas, one often hears the term 'pidgin' used by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal speakers to refer to any variety of English-based speech spoken by Aboriginal people — to what would be labelled a 'creole' as well as to what would be labelled 'Aboriginal English' by linguists. In recent years, under the influence of heightened awareness of matters of language in Aboriginal communities made possible by the work of many individual researchers and institutions, creoles are now increasingly referred to as 'creoles'[5] not only in the professional literature, but also in common parlance by the speakers themselves. Nevertheless, the term 'pidgin' can still be heard. At the same time, linguists use the term 'pidgin' mostly in a historical perspective as there would be few speakers today whose speech would be labelled as such in the professional literature.

In order to clarify some of these issues, it will be necessary to discuss briefly the relationship of speech varieties to each other in a historical perspective, even if this represents some duplication of information contained elsewhere in this volume.

It is now a well established fact that when Europeans first arrived in Australia, some 200 distinct Aboriginal languages (divisible into some 500 dialects) were spoken on the Australian continent. Bilingualism was widespread and speakers of one language could usually communicate with speakers of the languages of neighbouring tribes. After European contact, large-scale movements took place and, in time, many Aboriginal groups moved to outposts, mission stations and towns where they needed to communicate with European speakers of English as well as with other Aboriginal people who had not previously been their neighbours and with whom they consequently did not share a common language. The lingua franca that developed under these conditions (viz. without effective formal language instruction and for, initially at least, superficial communication) was a pidgin, an auxiliary and temporary language based on words taken from English, but also influenced by the speech sounds and other features of Aboriginal languages — a variety of speech spoken as a second language by bilingual speakers whose first language was a traditional Aboriginal language. This pidgin, as other pidgins which developed in the wake of colonisation all around the world, came about through the operation of universal processes of language simplification that all language learners adopt when faced with a situation where a language has to be learnt for instant communication. In some areas, remote from larger white settlements, the pidgin began to fulfil increasingly important functions. This necessitated growth in complexity and elaboration in both grammatical and lexical structure. The elaborated pidgin ultimately became the first and only language of a new generation of speakers who no longer learnt to speak the traditional language of their ancestors. This led to the emergence of the creoles mentioned earlier and described elsewhere in this volume.[6]

In the same areas, at a later stage, as creole speakers increasingly gained schooling in Standard English, a new generation of speakers once again became bilingual — but this time bilingual in creole and in Aboriginal English, the

latter being a form of speech which can be seen as a dialectal variety of English that had arisen in an Aboriginal context. If, in such situations, the creole ultimately disappears and the speakers become monolingual in Aboriginal English or in Standard English, it would be an instance of what is known in the linguistic literature as 'decreolisation'. However, in many places in Northern Australia, what seems to be happening is that the creole is maintained alongside Aboriginal English and we have not only bilingualism but also diglossia, a state of affairs in which two languages are maintained side by side, each with a specialised function rather than the creole simply disappearing as would be expected in a process of decreolisation.[7]

In the Southern areas of the continent, the cycle of pidginisation/creolisation/ decreolisation or diglossia probably never ran its full course. It seems certain that in these areas, where Aboriginal people lived within or on the fringes of white settlements, subsequent generations increasingly switched to the use of English without developing a creole. Earlier generations were undoubtedly bilingual in a traditional Aboriginal language and a pidginised form of English, but later generations became monolingual in a dialectal variety of English which differs only in very few features from Standard English or from 'General Australian Non-Standard English'.[8] The English of these speakers is more likely to have developed through stages of being 'interlanguages' (second language learners' approximations of a target language) rather than through creolisation.[9]

In sum, Aboriginal English is likely to have developed in some areas through pidginisation/creolisation/decreolisation or diglossia, in other areas through pidginisation/interlanguages/monolingual use of English.

It is clear that when attempting to define Aboriginal English, we have to distinguish it from all of the following speech varieties: Standard English, General Australian Non-Standard English, Kriol, Cape York Creole and Pidgin, even though certain linguistic features are shared between Aboriginal English and one or more of the other speech varieties mentioned above.

We have now come much closer to defining Aboriginal English. However, before we can do so, one final point needs to be raised. This relates to a matter inherent in the very nature of any non-standard dialect, viz. that it encompasses an enormous amount of regional and individual variation as it has never undergone the processes of standardisation.

Taking all of the above factors into account, we have concluded that Aboriginal English may be tentatively defined as 'a range of non-standard dialectal varieties of English which are spoken by many (but by no means all) speakers of Aboriginal descent throughout the Australian continent; which developed on the Australian continent either through processes of pidginisation/creolisation/ decreolisation or diglossia or through the processes of pidginisation/interlan- guages/monolingual use of English and which display features shared with other varieties of English but also a number of features specific to them — features that developed under the influence of traditional Aboriginal languages and/or creoles and in the context of Aboriginal cultures'.

In the sketch that follows, we shall present some selected features of Aboriginal English as spoken by primary school children, a range of varieties we shall call Aboriginal Children's English. We shall, wherever possible, note whether certain features are shared with other non-standard dialects and whether they are wide- spread within Aboriginal English itself or restricted in use to certain regions.

The examples illustrating the features are all quotes from speech samples collected from Western Australian Aboriginal primary school children and thus will probably convey a more accurate picture of the speech of these children than of the speech of Aboriginal children elsewhere on the continent. However, as will be seen from the discussion, many of the features themselves are relevant to regions outside Western Australia. We shall restrict ourselves to grammatical, lexical and discourse features. Readers who are interested also in an outline of phonological features are referred to Eagleson, Kaldor and Malcolm (1983).

SOME FEATURES OF ABORIGINAL CHILDREN'S ENGLISH

The grammatical features will be presented in two groups: (a) features that are most widespread (occurring in most geographical areas) and (b) features that are restricted to some Northern and/or desert locations.

(a) Widespread features:

1. Plurality of nouns is often expressed simply by lexical rather than by grammatical means, viz. by using such expressions as lots, big mob, all, some, these or other plural-indicating words without employing the plural marker -s of Standard English:

> all the balloon looked pretty
> they was dancing with these mask on
> some girl were playing.

2. Possession is often expressed by simply juxtaposing the possessor and the possessed without using the possessive marker -s of Standard English or the possessive forms of the relevant pronouns:

> put you mouth in there
> some put it on they face
> he sister name Julie
> they got a man body.

3. Person marking of verbs which in Modern Standard English exists only in an incomplete way in that only the third person singular of present tense forms of ordinary verbs carries a person distinguisher, is often absent altogether in Aboriginal Children's English:

> sometime 'e change into a man
> he always come (to the) reserve
> if 'nother one see you running away, well, they chase you
> wait till it click.

It is worthy of note that the above features represent continuity with a trend which can be traced in the history of Standard English itself, viz. the gradual loss of inflections. In Modern Standard English the -s suffix of possessives, plurals of nouns and third person singular markers in the present tense forms of verbs is one of a small handful of inflectional forms that has been retained from earlier varieties of English. The lack of the -s marker in all these functions is a feature that Aboriginal Children's English shares with a large number of 'non-standard Englishes' around the world.

4. Pronouns are often inserted after a noun phrase subject, a feature which is regarded as redundant by speakers of Standard English, but which, in fact, often serves to identify and recall the subject of the sentence:

>   that goat he sent them back where they was
>   them Indians they was behind the pub
>   all the girls we went looking for emu eggs.

5. Various spatial relationships are often expressed by nouns indicating locations and generally by words suggesting movement (down, up, 'round) without the use of some of the obligatory prepositions of Standard English such as in, at, etc. The expression of movement seems to take precedence over the formal marking of location:

>   I was down Port Hedland
>   Miss M. was down the kindy
>   have to go round Duck Creek
>   Kevin and them went up the big boys end to sleep.

6. Nouns sometimes occur without articles where Standard English compulsorily requires either indefinite or definite articles:

>   when I was in hostel we went camping
>   we go to beach
>   dog made a mess too.

7. Demonstratives are often used where Standard English would use a definite article or a possessive pronoun or no article at all (e.g. before proper nouns):

>   this uncle came back from this pub
>   this Jane...

8. The form them is often used where Standard English would require those:

>   you know them big turkeys they was out the bush there
>   them boys run and say John was cheating.

9. Present tense forms of verbs are often extended to past tense functions (pastness is usually indicated in some other way in these sentences or understood from the context):

>   when I's takin' my socks off, Shirley throw 'er socks in the bin
>   we watch this movie (last night)
>   they kill that big dingo.

10. At times past tense or other tense forms are marked, but in non-standard ways, mostly based on overgeneralising on the analogy of other verbs:

>   and when he comed in...
>   they must've winned two time
>   'e got runned over.

11. The use of was is often extended to plurals:

> we was having a race
> some kids was playing cricket (note that in this particular example
>   the child used Standard English plural, but a non-standard verb
>   form)
> they was dancing with these mask on.

12. Less frequently, the reverse also occurs, viz. the use of were instead of
     was which shows a tendency to blur the Standard English distinction between
     was and were:

> I were born there.

13. In negation the word never is often used in the function of simply negating
     a past event, without it being intended to emphasise not at any time, not
     ever as would be the case where never is used in Standard English:

> the dog never died
> we never pushed it but he did it by himself
> I never eat it in my room because I was eating it outside.

14. Negation is often expressed both on the verb and on the noun (double
     negation, a feature of Standard English in earlier periods in the history
     of the language and one shared with other non-standard Englishes outside
     Australia):

> he hasn't got no blue thing on
> it hasn't got no cross.

15. Questions are sometimes formed by using a statement form with a question
     intonation (this pattern seems to occur mostly with pronoun subject):

> you still got those photos?
> you like snapper?
> Mrs C., you smoke?

16. More frequently, an invariable question tag is added to the sentence
     functioning as a question. The actual form of the tag seems to vary from
     region to region. The tag eh seems to be the most widespread, but various
     forms originating presumably from isn't it or aren't they are also fre-
     quently used. The preferred form in the Southwest is ana or ini/init[10]
     while in Northern areas of Western Australia inti is more common. It is
     difficult to estimate whether such sentences are, in fact, questions or
     correspond to the statement-cum-question tag of Standard English, with
     the invariable question tag fulfilling the function of the complex trans-
     formational rules governing question tag formation in Standard English.
     It seems to be the case that both, statements intended for verification
     as well as simple straightforward 'yes/no questions' are formed in this
     way in some Aboriginal children's English:

> you already got it, eh?
> lot of fellas came, eh?
> you seen that, eh, Ian?
> that's Stephen, ini?
> you've been to Meekatharra, ana?

> you training all the kids how to do that, ini?
> sometime we go to play, inti?
> they don't lay egg here, inti?
> nothing will get me, ini, Mum?

Before proceeding to additional features which are more restricted in their geographical distribution, it may be of interest to consider which of the above widespread features of Aboriginal Children's English are shared with General Australian Non-Standard English as evidenced in the literature. The following table shows the numbers of the above features which are shared in the over-lapping area and the numbers of features not shared in the area exclusive to Aboriginal Children's English.

Table 1

General Australian
Non-Standard English

Aboriginal
Children's English
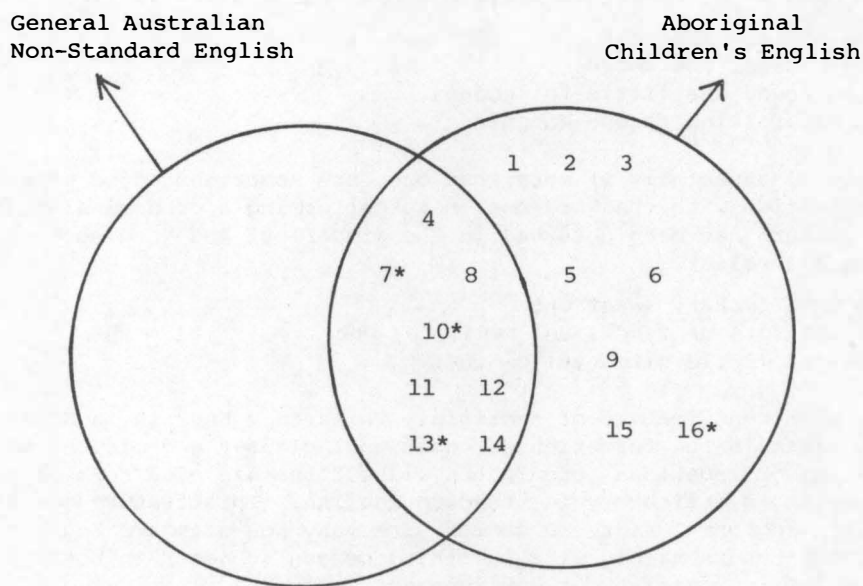
* The status of the asterisked forms is somewhat uncertain.
  For example, 7, 10 and 13 do occur in General Australian
  Non-Standard English, but in somewhat different manifes-
  tations. Some forms of 16 also occur, viz. the form eh
  but the other tags would be rare and some would never
  occur.

(b) Features restricted to some Northern or desert locations:

Aboriginal Children's English in Northern and desert areas contains the features illustrated in the foregoing as well as many additional ones. Some of the additional ones are restricted to certain regions and this will be mentioned wherever it is known. It should be noted that all these additional features are exclusive to Aboriginal English in Australia, viz. they are not shared with General Australian Non-Standard English.

17. The general third person singular pronoun is often he or 'e which stands
    for masculine, feminine and non-human referents, in other words is extended
    to the functions of Standard English she and it from the function of he:

>   they was teasing dis ol'woman..an'e's lookin' around like dat
>   'e went and put it in 'e's nest (about a bird)
>   Jane 'e said oh we have to go home now
>   sometime my sister 'e come visit my mother.

18. The expression 'e got in the sense of there is has been documented mainly
    from the Kimberleys:

>   'e got plenty windmill there
>   'e got big long school there.

19. One is used as an indefinite article where Standard English would have a
    or an:

>   den she got one house
>   them found one little fat goanna
>   we was talking to one Wongai.

20. Adjectives, especially if more than one, are sometimes added after a noun,
    in combination with the word one, here performing a pronominal function
    (this pattern has been observed in the Kimberleys and in desert regions in
    Western Australia):

>   'e good tucker, sweet one
>   'e got lots of trucks an' cars, toy one
>   she 'ad little bike, yellow one.

21. A very prominent feature of Aboriginal Children's English in Northern and
    desert areas is the formation of equational clauses and clauses with
    adjectival or locational predicates without the use of a form of the verb
    to be which is obligatory in Standard English. This feature (copula
    omission, another feature in common with many non-standard Englishes around
    the world) occurs mainly with the third person subjects in both present and
    past tense, in a variety of environments:

>   oh, look, there a turtle
>   this the airport
>   that in Carnarvon
>   the red light on!
>   my name really Bill
>   my birthday tomorrow
>   my doctor at Hedland he dead
>   they cousin brothers
>   it (a dog) skinny before
>   I know what that (is)
>   you didn't know who Lesley (was)[11]

22. Less frequently, similar sentences occur also with first or second person
    subjects:

>   when we at three mile (camp) las..um, long time, I catch a big catfish
>   (child one, looking at photograph) where me?
>   (child two) you nowhere!

23. Related to the above feature is the expression of continuous aspect without
the use of a form of the verb to be (this occurs most frequently with third
person subjects, but occasionally also with first or second person subjects):

>   they drawing on them thing...rock
>   Simon 'e poking his tongue
>   'e getting a little son
>   I going there for holiday
>   make you weaker when you running up and down.

24. Questions containing question words (wh-questions) are often formed by the
question word being followed by a simple statement pattern, instead of the
complex transformations (inversion, do support) required by the grammar of
Standard English:

>   where you went for holiday?
>   what group he was in?
>   where you was?
>   how you write? (that)
>   where Harry Butler lives?
>   why you put two there?

25. In negative sentences corresponding to Standard English sentences where
the main verb is a form of the verb to be (copula), the negative indicator
not often occurs by itself. This pattern is, of course, consistent with
what was mentioned about corresponding positive sentences earlier:

>   that not a church
>   this high and that not high
>   that not a cow
>   'e not drunk now
>   'e not down there.

26. Similarly, not is used with continuous (-ing) forms of verbs without being
preceded by a form of the verb to be:

>   I not going there
>   when you not looking
>   we not playing soccer.

In areas where creoles are spoken, viz. in the Kimberleys, in the Northern
Territory and in North Queensland, Aboriginal Children's English often displays
several of the features of the creole. Some of these features, especially bin
as illustrated below, occur also outside present-day creole-influence areas.

27. The past tense is often expressed by the form bin (stemming from Standard
English been) used as an indicator of past tense, together with an unin-
flected (invariable) form of the main verb:

>   I bin get a big fish
>   Stephen bin hit me
>   they bin climb up a big hill
>   I bin get a little baby dingo
>   'e bin fall down.

28. Bin is also used as the main verb of a sentence, where Standard English would have was:

> 'e bin dirty sand (*it was dirty sand*)
> 'e bin hospital then.

29. Less commonly, sentences with noun phrase objects have transitivity marking on the verb. The transitivity marker is mostly the suffix -im:

> 'e bin givim me money (*he gave me money*)[12]
> we bin go takim cake for 'im
> they didn't seeim that little flagon.

30. In the Kimberley area possessives are often expressed by adding the word for (sometimes pronounced as por) before or after the possessor noun:

> I know who-for birthday was last night
> 'e for Sarah sister
> long time he was for my sister husband.

31. Kriol-influenced personal pronouns frequently appear in Aboriginal Children's English in Kriol-speaking or adjacent areas:

> mipela (we, exclusive) went to Derby
> where youfela went?

32. The word la or longa is used in Kriol-speaking areas in a locative or allative function:

> Mr M. bin knock Cathy with a ball...knockim right la guts
> 'e bin make a hole longa dat wagon
> go la nother tree.

33. The word gotta (written in Kriol as gada) often has two separate functions in Kriol-speaking areas. The first is a future function:

> if you kick him here you gotta kill'im.

34. The other is an almost prepositional function, originating probably from an embedded relative clause. This use of gotta corresponds to Standard English with:

> he come gotta meat every day
> (that's) a train gotta two eye
> Billie got him gotta net.

35. Did is used as a past tense marker in areas where bin also occurs with the same function possibly emerging as a transitional past tense marker replacing bin under the influence of formal language instruction in Standard English. The past tense forms with did are identical, of course, with emphatic past tense forms in Standard English, but without performing an emphatic function:

> but a big truck did come
> and then he did go there.

The foregoing represents a review of some of the many grammatical features of Aboriginal Children's English. We have seen that, by comparison with Standard English, Aboriginal Children's English shows a tendency to simplify grammatical form while mostly retaining important meaning distinctions. In some cases, especially in creole-influenced varieties, Aboriginal Children's English actually shows formal marking of meaning distinctions in addition to those made by Standard English (e.g. transitivity, exclusiveness of first person plural pronoun and other features not illustrated here).[13] We cannot, in a brief paper, review syntactic processes such as embedding, expression of conditionality, coreferentiality and concession but it should be mentioned that in our studies we have found evidence that complex syntactic and/or logical relationships often underlie what may appear to the casual observer to be 'disjointed' short sentences because of the non-standard ways in which these relationships are expressed. There is a need for much further study in the area of the syntax of complex sentences in Aboriginal English before statements comparable to Labov's (1970) can be made about the logic of Aboriginal English, but even at this stage it is clear that the most important logical/syntactic relationship can be and are expressed in Aboriginal English.

A sketch of grammatical features, even if it were more detailed than the present one, cannot by itself adequately convey to the reader the character of Aboriginal Children's English speech. Mention must be made of at least some of the numerous distinctive vocabulary usages as well as some features of discourse.

In all geographical areas, there are many words used in the English speech of Aboriginal children which are 'borrowed' from traditional Aboriginal languages and retained as part of the Aboriginal English vocabulary in the particular region:

> my daddy...'e bin chase that karlaya (*emu*)
> we bin kill one kurrumantu (*goanna*)
> you know this wati...this guy here.

Many English words are used in combinations or in senses that differ markedly from corresponding words or expressions in Standard English. Meanings can be indicated here only with very rough glosses as each expression would have to be illustrated in a number of different contexts if a more accurate indication of its full meanings was to be achieved. Some examples are:

Expression in Aboriginal Children's English	Rough gloss
big mob	*many, much*
big shame	*embarrassment*[14]
tell-lie	*pretend*
jar (verb)	*scold*
police	*policeman*
that kind, that kine	*that way*
cousin brother	*cousin or parallel cousin*
dust (verb), give big dust	*overtake a car on a dusty road*
morning time	*morning*
afternoon time	*afternoon*
growl (transitive verb)	*scold*

There are many distinctive vocabulary usages even in Southern urban areas where the Aboriginal Children's English would display few if any grammatical features that are different from General Australian Non-Standard English. These distinctive vocabulary usages are deeply rooted in Aboriginal life. Everyday kin terms in particular are used with meanings fundamentally different from their meanings in Standard English. For example, Nyungar (south-western) Aboriginal children use the term granny to cover all male and female relatives of their grandparents' generation, viz. FM, MF, MM, FF, MMB, MMS, FMB, FMS, MFB, MFS, FFB, FFS. Little granny denotes any child relative in the grandchildren's generation, male and female. In the north-west of Western Australia the term granny or nanny is used in the senses of both Nyungar granny and little granny.[15]

We have so far given lists of isolated items and have quoted brief sentences from a large number of speakers. A few examples of extended, continuous narrative told by individual speakers will now be presented to convey to the reader some impression of the expressive potential of Aboriginal Children's English.

The first excerpt is a story told by an eight-year-old boy in a desert location:

> We 'ent with Mr D. in the...Landrover and...when we was
> goin' fast Mr D. went sliding round an' 'e come back over
> the same road and go over the little creek and go all the
> way follow the pipe up and we went to the big hills then
> we turn around to the big hill and turn and Mr D. 'e tell
> us to jump off and we, me, Johnny and Simon an' Jamie we
> 'as running down fast and I got that big tree knock it down
> with my hand...lift it up and the Landrover was coming down
> to the big hill and it come down to a big hill and after 'e,
> Mr D., got all the wood and put it on top of the Landrover
> and after, me and Simon and Jamie went to the pipe all the
> way up, standing on the pipe going home and I went through
> the tree, all the leaf fall down — 'e never fall down 'e
> was sticking out — and I was holding on the tree and I
> nearly fall down.

The second excerpt spoken by a ten-year-old girl in a north-west coastal town displays a vivid narrative style, using direct quotes for dramatic effect as the speaker describes a film she had seen:

> I was watching picture and dis Bob, 'e bin hit dis man and
> dat girl 'e said "You gonna marry me?" an' e said "No...I
> got one already" an' den 'e bin jar'im off an 'e bin say
> "Oo's you? Oo's you? Get out!" an dese little fellas
> gotta peep at the window and dis girl bin see dem peeping
> an' one gotta long hair an 'e said "Where's de sheep?" an
> dis fat fella an dis nother fella dey say "Where's de
> sheep?" and dey's taking all de sheep in de bush an drown
> 'em an' after...I said "Da's a 'orrible picture ini".

Another excerpt by the same speaker, a story told a few minutes later, shows a choice of verb forms less marked by Kriol influence:

> ...it was a sad picture an' I was watching it an I goin'
> to sleep an' I said "I'm not going to sleep, I better
> wake all'time" an' Anne was sleep an' I din' wan'im to tell
> Anne we gonna go home for sleep-time. She still sleep an'
> ...Noeline was there and Jane an' they was lookin' after us

> ...when Anne was goin to sleep 'e's goin' to sleep good
> when 'e's watching a picture...an' after she (Jane) said
> "Oo's missin, oo's missin?" and' after Jane brings her
> home...she was sleeping on de road and when she tryna go
> home Jane said "Wake up, wake up, we're not your servant
> to take you home" an' after...I said "Where youfella went?"

The next excerpt comes from a nine-year-old in the East Kimberleys:

> Dis uncle Dan when 'e came back from dis pub he was just
> getting at dis mob place just next to the hotel there...
> what now?...dis one girl chased 'im back an...'e was
> running an' when 'e bin just get down dere la reserve...
> that girl bin singing out "Dan! Dan!" an' Dan bin look
> back an' fin' that girl got no face an' 'e jus' run an'
> all the dog bin barking at that spirit then!

The fourth excerpt comes from an eight-year-old girl from the West Kimberleys:

> You know my granny...'e stay with Theresa an' 'e name
> Edna an' firs' when my Mummy bin get me you know when I's
> a little baby, my mummy bin wan' to call me Sandra you
> know...wanna call me like that an' granny Edna 'e did say
> "Oh, give name Edna like me!"...granny say like that an'
> granny had to get wild an' 'e come in growling Mummy,
> Daddy for me...to be Edna.

Finally, an excerpt from a twelve-year-old speaker from a small town in the desert whose speech comes closer to General Australian Non-Standard English than that of the previous speakers:

> On the holidays I went with Mildred and on the last week-
> end we went to the races and there was races there all the
> horses raced...and we was walking round and after we had
> to walk home...we was walking home and on Sunday we played
> cubby house...there was a tent and we were sitting inside
> the tent and all the girls are sitting in the tent and all
> the boys are gettin' wild and they was throwing stones on
> the tent and Susan was gettin' wild...she went and told
> her mother...and her mother came and growled at the boys
> and we was singing inside the tent and we was making them
> wild...

In concluding this brief sketch of Aboriginal Children's English, some general aspects of communicative behaviour must also be considered as these have a bearing on communication problems which may arise between Aboriginal children and their non-Aboriginal teachers.

Non-Aboriginal Australians brought into contact with Aboriginal children for the first time, e.g. newly appointed young school teachers, often remark on the difficulty they have in communicating, not so much because of the form of the children's English, but because of differences between themselves and the children as regards assumptions concerning general patterns of communicative behaviour. The children may show reluctance to look at and respond to the unfamiliar adult who addresses them, especially if they are singled out for attention in the presence of their peers. They may speak extremely softly and fail to respond to requests to repeat. Sometimes several Aboriginal children may respond as a group, all apparently talking at once or in very quick suc-cession, supporting each other in telling a story or giving information.

Aboriginal children, even those who speak only English, are heirs to tradi-
tional patterns of speech use of great subtlety and complexity. In Aboriginal
society all aspects of speech use are carefully controlled, with the controls
extending to who may speak to whom, about what topics, when, in whose presence
and in what way. Speech restraints may be associated with kinship relation-
ships, name taboos (associated with deceased persons) and with traditionally
restricted subject matter. Speech behaviour may also be affected by a differ-
ent understanding of group relationships. For example, it may be unacceptable
for a child to walk across a conversing group or for an addresser not to be at
the same (physical) level as the addressee, while it may be quite acceptable
for an addressee not to respond to a question or for an audience to be inat-
tentive while being addressed.

Aboriginal children are much more likely to talk freely when they have the
initiative and when they are free to contribute speech without being singled
out. In their play, they are often highly verbal and in certain settings will
tell stories to one another for hours on end. They are, however, highly
sensitive to 'shame' which may be occasioned by being made unduly prominent
in the presence of their peers. They also may take time to adapt to unfamiliar
addressees and conventions of speech use.

We hope to have provided the reader with at least an introduction to the nature
and character of Aboriginal Children's English especially as spoken in Western
Australia. In order to examine the educational implications of the existence
of the dialect, it will now be necessary to add some general observations to
our sketch.

The Aboriginal-English-speaking child, upon entering school, is fluent in his/
her own dialectal form of English. It is the language in which he/she obtained
his early socialisation and in which he formed his concepts. It is the lan-
guage which had, up to that point adequately served his communicative needs.
Upon entering school, the child is gradually made aware of there being sub-
stantial differences between the form of English that is spoken in his home
environment and the form of English spoken by the schoolteachers and eventually
expected to be used in all school learning and communication.

In areas where Aboriginal English is spoken by an entire speech community, the
child may go through various stages of language development not only in
Standard English, but also in Aboriginal English. It is not often realised
by teachers that certain non-standard forms represent a high degree of gram-
matical sophistication and that children develop these only at certain stages
during their primary school years.

A further point to note is that every individual child's speech displays a
certain amount of fluctuation between the use of Standard English and Aboriginal
English features as we have seen in all the examples given in this paper. There
is a great deal of variation in the speech of an individual child depending
also on the context of the situation and the interlocutor or interlocutors. In
a recent study of verb forms used by seven children in a north-western coastal
town over a period of 18 months, we drew up what we called 'dialect profiles'
of each child. These profiles showed that the proportion of non-standard and
standard forms used in interaction with teachers was different for each par-
ticular grammatical feature. For example, an 11-year-old girl used 90.8%
non-standard forms for the third person singular present tense (Feature No.3)
of verbs and 96.6% of her questions were constructed in one of several non-
standard ways (Features No. 15, 16, 21 and 24). At the same time, 67.6% of

her past tense formation was standard. Such discrepancies in the proportion of standard versus non-standard forms in the speech of individual children have important implications for the English teacher as we shall point out later in this paper.

What, then, are the educational implications of the linguistic situation just outlined? This question may be best approached by considering the teacher's task in relation to the children's language development in English.[16]

There can be little doubt that one of the most important duties of teachers of Aboriginal children is to promote the development of Standard English so that Aboriginal children are not disadvantaged with regard to employment and other opportunities in the wider community. At the same time, the teacher's task also involves facilitating and promoting the child's general intellectual, social and emotional development and imparting the skills of literacy and numeracy and some basic orientation in physical and social space and time.

The educational problem that arises in this situation is that the two tasks, viz. teaching Standard English on the one hand, and promoting the child's general intellectual/social/emotional development may be in conflict, particularly if the teacher is insensitive to the role and importance of Aboriginal English in the life of the child and of the community. If the teacher promotes the development of Standard English in a way which makes the child feel that his own dialect is inferior or worthless, then the child will simply withdraw from communication as much as possible in the given circumstances. This, in turn, can produce a situation in which not only the learning of other skills suffers, but, indeed, the learning of Standard English itself suffers as languages can only be learnt through a great deal of interactive practice. It is therefore of paramount importance that the teaching of Standard English proceed through methods that ensure that the child's self esteem and his regard for his own and his peers' and elders' speech do not suffer.

The teacher's task, then, is a very demanding one, requiring highly developed and specialised skills in teaching Standard English as a Second Dialect (TSESD), a special branch of Second Dialect (D_2) teaching. D_2 teaching is different in its scope and methodology from both Second Language (L_2) teaching and from the fostering of the development of the mother tongue in children from Standard-English-speaking backgrounds (L_1 teaching).

We have explored the differences between D_2 teaching on the one hand and L_2 teaching on the other elsewhere (Eagleson, Kaldor and Malcolm 1983) in some detail. Here we would merely like to emphasise the importance of teachers receiving adequate preparation in their training in this newly developing branch of Applied Linguistics.

In addition to thorough training in D_2 teaching in general and in TSESD in particular, it is also essential for teachers of Aboriginal children to have at least a receptive competence in varieties of Aboriginal English so that they can readily communicate with Aboriginal children, wherever they may be posted. They must become familiar with the Aboriginal English meaning and function of certain vocabulary items of English such as kinship terms. They must become sensitive to different sociolinguistic patterns relevant to rules of speaking in Aboriginal communities, if they are to be successful in engaging Aboriginal children in classroom communication. They must have a good understanding of traditional and contemporary Aboriginal culture, so that they can understand the children's and their parents' motivations, aspirations, behaviour patterns

and attitudes. They must be aware of language development stages both in
Standard English and in Aboriginal English. They must be able to employ dialect
testing procedures so that they can recognise features of Aboriginal English
prevalent in their area. They also need to be able to draw up individual
speakers' dialect profiles so that they can concentrate on features of Standard
English which present the greatest difficulties to their pupils. They must
develop a sensitivity and perceptiveness towards the community's attitudes
towards Aboriginal English and Standard English and must themselves be accepting
of dialect differences. They must be able to appreciate creative language use
and language development not only in Standard English, but also in Aboriginal
English.

Once teachers have identified the nature of their task in terms of the dialect
distance between the language of the school and the language of the Aboriginal
school child, they may then select the most suitable curriculum designs, methods
and materials to help the children in acquiring Standard English. At present
there is a dearth of material suitable for TSESD work. Specially designed lan-
guage activity materials, possibly including audio-visual aids need to be
produced in greater quantity. Perhaps one of the most urgent needs is the
preparation of test materials for teachers' immediate use when they begin their
work. The authors are currently engaged on the preparation of test materials
in the form of a Dialect Distance Measure. It is hoped that such a test kit
will enable teachers to draw up individual children's dialect profiles without
delay upon beginning work with them and later use them also as a measure of
progress in Standard English.

Finally, educational planners need to address themselves to the general policy
question of what role to assign to Aboriginal English in the school curriculum.
TSESD is only a part of the entire task of helping Aboriginal children in their
language development especially if language development is seen as an aid to *all*
learning. A child's language habits cannot be changed overnight from the lan-
guage variety which is his mother tongue to the language of the school — nor
should they be. Sociolinguistic/educational linguistic research appears to
point to the fact that children learn better when they do not need to suppress
their mother tongues, be they L_1s or D_1s.

What, then, should be the role of Aboriginal English in the general school
curriculum? Should teachers merely 'accept' Aboriginal English or support it
and encourage creative expression in it? Should they use dialect readers in
the initial stages of reading instruction to facilitate the acquisition of
reading or should all reading be immediately in Standard English with the
teacher being 'lenient' when the child reads a text by 'translating' it into
his own dialect? There is a fair amount of discussion in the Applied Linguistics
literature of these questions in relation to teaching Standard American English
to speakers of Black English in the United States, but the matter needs to be
investigated afresh and independently in the Australian setting.

There are many questions which await enlightened discussion not only by teachers
and educators but also by members of the community. These questions need to be
raised and solutions need to be sought so that Aboriginal children do not suffer
disadvantage in the Australian education system.

NOTES

1. The data quoted or discussed in this paper were collected in the course of research projects sponsored or supported by the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs, the Education Research and Development Committee, Canberra, the Department of Anthropology, University of Western Australia and the Mount Lawley College of Advanced Education (now the Mt. Lawley Campus of the Western Australian College of Advanced Education). Many of the issues discussed in this paper and many of the research findings are reported also in other writings by the authors (e.g. Kaldor 1977, Kaldor and Malcolm 1979, Malcolm 1979a, Malcolm 1979b, Eagleson, Kaldor and Malcolm 1983). However, the present paper was specially written for this volume as a general summary and introduction and contains a number of issues not previously raised.

2. For recent reviews of the relevant literature see Eades (1983), Eagleson, Kaldor and Malcolm (1983) and Sandefur (1983b).

3. Hereinafter to be referred to as 'Standard English'. The problems of defining this speech variety are discussed in Kaldor (1980).

4. Features of a non-standard social dialect of Australian English are outlined in Eagleson (1976) and Bernard and Delbridge (1980).

5. In speech the term 'creole' and the label identifying North Australian Aboriginal creole, 'Kriol', can, of course, not be distinguished.

6. Harris and Sandefur (this volume); see also Mühlhäusler (1979).

7. For a detailed description of the contemporary situation relevant to Kriol, see Harris and Sandefur (this volume), Sandefur (1984).

8. We propose the use of the term 'General Australian Non-Standard English' to distinguish the social dialect identified by Eagleson (1976) and others from Aboriginal English.

9. It has been argued (Schumann 1978) that the process of acquiring a second language, at least in its initial stages, resembles the process of pidginisation. However, in the Australian context it is useful to retain a distinction between the development of interlanguages and the development of pidgins and creoles.

10. The form init occurs also in non-standard dialects in England and instances occur in texts quoted by Barnes and Todd (1977) and Walker and Adelman (1976).

11. Copula omission in these last two sentences is in contrast with corresponding sentences in North American Black English where copula omission does not occur in stressed positions (see for example Labov 1972a).

12. The transitive marker may sound to speakers of Standard English not accustomed to this pattern as though it was the suffix -ing and this sentence may be heard as though it was *He's been giving me money.*

13. For a detailed analysis of some features of this kind see Eades (1983).

14. The concept of big shame is far too important to be in any way conveyed by the English gloss *embarrassment.* For an elaboration of this concept see Eagleson, Kaldor and Malcolm (1983:99).

15.   We are indebted for these examples to Pat Baines, Department of
       Anthropology, University of Western Australia and Alan Dench, Department
       of Linguistics, Australian National University.

16.   In this paper we are not addressing the issues of language development in
       languages other than English and consequently questions relevant to
       bilingual education.

REMNANTS OF KANAKA ENGLISH IN QUEENSLAND

Peter Mühlhäusler

1. INTRODUCTION

The term 'remnant' in the title of this paper can be understood in a number of senses, all of which will be considered here. First, it refers to the fact that Kanaka English has survived in a few small pockets, though it is rarely used actively; second, Kanaka English has left very substantial traces in other languages, most notably Torres Straits Broken (see Shnukal 1983b) but also in other Australian pidgins and creoles. Third, remnants of the language have been preserved in many written documents and continuing research on these is likely to give us a clearer picture of what the language was like when it was actively used by the Melanesian community of Queensland.

The present paper is very much in the nature of a summary and update of work carried out by Dutton (particularly 1980) and the author (e.g. Mühlhäusler 1981; Dutton and Mühlhäusler 1984). Many areas of Kanaka English remain ill understood and in my conclusions I shall point to a number of research projects which need to be undertaken. Finally, I would like to point out that in writing this paper, I have been drawing heavily on the work of investigators other than myself, in particular Tom Dutton (Australian National University) who has been kind enough to make available to me his unpublished notes and materials.

2. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SOCIOHISTORICAL BACKGROUND

When languages meet, as can be seen from the various papers in this collection, a number of consequences can occur, ranging from the replacement of older languages by the new intrusive system to peaceful co-existence in a stable bilingualism to the development of third systems. Which of these possibilities occurs depends on a complex array of external and internal factors such as are discussed in the sociolinguistic literature. Kanaka English, the pidgin language spoken by Melanesian workers in Queensland, is an example of the development of a new system in the first years of its life and one of decline and replacement in its later history. Both its external history and its structural properties are comparable to the Pidgin Englishes of the Samoan (see Mühlhäusler 1978) and New Caledonian plantations (cf. Hollyman 1976). Like those two places Queensland was also one of the main centres for the spread of Pidgin English in the Pacific, as the plantation workers took the language home with them on termination of their contract.

Between 1864 and 1904 more than 60,000 Melanesians were brought to Queensland to work on the sugar plantations and in other rural industries. A number of authors have given accounts of the labour trade ('blackbirding') and life on the plantations (e.g. Wawn 1973, Corris 1973, Evans et al. 1975, Parnaby 1964, and Saunders 1974). Price and Baker (1976:106-121) have compiled tentative statistics on the origin of the Queensland 'kanakas', as they are commonly called. Important data on the re-employment of Melanesians after the official expiry of their indenture is discussed by Shlomowitz (1981:70-91).

The recruiting pattern for the Queensland plantations is similar to that for the other Pacific plantation centres, i.e. a continuous shift from south to north, as illustrated in Table 1:

Table 1: Principal recruiting areas for Queensland	
up to 1866	Loyalty Islands
1867 to 1872	Loyalty Islands and New Hebrides
1873 to 1877	Northern New Hebrides and Southern Solomon Islands
1878 to 1882	Northern New Hebrides, Santa Cruz and Southern Solomons
1883 to 1887	Central and Northern Solomons, Papua New Guinea
1888 to 1892	Northern Solomons

Apart from the geographical patterns of recruitment, there are a number of other factors which have influenced the linguistic situation in Queensland. Concerning the composition of the people employed, one can introduce the following additional distinctions:

(i)   Dutton (1980) distinguishes three periods in the recruiting for Queensland:

  (a)   *Up to 1880* the majority of the recruits could not speak Pidgin English, though some of them must have had a smattering of the unstable early English-derived trade jargon used by sandalwood collectors, whalers and beche-de-mer fisherman. Such raw recruits were called nusam (from English 'new chum') on the Queensland plantations;

  (b)   *Between 1880 and 1900* a substantial number of recruits could speak Pidgin English, many of the black workers having been recruited for a second time, after serving a term of contract in Queensland itself or on some other plantation in the Pacific.

  (c)   *In the years after 1900* no more new recruiting grounds were opened up and the Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1901 meant the end of the system of recruiting Melanesian labourers for Queensland. In the years between 1900 and the repatriation of most workers in 1906, the vast majority of Melanesians on the plantations were old hands and time-expired men with a considerable knowledge of the stable Kanaka English spoken on the Queensland plantations; about 50% of the 9,327 workers employed in 1901 fall into this category (cf. Corris 1973).

However, a preliminary analysis of archival materials relating to the years before 1860 by Mühlhäusler and an examination of the social background of early recruiting by Dutton suggest that a revised account is called for. The factors which will have to be considered in such a new account are:

(i)   the fact that, even before the arrival of the first Melanesians in Australia, literary examples of Negro and/or Pidgin English were frequently found in the Australian press and literature, providing a model for such foreigner talk as occurred when contacts between whites and Melanesians were made.

(ii) Predating the official recruiting of South Sea Islanders there were frequent contacts and a fair amount of labour trade with areas such as the Loyalties. Of particular importance is the employment of Loyalty Islanders on board trading and recruiting vessels from about 1840 onwards.

To expand on the second point, it seems clear that Loyalty Islanders in particular were well placed to have an effect on the development of Queensland Kanaka English disproportionate to their numbers (as indicated in Price and Baker 1976). There are two points worth emphasising here:

(a)   Because Loyalty Islanders were used as labourers in the spreading sandalwood industry (e.g. quite large numbers were taken to Tanna) they must have been the principal agents of the spread of whatever kind of English was used in the southern New Hebrides *before* the beginning of the official Labour Trade to Queensland;

(b)   for that reason and because of the nature of unofficial labour trafficking and its duration, most able-bodied potential labourers for Queensland (from the Loyalty Islands) knew English of some form before the Queensland Labour Trade began. Thus, many of those recruited in the early period for Queensland were probably not as 'green' as has previously been assumed, and some kind of Loyalty Island Pidgin English was quite possibly the foundation of Queensland Kanaka English.

At present, available linguistic sources are insufficient to settle the question as to the impact of Loyalty Island Pidgin English on Queensland Pidgin English one way or another. The transcripts of two inquests involving Loyalty Islanders held in Queensland in 1868 suggest that they spoke a variety very close to standard English. Further archival research will be necessary to ascertain the nature of Kanaka English in the first years of its existence.

Recent research by Shlomowitz (1981) would seem to indicate that a second of Dutton's 1980 assumptions will have to be reconsidered. His figures appear to suggest that there was no straightforward gradual increase in the re-employment of Melanesians after the expiry of their indenture period. Thus the proportion of time-expired Melanesians in Queensland is estimated by Shlomowitz (1981:75) to have been:

1888-1802:	31-35%
1893-1899:	57-67%
1900-1901:	42-46%
1902-1904:	32-39%

There were also a number of different patterns in the geographic mobility of re-employed labourers. At this point too little is known to assess the linguistic relevance of this factor.

A second important pattern in the use of Melanesian labourers was their employment in different industries. Up to 1877 they were employed in both the pastoral industries of the Queensland interior and on the coastal plantations. After this date employment in the former was no longer legally possible. Saunders (1974:220-221) provides the following figures of Melanesians employed in different industries and/or positions:

Date	In pastoral industries	In other (mainly plantation and households) positions
1871	590	1,993
1881	545	4,472
1891	338	6,321

Because those Melanesians employed in the pastoral industries mostly worked inland it may be the case that they picked up much of their knowledge of Pidgin English from Australian Aborigines.

Attempts by Dutton and Mühlhäusler in 1978 to obtain spoken remnants of pastoral Kanaka English in inland Queensland were unsuccessful. However, more recent research by the same investigators in the archives of the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education at Toowoomba and in Brisbane resulted in a very small but promising body of material. Some preliminary findings include:

  (i)   Forms of Pidgin English appear to have been well established among both the Aborigines and the Chinese in the Darling Downs and presumably other parts of inland Queensland;

 (ii)   At least some Melanesians in the inland pastoral industry had previously worked on coastal plantations;

(iii)   There were frequent contacts between Aborigines, Chinese and South Sea Islanders.

It is too early to say anything about the direction of linguistic borrowing in this environment. However, it would seem reasonable to suggest that Queensland Kanaka English, in these early days, did not develop in total isolation from other varieties of Pidgin English. The three varieties of Kanaka, Aboriginal and Chinese Pidgin English may have had their most important encounter in the interior of Queensland.

Whereas the linguistic influence of pastoral Kanaka English has long disappeared, its use in the pearl fisheries of Northern Queensland and the Torres Straits have left more lasting traces. Price and Baker (1976) state:

> The pearling statistics of 1901 give 61 Rotumans and 436
> other Pacific Islanders ashore or at sea in the Queensland
> pearl fisheries. Moreover, as observers noted, there was
> appreciable movement from pearling to tropical agriculture
> and vice versa.

Exact numbers of even the proportions of ex-agricultural workers in the pearling industry remain to be established[1] as do temporal changes in the migration patterns of South Sea Islanders to the Torres Straits and Cape York. It appears that Kanaka English influence also differed within this group of islands. It was particularly strong, for instance, at St Paul village on Moa island which 'was officially founded in 1908 as a Church of England mission for those South Sea Islanders and their families who were allowed to remain in Queensland and after the deportation of most of their countrymen in 1906' (Shnukal 1983b:182). A preliminary comparison of Kanaka English and other pidgin Englishes in the Pacific confirms the very close linguistic similarities between the two languages (cf. Dutton 1980:107-108), but this will have to be confirmed with more detailed data.

The viability of a pidgin and its chance of becoming creolised very much depend on the relative distribution of males and females among its users. Schneider (1934:86) provides the following information:

Dates	Males	Females	Total
1868	1,536	7	1,543
1871	2,255	81	2,336
1876	4,938	170	5,108
1881	5,975	373	6,348
1886	9,116	921	10,037
1891	8,498	745	9,243
1901	8,380	380	8,760
1911	1,404	335	1,739
1921	1,350	537	1,887

The fact that less than ten percent of all recruits were female is indicative of the obstacles encountered by those workers who wanted to lead a normal family life on the plantations. The small proportion of females, together with the practice of employing labourers for limited short periods only, prevented the emergence of stable immigrant communities where nativised (creolised) varieties of Kanaka English could develop. As can be seen from the above figures, significant changes in this proportion occurred only after the majority of the Melanesians had been repatriated. Kanaka English was therefore already a doomed language when, for the first time in its existence, the opportunity arose to acquire a community of native speakers on the Queensland mainland.[2] During its 'life-cycle' as a pidgin, the linguistic independence of Kanaka English would seem to be closely related to the openness and closeness, size and stability of communication networks. Thus, in areas with high concentrations of Melanesians, the conditions for independent stabilisation and development were far greater than in areas where they had to continuously communicate with outsiders who spoke either standard English or a different pidgin. The available historical evidence suggests that the greatest chance for the development of a stable independent pidgin tradition existed in the Mackay and Bundaberg/Maryborough regions. It is in these areas, and in particular around Mackay, that remnants of the language have survived longest.

A final factor to be considered in our account of the historical setting of Kanaka English is the changes following the termination of the Queensland labour trade and indentured labour system. In the last years of labour

recruiting the majority of the plantation workers were 'old hands' and thus fully competent in Pidgin English right from the start of their employment. It appears that by 1900 Kanaka English was reaching the stage of an extended pidgin and there may even have been a trend towards creolisation. However, there was growing public pressure for a White Australia policy after 1900 which resulted in a decision to repatriate all Melanesian workers between 1904 and 1906. This move put a virtual end to the expansion of Kanaka English, as its main raison d'être, that of serving as a lingua franca on the multilingual plantations, ceased. However, contrary to the intentions of the Queensland Government and contrary to what is believed by many white Australians, not all Melanesians were sent back between 1904 and 1906. The numbers of those that remained are estimated at between 1,500 and 2,000. Most of them had been granted exemption from deportation whilst others simply hid in the hills and bush for a few years. The precise number of descendants is estimated at somewhere between 8,000 and 20,000. Most of the Melanesians reside in Mackay, Ayr, Ingham and some of the smaller rural centres of northern Queensland.

The history of the Pacific Islanders in this country is only beginning to become known. As these people were 'fringe dwellers in a social and cultural as well as a geographical sense' (Mercer and Moore 1978:93), they were virtually ignored by both government agencies and scholars. In the last few years, however, historians from a number of Australian universities, in particular the James Cook University of North Queensland, have begun to investigate their history; their linguistic and sociolinguistic history is now being researched by Dutton and myself. With the appointment of a Commissioner for Pacific Islanders by the Queensland Government in 1977 came official acknowledgement of the special sociopolitical situation of the Islander community, though many of their problems remain unsolved (cf. Peacock 1977).

The dramatic drop in numbers in the early 1900s put the viability of the community in doubt, in spite of the fact that the ratio of males to females was more favourable (about three to one) than at any time in the past. Thus, whilst the parents in many Melanesian families spoke to one another in Kanaka English, thereby providing the preconditions for this language to become a creole, they discouraged their children from using it. Instead they urged them to learn proper English at school or from their school-going older siblings. The negative attitudes of the parents were reinforced by the fact that most Melanesian children went to white state schools where both teachers and peers looked down on Kanaka English.

3.   LANGUAGE DECLINE AND DEATH

The fate of Kanaka English on the Queensland mainland was one of rapid disappearance. It was functionally dead a long time before the last surviving labourers brought to Queensland died in the 1960s. Dutton and Mühlhäusler (1984) suggest that the changeover from Kanaka English to Australian English appears to have involved a number of different processes, including:

- (i)   the gradual merger of Kanaka English with English in a kind of post-pidgin/post-creole situation;

- (ii)   a continued period of bilingualism and bidialectism;

- (iii) language shift, i.e. rapid wholesale replacement of one language by another.

Table 1: Language decline and death among the Melanesians of Mackay

Kwailu ▲·● Arranani I
S/S S/S

Harry ▲·◑ Grace II
S/S S/S

Norman △ O   Grace ◐·△   Winnified ◐·△   Christian △·O   Olivier-Noel ▲·◑   Muriel ∅·△   Harry ▲·O   Matthew ◐·▲·◑   Charles △·O   Valroy ▲·O

speak vernacular and Pidgin
speak vernacular, Pidgin and English
speak Pidgin and English
understand Pidgin, speak English
speak English exclusively

Ab Aborigine
Ac White Australian
c Chinese
M Malay
Nc New Caledonia
s Solomons
v Vanuatu
Wi West Indies

(From Jourdan 1983:78)

Details of one instance of the decline of Kanaka English have since been made available by Jourdan (1983) who concentrates on Mackay, one of the main centres of the sugar industry. It appears that after a brief period of bilingualism and bidialectism, extending for no more than three generations, a total shift to English monolingualism occurred. This shift is illustrated in Table 1, translated from Jourdan (p.78).

It is likely that this process was repeated in the other areas of the Queensland mainland where Kanaka English had previously been spoken. As regards the linguistic nature of this language decline, we have an excellent analysis by Dutton of the last surviving first generation speakers of the language. Dutton's recordings were made in 1964 around Ayr. His findings have since been published in the form of an extensive monograph (1980). Dutton (p.9-10) observes that his two main informants, both aged over 90 in 1964, 'spoke the kind of English that is recorded herein as their everyday language until their deaths'. The great age of the informants and the fact that these texts were elicited in a fairly formal manner by a white person[3] means that Dutton's recordings have to be interpreted with some care.

Of particular importance is the question whether the variability and frequent loans from English found in his data are a result of linguistic decline or whether such variability had always characterised Kanaka English. A partial answer can be given by referring to Sankoff's (1980) analysis of a large body of data, the interviews contained in the 1885 Royal Commission. Concentrating on a number of non-English features in the speech of the workers interviewed as well as the two main black Government interpreters, Sankoff finds a considerable degree of variability in these early texts. This can be seen from her table (1980:145):

Table 2: A continuum of non-English features in the speech of interpreters and witnesses to the Queensland Royal Commission (1885)			
	Diene	Cago	32 Workers
Missing English determiners	49% (248)	66% (115)	82% (272)
'me' as a subject pronoun	0.3% (305)	3.2% (312)	7.6% (299)

Sankoff (1980:152) comments after her analysis of a number of diagnostic features:

> We do not know how many of the 480 Melanesians in our sample "got stuck" with an individual, macaronic version of English heavily influenced by their native grammars. Or how many eventually learned English. But it is clear that they were evolving common strategies for speaking "English" that derived neither from English itself nor from their own grammars. (It is unlikely, for example, that anyone's Melanesian grammar contained O first-person subjects yet had pronominal second and third persons — nevertheless that was a pattern that a number of speakers from different language backgrounds came to follow in 1885). It is also clear that crystallization and stabilization of new linguistic conventions did emerge

on the plantations of the southwestern Pacific, probably
for the reasons suggested by Churchill (1911) and Reinecke
(1937; 1938) though three to fourteen months may not have
been enough time for amny young men to pick up enough
"English" to communicate with English speakers, a three
year indenture period was time enough for most to learn
to communicate with each other.

A high degree of variability is also observed for other text samples relating
to the period before 1906[4] and in the speech of second and third generation
speakers of Kanaka English recorded by Dutton and Mühlhäusler in 1978.   Fuller
details are given in Dutton and Mühlhäusler (1984).

One may conclude, tentatively, that the existence of Kanaka English has always
been precarious.   The pressures from the target language English may have some-
what receded during the time of its greatest stability on the sugar plantations
between about 1880 and 1900 but the English model was never withdrawn.   Moreover,
it appears that many of the workers indeed wanted to speak English and themselves
believed they did.   The decline of the language in the years after the repatri-
ation of the Melanesian workers thus accelerated existing trends rather than
creating a totally new situation.

There has been some disagreement as to whether Kanaka English has indeed died
in mainland Queensland.   One voice which disagrees with this proposition is
that of Clive Moore who, in his review of Dutton (1980), observes (1982:92):

> Based purely on my subjective impressions (after many years
> of involvement with the Islander community in Queensland)
> and not through any formal linguistic evidence, I disagree
> with Dutton's conclusion on the decline and gradual disap-
> pearance of Kanaka pidgin English.   What Dutton and his
> colleague Peter Mühlhäusler failed to detect was that
> later generation speakers use a variety of pidgin English
> that appears to include the Lammon/Santo type of pidgin,
> but mixed with various types of Aboriginal and Torres
> Strait Islander pidgin English, forming whas has become
> a North Queensland black creole.

> During the 20th century descendants of the immigrant
> Melanesians have predominantly married within their own
> community as well as with the Aboriginal and indigenous
> Melanesian (Torres Strait Islander) population in North
> Queensland.   The result has been that the younger Islanders,
> as well as speaking standard English, use a creole language
> among themselves and in the wider black community.   This
> North Queensland black creole provides a sense of identity
> for the north's black community; a private language which
> can be spoken in front of, but over the heads of most
> Europeans.   The development has important ramifications
> in terms of the development of black racial and cultural
> pride in an area of Australia well known for its racism.
> There is an urgent need for a detailed study of this lin-
> guistic development.

A satisfactory answer to Moore can only be given once a number of more funda-
mental problems of pidgin and creole linguistics have been sorted out, in
particular those of (i) identity of such languages over time and (ii) the

separation of quasi-continuous pidgin-creole complexes into separate languages (cf. Mühlhäusler 1984).

My own feeling is that Kanaka English is indeed dead (with the exception of a few speakers of the second and third generation of migrants) in mainland Queensland and that it has lost much of its former linguistic identity in the Torres Straits. It seems also unlikely that it has left many traces in other Australian Black Englishes such as Kriol, though this question remains to be settled.[5]

Equally complex is the question of what remnants of Kanaka English can be found outside Queensland, in the pidgins that have since developed in former recruiting areas and, in the case of Fiji, another plantation area. The general pattern for the Queensland plantations is similar to that found on all Pacific plantations using indentured labour in that a term of contract lasted for about three years. Thereafter one generation of workers returned to their islands and another group of workers, either from the same place or from a different one, was recruited. Returning 'old chums' were the main reason for the spread of stable Pidgin English to areas such as Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides), the Solomon Islands and, to a lesser extent, the Torres Strait Islands. As many of these recruiting areas are characterised by extreme linguistic diversification, Pidgin English typically assumed the role of an indigenous lingua franca and as such has developed into highly structured extended pidgin languages such as Papua New Guinean Tok Pisin or Vanuatu Bislama.

In most instances, Queensland Kanaka English merged with other varieties and/or was subjected to considerable substratum influence once transported back home. Thus, whilst demonstrating considerable affinities with Kanaka English, as shown by Dutton (1980:107ff), languages such as Bislama or Solomon Islands Pidgin are by no means straightforward continuations.

The impact of Kanaka English on Tok Pisin, once thought to be a very significant one (cf. Wurm 1971 for comments), is even more tenuous. Recruiting from the area of former German New Guinea, the birthplace of Tok Pisin, to Queensland was restricted to the years 1883 and 1884 and involved mainly the geographically restricted area of the Tabar and Lihir groups of islands east of New Ireland. Tapes of old speakers from this area sent to me by Mr Clive Moore do not appear to exhibit traces of lexical or structural influences from Kanaka English.

Re-employment of Queensland kanakas in the Fiji sugar industry appears to be a different case, however. As pointed out by Siegel (1984), a large-scale influx of ex-Queensland Melanesians occurred between 1900 and 1910 and many of these remained in Fiji. Fieldwork carried out by Siegel in 1982 failed to find any Kanaka English actively used among the descendants of the Queensland workers. The reasons for this are given in the following case study: (p.49)

> The information given by Jone Gagalia of Wailoki near
> Suva is typical. Even though both his parents were from
> Malaita, they spoke to him only in Fijian. They used their
> Malaitan language only with *wantoks* of the same generation.
> Other Malaitans who had worked in Queensland, such as Jone's
> uncle, knew pidgin English, and often used it to talk with
> fellow ex-Queenslanders. But they quickly learned to speak
> Fijian when they arrived, and if they married, they never
> used pidgin English to their children, only Fijian, or

Pidgin Fijian (Siegel forthcoming). Some Europeans did
speak Pidgin English to the ex-Queenslanders, but these
were only ones who had been to the Solomons or Queensland.

One may conclude then' that Kanaka English as a separate linguistic entity is no
longer used, either in its place of origin or in the various areas to which it
was subsequently transported. However, the influence of this language on other
pidgins has been substantial and a detailed comparative analysis of pidgins
such as Torres Straits Broken, Solomon Islands Pidgin, or Bislama is likely to
lend linguistic support to this claim.

One cannot exclude the possibility that some form of Pidgin English will be
revived within the Melanesian community of Queensland. However, such a pidgin
would not be a direct continuation of old Kanaka English but rather an adaption
of those spoken in the Solomons and Vanuatu which many Queensland Melanesians
have encountered during their frequent visits to their ancestral countries.
Other sources for such a new Melanesian pidgin would be Aboriginal and Torres
Straits varieties.

4. COLLECTING REMNANTS OF KANAKA ENGLISH

The linguistic documentation of Kanaka English is as yet rather uneven and it
would seem desirable to have a fuller account of its developmental and social
varieties. The methods available to the linguist include:

> (i)   participant observation
>
> (ii) elicitation and formal interviews
>
> (iii) archival work
>
> (iv) comparative linguistics and internal reconstruction

as well as several others not applicable to the study of Kanaka English. Of
these four methods the first one is the most difficult, given the fact that the
language is very rarely used by its few second and third generation speakers.
Nevertheless, researchers who have spent a long time with the Melanesian com-
munity of Queensland, such as Clive Moore, have made a number of very inter-
esting observations. No doubt a professional linguist could still obtain some
data of value, though it must be stressed that the conclusions one reaches for
a language that has been reduced to a small functional niche are not directly
applicable to the stage at which it was widely used in a functioning community
of speakers. In particular, idiolectal 'deviations' from previous norms are
likely. The problem of obtaining samples of 'natural speech' for Kanaka English
are those faced by anvone working with a dying language (cf. the various articles
in Dressler, ed. 1977).

Elicitation and formal interviews have been carried out with considerable success
by both Dutton and myself. The general problems encountered when doing formal
elicitation with pidgin speakers who also speak the superordinate standard lan-
guage are compounded, in the case of Kanaka English, by other factors, such as
severe memory limitations among the elderly informants, reluctance to admit a
knowledge of this language to white outsiders and the informants' readiness to
agree with the investigator.[6] Dutton (1980:vi et passim) has made many per-
ceptive remarks as to the pitfalls inherent in formal interviews.

During their fieldwork in 1978, Dutton and Mühlhäusler found an indirect approach of much greater use than direct elicitation. They also found that the use of a related Pidgin English such as Tok Pisin rather than standard English helped to relax the atmosphere whilst at the same time reducing the pressure from standard English. Some of the techniques developed by Labov for eliciting natural speech were found of great value (cf. Labov 1972b).

It is my view that a sufficiently large collection of spoken texts can still be obtained to gain a reasonable impression of what Kanaka English was like in the later years of its life cycle. However, the fact that both its function and linguistic nature have changed over time make it essential to supplement the 'quasi-synchronic' materials that can be obtained from the surviving speakers of the language with archival materials relating to earlier stages. Both Dutton and Mühlhäusler have been able to unearth a large body of written examples of Kanaka English, though we suspect that this is still only the tip of the iceberg. The following sources have been particularly valuable:

(i)   The various proceedings of Royal Commissions investigating the Queensland labour trade. These contain interviews with labourers from many areas. A linguistic analysis of the 1885 Royal Commission data is given by Sankoff. It could fruitfully be compared with those contained in the 1868 report. These reports are published in the Queensland Parliamentary papers.

Here follows an example (p.79 of the report of the 1885 Royal Commission):

No.39. — Aruneke (Arumeke), New Guinea, called and examined:

In what ship did you come? "Forest King".

From what place? Koiaburi.

What made you come? Boat came ashore; Charlie and two white men in it. Charlie talked. I did not understand him.

How did you get on then? He made signs and said "omahia"; he held up two fingers.

Did he give anything to you? Tomahawk, knife, pipe, tobacco, and matches.

Then you went? Yes; I think two moons.

For what did you think you were going? To see white man's country and come back.

How was "seeing white man's country" explained to you? Charlie talked Teste; I know a little.

Did the schooner sail then? Yes; and at another island we find missionary.

Did he talk to you? Yes; in Teste.

Did you understand him? A little bit.

What did you understand him to say? Charlie talked; he asked me two "omahia"; he held up two fingers. Harry does not talk my language.

What happened at Brisbane? Our names were written. I touched pen.

Who asked you to touch pen? Charlie.

Did he talk to you? He said, "Buggibuggi borima tol" [which means, "You go work for three years"], and I put down my head.

Do you understand "borima"? Yes.

How many did he tell you? Three; work there.

What did you say? [*Expressive pantomime of grief.*]

(ii)   Police and magisterial reports often contain verbatim statements of
       Kanakas. Usually, their place of origin is given. Here follow two
       statements by natives of New Ireland. The pidgin given here differs
       considerably from the Tok Pisin that was subsequently to develop in New
       Ireland:

       Warbaut, Polynesian labourer states: I am a native of New Ireland. I
       work long Mister Le Me know Umba. He make him hand long a neck. Me think
       him sick. He no go work yesterday. He stop long a house. When bell ring
       me come home and find Umba sitting up. He dead. Me say: Umba Umba. He
       no move, him dead.
       (29 March 1885, Albion, Queensland State Archives, Folio Jus/N118)

       Le Ang, New Ireland Islander, states as follows: Knew Lang Aroso, he my
       brother, I see him along hospital at M. sick, he been sick one week. He
       sick along belly, he die along hospital, I stop along hospital when he
       die, he no eat, too much sick, master been give him medicine, he die
       along belly; I see him put along ground. No one beat him that fellow,
       no one touch him, before, Lang Aroso been sick along Island.
       (8th January 1885, Queensland State Archives, Folio Jus/N174)

The author has a copy of the files examined in the Queensland Archives so far.
A very large body of data still remains to be looked at. Whilst these statements
contain much valuable information about earlier stages of Kanaka English they
suffer from two limitations:

(i)   Language forms other than standard English were rarely used before 1870
       because of government regulations. Thus, even Pidgin English-speaking
       witnesses are 'translated'. This policy is particularly bothersome as it
       drastically reduces the amount of useful data for the early formative
       years of Kanaka English.

(ii)   There is a considerable amount of distortion in the direction of standard
       English in many of the next samples. However, this problem can be attenu-
       ated by considering a sufficiently large sample.

All in all, further work in the Queensland Archives is likely to result in
valuable insights into the phase at which Kanaka English was used most widely.

As yet untapped is a further source, namely the materials of the Melanesian
Mission which operated among the Queensland Kanakas and which appears to have
made extensive use of Kanaka English in its pastoral work. Equally unexploited
are local newspapers. It is likely that our best chance of obtaining information
about the early stages of Kanaka English is a scrutiny of these, together with
published and unpublished writings in local history. Preliminary attempts
involving the newspapers of the Darling Downs suggest that usable information
is scattered and that one is facing a highly labour-intensive task. I have
passed on my requirements to a number of historians and I hope that some infor-
mation will come to me that way.

So far, the archival sources suggested all relate to mainland Queensland.
However, one should not forget that Kanaka English was transported to other

parts of the Pacific and that reports and even language samples can be found in materials relating to Papua New Guinea, the Solomons, Fiji and other areas.

To date, the extent of the materials and the very low yield they afford us have hampered progress. Whilst I am confident that much more can be learnt about the development of Kanaka English, I am equally aware of the fact that this will take a long time. As regards the final method of retrieving remnants of Kanaka Pidgin, the method of historical reconstruction, some progress has been made in recent years. Of particular importance are Dutton's preliminary remarks (1980: 107-110) and Clark's 1980 paper on Beach-la-Mar. The methods of traditional historical linguistics are not always easy to apply to pidgins and creoles, however, and a considerable development of methodology will have to take place before we can gain reliable insights into earlier stages of a language such as Kanaka English. As observed by Dutton (109-110):

> Finally, a word of warning to those who may be tempted to equate high degrees of similarity with closeness of genetic relationship. It may of course be so but here, where we are dealing with a set of language all based on English, the task of distinguishing between similarity due to genetic relationship (as indicated by shared innovations, etc.) and similarity due to common borrowing and/or convergence or drift, is particularly difficult, and may in fact be impossible. The case is in fact a particularly challenging one for the historical linguist.

We have now surveyed what remains of Kanaka English and discussed methods for unearthing further materials on this language. I hope not to have left the reader with the impression that this is a marginal academic exercise. Rather, it can be argued, a better knowledge of Kanaka English is needed for a number of reasons, including:

 (i)   The Queensland plantations were the largest focus of development of Pidgin English in the South-West Pacific and served as a centre of diffusion to many areas. Kanaka English is a direct or indirect ancestor to languages such as the official pidgins of the Solomons and Vanuatu.

 (ii) Kanaka English is part of the cultural heritage of the Queensland Melanesian community. The major contribution that this group of people made to the development of modern Queensland has yet to be recognised. Giving them access to their own history would be one way of acknowledging their role.

(iii) There is still an insufficient understanding of cross-cultural communication and a closer analysis of the Kanaka case could have far-reaching implications for problems in present-day Queensland, such as those of Torres Straits Islanders in the mainland towns. One lesson that can be learnt is that the migrant workers were not passive recipients of the crumbs that fell from their white masters' tables but rather active shapers of their language and social system, a fact which in the past has been ignored by ethnocentric white observers.

At present, our understanding of Kanaka English and its history remains patchy. However, there are good reasons for assuming that further research can give us a much better understanding of this language and its speakers.

NOTES

1. Shnukal (1983b), in discussing the origin of Torres Straits Broken, points out that the South Sea Islanders in the Straits came by various routes 'some came direct from Sydney; others via the canefields of Northern Queensland; yet others jumped ship at Thursday Island' (p.176).

2. It is possible that some creolised versions of Torres Straits Broken are direct continuations of Kanaka English. I cannot follow up this possibility here. For a general discussion of the problems involved in distinguishing different pidgin traditions see Mühlhäusler (1985a).

3. For Kanaka English as for other varieties of Australian Pidgin and Creole English there is a convention that it is not to be used to address or in front of Whites. Formal interview situations thus promote an unsystematic upward shift toward the acrolect.

4. Most of these come in the form of magisterial reports and short passages in literature. A substantial collection has been compiled by Dutton and Mühlhäusler. It still awaits a quantitative analysis of the type undertaken by Sankoff for the 1885 data.

5. Considerable progress has been made in Sandefur's M.A. (1984) and Harris's Ph.D. theses, the latter published as Harris (1985).

6. The rules underlying the asking of questions among Black Australians discussed by Eades (1982) also apply to many Melanesians. Fieldworkers are advised to take note of them if they are to avoid ethnocentric methods and interpretations.

KRIOL AND MULTILINGUALISM

John Harris and John Sandefur

ABORIGINAL MULTILINGUALISM

Kriol, as a 'new Aboriginal language' (Sandefur 1981), is now an integral component of the multilingual speech communities of the region in North Australia in which it is spoken. In one guise or another, the polylingual competence of Aboriginal Australians has been commented upon by many observers from the earliest days of European settlement. In some early writers, the observation took the form of noting the apparently superior language acquisition skill of Aborigines when compared with European colonists. The Aborigines of Sydney, said Collins (1798:544), 'have the advantage, comprehending, with much greater aptness than we can pretend to, everything they hear us say'. Curr (1887:2) noted that Aborigines were accustomed to hear and speak a number of languages and therefore were able to learn new languages more easily than the settlers.

Many early observers of Aborigines in what is now the Northern Territory, commented upon the fact that coastal Aboriginal people not only spoke their own languages but also spoke a Southeast Asian trade language (the 'Macassan' Pidgin) and often spoke English or an English-based pidgin as well (e.g. Earl 1842:140, Searcy 1909:36).

> The native of Northern Australia is intelligent and apt.
> His intelligence is manifested both in the daily concerns
> of life and in the acquisition of languages. Many of the
> natives speak two or three dialects; and some, in addition,
> speak English and Malay fluently. (Keppel 1853:157)

The focus of these observations was the ability of individual Aboriginal people to control a number of languages. Only recently has such competence been viewed as a manifestation of something of much greater cultural significance, the function of languages in multilingual Aboriginal communities. The last decade has seen a growing awareness of the importance of sociolinguistic research by linguists and anthropologists. The rather different perspectives on Aboriginal society demanded by land-claim research have begun to reveal aspects of Aboriginal multilingualism which had hitherto received scant attention. What is now being shown is that there is a deep and complex relationship between language and other highly salient aspects of Aboriginal culture including land, kinship, and identity (Sutton and Rigsby 1979, Rigsby 1980, Rigsby and Sutton 1981, Brandl and Walsh 1982, 1983).

An already complex situation of multiple language use in traditional Aboriginal speech communities has been made even more complex, in many cases, by social and demographic change and by the acquisition of new languages as a consequence of European settlement. As Brandl and Walsh (1982) point out with respect to Belyuen, many Aboriginal people now speak English and English-based languages in addition to traditional languages and these new languages have become yet another component of community multilingualism.

The purpose of this paper is to provide an initial and necessarily generalised account of some of the broad features of multilingualism in communities where one of the major languages is Kriol, the English-based creole of parts of the Top End of the Northern Territory and adjacent areas of Queensland and Western Australia.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

One of the consequences of nineteenth century European settlement of what is now the Northern Territory was the emergence of English-based pidgins. These converged by the end of that century into one widely-understood variety, Northern Territory Pidgin English. Conditions which would inevitably lead to creolisation first occurred in the Roper River region. The full history of this important event is given in J. Harris (1985) but a brief outline is given here.

The traditional multilingual speech community of the Roper River region included as its most immediate members, the Mara, Warndarang, Alawa, Ngalakan, Ngandi, Rembarrnga, Mangarayi and Nunggubuyu language groups. These people spoke each others' languages, a facility which they acquired over a lifetime of interaction.

They endured considerable hardship as the pastoral frontier moved into their region after 1872. By the end of the century, however, it appears that they had evicted most of the settlers. At this time, the normal opportunities of language acquisition had not been drastically affected. The traditional languages were still intact and Pidgin English had been added to the repertoire. Their apparent victory, however, was short-lived. The whole region was leased by the Eastern and African Cold Storage Company in 1899. The new lessees had no intention of allowing Aboriginal resistance to thwart their massive plan to carve out a pastoral empire from the Roper River north into Arnhem Land. The company employed hunting gangs of 13 to 14 men who systematically scoured the region on horseback and massacred the inhabitants in a war of extermination (Bauer 1964:157).

Those groups most directly in the path of the hunting gangs were almost annihilated. These were Ngalakan, Ngandi, Warndarang, Alawa and Mara. The western Mangarayi people were under the protection of Elsey Station but their eastern kinfolk suffered attack; the southern Rembarrnga and Nunggubuyu people were endangered while their northern members had the opportunity to hide in relatively inaccessible country.

The Church of England responded to the plight of Aboriginal people by establishing a mission on the Roper River in 1908. The mission station was immediately perceived by the local people as a refuge from attack. Within a few weeks some 200 had gathered there (Cole 1968). They were the remnants of the Ngalakan, Ngandi, Warndarang, Mara, Alawa, eastern Mangarayi and southern Rembarrnga and Nunggubuyu.

The region became somewhat safer in the next few years and some people moved away from the mission, but a large proportion of them remained. While the polylingual adults could communicate with each other, the children and young people could not. Thrust suddenly into permanent daily contact with other children whose languages they had not had time to acquire, it was these children who first began to creolise the pidgin. They and the generations which followed created Kriol. It is now the primary language of the Ngukurr community, the descendants of those who associated permanently with the mission in 1908.

The following table indicates present day usage of traditional Aboriginal languages at Ngukurr and within the surrounding region. The only one of these in regular use at Ngukurr is Ritharrngu, but this group has only relatively recently become associated with Ngukurr, having settled there in the 1940s.

Language	In regular use at Ngukurr	In regular use elsewhere	Remaining fluent speakers
Alawa	no	a little	30
Mara	no	a little	30
Warndarang	no	no	none
Ngandi	no	very little	5
Ngalakan	no	a little	25
Rembarrnga	no	yes	200
Nunggubuyu	no	yes	400
Mangarayi	no	yes	50
Ritharrngu	yes	yes	300

For all Ngukurr people, then, with the possible exception of some Ritharrngu speakers, Kriol is their primary language. It has been the primary language of that community for four generations and recognised as such by their more remote, traditional language-speaking neighbours who generally referred to it in the past as 'Roper Pidgin'. Only at Ngukurr does Kriol have such a time depth.

There are other communities where Kriol is the major language but it has been dominant for a much shorter period of time. Barunga [previously known as Bamyili], for example, is a second important but much more recent site of creolisation. Pidgin English was widely used in the region in the cattle industry, in the tin mines at Maranboy and around the township of Katherine. The pidgin did not undergo creolisation until the Second World War when huge military camps were set up in the region and large numbers of Aboriginal people were attracted to their fringes. Whereas the polylingual adults from language groups such as the Djauan, Maiali, Ngalkbun and Rembarrnga could communicate with each other, the children could not and creolisation of the pidgin of the military camps occurred very rapidly. A new factor at Barunga was that some of the people already spoke Kriol as a second language as it was not the language of their eastern neighbours. Creolisation, therefore, did not occur entirely in the absence of a model.

Pidgin English also underwent creolisation at other sites. Over the years which followed, movement of Aboriginal people along traditional lines together with movement in the cattle and other industries, led to a standardisation of the creoles, which were not dissimilar to start with. As Mühlhäusler (1985b) has recently argued, in Australia and the Pacific, pidgin and creole development has been characterised by convergence rather than divergence. This is not to

say that there is no variation. Ngukurr, Barunga and the Kimberleys, for example, have clearly recognisable regional dialects but they are sufficiently mutually comprehensible to be unarguably Kriol.

MULTILINGUALISM IN KRIOL-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES

For the purposes of this discussion, Kriol-speaking communities will be taken to be those communities where Kriol is spoken as a primary language or as a significant subsidiary language. The Kriol-speaking area thus consists of those communities where Kriol is a dominant language together with those neighbouring communities where it is spoken as a 'second' language.

Contemporary Kriol-speaking Aboriginal communities, following their long-standing tradition of multilingualism, are still basically multilingual in nature. It is true that there has been a net language loss in the sense that Kriol is now used in some communities where in the past several traditional languages were needed to fulfil the same communicative purposes. This does not, however, mean that the community is no longer multilingual. At the very least there is some control of both Kriol and English. There are also varieties and registers in Kriol itself, but this important aspect of Kriol is treated elsewhere (see Sandefur 1983a, 1984, Sandefur and Harris forthcoming). It can also be argued that in a geographical sense, the borders of the speech community have been extended. People of the Roper River region are now able to interact regularly with communities relatively remote from them, communities where traditional languages are still spoken but with whom, in the past, interaction was rare or non-existent. For example, in the distant past, there may have been only very restricted interaction between people of the Roper River region and people of Groote Eylandt. Now, thanks to modern transport and the relationship between the Anglican missions, interaction has become more frequent. Whereas Kriol may be the lingua franca of these interactions, it is also true that a number of Roper River people now have some passive knowledge of Anindilyakwa.

Aboriginal communities within the Kriol language area typically have speakers of several traditional languages as well as Kriol, Aboriginal English and English. In many of these communities, however, language changes are taking place such that polylingualism for the younger generation is not the same as it is for the older generation. Many older Aboriginal adults are truly poly-lingual, speaking traditional languages, but most people under 30, in communities where Kriol is a dominant language, can not speak a traditional language with any degree of fluency. These younger people tend to lean towards bilingualism, speaking Kriol and English. Many of the younger people do, however, have a passive knowledge of 'their' traditional language and sometimes of several others.

There are indications in some areas that some of these younger people develop a speaking competence in a traditional language, but only after they leave school and move into the adult world. In some communities it is generally socially unacceptable for children to speak a traditional language, although adults nevertheless expect them to have passive knowledge of it. Where the school has a traditional language revival program the children may speak a traditional language in school while role-playing, but in general they will not speak it outside such a context. Children at Noonkanbah, for example, will speak Walmajarri at school but not outside the school except for teacher games where the Walmajarri teacher is mimicked (Richards 1982). There is a parallel to this

in regard to the use of English between children. They will often freely use English with each other, instead of Kriol, while role-playing, but generally not at other times. In many cases parents or grandparents will not speak the traditional language with the children. Adults at Rockhampton Downs, for example, say they do not use traditional language with children until they get 'a bit grown up' (Glasgow 1984). This is often the case even with adults who lament the fact that their children or grandchildren do not speak their traditional language. Questioning adults as to why they do not speak the language to the children when they claim they want the children to learn the language brings a variety of responses, typically: 'It doesn't sound right to use it with them'; 'They don't understand it' or 'They've got to learn English first'.

Taking the example of language acquisition by male Aborigines, in traditional language situations a boy would learn his mother's language as his first language. At puberty, he would then learn his father's language, which would possibly be followed by several other languages. When he learnt his father's language, it would not replace his mother's language, which was his own first language, for the two served different roles. Nor could it accurately be claimed that his mother's language was a baby-talk version of his father's language. He learnt his mother's language as a child, and in that sense alone, it could be considered to be a child language, but it was not used exclusively with children. It was an adult language just as his father's language was, for to his mother's brother's children it functioned as *their* father's language. The relationship between Kriol and traditional languages is much more akin to the relationship between mother's and father's languages, rather than between adult language and baby-talk. Both are adult languages in the sense of being fully developed languages which are used by adults with adults, but a person would learn the one as a child and the other upon reaching puberty. Similarly, when Kriol-speaking children reach the 'new puberty' or marker of entrance into the adult world (i.e. reaching school-leaving age), they are then 'able' to learn other adult languages.

The role of Kriol in relation to the other languages which occur in the 250 Aboriginal communities throughout the Kriol language area varies from community to community. It is possible to divide the communities into four major categories according to the language which holds the dominant position. The dominant language is the stronger or main language, the one which carries more of the weight of the total communicative load of the overall community and is spoken more often and more fluently by more people than the other languages. The dominant code is basically the one which is overheard the most often on the streets and in the camps.

In the majority of the Aboriginal communities in the Kriol language area, Kriol is the dominant language. The recent survey by Glasgow (1984), for example, indicates that with the possible exception of Rockhampton Downs, Kriol is the dominant language in all of the Aboriginal communities in the Barkly Tableland area. There are no known communities, however, in which only Kriol is present. A generalised summary statement of the pattern of language use in communities in which Kriol is dominant would be as follows: virtually every Aboriginal in such a community speaks Kriol, younger ones as their first language and older ones as a second language with varying degrees of fluency. Older people speak a variety of traditional languages as their first languages, with some of the young people controlling a traditional language with varying degrees of fluency. Kriol is used by all Aborigines with all Aborigines, with traditional languages being used primarily by older Aborigines with other older Aborigines from the

same language group. In many cases, the strength of Kriol relative to particu-
lar traditional languages within a given community varies from language group
to language group. At Ngukurr, for example, Ngandi goes virtually unused while
Ritharrngu is used daily by some of those for whom it is their traditional lan-
guage.

Every Aboriginal community has some contact with non-Aboriginal English speakers.
Kriol is generally not used with these people, except by older Kriol speakers
who typically consider themselves to be speaking English when they, in fact,
speak Kriol. Most Kriol speakers attempt to learn English, usually compulsorily
through schooling, and achieve varying degrees of fluency in it. Their English
is usually reserved for use with whites or in white domains. Their English
speech is an interlanguage resembling the dialectal or codified mother tongue
variety of Aboriginal English. However, Aboriginal English as a mother tongue
is not normally present in such communities.

The next numerically largest group of Aboriginal communities in the Kriol lan-
guage area is on the edges of the region, communities where traditional languages
are dominant. One such community, for example, is Umbakumba on Groote Eylandt,
where Anindilyakwa is clearly the dominant language, not only among adults but
among children as well. Kriol is spoken, however, by many of the people as a
second language, being used primarily with relatives and friends in other com-
munities who do not speak Anindilyakwa. Another such community is Noonkanbah
(E. Richards, personal communication) where virtually all adults from mid-20 up
speak Walmajarri fluently. They use Walmajarri as their main medium of com-
munication within the community. Most can also speak Kriol, which they use
primarily with non-Walmajarri-speaking Aborigines. Some of the young people in
their late teens and early 20s speak both Kriol and Walmajarri, but the majority
speak Kriol exclusively to everyone. Children and young teenagers, even though
they are immersed in Walmajarri at home, speak Kriol exclusively, albeit with a
heavy borrowing of Walmajarri words. The role of English and Aboriginal English
in communities such as Noonkanbah is essentially the same as in communities in
which Kriol is the dominant language.

As with so many aspects of Kriol, there is not a discrete dividing line that
distinguishes between communities in which Kriol is dominant and communities in
which traditional languages are dominant, nor is the situation static. Virtually
all Aboriginal communities are undergoing changes in social structure, which in
turn affect patterns of speech usage. There are certainly a number of commu-
nities in which a shift towards Kriol is obviously taking place at the present
moment — that is, communities in which traditional languages are dominant but
the changing pattern is towards Kriol predominance at the expense of traditional
languages. Such change is characteristically distasteful and frustrating for
the older people who see their languages 'dying'. One community in which the
change from traditional language dominance to Kriol dominance is clearly taking
place is Numbulwar (S. Harris 1982). Numbulwar was established in the early
1950s as a mission primarily for Nunggubuyu people, but the mission was located
on Warndarang land. This arrangement worked well for over two decades, for
most of the Warndarang people were living at Ngukurr. After the death of the
Warndarang and Nunggubuyu patriarchs who had made the agreement which allowed
this system to work, and under the influence of the government's new land
rights legislation, the Warndarang people felt that it was necessary to dem-
onstrate actual residence on their own land. In the last 1970s many of them,
who are all mother tongue Kriol speakers, moved back to Numbulwar. Kriol had
been present at Numbulwar as a second language virtually from its establish-
ment, but Nunggubuyu had clearly been the dominant language. With the influx of

the Kriol-speaking Warndarang people, however, the situation is changing. Unless some language engineering takes place, such as the school implementing a strong Nunggubuyu language program, Kriol is likely to become the dominant language at Numbulwar within a generation. Already the children of Nunggubuyu-speaking parents are as much at home in Kriol as in Nunggubuyu.

In a third group of communities, Aboriginal English predominates. A survey of Queensland showed that in no community was Kriol *the* dominant language (Sandefur et al 1982). In those Queensland Aboriginal communities in which Kriol is the primary language of some members, a dialect of Aboriginal English is the dominant language. At Doomadgee, for example, it appears that a variety of Aboriginal English which is closely related to Kriol is the primary language of most of the Aboriginal residents. Many of them claim that their everyday speech is Kriol, but overt observation does not bear this out. Some of them can switch from Aboriginal English into Kriol, as well as into English. Their switch into English, as in the other types of communities, is primarily related to whites and white domains. There is, however, one section of the population whose primary language is not Aboriginal English — the so-called 'bottom-camp' residents. These people, although long-term residents of Doomadgee, were originally from the Northern Territory. The older adults speak a traditional language (Garawa or Yanyuwa) as their first language and Kriol as a second language. Among themselves they tend to use the traditional language, reserving Kriol primarily for use with anyone else. It has yet to be firmly established what the language of the children from the bottom camps is, but most likely it is the Aboriginal English of their peers from the majority section of the population. So far no Aboriginal community in the Northern Territory or Kimberley sections of the Kriol language area has been positively identified as having Aboriginal English as the dominant language. It may possibly be dominant in some of the far western Kimberley communities. Among people of mixed descent in some towns, however, Aboriginal English is dominant. It is unlikely that Kriol will become predominant among these people or in those communities in which Aboriginal English is dominant. The present trend seems to indicate that knowledge of Kriol as a second language in such situations is on the decline, although close study has yet to be made. Social factors, such as Aboriginal identity and having Kriol-speaking relatives, may provide enough impetus for Aboriginal English speakers to generally maintain a knowledge of Kriol.

The fourth type of community, which is not an Aboriginal community as such, is one in which English is the dominant language. All of the communities identified to date which fall into this category are towns. It should be noted, however, that English is dominant in these communities because the population is predominantly white. With very few exceptions, these whites speak no Aboriginal language and expect Aborigines to speak English to them. Throughout the Kriol language area, however, there are no *Aboriginal* communities in which English occupies such a dominant position.

CONCLUSIONS

'To be Aboriginal is to be multilingual' (Brandl and Walsh 1982:76). Despite massive social and cultural change, multilingualism is still the favoured Aboriginal response to the necessity to communicate with people of varying linguistic backgrounds. It is true that Kriol has replaced (and is replacing) a number of traditional Aboriginal languages but this does not mean that

multilingualism is no longer a key characteristic of Kriol-speaking communities. In these communities people generally utilise Kriol, but also use English, and continue to have at least a passive knowledge of traditional Aboriginal languages. Given the long history of multilingualism, it seems clear that Aboriginal people will not move towards English monolingualism but will prefer to use both Kriol and English where appropriate and, in many cases, will continue to use traditional Aboriginal languages as well.

MULTILINGUALISM IN THE EASTERN TORRES STRAIT ISLANDS
Anna Shnukal

INTRODUCTION[1]

Of the more than 200 islands and cays of Torres Strait, that stretch of water which separates Australia from Papua New Guinea, only 17 are now permanently inhabited. Fourteen of these are designated as 'reserve' islands, administered by locally elected councils and the Queensland Department of Community Services (previously known as the Department of Aboriginal and Islanders Advancement).

Although the major division in Torres Strait continues to be that between the eastern Islanders on the one hand, and the western and central Islanders on the other, it is more usual, on geographical, geomorphological, linguistic and cultural grounds, to group the 'reserve' islands into four, thus:

    (1) far western (Boigu, Dauan, Saibai)
    (2) near western (Mabuiag, Badu, Moa, Hammond)
    (3) central (Yam, Waraber, Purma, Masig)
    (4) eastern (Ugar, Erub, Mer).

The currently inhabited islands of the eastern group, which are the focus of this study, form a relatively cohesive sociocultural unit, although traces of earlier rivalries and tensions remain. Ugar (Stephens Island) is the smallest in both size and population; Erub (Darnley Island), the largest in area; and Mer (Murray Island) has the largest population.

The Islander population of Torres Strait in 1983, the latest figure available, was about 4,000, although at least twice that number have now settled on the Australian mainland. Since the mid 1960s, when Islanders were first permitted to travel to the mainland without a pass, there has been a steady haemorrhaging of population.

In 1949, almost 1,100 people lived in the eastern islands, 50 on Ugar, about 320 on Erub and some 720 on Mer.[2] By contrast, the respective populations in 1981 (with numbers of children attending school on the islands in brackets) were: 35 (4); 144 (51); and 188 (44). There was little change in 1982 and the 1983 populations were: 33 (Ugar); 171 (Erub); and 204 (Mer).[3]

LANGUAGES OF EASTERN TORRES STRAIT

The traditional language of the eastern islands is Meriam Mir (Miriam in early texts), which is related to the Papuan languages of the Fly River.

For about 120 years, however, Meriam Mir has shared linguistic space, initially with one or more stabilised varieties of Pacific Pidgin English, introduced by the South Sea Islanders who came to work in the marine industries, then with its descendant creole and, for the last 40 years, also with English.

Pacific Pidgin English, which creolised on Erub and Ugar around the turn of the century (Shnukal 1983b), has been described at various stages of its history by Ray 1907, Dutton 1970 and Crowley and Rigsby 1979. Called by its speakers Broken, Pizin, Big Thap, Ailan Tok and, most recently, Blaikman, it was influenced in its development by the area's two traditional languages, expresses a Torres Strait Islander world view and has become a pan-Islander marker of ethnicity and solidarity among the present generation. For these reasons, I shall refer to it here by the neutral term of Torres Strait Creole (TSC).[4]

REPLACEMENT OF MERIAM MIR BY TORRES STRAIT CREOLE

On Erub and Ugar, TSC has been the majority community language since around 1890, when the original inhabitants became a minority there.[5] Weight of numbers, the prestige accorded the South Sea Islanders (and therefore to their lingua franca) and the mistaken belief that this was English led the children of the Pacific immigrants to choose their fathers' common language in preference to that of their mothers. It is now the first language of every inhabitant of Erub and Ugar and has been so for four generations, the last native speakers of Meriam Mir on those two islands having died in the 1940s.[6] Linguistic shift on Erub and Ugar appears to have involved the gradual replacement of Meriam Mir by TSC equivalent vocabulary at the individual or micro level, a process which paralleled the societal or macro level adoption of TSC. While the grammar and lexicon were simplified, the semantics of the two languages were harmonised, with TSC being adapted (with the inevitable upwards and downwards generational restructuring) to the existing semantic structures of Meriam Mir. Communication was thus preserved between generations through grammatical simplification and relexification.

One example I was given will illustrate this gradual process of relexification using the phrase 'a very small one'. (In Meriam Mir, kebi means *small* and kebi kakale *very small*.) In the 1920s, when Meriam Mir was no longer used as the major community language on Erub and Ugar, people tended to say:

    <u>kebi</u> <u>kakale</u> wan   *a very small one*.

About 20 years later, most would have said:

    prapa smol <u>kakale</u> wan

whereas, by the 1970s this had become:

    prapa smol wan a

where prapa and single sentence-final a are intensifiers.

My claim that the semantics and pragmatics of the island traditional language were largely preserved is based on the absence of communicative discontinuity between the older language speakers and their TSC-speaking children, and on evidence that translation from Meriam Mir into TSC is comparatively straight-forward when compared with translation into English. In many cases, lexical replacement alone preserves the content of the original text. This is not to deny the affective difference between the traditional language and TSC, nor

that they occupy separate domains, but rather to contrast the relatively easy transference between Meriam Mir and TSC with the difficulties even well-educated Islanders have in expressing themselves in English. For most, even apart from the psychological barrier imposed by the current equation of English with acceptance of European values, English is truly a foreign language representing alien and uncomfortable modes of thought. Many Islanders have commented to me that one cannot express 'the same feelings' in English and TSC. The perceived correspondence between English and TSC (as opposed to that between TSC and both traditional languages) is small.

RELATIVE STATUS OF MERIAM MIR, ENGLISH AND TSC

The ability to speak good Meriam Mir and English is highly valued among eastern Islanders and confers status on their speakers. Perhaps that is why the amount of both languages reported to be spoken in each community is consistently exaggerated. TSC, however, is generally regarded by Islanders as 'not a real language' and usually constrasted unfavourably with 'good English', 'pure English', 'real English'. Whereas both traditional languages and English are called langus *language*, this term is never applied to the creole. There are two main reasons for this distinction. First, while TSC is still widely believed to be a form of English, it is a form which has been consistently denigrated by Europeans since the war, when most Islanders came to realise that the creole was not, in fact, the English of Europeans (Shnukal 1983a). Second, the creole is uncodified, an unwritten language with no formal normative apparatus such as dictionaries, grammars and thesauri, whereas 'portions of the gospels, hymns and the catechism with some school books' were printed in Meriam Mir by the London Missionary Society in 1876 (Langbridge 1977:37). One Erub woman, for example, who speaks English fluently, lived for many years on the mainland but has now returned to live on Thursday Island, exclaimed when I told her I intended to write a grammar and dictionary of TSC: 'Oh Anna, please don't give them a language!'.

The negative European response to a language which has become the lingua franca of Torres Strait Islanders everywhere has been internalised by a majority of Islanders aged between 20 and 65. Most Europeans living in Torres Strait consider it to be 'a rubbish language' which 'has no grammar' and is 'a waste of time'. One Queensland Education Department Advisory teacher based on Thursday Island told me that if I wanted to learn the language, the European teachers would 'talk funny' to me.

Murray Islanders in particular express a low opinion of TSC. One young man, a native speaker of the creole, told me (in English) that he was against it, didn't like the sound of it. When pressed for an explanation, he admitted that it made the Islanders 'seem backward, unable to speak English properly' and thus a 'laughing stock in the eyes of Europeans'.

Among Erub and Ugar people, however, while that attitude does exist, there is also a certain pride in being the bos *owners* of the language. 'We on Darnley regard it as our language', the chairman told me. This pride is related in complicated ways to their being descended from both Miriamle and Pacific Islanders. Although rarely articulated openly to other Islanders, there is a feeling among people from Erub and Ugar that of all the Torres Strait Islanders they are the most progressive and modern in outlook, the result partly of their dual heritage. Their openness to the new, expressed most recently through the

adoption of innovative social and commercial ventures, is viewed as a natural
progression from their early acceptance of Christianity and 'civilisation'.
The children of the immigrants once proudly called themselves apkas *half-castes*
and considered themselves superior to other Islanders, especially those from
the west. Murray Islanders, on the other hand, regard the Erub and Ugar people
with some suspicion, precisely because of their dual heritage and readiness to
accept non-traditional ways.

A recent development among adolescents throughout the Strait is that TSC has
become the language of Islander ethnicity, identity and solidarity. When
English-only-speaking youngsters from the mainland visit the outer islands,
they are ridiculed for not speaking the creole and disapprovingly said to meke
emselp olsem koleman *to have adopted whiteman's ways*, demonstrating yet again
the symbolic association of language with cultural stereotypes. On many occa-
sions, young people remarked with astonishment that I tok blaik *spoke like a
blackfellow*.

Nevertheless, it is clear that the phonological, syntactic and lexical norms of
TSC are heteronomous with respect to Australian English. Where there are dif-
fering pronunciations of a word, appeal is made to English pronunciation. On
Mer, for example, the pronunciation of ganger is [geyŋga], in the central and
western islands it is said to be [geyna] and on Erub [geyŋa], but 'we Darnley
people are right because the European blokes say ganger [gæŋə]'. Similarly,
one Erub man born in 1912, referring to the pidgin spoken by his father, a
Solomon Islander, told me: 'We talk more better than where they talk', because
present-day speech sounds more like English.

It is interesting, on that point, to contrast current attitudes towards the
older forms of both Meriam Mir and TSC. Those of Meriam Mir are admired as
examples of 'deep' language and their users known and respected throughout the
eastern islands as linguistic authorities. Users of older TSC forms, on the
other hand, are scoffed at because of their 'deviant' pronunciation and 'old-
fashioned' usage. Thus, older forms like [plɑndɛ] *many*, [sɛmdɛ] *seventy*,
[dɑnis] *dance* and [mɛlk] *milk*, which presumably are closer to the pidginised
variety spoken by the original South Sea immigrants, stereotype their users as
older and less 'progressive' speakers than those who use the current forms:
[plɛnti], [sɛbɛnti], [dɑns] and [milk], respectively.[7]

English, which currently provides about 85% of the creole's lexicon, remains
the most productive source of new vocabulary. Any English word is potentially
borrowable into TSC and the creole used on the job by carpenters, mechanics,
council office workers, store managers, Medical Aid Post nurses and teachers
on the outer islands contains a high proportion of borrowed English vocabulary.
I have found no evidence of recent formations, a new item automatically being
named by the English word. Once on Erub I was present when a group of people
were discussing the floats of a helicopter, for which there was no word in TSC.
Everyone looked at me, so I supplied the English word and plot it has now become.
Meriam Mir is no longer a fruitful source of borrowing on Erub and Ugar and the
proportion of Meriam Mir vocabulary in common use is declining. Interestingly,
Meriam Mir has been replaced to some extent by the western island language as a
source of new lexicon. This borrowing began in the mid to late 1960s and can
be traced to the opening of the Thursday Island High School, where Easterners
have always been in the minority. Western island language borrowings, called
'the new language' by Easterners, is brought to the east by the 'young people'.
Their elders now use these words themselves, although reluctantly, citing a

need to remain 'up-to-date'. Thus the Meriam Mir kin term popa *grandparent*, has been replaced by aka *grandmother* and athei *grandfather*, oao *yes* by wa, esoao *thank you* by eso, and naoa *farewell* by yawo.

THE USE OF MERIAM MIR ON ERUB AND UGAR

While Meriam Mir is now rarely heard on these two islands and ceased to be a community language there some 40 years ago, there still exists a significant amount of Meriam Mir vocabulary in the creole spoken in the eastern islands. As expected, the speech of the oldest generation contains a greater amount of substrate lexicon than does the following generation's, with the youngest people's speech containing the least. Thus older people use Meriam Mir words like augemwali *Mother Hubbard dress*, baker *money*, deko *to blend*, derser *to prepare*, nazir *trochus*, and so forth. These are part of the passive, but not active, vocabulary of younger age groups, who use their TSC equivalents: longdres, mane, smase, meke redi and sususel, respectively.

Meriam Mir vocabulary in the eastern islands dialect of TSC appears to represent some 12% of the total on Erub and Ugar and perhaps 17% on Mer.[8] As one would expect, the substrate lexicon names mainly traditional cultural activities, villages, bays, creeks, wells, springs, garden areas, the sai *fishtraps*, which encircle the eastern islands (only two of which have English names), reefs, insects, shells, fish, birds, plants, animals, seasons, some cooking implements, dancing gear, some greetings, and some body parts. Although the most private and covered body parts have Meriam Mir names, which are considered 'more polite', some of them also have TSC equivalents which are felt to be more 'slangy' and are used in teasing and jokes.

None of the Meriam Mir kin terms is still in common use on Erub and Ugar, although the traditional distinctions and taboos have been preserved. One must, for example, avoid naming in-laws in their presence, or even pronouncing similar words, so as not to give offence and have to recompense the offended person. Mentioning ariari *Murray Island sardine*, for example, in the presence or hearing of an in-law named Harry would insult him and shame the speaker.

Among young people, there is often little awareness of just what vocabulary is borrowed from Meriam Mir and what is not. Sentences with one Meriam Mir word or phrase (here underlined), such as ai prapa <u>niap</u> *I'm really thirsty* or mango i <u>turum</u> *the mango tree is covered in fruit* are extremely common and it is usually only people born before the war who can confidently identify the Meriam Mir elements.

Generally speaking, the pronunciation of Meriam Mir vocabulary on Erub and Ugar is similar to that of Mer. The main phonological differences appear to be long-standing dialect variation. High front lax [ɪ], which has merged with high front tense [i] in the speech of younger Murray Islanders, becomes mid front lax [ɛ] on Erub and Ugar. Thus [pɪm] *grasshopper*, [mɪkɪr] *almond (tree)* and [dɪrsɪr] *to prepare* become respectively [pɛm], [mɛkɛr] and [dɛrsɛr]. Similarly, the final vowel of three-syllable words often disappears in the Erub and Ugar version, with a shift in stress to the final syllable: mókepù *cowrie shell*, for example, becomes mokép. There may also be simplification of final open syllables (sometimes with stress alternation) with diphthongs becoming single vowels: wakei *thigh* thus becomes wake and gábomaraò *doggy mackerel* becomes gábumàra.[9] There has also been some semantic shift, although

it is now impossible to know whether this occurred before or after the adoption of TSC. Thus dam on Erub and Ugar means any kind of seaweed, whereas on Mer it refers only to *green sea grass*, *brown seaweed* being meo. Durdur on Erub and Ugar means *to shake* or *to shiver*, whereas on Mer, zirur is used for *to shiver*. Nako, a sentence-initial interrogative, has come to mean *if only...*, in the sense of *I wish...* in everyday use on Erub. These differences are derided by the Murray Islanders, who are considered by all Miriamle to be the models and guardians of correct usage. They claim that the Erub and Ugar people speak parkoparko *incorrectly* or *corruptly*.

THE USE OF TORRES STRAIT CREOLE ON ERUB AND UGAR

On Erub and Ugar, we find an almost classic Fergusonian example of community diglossia. TSC, which is the first language of almost every inhabitant,[10] is used in all but official and written contexts (that is, in 'high' or predominantly 'European-style' domains), but also for popular songs, children's rhymes and swearing. Thus, most daily activities — communal work, gossip, family life, food preparation, exchange of information, fishing, gardening, shopping, children's play, private prayer, the telling of stories and the giving of instructions — are organised through the medium of TSC.

In the past, the Erub and Ugar people used to compose songs in TSC, but 'not this generation', i.e. the people born since the war. Most of these songs have now been forgotten, as have the songs which continued to be written in a mixture of TSC and Meriam Mir until the 1930s, almost two generations after the shift to TSC.

English, which is learned imperfectly as a second language in the primary schools, often from Islander teachers who themselves lack a good command of English, is largely restricted to the domains of education, religion and official ceremonies. There is also some knowledge of songs and children's rhymes, like *Baa baa blacksheep, Twinkle twinkle little star, Heydi heydiho, the elephant is so slow*, and *Insey winsey spider*, involving repetition of short bounded rhythmical formulae rather than creativity in English.

Moreover, until the ABC began relaying programmes from Cairns to Torres Strait in 1979; until the 'boosting' of television reception to the region at the end of 1981 (still, with the exception of Erub, restricted to Thursday Island); until the recent acquisition of videos, showing American movies and Australian commercials recorded by relatives on the mainland, and with only the occasional film showing to raise money for the school, models of spoken English were few and the outer islands even more isolated from mainstream Australian language and culture then they are today.[11]

These days, young Islanders know the words of current popular songs and often sing along with cassettes of disco and reggae hits or of semi-rock groups like Abba. Parents teach English nursery rhymes to their children and in kindergarten more rhymes are taught and often chanted during games like skipping, hopscotch and tag.

Nevertheless, most Erub and Ugar Islanders, especially those born before World War II, do not speak or understand other than simple English. People do not read instructions or warning labels and have difficulty understanding written official documents, such as the taxation, census and social security forms.

Although many people listen to the radio every day, the content of radio news broadcasts is not generally understood. If Torres Strait is mentioned, or the name of a mainland town where kinfolk are living, many will seek further clarification about the news item from someone who has lived on the mainland and worked with Europeans, and who therefore understands English.

Young Islanders, however, most of whom were educated by Europeans at high school level, can speak English quite well. Prestige is gained by speaking English and the children on Erub and Ugar are eager to learn. They practise English pronunciation, correcting the mistakes of their friends and classmates, and like to practise their English with European visitors.

On Erub and Ugar, English is used for all written purposes: for public notices, letters, cards, invitations to parties, weddings, funerals and tombstone openings and for tombstone inscriptions; in the school (though not in the early grades) and for school messages; at church services; for public prayer; for the blessing of food; and for formal speeches at all official functions, such as Anzac Day and July One, the Torres Strait national day, and welcoming ceremonies for visitors from other islands. At public meetings, I am told, people speak as close an approximation of English as they can, adapting English phonological and grammatical features into TSC if they cannot speak English. With rare exceptions, English (or the speaker's closest approximation) is used with Europeans. In part, this is to avoid the negative stereotyping which unthinkingly accompanies the use of the creole and to which Islanders are extremely sensitive; in part, it is to avoid giving offence. Few Europeans speak TSC and Islanders consider it impolite to use a language which not everyone present understands. One Islander explained it this way: 'If I want to show respect, I try to make so all can understand. If I'm going to speak real Broken, you sit down like an idol — you don't understand. I can make it more broken or like half, so that both parties can understand. So nobody put out then'.

Few Erub and Ugar people, however, feel comfortable speaking English and they use TSC both before and after official functions. Indeed, such events are linguistically bounded, the switch from TSC to English and then back by the officials signalling the beginning and the end of the official part of the ceremony.

As for written material in English, no newspapers or magazines are sold on the islands, with the exception of a few copies on Erub of the fortnightly *Torres News*. But the revised version of the Bible is read every evening by many heads of families and people often buy magazines on visits to Thursday Island.

Let us briefly consider the two main English domains: school and church.

(1) School

In both kindergarten and primary school, the official language of instruction is English only. Islander teachers have long been instructed to 'stop that Pidgin English' and use only 'pure language or English' in the classroom and at Parents and Citizens meetings. This is despite the fact that Erub and Ugar children have no knowledge of English before entering school.[12] Moreover, as mentioned above, few Islander teachers speak English well. A 45-year-old Erub man told me how, when he was at school, the children 'read books in English, but from the teacher's lips it was Broken'.[15] Because TSC was, until recently, generally believed to be English, there are no ESL programmes for primary school teachers or pupils, nor any specific training of teachers to deal with language difficulties. Although the first European primary school principal on Erub was

appointed in 1899, the school at Ugar, with its tiny population, has had no more than one (often untrained) Islander teacher. Moreover, contacts between the white principal and the Islanders have been generally limited to formal occaions or to a few families headed by English speakers.

At Ugar, where there is one teacher for the four children attending primary school, all instruction is in TSC. On Erub, teachers unofficially and sensibly also use TSC to 'get the message across' and 'make things clear' to the children in kindergarten and the early grades, using more English in the higher grades. TSC is used also in the higher grades to introduce new topics, which are then elaborated in English. Thus a de facto, though unofficial, bilingual programme has long been established in the island's school. The European principal, who teaches the highest grade, uses only English, but the children switch to TSC as soon as they leave the classroom.

Out of respect for the principal and the official nature of the proceedings, Parents and Citizens meetings are conducted mainly in English, and school notices concerning holidays, new equipment, fund raising, sports carnivals, excursions, film evenings, and so on, are always written in English.

(2) Church

Since the 'Coming of the Light' in 1871, when the London Missionary Society landed teachers on Erub, Christianity has had a profound influence on the Torres Strait Islanders. Equated with 'civilization', it also provided the earliest education system and began the breakdown of traditional loyalties and rivalries, which were further weakened by the introduction of the cash economy and east-west intermarriage. It also provided one of the few avenues for personal (and family) advancement within the new order that began to be established from around 1900.

In 1915, the Anglican Church took over the administration of Christianity in Torres Strait and, until the 1970s, was the sole Christian sect with churches on the 'reserve' islands.[13] Today, on each of the eastern islands, there is competition from Pentecostal sects. The largest of these, with congregations on all three eastern islands, is the Assembly of God but on Mer there are two other Pentecostal churches, the Body Felt Salvation Church and the Resurrection Church of Jesus Christ.

The language of Christian worship, or at least its public manifestations, is English. While it is true that private prayers are sometimes offered in TSC, this appears to be largely by default, as, for example, when the English ritual prayers are imperfectly remembered. It is thought sacrilegious to address the Almighty in TSC, although recently younger people have been seeking reassurance that He will not be angry if they do and that it will not invalidate their prayers.

On every island, the Anglican Church services follow the order and language of the Australian Prayer Book. While on the eastern islands about half of the hymns in each service are sung in Meriam Mir, only a few of the older people on Erub and Ugar understand the words. Communion, prayers and the Bible reading on Erub and Ugar are always in English, but TSC is used for announcements of church business and in giving instructions to the congregation, as, for example, in explaining how to venerate the cross. The sermons on Erub and Ugar are given in a mixture of English and TSC, no matter who the speaker is (provided, of course, that he is an Islander). They follow a standard form, which resembles

that of a set of themes and variations: the text of the sermon is given in
English and it is immediately followed by a paraphrase in TSC; an initial expli-
cation or clarification of the text is then given in TSC, but then a switch to
English is made; from then until the end of the sermon there is continual code-
switching, with the arguments being advanced first in English and reiterated
and elaborated in TSC, with TSC predominating. Any personal anecdotal material
is related in TSC, sometimes with a word, phrase or sentence in English inter-
polated, but the closing sentence is always in English. The only variation I
heard in over 20 services was in the two sermons given by one of the political
leaders mentioned above, a partial speaker of Meriam Mir. He began his sermon
with two or three sentences of Meriam Mir, switched briefly to English and then
to TSC. The sermon continued in the usual way with codeswitching between English
and TSC throughout: 'Money is the root of all evil. Yumi ebribodi sabe'. *We all
know this*. The penultimate sentence was in English and the final sentence in
Meriam Mir. Two additional Meriam Mir sentences were used within the body of
the sermon to mark linguistically its tripartite thematic structure and the use
of the traditional language was generally felt to have lent a tone of authority
and deep solemnity to his words.[14]

As for the Assembly of God services, the format is almost equally rigid. The
welcome, hymns and choruses, prayers and responses ('Praise the Lord! Praise
God!') are in English, as are the faith healing formulae spoken by the pastor
('Cast away the sickness, oh Lord! Cast away the pain, Lord Jesus!'). However,
on my most recent visit to Erub in 1982, I found that some Meriam Mir hymns had
been introduced into the Pentecostal services and a Meriam Mir chorus, recently
composed by Murray Island church members, was also sung.

The sermons demonstrate the codeswitching sequence outlined above and again, as
in the Anglican services, the public announcements concerning times of meetings
and the following week's activities are made in TSC.

The Pentecostal services, however, contain one component not found in Anglican
services: individual testimony as to the influence and workings of Christ in
the lives of church members and their families. The person who is to give
testimony comes to the front and faces the congregation. Immediately after the
initial formula in English: 'First I'd like to praise and thank the Lord', the
church member generally switches to TSC to deliver his or her testimony, which
is, of course, highly personal, anecdotal and at times emotional.

General church business, both Anglican and Pentecostal, on Erub and Ugar and
meetings of the Mothers' Union are conducted in TSC, although with a fair amount
of English vocabulary.

As for family prayers, I can report only on the family I lived with, some other
Assembly of God families and the accounts of Islander friends. It seems that
grace and evening prayers (normally consisting of choruses, Bible reading and
prayer) are always in English and in the English of the King James version of
1611. One Erub man expressed it in this way: 'I got no other way. It's the
only thing we got in English — everything else we do in Broken. But man, woman
and child, we pray in English'. Just as English is felt to be the prapa *proper*
language of the church, as it is more in keeping with the solemnity of the
occasion, so words and phrases such as 'thou, thee, thine and brethren', as in
'Lord, we thank Thee... We commend ourselves to Thy care...' are also considered
to be 'more respectful' than the modern alternatives. Assembly of God Sunday
School, Ambassadors for Christ preparation and other religious instruction for
children are, however, almost always conducted in TSC.

Thus, what is ritualistic and formulaic in religious observance is delivered in English; what is personal and spontaneous is expressed in TSC.

LANGUAGE USE ON MER

The sociolinguistic situation on Mer, where Meriam Mir is still spoken as a first language, is triglossic or, more accurately, one of overlapping diglossia.

There is today a very pronounced linguistic split on Mer between people born before the end of World War II, whose primary language is Meriam Mir, and those born after about 1947, whose primary language is TSC. This split is most noticeable in families with several children born during the 1940s.

Around 1947-48, the home language of most Murray Island children changed from Meriam Mir to TSC. While the parents continued to speak Meriam Mir to each other, they switched to TSC to address their children and the children used TSC with each other and with their peers. Though this language shift happened quite rapidly in the majority of homes in response to the profound sociocultural changes of the period, it did not affect all families equally quickly. The most nationalistic of Murray Islanders were slower to follow the community trend but, given the smallness and cohesiveness of the community and the sanctions imposed on non-conformist social behaviour, they eventually followed suit. I could find no Murray Islander born after about 1950 who speaks Meriam Mir as his or her first language.

Nevertheless, although few young Murray Islanders speak Meriam Mir, they understand it, replying in TSC whenever they are addressed in Meriam Mir. This is not often, since first language Meriam Mir-speakers, all of whom control TSC to some extent, generally switch to TSC when speaking to children or young adults. They admit to feeling uncomfortable using Meriam Mir to young people, except when they are particularly angry or wish their words to be taken particularly seriously. I have often observed grandparents whose instructions in TSC are not immediately obeyed repeat their instructions in Meriam Mir. This linguistic shift signals both anger and the serious consequences of continuing to disobey and has an immediate and galvanising effect on the children. Meriam Mir thus continues to be the language of authority and strong emotion for all the people of Mer.

For Murray Islanders over 35, Meriam Mir serves the same main function as does TSC for the Erub and Ugar people: organising daily activities. Depending on the context and subject matter, there may be considerable borrowing both from English (as I heard, for example, among a group of men repairing a truck, mixed groups of darts and card players and two women at the Medical Aid Post, who spoke of 'doctor, tablet, sister') and from TSC (as, for example, among women preparing for a feast where the names of various dishes and cooking utensils came from TSC.) Codeswitching between Meriam Mir and TSC (or even English) may also occur, depending on the topic of conversation and the speaker's knowledge of the other languages. On one occasion, during a three-way conversation in Meriam Mir, the subject of the plane service between Mer and Thursday Island came up, whereupon all speakers switched to TSC, only to switch back into Meriam Mir when the conversation topic changed.

On Mer, the creole, while a viable and growing community language, is heavily stigmatised and, generally speaking, is identified with people under 35: people too young to hold power or recognised leadership positions.

As indicated earlier, the variety of TSC spoken on Mer appears to include a higher proportion of Meriam Mir vocabulary than that of Erub and Ugar. Thus, Meriam Mir greetings like debe ki *good night*, debe idim *good morning* and maiem *welcome* are the norm, and Murray Islanders are also more likely to say, for example: ai go zogometa nau *I'm going to church* or koskir blo mi *my wife* rather than: ai go preya nau and oman blo mi. There are few differences in pronunciation of the creole, however, the most common being the insertion of [g] after [ŋ] in such words as [siŋg] *song*, [taŋg] *tongue*, [talıŋga] *ear* and [siŋgaut] *to call out*. The Mer pronunciation of a few individual words also differs from that of the other two islands, and these words are diagnostic of Murray Islander speech: [klɔstun] rather than [klustun] *near*, [wɔman] rather than [ɔman] *married woman*, [manjɔt] rather than [manjɔta] *cassava*.

English is the third language heard on Mer and, as on Erub and Ugar, its domains are limited to the official sphere, which it shares with Meriam Mir.

(1) School

The acting principal of the primary school in 1981, a Murray Islander, was adamant that TSC was not spoken at the school. 'I hate the Pidgin. I want standard English and good Miriam'. In this, he is echoing prevailing Queensland Education Department policy as well as general Murray Island sentiment. One half hour lesson per week of Meriam Mir is now given to Grades 4-7, a recent innovation. Although the principal claims that the school children are punished for using TSC and that since 1975 the Grade 6 and 7 classes have been conducted only in English, the true situation resembles that on Erub. Of the five other teachers, also Murray Islanders, only one speaks Meriam Mir. They are obliged to use TSC with the early grades, and a mixture of English and TSC with the higher grades 'so the kids understand' and TSC is the language of the children in the playground, at games, and during home and leisure activites.

In the 1920s and 1930s, by contrast, the children spoke only Meriam Mir at school. By the 1940s the children were being encouraged to speak English or TSC at school and discouraged in their use of Meriam Mir even in the playground, although it remained the language of the home.

There is a nice story, possibly apocryphal, about a spelling lesson on Mer in the 1940s, with the children, following the teacher's lead, chanting: d..o..g omai; d..o..g omai (where omai is the Meriam Mir word for *dog*).

(2) Church

As for church services on Mer, again the ritual and official components are in English. General announcements and some prayers in the Anglican Church are given in Meriam Mir, while the calling upon members of the congregation to say prayers of intercession and the prayers themselves alternate between English and Meriam Mir. Usually, if the call is in English, the prayer itself is in Meriam Mir and vice versa.[15] There is codeswitching in the sermons between English and TSC (though the TSC component is smaller than on Erub and Ugar) with some Meriam Mir, though a smaller proportion than I had expected. Meriam Mir in this context tends to be interlarded with English words and phrases, such as 'church council', 'timetable', numbers, days of the week, and so on. The priest explained: 'I use Broken because of the children. Even [for religious instruction] in school, I might begin in English and change to Broken'. Both Meriam Mir and TSC have been used in services on Mer for 'a long time'.

In the Assembly of God, English was again the language of the scripture texts,
Bible readings and choruses, but several Meriam Mir hymns were sung. The sermon,
however, was spoken in a mixture of English and Meriam Mir, beginning and ending
in English, with constant codeswitching throughout, and prayers were said in
Meriam Mir with ritual responses in English: 'Praise God! Hallelujah!'. All
testimony was in TSC, but this may have been because most of the congregation
were young.[16]

(3) Official functions

In 1981, the public notices outside the Council Hall on Mer were written in
Meriam Mir. This practice had begun in May of that year as part of a compaign
to revive the use of Meriam Mir, all previous public notices having been in
English. One advertisement for a tama *bring and buy sale*, used several English
borrowings: 'show', 'Monday', 'admission fees', while a second notice referred
to the collection of 'garbage'. Notices in the community store, on the other
hand, were in English.

At a concert held to raise money for the Anglican Church, the proceedings were
conducted in Meriam Mir throughout, with English borrowings like 'item', 'pro-
gramme', 'show', 'Hope you like it!', and 'encore'. The names of most of the
dances, however, which were of South Sea origin, were given in TSC: suka dans
sugar dance, ula dans *hula dance*, sidaun dans *sitting dance* and meiltrein *mail
train*. Traditional Murray Island dances, such as the kapkar, were announced in
Meriam Mir.

Similarly, the public prayers and official speeches made by the island chairman
and other island dignitaries on important days and at the opening ceremonies
for feasts, festivals and public gatherings are now delivered in Meriam Mir.
Nevertheless, it is not uncommon after such speeches for younger men to approach
the authorities to ask the meaning of the 'deep' words.

There is widely articulated regret on Mer that the children do not speak Meriam
Mir and anger among some young people that they were not taught their traditional
language. While some Murray Islanders are apathetic about the issue, or feel
that it is not too late to reverse the process — 'When we die, I think the Miriam
will be lost' — most say they would prefer only Meriam Mir and English to be
community languages on Mer. This has led to recent efforts by community leaders
(the most respected opinion makers whose first language is Meriam Mir) and by
several young nationalists in their late 20s and early 30s, partial speakers of
the traditional language, to maintain it as a viable code. Some of the younger
men, recently returned to Mer after several years on the mainland, are teaching
themselves Meriam Mir, learning new words from their parents and instructing
friends. The Anglican priest encourages both public and private prayer in
Meriam Mir and the issue of Meriam Mir maintenance is now a powerfully emotive
sociopolitical issue.

Mer, then, is a trilingual community, with language choice predictable, not
solely according to domain, as on Erub and Ugar, but also according to age of
speaker and/or addressee and, less importantly, to expressed degree of emotion
and topic of conversation.

In spite of strenuous efforts by influential members of the community, Meriam
Mir is obviously under threat, since it is in competition both with English (in
the official domain) and with TSC (in the private domain). Thus there is no
societal domain which is recognised as the exclusive preserve of Meriam Mir.
Moreover, as the people born since the war raise their children in TSC; as the

number of first language Meriam Mir speakers declines; as the young people continue to emigrate to the mainland; as intermarriage with other Islanders continues; and as extra-community pressure from kinfolk sustains the use of the pan-Islander lingua franca, TSC, the only language which *all* Murray Islanders speak, the prospects for the survival of Meriam Mir appear remote.

CONCLUSION AND PREDICTIONS

From the 1850s, when Pacific Pidgin English became established as the lingua franca of the fledgling marine industries of Torres Strait; the 1890s, when the pidgin creolised on Erub and Ugar, displacing within a generation the eastern island traditional language, Meriam Mir; and the late 1940s and early 1950s, when it was adopted by the children of Mer, TSC has continued to expand its domains and influence. Because of the isolation of the region and restricted communication between Islanders and Europeans, TSC was for many decades believed to be English, a prestige acquisition and necessary for integration into mainstream Australian society.

With the collapse of that belief in the 1960s and the realisation that TSC was partly to blame for the perpetuation among many Europeans of racist stereotypes, there was a push by Islander parents, particularly those on the eastern islands, for a mainland education for their children. They continued to believe that English was the single most important guarantee of a place within Australian society and access to its material benefits.

These beliefs explain in part both the adoption of TSC in the eastern islands (as elsewhere) and the disillusionment which has fed the Mer nationalist movement, one of the most powerful symbols of which is the eastern islands' traditional language. Now that TSC has become not only the lingua franca of Torres Strait Islanders everywhere, but also a potent symbol of Islander ethnicity and separateness, it remains to be seen whether the efforts of a committed minority of Murray Islanders can prevail over their less committed countrymen (and over the linguistic shift underway in Torres Strait since the turn of the century) and manage, despite the odds, to preserve Meriam Mir as the language of Miriam identity. In spite of increased linguistic awareness and various language planning activities, including pressure for an adult literacy programme and a translation of the Bible, the future of Meriam Mir as a viable community language appears bleak.

As for TSC, whose phonological and syntactic norms have always been those of English, it is ironic that, just as it is beginning to be valued in its function as the Torres Strait Islander ethnicity and identity marker, rapid decreolisation is underway at all levels of the grammar. As the Islanders' contact with spoken Australian English increases, so does the pressure to restructure the creole in the direction of English. While it may well continue as an island community language for several generations, the continuing emigration of large numbers of Islanders to the mainland and their eventual integration into mainstream society, if this occurs, will undoubtedly lead to its disappearance, just as Queensland Canefields English, another descendant of Pacific Pidgin English, disappeared within a generation (Dutton 1980:110-111; Mühlhäusler, this volume). Some features of the creole and traces of its distinctive idiom will no doubt survive in the English of people of Islander descent — indeed, this is already observable among many of those who were raised in Queensland country towns in the 1960s and

1970s, and who do not speak TSC — but the long-term future of TSC, dependent as it is on the maintenance of a separate Islander identity and viable Islander communities, whether in Torres Strait or on the mainland, is unclear.

NOTES

1. This is an expanded and updated version of a paper presented at the 1981 annual meeting of the Australian Linguistic Society. The fieldwork on which it is based was conducted on Erub (Darnley Island), Ugar (Stephens Island) and Mer (Murray Island) between April and July of that year and in August of the following year and funded by a Visiting Research Fellowship in Sociolinguistics from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

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2. Figures are from the former Queensland Department of Native Affairs. The Mer total includes a hundred Miriamle who at that time lived on Dauar, a neighbouring island, all of whom eventually shifted to Mer.

3. These are the 1983 community profile figures from the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs, which established a regional office on Thursday Island in 1973. Not included are the high school age children who are obliged to leave their islands to attend secondary school elsewhere, nor the 36 Papua New Guineans living on Erub (30) and Mer (6), most of whom are related through blood or marriage to the Islanders. Fairly recent arrivals from Parem (Bampton Island), they have all had to learn Torres Strait Creole (TSC). None speaks Tok Pisin, a language historically related to TSC, but those aged between 20 and 30, who were educated in Papua New Guinea, speak better English than the majority of Islanders. Although the adults speak TSC with their children and others in the community, they continue to speak their own language with one another.

4. A variety of TSC, spoken as a second language by elderly Aboriginal speakers living in Bamaga, was described by Crowley and Rigsby 1979, who called the variety Cape York Creole. Syntactically, except for minor details, the varieties are the same, but phonologically they differ quite markedly. Tok Pisin, a sister language, is claimed by TSC-speakers to be unintelligible, because of phonological and lexical differences. However, TSC and Tok Pisin share much of their syntax and sociological factors may well account for some of the 'mutual unintelligibility'.

5. Of the 43 families living on Erub and Ugar immediately after World War II, only two were 'full Darnley natives' and their members were all married to the descendants of South Sea people.

6. There are now no native speakers of Meriam Mir on Erub and Ugar. The oldest inhabitants, born around 1910, can understand simple Meriam Mir if it is spoken slowly and they are aided by extralinguistic cues, but they do not speak it well and cannot understand the 'deep' language of their contemporaries on Mer. Only two Erub men now claim to speak Meriam Mir reasonably

well, though neither can make a long speech, pray, nor tell a story in the
language and their brothers and sisters cannot speak it. Both speakers
are male, in their mid-60s and heads of rival political factions. Both
learned Meriam Mir during their early 30s for nationalistic and political
reasons and one is married to a Murray Islander. Both speak very good
English and one claims some knowledge of the western island language. They
are the most politically active men on Erub and I am sure that their lin-
guistic virtuosity plays a considerable role in their political success.

7. For an account of ongoing phonological and grammatical developments in the
    creole, see Shnukal 1984.

8. This is in contrast to the proportion of Aboriginal language vocabulary in
    Cape York Creole, which is said to contain few words from the Cape York
    languages (Crowley and Rigsby 1979:205).

9. Also mentioned was the change from [r] to [n] in the Erub and Ugar dialects
    but I found no evidence of this in the vocabulary in current use on these
    islands.

10. In 1982, only seven adult Islanders living on Erub, four of whom were
    married to Erub people, had not been born on either Erub or Ugar. Two,
    however, one from Masig and one from St Paul's, spoke TSC as their first
    language. Three were Murray Islanders, one came from Saibai and one was
    Fijian.

11. During the 1970s, the Islanders listened to English language radio broad-
    casts from Papua New Guinea and sometimes managed to pick up Radio Australia
    transmissions on short wave.

12. The kindergartens and primary schools on the 'reserve' islands are admin-
    istered by the Queensland Department of Community Services, although it was
    announced in 1984 that the state Department of Education would take over
    all schools in the future. All teachers there are Islanders, with little
    formal education, except for six European primary school principals, sec-
    onded from the Queensland Department of Education to the DCS during their
    two-year appointments to island schools. In 1981, there was a white primary
    school principal on Erub, but no Europeans on Ugar or Mer. There is now
    (1984) a European principal on Mer.

13. There were other Christian denominations on Thursday Island and a Catholic
    Mission on Hammond Island, established in 1929.

14. While I was on Ugar, however, the relieving priest, an elderly Murray
    Islander, delivered his sermon entirely in Meriam Mir. The congregation
    later complained because they had understood nothing.

15. As part of the recent campaign to preserve Meriam Mir, the priest, a
    descendant of the legendary Murray Island warrior, Id, has been encouraging
    young people to pray in Meriam Mir.

16. The most influential community elders, often descendants of traditional
    clan and cult leaders who were given early positions of authority within
    the Anglican Church, have generally remained faithful to that denomination.
    It is often, though not always, individuals or families outside the pre-
    vailing political and religious power structures in the eastern islands
    (and who therefore perhaps have less interest in preserving the status quo)
    who have become adherents of the Pentecostal churches.

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY ISSUE IN AUSTRALIA

Uldis Ozolins

1984 provided a significant benchmark for language planning in Australia with the release of the *Report on a national language policy* from the Standing Committee on Education and the Arts of the Senate of the Australian Parliament. This Report, released after nearly three years of deliberation, and to some extent already overtaken at the time of its release by language initiatives at state levels, attempts to set out a comprehensive approach to analysing Australia's language needs and resources, and consider priorities for language treatment in education, services, media, and other areas of public policy.

The Senate inquiry has been one result of an intense phase of development of language programs and political activism by an ever-increasing number of language-interest groups to have language needs and issues recognised in Australia. Language issues have become salient in relation to policy towards migrants and Aboriginal groups and also, more generally, in relation to debate over national identity in Australia. The aim of this paper is to consider the origins of interest in a national language policy, to give an understanding of the range of issues it is addressing, and to socially and politically situate this interest in language policy within broader aspects of policy related to cultural and linguistic diversity in Australia. With the interest in this volume being language contact and languages other than English, aspects of the Senate inquiry and other language initiatives concerning *English* will not be discussed here in detail.

ORIGINS — THE BACKGROUND TO POLICIES FOR LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY

Concern over a national language policy has come as part of heightened attention to cultural and linguistic diversity in the Australian population. This demographic development has many aspects, and only a general overview can be given here. Increased attention to the language needs of migrants and, more recently, attention to the maintenance of migrant languages, have been expressed in terms of a desire by governments to foster 'multiculturalism' in Australia. A similar degree of attention, though with different political antecedents, has also focussed on Aboriginal education and languages. From the point of view of Aboriginal and migrant groups, the push for government response is the political expression of a longstanding desire for linguistic and cultural maintenance in the Australian context, a desire not always supported or even acknowledged in

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much previous government policy. With the involvement of language professionals and other interest groups (e.g. language-handicapped groups), concern for a national language policy brings into being a constituency that consists of quite diverse elements in language advocacy.

Many of these developments have occurred with almost astonishing rapidity in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and to the extent that policy makers now do take seriously issues of language, this represents a clear and in some cases dramatic departure from earlier attitudes towards linguistic diversity and linguistic resources in Australia. Several authors writing recently on language and multi-culturalism have commented on the significant population changes that have marked post-World War II Australia: Smolicz cites the oft-expressed view that at the end of the war Australia was 'one of the most monolingual countries in the world' (Smolicz 1984a:23), and goes on to detail the linguistic diversity that has attended the subsequent immigration of 3.5 million people. The present language situation in Australia has been analysed in detail by Clyne (1982), and an over-view of the main languages spoken in Australia is given in the Senate inquiry's report in graphic form in *Figure 1*. The earlier history of languages other than English cannot detain us here; periods of linguistic diversity, and public rec-ognition of such, alternated with periods of intense Anglo-conformism (Clyne 1982; Lyng 1935).

Responses to linguistic diversity in Australia up to 1945 were hardly recognised as constituting in any sense a 'language policy', resting squarely upon assump-tions relating to 'aliens' in Australian society, and these already existing procedures for the control of 'aliens' were followed in establishing post-war policies to the language of migrants. These dispositions had resulted in the government playing a censorial role towards any institutionalisation of lan-guages other than English (LOTEs), with considerable restrictions in:

- foreign language newspapers (as part of the War Precautions Act), strict licensing requirements demanded security clearances, and stipulated that 25% of content be in English,

- schools having LOTEs as a language of instruction (banned in most states since German bilingual schools were closed or became English monolingual schools in World War I,

- radio transmission (commercial and Australian Broadcasting Commission stations had tight restrictions on the use of LOTEs, and all amateur radio operators had to use English).

A similar suspicion of other languages also characterised official response to the Aboriginal population: state laws pursued a variety of 'assimilation' policies that sought, as rapidly as possible, to eradicate elements of Aboriginal culture and language. Only a few private, usually religious, institutions used Aboriginal languages in their own work, and only a handful of linguists recorded the hundreds of languages of what was widely believed to be a dying race. The Aboriginal population was only able to maintain their languages in areas where they were furthest from state intervention.

The movement of language policy away from this mixture of censorship and neglect occurred barely perceptibly until the mid-1960s. The early strictions on lan-guage use were only gradually withdrawn — those relating to the foreign language press in the 1950s, but radio broadcasting in LOTEs continued to be controlled until 1974. For the migrant as much as the Aboriginal population, languages

Language use in Australia by persons aged 15 years and over in 1983

Non-English speakers aged 15 years and over	
NSW & ACT	732000
Vic.	678000
S.A.	174000
Qld	167000
W.A.	119000
N.T.	28000
Tas	13000
Australia	1911000

N.T.
0 50
Ab 19.0%
Gr 1.9%
Ch 1.9
English speaking 72.8%
Other languages 3.7%

Qld
0 50
It 2.2%
Du 1.2%
Ge 1.0%
English speaking 90.7%
Other languages 4.9%

W.A.
0 50
It 4.9%
Yu 2.1%
Du 1.5%
English speaking 86.0%
Other languages 5.5%

S.A.
0 50
It 5.0%
Ge 2.8%
Gr 2.4%
Du 1.2%
Yu 1.1%
Po 1.0%
English speaking 83.3%
Other languages 3.4%

N.S.W. and A.C.T.
0 50 100
It 3.0%
Gr 1.9%
Ar 1.5%
Yu 1.4%
Ge 1.3%
English speaking 82.9%
Other languages 7.9%

Vic.
50 100 150
It 7.2%
Gr 4.2%
Yu 2.7%
Ge 2.0%
Po 1.4%
Du 1.3%
Ma 1.3%
Ch 1.1%
English speaking 77.9%
Other languages 5.7%

Tas.
English speaking 95.9%
Other languages 4.1%

Number of language speakers in thousands
0 50 100
It Italian
Gr Greek
Yu Yugoslavian languages
Ge German
Du Dutch
Po Polish
Ma Maltese
Ch Chinese languages
Ab Aboriginal languages
Ar Arabic

Principal Non-English languages (spoken as a first language by at least **1%** of the State / Territory population)

Other languages: Languages spoken by less than **1%** of the State / Territory population

Figure 1

were sustained if at all only by group effort in the face of official and public mistrust. Most marked of the migrant communities' efforts were in the sustaining of their own locally-produced newspapers (characteristic of all sizable non-English-speaking migrant groups), and the establishment of an extensive if uncoordinated and poorly resourced number of 'ethnic schools', operating after hours and on weekends and concerned largely though not solely with language maintenance. For these communities, language maintenance became an essential part of maintaining their identity and passing on a cultural heritage to a generation being raised in an often uncomprehending and occasionally hostile Australian environment.

During the 1950s, the issue of other languages being spoken in Australia gained little coherent public discussion except in the area of education, where the very widely shared assumption obtained that migrant children would be hampered in school and in learning English if their first language continued to be used at home. Efforts to persuade children at school to speak only English at all times, and exhortations to migrant parents to speak to their children in English, were the abiding policies of educational institutions throughout the 1950s, and in many cases extending well beyond that period (Australia: Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council 1960; Martin 1978).

In terms of policy other than censorship, one area of language policy *did* receive particular government attention: that of teaching English to migrants. Upon the assumption that non-English-speaking migrants would be coming to Australia as permanent settlers, and not as any form of guest-workers, a comprehensive range of English-language teaching programs was established for *adults*, beginning with initial teaching in the European refugee camps, shipboard lessons, on-arrival classes at migrant reception centres in Australia (established in country centres usually in ex-military camps where migrants waited to be allocated employment), continuation classes for migrants in employment, radio and correspondence lessons, and later a volunteer home-tutoring scheme. The English teaching course adopted, 'Situational English', was a direct-method approach to language teaching using no bilingual aid: migrants were usually taught in classes of deliberately-mixed nationality, which in the view of the Department of Immigration and its educational advisors necessitated this direct method and hastened acceptance of English: the social theory of 'assimilation' dictated the language-teaching method. Significantly, no provisions were made for similar programs for migrant *children*, it being assumed they would 'pick up' English 'naturally' in the school (Martin 1978).

The use of 'foreign' languages in Australia was also marginalised in aspects of Australian society and policy unconnected with immigration: Australia's geographical isolation and its political isolation within an English-speaking set of allies had resulted in a devaluing of other languages. In schools, for example, the teaching of other languages was generally limited to Latin, French and German, only in secondary schools, and then generally only for the academically most able: languages were a part of culture only in the most restricted social setting. This restricted learning of other languages was to continue to affect other aspects of government policy: the low level of linguistic competence among diplomatic staff, for example, meant that Australian representation in non-English speaking countries was often hampered, with particular effects upon relations with Asia (Hall 1959). Throughout the 1960s, in another instance, Asian language speakers had to be imported to staff the various programs of the short-wave radio service Radio Australia.

While isolated voices opposing assumptions of 'assimilation' and Anglo-conformism were heard very soon after the beginning of post-war immigration (Craig 1953), their effect on government policy was limited until well into the 1960s, when new definitions of the migrant experience and situation began to gain currency. Martin has characterised the immediate post-war Australian view of non-English speaking migrants as 'lucky to have found a home in Australia, coming from the tensions and economic desolation of post-war Europe: they were essential to economic growth and they were assimilable' (Martin 1978:27). Yet the actual economic and social position of migrants, as revealed by successive surveys and angry protests in the 1960s, was that of a population severely disadvantaged — economically and socially and, the area which gained perhaps most attention, educationally. The migrants, and migrant education in particular, were now beginning to be defined as a *problem*.

Martin argues that there were a number of factors that had caused this change in perspective, though not all of them stemming necessarily from any direct interest in the migrant groups and their languages on the part of the host population. Martin lists: an explosion of interest in education generally in the late 1960s, and an increased political salience of this issue and heightened criticism of established educational policies; greater interest in child-centred views of education meaning that 'the education of migrant pupils was more likely to be viewed from the perspective of the children themselves, in their unique school situation' (ibid:99); and the changing composition of the migrant popu-lation, with a decrease in the proportion of Northern and Eastern European migrants and increases in Southern European, Middle Eastern and Asian migration, bringing populations with often less previous formal education. A growing call for federal government involvement came from educational bodies and, increasingly, migrant groups as well: while educational issues, and particularly the provision of Child Migrant Education were to be the spearhead, the needs of migrants were also raised in the context of social welfare and economic policy, and services, particularly translating and interpreting services.

Language maintenance issues were not the dominant issues to be addressed throughout the 1960s, but they were raised to an extent never previously seen in Australia. Despite considerable and ultimately influential language main-tenance efforts on the part of migrant communities themselves, a view of lan-guage maintenance as being of benefit either to the migrant or to the host country had little acceptance, even among language teachers. A 1956 conference of Modern Language teachers in Victoria, for example, could only define the benefits of learning Italian in the most restricted terms, in discussing the suggestion

> that in districts where there is a large migrant
> community, the language of that group could be taught
> in schools. For example, in an area where there are a
> number of Italian migrants, Italian could be taught,
> not of course for the benefit of the Italian children,
> but for that of the Australians who would have the
> opportunity of using a foreign language actively, of
> appreciating a foreign culture and thereby helping in
> the assimilation of the migrants into the community.
> (*Babel*, no.3, 1950:33)

Yet even in the 1950s individual advocates of Italian (the largest LOTE in Australia) could begin to press for language maintenance to be an important reason for introducing Italian in schools and high education: though at first

careful to place language maintenance arguments second to issues of cultural and intellectual benefit of language study (Chisholm 1957; McCormack 1951), they increasingly stressed language maintenance aspects in the 1960s (McCormack 1964). By 1964, too, Clyne (1964) could write directly about 'Migrant languages in schools' praising McCormack for initiatives in Italian and suggesting that a number of 'migrant languages' — a novel terminology — could well be introduced into schools, a suggestion still at odds with both government indifference on the issue and the suspicion of many foreign language teachers themselves. These early calls for attention to language maintenance argued against the contemporary view that bilingualism would be harmful to children, or would serve to retard assimilation into Australian society.

These developments were, in the middle and late 1960s, to find a response in government policy and some telling changes in rhetoric. The appointment of Billy Snedden as Minister for Immigration in 1966 coincided with the growth of political pressure to recognise migrant problems, and Martin sees his active role in addressing these issues as being crucial. Snedden set about to end assumptions of 'assimilation' and talked instead of the 'integration' of the by-now highly visible migrant communities into an Australian totality. Snedden's change in rhetoric was in one sense a new theory adopted to fit obvious social facts (the structural permanence of migrant communities) that could no longer be covered by the previous social theory of 'assimilation', but Snedden was keen to press the policy implications of such changed rhetoric: as Minister for Immigration he now praised migrant community endeavours, and stressed the benefits to be gained by all from having vibrant migrant cultures in Australia. In response to migrant educational disadvantage, Snedden sought to change government perspectives from the previous view of unproblematic absorption of migrant children into Australian schools, to an interest in direct provision of Child Migrant Education. Only Victoria of all the states had by the late 1960s begun to systematically organise for the teaching of English as a Second Language to migrant children, and the federal government's Immigration (Education) Act of 1971 provided funds for the training of teachers and the organisation of ESL teaching in all areas of high migrant density (Martin 1978).

This initiative can be seen, from one perspective, as a tried and tested response (extending Adult Migrant Education) that tackled only one aspect of the migrant situation and was still based upon clearly assimilationist assumptions (the method of ESL was again the direct method, with no bilingual methodology). But as Martin points out, Child Migrant Education arrived in a context of considerable turmoil in educational practices, with language professionals beginning to have a diversity of language objectives, and the growing demand by migrant groups that Child Migrant Education serve a diversity of needs (Martin 1978), leading to an explosion of language issues being addressed within and without education.

ETHNIC ISSUES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF 'MULTICULTURALISM' IN THE 1970s

The early and mid 1970s saw a marked increase in the salience of migrant issues in mainstream politics and social movements, providing the essential preconditions for evolving coherent language policies. With the advent of the federal Labor government in 1972, ethnic issues gained in prominence through the notable activity of Al Grassby, Minister for Immigration 1972-74. If Snedden had reoriented policy towards the reality of the continuing structured existence of migrant groups and the necessity of responding to their needs, Grassby saw

the advent of a culturally diverse Australia as bringing a fundamental change to the society and to its identity. Bringing onto the political stage the notion of 'multiculturalism' (first as a description of Australia, then as a prescription for recognising and responding to cultural diversity), Grassby began a process, followed by all subsequent federal governments, of highlighting and promoting aspects of cultural diversity, and attempting to put to rest notions of assimilation or of the need for migrants alone to have to change and adapt to their new environment. Grassby argued that Australian society and mainstream institutions would also need to change.

Grassby's brief tenure as Minister for Immigration was influential not only in terms of government policy but also in terms of encouraging migrant groups to become increasingly vocal in representing their own interests. Storer's survey of such initiatives in 1973-75 lists several major conferences (e.g. Migrant Workers Conference 1973, Migrant Education Action Conference 1974) linking migrant and non-migrant activists; intense organisation on the part of ethnic groups (e.g. establishment of Ethnic Communities Councils in Victoria and N.S.W., expansion of especially Italian and Greek political and welfare groups), and some resulting significant policy moves on the part of the Labor government (Racial Discrimination Act 1975, instituting access radio station 3ZZ (with significant migrant input) in Melbourne, and soon after ethnic radio stations in Sydney and Melbourne in 1975) (Storer 1975).

Increased academic attention to migrant issues was also apparent, with Price and Martin's extensive bibliographies appearing in 1975, and academic conferences (which now included significant contributions from migrants themselves) addressing themselves systematically to migrant issues. Perhaps the most notable of these was that on 'Migrants, Migration and the National Population Inquiry' in 1975 which included perhaps the first attention to language planning in Australia, with Clyne's advocacy of a language planning commission to look inter alia at issues of language maintenance and bilingualism (Clyne 1975a).

Against this background, several specific areas of language policy were to gain particular prominence:

(i) *The redefinition of 'migrant education'*. Unlike the long-standing adult migrant education programs, programs directed towards children very quickly underwent a period of redefinition and critique, which extended their scope in ways that tried to meet migrant community demands for more than the learning of English alone. Martin lists five issues that arose out of the Child Migrant Education Program, only the first of which was in any way anticipated:

1. Teaching English
2. Bilingual education
3. Community languages
4. Multicultural education
5. Ethnic schools.   (Martin 1978:125)

Concern for bilingual education developed in the early 1970s in schools of high migrant density. With few models for guidance except distant bilingual Aboriginal programs in the Northern Territory, and the even more distant example of the Bilingual Education Act in the U.S.A., a few individual schools particularly in Melbourne attempted bilingual education to reorientate the school to take cognisance of the cultural background of its students (Rado 1973, 1975). These programs, though few and poorly resourced, provided an essential break to the equation of 'migrant education' with ESL. Meanwhile, the growth of community

language programs, also in urban schools, and attempts to bring about greater migrant parent involvement in school policy-making further contributed to the rapid diversification of CMEP concerns. The institutional reflection of this came when the CMEP as an independent program was subsumed by the Schools Commission (a body recommending the distribution of federal funds to schools) in its 'Migrant and Multi-cultural Education' program in 1976. While the bulk of finance in this area still went to ESL classes and facilities, the experimentation with other language programs and methodologies in schools has brought closer attention to the aim of language maintenance for migrant children, and also the aim of language teaching to all students. Ethnic schools, previously solely a migrant community concern, are now partly government funded, and there has been considerable consideration of the articulation of ethnic schools with other school systems.

(ii) *The institutionalisation of multiculturalism.* As previously mentioned, successive governments from the early 1970s have encouraged the development of 'multiculturalism': while often an ill-defined concept in public debate, language programs have featured prominently among the activities funded. The Galbally Report (Australia: Review of Post Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants 1978) marked the most concerted attempt to systematise and fund more adequately the range of post-arrival programs for migrants, and a monitoring body, the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, was founded in 1979.

(iii) *Aboriginal languages*. A rise in the political salience of migrant communities and migrant language issues has been more than matched by the increased prominence of Aboriginal issues. As early as 1961 the federal government moved to establish the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, charged with pursuing 'scientific studies of the life and culture of the aboriginal race, and will endeavour to preserve and extend our knowledge of them' (Hansard, House of Representatives, vol.34, p.13, 20.2.62). From small beginnings, Aboriginal linguistics rapidly developed in the late 1960s and 1970s, and much of this study was applied to issues of Aboriginal education. Dissatisfied with State handling of Aboriginal affairs, in 1966 the federal government secured a change in the constitution to give it full powers to legislate in this area: with federal funding and the active support of linguists, the first bilingual education programs systematically established in Australia in recent times were in Aboriginal languages and English in the early 1970s. Growing political demands by Aboriginal communities since then have included demands for language rights.

MOBILISING FOR A NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY

As mentioned earlier, the most tangible outcome at the national level of the increased concern for language policy in the late 1970s and early 1980s has been the establishment of an inquiry by the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts into 'the development and implementation of a co-ordinated language policy for Australia'. Established in March 1982, this perhaps unusual move by a parliamentary body was the result of considerable activity on the part of language professionals, community groups and government agencies, convincing the Committee to recognise language as a legitimate and even urgent area of concern for public policy.

In translating the plethora of language issues into a specific political demand for an inquiry, three particular factors were crucial in laying the foundations for the Senate inquiry:

1. The essential involvement of a government department and bureaucracy

Moves to have language policy placed on official agendas were directed most sharply at the federal government's Department of Education, which had over the 1970s been given the responsibility of many of the educational aspects of the immigration program, and which put into effect the growing involvement of the federal government in financing school systems and beginning to influence school programs. In its own submission to the Senate inquiry, the Department could list some 22 recent major submissions and initiatives with which it had been connected in relation to language policy.

As one of its most notable initiatives, the Department had conducted a survey of the teaching of languages in schools in 1974-76, noting the paucity of opportunity for migrant children to study their first language in schools, and the general decline in language study for the whole school population. This *Report of the committee on the teaching of migrant languages in schools* (1976) provided the first comprehensive data for assessing language teaching across the Australian school system.

The interest in language education within the Department of Education continued for the next five years, with increasingly close contact between departmental officers and language professionals. Through its increasing range of duties in running language programs, the Department built up contact with all the developing language issues already surveyed.

The work of a small group within the Department resulted in a seminal document that appeared in May 1982, just after the announcement of the Senate inquiry — *Towards a national language policy*. Written to encourage interest in language policy and to test community reactions, it set out an extensive agenda of issues that closely reflect the actual terms of reference of the Senate inquiry. (See Appendix 1.)

This document argued that until recently Australia's 'predominant monolingual orientation denied a significant role to any language other than English'. Now, with over a million bilingual Australians who regularly use a language other than English, it was time to reassess and co-ordinate Australia's language policies:

> Present language planning efforts represent, in many cases, ad hoc responses to needs as they become identified. Programs in this area have not therefore always been co-ordinated. For example, the development of programs for interpreters and translators has moved ahead of the complementary development of training courses; community language programs have been introduced without planned continuity within the curriculum; language assessment procedures have not kept pace with either the changing purposes for which students take language or the changing context of many courses.   (Australia: Department of Education 1982:2)

The document went on to outline other language *needs* that have never been properly co-ordinated (ranging from adult literacy for English speakers, to ESL programs, to the language needs of the deaf), but also related these issues to the increasingly vocal concern of many communities in preserving and developing their own language, in the name of language *rights*. Beyond arguments of needs and rights, however, the document also stressed the urgency of considering language as a *resource*, to 'take cognizance of Australia's total communication needs at local, national and international levels'. (Ibid:3)

The Department of Education was clear in what kind of 'language policy' it was arguing for: it was to a large extent co-ordination and facilitation of effort and the setting of priorities rather than the advocacy of additional programs and the creation of new institutions that were the focus of its thinking. In a situation of economic recession and cutbacks in public expenditure, policies that require massive funding were unlikely to be well received, even if a rationale for them could be accepted. What was also sought however was the heuristic and persuasive power of a policy that could be taken to other forums — schools, government departments, private sector organisations — and be used to rationalise moves for changes in aspects of language treatment. For example, curriculum in schools is no longer centrally determined by educational author- ities, but is much more likely to be school--based and to evolve from negotiation. The place of language teaching is thus the result of thousands of individual settlements, but it can be severely affected by more general trends in educa- tional ideologies and policies. A well-articulated policy at higher levels could help practitioners in influencing local decisions.

The Department of Education's work for a language policy was also supported by other departments, particularly the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs through its Secretary, John Menadue. With a personal background in diplomacy and oriental studies, Menadue was prominent at conferences and in language publications supporting a language policy, combining specific migrant needs and concerns with a broader perspective of Australia's language needs in relation to external affairs, trade and relations with Asia (Menadue 1981).

2.   The activities of the language professionals as an organised group

The role of language professionals has been crucial in securing many of the recent initiatives in policies related to languages. In the case of some lan- guage professional groups, such as in linguistics, there has been marked development of the profession from miniscule beginnings: the Linguistic Society of Australia was formed as a very small body in 1967, but the 1970s saw tremen- dous growth in this previously neglected academic discipline. In 1974 a group within the LSA, the Society for Linguistics and Education, was formed to focus on the application of linguistics within education, with considerable interest in issues of bilingual education, ESL and language maintenance. The rapid growth of interest in these and other aspects of applied work led to the formation of the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia in 1976, which devoted considerable time to examining policy issues, operating as a forum for language activists and slowly opening up contacts with government departments and politicians.

In some contrast to the growing activism of the linguists, within groups of modern language teachers there had been a growing sense of crisis in the face of a steady decline of some traditional areas of language study, particularly French. A prevailing mood of defensiveness and lack of morale only changed in the late 1970s, through a process of politicisation and demands that the profession, in order to survive, address itself to wider issues of language policy. The process of politicisation, through contact with the wider field of linguistics and its policy-orientation, was reflected very clearly in the Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations of Australia journal *Babel* in the late 1970s and early 1980s. This publication, previously largely concerned with in-house issues of language teaching methodology, with occasional articles on wider issues, changed remarkably abruptly in 1977 with the appoint- ment of Terry Quinn, a modern language academic and Director of the Language

Centre at the University of Melbourne, to the editorship. His very first edition contained an urgently-written article by Ingram 'Language teaching in the pluralist society — the challenge for teacher educators' which detailed the immense shortcomings that language teachers had demonstrated in coming to grips with multilingualism in Australia, and pointed to the 'need for language teachers to be reoriented toward the pluralist society and Australia's geographical, political and economic location', arguing that the teachers should be re-educated 'for new languages, new subjects and new community-based methods'. (*Babel*, vol.3, no.1, 1977:11). This same edition contained an article promoting Asian languages in Australian schools, and reported a Modern Language Teachers Association of Queensland initiative in making a detailed submission to its state government on language needs in schools, with emphasis on migrant and Asian languages.

For the next three years Quinn geared *Babel* to create awareness of policy within the profession. His 1978 editorial 'A national language policy', warned the profession that it had a low profile in the community and could not expect to exert influence unless it developed it political muscle and took seriously the need to convince the community of the importance of language learning (*Babel*, vol.4, no.1, 1978). His following editorial 'Of language teachers and government reports' argued that modern language teachers had totally failed to respond to the 1976 Report on *Teaching of migrant languages in schools* (there had been, for example, no mention at all of this Report in the *Babels* of the day): 'In the aftermath of the 1976 Report, some observers bitterly accused our profession, rightly or wrongly, of being an irrelevant and elitist group of conservative French and German teachers, wedded to old ways and unwilling to face contemporary linguistic issues in a changing Australian society' (*Babel*, vol.14, no.2, 1978:2). He pointed to the recent publication of the Galbally Report (1978) as an important opportunity to make the profession's views felt on cultural and linguistic pluralism.

The policy orientation of *Babel* continued apace, with the previous in-house type articles occupying only a fraction of their former space: other articles in 1978 included several on problems of bilingual teacher-training programs, and there were detailed reports of conferences with a stress on language policy and political action. In 1979 came Ingram's flagship 'The case for a national language policy in Australia', Brandle's 'The diversification of language education', and in the final issue of 1979 a reprint, occupying almost the entire edition, of the Department of Education's *Education in a multicultural Australia*.

Quinn pursued his aggressive editorials: in 'The unity of a language profession' he urged closer co-operation with other professional language groups and talked of them forming 'an effective pressure group', arguing that the most successful of these were 'the broadly-based ones representing loose coalitions of many groups with some sense of common purpose' (*Babel*, vol.15, no.2, 1979:3). This emphasis continued in 1980 with a long theoretical look at the Galbally Report by Lewins, several considerations of language in core curriculum proposals, and two editorials, one by Ingram as guest editor 'On multiculturalism and multilingualism', and finally one by Quinn 'Language programs and national needs' praising Menadue's promotion of Asian languages.

With political links between professional associations increasingly assured, the issue of a national language policy could now be addressed by a broadly-based coalition. The role played by the language professionals in moving other institutions towards a consideration of language policy — and the Senate inquiry in particular — was to be critical.

Three factors here deserve particular attention. Firstly, the language groups formally organised themselves in August 1981 as the Professional Language Associations for a National Language Policy (PLANLangPol) Committee, comprising the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia, Australian Linguistic Society, Aboriginal Languages Association, Australian Association for the Teaching of English, Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers' Associations, and the Australian Universities Language and Literatures Association. Co-convenors were Professor Ross Steele (French, Sydney University) and Professor Roland Sussex (Russian, University of Melbourne).

Secondly, PLANLangPol did much to create the preconditions for the Senate inquiry by running series of workshops and meetings on language policy in joint activities and representations in late 1981, when together with the Department of Education they sensed the possibility of having language policy addressed in a national forum. It was the representations of the PLANLangPol Committee and the considerable support it had engendered within the Department of Education that ensured the Senate Committee's choice of language policy as its next area of investigation. PLANLangPol also maintained strong contacts with the Ethnic Communities Councils who actively mobilised ethnic support for a national language policy.

Thirdly, PLANLangPol created a forum for its own deliberations and the basis of its own submission by organising a series of meetings where those writing sections of the submission could present their formulations for discussion. The completed submission provided the Senate Committee with one of its major documents. Further contact with the Senate Committee was maintained by inviting its members to speak at professional language conferences.

While some issues raised in the submission (e.g. research concerns, the possibility of a National Language Institute to do basic data collection on languages) relate very specifically to the needs of language professionals, the broadness of issues addressed in PLANLangPol's submission is demonstrated in its table of contents:

Section I English

1.1 English as a Mother Tongue: Teaching.
1.2 English as a Mother Tongue: Other Aspects.
1.3 Standardization of Australian English.
1.4 English as a National Language.
1.5 English as a Second Language.
1.6 English as a Foreign Language.

Section II Languages other than English

2.1 Aboriginal Languages
2.2 Non-Aboriginal Community Languages other than English.
2.3 Second Language Teaching in Primary Schools, Secondary Schools and Higher and Further Education.

Section III General Considerations

3.1 The Role of Linguistic Theory in a National Language Policy.
3.2 Translating and Interpreting.
3.3 Research and Information.
3.4 "National Languages Institute".

3. The acceptance that a language policy should encompass all languages

One obvious way in which the Senate inquiry differed from several other attempts
to formulate language policy (e.g. the U.S.A.'s Presidential Commission) is the
central place of a focus on *English* in any language policy. It is useful to
consider the implications of such an all encompassing approach to language: most
clearly this is an attempt to define language policy as being *not* exclusively a
migrant or ethnic issue, and thus appealing to a broader constituency than the
migrant and Aboriginal constituencies alone. Also, such a broader definition,
while obviously relating to the interests of language professionals, does not
limit itself to the province of any one specialty, e.g. teaching ESL or teaching
foreign languages. The stress on English opens up a spectrum of issues which
can be of wider concern.

The Senate inquiry looked inter alia at the status of English in Australia,
illiteracy in English and the teaching of English as a mother tongue, as well
as English as a second and foreign language. Many of these areas had witnessed
considerable development and professional involvement in the 1970s.

THE SENATE INQUIRY INTO A NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY

The Senate Committee inquiry begun in 1982 published its Report in October 1984
(Australia: Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts *A national lan-
guage policy* (henceforth *ANLP*), 1984). The submissions and evidence to the
Committee (there were over 230 submissions) constitute an invaluable archive
and source of insight into the thinking of official bodies and professional and
community groups over a range of language issues, and the function of the inquiry
in bringing to light these manifold concerns and giving them impetus has tran-
scended perhaps the actual recommendations of the inquiry itself, which battled
to try to encompass the enormous range of issues in a comprehensive manner.

The recommendations of the Committee were generally mild, and cautious in some
areas where there were intense differences of opinion among witnesses and
submissions (e.g. bilingual education for other than Aboriginal children). The
Committee sought first of all to establish overall principles of government
action:

> *Recommendation 1:* Language policies should be developed
> and co-ordinated at the national level on the basis of four
> guiding principles, namely:
>
> *competence in English;
> *maintenance and development of languages other than
> English;
> *provision of services in languages other than English;
> *opportunities for learning second languages

and the Committee sought to partly institutionalise its own work by recommending
a 'national advisory council on language policy...with advisory, co-ordinating
and policy research functions' (*ANLP: Recommendation 2*). Several areas were of
particular concern to the Senate Committee:

1. Aboriginal languages

Despite almost universal ignorance among other Australians of these languages,
the Committee estimated there were some 50,000 speakers. Many of the hundreds
of Aboriginal languages are in great danger of extinction (many have died out

already), while some 50 are in a relatively healthy condition with in some cases numbers of their speakers growing. For many of the languages in greatest danger, essential work of systematically recording the language needs to be undertaken to preserve these languages for posterity. For the groups whose languages are stronger, questions of language maintenance, bilingualism, education and media arise in the same way as for migrant languages. Bilingual education has been undertaken for over a decade in some parts of northern Australia, but in many state education systems Aboriginal languages have been totally ignored.

The many groups representing Aboriginal interests who appeared before the Committee all stressed the urgency of the situation of these languages and, equally strongly, urged that the principle of community consultation must underlie language policy in this area.

Aboriginal issues are ones in which the federal government does have considerable scope, with constitutional as well as financial powers. This is the issue which clearly made the greatest impact on the Committee, and it recommended the urgent increase of resources for the study of Aboriginal languages and the training of Aboriginal linguists, for a detailed census of surviving Aboriginal languages, for the expansion of maintenance bilingual programs, and for the wider teaching of these languages to the non-Aboriginal population. It finally urged that 'Aboriginal people must be guaranteed the major role in decision-making relating to all Aboriginal language issues' (*ANLP: Recommendation 56*).

2. Bilingual education (other than Aboriginal)

While the issue of bilingual education has been constantly addressed in many other countries and in some cases has a legislative mandate, the Senate inquiry revealed that there is very divided opinion over the desirability and feasibility of bilingual programs in Australian schools. The Department of Education argued that although the number of bilingual programs has recently increased in Australia, they are

> often considered to be temporary, their dominant purpose being to enable children to maintain or develop their academic knowledge while they are still learning English. Once enough English has been acquired, usually towards the end of primary school, education usually proceeds in English alone.

> Such an approach to bilingual education, however, may not be meeting the demand for language maintenance programs for children from non-English speaking homes to fully develop their skills in their mother tongue as well as English.
> (Australia: Department of Education 1982:7)

The Schools Commission submitted that these kinds of *transitional* bilingual programs were the only ones feasible, and that 'a policy of bilingualism for individuals is not likely given likely resource levels'. In their appearance before the Committee the Schools Commission representatives argued that transitional bilingual programs began by accepting the child's first language but that

> the aim is really to ensure that they are competent in English in the long run so that you start from the known and work to the unknown — the old pedagogic thing.

> The other view of bilingual education is, in fact, that
> you teach the subject matter in two languages...The best
> example of that...would be the Canadian approach. The
> Commission view is that it does not see Australia devel-
> oping along the Canadian model. As mentioned earlier, as
> far as it can see it sees there being one official lan-
> guage. It agrees that the transitional bilingual approach
> is very useful and should be supported, especially for
> older students who come in as new arrivals, but also for
> Aboriginal children. Its view is, though, that anything
> more than a transitional bilingual approach, from what
> it sees, is unlikely to happen in Australia.
> (Evidence to Committee, Hansard:248)

This issue was joined in several other submissions and testimonies, where it was
argued that bilingual programs should not be of the transitional kind alone but
should also be concerned with language *maintenance*. This was argued by the
Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils and by organisations representing
attempts at fully bilingual schooling, for example the French-Australian School
in Canberra which runs an integrated curriculum in the two languages; by repre-
sentatives of the Victorian Advisory Committee on Migrant and Multicultural
Education — ironically, the body recommending on how to spend Victoria's share
of Schools Commission multicultural education money; and by Michael Clyne
(PLANLangPol) who reported on the success of bilingual German-English programs
on an immersion model in some Melbourne primary schools.

With a number of other organisations weighing in on both sides of the debate,
the Committee was cautious in its ultimate recommendations. As compared with
its emphatic support for maintenance programs for Aboriginal languages, in
relation to migrant languages it pointed to the disagreements voiced and felt
constrained to urge slow development: it recognised the 'widely acknowledged
effectiveness of the bilingual approach for first language maintenance and
second-language learning' (*ANLP* 11.40) and praised the few maintenance bilingual
programs in Australian schools, but was daunted above all by the problem of the
diversity of languages in the school context, and warned that 'there are sub-
stantial organisational problems to be overcome and that in many cases the
bilingual approach may be impracticable in financial terms' (*ANLP* 11.40).
Without attempting to resolve the disparate views it recommended only in the
most general terms that 'Education authorities should establish more bilingual
programs, and evaluate their outcomes as a guide to possible further expansion.
Provisions need to be made for teacher education for bilingual programs'. (*ANLP:
Recommendation 76*).

3. The study of languages other than English

While second language study (particularly French) has dramatically declined in
recent decades, an area of considerable recent expansion has been that of second
language teaching in primary schools, where until the advent of community lan-
guage studies there had been a general tradition of not teaching languages. The
Committee looked with considerable favour upon this development, and recommended
that such programs be 'substantially increased to give more children the oppor-
tunity to maintain their home language or to acquire other languages' (*ANLP:
Recommendation 78*).

At the secondary level, the old question of compulsory language prerequisites
for tertiary education was raised (such prerequisites being almost universally
abandoned in Australia), but the Committee was very much more interested in

alternative suggestions that fell short of compulsion. Noting the decline in the proportion of secondary students studying any language at all for any period of time (slightly over 60% in year seven, reducing to 12% in year 12), the Committee argued that this problem needed to be tackled in the initial years of secondary education rather than at its end with the manipulation of prerequisites: it recommended that 'all secondary students should experience language learning for a minimum period of one year, at levels suitable to their abilities' (*ANLP: Recommendation 80*). The Committee stated that it would 'be hesitant to go beyond this position, at least in the context of the present state of development of language teaching techniques' (*ANLP* 11.62). Recognising that most language programs were developed for teaching the academically most able students, and that making such programs compulsory would, in the words of the PLANLangPol submission 'impose the cruel inevitability of failure on some percentage of students', the Committee recommended that 'secondary students of lesser academic ability should not be required to continue language learning for periods longer than a year until language programs suitable for students of all ability levels have been fully developed and shown to be operating successfully' (*ANLP: Recommendation 81,* 11.62).

One concern of the Committee in relation to LOTEs in schools was the tendency to categorise languages taught in schools into invidious categories — 'Asian', 'migrant', 'traditional foreign languages', etc. — which in the Committee's view had obscured rational debate on language learning and 'inhibited attempts to devise policies which apply in a consistent and coherent way across the whole field of languages other than English' (*ANLP* 11.6). Given the degree of entrenchment of these categories in professional groups and educational programs, the Committee's comments are perhaps a timely warning. However, even ignoring such categorisation the question of priorities in selecting languages for teaching purposes from all possible contenders remained an intractable one. The Committee applauded the diversification of language offerings that had oc- curred at primary, secondary and tertiary levels in the last decade, but argued that for the newer language offerings to be properly staffed and resourced, priorities must be established that can guide more long-term planning. In the end, however, apart from recommending local decision-making and community involvement, it found the problem of priorities too difficult and recommended, rather unhelpfully, that 'education authorities should identify those languages of major relevance to the majority of schools. Funds available for the teaching of languages should be directed mainly to such languages although a substantial proportion should be reserved for other languages' (*ANLP: Recommendation 87*).

4. Teacher training

The Committee was very concerned with the present composition and quality of the teaching force in regard to the range of language issues facing schools. There was careful scrutiny of the adequacy of recruitment and training of second language and ESL teachers, and recognition of a set of problems faced by many such teachers: career structures, and the problem of organisationally fitting teachers, careers and programs into schools. The quality of teacher- training programs was of particular concern, as was the almost total lack of language awareness in the training of teachers who did not have specific expert- ise in teaching ESL or foreign languages.

The Committee's recommendations suggested incentives for language teachers (e.g. tax deductions and scholarships/fellowships for living and studying in an overseas country where their language is spoken), and several suggestions

for education systems to undertake longer-term planning to ensure adequate numbers of language teachers, ensuring that only qualified teachers were used to teach languages, and for responding to linguistic diversity, urging teacher training institutions to 'broaden the range of options in languages and language teaching methodologies which are provided' (*ANLP: Recommendation 86*).

While the majority of the Committee's recommendations concerned educational matters, non-educational matters were also dealt with. The Committee noted the significant developments that had occurred in several areas to meet language needs, demonstrating the impact that a multilingual population was having on a variety of institutions. There had been, for instance, a rapid reorientation of libraries in Australia towards their multilingual clientele, with large holdings of books and non-book materials in LOTEs, and active programs for the development of these library services. There had also been attention to the provision of library services to those with communication handicaps.

Finally, the Committee looked at the multilingual impact on the media. The establishment of a multicultural TV service in 1980 serving capital cities was a means of exposing a significant proportion of the Australian population (of whatever background) to different cultures and languages. There has also been a significant expansion of radio services for and by migrant and Aboriginal communities, and this was seen to have considerable positive impact upon language maintenance. The Committee recommended that the introduction of future communications technologies (e.g. satellites) should consider language needs and language demands from the populations affected.

STATE INITIATIVES

The particular forces that shaped the National Language Policy also were apparent at the State level where initiatives had in some cases overtaken the Senate inquiry, particularly in relation to the detailed formulation of language objectives in school systems. In Victoria in 1983, the State government on the recommendation of its Advisory Committee on Multicultural and Migrant Education initiated plans to introduce supernumerary community language teachers into primary schools, to accelerate the teaching of languages to lower age groups than had been the norm. In 1985 there will be 130 such teachers.

A discussion paper in 1984 recommended the expansion of the program and addressed the implications of this in terms of staffing (including teacher training) support and resource materials. It especially pointed to successful maintenance bilingual programs that had been developed in several schools and urged adoption of such programs by an increasing number of schools. Perhaps most significantly, it quantified its recommendations, asking for

> a gradual increase in the number of community language
> and bilingual education programs in primary schools, a
> proposed target increase of an average of 60 programs/year
> over the next five years and an average of 100 programs/
> year over the following ten years.
> (Victoria: State Board of Education and MACMME 1984:4.12).

The initiative of the community language teacher program came in the context not only of language maintenance for migrant children but also as a desire to expose all students in Victorian schools to second language learning. In a Ministerial Paper issued in 1984 on curriculum development, curricular objectives

for schools were given in broad terms of a 'comprehensive range of studies and activities' needing to be undertaken by all students. One of the specified objectives was 'to acquire proficiency in another language used in the Australian community', and the Paper directed that school councils (who design in detail each school's curriculum) ensure that students are enabled to progressively attain these objectives. (Victoria, Minister of Education 1984:17).

At some odds with the Senate inquiry's worries over the rigid categorisation of language programs, the Victorian initiatives did not shy from justifying their programs specifically as *community language* programs.

In South Australia, a wide-ranging report 'Education for a cultural democracy' (South Australia: Task force to investigate multiculturalism and education 1984) devised an ambitious set of language objectives for all school systems, government and non-government. It points to the tardiness of the education system in responding to the advent of a 'multicultural society', and looked not only at language education programs but also at broader aspects of hiring policies, teacher training, departmental staffing and resource issues. In specifically educational terms, it recommended a very definite target to be reached: 'that English plus one other language be part of the education for all students' (ibid:xxiii), with a firm schedule for implementation of 10% per year until its achievement in 1995. In this, the South Australian recommendation went well beyond the recommendation of the Senate Committee, that all secondary students should have a minimum of one year's language learning. The Report also recommended particular attention to language maintenance measures and the closer integration of ethnic schools with day school systems, the introduction of additional community languages at the tertiary education level, and the intensification of effort and resources in the area of ESL teaching to migrants.

REFLECTING ON LANGUAGE POLICY

The hectic and in some cases breathless pursuit of a national language policy in the last few years has wrought important changes both to the language professions and to the political visibility of language issues in the wider society.

The experience of participating in the formulation of a language policy has been a fascinating and engaging one for Australian language professionals, with the necessity of examining assumptions normally taken for granted about their field, and of sharing the frustration of detailing the proper implementation of cherished but sometimes very lofty hopes for language programs.

Looking more broadly, the placing of language into a policy context, so novel and received so often with puzzlement at the time, now gives some means of co-ordinating an unintegrated set of practices, policies and intentions in the area of 'multiculturalism': to consider these matters in terms of language policy may give a focus to a range of issues that otherwise prove exasperatingly diffuse to grapple with. There may well be practical, and theoretical, sense in turning policy discourse to 'multilingualism' from the less precise 'multiculturalism'.

Finally, in talking of a national policy on languages, in no sense does even the Senate Report provide a thorough and detailed policy to be handed down from above by fiat: even with its mass of recommendations on a spectrum of language issues, the detailed implementation — and the sorting out of priorities in areas

inadequately dealt with by the Senate inquiry — lies clearly in the hands of
language professionals, of their clients, and of the community groups for whom
the value of language is central to their identity and their discourse with
others. The ultimate value of a national language policy may well be in the
overarching support, political and symbolic as much as material, that it gives
to their own endeavours.

APPENDIX I

SENATE STANDING COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND THE ARTS: TERMS OF REFERENCE

The development and implementation of a co-ordinated language policy in Australia

In conducting this inquiry, the Committee will consider the following:

(a) All aspects of, including guidelines for, a national language policy;
(b) the role of English as a first and second language and its relationship to
other languages in Australia; (c) the present use of languages in Australia
including use in the community, in the media — including newspapers, ethnic
radio and multicultural television — and in the arts and to extend equality of
access to services and to the institutions of Australian society; (d) the par-
ticular requirements arising from the community and educational use of Aboriginal
languages; (e) the current state of, and trends in, language teaching and
learning in primary and secondary schools, tertiary education and other formal
and informal programs in the community; (f) the extent to which existing policies,
practices, attitudes, resource allocations and programs are adequate to provide
for the appropriate development of Australia's language resources; (g) the lan-
guage requirements in Australia necessary for trade diplomacy, defence, tourism
and cultural exchange especially taking into account Australia's regional and
other international relationships; (h) the special language needs of the deaf
and other persons with disabilities; (i) the ways and means of stimulating
continuing public awareness of and interest in the development of Australia's
language resources; (j) arrangements for the on-going implementation of a
national language policy including the identification of priorities and the
allocation of resources; (k) the provision of, and training for, translating
and interpreting services; (l) the extent of adult illiteracy in English and
the need for remedial programs.

COMBINED

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

ABBREVIATIONS used in the bibliography

AGPS	Australian Government Publishing Service.
AIAS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies
ANU	Australian National University
AUMLA	Journal of the Australian Universities Modern Languages and Literatures Association
CLS	Chicago Linguistic Society
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CSIRO	Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization
CUP	Cambridge University Press
IJSL	International Journal of the Sociology of Language
ITL	Review of Applied Linguistics, Louvain
MUP	Melbourne University Press.
OUP	Oxford University Press
PL	Pacific Linguistics
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
-AAB	Australian Aborigines Branch
UP	University Press
UPP	University of Pennsylvania Press

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