AUSTRALIA TALKS:

ESSAYS ON THE SOCIOLOGY OF AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRANT AND ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES

Collected and edited by

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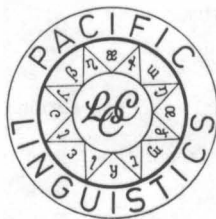
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INTRODUCTION

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Australia has become a living laboratory for research into socio-linguistics/sociology of language, offering three main fields: aboriginal languages, local varieties of English and immigrant languages in contact with English. It is around these three subjects that this volume centres its attention, with contributions by linguists, social scientists and educationists.

Most of the contributions for this volume were originally written in 1974 for a special issue of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* but the size of this volume unfortunately exceeded the number of pages available. I thank Joshua Fishman for first suggesting this collection and Stephen Wurm for making possible publication in the D Series of *Pacific Linguistics*.

Of the approximately 260 aboriginal languages used in Australia when the white man settled in this country (1788), only about 150 are still spoken[1], some by only a few old people (cf. Capell, 1963). The socio-linguistic aspects and implications of the considerable research into Australian aboriginal languages are discussed here by Sommer. With the ruthless pressure on aborigines to 'assimilate', and wholesale de-tribalization, a rapid language shift occurred, with cultural identity problems (cf. Sommer, in this volume), and aboriginal varieties of English (Flint 1968) and pidgins developed, some of which have become creolized. One of these, spoken in the Katherine and Roper River districts of the Northern Territory, is described here by Sharpe and Sandefur. There are indications that this creole is spoken over a more extensive part of inland Australia.

The uniformity of Australian English has been a subject of discussion. Mitchell and Delbridge (1965 a, b) ascertain very little regional difference but considerable social variation in phonology

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[1]Personal communication, B. Blake.

between three varieties which they designate as Cultivated, General
and Broad, representing progressive deviation from Received Pronunci-
ation, a lesser tendency towards Cultivated among males, rural people
and pupils of government schools than among females, city dwellers and
pupils of independent (non-government) schools. These findings are
based on tapes of 9,000 adolescent school children from all over
Australia recorded by their teachers. The study predates the develop-
ment of sociolinguistics with its emphasis on social setting of corpus,
experimental design, and code-switching or individual variation.
Mitchell and Delbridge remains by far the most extensive empirical
study of the subject. (Further discussion of uniformity in Australian
English e.g. in Turner 1966, Bernard 1967a, 1967b, 1969, Cochrane 1959,
Clyne 1970, Jernudd 1969). In this volume Eagleson and Muecke attack
this question from the perspective of social variation and Thuan from
that of language planning. Taylor analyzes swearing in Australian
English as a sociolinguistic continuum.

Since the 1830s, sizable groups of non-English-speaking immigrants
have settled in Australia. Some early groups, such as the Germans of
South Australia, Western Victoria and south-eastern Queensland formed
closed communities, but most assimilated rapidly. The mass immigration
program launched in 1947 brought about a marked change in Australia's
population composition, eating habits, attitudes to foreigners and
foreign languages, and self-image. At present nearly 1/3 of Australia's
population are immigrants or children of immigrants (the majority from
non-English-speaking backgrounds). Studies have been conducted on
acculturation and on social interaction between immigrants and native-
born Australians (e.g. Johnston 1965, 1973, Martin, Medding 1973, Price
1945, 1963, 1964, Taft 1966, Zubrzycki 1964), and on interaction between
Australian English and immigrant languages (Andreoni 1967, Clyne 1967,
1970, 1972, 1973, Endrody 1971, Harvey 1974, Johnston 1967, Kaminskas
1972, Klarberg 1971, Kouzmin 1974, Rando 1968). Research has so far
tended to be 'piecemeal' or isolated, and no full investigation of lan-
guage maintenance across the immigrant communities has yet been under-
taken in Australia. (But Gilson and Zubrzycki, 1967, deal exhaustively with
the immigrant press of the time). On the whole, factors operating in
favour of language maintenance and factors that can either promote or
impede it, depending on their combination, are similar to those in the
United States (cf. Kloss 1966). Status and usefulness of the migrant
language, the presence of or visits from grandparents, and the use of
a standard variety of the migrant language may be added to Kloss's
'clear' language maintenance factors. Kloss's list of 'ambivalent'
factors (leading to maintenance or shift) - educational level, numeri-

cal strength, attitude of the majority to the migrant language or
group, sociocultural characteristics - may be augmented by four other
factors in the Australian situation: Prior knowledge of the second
language, the political situation in the country of emigration, ethnic
denominations, and number of children in the family (Clyne 1976).
Part-time ethnic schools, religious denominations, the ethnic press,
ethnic clubs and societies, libraries and reading circles, and ethnic
radio may all be regarded as institutions fostering language mainten-
ance in Australia.

In this volume, Johnston and Klarberg discuss language maintenance
with respect to particular ethnic groups with different acculturation
problems. Smolicz and Harris devise a sociological model for the study
of ethnic languages and, drawing on data from various communities,
formulate conclusions on the future of immigrant languages in Australia.
Rado's findings among Southern European adolescents in inner Melbourne
suburbs contrast with the usual results of investigations on language
maintenance (e.g. Smolicz and Harris, Johnston, Klarberg). The dif-
ference may be due to the introduction of bilingual education into the
schools attended by Rado's subjects. While Johnston and Rado examine
attitudes, Bolitho traces communication networks and Clyne deals with
the work domain.

The social and educational injustices related to forced assimilation
and monolingualism have led to government policies and private pressure
(for instance, through the setting-up of 'migrant action'[2] groups)
towards a pluralistic approach, especially in education. This is
discussed by Kaldor (aborigines and immigrants), Rado (immigrants) and
Tryon (aborigines). Possibilities unthought of three years ago are
being realized (e.g. matriculation examinations in virtually all immi-
grant languages in Victoria; bilingual education which, however, was a
'fact of life' in some parts of Australia prior to World War I; ethnic
language programs on special stations or access radio).

The contents of this volume does not, by any means, represent all
work on sociolinguistics in Australia as it is a very rapidly-expanding
field and much of our research is not Australia-centered. However, it
is hoped that this volume will contribute to international as well as
local interest in the Australian sociolinguistic scene.

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[2]In Australian English, 'migrant' = 'immigrant'

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THE EVIDENCE FOR SOCIAL DIALECTS IN AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH

Robert D. Eagleson

The title of this paper is presented as an introduction to an enquiry rather than a final statement, more as a challenge to covert and uncritical assumptions than a full-scale declaration. As recently as November, 1966 there appeared in the final examination paper for a postgraduate course in English at a major Australian University the following question:

What support is there, so far, for believing that Australian English has no dialects?

Admittedly, there is good evidence for believing that the examiner was thinking in terms of regional dialectology, but even so the wording of the question reveals a disregard for, if not an unawareness of, social dialects. It is my impression that in the community at large there is still a great unawareness of the possibility for the development of such dialects. There is still very much a tendency to regard nonstandard forms as random errors, the result of carelessness, little schooling, or bad teaching.

A priori, given the nature of the community that has developed in Australia and considering its origins, one might expect that social dialects would exist. This article seeks to go a stage beyond this hypothetical point and to present evidence to indicate that there are grounds if not for completely accepting the presence of social dialects, at least for seriously entertaining the prospect of their emergence. Above all and even more concretely, the findings here presented, it is believed, offer sound reasons for undertaking an extensive investigation of the nature of the variation which has arisen in the language.

The evidence is based on some forty hours of recorded discussion

and conversation with thirty-six informants. Sociologically, these
informants constitute a fairly homogeneous group. All the adults have
occupations at the lower end of the status scale, for example, factory
hand, machinist, bush cook, domestic, packer, nurses' aid, barmaid,
semi-skilled panel-beater; the parents of the children who were inform-
ants had the same level of occupation. All lived in homes and areas
which would normally be regarded as far from prestigious. There is a
spread in ages with nine informants in the 10-12 age range, seven 18-
25, eleven 26-35, eight 36-45, and one 60. While females outnumber
males, nine are boys or men, so that there is a reasonable representa-
tion of male speech. All the children are in primary grades in schools
in working class areas; all the adult informants have limited education,
some only to the primary level, the rest only the early years of
secondary school.

It is not being pretended that this survey, from which the findings
discussed below are derived, is a rigorously controlled study. Most
of the material was deliberately collected, but basically we were
exploring whether people would be prepared to collaborate, and testing
approaches in eliciting relaxed conversation, recording and similar
technical matters. Some of the material became available indirectly
because a social worker who had been recording some interviews, learnt
of our interest and agreed to release her tapes[1]. There were expecta-
tions, of course, that pertinent linguistic material would emerge, but
the operation should be described at best as a pilot survey, with no
effort at precise sampling or selection, beyond certain minimal require-
ments as to general socio-economic status, and a rough attempt to obtain
a spread by sex and age. The findings are offered in this spirit and
with these limitations clearly in mind. By the same token because of
the absence of any preconceptions about the type of evidence which
might emerge, and the general spontaneity of the venture, the material
has a certain inherent validity and value for the limited purpose being
set.

The paper concentrates on the areas of grammar and lexis, with some
attention to other features here loosely termed 'stylistic'. Matters
of phonology have not been taken up, partly for reasons of space, part-
ly because this area of Australian English has been documented as a
result of other studies more adequately than the material now under
review could permit[2]. As it is not critical to the interpretation and
the evaluation of any of the examples cited, no effort has been made
to represent prosodic features[3]. Unless otherwise indicated, only
phenomena for which the corpus contains several instances are discussed
in this paper, nonce items normally being avoided.

1. VERB TENSE AND ASPECT FORMS

In Australian English, as apparently elsewhere, verb forms seem to provide a fruitful source for sociolinguistic distinctions. This is particularly so with the past tense form where the change in tense is signalled by a modification of the medial vowel or by suppletion. Here very frequently nonstandard speakers adopt the past participle form for the standard past tense form. In the sample, the items include come for came, (33 instances), seen for saw (9), done for did (6), run for ran (2). The practice seems typical of speakers of all ages and sexes. A few examples, chosen to show this spread, are:

> But I haven't heard from her since she come home.
>   (Hilda: 42)

> Last Saturday or Sunday week when she come in an'
>   roared on you for roaring at me (Kevin's wife: c40)

> When I was four years old I come down here
>   (Wayne: 11)

> ... and the natives come over and attacked them
>   (Sharon: 11)

> I done all the talking (Brenda: 32)

> That year you done all the work. (Kevin: c40)

> I done all the landscaping meself (Joe: 60)

> It was the 'Magnificent Seven' - that was good -
>   we seen it twice here (Brenda: 32)

> I sorta never seen her 'cause I was only about
>   five when she got married (Joanne: 19)

> When they seen them natives (Sharon: 12)

> She rushed out an' run into 'im (Joe: 60)

Inasmuch as the forms for see and do are quite clearly related to the standard past participle form, come and run might also be seen here as being connected with the past participle rather than the infinitive.

While some speakers are consistent in their use of these nonstandard past tense forms, others fluctuate and at times use the standard forms. Whether this reflects inherent variability (to use Labov's concept) in the nonstandard dialects or dialect contamination it is difficult to assess on the basis of the present evidence. The matter requires further investigation and quantification.

Interestingly, the occurrence of done for did seems to be restricted

to situations in which do occurs as a full verb: it does not seem to
appear when do is operating as an auxiliary or substitute. Thus Kevin,
who used done above, repeatedly uses it, and uses it again in the follow-
ing extract, nevertheless does not call upon it in the second clause:

> Admittedly Leila done the work too, but so did I.
> (Kevin: c40).

There are also many instances of didn't, for example:

> he didn't particularly like me going out
> (Thora: 29).

Additional research may prove otherwise, but there are no instances in
the material of so done I, and I done not see.
  Oddly enough although came may be supplanted as a past tense form,
it occasionally turns up as a past participle:

> They've never ever came out (Brenda: 32)

> I met him several times, the minister, after
> we'd came back to Maitland (Diane: 40)

> I was very, very tiny when he'd came (Thora: 29).

But come is not the only verb that has a different past participle form
among nonstandard speakers. Others include break, go, speak, and write:

> ... Their marriages have broke up (Grace: 36)

> I knew I could've went on further (Thora: 29)

> He's never spoke about it much (Kate: c40)

> He said, "No, but it's wrote up out there".
> (Kate: c40).

  The perfect aspect seems to yield a range of variant forms at dif-
ferent points in the system. It is not just a question of the past
participial form, but the auxiliary also is subject to modification.
There are times when it is actually suppressed, particularly in the
presence of got. There are no less than 13 instances in the corpus,
with all types of informants being involved:

> You got to see the psych. to do everythink.
> (Toni: 34)

> I got a Norfolk pine there. I got a mandarin ......
> (Joe: 60)

> Yeah, I got two sisters and one brother (Cheryl: 11)

> ... and at home you got nothing to do (Wayne: 11)

> I gotta pay hard cash (Sandra: 35).

Be also occurs in this structure:

> ..it's the way they been brought up (Toni: 34)
>
> I think it depends on how you been brought up
>   (Joanne: 19).

In the next example the auxiliary appears in the first clause only to
be suppressed in the second:

> So it's been about twenty years since I been up
>   home (Hilda: 42).

This might well provide the clue to this type of structure. In all
instances in the corpus in which the auxiliary is not expressed, the
full phonological form would have been have not has. It is possible
that with have but not has the reduced versions of the auxiliary have
become so weakened that nonstandard speakers have come to dispense with
them altogether. The origin of the structure may thus be phonological
rather than grammatical.

Somewhat ironically in the light of this suppression of the auxili-
ary, we find it being duplicated in the past perfect:

> If I had've made him give up all his mates ...
>   (Carli: 20)
>
> ... had it have been the boot on the other foot
>   and it had've been Lynn (Leila, Kevin's wife: c40)
>
> I think even if they hadn't 've had their own shop
>   that he would have got a job up there in Mudgee
>   (Max's wife: c30)
>
> That's if I had 've passed (Max: c35).

The reason for this intrusive have is rather intriguing and again its
frequency needs exploring.

2. SUBJECT - VERB AGREEMENT

In the area of agreement, we come across an intriguing reversal in
practice: at times, a plural subject will be linked with a singular
verb form; then again a singular subject will be associated with a
plural verb form. The two verbs normally involved are be and do, be
usually figuring in the first type of agreement and do in the second.

The plural subject involved with the singular form of be, as far as

the corpus is concerned, is most frequently a personal pronoun:

> We wasn't allowed to walk on the floor
> (Brenda: 32)
>
> But you was at work a lot with Lynn
> (Kevin: c40)
>
> Then all of a sudden you decided you was gonna
> get married (Kevin's wife: c40).

There are two instances when the subject is a noun phrase:

> The best batters on our team was me and Wayne P.
> (Wayne: 11)
>
> The only eggs I'll eat is duck eggs (Hilda: 42).

This type of agreement is very common in the environment of existential **there**:

> There's three sticks (Wayne: 11)
>
> There's two gaol terms - there's the old-timers
> and the new-comers (Sandra: 35)
>
> There's two other girls - and there was four
> brothers (Hilda: 42)
>
> The other night there was two specials on
> (Brenda: 32)
>
> There was me and this other chick (Chris: 18).

In this particular environment with **there**, however, the plural subject - singular verb pattern is less distinctive of nonstandard speakers, as it is also frequent in casual, informal contexts with standard speakers, especially in the present tense.

The only occurrence with **be** of the pattern singular subject - plural verb was:

> Then she weren't scared any more (Wayne: 11).

This pattern is, as already indicated, more the domain of **do**:

> The mother don't come home till about ten o'clock
> (Wayne: 11)
>
> People don't like this, you know .... the average
> person don't (Thora: 29)
>
> So when the heavy rains come .... the water don't
> go far (Joe: 60).

The two occasions in which **does** occurs with a plural subject involve relativisation:

> Sometimes you do get girls that doesn't give you
>   any quiet (Hilda: 42)
>
> It's business worries that does it (Michelle's
>   mother: 36).

Whether it is the relative structure which induces this pattern and whether the pattern occurs only in this environment is not clear on the basis of the present evidence.

3.   THE SUBJECT

The evidence collected so far points to the fact that nonstandard dialects in Australian English may be distinguished also by their handling of the subject of sentences. Again this would appear to be a social rather than a regional issue.

Very common is the duplication of the subject:

> The doctor in C----, Dr. ......, he seems to think
>   I should make up me mind. (Grace: 36)
>
> And Pat's mother, she comes up pretty frequent
>   (Max: c35)
>
> My sister, she goes (to the pictures) (Cheryl: 11)
>
> an' Colin, Graham 'n Gordon, they're Germans
>   (Wayne: 11)
>
> I got 'em in a way that the neighbour next door,
>   she can't complain (Joe: 60)
>
> My father, he was darker than me (Hilda: 42).

At times the subject is a co-ordinate structure, the duplication involving a more complicated pronominal substitution:

> Me and me girlfriend, we got picked up together
>   (Joanne: 19)
>
> an' me 'n the cat, we attacked them (Wayne: 11).

If the subject happens to be the speaker, **myself** normally appears as the first element in the structure:

> But myself I was quick to get out of it (Max: c35).

There is one instance of a more elaborate pattern:

> I myself, I don't mix with people (Joe: 60).

This last one fairly strongly points to one of the factors prompting
this structure of subject duplication. It is as if the speaker wishes
to emphasise the subject, and seeks to do so by setting it apart from
the rest of the utterance. In this way he perhaps hopes to fix it in the
mind of the listener, before he continues. Possibly also, in the less
emphatic situations, and especially where co-ordination is involved,
there may be problems of memory span and general control over struc-
tures, with the result that the speaker first articulates a subject,
which may be complex for him, simplifies it by means of a pronominal
substitute and then, with this simplification, completes the rest of
his utterance. Whatever the causes, however, subject duplication is
a common and distinctive feature. It is all the more so, as it is not
accompanied by hesitation and so cannot be explained away as springing
from uncertainty of content.

Co-ordinate constructions in the subject are the environment for
another feature which seems distinctive of nonstandard dialects. If a
personal pronoun happens to be the first element of the co-ordination,
it will frequently occur in the object rather than the subject form.
The first person pronoun is frequently expressed in this way:

>   Me an' Wayne we're the Americans (Wayne: 11)

>   Me and me girlfriend, we got picked up together
>   (Joanne: 19).

Other pronouns, however, can be affected in the same way:

>   Her and Malcolm were mates (Max's wife: c30)

>   I only know what her and Grey told me
>   (Kim's wife: c40).

This variation seems to occur only in co-ordinate constructions: the
object form of the pronoun does not arise when the pronoun occurs on
its own, as the first clause of the last example illustrates. We do
not find such structures as **Me only know**, etc.

When the first person pronoun is the second element in a co-ordina-
tion, it sometimes takes the form with -self:

>   This guy and myself were ...... (Cathy: 18).

This pattern seems restricted to the first person singular and there
is no evidence of its occurring with the other pronouns. Nor does the
data provide any evidence of the object form of the pronouns occurring
in this second position in co-ordination, though I have heard this
pattern and its existence cannot be disregarded. It is another area
for study and testing.

4. NEGATIVES

Recently during an electricity strike, I heard a young girl, about 12 years old, respond to a proposal that she might be able to purchase candles at another shop:

> George ain't got none neither!

The episode occurred in the neighbourhood of the University of Sydney, a working class area, from which a number of our informants were drawn, and in which further investigations are now being undertaken. As our corpus testifies, the girl is not alone in her use of the double negative, despite the fact that teachers in this area as well as elsewhere try to eradicate this linguistic form.

From the corpus itself the following two examples might be quoted:

> I know that there's a lot of fellows with a lot on
> their mind and they fail to give way, but they're
> not gonna hit me no more. (Joe: 60)

> He turns 'is face 'n won't have nothin' to do with
> a person, doesn't he? (Brenda: 32).

The structure comes easily, naturally, spontaneously.

5. ADJECTIVAL DEGREES

The same may also be said for a structure of the adjective which is regarded as unacceptable in the standard dialect and which in books on usage is called the **double comparative**:

> They're more harder to tune where the English
> bikes are more simpler. (Tom: 20)

> ... it's a lot more moderner (Toni: 34)

> You could make it more cleaner (Brenda: 32)

> But he's more firmer (Diane: c40)

Special account must be taken of Tom's persistent use, in the above example twice in close succession, and Toni's **moderner**, suggesting that the -er ending is seen as the ubiquitous comparative marker. Clearly, **more** is operating as an intensifier rather than as a signal of the comparative degree[4].

6. ADVERBIAL MORPHOLOGY

In nonstandard speech the adjectival form is, on the evidence, often made to serve an adverbial function as well, the standard -ly marker being omitted:

Pat's mother, she comes up pretty frequent
  (Max: c35)

You buy a bike so you can maintain it easy
  (Tom: 20)

he picks you up about it as soon as you say one
  word wrong (Noeline: 26)

Dear you speak terrible (Beverley: 32).

The same is true in comparative and equative structures:

speak clearer and pronounce their words better
  (Joanne: 19)

a lot of people can get through to him a lot easier
  than other people (Max: c35)

it sticks in my mind as happening more frequent
  since the accident (Max: c35)

she could speak their dialect as good as they
  could (Noeline: 26)

this is something that he could get out just as
  easy as he got in (Max's wife: c30).

Collocations, such as **get on**, **bring on** and **go on**, also seem to provide
a receptive environment for this feature:

he got on so fantastic with everybody up there
  (Noeline: 26)

If things don't go his way, it might bring it on
  quick (Max: c35)

She's going on stupid (Kim's wife: c40).

There is no disputing that speakers of the standard dialect also
produce the same or similar items, for example **quick**, especially in
informal and impromptu situations. Indeed, this could be one of those
matters where there is some overlap between the areas of style or
register on the one hand and social dialects on the other, pointing to
the need to explore linguistic behaviour in all situations.

Intensifiers derived from adverbs show a similar tendency. Predomi-
nant here is **real** in place of **really**:

It clears up real quickly (Chris: 18)
It was real beautiful (Cathy: 18)
It was real good (Brenda: 32)
She's real gentle and that (Carli: 20)

> They're going real well (Joe: 60)
>
> ...if you slog it real hard (Cheryl: 11).

One might attribute some of these to an American influence, but this will hardly account for such instances as:

> I'm real disgusted with my family (Hilda: 42)
>
> A lot of people are real prejudiced (Joanne: 19)
>
> I get real homesick (Carli: 20)
>
> He can get real absorbed in things too (Max: c35).

Even so, the form is so common that it must be regarded as a regular feature of nonstandard Australian English.

There are over thirty examples containing **real** as an intensifier. The corpus also provides one instance of **awful**:

> God, you sound awful English (Thora: 29)

7. DETERMINERS

Determiners in nonstandard speech are another word class which may take on different forms from the ones they have in the standard dialect. One which is generally recognised as a distinctive characteristic is the form **them** for **those**. It is not restricted to any age group as the following examples show:

> When they seen them natives (Sharon: 12)
>
> You know them dummies (Wayne: 12)
>
> but I think there's something wrong with them
>   people (Joe: 60)
>
> You can still be an alcoholic and not be like them
>   dumb dumbs over there (Toni: 34)
>
> Some people take the wrong attitude for her using
>   them big words (Brenda: 32).

Then there is the ever-present **me** for **my**, though this might be seen more as a phonological variant than a substitution in form[5]. Instances abound in the material:

> People'd start talking about me home life (Grace: 36)
>
> I go with me uncle sometimes to the beach (Mark: 10)
>
> The other day me father cleaned out the shed
>   (Sharon: 12)
>
> I was only thinking of me daughter and me son-in-
>   law (Joe: 60)

> I was only with me mother for the last two
> years (Kevin's wife: c40).

Quite unexpected was the occurrence of **a** for **an**. There are at least six instances in the corpus:

> I've got a Intermediate Certificate (Thora: 29)
>
> She was scared to have a operation (Wayne: 11)
>
> I'll tell you about a accident happened to me
> years ago (Joe: 60)
>
> I was looking forward to working in a office
> (Karen: 18).

As can be seen, the form is not idiosyncratic, nor is it limited to one particular subset of the informants. While it may not be a major characteristic, it is one which nevertheless calls for more extensive investigation to determine its distribution and its frequency.

8. WHAT

The corpus has several examples of an intrusive **what**:

> She's taught me more than what Peter has
> (Noeline: 26)
>
> I've never known Keith to be so much of a nagger
> as what he's been the last couple of weeks (Kim's
> wife: c40)
>
> But she was as determined not to give in as what
> he was to put her down flat on her back (Kim's
> wife: c40).

While it has no clear function here, elsewhere **what** serves as a substitute or a relative pronoun, **that which** or **the one**, etc.:

> Social studies is when you write about the things
> what the teacher puts up on the board (Cheryl: 11)
>
> It was a much harder job than what we're doing this
> time (Kim's wife: c40).

In all of these roles **what** seems to stand out in the utterances in which it occurs and thus acts as a fairly distinctive characteristic.

9. LEXIS

In a recent interview on a television news programme, when asked whether he agreed with his daughter's receiving a gaol sentence, a non-

standard speaker replied:

> She's not entitled to go to gaol.

He repeated this pattern a number of times, showing that it was firmly fixed in his linguistic repertoire. One can see how **entitle** could undergo an extension of meaning in this way until it came to supplant deserve. More to the specific point of this article, this episode highlights a process which is a feature of certain nonstandard social dialects. One might call it **lexical distortion**. It is not simply confusion of terms: the substituted item has a degree of semantic overlap with the supplanted word. Again it enjoys, more often than not, a certain popularity, sometimes being almost a vogue term or an item of common jargon. Because of its lexical associations, in trying to express himself, especially when he is under some covert social pressure to present himself in a reasonable light, the speaker is likely to seize upon the chosen term.

The corpus provides several examples of this process which might stand alongside the one involving **entitle**:

> I was sent home from school with a note that I
> wasn't allowed to attend school unless my feet
> were properly attired (Thora: 29)

> We arise to the occasion and you could tell the
> difference in the girls' speech that they were
> trying (Thora: 29)

> I was offered many times to pro (Thora: 29).

Thora was also trying here when she used **attired** and **arise**. Hilda seemed to be recalling another collocation when she uttered:

> They should build more cottages for the pensioners
> an', um, the sick and the able (Hilda: 42).

Then, again, in the next utterance, **handle** invades the domain of **cope**:

> People say to me, "How could you handle living out
> at Liverpool?" (Carli: 20).

As well as this feature, one comes across lexical items which do not seem to occur in the practice of standard speakers. A common one in the corpus was the occurrence of **of** in a temporal phrase. It does not seem to be restricted but occurs with any major time segment, such as **morning, afternoon, night, weekend**, etc.:

> I come downstairs of a morning, about half-past
> five of a morning (Sharon: 12)

Well, it's something that's quite usual in the
  house for the radio to be on of a morning
  (Kim's wife: c40)

When he comes home from school of an afternoon
  (Grace: 36)

even if it's only a quarter of an hour of an
  afternoon (Grace: 36)

Now the only time I see you and Kerry together is
  of a night (Kim: c40)

I got home late of a night ... the kids were
  usually in bed when I got home of a night
  (Kim: c40)

He used to come home of a weekend (Hilda: 42).

Here it is also pertinent to comment on the variation in the practice
with prepositions. One observes some wide differences from that oper-
ating in the standard dialect:

'cause that comes out of nervousness (Thora: 29)
It's the same as with the buildings (Hilda: 42)
I feel terribly let down with Keith (Kim's wife: c40)
I used to get in all sorts of trouble (Thora: 29)
Can I buy some Vita Wheat off you (Sandra: 35).

At times the preposition is omitted altogether:

We should've been home five o'clock (Thora: 29)

I've seen him go three weeks doing doublers every
  night (Noeline: 26)

She just walked out the room and that was it (Kim: c40).

It is likely that an extension of phonological weakening could account
for this development.

It might also be argued that nonstandard social dialects contain a
higher proportion of informal terms and slang. This may well be so -
and certainly the corpus would not upset the claim - but it is a dif-
ficult criterion to operate. Furthermore, this feature is very much a
variable in style or register, and it must be recognised that most of
the situations in which the informants' speech was recorded were largely
casual and relaxed[6]. Other aspects of lexis are more incisive in
differentiating sociological divisions in language behaviour.

10. STYLISTIC TRAITS

There are some linguistic phenomena which impart a distinctive flavour to nonstandard speech but which do not fit readily into the divisions of grammar, lexis, or phonology. They spring, one feels, from the speaker's attitudes to events and his involvement in and with them. It is not a question of the nonstandard speaker using a variant form, such as **done** for did, an action which is in a sense unmotivated; instead the cause for the forms he uses in the matters now under consideration resides in his view of the situation he is commenting upon.

Perhaps the most obvious feature in this category is the higher incidence of the 'historic present'. It is constantly recurring in any dialogue:

> They comes around at night and do checks and see
>   that you're not bedhopping (Toni: 34)

> What I can't stand is she sits there and she says
>   (Cathy: 18)

> She says, "Look", she says, "You don't have to be
>   a teacher" (Thora: 29)

> ...a woman, driving along, fails to give way, and
>   what she said in her own mind was that she didn't
>   see me (Joe: 60)

> and she looked at Taffy, and she looks at me
>   (Thora: 29).

These are not instances of faulty constructions, nor are they basically the use of the present tense in place of the past. On the contrary, the speaker has, as it were, put the clock back and has returned to the episode, in a sense reliving or recreating it. It has become vitally real again. More often than not, the speaker himself is involved in the action. We see this very clearly in the last example: while the inspection affects others, it can be calmly reported in the past tense, but once the gaze is switched to Thora, the speaker, there is an immediate increase in the emotional involvement. It is this that leads to the use of the present tense: here it is a highly motivated form serving a definite purpose, and reflecting a change in the speaker.

Somewhat allied to this use of the historic present is the practice of what might be called **concretisation**. In fact, the historic present could be seen in a sense as an instance of it, but it is manifested in a number of other ways. Basically the speaker converts a generality into a particular. It is frequently signalled through the presence of a demonstrative determiner (**this, that**, etc.):

Yeah, well this man, he was one of them and he had
  all these puppets (Wayne: 11)

He had him on all these Promenal tablets (Max's wife: 30)

and they had these rifles, these special guns that
  could shoot any distance (Joanne: 19).

There are two things to notice here: the objects – **puppets**, **tablets**,
rifles – were not present, and on each occasion it was the first time
they had been referred to in the conversation. In standard speech the
demonstrative would not be expected, but only an indefinite determiner
or none at all. Here, however, the standard approach does not seem
adequate enough, and the speaker, with the objects quite vividly in
mind, emphasises their substantiality. As with the historic present,
he has, as it were, re-entered the situation.

  Such a conversion from general to particular, from abstract to
concrete, from indefinite to definite, explains what might otherwise
appear to be a solecism. Consider, for instance:

He's got his – like – diploma for his engineering
  (Diane: c40)

or the switch from impersonal **you** (=one), to very personal **we** in:

Well, you decided that you couldn't bear to spend any
  more time at your mother's than what you already had
  now that we actually had the house vacant (Kim's wife: c40).

The only item of real substance is the vacancy of the house; all the
rest is inner, mental reflection, mingled with a degree of theorising.
The grammatical structure parallels this change.

11. LOGIC

  In his article 'The Logic of Nonstandard English' Labov[7] demon-
strated that the use of nonstandard linguistic forms did not necessar-
ily correlate with a poor standard of cognitive ability. The two
matters are basically independent, and any co-occurrence is accidental.
One is not the cause of the other.

  Our material provides us with evidence to support this position and
to illustrate that it applies in Australia as well as in the United
States and elsewhere. In one of the interviews in which two informants
participated and exchanged opinions, the discussion turned to human
responsibility and divine sovereignty. In the midst of this, there came
the following extract:

Beverley:	... you were made in a certain way, yes.
Thora:	But if you admit to that, I mean, then, you'd have to admit to say, well, alright, God put me on this earth to murder my de facto.
Beverley:	I don't think that comes into it really.
Thora:	Well, it does. Because I've got the same faults, haven't I, and the same mind that killed my de facto.
Beverley:	Yes - it doesn't take a certain - um, I mean to say, any one of us in here could be a murderess, you know -
Thora:	He gave us the right -
Beverley:	- put in the situation -
Thora:	- He gave us the right to make a decision one way or another, and which way we go is up to the individual and not up to God.
Beverley:	But it's the situation you get yourself into.
Thora:	He's given us two ways.
Beverley:	I mean, put in the -
Thora:	- two alternatives, and it's up to the individual to take it.
Beverley:	- Any one of us could get into that situation and we should become a murderess, too.
Interviewer I:	Yes, too true.
Beverley:	But it's not just because of you, because of who you are, it's because of the situation you were in.
Thora:	He still gave you two ways.
Beverley:	No, but
Interviewer I:	You're saying other people had influenced you perhaps more than you realised yourself.
Beverley:	This is right, this is right. I mean, Thora herself, perhaps away from these people, it'd be the furtherest thing from her mind. But she was driven to this by whatever situation, you know, occurred. And it could happen to you, and it could happen to you and to me. (mm..) And no doubt, it's happened to many others. (mm..).
Thora:	Well, I've lived in all different environments and the violent pattern's always been there. I've lived in the best of environments. I was put into a crowd that - oh jees, you know, if I said "damn" or "bloody", you know, this sort of thing, and I adjusted to that situation, and in the end, surprisingly enough, I liked it, you know, (mm..). I've lived in really bad situations,

I've lived in just an average situations, but I've
always had a streak of violence comin' out all from
the normal pattern, right from the time I was a wee
little girl and then I'd grab the iron and split my
uncle's head open right across here, you know, - um -
I don't think it has to do with vio - er - environment
of the people I was with at the time that caused the
murder at all. I think the main thing that brought the
murder on was the fact that my favourite uncle, who I
considered as a gentleman, uh, died, and here was this
rotten so-an-so with me (Yeah...), and, you know, uh,
it wasn't a casual affair - I'd been with him, off and
on, for seven to eight years.

Beverley: But that was still people and still situations that
made you like that.

Thora: But it was a way of striking out. I always have to
strike out, you know. That's my reaction (I think - ..).
When I'm hurt, I strike out, you know (I think..). Some
people sulk. Some people sulk if they have nothing to
do, you know. I could be livin' in all them environments
and be a person that sulks. It's me the individual not
the people around me. (Beverley: 32; Thora: 29).

The Thora that contributes to this discussion is the same person who
used **came** and **went** as the past participial forms for **come** and **go**
respectively, **awful** for awfully, duplicated her subjects and exhibited
other features characteristic of a nonstandard dialect. Such linguistic
practices, however, clearly do not impede her ability to think logically.

It might appear from the above presentation that it is being assumed
that there is only one nonstandard dialect. This is definitely not the
case, but the corpus is too small to allow any attempt at elaborate
divisions. This is an aspect of the subject which must be left open
until further investigation permits a well-founded statement. Aborig-
inal English, to mention but one type not touched on in this article,
is one area which must be given attention.

There are many other areas for investigation. Some of these have
been commented upon in passing in the above description. Moreover the
differences between the nonstandard and the standard which we have
described are largely differences in realisation. All the informants
recognise a past-present tense opposition, for example, but they
choose to express it by a different form from that used by standard
speakers. We need to discover whether there is a thorough-going set
of systemic differences.

Moreover, because of their critical social implications, we need to give attention to attitudes within this area of social dialectology. Many children entering our schools come with a language different from that of their teachers. It is the language of their parents and their peers, and it is thoroughly ingrained and continually being reinforced by constant exposure to it. I have found a large number of teachers who do not appreciate the situation contronting them. They regard their pupils as speakers of bad English, and they see their task as a war against error. When their efforts seem fruitless they come to regard any work in language with their pupils as nigh on hopeless. Worse still, by their attitudes to certain language habits, as well as having lower levels of expectation for their pupils, they frequently promote an antipathy between the school and the child to the detriment of the education of the child. The problem at the moment is that we have too little factual information to offer the teacher to bring him tangible aid.

As was implied at the beginning of this article, it is not being claimed that the material contained in it constitutes a definitive or in any sense final statement on the characteristics of social dialects in Australian English. It does, however, achieve, I believe, the far more modest goal of establishing the existence of variation in the language, a variation with correlates with other sociological factors, and of providing justification for extensive investigation of the nature of this variation. Such study and investigation is now proceeding on more rigorous lines and on the basis of what has been revealed above, it is time that this aspect of Australian English was fully documented.

N O T E S

1. I would like to pay full acknowledgement to the assistance I received from Mrs. D. Marsh who provided these tapes, which are all the more valuable for being collected in a non-linguistic context. I am also grateful to Miss E. Balderston, my Research Assistant, who proved to be a patient and excellent interviewer.

While no bibliography as such is attached to this article, my debt to sociolinguists, in the United States and Great Britain, such as Labov and Shuy will be obvious and is here recognised.

2. For example, Mitchell, A.G. and Delbridge, A. (1965) *The Speech of Australian Adolescents*: (Sydney: Angus and Robertson).

3. In line with this as a general rule, full standardised orthography has also been adopted. Fictitious names have been invented for the informants, but their actual ages have been indicated; thus (Thora: 29) represents a female 29 years of age.

4. There are also some interesting patterns involving the superlative, though with it we have only nonce occurrences:

    it'd be the furtherest thing from her mind (Beverley: 32)

5. A similar substitution takes place in the form of the pronoun with self:

    I think to meself (Grace: 36).

6. See my 'Premeditated and Unpremeditated Speech': in *English Studies* XXXIX:145-154 (1958) for a discussion of the influence of factors other

than social class on the characteristics of the speech act.

7.   Labov, W. (1969) 'The Logic of Nonstandard English'.   In *Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics* 22:1-43.

STEREOTYPING AND 'STRINE'

Stephen Muecke

1. STEREOTYPING

Sociolinguistics has long recognised that language varieties have
symbolic or symptomatic value for their speakers. As expressed by
Fishman (1972:221):

> "...the sociology of language...also seeks to determine the
> symbolic value of language varieties for their speakers.
> That language varieties come to have symbolic or symptomatic
> value, in and of themselves, is an inevitable consequence of
> their functional differentiation. If certain varieties are
> indicative of certain interests, of certain backgrounds, or
> of certain origins, then they come to represent the ties and
> aspirations, the limitations and the opportunities with which
> these interests, backgrounds, and origins, in turn, are
> associated. Language varieties rise and fall in symbolic
> value as the status of their most characteristic or marked
> functions rises and falls."

What I shall attempt in this paper is an investigation of the symbolic
value of a variety of Australian English by looking at the use of
stereotypes. Stereotypes are those features of a variety which have
risen to the conscious awareness of the members of the speech community,
and so come to have certain prestige or value associations. These
marked features can be collected, manipulated and used in a way which
is functionally and formally distinct from the normal range for the
varieties of a speech community. This deliberate use of marked fea-
tures constitutes a 'marked variety'. One such marked variety in
Australian English is 'Strine', which could therefore be called a
'stereotyped variety' of Australian English.

Just as we have individual variation in repertoire range, there is
also variation in individuals' ability to stereotype. The skills
involved in stereotyping are, I believe, sociolinguistic, in that
awareness of the status of sociolinguistic markers is involved; the

actor has to realize the particular relations between linguistic form
and social context relevant to a given situation. The notion of **stereo-
typing** may well be essential to a sociolinguistic definition of parody,
since parody is an 'out of context' representation of a 'way of speak-
ing'.

Stereotyping, then, is the conscious use of sociolinguistic vari-
ables. While speakers perform with a certain repertoire of unconscious
shifts in phonetic values which correspond to the perception of
behaviour as 'normal' through a variety of social situations, the actual
ability to identify varieties or even languages depends on the alignment
of sociolinguistic features in what one hears with features one con-
siders as markers for that variety. Among these features Labov has
distinguished stereotypes:

> "A small number of sociolinguistic markers rise to overt
> social consciousness, and become stereotypes. There may
> or may not be a fixed relation between such stereotypes
> and actual usage. The variables (ing) and (dh) are such
> stereotypes in the United States: someone may be said to
> 'drop his g's' or to be one of those 'dese, dem and dose
> guys'. Most communities have local stereotypes, such as
> 'Brooklynese' in New York City..." (Labov; 1970: 200)

It would be of interest to study by what means a member of a mono-
lingual English-speaking community learns to recognize French. It is
unlikely that this recognition process would be entirely different for
every speaker of English, since they would all be hearing French through
common conditioning in English phonological patterns. The 'sound of
French' would be marked by certain features particular to speakers of
English. One of these might be the nasalization of vowels. But those
speakers who for some reason are linguistically skillful can also
actively stereotype 'French' or a 'French accent'. The speaking of
English with a French accent can be reduced to stereotypes and this
seems to occur quite commonly. In writing as well as in speech ex-
amples are easy to find:

> "OOOh! Monsieur, why don't you geeve Germaine annuzzer
> leetle keez? Why are you so much in the 'urry?"
> (Humphries, 1971).

This example also employs a grammatical stereotype (the 'urry), and the
irregular treatment of the interdental points to the unsystematic use
of features which characterizes stereotyping. It should be possible
for someone to imitate a French accent perfectly; this would not be
stereotyping. Nor does it follow that a bilingual speaker of French
and English can automatically stereotype English with a French accent
or French with an English accent. These marginal varieties, which I
shall henceforth call 'stereotyped varieties' would seem to be acquired
and appropriate to certain situations. Most obviously, a switch to

stereotyped French accent would be occasioned by **topic** as an operative speech act determinant.

1.1. *STEREOTYPED VARIETIES*

In the verbal repertoire of a speech community we discover many varieties associated with a **social** dimension; class, occupational, ethnic etc. However, variations in **style** have been shown to occur for both the individual and the whole community, so that, according to Labov (1970:175) whenever a subordinate (low prestige) variety exists in relation to a superordinate variety, speakers will predictably shift towards greater realization of prestige variables as they move from a less formal to a more formal context. From this point of view, to speak of particular varieties in a speech community is to see them as convenient abstractions. But Labov's axiom applied only to the 'formal test situation'. In everyday interaction it is possible to have low-prestige variables appearing in formal situations, yet the incongruity is dispelled by the recognition by the participants of a stereotyping situation. Some stylistic rather than a social or contextual switch would appear to be involved. I have heard two male school-teachers greet each other in the following manner:

> X: **G'day mate. How they hangin'?**
> Y: **Nobbad, sport.** Listen, John...did you happen to see a
>   book of mine...

The greeting (in heavy type) is in Strine, then the second speaker switches to his 'normal' speech to ask a question on a topic relevant to school affairs.

I have also seen Strine used in situations where the speaker seems unsure of how to speak appropriately. In this way a stereotyped variety provides a convenient psychological escape.

2. STRINE

English has been spoken in Australia for about two hundred years. There are about ten million speakers of English who are native to Australia and they speak a variety of English which does not exhibit much regional variation. Most of the studies on Australian English have been in the areas of lexicon and phonetics/phonology. (See Blair in Ramson, 1970 for a recent comprehensive bibliography).

In a survey completed in 1960, Mitchell and Delbridge divided speakers of Australian English into three categories - 'Broad', 'General' and 'Cultivated' speakers, and made these distinctions largely on the basis of variations obtaining for six vowel sounds:

> "[i] varies with [əɪ] as in [bɪt] - [bəɪt] beat
> [u] varies with [əʊ] as in [but] - [bəʊt] boot
> [eɪ] varies with [ʌɪ] as in [seɪ] - [sʌɪ] say
> [oʊ] varies with [ʌʊ] as in [soʊ] - [sʌʊ] so
> [aɪ] varies with [ɒɪ] as in [haɪ] - [hɒɪ] high
> [aʊ] varies with [æʊ] as in [haʊ] - [hæʊ] how"
>
> (Mitchell and Delbridge, 1960:33)

In terms of prestige, this variation goes from 'H' to 'L'. 'Culti-
vated' pronunciation is associated with British norms and standards of
correctness for speech. The 'L' end of the spectrum of variation
corresponds to informal speech which sounds most Australian ('Broad
Australian'), and its stereotyped variety is Strine.

The term Strine was invented by the comic author Alistair Morrison
writing under the pseudonym Afferbeck Lauder. In 1965 he published a
slim volume called *Let Stalk Strine* (Let's talk Australian) which for
humourous effect uses the device of manipulating English orthography
to make a 'foreign language' out of Australian English. For example:

> I fed a bitifer gairstrick stummick lightly.
> Spin plier nuppagenner bit.

This means:

> I've had a bit of a gastric stomach lately.
> It's been playing up again a bit.

Here word boundaries are violated in two ways: segments are moved
from one word to the next (I fed) and two or more words can be collapsed
into one (bitifer, nuppagenner). Words are given the appearance of
other English words (fed, spin) and sometimes names can be created in a
similar way; **Gloria Soame** for 'glorious home'. Segments in unstressed
positions can be elided (spin, also, mon for 'modern', **flares** for
'flowers'[1]). Assimilation is used as in **thunnerstorms** for 'thunder-
storms'. Nasalization is an important stereotype for Australian Eng-
lish, and it is interesting to see how this is represented in *Let Stalk
Strine* by **gairstrick** and elsewhere by **thenks** (presumably [θɛ̃:ŋks]) for
'thanks' or **bandry** for 'boundary'. One of the more important stereo-
types used in the book is [aɪ] for [eɪ] as in **lightly, plier** and, of
course, **Strine**.

This book became very popular; ten impressions were made in the first
year of publication, and other similar volumes were produced by the same
author. What little has been subsequently written about Strine reflects
differing opinions. Sidney J. Baker, in *The Australian Language,* makes
some critical comments:

> "Long after its origins have been forgotten, Strine will
> be remembered as one of those brief and spectacular storms
> that blow across the face of language..."
>
> "...it was not long before what began as a fairly accurate
> series of observations...became an outlet for smart Alec
> inventions."
>
>   (Baker, 1966:456)

Robert G. Hay is less negative, and to my mind represents more accurately the present situation:

> "Strine was born as a clever joke but has remained with us
> as an affectionate term for our national language."
>
>   (Hay, 1972:134)

Whereas Australian English had previously only been talked about, and sometimes defended, by academics and public figures who were facing a public which generally seemed to assume that Australian English was a corrupted version of British English (Mitchell, in Ramson, 1970), the advent of Strine created a great deal of popular interest, and a certain amount of pride in the Australian version of English. In a recent newspaper report in connection with English language teaching in Indonesia, a Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman was quoted under the headline: "INDONESIANS TO GET A STRINE ACCENT" as saying:

> "We would like Indonesian ears to become attuned to the
> way Australians speak English. Years of learning English
> in school don't necessarily accustom Indonesians to the
> realities that will confront them when they come to
> Australia for training or business."[2]

2.1. *SOME EXPERIMENTATION WITH STRINE*

I have attempted to do some preliminary investigations into various aspects of this stereotyped variety through a survey, a questionnaire and a staged 'Strine speech act'. The survey was conducted in 1973 in a Melbourne shopping centre. Its aim was to find out how many people had heard of Strine, and whether there was any consensus of opinion about what it is. Fifty-five percent of the sixty people interviewed had heard of it, and their opinions tended to polarize in a way similar to those of Hay and Baker quoted above. Either they saw it as being the same thing as 'Broad Australian' or the way a typical Australian speaks, or else they saw it as a sort of word-play indulged in by comedians or writers like Alistair Morrison. Compare 'an affectionate term for our national language' with 'an outlet for smart Alec inventions'.

The questionnaire was administered to elicit attitudes to Strine. A tape taken from television commercials using an actor stereotyping

Australian English was played to a group of twenty students in a teachers' training college. An excerpt is transcribed below. The informants were then asked to write answers to an open-ended question-naire.

[gədɛɪ/ rɪpər tjuːn / ʔɛɪ / bəɪ čaɪkɔskəɪ:

akɔːs // dæud ɪf ɒɪ kuda nokt æudə bɛdə

tjuːn fə wɪnfəɪl mᵊɪsɛl // gɔʔ ðə sɔːdə

klᵊaːs jə nᵊɪːd fə ðə bɛst sɪgərɛt vælju:

ɪn əstrɛɪlja ···

···ʔɛnəɪʔæu / bɪg fɪnɪš kamɪn ab bɔrəs /

gᵊou fə jə ləuɪf mᵊɛɪt // ʔɛnᵊɪʔæu

ʔævə wɪnfəɪːl //

G'day. Ripper tune, eh? Be Tchaikovsky, of course. Doubt if I could've knocked out a better tune for Winfield meself. Got the sort of class you need for the best cigarette value in Australia...Anyhow, big finish coming up, Boris. Go for your life, mate! Anyhow, have a Winfield.

The most common answers are summarised after each question.
1) What sort of people do you think would say that X is a bad example of the way English should be spoken?
    (a) Educated/Upper-class/British standards/snobs/narrow minded people
    (b) Most people/no particular group.
2) Who, on the other hand, is likely to think it is alright?
    (a) Lower class/open-minded people
    (b) People with a sense of humour
    (c) Those who identify with an Australian Image/people who speak like that.
3) How would you describe X's speech? In terms of:
    (a) Sound
        (a) Harsh/guttural/monotonous/nasal/loud/merging sounds/ half-closed mouth
    (b) Grammar
        (a) Incorrect/poor/drops ending and letters
        (b) Reasonably good.
4) Do you find any of your friends 'putting on' a speech style like X's? What sort of people are they and why do they do it?
    (a) Yes, mostly extrovert males having fun in a casual situation.
5. As a future school teacher, do you think it would be alright for teachers to speak like X?
    (a) No
    (b) In certain situations only.

2.2. *THE STAGED STRINE SPEECH ACT*

I had often observed young men speaking Strine in situations defined by non-formal settings, friendship between participants and perhaps the desire to compete on the basis of skill in stereotyping and knowledge of Australian idiomatic expressions.

I arranged a meeting with some friends of mine, asking two of them if they would 'speak some Strine' and be recorded. I was asked in turn to bring some beer along so that they could 'do it properly'. The people present at the staging of the speech act were myself (L), the Strine participants, (A) and (B) who were University students in their early twenties and an audience consisting of a man and a woman, friends of similar age.

In the transcript, the sections in italics are not Strine.

1 A): How are ya me old china plate? *Are you...are you recording?*
   L): *Yes*. A): How are youse, mate, g'day! B): Shit a brick, it's
   a long time since I seen you. What do you do...how do you do
   it these days? A): Ah...dog-fashion, mate (laughter)
5 B): You've changed have you? A): Yeah, yeah, it's a real ripper...
   It's the old, ah, natural way, ya know. B): What are ya mate?
   One of them sun-freaks, eh? Just like them blokes I sees inside
   the polythene books at Flinders Street station?
   A): *I don't, ah, I can't...start again, I don't dig any of that*
10 (laughter) B): *We're bloody hopeless*. A): Listen, mate, I don't
   get what ya mean by 'polythene books', mate, I mean, ah, don't
   come the raw prawn with me, mate (laughter). I've seen blokes
   like you before...
      B): ... coming out from behind a tree no doubt
15 at a nudist colony. There's no way round it. A): No way round
   what, ya bloody wackd? B): You've gotta, you've gotta stay
   behind a tree...   doncha know?
      A): Look...   look, mate...behind a tree,
   in front of a tree, I don't give a bugger as long as the
20 bastard doesn't come near me (laughter). B): It's very
   dangerous in those colonies walking around. You need road
   maps and navigators to get around these days. They're getting
   promiscuous, ya know. A): You technical buggers are a snotty-
   nosed lot of bastards, aren't ya? (laughter).
25 B): There's nothing technical about what I've got to say.
   A): Listen, mate, I'm talking about trees, agitators...I've
   heard the bloody...I musta heard...I heard more 'ator' words
   than I've ever fucking-well heard in the last...I dunno...

the last twenty minutes. (laughter) B): You're just trying to

30 make it difficult to talk to, arn't you? What are ya - a
bloody isolationist or something?

     A): Wa...   What's that? What was that
again?...I didn't quite catch what you were saying...

     B): I...   I come around here to try

35 and have a pleasant afternoon, a bit of...a bit of...a bit
of give and take, a bit of...confabulation, an' all you try
and' do is tell me I don't know how to talk. What's up with you?

        A): Listen,
mate, I was never one...I was never one to say that people should...

40   B): Ah...   "Never
one to say" - *I seem to have heard that one before, but go on...*
A): (pause, giggle) *Heav-y!*... I was never one for...I was never
one for, ah...knockin' the old confab. in the pub. A bit of a
lark, you know, talkin' round a few things... B): Well, I thought...

45 A): (yelling)
     But if you're gonna fuckin' come the raw prawn with me, using
words that most blokes don't use... B): *You're difficult to follow,
but go on...* A): (giggle) If you're gonna come using words that
most blokes don't use...trying to act like some smart-arse...

50 B): a... A): You're askin' to have a fuckin'... B): You want a
bunch of fives, sonny? (laughter) A): *That's it, a bunch of fives,*
a bloody finger sandwich, mate (laughter). B): I know what to do
with my fingers, and it's got nothing to do with despoiling them on
somebody else's face. A): (shouting). Well why don't ya bloody

55 pull them out for once and start talking through your mouth
instead of giving your arse a go. B): *I've ... I'm quite*
agile in both directions you'd be quite happy to know I'm sure.
What's this 'agile erection'? What are ya talking about?
(laughter) B): *It's got nothing to do with erections...look...*

60 What a great fat prawn you are! A): I'm not a fucking prawn.
You're coming the raw prawn with me. I tried to explain that
before.

     B): I'm goin' fishin'. A): What's this? What's that got to
do with it? You don't even know how to fuckin' talk. You don't..

65   B): Look...I'm gonna
A, cont.): ..even make sense.

        B): *I don't know, I have to give up*
on you. A): Anyhow, how was work today? Let's get down to some-
thing concrete instead of dealing with all these heavy

70 abstractions, mate.

The participants, for the sake of the exercise are pretending that they are meeting each other. Strine markers are phonological and lexical most of the time. The participants, who started talking with no preconceived ideas about what they were going to talk about, found that Strine became an appropriate means of expression for a friendly exchange of abuse. In line 1, 'china plate' is an example of cockney rhyming slang, meaning 'mate'. In line 2, 'youse' is a stereotype of Australian English and is more often used in a plural context. In line 9, A is put off his guard by B's attack because it is a little inept. In line 12, 'don't come the raw prawn' means 'don't try to fool me'. From line 20 on, the role relationship becomes clear; B is playing the 'intellectual' type having to face up to the 'rough, tough Australian' type, A. The reason for this is that B is not as skillful at Strine as A. He can compete better using vocabulary from another source ('confabulation', 'isolationist'). A is 'unable' to understand (line 33) these 'non-Strine' words. In lines 40-43, B makes some personal reference about A which doesn't belong to the context of this speech act. A acknowledges and condemns this with heav-y!. In line 51, A again switches to 'normal speech' to show deference to B for having come up with the expression 'bunch of fives' which means a fist or a punch. A's raised voice from line 54 is an attempt to gain lost ground. B becomes exasperated, and in line 60 comes out with an inappropriate use of 'prawn'. A corrects him accordingly. Realising he is defeated, B tries to change the subject (line 64), but this too is a poor effort and he gives the whole game to A with the expression 'give up on you' which here can be interpreted as 'I give up'. Then the first speaker relaxes and allows himself some linguistic liberty.

The importance of verbal skill or play in this speech act is borne out by the fact that content is unimportant. A, who started to say one thing in line 39 and was interrupted, begins again in a way to suggest he has forgotten what he was going to say. Nor would the participants be able to answer the question 'What were you talking about?' if they were asked. But in reply to the question 'What were you doing?' they would readily offer the folk-label: 'We were speaking Strine'.

An outsider would only be able to correctly interpret the above speech act if he were sensitive to cues on all levels of interaction. The laughter will prevent him from thinking that the participants are really abusing each other. This being the case, the lack of topic will direct his attention to the speech forms, which define the situation. The lexical choices are appropriate for Australian (stereotyped) slang, which, as with any slang, is restricted to non-formal settings and

intimates. The appropriate phonological stereotypes automatically
co-occur, as do certain paralinguistic features such as hesitation
sounds for emphasis (the old, ah, natural way) and frequent use of 'ya
know' at junctures. Gesture is also very important. In this speech
act it would not be possible to speak sitting up straight in one's
chair. The Australian stereotype demands an appropriate disregard for
the norms of etiquette.

It would be interesting to describe in greater depth situations,
such as that described above, where sociolinguistic cues cannot be
taken at their face value, but must be recognised as stereotypes of
some variety being used out of context. Participants in situations
where no stereotyping occurs may 'read' such functions into the situ-
ation, as when somebody reports, 'She had such a strong Australian
accent; at first I thought she was putting it on'. 'Speaking in a way
inappropriate to the context' is an option open to everybody in a
speech community and there are appropriate stereotypes which can signal
this, and, as we have seen, appropriate speech acts. But not everybody
is equally skilled at stereotyping. More work needs to be done as to how
many people and what type of speakers tend to be specialized in this
way. Another problem is how to predict more accurately the status of
sociolinguistic variables as stereotypes or just markers (which people
are less consciously aware of) and to what extent the interpretation
of features as stereotypes depends on situational factors.

N O T E S

1. An example of how one needs to know Australian pronunciation in order to be able to interpret the conventions. 'flares' would presumably be pronounced [flɛ̃:z] deriving from [flæʊəz].

2. The Herald, Melbourne, 2/4/1973.

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TOWARDS A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF 'SWEARING' AND
THE LANGUAGE OF ABUSE IN AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH

Brian A. Taylor

0. INTRODUCTION

The term 'swearing', as employed in Australia, is used to refer to
the inclusion in a speech act of one or more of a restricted set of
lexical items, 'swearwords', which have a certain loading of taboo.
Etymologically this taboo loading derives from the fact that most
'swearwords' once denoted - and the majority of these still denote -
the activities of sexual intercourse and elimination or parts of the
body and substances associated with these activities. A large propor-
tion of such 'swearwords', while they are used in the 'literal' senses
just referred to, occur by extension as terms of abuse (cf. DeArmond,
1971, for a parallel phenomenon in Russian) and in these extended or
'figurative' senses they are still considered by the populace at large
to be 'swearwords' and the speech events incorporating them are simi-
larly regarded as 'swearing'.

The investigation from which the present essay derives[1] was orig-
inally undertaken because of the paucity of linguistic studies so far
done on the kind of language being dealt with here.[2] In this essay I
have confined myself to a consideration of some of the sociolinguistic
aspects of 'swearing' and have limited my analysis to Australian
English (though much of it will hold for British and American English
too); if pressed, I would really only be prepared to assert its valid-
ity for the variety of Australian English spoken in the Sydney working-
class suburb of Balmain during the period from the mid-1940's to mid-
1950's. This is because I have acted as my own informant and they are
the place and time of my growing up from childhood to adolescence.
Given the relative homogeneity of Australian speech (Mitchell, 1946:10)

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such narrow restriction of place is probably not necessary, though because of the 'drift' undergone by taboo language in more recent years the restriction of period might better be borne in mind.

Finally, because the data is Australian and for the sake of a number of items that have no generally acknowledged orthographic form all items and examples will be cited in a phonemic transcription based on that developed for Australian English by A.I. Jones (Jones, n.d.:6.1 ff.).

1. PARADIGMS AND CATEGORIES OF 'S' LANGUAGE

So far I have talked of 'swearwords' as words with a taboo loading. This definition needs some elaboration. 'Swearwords' fall into a number of sets or paradigms of synonyms which respectively share the same denotation but which often differ connotatively according to their taboo loading. There are, further, in paradigmatic distribution with these certain other items which would not generally be considered 'swearwords', since they do not have a sufficiently heavy loading of taboo, but which in some cases may still have some taboo loading - so that their use would be disapproved of in some company - and in other cases not have any taboo loading at all. (Words from the standard language are excluded from consideration here.) That such a situation obtains with regard to relative taboo loadings is supported by the existence in popular usage of the graded series of terms: 'harmless language', 'strong language', 'bad language', 'filthy language'. Only the latter pair would include 'swearwords'. I shall therefore at this point introduce the term 'quasi-swearwords' to cover those items referred to in the former pair of terms. In the rest of this essay I shall use the symbol 'S' to refer to the kind of language under investigation, so that, for example, 'swearwords' and 'quasi-swearwords' will be called generically 'S' items and the language as a whole 'S' language.

While the existence of the various paradigms is easily verifiable by reference to a sufficient number of native speakers, the relative taboo loadings might be less easy to determine. Clearly the popular metalinguistic terms discussed in the preceding paragraph suggest that there are possibly four differentiable taboo categories, one of which - 'harmless language' - would contain items carrying no taboo loading at all. Intuitively, however, I feel that for some speakers, including myself, the categories could be refined to seven and that taboo loading could thus be quantified over a range from 0 - no taboo loading - to 6 - maximum taboo loading, for the so-called 'unprintable words'. The

results of this analysis along the two axes, paradigmatic (denotation) and categorial (taboo loading), can be seen in Tables A ('literal' uses) and B ('figurative' uses).[3] The cut-off point between 'swearwords' and 'quasi-swearwords' would, for probably most speakers, fall between Categories 3 and 4.[4]

1.1. *SUBJECTIVE VALIDATION OF THE CATEGORIES*

While the existence of the paradigms is, I think, beyond dispute, the reader may still have serious misgivings about the validity of the categories set up. Evidence of their existence and grading has so far been based only on my own intuitions and, to a degree, on popular metalinguistic usage. My intuitions, however, are parallelled by the observation that there are groups in the community who will use the items listed in one particular category but avoid using and may well disapprove of others using items from above that one. For example, my notional informant for the lowest category, where items carry no taboo at all, would be an average devout Protestant, for whom there are a number of unequivocal Biblical injunctions against the use of 'intemperate' language.[5] By 'devout Protestant', hereafter abbreviated to d.P., I mean here a 'believing' adherent of one of the 'Nonconformist' denominations (Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, etc.) or of the Low or Evangelical (i.e. Fundamentalist) variety of the Anglican denomination in Australia. The same degree of avoidance is not apparent, from my observation, amongst equally devout Catholics (and Anglo-Catholics), including clergymen, which is why I have specified Protestant linguistic behaviour throughout as being the most predictable. Doubtless there are Catholics, certainly Catholic women, who are no less strict in this regard than Protestants.

Where there is no item at all listed for a particular denotation in a particular category, this means that either an item from the next lowest category or, failing that, an item from the standard language would be used, or else an idiosyncratic item restricted to a relatively small group of idiolects.[6] This is frequently the case for Category 0.

Category 1 items are those that, say, a d.P. male speaker might use amongst less sensitive fellow believers or to speakers outside his religious group. Amongst workmates he may be prepared to move up to Category 2 or even Category 3 items, but not beyond. It is here, between Categories 3 and 4, that I have located the cut-off point between 'strong language' and 'bad language', or 'quasi-swearing' and 'swearing'. Women were, at the time specified for this analysis, generally assumed to range between Category 0 and Category 3 items at

the extreme in normal conversation, though in anger they might use one
or two Category 4 items (usually /blɑdi/ and /bagə/). In general,
however, there was, even among working men, a fairly strong restriction
on using items from Categories 4 to 6 'in front of', i.e. in the
presence of, women and children. I doubt that this is any longer the
case, except perhaps for Category 6 items.

There are speakers who will 'swear' to the extent of using Category
4 items but not Category 5, others will go as far as 5 but not 6, and
there are those who will use Category 6 items in the 'literal' but not
the 'figurative' senses.

The handful of Australian colleagues consulted about the accuracy
of these observations have all agreed in principle with the categor-
ization of the items but not always in detail.[7]

1.2. *OBJECTIVE VALIDATION OF THE CATEGORIES*

It will, of course, be argued that all the criteria adduced for the
validity of the categories so far are essentially subjective and it
may be wondered whether no more objective methods of validation are
available. Although I myself have not been in a position to attempt
it, I should think that the Galvanic Skin Reflex Test might provide
such a method. Perception, whether auditory or visual, of an 'S' item
will produce physiological changes in some individuals, e.g. will make
a maiden blush. While I have worked out a number of possible procedures
for an experiment using the G.S.R. Test, space does not permit me to
say anything further about them here.

2. CONNOTATIVE CONTENT OF 'S' ITEMS

As already indicated, 'S' items have as well as denotative content
a shared connotative content. This latter resides in their content of
'taboo' and 'vehemence', for which the term 'sociolexical features'
has been suggested.[8]

2.1. *TABOO INHERENCE*

It may be as well to consider at this point the question as to what
the oft mentioned taboo loading of 'swearwords' actually inheres or
resides in. In the case of both Category 6 words and some items from
other categories, mainly 5 (e.g. /aəs/, /ʃit/, /pis/, /faət/), the lin-
guistic sign itself is imbued with a particular loading of taboo in
both its **conventional** phonic and its **conventional** graphic realizations.
(There are ways of reducing this taboo loading; one is, of course, to

use phonemic transcription.) Naturally this has to do in part with
their 'literal' denotative meaning, but beyond this the taboo appears
to be arbitrary, since other items with the same denotation are not
thus imbued.

In the case of other items taboo may be absent or only vaguely
present where context or situation make it clear that a homonym or
homograph is being used, e.g. 'a bloody battle', 'the new plants would
not root properly', 'the poop (/pəup/) of the ship'. This is not to
say that a taboo-conditioned reaction will not be produced in some
speakers (the sniggering of schoolboys, for instance).

2.2. 'VEHEMENCE'

This is a most interesting property of 'S' language from the point
of view of our analysis; it applies in particular to the items in
Table B. Since 'S' items are so intimately bound up with the language
of abuse, it is obvious that they will often carry as well as a taboo
loading a loading of what I have called, for want of a better term,
'vehemence'. This 'vehemence' may be generalized and indicate the
speaker's general mood at the time of the utterance, or it may be
specific and indicate his attitude to the addressee or to the referent
of the utterance (this will be discussed further below in terms of
'speech functions'). This distinction is already implicit in my term
'mood or attitude marker' for the Table B:a-d items.

The following comparison may serve to exemplify these remarks: most
speakers would agree that /jəu kant/ (Table B:a6) carries a greater
'vehemence' loading, and so insult, than /jəu bəəstəd/ (B:a5), and so
on down to /jəu kæu/ (B:a1), which is relatively weak in Australian
English (though stronger and marked for [+female] in British English),
and finally to /jəu begə/, which is definitely the weakest, yet is not
without a degree of 'vehemence'.

It would therefore seem that we could quantify this 'vehemence'
loading very conveniently also over a seven point scale of categories
which would correspond quite neatly to our scale of taboo categories
except that, because of the point made at the end of the previous
paragraph, this scale would extend from 1 to 7 instead of from 0 to 6.
There are, however, certain difficulties in the way of this grading.
One is that such 'vehemence', while it is usually negative, i.e.
expresses disapproval, may sometimes be positive, i.e. indicate ap-
proval.[9] Another is that not all speakers draw from the whole range of
possible categories; this difficulty will be considered further in
3.1.6.

3.   'S' ITEMS IN SPEECH EVENTS

3.1.   *SELECTIONAL CRITERIA OR 'DETERMINANTS' OF USE*

The criteria or, better, 'determinants' for the selection of 'S'
items by a speaker in an utterance are a) personal beliefs, b) com-
pany, c) locale, d) role, e) topic, f) mood/attitude.[10] They
usually interact to some extent or other in determining the selection.

3.1.1.   Personal beliefs

One could, as indicated earlier, predict with almost 100% certainty
that a d.P. would in no circumstances use items beyond Category 3, so
that here religious belief would be the overruling determinant for an
absolute upper limit. Cases in which this determinant fails are rare
and do not usually go unremarked, as is borne out by this anecdote from
the late 1940's about Mr. Dedman, a member of Prime Minister Ben
Chifley's government, retold recently in an Australian newspaper
article:

> It was at Question Time while [he was] Chifley's Minister
> for Post-war Reconstruction that a member accused Mr. Dedman
> of calling him a "bloody bastard".
>
> "It wasn't quite as direct as that, but I had to withdraw
> [the alleged remark]. Ben was married to a Presbyterian
> and of course knew that I was a Presbyterian church leader,
> too.
>
> After Questions [i.e. Question Time] he made a point of
> consoling me and said the remark would show the other
> parishioners that I was human and could lose my temper."

> (The Australian, 11th May, 1973, p.13)

Whether Mr. Dedman was so readily forgiven his transgression was
probably more of a moot point than Mr. Chifley assumed.

There will of course be other speakers who have personal or religious
beliefs that preclude them from using higher category 'S' items without
their being d.P.'s, e.g. middle class or professional people. Their
linguistic behaviour in this respect might be predictable on the assump-
tion that they would consider that 'swearing is not respectable', but
the predictability of behaviour arising from such a social belief would
not be expected to be as high as that arising from Protestant religious
belief.

It was mentioned earlier that women were not expected to use 'S'
items beyond Category 3. This might at first appear to be related to
role but seems rather to be founded on the social belief that 'ladies
(i.e. self-respecting women of any class) do not swear'. Again, how-
ever, the predictability of behaviour is not as high as if it is

motivated by religious belief, that is to say, it is more predictable
that a d.P. male will not 'swear' than that a woman who is not a d.P.
will not.

3.1.2. 'Company'

The next most powerful determinant is probably 'company'. In
choosing to adopt this word as a technical term here I am using it in
a sense close to its non-technical one, viz. it includes both addressees,
i.e. those who from the speaker's point of view have a right to be
listening, and 'hearers', i.e. those whom the speaker is not necessarily
intending to address but who may be within sufficient earshot to hear
and understand him to some degree or other. The principle of not
'swearing in front of women and children' would normally be a reference
to the former circumstance and as such suffice to cause the user of
higher category 'S' items to restrict his use of them to below Category
4. The latter circumstance, which could be expressed in the principle
of not 'swearing when women and children are about', might well be a
weaker aspect of this determinant in that the speaker may feel that
since they are not addressees they have no right to be listening anyway.

3.1.3. Locale

Locale may be an important determinant when the two foregoing deter-
minants are held constant. For instance, a Protestant clergyman may
never, because of his religious beliefs, exceed Category 3, may restrict
himself to Category 0 and 1 items in the presence of female believers
and children, but limit himself to Category 0 items or, more likely,
even exclude 'S' items from his linguistic behaviour altogether when
conducting a service in his church. On the other hand, a group of male
members of a certain lodge might be expected to limit or avoid the use
of 'S' items during their lodge ritual but use high category 'S' items
in their drinking session afterwards. The pub is normally considered
an appropriate locale for the use of Category 6 items.

Fishman has drawn attention to the importance of locale in lin-
guistic behaviour generally and his example of the clergyman at the
racetrack throws up an interesting instance of the clash of determinants
(Fishman 1972a:21f.).

3.1.4. Role

Role is often difficult to distinguish from company and locale. For
example, a teacher may confine himself to low category items in the
classroom in the presence of his pupils, but he may allow himself higher

category items in the staffroom among other male teachers. Is this a
reflection of different locales, a difference of company or a difference
of roles, viz. of teacher and colleague?

The myth of 'mateship' looms large in Australian life and lore and
one would expect the role of 'mate' (= 'pal', 'buddy') to be a signifi-
cant determinant, e.g. 'I always swear when I'm with my mates', but
again other determinants like company suggest themselves too. Role
does, however, seem to be significant in the phatic use of /gədaɪ jəu
auɪ baəstəd/ mentioned in 3.2. below.

3.1.5. Topic

Topic is not so much a determinant of category use as of paradigm
use. Clearly the use of the items in Table A will be very much deter-
mined by the degree to which the activities, parts of the body, etc.
denoted by the items there bear on the topic of the utterance. This
is not the case with many of the items in Table B, especially those in
paradigms a-d, whose occurrence cannot be predicted in terms of topic
except insofar as that topic is the expression of disapproval (or,
sometimes, approval; cf. 2.2.).

3.1.6. Mood and attitude

Both mood and attitude are to some extent or other reflections of
the speaker's emotional state. Usually they are negatively marked,
viz. for angry mood or attitude of disapproval, but may, less commonly,
be positively marked; thus /jəu blədɪ baəstəd/ would always be negative,
while /jəu blədɪ bjəutɪ/ is positive.[11] While they are not predictors
of absolute usage, in that religious belief, company, etc. may be
stronger determinants of the upper limits of category usage, their
strength will normally predict the category used by a speaker within
his own range in a given utterance situation. Thus a 'hard swearer',
i.e. a speaker who characteristically uses 'S' items from the high
categories, will use Category 6 items as a reflection of an intensely
negative mood or attitude. This was, of course, implicit in our
suggestion above that 'vehemence' could be quantified over essentially
the same scale as taboo (2.2.). Such quantification breaks down,
however, when we consider that some speakers are precluded by other
determinants from using certain categories. Used by a d.P. a Category
3 item may reflect the same degree of 'vehemence' as a 'hard swearer's'
Category 6 item, for whom the Category 3 item might be very mild
indeed. Moreover, in some cases, such as in the newspaper anecdote
quoted above in the case of women, the intensity of mood or attitude

may be sufficient to overcome determinants like 'belief' and 'company'
and cause the speaker to select from a category - usually 4 - that he
would never normally draw upon; this in turn will, to 'company'
acquainted with the speaker's range, be far more revelatory of 'vehe-
mence' loading than would a Category 6 item used by a 'hard swearer',
who may have to resort to unusual or striking collocations or to
exaggerated phonetic and intonational features as a vehicle for his
vehemence. The following single example may suffice to illustrate all
three of these

$$[\underline{d\mathfrak{z}əi::zəz}\ \underline{fa::k^hən}\ \underline{k^hər:aist^h}].$$
$$\quad\ 14\quad\ 1\quad\ 14\quad 1\quad 1\quad\ 14$$

In this utterance, which is an elaboration of the Table B:f5 item
boosted to Category 6 by the inclusion of the element /fak/, each of
the underlined syllables is a tonic (whereas usually only the last
would be) and, taking the normal intonation points as 1 - low, 2 - mid,
and 3 - high, there is a rising tone on each from low to beyond the
normal high. The shwa-containing syllables (note the extraordinary
insertion of shwa into the last word) drop back to the low in each
case.

While mood and attitude are normally determinants in the use of the
'figurative' items of Table B rather than of the 'literal' items of
Table A, they may sometimes play a part in the selection of the latter.
For example, a speaker wishing to instruct the addressee to stand up
may begin by saying /get af jə bəihaind/, and if ignored may repeat
the instruction with a greater 'vehemence' loading by saying /get af
joər aəs/, which may, in turn, be realized with an even higher 'vehe-
mence' loading as [get af joə ?aəs], i.e. using a glottal stop, which
is neither a phoneme nor even normally a phonetic feature of Australian
English.

These then are some at least of the determinants underlying the
Australian English speaker's expectations of who will swear how and
when.

3.2. *SPEECH FUNCTIONS AND 'S' ITEMS*

The foregoing discussion of determinants leads us readily into a
consideration of the function of 'S' items in speech events. To do
this it seems most useful to employ the now widely regarded set of six
categories developed by Roman Jakobson (Jakobson, 1960). (The elabor-
ation of these by Hymes - as outlined in Hymes, 1972:37f. - is unnecess-
arily delicate for 'S' language, though a couple of his terms are
preferable to those put forward by Jakobson.) Jakobson's terms were,

of course, created for the characterization of utterances, not individ-
ual lexical items, and so would be more applicable to the schemata,
particularly the sentence schemata, presented in Taylor, forthcoming.
We can, however, use Jakobson's categories to some extent to indicate
the function of 'S' items within utterances they occur in.

The Table A items are capable of functioning referentially and may
vary from being strongly referential to being weakly referential depend-
ing on the utterance itself. For example, some years ago in Balmain I
overheard the following snatch of conversation from two teenagers:

A: /wɑt də ðaɪ dəu/
B: /ðaɪ fak/.

From this I deduced little more than that some persons copulated
regularly. Had I heard only an utterance /ðeə fakən/, I would have
assumed that some persons were copulating at that moment. If, however,
I had heard an utterance /ðeə fakən daɪgauz/, I would not have assumed
that the speaker was saying the equivalent of 'They're Italians who
copulate/are copulating' (though it would be possible to take it as
'They're copulating with Italians'), but simply the equivalent of
'They're Italians and I don't like them/Italians'. In the former two
utterances the element /fak/ is strongly referential, in the last one,
however, it is only weakly referential, and the emotive, or expressive,
function comes to the fore, as the 'S' item /fakən/ is here little more
than an attitude or mood marker, i.e. it reveals the feelings of the
speaker towards the referent of the NP.

I once encountered what I consider a pure example of the expressive
function of this particular element when I was working in a Balmain
factory. An elderly employee had been leaning against a pillar behind
me for quite some time staring into space, when all of a sudden he
uttered [fa::k] and continued to stare into space. My conclusion at
the time was that he must have been trying to 'get something off his
chest', i.e. it was a cathartic utterance without any referent ident-
ifiable to his audience (who, on this occasion, were not even ad-
dressees).

Thus Table B items will almost always have a more or less strongly
expressive function, whereas Table A items will tend to be strongly
referential, e.g. /dɪd jə hɨət jər aəs/, rather than strongly expres-
sive, e.g. /get af joər aəs/.

Where they occur in structures involving the vocative or the impera-
tive and focussing on the addressee, 'S' items - chiefly those from
Table B - will usually have a conative, or directive, function. Thus
the 'true imperative schemata'[12] are strongly directive, e.g. /(gau

ən) get fakt/ and /gau tə bagəri/, as are the imperative forms of the
Table B:j items, e.g. /pis af/, for all of these mean simply 'go away',
but they are at the same time more or less strongly expressive. The
same blend of functions occurs in such apparently sentential utterances
as /jəu baəstəd/.[13] The 'pseudo-imperative schemata'[14], on the other
hand, are not directive but expressive (and, incidentally, referential),
e.g. /fak smiθ/, meaning little more than 'I disapprove strongly of
Smith', and /bagə məi if all let im kam/, meaning 'I certainly will not
let him come'. These schemata would, in fact, be more accurately
described if they were called 'pseudo-directive' rather than 'pseudo-
imperative'.

   In certain locales the use of 'S' items may have a **phatic** function.
The very frequent use of high category items, especially the Category
6 ones, in the pub for instance seems not to be so much expressive in
function but rather a sign of group solidarity, i.e. 'here we men can
use men's language in an exclusively men's locale.' One informant in
fact told me: "If you don't use it, they'll think there's something
funny about you."

   Some unexpected uses of 'S' items can probably be explained best
in terms of the phatic function. If a man greets a friend with the
words /gədai jəu aul baəstəd/, this is interpreted as a positive, not
a negative attitude marker and seems to imply 'we're such good mates
that I can use a word to you that would cause a fight with someone
else'; the apparent paradox serves as a sign of group solidarity.

   There are times when a **poetic** function is also discernible in 'S'
items. The use of certain collocations and the avoidance of others[15]
suggest this. Examples are the use of assonance in the quasi-proper
nouns /faətaəs/ and /bagəlagz/ or the rhyme in the strongly directive
pseudo-vocative cum pseudo-question utterance /smaət faət | əu bləu
jəu/ (which is little more than an attitude marker addressed to a
person who has 'spoken out of turn'). When people praise others or,
more usually in my experience, themselves as 'great swearers', this is
probably ideally a reference to the ability to combine items poetically
in a stretch of discourse, but on examination may be referring to
little more than the (often monotonous) frequency of occurrence of 'S'
items, especially high category ones, in the discourse.

   This seems to exhaust the possible functions of 'S' items as such,
but it is worth repeating in this context that there is a body of items
that can function **metalinguistically** to refer to 'S' items, though they
are not themselves 'S' items, thus 'swear', 'swearword', 'harmless
language',......, 'filthy language', along with a plethora of legal
terms such as 'obscene language', 'indecent language', 'unseemly
language', etc.

3.3. 'S' ITEMS AND INDEXICAL INFORMATION

It will have been implicit in much of the discussion so far that the presence of 'S' items in a piece of discourse will provide the hearers with a certain amount of indexical information. For example, if someone is heard to use 'S' items beyond Category 3, a d.P. will inevitably conclude that the speaker is not a fellow-believer. That the speaker is not a d.P. will also be apparent to non-believers, who are usually aware of the linguistic strictures on the d.P. (not least because he will try to impose them on them, too), and will be expressed in some such observation as: 'he can't be religious (or: a churchgoer), he swears'. Conversely, a speaker who does not use high category 'S' items, particularly in appropriate company or locales, may well be assumed to be a fellow-believer by the d.P. and 'religious' (if not 'a bit funny') by others.

During the period in question it was not at all uncommon to hear a woman say words to the effect: 'My girl's going with a nice boy: he doesn't drink, smoke or swear'. Thus the non-use of 'S' items, as well as suggesting religious affiliation, could indicate to some hearers the speaker's possession of certain acceptable social attitudes, while the use of them would mark him as socially undesirable. In other company and particularly in certain locales such as the pub, as we have already observed, the failure to use the higher category items would indicate a kind of social deviance, a failure to identify with the group.

Finally, the use of 'S' items, especially from Table B, provides information about the speaker's mood or attitude, though the accuracy with which this is interpreted by the hearer will depend on his being acquainted with the range of categories within which the speaker customarily operates (as in 3.1.1., where Mr. Chifley's assumption that Mr. Dedman 'lost his temper' seems to be based on the category of 'S' items he used). Phonetic and intonational effects of the kind mentioned in 3.1.6. may be involved in his interpretation too, of course.

4. CONCLUSION

An attempt has been made in this essay to apply or adapt established frameworks and to suggest new ones for the sociolinguistic description of an important but neglected part of the spoken English language. If native speakers find the conclusions drawn trivial, because obvious, non-native users of English, who can suffer in a number of ways for their ignorance of the subtleties of 'S' language, may be grateful for the insights offered.

SYMBOLS USED IN TRANSCRIPTION

PHONEMES

(1) Consonants:

p	as in	pay
t		tea
c		cheese
k		key
b		bay
d		day
g		gay
f		fee
θ		think
s		see
ʃ		she
v		vow
ð		though
z		zone
ʒ		rouge
m		sum
n		sun
ŋ		sung
w		wet
l		let
r		rot
j		yacht
h		hot

(2) Vowels:

ɪ	as in	pit
e		pet
æ		pat
ɨ		See (3) below
ə		potato
a		putt
u		put
o		See (3) below
ɑ		pot

(3) Vowel combinations:

əɪ	as in	bee
aɪ		bay
oɪ		boy
ɑɪ		buy
əu		boo
au		beau
æu		bough
ɪə		beer
eə		bare
æə		bad
ɨə		burr
aə		bar
uə		endure
oə		bore
ɑə		gone

TABLE A
'LITERAL' USES OF 'S' ITEMS

taboo load	copulate (with)	masturbate	female pudenda	female breasts	penis	testes	buttocks/ /anus	defecate	pl. faeces/ sg. /faex	n. anal wind/ v. /break wind	n. urine/ v. /urinate	male homo- sexual
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l
6	fak		kant									
5	rəut ʃæəg		twat	tits	prik	boəlz	aəs /'aəsaul	ʃit	ʃit/ /tɨəd	faət	pis	
4	staf (skrəu)	frig	(coit) (snæc)	(bəubz)	kak stif }=penis stifʃ erectus	kadz	bam /(h)aul	pup	pup/			puftə puf
3	(lai)	pul			hoən stoək təul (daŋk)	nats	dait /kræk	kæk	kæk/	paŋ		kwəin
2			pusi	hedlaits	dik fæt = penis erectus	nækəz	aikə bæk'said/	(kræp)	(kræp)	flaf	/ləik /hæv ə ləik	
1	dəu		fæni	təits	tami tasəl 'sasldʒ	baləks staunz	bəi'haind batəm	(hæv ə kræʃ)	/nagət	/drap wan	pəl pidəl	(feərl)
0	hæəv			cest	diki		bəhaind ramp/	pəu	biznəs/ pəu/ 'pəupəu/ nambə təu/	/maik ə smei	wəi 'wəiwəi/ widəl /wet nambə wan	

Left margin: ↑ 'swearwords' ↓ | ↑ 'quasi-swearwords' ↓

NOTES: (A) Brackets around an item indicate that it was not part of the language specified in the Introduction. (B) In paradigms g and i-k the absence of a 'slash' indicates the item has both meanings specified. (C) Syllables preceded by ' are stressed where not otherwise obvious.

TABLE B
'FIGURATIVE' USES OF 'S' ITEMS

taboo load	attitude or mood markers				'nonsense' noun/ /exclamation	exclamation of (a) surprise (b) disgust (c) disappointment	verb 'break'	verb: 'ruin' noun: 'chaos'	verb 'dither'	verb 'go away'
	noun + animate	noun (+ human?) + male	noun (+ human?) + female	adj./adv.						
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j
6	kant			fakən		fak	fak	fak ap	fak {əbæut / əræund}	fak af
5	baəstəd	tɬəd puftə puf prik			'bulʃit	ʃit kraist	rəut	aəs ap (not noun, but pred. adj.)	aəs {əbæut / əræund}	pis af
4	bagə	pɬəv	slat	bladi	pup	dʒəlzəz	bagə	bagər ap	'bagəraɪz (± əræund)	bagər 'af
3	bladʒə		bic	frigən	kræp	gad dʒəiz	frig	frig ap	frig {əbæut / əræund}	soəf
2	swain ræt stiŋkə	maŋgrəl hæund	taət	blaəstəd stiŋkən	/boəlz (exclam.)	goəd blaəst (b & c) goəd strəuθ hel				
1	dag kæu pig kəut bəi devəl	maŋ	wic bæəg	ratən bəi dæəm(d) flaimən	bul /baɭəks (exclam.)	strəuθ kraips straik blaimi dæəm (b & c)		boəlz ap	mak {əbæut / əræund}	bəlt'ɪt
0	bəist begə			bləumən bliŋkən blesəd dʒaɭi flapən flipən plari daən(d) dæʃ(t)	rat traip drivəl	gaʃ dʒəi kraiki kramz help ʃugə ʃivəz gaɭi dʒiŋgiz	dʒigə	dʒigər ap (not noun) bam ap bac (ap)	mes {əbæut / əræund}	baz af

'swearwords' ↑↓ (rows 6, 5, 4)

'quasi-swearwords' ↑↓ (rows 3, 2, 1, 0)

N O T E S

1. The original investigation was presented as a paper at the 1973 Conference of the Linguistic Society of Australia. It was subsequently developed into an article on the one hand dealing with the structural and lexical aspects (Taylor, forthcoming) and revised and expanded on the other into a paper dealing with the psycho- and sociolinguistic aspects which was submitted to the Department of Linguistics at the University of Edinburgh. The present essay is extracted from this latter paper. I wish here to thank Dr. R.D. Eagleson (Sydney), Dr. Marlene Norst (Macquarie) and, especially, Dr. Alan Davies (Edinburgh) for their encouragement and advice at various stages.

2. A number of interesting syntactic studies may be found in Zwicky et al., 1971, though most of these, like Quang Phuc Dong, 1971, were written tongue in cheek. E. Sagarin's work (Sagarin, 1969) purports to be based on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (v. ibid.:11f.) but, while it brings a wealth of data and a considerable bibliography of published and unpublished material, it is so unsystematic as to be disappointing. A succinct and up-to-date statement of the lexicographical treatment of taboo words is to be found in Burchfield, 1973, though for Australian English one might add Baker, 1945, which is omitted there. Otherwise there are the interesting, if peripheral studies by Haas (1964), which contains an extensive bibliography on taboo in general, and Jaquith (1972). The note by G.W. Turner on the function of bloody in Australian English is also worth mentioning (Turner, 1966:93f.).

3. A not dissimilar biaxial system of lexical items exists in Thai, except that it takes in a much wider range of paradigms than the English one (see Haas, 1964:491).

4. It may be inferred that the categorial axis is in fact a syntagmatic
one in that there would be a tendency for items in the same category
to collocate in the same utterance. While this might be true for some
speakers and situations, the following comment made by Fischer about
a somewhat related field of language doubtless holds here too: "Even
where the same factor determines the choice of alternants in several
series of variants, the breaking point for each series will probably
be different" (Fischer, 1964:487). See also Taylor, forthcoming:
Section 2.1.

5. Such texts are: Exodus 20:7; Leviticus 19:12; Matthew 12:31;
Matthew 5:22,33-37.

6. Nuclear and extended family groups often use lexical items private
to themselves for such concepts as 'urine', 'urinate', 'faeces', etc.

7. Some felt there were too many categories and a couple disputed the
location of particular items relative to each other. One colleague
who agreed fully with my analysis, a linguist whom I had just met for
the first time, proved, interestingly, to have had the same early
religious training as I had, viz. Fundamentalist Protestant.

8. See Taylor, forthcoming: section 3.4.

9. Cf. Taylor, forthcoming: section 3.4.

10. In setting up this series of what I call 'determinants' I am, of
course, adapting and adding to a set of terms already widely used by
sociolinguists (cf. Fishman, 1972b;44ff.).

11. See Taylor, forthcoming: section 3.4.

12. Treated in Taylor, forthcoming: section 1.3.3.

13. Taylor, forthcoming: section 1.3.2.

14. Ibid.: section 1.3.4.

15. Ibid.: section 2.

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THE CREOLE LANGUAGE OF THE KATHERINE AND ROPER
RIVER AREAS, NORTHERN TERRITORY

Margaret C. Sharpe and John Sandefur

Most of the Aborigines resident at settlements at Ngukurr (Roper
River) and Bamyili (near Katherine) speak a contact vernacular which
they refer to as 'Pidgin English'. The language has become creolised,
being the first language for the younger people, and the usual language
of communication for the older people. Similar creoles appear to be
spoken in a wide area in cattle station areas of the Northern Territory;
although the forms may not be identical, these creoles appear to be
highly mutually intelligible.[1]

Aborigines at Ngukurr and Bamyili who are fluent in English clearly
differentiate the creole and English, and rarely mix them. Those who
are less fluent in English speak a mixture of English and creole to
non-Aborigines, the proportion varying with their familiarity with
English. This situation accounts for the non-recognition of the creole
as a language entity by many government and school staff for many years.
It was noted only that some Aborigines spoke good English, while others,
with less white contact, spoke a 'broken English'. Sharpe reported on
the creole to the then Northern Territory Welfare Branch in about 1967,
and found that, although their staff had not been conscious of the
creole before then, they appeared immediately to recognise that its
existence accounted for much language they had heard from and among
Aborigines. Greater awareness of the creoles by whites, stemming from
greater use of creole in the presence of whites, has followed changes
in attitude to these languages in recent years, by both Aborigines and
whites.

The Roper Aborigines distinguish between different forms of creole
in their area, referring to 'proper' or 'heavy' Pidgin as opposed to

'light' Pidgin. Jernudd, in studying sociolects at Bagot Reserve in
Darwin in the late 1960s, found three types of 'English' spoken there:
Aboriginal English (a restricted form of English, often only used for
very stylised topics - for example, saying the right things to those
in authority about baby care, hygiene, etc.), Creole, and Roper Pidgin.
At this time many of the more influential Aborigines at Bagot Reserve
were from Roper River. Jernudd states (1969:20):

> "The youth Creole is linguistically different from Pidgin.
> Creole is typologically closer to English than Pidgin since
> it has a similar phonology (although particularly the inton-
> ational characteristics are closer to Pidgin) and a more
> English vocabulary. Its syntax is basically a Pidgin syntax.
> Pidgin has preserved an Aboriginal-type phonology in addition
> to sharp syntactical differences from English. It is often
> referred to as Roper Pidgin (from Roper River). Many school-
> children switch between and are able to comment on the two
> Aboriginal English varieties, Pidgin and Creole. For them
> these varieties functionally stand in a diglossia relation
> (in addition to the diglossic relation between them and
> English). They use Pidgin to adults, Creole among themselves.
> Their Pidgin is in effect a modified Creole."

The evidence in the Ngukurr-Bamyili area does not warrant a clear
distinction of two dialects of creole. Rather, Ngukurr and Bamyili
may best be described (after DeCamp 1971) as being post-creole speech
communities. In such a situation the creole is being continually
modified in the direction of the standard (donor) language, and is in
the process of merging with it. The influence of the standard language
(in this case English) does not reach all speakers uniformly, so that
there is a continuum of varieties of creole (mesolectal creole)[2] from
an 'old creole' form or basilect, to a form much closer to English,
which we will call the acrolect. The acrolect is defined to be the
donor language towards which the creole is moving or levelling. This
situation applied in the Bamaga Community in Cape York (Rigsby 1974),
but at Ngukurr and Bamyili there appears to be a structural gap between
the acrolectal creole and English. Sandefur plans to confirm whether
this gap exists with the aid of a computer concordance in the near
future.

The Aborigines' use of 'heavy' Pidgin is roughly equivalent to the
basilect, and 'light' Pidgin to the acrolect. The speakers make no
clear or absolute delineation between the two, but classify a given
speech variety relative to another variety. Thus, for example,
acrolectal creole may be said to be 'proper English' in one situation
and 'light Pidgin' in another by the same speaker. Jernudd's Roper
Pidgin is roughly equivalent to 'heavy' Pidgin or basilectal creole,
and his youth creole to 'light' Pidgin or acrolectal creole. We have

used Roper Pidgin for communication with Aborigines from Elliott,
Borroloola, Bagot (mainly with Roper related people), and even (for a
few old people) at Palm Island near Townsville, and observed its use
among Aborigines on twelve cattle stations throughout the Roper River-
Bamyili area, and at Katherine.[3] We have reports of a similar creole
or creoles from Elliott down to and along the Barkly Highway to the
Queensland border,[4] Hooker Creek, etc. Evidence from television
documentaries seen by Sharpe also suggests that Roper Creole would be
mutually intelligible with creoles in an even wider area.

The creole of a given speaker will cover a large range of the
continuum, a number of socio-linguistic factors affecting the area of
focus at any given time. The two main factors, as mentioned earlier,
are the speaker's degree of fluency in English and who he is talking
with. Inter-Aboriginal communication is usually focused towards the
basilectal creole, which is not normally intelligible to Europeans.
Speakers fluent in English clearly code switch when speaking with
Europeans, rarely mixing the creole with English. Those less fluent
in English focus on acrolectal creole, some mixing the creole with
English (i.e., continuously switching codes in the conversation). One
notable exception is the Aboriginal minister at Ngukurr who is very
fluent in English (he learnt English before Creole) but characteristi-
cally mixes Creole and English during church services in an attempt to
be intelligible to both the Aborigines and the Europeans in his con-
gregation.

The process of levelling and speaker focus on the continuum are most
readily seen in the phonology. It is also observable in the grammar,
as well as (although to a lesser degree) in the vocabulary.

The basilect phonemes are patterned after the Aboriginal tribal
vernaculars of the area with little significant deviation, being the
following: consonants[5] /b, ḍ, d, ḓ, g, m, ñ, n, ṇ, ŋ, ḻ, l, ḷ, ř, r,
y, w/ and vowels /i, e, a, o, u/. There is evidence for the existence,
diachronically, of several coexistent vowel systems. For those tribal
vernaculars that have a three vowel system, 'old' Pidgin appears to
have only had three vowels /i, a, u/; /e/ was probably introduced into
the basilect before /o/, as /e/ has also developed in the Alawa lan-
guage from south of the Roper River; /e/ also occurs in Creole as a
contraction of /ay/. The phoneme /o/ developed later. Phoneme
fluctuation can be seen in laygim/legim *like,* bugi/bogi *swim,* namu/
numo/nomo *no,* and guwe/gowe *go away.* Consonant clusters word initially
are avoided in the basilect, either by deletion of the initial conson-
ant or by insertion of a vowel between the consonants of the English
donor word, resulting in words (still retained) such as jilib *sleep,*

jineg *snake,* bilaŋgid *blanket,* buludaŋ *blue tongue lizard,* bulijiman *policeman,* garajim *scratch,* don *stone,* and biya *spear.*

The acrolect phonemes are patterned after the English phonemes with no significant deviation. Consonant di- and tri-clusters occur as do vocoid diphthongs, and the distribution of phonemes is the same as for English. The mesolect does not have a set of phonemes *per se* but may be thought of in terms of levelling rules showing the basic interference patterns between the basilect and acrolect as one moves 'up' the continuum. Ten general consonantal levelling rules have been delineated. These are not ordered rules but operate simultaneously. They are listed, however, according to frequency of operation.[6]

1. Sibilants that were deleted to avoid consonant clusters word initially are replaced. biya → sbiya *spear.*

2. The alveolar sibilant replaces the alveopalatal stop in donor positions.[7] Further delineation of the sibilants in donor positions occurs in acrolectal creole. jabi → sabi *understand,* sap → šap *shop.*

3. Voicing further delineates devoiced consonants in donor positions, occurring stylistically in basilectal creole and contrastively in acrolectal creole. bag → bak *bark.*

4. Labiodental fricatives replace bilabial stops in donor positions. bobala/bowabala → fobala/fowabala *four.*

5. Word initial /h/ that underwent deletion during creolisation re-occurs. amini → hamini *how many?*

6. Affricates replace the alveopalatal stop in donor positions. jej → čeč *church.*

7. Interdental fricatives replace alveolar and alveopalatal stops in donor positions. jarre → ðarre *there* (from *'that way'*), de → ðe *they.*

8. /θ/ replaces /s/ in donor positions word finally. mawos → mawoθ *mouth.*

9. Alveolar consonants (sometimes with modification of the preceeding vowel) replace retroflexed consonants in donor positions. ardim → adim *hurt.*

10. Flapped /ř/ is reduced to continuant /r/ in initial consonant clusters. trrubala → trubala *true.*

Speakers will occasionally apply levelling rules in non-donor positions. One speaker at Bamyili, for example, characteristically 'over-levelled' with reference to rule 4, so that he had /f/ occurring where /p/ or /b/ should have been.[8] Levelling rules for vowels are more complex and harder to define. Use of some vowel phones is stylistic

over much of the mesolect, but only becomes contrastive near the
acrolect.

Dutton found for Palm Island Aboriginal English that there was a
greater speed of utterance (in syllables per unit time) for Aboriginal
English than for Australian English.[9] Although no study has been done
on the creole on this point, this appears to be so for it, accounting
in large measure for the very low intelligibility of the creole to
Australian English speakers. Otherwise rhythm (stress-timed as in
English) and the basic intonation patterns and the information conveyed
by each intonation pattern, are readily understood by speakers of our
dialects of English (Australian and southern American resp.). The
creole has, as does Australian English, two statement intonations, one
with final fall of pitch, and one with final rise of pitch. The latter
pattern appears, as in Australian English, to convey non-final utter-
ance in narrative, or a statement inviting some token of response in
conversation. This non-final statement pattern may end in a glottal
stop, particularly in narrative. However, the creole also has an
intonation pattern never heard in English, for describing some con-
tinuing action. Pitch rises mid-sentence, usually on a verb, and is
maintained at a high level on a lengthened vowel or on repetitions of
a word; the sentence is concluded with a phrase or clause having either
statement intonation pattern. Laryngealisation can often be heard in
the high-pitched segment.

a bin wed wed wed wed wed wed najiŋ.
I waited for ages, but nothing (came).

The more prominent features only of the grammar are presented in
this short article. The descriptions given can be amplified and
explicated by reference to the appended short texts.

Transitive verbs are marked by the suffix -im.

im gilim geŋgarru. *He is hitting a kangaroo.*

im graygray. *He/she is crying.*

mi lug. *I see.*

Past tense is marked by bin (also used as a past tense copula),
and future by andi.

Past: im bin gilim mi. *He hit me.*

Present: mi jabi. *I understand.*

Future: im andi jilib jaya. *He will sleep there.*

Continuous aspect is shown by the suffix -bad on verbs; for intran-
sitive verbs reduplication can be used instead of -bad.

im bin megim ginu. *He made a canoe.*

im bin megimbad ginu. *He was making a canoe* (not finished)
im bin gray. *He cried.*
im bin graygray. *He was crying.*

Moods are indicated by words as follows:
wandi *want* (intentive): im wandi go la riba.
                              He wants to go to the river.
labda *must* (obligative): im labda lug la dagda.
                              He must see the doctor.
gin *can* (abilitative): a gin bajimab.
                              I can bring it.
gan *cannot* (inabilitative): yu gan go la mi.
                              You can't go with me.
urldi *used to* (habitual past, occurs with bin):
   im bin urldi albim mi. *He used to help me.*
yusda *used to* (habitual past, occurs without bin):
   mi yusda legim im. *I used to like it.*
alde *always* (repetitive): alabad alde bleble.
                              They are always playing.
nomo *not* (negative): yu nomo bin albim mi.
                         You didn't help me.

Verb clitics indicate direction of movement, sometimes of an abstract nature. Although of English origin, there is indication that at least one language nearby, Nunggubuyu, had clitics used for the same purpose. The clitics are listed below.
-ab *up:* bajimab bla mi. *Pass it up for me.*
-dan *down:* im bin buldan. *He fell down.*
-ad *out:* im bin gowad la hawoj gwigbala.
      He went out of the house quickly.
-in *in:* mi wandi gowin la riba. *I want to go in the river.*
-an *on:* yundubala gaman la mi. *You two come to me.*
-we *away:* im bin basawe. *He passed away (died).*
-beg *back:* gambeg weya yu binij. *Come back when you finish.*

The only nouns overtly pluralised in the creole are olmen *old man* (plural olmenolmen), and olgamen *woman* (plural olgolgamen). Adjectives are usually marked by suffixed -bala or -wan.
Pronouns are shown in Table 1. Except for the first person (excl.) singular pronoun, there is no variation in form between nominative and oblique, object or possessive. a/ay may be used for subject, and may/ mayn for possessive; mi may be used in all positions. Away from Roper River the dual distinction is sometimes missing, and the forms mibala, yu(m)bala and sometimes imbala are heard. yumob is more common than yuwalabad at Ngukurr, and yuwalabad at the cattle stations.

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┌──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                             TABLE 1                                    │
│                            PRONOUNS                                    │
│                                                                        │
│                    singular    dual          plural                    │
│                                                                        │
│ 12 person (1st incl.)  yunmi      -          yunmalabad/minalabad/wi    │
│ 1st person (excl.)     mi (etc.)  mindubala   melabad/mibala/wi          │
│ 2nd person             yu         yundubala  yuwalabad/yubala/yumbala/yumob/yu │
│ 3rd person             im         imdubala   alabad/al/de/je            │
└──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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A reflexive pronoun mijalb (invariant for all persons) and recipro-
cal pronouns gija *each other* and mijamed *together* exist.

olmen bin lujim mijalb. *The old man died.* (lit. *lost himself*)

yu wandi bogi mijalb la riba? *Do you want to swim by yourself
in the river?*

yunmi gadimab mijalb. *We go our own ways.*

alabad bin gilimbad gija. *The were continually killing each other.*

dubala med gija. *They (two) are mates.*

dubala bin go la riba mijamed. *They (two) went to the river
together.*

As in English, the subject of the clause precedes the verb if any,
and the object if any follows the verb. Other 'case' relations are
signalled by:

bla/blaŋa genitive *belonging to, pertaining to, for the purpose of*

la/laŋa locative *to, in, at, with (accompanitive and instrumental)*

garrim instrumental *with (accompanitive and instrumental)*

burrum ablative *from*

To indicate location more specifically, phrases such as la dab la
on top of, laŋa lid la *in front of*, biyan la *behind*, gulujab *near*,
binji la *facing*, bagbon la *facing away from* are used.

Clauses may be related by juxtaposition, but seven conjunctions
occur. They are an *and*, bad *but*, buji/buñi *if*, anles *unless*, dumaji
because, win *when*, and waya *where, while, that, who, when*.[10] Their
functions parallel that of their English equivalents.

Sentence words and interjections include yuway *yes*, nomo *no*, najiŋ
nothing, no, gurdi *oh dear!*, yagay *ouch*, bobala *poor thing, what a
shame* (bobala also has adjectival-type use as in bobala mi *Poor old
me!*).

In basilectal creole many items of vocabulary are from local
languages. Examples are: ŋugu *water*, gabarra *head* (origin not
known), gula *anger*, barrawu *boat* (from Malay via local languages),
warl *good all over*, ñugurr *sacred*. Other words, although of

English origin, may not be recognised as such by many Australian
English speakers. Examples are: binji *stomach*, daga *food*, dagadagad
eat, jaba *dinner, evening meal*, bagi *tobacco*, bajam *past/first time*.
Other words of English origin have changed their reference sufficiently
to be confusing. Examples are: biŋga *arm, hand* (from *'finger'*),
aŋinab *be up above* (from *'hanging up'*), gilim *hit* (from *'kill'*),
jigibala *poisonous* (from *'cheeky'*), yalabala *halfcaste* (from *'yellow'*),
gugwan *ripe* (from *'cooked'*), brabli *proper* (from *'properly'*), dumaj
lots (from *'too much'*), gajin *mother-in-law* (from *'cousin'*).

Many creole expressions were incorporated into the English of white
residents at Ngukurr and surrounding cattle stations; such residents
found them colourful and apt. Expressions often heard from whites
included: gud binji *happy*, bulab gula *angry*, bobala, bobala mi, etc.
poor fellow, poor old me, etc., yu savi? *do you understand*, wanem *a
what's-it*, ŋi? (pronounced ñi by whites) *isn't it?*, mowa beda *better*,
jaldu *finished, OK*, im rayd *it'll do*, bogi *swim, wash*, biginini *child*,
yuway *yes*, gejim *catch, get*, munaŋa *white person*, blegbala *Aborigine*,
yalabala *halfcaste*.

APPENDIX

The following text examples were tape recorded at Ngukurr by
Sandefur during April and May, 1974. With few exceptions, the basilect
vowel system has been followed.

Text No. 1. This is part of a story told by Sambo for tape recording
after telling the same story in his tribal vernacular, Ridarngu. Sambo,
about 40 years old, speaks Roper Creole as his second language, and
speaks virtually no English. The story is about making a stone axe,
and he makes reference to a specific tree on location in the story.

dijan - de bin alde go. de bin alde luk dat bigwan.
This (tree) - they always went to one. They always looked for a big

big tri bin jandab. belam - blam tri. diswan. de bin libam dat
one, a big tree standing, a plum tree, this one. They left the big

big tri. ledi jandab. de bin alde luk dat yaŋ tri, e?
trees, let (them) stand. They always looked for a young tree, see?

pilam. de bin luk an bletnim, bin kadim. de bin
A plum. They found one and flattened it, (and) cut (it). They (would)

kadim an grebam. grebam, megi lilwan. megi
cut (it) and scrape (it), scrape (it) (and) make (it) small, make

flatwan prabli. gidim redwan,
(it) really flat. (They would) get a hot coal (lit. 'red one'), (and)

megim baya. megim baya an barnim. megim jilagwan,
make a fire, make a fire and heat (it). (They'd) make it flexible

bindimbak an pudim dat ton ek. (They
(slack), bend it back and put the stone axe (head) (on it). (They

gidim jat triŋ, dat buj triŋ. dat buj triŋ, na win
would) get that string, that bush string. That bush string, now which

mi gulim - win a bin dok tide, kolim bagwurrani, im iya blandi. dat
I called, when I talked today, bagwurrani, there's plenty here. That

buj triŋ, abarijani weya de bin alde yujim, im iya.
bush string which the Aborigines they always used, there's some here.

bigmab iya, dumani ala go jandab, abowe. gidim
Lots here, plenty always standing (growing) everywhere. (They'd) get

an dayimap -   lodan   radap
it and tie it up (wrap the handle) - low down (near the head) right

la hen,   weya ðe bin alde olim   gadi
up to the handle (end of handle) where they always held it with the

biŋga.   endal - im gadim ....
hand. It's got a handle ....

Text No. 2. This example is part of an inconspicuously recorded conver-
sation between Isaac (Mara tribesman deceased, age about 70, spoke fair
English, and Charlie (Rembarrnga tribesman, age about 50, speaks fair
English) outside the Ngukurr store.

I: wat dat bod bin du? C: wijan? - o   im gada   hol in im,   ðe
What did that boat do? Which one? - oh, it got a hole in it they

rekan. I: baj? C: im stakin   ða send. I: weya dijan iya?
reckon. The barge? It's stuck in the sand.   Whereabouts (lit. 'where

C: roj   riba im jidanlabat - la sengran.   maidbi im
this here') Rose River it's sitting at, on the sand. It's possibly

gada hol - I: jeya, win a bin jaya im bin stak jeya laŋa ðat
got a hole. There, when I was there it got stuck there at that

mawoθ, weya im bin lo tayd. C: ðe rekan im gada hol dumaji.[11]
(river) mouth, at low tide.   They reckon it's got a hole.

I: an   mobeda   im kaman dis sayd burrum
And (it'd be) better (if) he comes this side from (where he was)

stak agin .... mobeda im bin kaman   dis sayd -
stuck next time ... better (if) he comes this side (from where he was)

stak   weya ðat tubala čanal im splidap. C: dawon fram ðat čanal
stuck where the two channels divide.   Down from (where) the channels

splidap im bin go na hidim beŋk .....
divide he went, (but he) hit the bank .....

Text No. 3. This is part of an inconspicuously recorded conversation
with Wallace, and is an excerpt of his response to the question of the
difference between Pidgin and English. Wallace is a Ngandi tribesman,
about 50, and speaks very poor English.

yu gin irrim,   yu   no.   layk pois. iŋklis prapawan, im lilbit -
You can hear it, you know. Like ?? Proper English,   it's a little -

jij jeyagin.   kulujap gija.
just there again (showing with hands). (They're) close together.

dubala gulujap   gija.   an iya   iŋgliš.
The two are close together. And here (showing with hands) is English.

lilbit hay.   pijin iŋglij im bodamwan.
(It's) a little high (higher?). Pidgin English is the bottom one.

im bodam.   yu   no,   yu   sabi   orat. yu si? ... pijin
It's (on) the bottom. You know, you understand OK. You see? Pidgin

iŋglis (?) ebiwan ... prapa iŋgliš,   im   prapawe,   im layt,
English is heavy .... proper English, it's the proper way, it's light,

yu   no ...
you know ...

Text No. 4. This is part of a recording made of Lloyd (three-year old halfcaste) looking at a picture book.

an din im gada galimap galimap, din im gada   puldan dina.
And then he's got to climb up, then he's got to fall down dinner

(pulimdan dina)   yukuy, binana, im gadimap gadimap - ola
(pull down the dinner) Wow, bananas, he's carrying all the bananas.

binana. yukuy, ... lil boy.   dubala gada   go la   mami,
Wow, ... a little boy. They two have to go to (their) mother,

dubala ...   yuku, dubala gadi iya ... binga. tu binga.   tu
those two .... Wow, two of them here ...fingers. Two fingers. Two

olagija ....   darran jeya,   dak.   fij, dadan   gat
altogether (total) ... That there, is a duck. Fish, that one's got a

fij bla melabat. bla yumab. wanlm dijan iya? watfo   fadawan,
fish   for us.   For you.   What's this here? Why is the fat one

          iya luk?   fatwan,   im werri   big traja,
(doing that)? Here look. The fat one, he's wearing big trousers,

na?? ....
right? ...

N O T E S

1. Data on which this paper is based were gained during fieldwork by Sharpe in 1966-68 while a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and as a Research Fellow at the University of Queensland funded by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, and by Sandefur under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1973-74. A brief analysis by Sharpe (1974) has been updated by us in the light of Sandefur's more comprehensive data and analysis.

2. Terminology is taken from Day (1973), 'Patterns of Variation in Copula and Tense in the Hawaiian Post-Creole Continuum'. *Working Papers in Linguistics*, University of Hawaii. Vol. 5, No. 2, Feb. 1973.

3. Sharpe at Elliott, Borroloola and Palm Island; Sandefur at Bamyili and cattle stations north of Roper River; both at all other places.

4. Personal communication with Neil Chadwick.

5. Stops are devoiced, /ř/ is flapped or trilled, and /r/ is a retroflexed continuant. In examples following, phonemic symbols /ḓ, d, ṉ, ḻ, ř/ will be replaced by j, rd, rn, rl, rr respectively. Symbols ñ and ŋ will be retained.

6. This has only been established impressionistically. A statistical count of their occurrences in a large sample of texts with the aid of computer is planned for the near future.

7. By 'donor position' is meant that position in the English donor word from which the basilect word was derived during creolisation (or pidginisation) and to which it is returning during levelling.

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8. This occurs frequently in Filipino English with respect to /f/ and
/p/.

9. Intelligibility of Aboriginal English was increased by repetition
of clauses or phrases, this presumably to compensate for the increased
utterance rate. Roper Creole appears to use repetition in a similar
way, but so to some extent do the substratum languages.

10. waya/weya parallels the subordinating conjunction gada in Alawa
in its generality of use and vagueness of meaning, and the gada-
subordinate clause in Alawa appears typical of many Aboriginal lan-
guages.

11. dumaji here is not easy to translate, but parallels the use of
but in some North Queensland (and elsewhere) English. It implies
reasons understood by speaker and hearers, and is sometimes translated
'because'.

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AGENCIES OF LANGUAGE STANDARDIZATION IN AUSTRALIA[1]

Elizabeth Thuan

Unlike the course of development of English in the United States,
the development of English in Australia has produced remarkably little
regional variation in two hundred years in what has been, historically,
a widely scattered population. Ramson (1972) considers the homogeneity
of General Australian English to be perhaps the most distinctive feature
of the language. He attributes this lack of variation to the similarity
in regional and social background of the convicts and early settlers,
and to a pattern of occupational and social mobility during the nine-
teenth century, which at times amounted to social upheaval, and which
served to discourage the formation of areas of regional variation.
However, Gunn (1972a) suggests that the extent of regional homogeneity
in Australian English has been assumed rather than investigated, and he
draws attention to a growing appreciation of regional and social dif-
ferences in usage.

Southern British English was early perceived as providing a norm of
correctness for speakers of English in Australia. Gunn (1972b) suggests
that a second variety of Australian English - Cultivated Australian -
developed later than General Australian as a result of attempts to
speak Standard (Southern British) English. The dependence upon the
norms of Southern British English has persisted and is still to some
extent current. There is, for example, still no dictionary of
Australian English to supplant the Concise Oxford Dictionary.[2] However,
the development of Australian English has resulted in a gradual diver-
gence from these norms and in the establishment of Australian replace-
ments for them, although the degree of difference between the two
standards is not great. Australia has developed a number of its own
agencies for standardizing language, and is slowly acquiring a body of
literature codifying the norms produced by these agencies.

The historical pattern of population distribution in Australia has
yielded in the last three decades to one which differs radically in two
major dimensions. The vast majority of Australians are now clustered in
the coastal cities: Australia has become one of the most urbanized
countries in the world. Secondly, approximately one quarter of the
total population of Australia consists of immigrants who have entered
the country since the Second World War. These immigrants have intro-
duced a number of other regional varieties of English, as well as other
European and some non-European languages. These two factors of urban-
ization and massive immigration are undoubtedly producing profound
alterations in the traditional Australian distribution of language
varieties. Just what these changes entail, however, is simply not known
at the present time. Linguistic pressures are only now starting to
emerge and to affect the established patterns of language and language
treatment.

Recent literature on language change has sought to provide a theory
of language treatment which encompasses the problems and decision-
making procedures found in different types of society (cf. Jernudd
1972). Haugen (1969) provides a model of language planning which dis-
tinguishes between language treatment that is primarily concerned with
form - normalization, requiring the selection and codification of the
form of language - and that which is primarily concerned with function -
cultivation, requiring the elaboration and the propagation of the
functions of language. Neustupný (1970) proposes a model linking two
extreme types of language treatment with two different types of society,
each type having characteristic language problems. He associates a
policy approach to language treatment with the language problems of less
well-developed societies, involving problems such as the selection of
a national language, standardization, literacy and so on. In contrast,
his cultivation approach is found in modern, industrialised societies
and is concerned with questions of correctness, efficiency, style and
so on. Jernudd (1972) notes that the features characterizing the dif-
ferent types of society are not exclusive, and suggests a scale of
policy-cultivation types, with linguistically mature speech communities
exhibiting a wide range of language treatment activities.

Language standardization is one of the most familiar forms of planned
language change. The task of language standardization differs in form
and magnitude in different types of society. Broadly, it consists of
the establishment of norms of the correct use of language, and the
acceptance of these norms by a speech community. Even within societies,
the level of formality of language standardization may vary. In a
diversified society, formal language standardisation is carried out on

a professional basis by specialist groups; it includes the selection
of linguistic structure as a norm, the specification of this structure
(codification), its presentation to the speech community in the form
of grammars, dictionaries, style manuals, and the advancement of
community acceptance of the norm (Fishman, 1970). Informal standard-
ization operates in any community in which there is a high level of
agreement in usage, even without the formal statement of rules (Haugen,
1966) Current official language treatment[3] in Australia is concerned
with Australian English: it approaches the cultivation end of the
scale. The language problems encountered typically have not constituted
social problems of any magnitude, and the decisions made on language
problems have not had the wideranging consequences that may attend
decisions made under a policy approach, as for example, the selection
of a national language. However, there is a small but growing official
recognition of the significant presence of other languages in the
Australian speech community, and changes in the established pattern
of language treatment are starting to appear.

Agencies of language standardization have developed in Australia
along the lines of those found in other Anglo-Saxon countries. Unlike
the European model, which incorporates a centralized, authoritarian
academy, the Australian agencies of language standardization consist of
independent, non-authoritarian organizations, none of which has evolved
for the single, primary purpose of language treatment, although in some
cases language treatment forms part of a set of major functions for a
particular organization. These groups are concerned with different
areas of language, and the extent and force of their decisions varies.
Three broad areas of standardization may be discerned.

1. TECHNICAL TERMINOLOGY AND PLACE NAMES

The standardization of technical terminology is carried out in
Australia by the Standards Association of Australia (SAA). The SAA is
an independent, nonprofit body incorporated by Royal Charter and is the
recognised national organization for the promotion of industrial
standardization. It is the Australian member body of the two inter-
national standards organizations - the International Organization for
Standardization (ISO) and the International Electrotechnical Commission
(IEC). In general, the standards prepared by the SAA are adopted
voluntarily by industries, producers, consumers and various Government
bodies on the authority of their intrinsic merit, although standards
concerning the safety of life or property may be enforced through

reference in statutory regulations. In formulating standards, the SAA
consults with representatives of all parties to be affected by the
decisions taken, and it is to this policy that the SAA attributes the
success of the method of voluntary adoption of its standards.

   One of the functions explicitly stated in the SAA Charter is the stan-
dardization of technical terms and nomenclatures in various industrial
and commercial fields. The SAA acts to compile and publish glossaries
of the terms that have been standardized. Usually, the SAA standardizes
existing terminology rather than introducing new terms, although there
are cases where the acceptance of a classificatory system for new prop-
erties of substances influences the choice of terminology. In the
selection of nomenclature to be standardized in a particular field,
both overseas standards and local usage are investigated. Where there
is one, international standards are adopted; otherwise, a local term
is selected, rigorously defined and listed in a final glossary together
with alternative terms which are commonly used in local areas.

   The standardization of place names in Australia is carried out by
independently constituted place names committees in the various states;
these maintain contact through the National Mapping Division, which
acts as the national names authority. The place names committees are
concerned not only with the assigning of names to topographical features,
townships, post offices and so on, but also with the standardization of
the form and spelling of new and existing names. Decisions regarding
place names take account not only of current local usage and the
earliest written form of names, but in the case of non-English names -
usually those of aboriginal origin - consideration is also given to
rendering the name pronounceable by English speakers. Committee
decisions are gazetted, published and disseminated to all interested
parties and to the public. An example is the postcode book, produced
in conjunction with the Post-Master General's Department, which gives
the official name (and postal code) of every recognised postal area
in the country.

2. STANDARDIZATION OF USAGE

   In the not quite complete absence of works codifying norms of accept-
able usage of English in Australia, by far the most significant organ-
ization acting towards the development of a Standard Australian English
is the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC). Under the terms of
the Broadcasting and Television Act 1942-1969, radio and television
broadcasters in Australia are required to use correct English, to avoid

slang, bad grammar and wrong pronunciation. These terms are applied, without elaboration, to the commercial broadcasting stations, which appear to have no difficulty in fulfilling their requirements. The ABC, however, accepts these as minimal requirements only, and has established a Standing Committee on Spoken English which has set up far more stringent standards for application within the organization, and which maintains constant supervision of the standard of English broadcast on national stations.

The Standing Committee engages in research into pronunciation and usage within the Australian community, and on the basis of this research and a comparison of the English norms employed in British and American broadcasting, it makes normative decisions on pronunciation. The decisions are circulated to personnel involved in broadcasting, and they are required to use them. The Standing Committee endeavours to provide an Australian standard of correctness for the usage and pronunciation of English, and perceives such a standard as being different in many respects from the Southern British standard. The Standing Committee has no authority to enforce its norms beyond the ABC, and its norms come before the public only insofar as the ABC provides consistent material of a high degree of correctness through a nationwide network of radio and television stations.

Other agencies which may possibly be involved in the standardization of English are far less directed in their activities, and the significance of their impact is far more restricted. For example, the structure of the education system in Australia renders nationwide standardization impossible. This is in strong contrast to cases of nations employing a policy approach to language treatment, where the education system provides one of the chief agencies for the dissemination of the standard language. Australian educational practice differs from state to state, and there may be considerable variation in English teaching practice even within the states. Generally, little emphasis is placed on the teaching of specifically Australian varieties of English, as opposed to the other main varieties of English, although this may vary in individual instances. Textbooks differ in the selection of the variety which they codify: there appears to be some tendency away from British norms.

The Australian Department of Labour and Immigration (formerly the Australian Department of Immigration), in consultation with the Australian Department of Education, provides a variety of courses for

the teaching of English to various categories of immigrants and intend-
ing immigrants. The courses include instruction in basic English for
adults and secondary school age children and more advanced courses
designed to equip immigrants with occupational terminology and usage
appropriate to their chosen occupational field. The Department's
program also includes the provision of special English classes in
schools where there are children who are handicapped in their studies
by lack of English.

There are very few reference works dealing with Australian English
usage and directed to an audience other than schoolchildren. Of those
that do exist, by far the most authoritative is the *Style Manual for
Authors and Printers of Australian Government Publications* which sets
out official recommendations on many aspects of the writing, editing,
publishing and printing of Government publications. Later editions of
the *Style Manual* have been directed towards the public also, as a guide
to correct usage of Australian English. Much of the text remains
technical, directed to the specialised needs of printers, but it does
offer specific guidance on spelling, abbreviation, the use of punctu-
ation and italics, a discussion on style and some direction on grammar.

An interesting recent addition to the literature on Standard
Australian English is *Good Australian English*, edited by Turner (1972),
which offers material on the development of English in Australia and
discussions on the concept of correctness in language, style, spelling
and brief guides to both spelling and usage. Articles have been con-
tributed by academics, educationists and journalists, and the book as
a whole is directed to a general public.

3. STANDARDIZATION OF VARIETIES

It is only very recently that it has become possible to talk meaning-
fully of the formal selection of a language code for use in a particular
situation or set of situations in Australia. One of the consequences
of the historical language situation in Australia has been that English
has been the only thinkable candidate for use in officially sanctioned
language situations. Education has been carried on entirely in English,
with the exception of courses of instruction in a select number of
foreign languages - not necessarily immigrant languages - and this has
necessitated the making of special provision for the children of immi-
grants and Australian Aboriginals, who have had to be taught English in
order to be able to engage in the study of other school subjects. Adult
immigrants have had to be educated in English to take up their appro-
priate occupational roles. Official documents are printed in English,

even including ones of such wide application as the taxation forms.
Until recently, all radio and television broadcasting in Australia was
effectively monolingual in English. Stations were permitted only a
minute fraction of their broadcasting hours in other languages - and
flood and bushfire warnings were allowed to be broadcast multilingually.

It is in some of these areas of language standardization that the
recent signs of change have appeared, and it is in these areas that
further changes may take place. Some very few inner suburban schools
with a majority of immigrant students are attempting to develop bi-
lingual education programs. The Australian Government has established
a bilingual education scheme for Aboriginal children in the Northern
Territory, so that they may become literate in their mother tongues
before they learn English, in which higher level instruction will be
continued. (The vernacular language program forms part of a wider
program to encourage and assist the preservation and development of
Aboriginal language and culture in the wider context of Australian
society.) The question of the provision of bilingual education programs
on radio and television, and the restrictive nature of the regulations
governing broadcasting in languages other than English was raised in
the House of Representatives (Hansard, 1.5.73) and the restrictive pro-
vision was withdrawn by the Australian Broadcasting Control Board in
November 1973. Most recently, the Federal Minister for Education has
announced an enquiry into the teaching of the major immigrant languages
in Australian schools.

Individually, these changes do not constitute major alterations to
the overall perspective of language use in Australia. Collectively,
they indicate the gradual development of a new level of official aware-
ness of language as an issue in a community undergoing change and a
growing appreciation of language as a community resource that should
not be wasted.

English has by tradition been the major and official language used
in Australia. Dependence upon Southern British norms of correctness
has only gradually been eroded, and the establishment of Australian
norms to replace them has been equally gradual. Agencies of language
standardization do, however, exist in Australia for the purposes of
formulating local English norms. Recent changes in the composition and
distribution of the population of Australia and the introduction of new
varieties of language with significant numbers of speakers are resulting
in new social and linguistic situations about which little is currently
known, but which are exerting pressures on the traditional patterns of
language treatment, and are forcing new developments in them.

N O T E S

1. This is a revised version of a paper delivered to the Linguistic
Society of Australia symposium on 'The Linguistic Situation in
Australia' in May 1972 and subsequently published under the title 'The
Codification of English in Australia' in *Linguistic Communications* 10,
1973.

2. The topic of dictionaries was discussed by J.R. Bernard in 'The
Need for a Dictionary of Australian English' in *Southerly* 22:2, 1962.

3. Language treatment is also carried out at other levels of society.
These have not been considered here.

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IDENTITY AND COMMUNICATION:
MAINTENANCE OF HEBREW, DECLINE OF YIDDISH

Manfred Klarberg

1. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMUNITY

There have been Jews in Australia since the establishment of European settlement. In Melbourne, the foundation stone for a synagogue - with a Hebrew inscription - was laid in 1847 (Goldman, 1954:33). At that time, the community numbered less than three hundred souls. Growth was steady and, despite loss by accretion to the host society, Jews numbered 9,500 by 1933 (Price, 1964).

As a result of the rise of Nazism in Europe, the Melbourne Jewish community received an unprecedented influx of new arrivals. Refugees and transportees account for most of the increase to 15,000 by 1947 - just one hundred years after the establishment of the first communal institution.

Following the Second World War, many Jews responded to the Australian Government's efforts to boost the population and settled in the new world down-under. The community doubled to 30,000 within fourteen years (census of 1961). By then, the old-established families had come to form a demographically small segment of the community.

2. LINGUISTIC HERITAGE

About eighty per cent of the Jews in Melbourne can trace their origin to Eastern Europe. There, particularly in Poland, until the mid-nineteenth century, they lived in segregated quarters and townships where contact with Polish Catholics was remarkably limited and "very few persons in either group troubled themselves to understand the other group's language" (Bloomfield, 1933:42).

In a Poland partitioned by the great powers, neither Polish nor
Yiddish were fully utilised standard languages; both groups used other
languages for specific situations. For Jews, Hebrew, though not used
for speech, was the language of prayer and Rabbinical scholarship (in
an era when the clergy were the dominant professional group). Educa-
tional institutions, from preparatory schools attended by all boys, up
to academies preparing students for Rabbinical ordination, used text-
books in Hebrew or closely related dialects. Hebrew was also the lan-
guage of written records for general purposes (Weinreich, 1953).
Furthermore, it served as a lingua franca between Jews from different
parts of the world (Roth, 1934). In correspondence this may have
passed unnoticed, but its oral use by people of varied native speech
caused comment (Finn, 1878; Rabin, 1970). Hebrew thus filled the role
of a High language as defined in Ferguson's classic paper 'Diglossia'
(1959).

Yiddish was the only medium for communication for millions at home,
in the workshop, and in the market-place, and in the oral study of the
Hebrew texts. Nevertheless, the geographic proximity of Germany, the
many German speech islands in Eastern Europe and linguistic similarity
(lack of "Abstand" cf. Kloss, 1967) were major obstacles in the way of
Yiddish becoming the language of proud ethnic identity. Its position
as the Low language within Jewish society (vis-a-vis Hebrew) and with-
out (vis-a-vis German) lessened its chances of being adopted as such.

With the nationalist movements of the nineteenth century successfully
establishing states on the basis of ethnic-linguistic unity (Toynbee,
1926:18), many Jews too, began to see their identity in similar terms.
Among these, some preferred Yiddish, and it "began to function in a
number of hitherto unparalleled social roles" (Fishman, 1965:5). Others
saw Hebrew as their 'national' language; these were the forerunners of
modern Zionism. In reviving the language, it was inevitable that a new
variety - a Koiné - would emerge (Blanc, 1954:385; Klarberg, 1970b;129).

The Eastern European Jewish immigrants to Australia who came to
predominate in the community, brought this tradition of linguistic con-
flict with them. The more conservative tried to maintain the tradi-
tional diglossic pattern, others looked to General Israeli Hebrew for
their focus of identity, and yet others, to Yiddish.

3. HEBREW AND YIDDISH IN MELBOURNE

The early thirties saw the beginnings of Yiddish as an institu-
tionalised medium of communication in Australia. A weekly newspaper
was established in 1931; a Yiddish part-time school in 1935 was fol-
lowed by a theatre and various clubs. At the same time the Kadimah, a

cultural organisation founded in 1911, became strongly Yiddishist and
concentrated on the accumulation of Yiddish books for its library. In
1946 a second Yiddish paper appeared, and another Yiddish school was
established. By 1960, the peak of Yiddish activity had been reached.
The two Yiddish schools had a combined enrolment of 450 children. The
standard of fluency and cultural awareness of the pupils during the
sixties was well demonstrated in wall newspapers at both schools,
regular contributions by pupils to the Yiddish press, and occasional
school publications.

The Jewish community as a whole often requested their participation
in public functions as, for instance, at the annual Warsaw Ghetto
Revolt commemoration organised by members of the Kadimah and associated
groups of Polish Jews. More significantly, the State Zionist Council of
Victoria, though regarding the spreading of Hebrew in the community as
one of its prime objectives, considered it appropriate to incorporate
an item by the Yiddish schools in the annual Israel Independence Day
celebration.

In 1966-1967 the Jewish Social Service Council of Victoria conducted
a Community survey. In this survey, piloted by a committee of academics,
Item 242 investigated the state of knowledge of Yiddish; Item 243 that
of Hebrew. Table 1 is a summary of Items 242-243. (To simplify the
Table, numbers have been rounded.)

TABLE 1
Do you speak, read or understand:

	Hebrew? %		Yiddish? %	
	M	F	M	F
Understand	3	3	14	13
Understand and read	13	5		1
Only read	25	19	(not asked)	
Understand and speak	1	0	14	13
Understand, speak and read	22	13	52	42
None	35	58	20	30

Item 240 on 'home language' reported 27% spoke Yiddish and 1% Hebrew.
Further investigation (Klarberg, 1970a) indicated that even those whom
one may assume to have the highest degree of committal to Yiddish do
not pass their language to their children. The results of a question-
naire administered to the eleven students (ages 14-17 years) in the
highest class of the larger Yiddish part-time school revealed that their
parents almost invariably spoke Yiddish to each other and to their

children, and often the children replied in Yiddish. However, eight
of them spoke to their brothers and sisters in English - five 'always'
did, and three 'mainly' did. One claimed to speak Yiddish 'always',
yet 'mostly' English; one spoke an 'other language', while one had no
siblings. The replies seem to indicate that English will probably be
the language they will use in their own homes, and that they will not
pass Yiddish on to their children as a living tongue.

This absence of use between members of the second generation is
remarkable in view of the fact that at the Yiddish schools, the language
was being taught as part of the ethnic culture as a medium of literature,
history, and customs. Ability to speak was (with this group) assumed.
The virtual non-use of Yiddish by children among themselves is remark-
ably similar to that reported for the children of Polish and Dutch
migrants (Harvey, 1974:131) (cf. Smolicz and Harris in this volume, pp.
141-2.

It is the full-time day-schools which constitute the major educa-
tional investment by the various sectors of the community. These six
schools have a total enrolment of over 3,000 children. In all of them,
it is Hebrew which is a compulsory subject. Attempts to offer Yiddish
as an elective have failed for lack of demand. Approaches to the teach-
ing of Hebrew vary - the more traditional stressing religious litera-
ture, the more secular placing greater emphasis on General Israeli
Hebrew as speech. It is apparent that virtually all sections of the
community see the teaching of Hebrew as an essential ingredient in
Jewish education.

Hebrew in Melbourne can be seen as having three major areas of use:
that by Israelis; by non-Israeli Jews aiming to identify with Israel;
and by both groups as part of religious practice.

The 1967 Survey indicated that about 5,000 (17%) of Melbourne's Jews
had Palestine/Israel as their country of last residence. That this is
a continuing trend is evident from statistics:

TABLE 2
Permanent and long-term arrivals

	Birth (in Israel)			Nationality (Israeli)			Country of last Residence - Israel		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1964	132	84	216	103	88	191	154	146	300
1965	99	77	176	97	86	183	133	133	266
1966	97	71	186	120	86	206	213	184	397
1967	140	109	249	174	133	307	242	221	463
1968	153	111	264	167	134	301	252	239	491

(Australian Bureau of Census & Statistics 1964-68)

Nevertheless, only one per cent of the community use Hebrew as a
'home language', yet 22% of the males and 13% of the females claim to
'understand, speak and read Hebrew' (Table 1). Assuming fluency for
the respondents in this group, it appears that either very few Hebrew
speakers were married to each other or, though having a high degree of
proficiency, Hebrew was not their preferred vehicle of communication.
As Hebrew has only recently become the first language of an ethnic
group, both factors may well be present. Those who acquired the lan-
guage through formal schooling or by way of some period of residence
in Israel, would generally feel more at ease speaking some other lan-
guage. Marriage between Israelis and Australian Jews may result in
either Hebrew, Yiddish, English or some other language becoming the
home language, but the weight of environmental factors in Melbourne
will give English a decided advantage. Hebrew in Melbourne is taught
as a foreign language. The Hebrew-speaking families do not maintain
a school where ethnic Hebrew instruction could be made operative.

In Melbourne there has developed a distinct network of Israeli clubs,
in many ways analogous to the "landsmanshaften" (Klarberg, 1970A:68)
of Eastern European Jews, but quite distinct from them in the Israelis'
younger age-structure and activities. The active users of Hebrew as a
migrant ethnic language however, constitute only a small percentage of
those who know the language well, and a yet smaller proportion of the
total number acquainted (and identifying) with the Hebrew language.
Though this group has a small, and growing membership, there is little
reason to assume that Hebrew as a home language will be passed on among
them, any more than Yiddish, Dutch or Polish.

An illustration of the prestige of Hebrew despite its rare usage as
speech in Melbourne, is classically illustrated by the report in *The
Australian Jewish News* (24/3/72) of the 25th Bi-Annual (Australia-wide)
Zionist Conference. The introductory paragraph of the full-page report
is devoted to the issue of the use or rather minimal use of Hebrew at
the conference. The only Hebrew speaker

> "... deplored the lack of attention ... to the Hebrew
> language, noting that the conference banner did not
> contain a single Hebrew letter, let alone a word."

Clearly a call for language use as identification rather than communi-
cation. The paper went on to report that the speaker was permitted to
exceed his time limit because he was "the only speaker in our own
national language" (ibid).

It should be noted that at a meeting of the Zionist organisation
whose platform gives Hebrew high priority, almost no Hebrew was heard
or seen. The prominence given to the issue by the only Jewish newspaper

is further evidence of its significance. Similarly, at cultural meet-
ings, Hebrew is often given pride of place. A few sentences at the
opening of a speech, though little understood, give the speaker added
prestige. Yiddish too, may often be heard at cultural meetings. How-
ever, this will be for purposes of communication, and occasionally with
a note of apology for talking the 'mother tongue'.

Though Hebrew is of some communicative value, its major function for
Zionism in Melbourne, is that of identity.

4. IDENTITY WITHOUT COMMUNICATION

The sector of the community (83%) which does not have Israeli ante-
cedents provides us with an example of language identity not yet de-
scribed in sociolinguistic literature. Though Hebrew is not well-known,
it is an important factor in Jewish identity - over 65% of the men and
41% of the women have some familiarity with it. Degree of skill in the
language ranges from the ability to follow a religious service (perhaps
without any understanding of the text), to full fluency in oral and
written expression and comprehension (Table 1). Religious doctrine
prescribes the ritual which is carried out in Hebrew. Synagogues are
built facing Jerusalem. In the Australian host society, religion is a
respected institution, but of the dominant white Anglo-Saxon Protestants
only about one in seven or eight attend public worship on at least a
once-a-week basis (Mol, 1971:14). Regular worship among Jews cannot
be compared to that of the dominant ethnic group, as Judaism does not
require public worship for women. About 1,000 Jewish men attend worship
at least once a week; half of them more often. These people read
prayers in Hebrew at the services. Many more participate in home wor-
ship for which Hebrew is the norm. As Hebrew is regarded an essential
ingredient in religious services, it is not surprising that the intro-
duction of English into worship is seen as weakening of religion.
Among the strictly orthodox, it is unthinkable. The introduction of
English as a language of prayer is seen by many as the major divergence
of Reform Judaism.

However, in the 22 synagogues and temples, sermons by rabbis - where
communication is paramount - are generally in English. Yiddish is
standard only in one synagogue; in five others it appears with various
degrees of infrequency.

5. LANGUAGE OF RITES OF PASSAGE

The host society requires overt religious expression mainly for rites
of passage (Mol, 1971:215). Consequently, the Jewish settlers' adaptation
of Judaism to local conditions follows suit and highlights Jewish rites

of passage as the major expression of religious identity.

Rites of passage, though not necessarily conducted in a synagogue (circumcisions more often than not are carried out in hospital), are synagogue services in the sense that the order of service is to be found in the prayer books. These services then, are naturally largely in Hebrew.

6. BIRTH

At the circumcision there is a space left in the service for the naming of the initiate. This gap in the middle of a Hebrew prayer for the welfare of the child, it is felt, must be filled with a Hebrew name. A child is 'given' a Hebrew name; in some circles it may be forgotten the next day. Often a matching English name will be registered and used, but this is by no means standard.

7. PUBERTY

At the age of thirteen, a lad is regarded as being sufficiently mature to be morally responsible for his deeds. He is accordingly also permitted to participate in synagogue services. This idea is embodied in the term 'Bar Mitzvah', often translated as 'a son of the command-ments', but better 'one involved in religious duties'. The first time he is honoured with reading a portion of the Pentateuch, is called 'The Bar Mitzvah' - sometimes also used in English 'to be Bar Mitzvad', as a verb. This is unknown to Classical and Rabbinic Hebrew, nor have I encountered it in verb form in Israeli Hebrew. It is a Jewish usage in English.

The ceremony itself, as that of marriage and the funeral, has no sociolinguistic significance other than that noted above in relation to synagogue services generally. Hebrew has pride of place everywhere, in that the ritual part of the service is in Hebrew; Yiddish and English compete for the sermon.

8. INVITATIONS

It is customary to print Bar Mitzvah invitations and invite friends by mail. Many people who would otherwise not attend that synagogue (or perhaps any synagogue), are informed of the time, date and synagogue at which the ceremony will be held. Thus the invitations fill a normal communicative need. However, they are a delightful means of identifi-cation with one's Jewish heritage. In addition to the English wording, some Hebrew lettering almost invariably appears; whether underneath (less importance), opposite (equal importance), or among the English

lines (sociolinguistic identification only).

These words are most often in Hebrew, sometimes in Yiddish. The
position, size and amount of the Hebrew script, vary. Rarely will one
find an English-only invitation.

Examination of the records of invitations from the printer who has
the major Jewish social market, indicated 49 Bar Mitzvah invitations
for the year 1970. Of these, 36 took place in Orthodox synagogues,
13 in Liberal Temples. These are sharply divided. That there is no
Yiddish on Temple invitations is hardly surprising. The 1967 survey
showed only 1% of Reform Jews to be of Yiddish-speaking background.
Eight Temple invitations had one word of Hebrew - the name of the lad,
or the words 'Bar Mitzvah'. Of the Orthodox, three had full text in
both English and Yiddish, nine in both English and Hebrew. The remain-
der, with only one exception, had one, two or three words of Hebrew
among the English.

Wedding invitations show a similar trend, though fewer had full
Hebrew text. Often however, a line of Hebrew quoting from the wedding
service, appears somewhere on the invitation.

9. LANGUAGE LOYALTY AT DEATH

The subject of death carries a strong taboo in Western society.
Nevertheless, a well-balanced sociolinguistic investigation must include
this aspect of communal practice.

On the tombstone inscriptions, we have a checkpoint at which the
relatives of anyone with the slightest communal identification are
bound to make decisions as to which and how much of any language to use.

There are Jewish sections in the general suburban cemeteries. In
the late 1950's, two Jewish burial societies acquired their own sites
at Springvale, a newly-developed outer-suburban area. One of the new
cemeteries (owned by the more conservative society) permits only the
use of Hebrew. On the other sites, the distribution of language choice
is remarkably uniform. We will limit our observations to the largest,
at Fawkner.

According to figures obtained from the cemetery offices, the two
Jewish sections, which are adjacent, contain over 5,500 graves. This
cemetery is a most remarkable tribute to Jewish identity with Hebrew
rather than Yiddish, at death. A careful investigation of these graves
revealed that the vast majority (99%) had inscriptions in both Hebrew
and English. Hebrew is used for ethnic religious identity, while
English is used to convey information - the communicative function of
language. The pattern is as follows: at the top of the tombstone, the

inscription is in Hebrew. It usually includes פ"נ initial letters for
'here lies' followed by the given (religious) name and patronym (as is
used in synagogue ritual) with the Jewish date and the letters ה'צ'ב'ה'ת
for תהיה נשמתו צרורה בצרור החיים 'may his soul be bound in the
bond of life'. This abbreviated inscription without surname, indicates
that little communicative importance is attached to the Hebrew. That
role is left to the English portion which follows. This invariably
supplies given names and surname, also details of immediate family
surviving or pre-deceased, and an occasional epitaph.

It is therefore to be inferred that the identification sought is
identification with Judaism as a religious community, rather than as a
secular ethnic group. It appears that ideological loyalty takes pref-
erence over ethnic loyalty. Nevertheless, the minority of cases which
deviate from this norm are worthy of mention. There are about two
dozen stones with inscriptions in Hebrew or English only. On the
Hebrew only inscriptions, the surname is included by way of Yiddish
spelling rules. This follows a well-established convention in Rabbinic
Hebrew of the past few centuries where non-Hebrew words included in a
Hebrew text are spelt using the Yiddish spelling convention. This is
further evidence that the inscriptions are taken to be in Rabbinic
Hebrew - supporting our assumption of desired religious ideological
identification.

However, there are also a few truly Yiddish inscriptions in the
Fawkner cemetery. Three are entirely in Yiddish. Another eleven are
part Yiddish and part English, Yiddish having pride of place at the top
of the stone similar to the Hebrew on the majority of stones. Three of
the latter include given name, son-of-patronym in Hebrew, again a
symbol of deference to, and identification with, the High language.

An important feature of the few Yiddish inscriptions is their non-
identification with religion. This is particularly apparent in their
dating, which is by way of the secular (Gregorian) calendar, rather
than by way of the Jewish calendar.

10. THE DECLINE OF YIDDISH

However, by 1973, the situation was showing considerable change. As
the immigrants improved their economic status, they continued moving to
what Price (1964) describes as second and third areas of settlement.
As a result, a Yiddish part-time school found that 90% of its pupils
were coming from the north-eastern area of Melbourne. In 1969, classes
were started in this area. The classes in Carlton were phased out and
the premises were sold in 1972. Though the school became re-united by

1973, it had not yet acquired a permanent home. Land had been bought
with view to building, but classes were held at an outer suburban pri-
mary school. Here, the school finds itself as a guest, and the state
school atmosphere of the building with its visual aids in English dis-
played on the walls, displaces those placards, wall-newspapers, and
pictures which would be conducive to the imbibing of Yiddish culture.

Over the years, the method of teaching has perforce changed. Chil-
dren attending the school now are mostly from English-speaking homes,
so that Yiddish is taught as a second language with more stress on
linguistic skill, and less emphasis on literature.

A most significant change took place at both Yiddish schools between
the teachers of 1968 and those of 1973. The latter were younger and
did not speak Yiddish by first preference. This is well illustrated
by the fact that in 1968 the conversation of teachers gathered together
during recess was in Yiddish, whereas in 1973 the new generation of
teachers was spending recess together chatting in English. By this
time, the combined enrolment at both schools was down to about 150
pupils.

Figures published regarding attendance at the annual theatre season
at the Kadimah are also of great significance:

TABLE 3
Theatre attendances:

1967	2,900 (11 performances)
1968-69	No performances due to change of premises and fires
1970	1,800 (7 performances)
1971	1,550 (6 performances)
1972	No figures published (3 plays - 4 performances each)

<div align="right">(Kadimah Annual Reports, 1968-73).</div>

Interestingly enough, at this very stage, Yiddish became a subject
of academic instruction at the Prahran Institute of Technology.

11. CONCLUSION

The analysis of language maintenance in the Jewish community of
Melbourne, both with regard to Hebrew and Yiddish, indicates that
attitudes inherited from the pre-industrial diglossic situation still
exist to some degree.

To the extent that Jewish identity is a matter of concern in Melbourne,
Hebrew is maintained, if only in a symbolic manner. For this reason,
irrespective of standard of achievement, it is expected to be taught in
schools.

Yiddish on the other hand, may well become a topic of academic interest, but in its domain as a vernacular, cannot compete with English.

The home, one of the last preserves of an ethnic language, has been heavily assailed. The technological advances of mass media provide the dominant language with increasingly powerful vehicles of infiltration. The daily newspaper, coupled with compulsory education, has been a considerable force, the radio bringing the language into the home via speech was stronger, while the arrival of television in 1956 with its video-aural attack was virtually irresistible.

Hebrew, though scarcely spoken, remains the focus of identity for both religion and loyalty to the State of Israel.

Yiddish is the language of nostalgia. It is widely spoken among first generation migrants, but very little of it is passed on to the next generation (Klarberg, 1973).

English is the language of true inter-personal communication in both speech and writing.

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COMMUNICATIVE NETWORKS OF JAPANESE WOMEN IN MELBOURNE

M. Anne Bolitho

1. INTRODUCTION

The network is of great importance in communication. Only after networks have been established can communication take place. Studies in this field so far have tended to concern themselves mainly with social group networks (Barnes, 1954; Bott, 1971; Gumperz, 1964), or with encounter networks - the interaction of a particular group of people in a particular place at a particular time (Kapferer, 1969; Bales 1970). This is the case both in the sociolinguistic (Afendras, forthcoming) and sociological (Barnes, 1972) fields. The study of personal networks has so far been somewhat neglected (with the exception of Epstein, 1969). This paper reports on the first stage of a study[1] of individual (star) networks of wives of Japanese businessmen living in Melbourne.

Typically, the wife of a Japanese living abroad temporarily[2] is not thought to have very much contact with those around her. She is, it is generally believed, largely dependent on other Japanese for her social interaction and communication. In this paper I have tried to investigate the personal communicative networks of several wives of Japanese businessmen resident in Melbourne, to determine whether their network links are in fact limited to other Japanese, or whether they themselves do also form links with members of the Australian community in Melbourne, and if so, with thom and to what degree.

1.1. METHOD

The material, which was collected through taped interviews, covered such matters as personnel with whom contact was made, how contact was made, the type and frequency of interaction. I also asked about the subjects' personal backgrounds, their activities in Australia, and

their attitudes to the English language and Australia. All interviews
were conducted in Japanese.

I interviewed seven women altogether, selecting them deliberately
according to various factors which would seem to have an influence on
whether or not they were likely to have developed networks with members
of the Australian community. These criteria included such things as
length of stay in Australia, previous overseas experience, number and
age of children, whether or not the children are in Australia, husband's
position in his company (whether low or high) and the wife's personality.
Women who have been in Melbourne for less than one year were excluded,
so that all those interviewed have had some time to settle in and de-
velop some kind of pattern in their network system. I also excluded
working women, in order to keep the possible network range similar for
all.

1.2. CATEGORIZATION OF CONTACT

Four categories were used to describe the type of interaction which
takes place. 'Contact established', or 'minimal contact' indicated
that while contact exists, interaction is on the lowest possible level,
e.g. greetings exchanged between neighbours. 'Some contact' indicates
more than minimal interaction, e.g. neighbours stopping to chat; 'fairly
close' contact indicates something more frequent and active, e.g. some
exchange of visits, while 'close contact' refers to interaction which
is frequent and of varied content, e.g. frequent contact, either face
to face or by telephone, regular mutual visiting, outings.

2. PERSONNEL

2.1. AUSTRALIAN[3]

Two categories of personnel were investigated systematically. These
two categories, neighbours and the parents of the friends of the women's
children, were chosen for this type of investigation because they both
seemed to be situationally readily available to most of the women. In
addition to these two categories, other categories of contact personnel
were studied, albeit less systematically. These other categories,
which include Business Contacts through the husband's work, English
Teachers, Activity related contacts and Japanese linked contacts, i.e.
people who were introduced by Japanese friends, are derived from the
information I received when I asked the women about the members of the
Australian community with whom they had the closest contact. For a
summary of the contact personnel see Table 1.

2.1.1. Neighbours

Neighbours are probably the easiest group with whom to make some kind of contact, for various reasons. Their continual proximity is one, for this leads to the likelihood of frequent chance meetings. The fact that there seems to be a kind of neighbourly interest in some areas which means that many people take an interest in helping new neighbours to settle in is another. All the women interviewed, with the exception of one (Mrs. W.), live in separate homes in residential suburbs in Melbourne and have similar opportunities to develop networks with neighbours. Mrs. W. lives in a block of eight flats, with a single staircase giving access to the three floors, so that she too has ample opportunity for chance meetings.

In fact, all the women I interviewed have made some contact with neighbours, although the number of contacts and the degree of interaction varies considerably. In only one case is the degree of contact minimal (Mrs. O, see Table 1). In all other cases, the degree of interaction has gone beyond this, and in several cases (Mrs. K, Mrs. A, Mrs. S and Mrs. G), close contact has been established with at least one neighbour, and fairly close contact with others. Where contact is close or fairly close, the two women see each other frequently - several times a week - visit each other for coffee or meals, and usually exchange neighbourly services, such as borrowing food, tools, taking in newspapers, mail or milk if one is away, and babysitting. Neighbours also provide information at least of a local nature, such as method of rubbish disposal, recommending a local doctor, helping with schools. Sometimes the Japanese women go shopping with neighbours, and other outings were also reported, such as trips to films, exhibitions, clubs and classes.

Where close contact has developed with a neighbour, as in the cases of Mrs. K, Mrs. A. Mrs. S, and Mrs. G, then that neighbour tends to become the 'connector' for her Japanese friend; that is to say, she becomes the main source of information about Australian life, and she also becomes the support for the Japanese in times of crisis or emergency.

This domain, in fact, provides most of the close contacts established by the seven women I interviewed, especially when Mrs. K's two former neighbours are included. In these two cases, although interaction is now no longer so frequent, and the original transactional content has gone, the strong link remains, and Mrs. K. considers these two people to be among her closest Australian contacts. Including these two, the neighbour domain accounts for half of all the close contacts mentioned by the seven women. This is an interesting situation, and raises the

question of whether perhaps the weight of neighbours in the Japanese
women's networks exceeds their average weight in purely Australian
networks.

2.1.2. Parents of Children's Friends

This is another domain where intensive contact was expected, and in
fact, as can be seen in Table 1, every woman with children (i.e. all
except Mrs. W) had made at least minimal contact with the parents of
three friends of each of her children. Nevertheless, this domain does
not appear to be the same source of close contact as is that of neigh-
bours. Close or fairly close contact has been established with only
seven of the thirty-five contacts made, whereas of thirty-seven contacts
made with neighbours, twelve have developed into close or fairly close
contact.

The close contacts in this domain have been made by two women - Mrs.
K, who has close contact with two mothers, and fairly close contact
with another, and Mrs. S, who has one. In the case of Mrs. S, her
close contact is the mother of friends of two of her children, and is
also a neighbour, so that here there are at least two rules of network
formation in operation, a feature described as multiplexity by Mitchell
(1969, p.22). In this case, the two rules reinforce each other and so
strengthen the link. Mrs. S also has fairly close contact with several
other mothers, and seems to be in the process of developing these links
- she has recently been invited to join a group of these mothers for a
monthly lunch and activity, which suggests that these links are likely
to strengthen in the future. (Mrs. S has been in Melbourne for only
one year, so far.)

2.1.3. Husband Contacts

Some contacts have been made through the husband's work, both within
the husband's company and in related companies. Of the four women who
have developed such contacts, two have developed links with their
husband's secretaries or assistants. These links would seem to have
been transactional at first, but have since developed until now the
personal element is at least as strong or stronger. In the case of
Mrs. A, as well as the transactional link between wife and secretary
which still exists (communicating such matters as husband's travel
arrangements, detention at a meeting, etc.), the personal aspect of the
link now includes mutual visiting of the families, outings by the women
alone, outings with children, and outings including both families. In
the case of Mrs. N, her husband's assistant is her only close contact,

and again there are transactional and personal strands to the link. The assistant, a young single woman, visits once a week for dinner, and the two women practise their English and some elementary Japanese; they also regularly go out to squash. In this domain too, as in the previous one, the importance of these contacts within the network seems to exceed that in Australian networks.

Mrs. O has some contact with two Australian members of her husband's company, and minimal contact with someone from a related company. These men are really her husband's friends, and although she does have some interaction with them herself, it seems to be fairly slight.

2.1.4. Japanese-linked Australian Contacts

Two women have made non-Japanese contacts through their Japanese friends. In one case, Mrs. A, interaction usually takes place in a group, with other Japanese present, whereas in the other, Mrs. G, close interaction between the two has developed.

2.1.5. English Teachers

Three women each named their English teachers among their Australian acquaintances. These contacts were all originally made through other sources, such as Japanese friends, a school teacher, or members of the husband's company. The content of these links is mainly transactional, but personal content seems to have developed to some degree in all of them; with some social interaction taking place (such as visiting apart from lessons) as well as the purely functional interaction of teaching. In the case of Mrs. O, a fairly close relationship has developed with the family of the teacher, with mutual visiting and outings.

2.1.6. Activity-related Contacts

Participation in activities has led to the development of network links for two women. Mrs. K, who attends PTA meetings regularly, and helps in the school tuckshop, has formed a close contact with a woman met through these activities, and Mrs. A has fairly close contact with a woman met at an embroidery class.

2.1.7. Other

Other contacts mentioned include links with a kindergarten teacher, a room-mate in hospital, an owner of a shop selling sheepskins, and one contact made through an Australian friend.

2.2. *JAPANESE*

2.2.1. Husband Contacts

The Japanese sector of the networks of the women interviewed also
included links drawn from a variety of domains, although more than one
third are drawn from contacts made through the husband's company or
related companies. In most cases there is constant and close inter-
action with these contacts. Frequency of contact, both face to face
and by telephone, is very high (in most cases at least weekly, in each
channel) and contact is also made frequently outside the home, at meet-
ings, golf, as well as outings, both for the women only and with their
families.

2.2.2. Contacts through Japanese Friends

Contacts made through Japanese friends form the second largest group
of contacts in the Japanese networks. Only one woman (Mrs. N) had no
links formed in this way.

2.2.3. Previous Contacts

These are contacts which have been made through the husband's net-
works in Japan, in some cases active links and in some cases dormant.
In two cases the links were active, the husband, Mr. O, having had
previous business dealings with the men in Japan, and continued associ-
ation with them in Australia. Mrs. O met the wives for the first time
in Australia, and close relationships have developed. In the other
two cases, Mrs. K and Mrs. W, the links were dormant, the husbands
having known each other at the university. These links were reactivated
by chance meetings in Melbourne, and the wives have subsequently de-
veloped close personal links.

2.2.4. Japanese Community Organisations

Japanese organisations in Melbourne have proved to be a source of
contact for some women. Mrs. O has formed close links with two people
she met through the Melbourne Japanese School, and Mrs. N has one fairly
close contact, and one recently developed contact made through meetings
of the Women's Section of the Japanese Society.

2.2.5. Other

Other contacts have been made through golf (Mrs. K), through an
Australian friend (a rather tortuous route - this particular contact is
a Japanese married to an Italian friend of some Italian neighbours

of Mrs. K's Australian friend) and with Japanese living in the same neighbourhood (Mrs. S).

3. TYPES OF NETWORKS

I would tentatively suggest on the basis of the limited material presented above that three types of network can be established: a network which is Japanese dependent, in which the personnel is almost entirely Japanese; a network in which while the Japanese section of the network is very strong, there is a definite Australian sector, where some close links have been established; one in which is included both a Japanese sector and an Australian sector, but where the attachment to the Japanese sector is weaker than in the previous two types (cf. Table 1).

3.1. *JAPANESE-DEPENDENT NETWORK*

In this kind of network, the person is highly dependent upon network links with other Japanese resident in Melbourne, and contact with the Australian community is severely limited, both in quantity and type. Situationally available contacts are not really exploited, and other contacts have not developed. The type of contact is limited, for the most part being minimal or slight, with perhaps only one or two fairly close contacts at best. Functional dependence on other Japanese is high, that is to say, women with this kind of network depend almost completely on other Japanese for the information and service necessary for their life in Melbourne.

3.2. *AUSTRALIA-DIRECTED ASYMMETRICAL NETWORK*

(Strong Japanese sector plus Australian sector). In this type the closest links are still with the Japanese sector, but there has been some success in establishing more than limited Australian contacts. The number of links in the Australian sector is greater, and there are a number of close and fairly close contacts. Where these contacts have been established, one usually seems to become the 'connector', and provides any information or help that is required.

3.3. *JAPANESE-AUSTRALIAN NETWORK*

(Weaker Japanese sector plus Australian sector). In this third type, the Australian content of the network is similar to the previous type, but there seems to be less dependence on the Japanese sector. Close contact is still maintained, but the interaction is less intensive - contact is not so frequent, particularly telephone contact. Another

difference in telephone contact is apparent in this type of network.
Here, in both the Australian and Japanese sectors, both parties initiate
telephone contact equally. In the other two types of network, however,
while in the Japanese sector both parties telephone equally, Australians
tend to initiate phone contact in the Australian sector.

4. CONCLUSION

The development of networks in an unfamiliar system of communication
is an important problem, extending beyond the Japanese in Melbourne to
many sojourners and immigrants. In fact, the problem of establishing
new networks may exist even within a system of communicative competence,
but the difficulties are compounded when different rules of code and
different rules of use are involved as in the case of Japanese speakers
in Melbourne, and English speakers in Japan. The popular belief is
that knowledge of English (pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary) is
the basic determinant of this, but it has already been suggested that
it may rather be other components of communicative competence, such as
network formation rules, which determine the acquisition of English
(Neustupný, 1974, p.46). In this paper, this question has not been
pursued systematically, but there does seem to be some evidence for
this. Mrs. O, for example, although she spent about twelve months
attending ten hours of English classes per week, has few contacts and
is still unable to do more than string a few words together. On the
other hand, Mrs. A and Mrs. K, who have both developed the Australian
sector of their networks, are speaking adequate English despite their
lack of formal English study since their schooling in Japan.

In the course of this study, two interesting points have arisen.
One is the question of the 'connector'. This is the person who provides
information and aid which smoothes the path of the newcomer to a foreign
country. As far as the Japanese women I interviewed are concerned,
those whose networks fell into types 2 and 3 had a neighbour as their
'connector'. When they first arrived, they usually were aided by their
husbands, who may have arrived in Melbourne some months before them, or
a Japanese connected to the husband's company. However, since then the
neighbour has taken over the role, and now, in an emergency, it is the
neighbour who would be called upon first. Those women with type 1 net-
works usually used other Japanese, either their husbands or a friend,
as their main 'connector', but there is also usually another source
which is occasionally used. In one case (Mrs. N) it is a neighbour,
in another (Mrs. G), it is a parent, and in the third case (Mrs. W)
where there is probably least Australian content to the network of all

the women I interviewed, it is the Australian husband of her Japanese friend.

The other interesting point is that in the Australian sector of the networks, there seems to be a significantly high proportion of people who are either immigrants or the Australian wives of immigrants (twenty-four out of a total of ninety-five). The most common countries of origin seem to be Germany and New Zealand. Various reasons for this can be suggested. It is possible that these people, too, are interested in recruiting new members to their own networks. Their experience in forming new networks in a different system of communicative competence may make them more available to the Japanese.

The data on which this paper is based is limited, and final results of the study are not yet available; however there does seem to be some evidence to suggest that not all Japanese women are as isolated from their host communities as the stereotype would have us believe, and that in fact there is considerable variation in the types of networks developed by them, as I have described above.

TABLE 1
Communicative Networks of Japanese Women in Melbourne

		Type 1			Type 2			Type 3
		O	N	W	K	A	S	G
Personal Data	Age	39	32	49	38	36	35	36
	Children in Australia	2	3	0	2	2	3	5
	Years in Australia	1½	1½	2	3½	3½	1	5
	No. in husband's Co.	1	13	22	2	9	14	7
	Position in Company			2				1
PERSONNEL Australian Sector	Neighbours		● 1		▲ 1	▲ 1	▲ 1	▲ 1
					● 1	● 1	● 1	● 1
			o 2	o 2	o 1	o 1	o 1	o 1
		c 2	c 1	c 3	c 1	c 2	c 3	c 1
		x 2	x 4	x 2	x 4	x 3	x 2	x 4
	Former Neighbours				▲ 2			
	Parents			na	▲ 2		(▲ 1)[1]	
		● 1					● 3	
		o 3	o 2		o 4	o 5	o 2	o 9
		c 1	c 1			c 1		
	Husband Contact		▲ 1			▲ 1		
		● 2						
		o 1		c				
	English Teachers	● 1					● 1	● 1
		o 1		c			o 1	
	Japanese Contact					o 1		▲ 1
	Activities				▲ 1			
						● 1		
	Other					● 1		
		o 1						o 1
TOTAL			▲ 1		▲ 6	▲ 2	▲ 1	▲ 2
		● 2	● 1		● 1	● 3	● 5	● 2
		o 6	o 5	o 2	o 5	o 7	o 4	o 10
		c 4	c 2	c 3	c 1	c 3	c 3	c 1
Japanese Sector	Husband's Co. contact		▲ 2		▲ 1	▲ 3	▲ 1	▲ 1
			● 2					● 2
								o 1
	Other business contact	▲ 2		c			▲ 1	
	Japanese Contact	▲ 1			▲ 1	▲ 2		▲ 1
				● 1	● 1		● 1	
	Previous Contact in Japan	(▲ 2)[1]	(● 1)[1]	▲ 1	▲ 1			
	Japanese Society Women's Section		● 1					
			o 1	o 1				
	Japanese School	▲ 2						
	Other						▲ 2	
					● 1			
					o 1			
TOTAL		▲ 5	▲ 2	▲ 1	▲ 3	▲ 5	▲ 4	▲ 3
			● 3	● 1	● 2		● 1	● 1
			o 1	o 1	o 1			o 1

KEY: ▲ close contact   ● fairly close contact   Note 1 These contacts appear earlier
o some contact   c contact established   under other classifications, as
x no contact   na not applicable   both classifications are applicable.
Numbers refer to number of contacts

N O T E S

1. This project is being undertaken in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at Monash University, Melbourne, Australia. I wish to thank Professor J.V. Neustupný for his criticism and advice in the course of the study. I am also greateful for the assistance given to me by Mrs. F. Inoue, who provided intro-ductions to members of the Japanese community in Melbourne, and to Mrs. R. Murano, who helped with translations into Japanese. A somewhat fuller report on the first stage of my project will be published in Working Papers in Japanese Linguistics 3 (*Linguistic Communications* 15), Melbourne: Monash University, 1975.

2. A study of 'immigrant' bilingual Japanese women was conducted by Erwin-Tripp (1969), but this type of temporary bilingualism has so far received little attention, and is treated here for the first time with regard to Japanese speakers.

3. Australian here is taken to mean members of the Australian community other than Japanese, regardless of country of origin.

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THE LANGUAGES OF GERMAN-AUSTRALIAN INDUSTRY

Michael Clyne

0. INTRODUCTION

Nearly 2½ million immigrants have come to Australia since World War
II, the majority from non-English-speaking countries. (German speakers
come after Italian and Greek and slightly ahead of Serbo-Croatian
speakers as the third largest non-English language group.[1]) During
this time over 50 West German companies have established subsidiaries
in Australia.[2] In addition there are companies owned and run by German
immigrants.

Like about 40% of the Australian population and the majority of
immigrants, Australian subsidiaries of German firms are located in
Melbourne or Sydney (80% are centered in Melbourne). Like other com-
panies they employ Australians and immigrants from many backgrounds.
But most of these firms are multilingual in that they have bilinguals
or multilinguals in all strata of the company. Large numbers of new
immigrants with German as a first or second language have used such
companies as a first place of employment, sometimes until they have
settled and partly assimilated, just as for new waves of immigrants the
inner suburbs of Melbourne and Sydney are a first place of domicile
until they disperse. Many Southern Europeans who have served as guest
workers in West Germany or Switzerland have found their first job in the
Australian subsidiary of a German company.

1. DATA - THE FIRMS

Ten Melbourne firms with German parent companies were approached and
during interviews with spokesmen, data were collected on the composition
of their staff and the language(s) they use to communicate. Five large
firms were then selected for closer study, including visits during which
interviews and spontaneous communications in the work situation were

taped as inconspicuously as possible with a small battery-operated
cassette recorder (with built-in microphone). The companies selected
will be referred to as:

A - Producing automotive equipment.

B - Producing electrical switches and control equipment.

C - Producing automotive equipment.

D - Producing automotive instruments.

E - Chemical manufacturers.

In addition we chose an Australian smallgoods manufacturing company
(F) owned and managed by a German prewar immigrant. In all these firms
English was stated to be the official language. But all except E make
extensive use of both English and German, and in the other subsidiaries
of German companies, this applies not only to native speakers of the
relevant language. There is a multilingual atmosphere in which people
make use of whatever languages they have in common, to communicate most
easily. In the interests of increasing and accelerating production,
efficiency of communication is most desirable for the company. As
communication in an industrial setting is largely in dyads, the language
chosen at a given time generally depends on two people. The appearance
of a third interlocutor may cause a switch.

All the firms have, in all strata, some people who do not know
German, so there is always a need for English. As all the 'subsidiaries'
have at least some non-German speakers in the top management, board and
committee meetings are normally held in English but some smaller meet-
ings take place in German. As all the companies studied, except E,
have a majority of German speakers at the top, German does predominate
in this stratum.

Some bilinguals make known their preference for one or the other
language and are addressed accordingly, i.e. a German who prefers to
speak English will often be addressed in English but others will not
switch to English in his presence. However, in some companies (C, F)
Germans tend to switch to English in the presence of even a non-German
who comprehends German well.

German is used more extensively at B than at any other firm, followed
by C, and then A, D and F, and least at E. This can be explained by:

(a) the number of employees at various levels in the production
     who speak German[3] and especially the number of those whose
     German is far superior to their English.

(b) the number of professional employees transferred from Germany
     to Australia and vice versa, and

(c) the amount of reference to a German discourse basis such as
     reports or directions.

2. TRANSFERENCE

All this appears to be related to, but not dependent on the degree
of independence from the parent company in matters other than financial.
At B and C particularly, specifications and directions are sent from the
German parent company, including references to new devices, processes
and institutions specific to that company.

Such terms are transferred from German into English or rather into
the English 'work jargon' spoken in the firm, even by English speakers,
including those who speak little or no German. A few examples:

B 1: O.K. Sam. Now look. Concerning the operation where you've got
      more than one, ah, *Zentrale,* ah, where you've got a *Doppelzentrale,*
      Doppelendstelle, and you want to connect, ah, first of all just
      the one *Zentrale* on to it. Can we just draw that? You know....
      that's the shot - we've got, ah, *Doppelendstelle* here (hier).

B 2: Yeah. You better see that table. Where is it? Not this again.
      I think you must, ah, consider this.... *Schütterneuerung,* other-
      wise you can't connect these two together.

B 1: Well no. This is the example I want. *Durchschaltegatte.*

B 2: Yeah. That's why we - ah. So, here is the *Konfiguration.* Where
      is it? Sender-receiver *Durchgatte.*

(B 1 is Australian and spent 3 years working for the parent company in
Germany; B 2 is a Chinese who had studied in Germany. They are dis-
cussing some specifications written in German.)

C: Either we give them a *springer* or two men....
(This was taped at a meeting of six members of the production and
inspection staff.)
Springer is specific to company C and means 'reliever'.
It is derived from German *einspringen* - to jump in, take over at short
notice.

Bilinguals sometimes code-switch at such a reference or employ syn-
tactic transference in its vicinity. A few examples:

B 1: You've got your line coming here, and *here is nothing connected.*
B 2: The Durchgatte *eigentlich ist* for the bridge head.

This works both ways (English → German, German → English), and even
a letter or document can trigger off a switch into the other language
or lead to widespread transference, e.g. a German conversation on
superannuation between two bilingual directors of A switches to English
after one of them reads the text of a White Paper.

3. LANGUAGE USE

German at A and D is marked by a great deal of English transference
(business management and general technical terms, idioms), e.g.:

Da macht das sense, ja? Alright! You know; well, that's about it.
Expendable tools, eleven headings, argument, objection, retrospect,
capital expenditure budget.

At F, the names of distinctively German sausages (Leberwurst,
Mettwurst) are transferred into English but the names of equipment
(boner, freezer, cutter - >Kudder) tend to be transferred into German.
The director-owner code-switches freely in interaction with his German
second-in-command and other offsiders on production matters.

3.1. *DISTANT COMMUNICATION*

Internal correspondence is in English but letters to German parent
companies are mostly in German. A's reports on supply are in English
as the manager of that section is an Australian. Some B executives
write English letters to their German head office; others claim requests
get quicker attention if they are in German. B even sends bilingual
telex messages with the key-words in German. E receives German telex
messages and sends English ones. This firm employs a full-time trans-
lator. Some managers in various companies dictate 'mixed' messages
into dictaphones to be 'tidied up' by secretaries. One draughtsman
communicates bilingually on the telephone with his opposite member in
Sydney, one speaking English, the other German.

3.2. *HIGHER STRATA*

The presence of Germans transferred temporarily to Australia promotes
the use of German as they are automatically addressed in that language
by bilinguals. B has 40 transferees; C used to have many but has given
up the scheme; D recently had 4 visiting toolmakers and one visiting
engineer from Germany. Two transferees are employed at E's factory.
Four of A's staff are here on loan for 2 - 4 years. As many Australians
- especially at B - are transferred to the German company, they are able
to communicate with Germans 'on loan' when they return. Occasionally
there are misunderstandings but there is generally efficient communica-
tion.

At B (total work force 750, about 350 with English, 225 with German
as first language) only half the top management and 9 of the 28 depart-
mental heads are native German speakers but several of the others speak
German. Due to language tuition, prolonged residence in Germany or

native speaker competence, 75% of the 300 'professionals' (engineers, chemists, draughtsmen) can speak German. As in Germany, the firm is divided into two divisions; one division in Melbourne happens to have an English speaker predominance, the other a majority of German speakers. But even in sections with few German native speakers (e.g. communications, where about 2/9 are German native speakers), a good deal of German is used by Australians and non-German Europeans (Greeks, Poles, Balts).

At C (total work force about 1,300), about 70% of the 400 'professionals' are German-speaking, but some sections are more 'bilingual' than others. The Research section is predominantly German-speaking; Quality Control has mainly German speakers but a lot of English is spoken especially by and to younger Germans. The Production section comprises about 80% German native speakers but because of the presence of the others, much English is spoken. For instance, I observed a meeting of Production and Inspection staff where five out of six attending were German speakers but, as the sixth was a monolingual, the language spoken was naturally English. The Accounts, Sales, Employment and Staffing sections use mainly English.

The bilingual professionals at A, like those at B and C, used English and German fairly interchangeably with some transference of specialized terminology (depending on the discourse reference basis). Only 22 of the entire staff of 500 at A are German speakers.

About 200 of the 430 employees of D are monolingual English speakers and 140 are German-English bilinguals. Of the 60 people involved in sales or office work, about half are German-English bilinguals, usually with good switching facility. Only one of the secretaries is bilingual. Half the executives are German speakers and one of the Australian executives knows some German. Half the engineers understand German well, though many are Australians, and communication between engineers tends to be in English.

At E, the head office (employing 100) and the factory (employing 50), which produces 1/3 of the firms' products marketed in Australia, are separated geographically. There are only eleven German native speakers in the office (technical, sales, marketing) and three (professionals) in the factory. Only two of the Australian professionals have worked in Germany. All in all, communication is generally in English in both office and factory. (The exceptions are two German professionals transferred from the parent company, who work together). The top management consists entirely of Australians. The composition of the staff has led to the strongly monolingual situation of the company.

B, C and E offer German classes, attended by 40, 7 and 12 employees

respectively. D sends some of its staff to elementary German at a
nearby university. C also holds English classes attended by up to 60
employees.

The three bilingual directors of A all have bilingual secretaries.
Over a typical 3/4 hour period, a bilingual secretary to a bilingual
director of B was engaged in 11 face-to-face conversations, 7 in German
and 4 in English, and 5 telephone conversations, 4 in German and one
in English. She herself estimated that, on an average day, she would
speak German 60% of the time. She communicates in German with her boss,
and in English with her monolingual office-mate.

One section of B, the manufacture of telephone switchboards, has
been transferred from the main factory to an outer suburb. Here the
office staff is only 25-strong (executives, planners, secretaries), 24
of whom are bilingual in English and German. They use each language
about 50% of the time, depending on reference topic and interlocutor.
The office staff at C, however, is largely English-speaking.

3.3. *FACTORIES*

Much of the communication in toolrooms and on the production line
in the factories is non-verbal, e.g. a foreman instructing an offsider
by demonstration or one of the workers handing over a partly finished
article for the next stage of production.

Skilled workers in A's toolroom, even those with German as first
language, tend to speak English. In the plating division, however,
about the same amount of English and German are spoken. At B's main
factory, most of the skilled workers speak German at work. The skilled
workers are generally male and German native speakers, and the unskilled
workers Southern European females, a large minority of whom have some
knowledge of German. In the telephone switchboard factory (109 skilled
and unskilled workers), English is spoken most of the time in the tool-
room but more German is used in the machine shop. Apart from German
and English, Greek, Serbo-Croatian and Italian are also spoken in the
machine shop. About 80% of the employees there can speak German and
only 7 out of 58 are monolingual English speakers. In the toolroom,
incidentally, very much less communication needs to take place because
of the nature of the work.

At C, too, more German than English is spoken at work by the skilled
workers, including supervising staff. None of the 25 semi-skilled
staff of E are German speakers, and 22 are English speakers.

Among skilled workers at D, both languages are spoken extensively,
with English predominating, and here again the toolmakers communicate
mainly in English. Unskilled workers (20% German-speaking, 30%

Southern and South-East European) in most sections use chiefly English except where they have great difficulty in expressing themselves and turn to multilingual supervisors and speak German, Greek or Serbo-Croatian. In some areas of production (e.g. cylinders), little communication is necessary, in others (assembly, print room) frequent verbal interaction is essential. The print room has a Yugoslav conglomeration, and there Serbo-Croatian is spoken most of the time.

Of the 70 employees of F, 35 are English-speaking, 7 German-English bilinguals, and the rest Central and Southern Europeans, three of whom speak some German. In the work situation, languages other than English are spoken by dyads and larger groups with the same native language who happen to be working together at the time. At lunch on the day of my visit, there were six tables occupied, one each with Greeks, Italians and Macedonians, one each with one Austrian and one German only, and a 'mixed' table comprising an Australian, an Austrian and several Yugoslavs playing cards. The Greeks, Italians and Macedonians were speaking their native language. This situation was typical of that in the firms studied, with the workers lunching mainly in language groups. All F's drivers, despatch and office staff are monolingual Australians, so there is no multilingual link between the multilingual producer and the multilingual customer (the continental delicatessen).

A very important 'mediating role' is played by foremen and supervisors. About 90% of the foremen at C are German-English bilinguals but there are one Yugoslav foreman and several Greek toolsetters, which means that a few Serbo- Croatian and Greek groups can be and are formed. At A the supervisors and two line foremen are German (but the two supervisors generally talk English about 'business'). At the time of my visits, Turkish-, Arabic-, Italian-, and Serbo-Croatian-speaking foremen with good English were supervising women of various nationalities, though the Turks tended to be placed under the Turkish foreman. The men took great trouble to generate grammatical sentences and were concerned about improving their English. The Turk even showed off his vocabulary when addressing the Greeks, e.g.: *We must count these lenses with the minimum (sic!) care*. The Arabic foreman was educated at a German school. Within the ranks of B's foremen are mainly German-speaking immigrants but also monolingual Australians, and other immigrants speaking both English and German. D has 7 German-speaking, 9 English-speaking and 6 other supervisors. Slightly over half the foremen are monolingual English speakers. People with little English are placed in a group with a foreman of the appropriate mother tongue if such a group exists. (This is purely incidental.) There is clearly a relationship between the employment of, say, German foremen (as in B

and C) and the amount of German spoken in the factories.

Hughes (1970:109) points out that, in a multilingual industrial setup, the supervisors often hold the monopoly of upward and downward communication and that bilingualism is an 'extra device for the common practice of keeping control of communications'. The 'minor boss' can, 'by refusing to speak English with aspiring workers under his supervision restrict their proficiency at English and make their rise in the organisation difficult'. This situation does not appear to obtain very much in the companies under consideration owing to their 'multilinguality' and the low incidence of monolingual non-English-speaking teams, but is characteristic of firms whose 'higher layer' is monolingual English and whose 'bottom layer' comprises different 'national groups' operating in their mother tongue and communicating with the rest of the company through a bi- (or multi-)lingual foreman. As we have seen, the German firms have often offered a transition to the new immigrant until he moves into a 'monolingual' firm. So the number of Germans, Austrians and Swiss working on the production line in German-Australian industry has greatly decreased over the past 10 years, as these immigrants have become more affluent. They have been replaced by Southern Europeans also often using the German company as a transition situation[4]. Many of the Southern Europeans received their experience of secondary industry and urban living as guest workers in West Germany or Switzerland. Many of them speak very little English but have previously picked up some German and need the German-English bilinguality of the German company more than the Germans, most of whom have been in Australia for some years or can speak English adequately. The positive aspect of this is that the Southern European immigrant who knows some German can communicate and does not feel 'lost'. On the other hand, he may have little incentive to learn English, which he may require, for instance, to move to a job in another company.

All the companies agreed that English was the language of authority, which was used to guarantee there was no suggestion of favouritism to, or solidarity between German speakers. Some reported prior resentment or complaints on the part of Australian unskilled workers about the use of German. This may be the reason why many Germans switched immediately on sighting a non-German speaker in the vicinity. At F, German is never spoken by German native speakers to native speakers of other languages who know some German, and the managing director indicated: 'Ich verbiete jedem, seine Haussprache vor einem Australier zu sprechen.'

4. FORMS OF ADDRESS

First names are employed far more extensively than in the work situation in Germany and this has been increasingly the case in the subsidiaries of German companies since they were established in Australia. The use of *du* is also more general in all strata than between colleagues in a similar situation in Germany. This is probably promoted by the use of first names. Especially at A (where there are only 22 German speakers and they are fairly well acquainted) but also - to a much lesser extent - at B and C, this occurs across strata (say, director to professionals or factory supervisor). However, some caution is exercised in this regard, and an uncertainty as to the use of *du* or *Sie* was given as one of the reasons for a preference for English among young Germans in subsidiaries of German firms.

5. HIERARCHIAL LANGUAGE USE

Across the levels of hierarchy in the subsidiaries (other than E), German is spoken where this greatly improves communication by and to visiting staff from Germany and between people well-known to each other not in the company of less familiar people. It is frequently employed by a bilingual who normally uses English at work, to a 'higher' person who prefers German. On rare occasions it is used by members of the top management as a 'secret language'.

6. Ex-Guest Workers

A German foreigner pidgin is widely used for communication in the work situation in Germany between Germans and guest workers with little German and between guest workers of different language backgrounds. This pidgin, described in Clyne (1968), can be explained as Germans' approximation of foreigners' speech perpetuated by foreigners trying to imitate it. It is characterized by the deletion of articles, prepositions, pronoun subjects and even verbs, the generalization of a particular verbal form (especially the infinitive), a tendency to drop bound morphemes, the generalized use of *du*, negative hopping, and (to a lesser extent) the final positioning of the verb and the use of *nix* for *nicht* and *nichts*. Most of the above phenomena occur in the German of people with different mother tongues, and there is no model in their language which could give rise to the product as 'interference'.

This pidgin is used in German-Australian industry by ex-guest workers who could not speak English on arrival, joined a German firm and used this code with German-speaking foremen and other superiors as well as with ex-guest workers of other language backgrounds.

Even in Australia some German foremen seem to use ungrammatical 'pseudo-simplifications' in talking German to Southern Europeans. But this is very much less so than in Germany. Also, ex-guest workers are not automatically adressed as *du* in German-Australian industry.

There are Greek, Yugoslav, Turkish and other immigrant ex-guest workers who are very proficient at German. Some have also learned very good English but others have little opportunity, and lack the necessary drive to acquire the language. One Yugoslav at A, who spent 7 years in Germany and has been in Australia for 5 years, spoke of his difficulties outside the factory:

'Wir haben mit zwei Mann zu tun, die beide kommen und sprechen Deutsch mit mir, und also Schwierigkeit hab' ich keine. Nun wann ich jetzt geh' von hier weg, geh' nach Hause, geh' was kaufen, da brauch' ich immer. Ich brauch' immer eine Hebamme.'

Similar remarks were made by a Greek at B (5 years in Australia, formerly employed in Switzerland), a Yugoslav at C (3 years in Australia, but 'ich sprechen hier nur Deutsch'), and a Turk at D (3 years in Australia, 2 in Germany).

Such employees use German far more than the German native speakers in the companies, and German language maintenance in the 'lower' strata there can be attributed largely to them. This applies also to some whose German is limited but whose English is even more limited. On pay day at B, for instance, a Greek foreman was the only employee with whom the German paymaster communicated in German, all the Germans being addressed in English.

6.1. *ENGLISH AND GERMAN PIDGINS*

In Australia, recent arrivals often pick up a 'melting pot' English pidgin with interference from various languages, as the majority of the people they work with are non-native speakers of English. However, there is little evidence of the English pidgin being reinforced by English native speakers' simplifications.[5] Some Australians speak more slowly and/or raise their voices when addressing immigrants with little English. Germans' and Australians' imitations of how recent Southern European immigrants speak English indicate their expectations of simplification, e.g.

Alright, Boss. Me no understand. (Several, German, Australian)

Boss, is this machine not very much alright. (German)

A few of the German foremen and supervisors taped in Australia adapt their English far more than their Australian counterparts to the pidgin of their speech partners, e.g. (German to Turk):

You start. Press green knob. No go. Then you must look here.

Off, no go. On, go. Stop. Understand?

The same German supervisor even switched to the pidgin in a conversation with the field worker when discussing the work of a Turk, e.g.

Now he *start* the machine.

...because *that* noisy.

The characteristics of the English industrial pidgin are similar to that of the German one - (Clyne, 1975). One Swiss foreman increased the number of English lexemes in his German sentences the more 'non-German-speaking' his speech partner, e.g.:

Die *pins,* wenn die *pins* da nicht durchkommen, und a *lady* macht das drauf, ja, a *lady* macht das drauf, und ah, wird das *inspektiert,* wird *inspektiert* und jetzt kann vorkommen, dass, wenn es über *Solderbad* darüberlauft, dass ah, dass es irgendwie beim Umbiegen, dass sich dann a schwache Stelle, schwache Stelle is' und dann fliegt's auch weg, ja. Und dann muss man es *repaire* - haben wir ein *Repairmann* dazu und wir werden, ah, werden das 'raus machen müssen. Manchmal muss man's *replacen* in was *replacen,* neuen *pin* 'reinmachen und dann wieder *zusammensoldern.*

The English transfers in the German of the Swiss foreman and his Greek offsider represent concepts of their particular everyday work situation in Australia. A random mixture of English and German pidgins is employed by some Southern Europeans.

In the factory, too, face-to-face communication often proceeds with one person talking in one language and the other in another, e.g. a Yugoslav at A speaks German and his Italian workmate answers in English 'pidgin'. Incidentally, the Yugoslav and a Turk communicate in Greek.

7. SUMMARY OF LANGUAGE USE

On the whole, people in German-Australian companies use whatever languages are available to them. The existing 'bilingual base' makes it easy for them to be sympathetic to the use of other languages as well, some personnel managers and supervisors having acquired some knowledge of languages such as Italian and Serbo-Croatian, but English and German remain the 'high status languages'. Openness to other languages is merely at the oral level. Notices, signs and internal correspondence are exclusively in English.

There is a variation in the amount of German used. A German company appointing to its subsidiary monolingual Australian directors who employ mainly monolingual Australian staff determines the predominance of English.

While interlocutors tend to **transfer** lexemes and sememes from one language to the other for reasons of **communication**, they generally **switch** for reasons of **identification**, i.e. they want to identify themselves as Xs (e.g. Australians) or they know that the speech partner wants to identify himself as an X. However, as we have shown in Clyne (1967, 1969), transference can trigger off a switch. Communication factors promoting transference are topic (i.e. the discourse reference base is in the source language) and unknown or non-existent vocabulary. Identification factors promoting switching are environment (including the presence of a stranger whose language preference is not certain) and role-relationship.

In interaction between members of the 'middle' and 'upper' bilingual strata of the subsidiaries (e.g. directors and professionals, directors and supervisors, professionals and supervisors), the lower interlocutor usually adapts his language (or variety) to that of the higher one, whereas in communication between 'middle' (or 'upper') and 'lower' strata, the lower interlocutor determines the language (or variety). The first choice of code is identification-oriented, the second is communication-oriented.

                    *   *   *

N O T E S

1. Estimate. At present only 'place of birth' is available in census statistics.

2. Some of these do not produce in Australia.

3. Data collected in all the 10 firms would substantiate a hypothesis that the larger the company, the more German is likely to be spoken in it.

4. In March 1973, 31.8% of the factory workers at C were Yugoslavs, 19.5% Germans and Austrians, 16.9% British, Australian, American or South African, 7.8% Greeks, 7.6% Italians, 4% Poles. About 10% of the Yugoslavs speak fluent German but many of the others can communicate in it.

5. Perhaps this was the case previously.

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ETHNIC LANGUAGES AND IMMIGRANT YOUTH

J.J. Smolicz & R. McL. Harris

1. ETHNIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY - A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE[1]

1.1. *HUMANISTIC SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH*[2]

We can follow Znaniecki (1968) in defining the words of a given language as cultural objects or values in the life of a particular speech community or group. As such, they are to be distinguished from natural objects by the fact that, in addition to their material content as printed signs or phonetic sounds, they have come to acquire a meaning in the consciousness of that group of people, in relation to their efforts to communicate verbally with one another. Because words are used not in isolation, but always in relation to one another, they can be regarded as the **group's system or stock of linguistic values**, a cultural system that is comparable to the group's system of economic or religious values. The Polish language, for example, as it has been built up over centuries, is the linguistic value system inherited by the present generations of Polish-speaking people. From this stock of cultural values, the individual selects and uses only those words that suit his particular purpose or range of interests.

From the point of view of each human agent, any attempt at communication with other members of his group can be thought of in terms of the individual's tendency to activate certain values in the group's linguistic system. As this process develops from the child's earliest attempts at speech, the individual gradually constructs his own **personal language system** from those linguistic values whose meaning he has learned through his participation in the group's life. Whenever he holds a conversation with a friend, writes a love letter, or gives a lecture in his native language, the individual reveals his tendency to use, maintain and activate the linguistic stock of his people, through

his own personal language system. Through the act of choosing certain words and linguistic conventions and neglecting others, the individual group members reveal how they evaluate the linguistic meanings that have been transmitted to them as part of the cultural heritage of the group.

In considering the individual's tendency to activate and thus to maintain his personal language system we follow Znaniecki's theoretical distinction between its active and passive manifestation. In these terms, whenever a tendency is obstructed in one way or another, it is said to reveal itself indirectly, in the form of an attitude toward the values involved. Such an attitude is perhaps best described as a conscious intention to reactivate the system of values, if the existing obstacles are ever removed.

A similar situation would arise in the case of an attitude which has as yet never had a chance to play a part in personal system construction, due to some inhibition outside the control of the individual concerned. When circumstances become altered and the obstacle removed, the attitude in question could then be set free for activation as a tendency.

The positive attitude of ethnic-Australian children to the study of their mother tongue at an Australian school, which has so far denied them the opportunity to do so, provides a pertinent illustration of this type of situation. For example, our research at Adelaide, summarised in the second section of this chapter, suggests there would be considerable demand for ethnic language studies, which could also incorporate a good deal of other ethnic cultural content.

If ethnic languages and cultures were introduced into their school, the attitude of the children toward such courses would, at least in the case of some of them, find open expression as a tendency to construct a more sophisticated personal ethnic language system than the one which they had been able to construct in the narrow confines of an ethnic group (the family, the ethnic Saturday school and other formal and informal ethnic structures). The new system could then incorporate their culture's literary, as well as oral, tradition. Indeed, in a few Australian schools, courses of this type have already been introduced, although they still seem in a rather embryonic and experimental stage (Smolicz, 1975b).

If the Australian school were to continue to adhere instead to the ethic of cultural and linguistic monism, the ethnic child would be confronted with what seemed to him as a conflict of two mutually exclusive tendencies. The activation of one of them (which almost invariably would turn out to be the Anglo-centric one supported by the school, mass media and the peer group) would transform his tendency to activate

ethnic language and culture into an attitude - merely a potential - which, unless subsequently resurrected by some other means, would, in the course of time, be altogether eliminated.

It should be clear from the above that the personal value system, which an individual builds in the linguistic or any other realm of culture, will be dependent partly on the **nature of group values** which are made available to him and partly on his **tendency** to activate them through personal system construction. Most group values or traditions within a particular society are not equally available to all individuals. We could thus regard the cultural values of a particular human group as some kind of **cultural capital or treasure** - and in the same way as material goods are unevenly distributed in a population, so are the cultural treasures. In Australia the cultural capital of most ethnic groups is strictly limited by the modest resources of such groups, their small size, scattered nature, frequently low socio-economic profile, and the lack of effective educational institutions to ensure its preservation and development.

In the theoretical framework developed above, the concept of a personal value system provides a bridge between objective group value systems and traditions on the one hand, and subjective tendencies and attitudes of individuals on the other (Smolicz, 1974b). Znaniecki himself did not make a clear distinction between group and personal value systems; in most instances he merely refers to an individual or personal tendency to activate the value system of the group. **It is our view, however, that the concept of a personal system is invaluable for any attempt to interpret social and cultural life from the humanistic viewpoint.** The concept provides theoretical expression, as well as practical recognition, of the conscious activity of the individual human agent in selecting values from the group stock and organizing them into a system which suits his own particular purposes and interests.

The act of individual choice implied in the construction of the personal value system needs to be viewed, however, as itself the product of interaction between objective and subjective factors. The blocks out of which the individual builds his own unique system represent values which in the life of the group have an objective reality - a reality which is to a large extent independent of one individual's use of them. Indeed, Znaniecki (1963:134) insists on the essential objectivity of cultural values, whose common meaning in the group's life can always be tested by observing the way they are used by the participant members. Thus to each individual a cultural value exists independently of his current experience of it; "it exists as something that has been and can be experienced and used by others as well as by himself whether it does

or does not exist in the natural universe".

Yet it is important to recognise that the autonomy of a value, its independence from individual attitudes and tendencies of group members, is never absolute. Over time a gradual shift in the way members choose to use a given value may lead to definite change in the value's social function and meaning. The specific concepts of attitude, tendency and personal value system stress the role of individuals in dealing with social reality, for they ultimately determine the group's value systems and traditions. The application of such concepts to the study of ethnic languages aims to illuminate the central role of the individual immigrants and their children in structuring new cultural patterns in the host society.

The first generation migrants function as **repositories** of ethnicity for their own descendents, if not as its disseminators among other ethnic groups. Unfamiliar with the new environment, they are mainly concerned with establishing themselves economically and, to a lesser extent, socially. For those purposes they attempt to learn English and construct other Australian based cultural systems which appear indispensable to achieve such tasks. It is the second generation which can act as an effective **carrier** of ethnic traditions. To achieve this, however, the ethnic cultural pool or stock must be made available to ethnic-Australian children. The nature of personal cultural systems which such children can construct will depend upon such factors as the richness and quality of the ethnic stock available in Australia, the availability of such a stock to the child, and the willingness of the child to make use of it. These factors, in their turn, are very largely dependent on the prevailing **orientation** of the host country to the new European arrivals and, to a lesser extent, on the position which the newcomers adopt towards the hosts. Such orientations constitute systems of ideological values (Smolicz, 1976) which on the one hand mould the tendencies and attitudes of individual Anglo-Australians toward immigrants and their cultural systems (Harris and Smolicz, 1975) and, on the other, affect the response of ethnic Australians towards Australian society.

Theoretically the hosts' policy to the European immigrants and their descendents can be based on one of three such orientations. Traditionally these are defined as (i) **cultural pluralism** (ii) **interactionism** and (iii) **Anglo-conformism** or **monism** (Taft, 1963). The assumption underlying the concept of interactionism is that, in every realm of culture, one single system of values will eventually emerge incorporating elements derived from a number of contributing (but subsequently defunct) cultural systems.

It should be noted, however, that upholders of this type of inter-

actionist solution often fail to appreciate that some elements of cul-
ture, notably language, are not amenable to easy amalgamation. In such
cases a dual system type of arrangement is formed through the co-
existence within the individual of a twin system of cultural values;
its two linguistic components are then activated by him in different
cultural and social contexts. Unless one envisages, therefore, the
formation of some kind of English-ethnic patois or jargon, in the pre-
sent generation at least, the linguistic interactionist solution can
only take a dynamic equilibrium, rather than a synthesis or 'melting
pot', form.

   Such an interactionist arrangement is the only practical alternative
to a universal monolingualism, and since it takes place within each
individual, it represents a bilingual solution which is but one specific
form of internal or intra-personal pluralism. Labels of this type may
be used to distinguish such an internalist state from the external
solution or inter-personal cultural pluralism, where different ethnic
individuals adhere to their own cultural traditions and where inter-
action with members of other groups is peripheral and spasmodic or
completely non-existent.

   The possible mechanisms for the transmission of a dual system of
linguistic value are of interest. Thus linguistic pluralism could be
perpetuated by the two components of a dual system being passed on to
the children both by their bilingual parents and by the school. Alter-
natively, the parents could be transmitting only the ethnic linguistic
values, while the school concentrated solely on the development of the
English component. It does not necessarily follow that the parents
passing on only the ethnic language need themselves be monolinguals.
Bilingual parents, theoretically able to transmit both parts of the
dual system, may consciously maintain the home domain as the exclusive
preserve of the ethnic tongue.

1.2. *THE AUSTRALIAN SCENE*

   In the section which summarizes our results, it is clear that in
many ethnic homes English has already become the dominant language of
the second generation. In view of the fact that in Australia at present
most schools still refuse to act as dual system transmitters this type
of situation is hardly surprising. In the event, the more ethnically
conscious parents feel no obligation to help their children to construct
the English linguistic component. Submerged within the English mono-
lingual 'sea', their perpetual concern is to save and preserve what
ethnic linguistic values they themselves possess and leave it to the
school to introduce their children to the English part of the bilingual

system. (There are, of course, numerous other first generation ethnic parents who are unable to activate any but the ethnic values; while still others, although bilingual, either transmit only the English component, or make attempts to transmit both).

Recent moves in Australia, such as the appointment by the Minister of Education of the Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Primary and Secondary Schools, suggest that at long last the Australian school may take some part in developing and reinforcing the ethnic component in a bilingual system. The establishment of a tradition of linguistic pluralism, even with all governmental aid possible to ethnic Saturday schools and the introduction of ethnic language courses to State primary and secondary schools, will not, however, be easy in a country like Australia, so long wedded to the ethic of monolingualism (Smolicz 1971; Smolicz and Wiseman 1971). Bostock (1973:49) points to the widespread belief of Australian academics, unlike academics over- seas, that the learning of languages is both irrelevant and unnecessary; this, he claims, will have the effect of conferring upon Australia "the distinction of being the most monolingual industrialised nation in the world".

The prevailing ethic of monolingualism can be directly traced to the Anglo-conformist orientation still prevailing among many important and influential sections of Australian society. Such an orientation con- stitutes a group system of ideological values which exerts a profound effect on the attitudes and tendencies of Anglo-Australians and, even more significantly, of second generation ethnics. Its influence upon the linguistic usages of the latter is to limit their opportunities to construct viable ethnic components of their dual linguistic systems and, even more significantly, to undermine their willingness to activate and develop them.

In this type of situation ethnic languages decline rapidly in a generational progession. Adult first generation migrants are normally fluent ethnic speakers; the second generation, on the other hand, so much more at ease in the country of their birth, fluent in English and with an experience of the Australian school behind them, are fast losing their ethnic cultural inheritance. Indeed, in one respect at least, the linguistic usages of the great majority almost invariably follow the same kind of pattern - whatever the ethnic group and however ethni- cally-minded their home environment. As the results of our research enumerated later demonstrate, even in a home most favourable to ethnic cultural maintenance, the active ethnic linguistic experience of older children and of young adolescents is limited to conversation with their ethnic elders (parents, relatives, parents' ethnic friends), while the

conversation with their ethnic **peers**, be they siblings, cousins or friends, is almost invariably conducted in English. **The ethnic tongue thus becomes the language of age and local ethnic parochialism.**

The increasing reluctance of many 1b and second generation[3] immigrant children to maintain their ethnic languages as they grow older is almost always associated with an apparent conflict of tendencies within the individual. The tendency to use only English, with its accompanying advantages of greater peer group acceptance and greater potential for socio-economic advance, is pitted against the tendency to maintain an ethnic system which, because of lack of formal education support, is usually restricted in depth and dimension and is of practical use only in communicating in the more restricted domains of life. And when the choice appears as stark as this, it is inevitable that by the time ethnic-Australian children reach maturity, any childhood tendency to maintain the ethnic system is seriously undermined or even utterly rejected.

It is most unfortunate that the prevailing cultural climate of Australian society conditions these young people, and often their parents as well, into believing that the two linguistic tendencies, one to develop English and the other to maintain the ethnic language, are mutually exclusive and not, **parallel and compatible.** It is our view that the tendencies in question may **both** be activated; indeed, they **may** - but need not, as is clearly demonstrated by the large number of second generation ethnic-Australians whose personal ethnic systems of cultural values have very largely disintegrated or were stifled in embryo.

We, therefore, conclude that the persistence in Australia of the Anglo-conformist group values or tradition and their continued influence in educational institutions is not conducive to the formation of dual systems of linguistic values - or, indeed, to interactionist solutions in most other realms of culture. The fact that (see section 2 of this paper) among our one hundred Adelaide university students of Polish origin, or approximately one hundred school girls of Italian parentage, we encountered a proportion of individuals who continued to activate, and even to develop, at least some ethnic systems (whether on their own or in some form of association with the Anglo-Australian systems) is a tribute to the persistence of ethnicity in the face of the still very largely Anglo-monistic traditions of the school, mass media, and peer group.

As one might expect, the main ethnicity-maintaining social institution is the family, followed by the various other more or less formal ethnic structures, such as the neighbourhood ethnic social grouping, the ethnic parish and Saturday school, as well as the ethnic Scouts,

dancing groups and sporting clubs. Such ethnic ramparts and fortifi-
cations are crumbling, however, under the relentless pressures of Anglo-
conformity and its more or less subtle, but nonetheless ceaseless and
sustained, propagation by films, television, educational institutions,
or simply by Anglo-Australian individuals whose devaluation of ethnic
cultures is bound to effect even the most self-confident and resilient
ethnics.

2. DETAILS OF SAMPLES

In our studies of migrant youth in Adelaide, South Australia, we
have concentrated mainly upon students of Polish and Italian parentage
but we also have less extensive data on students from Dutch, Latvian
and Greek families. Our samples include both sexes, and are drawn from
many areas of Adelaide. The students we have studied come from tertiary
educational institutions as well as secondary schools (both government
and private) and some, as in the case of the Greek sample, have left
school and are already in the workforce. We also include in our
analyses comparable figures from Harvey's research on 10-13 year old
primary schoolchildren from Polish and Dutch families in Canberra.

The scope of the enquiries covered many different aspects of assimi-
lation and ethnicity. In this paper however, we are concerned only
with the linguistic dimension, which includes the students':

1. **use** of ethnic language in:
    (i) speaking (active linguistic experience);
    (ii) hearing (passive linguistic experience);
    (iii) reading (letters, books and newspapers);
    and writing (letters);

2. **command** of ethnic language in:
    (i) understanding;
    (ii) speaking;
    (iii) reading and writing;

3. **attitudes** to ethnic languages and cultures:
    (i) attitudes of ethnic students;
    (ii) attitudes of Anglo-Australian students;

4. attendance at ethnic Saturday schools.

Not every sample was examined under all these headings, but the as-
pects which we have researched are presented in the tables and diagrams
in this chapter. The following is a brief analysis of each of the
samples:

DESCRIPTION OF ETHNIC SAMPLES

Sample Number	Geographical Area	Educational level of students	Ethnic group	Ethnic Background of parents	N
1a	Adelaide	tertiary	Polish	Polish-Polish	63
1b				Polish-other European	28
1c				Polish-Anglo-Saxon	9
2a	Adelaide northern suburb	secondary	Polish	Polish-Polish	15
2b				Polish-other European	17
2c			Italian	Italian-Italian	38
3a	Adelaide central area	secondary	Polish	Polish-Polish	38
3b				Polish-other European	31
3c				Polish-Anglo-Saxon	27
3d			Italian	90% Italian-Italian	300
3e			Dutch	80% Dutch-Dutch	42
4	Adelaide	secondary girls	Italian	Italian-Italian	95
5a	Canberra	primary	Polish	95% Polish-Polish	37
5b			Dutch	'mostly' Dutch-Dutch	50
6	Adelaide	13-23 yrs. (secondary, tertiary or in work force)	Greek	Greek-Greek	42
7a	Adelaide north-western suburb	secondary	Italian	Italian-Italian	26
7b			Greek	Greek-Greek	14
8	Adelaide	tertiary	Latvian	Latvian-Latvian	42

DESCRIPTION OF ANGLO-AUSTRALIAN SAMPLES

Sample Number	Geographical Area	Educational level of students	Ethnic group	Ethnic Background of parents	N
2d	Adelaide Northern Suburb	secondary	Anglo-Aust.	Australian-Australian	105
7c	Adelaide north-western suburb	secondary	Anglo-Aust.	Australian-Australian	144
9	Adelaide	tertiary	Anglo-Aust.	Australian-Australian	369

2.1. *ADELAIDE TERTIARY POLES*[4]

The students in this study were undergoing tertiary education in
Adelaide during 1971 and 1973, the great majority of students at the
University of Adelaide. All who took part in the investigation (100
students) completed a detailed questionnaire and half were given depth
interviews. Each student was seen at least twice, usually three times.
The interviews related to the linguistic, cultural, structural and
ideological dimensions of assimilation and ethnicity. The nature and
extent of cultural transmission between the students and their parents
were also investigated. For the individual student, therefore, the
total time of the interviews was at least four hours.

Some of the students were personally known to us through our member-
ship of the Adelaide University Polish Club and the study was therefore
partly based on the method of participation observation. Nearly all
the respondents were children of immigrants who arrived in Australia
during the 1948-1951 period from Displaced Persons camps in Germany.
The respondents were divided according to birthplace of parents: 63
were of Polish-Polish parentage; 28 of Polish-other European parentage;
and 9 of Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage. The students were also divided
according to their own birthplace: 68 were born in Australia (2nd
generation) and the remaining 32 were born overseas, although they
arrived here with their parents under the age of 12 years (1b gener-
ation). (The one exception was a student who arrived in Australia at
the age of 15, but all his earlier years were spent in England). Even
more significant is the fact that 21 of the 32 born overseas arrived
in Australia under the age of 6 years, and thus received all of their
formal schooling in this country; another 4 had their first years of
education in England.

2.2. *'NORTHERN SUBURB' POLES, ITALIANS AND AUSTRALIANS*[5]
(The testing of this sample was carried out with G. Hambly and
G. Geracitano).

All these students were drawn from the third year stratum of one of
Adelaide's northern suburb secondary schools. From a census of all of
the third years, it was found that of 398 students, 64% were of 'immi-
grant origin' i.e.: had at least one parent born overseas and 36%
'Australian'. The migrant proportion could be broken down further
into 12% of Greek, 10% of Italian and 9% of Polish parentage. All
students of Italian (38) and Polish(32) origin present during the test-
ing period were interviewed. The 'Australian' sample of 105 was chosen
by systematic random sampling. The structured interviews were con-

ducted during school time and each interview took approximately 20
minutes. The interviewing and subsequent analysis was done between
May and October, 1973.

2.3. 'CENTRAL AREA' POLES, ITALIANS AND DUTCH
       (with R. Wiseman)[6]

Secondary school students who had at least one parent born in Poland,
Italy or the Netherlands were drawn from four State schools and two
independent Catholic schools in the central area of Adelaide; the ques-
tionnaires were administered during 1969-70 and took approximately 20-
25 minutes each.[7]

Students were of both sexes, and aged between 12 and 18 years. All
the students present in school during the testing period were inter-
viewed: 42 students with one or both parents born in the Netherlands;
96 with one or both parents born in Poland; and 300 with one or both
parents born in Italy. Eighty per cent of the Dutch sample and 90% of
the Italian sample had both parents born in the Netherlands and Italy
respectively. However, while almost all (95%) of the Polish students
had a Polish-born father, less than two-fifths had both parents born in
Poland. The majority of mothers were born either in Australia (24 out
of 59) or Germany (20 out of 59). The Polish sample was therefore sub-
divided, like the tertiary one, into students of Polish-Polish (PP)
parentage (38); Polish-other European (PE) parentage (31); and Polish-
Australian-or-British-or-New Zealand parentage (27).

In the Dutch sample, 60% of the students were born in Australia and
36% in the Netherlands; in the Italian sample, 62% were born in
Australia and 38% born in Italy; and in the Polish sample, as a conse-
quence of the period and nature of Polish immigration to Australia, 90%
of the students were born in Australia, 6% in Poland and of the remain-
der, four in the U.K. and one in Germany. The vast majority of the
overseas-born children were of the 1b generation; the mean age of
arrival of Dutch-born and Italian-born children was between four and
five years. The mean age on arrival of the Polish-born children was
nine years.

2.4. ADELAIDE SCHOOLGIRLS OF ITALIAN PARENTAGE
       (with Laura Pieraccini)[8]

This study was carried out in 1970 in two Adelaide secondary schools,
one State and one independent Catholic (a total sample of 95). The
research was carried out by means of a questionnaire completed by the
interviewer; each girl was seen individually for approximately one hour.

Like the 'Central Area' Italian sample, over 90% of the girls' parents were born in Italy and, with the exception of two mothers born in Australia, the rest were Italians born in Europe outside Italy. Again, not unlike the Central Area Italian figures, 57% (54) of the girls were born in Australia and 40% (38) in Italy, the remaining 3% (3) being born outside of these two countries. Most of the Italian-born girls came here at pre-school age. At the time of the interview all the girls were between nine and 18 years of age. The research had a strongly linguistic bias and unlike most sociological and educational studies in the area which have relied on self-assessment when examining the degree of retention of ethnic language, the interviewer checked the girl's ability to speak, read and write Italian by application of appropriate tests.

Linguistic ability in Italian was assessed by reference to 'accent', grammar, vocabulary, fluency and oral comprehension. Out of the total of 95 girls, 61 were willing to be examined in this way (34 opted out). It must not be assumed, however, that all the girls who declined to be tested had no knowledge of Italian. When those who opted out were asked to self-assess their Italian linguistic ability, only six said they had no knowledge of Italian or dialect; the remaining 28 indicated some command of the ethnic language (23 answered 'well' and five 'a little').

There were various reasons why such a large proportion of girls speaking their ethnic tongue could not be persuaded to take part in the tests. The principal one was their inability to speak standard Italian and shame of speaking dialect to a highly educated stranger from Rome. This applied to 24 girls or 25% of the total sample.

2.5. CANBERRA POLES AND DUTCH
   (S.D. Harvey 1971)

These samples were drawn from the Canberra and Queanbeyan areas between July and October, 1968. The Poles and the Dutch were chosen as providing a number of points of contrast. Harvey considered it necessary that the children should themselves have been in Australia long enough to be fluent in English and five years was taken as a reasonable time. The children also had to be old enough to be able to think about their own language use, and to be aware of the attitudes of families and themselves to their ethnic languages. Twelve seemed to the researcher to be a suitable age since, in her view, the strains of adolescence would have hardly then appeared.

The 'Dutch sample' (50) were all children of Dutch parentage in sixth grade at schools in Canberra; the 'Polish sample' (37) was drawn

from fifth and sixth grade children of Polish parentage attending
schools in Canberra and Queanbeyan. The study was carried out by means
of a questionnaire in English given to the parents to complete them-
selves in their home, while in the meantime the researcher herself inter-
viewed the children.

   All the parents in the 37 Polish families were born outside Australia,
nearly all in Poland (two marriages were 'mixed'). All parents in the
Dutch families were also born outside Australia, mostly in Holland.
All but 10 of the Polish sample and 11 of the Dutch sample were born in
Australia. All Polish families arrived between 1949 and 1963, and
Dutch families arrived between 1947 and 1963. The age range of the two
samples was 10-12, and 11-13 respectively. The large majority of chil-
dren in both samples had had all of their education in Australia. The
significant aspect of the Polish sample was that it contained some
families from the post-1956 wave of Polish migration in Australia.

2.6. ADELAIDE GREEKS
   (with S. Salagaras and G. Humphris)[9]

   This study was done during the latter half of 1972. It was re-
stricted to twenty families in Adelaide known to the interviewers or
introduced to them through subjects who had already been interviewed.
The parental sample (first generation) consisted of 20 males and 20
females, and the child sample of 42 (all second generation). The ages
of the children all living at home, ranged from 13 to 23 years. All
the parents were interviewed in Greek and the children in English.
The interviews of parents and children were conducted separately in the
home. Each interview took approximately 30 minutes. All first gener-
ation subjects had been in Australia at least 13 years, and the majority
for nearly 20 years.

2.7. 'NORTH-WESTERN SUBURB' AUSTRALIANS, ITALIANS AND GREEKS
   (with Trevor Short)

   These samples were drawn from a secondary school in an Adelaide
north-western suburb. Questionnaires were administered to all third
year students at the school, and 203 completed protocols were obtained.
There were 144 (71%) who were of Australian (134) or British (10) par-
entage and 59 (29%) of continental European parentage; in this latter
number, 26 (13%) were of Italian and 14 (7%) of Greek parentage.
Analysis of the 'Australian' sample was limited to a sub-sample of 50
randomly selected from the number of 144. All the children of ethnic
parentage were either born in Australia or arrived in this country

before the age of 12. The average age of the total 203 respondents was
15 years 1 month. A comparison was made between the occupations of the
Australian-born fathers (50) and those of the European-born fathers
(59). While two thirds of the migrant fathers were in unskilled and
semi-skilled jobs, one quarter of Australian fathers were in this cat-
egory. One third of the migrant fathers were in skilled manual jobs,
compared with half of the Australian fathers, and the proportions in
white collar occupations were 2% for the ethnic group and 24% for the
Australian sample.

Although this study was primarily concerned with the educational
aspirations of children of migrant parentage, compared with those of
children of Australian parentage in a lower socio-economic suburban
secondary school, questions were asked on the language patterns of the
migrant students and their parents; on attendance at ethnic Saturday
schools; and on the students' willingness to study migrant languages
and cultures, if they were offered at school.

2.8. *ADELAIDE TERTIARY SECOND GENERATION LATVIANS*
(A. Putniņš 1975)

The 42 students presented in this sample constitute 91% of all the
second generation mono-ethnic Latvians enrolled at the University of
Adelaide in 1974 and resident in Adelaide at the time of the study
(excluding the investigator). Results relating to usage and command
of Latvian reported here were obtained as part of a wider study of
cultural, social, and psychological assimilation and alienation.

Data were obtained from questionnaires completed by the subjects.
Of the 42 respondents, 16 were females and 26 were males, with an age
range of 17 to 25 years (X = 20.7).

2.9. *ADELAIDE UNIVERSITY ANGLO-AUSTRALIANS*[10]

This sample comprised 369 Adelaide University students born in
Australia and of Australian-born parentage. Since the large scale
migration of Continental European immigrants did not begin until after
the second world war, in terms of their ancestry, the overwhelming
majority of our subjects can be considered as being of British and
Irish stock. The subjects were obtained by means of quota sampling:
quotas for each faculty in the university were calculated on the basis
of 1973 data.

3. THE ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

3.1. *LANGUAGE USAGE*

3.1.1. Active linguistic experience (speaking)

The fundamental finding of all of our research on this point is that, even in those families where the ethnic language (be it Polish, Italian, Latvian, Greek or Dutch) is spoken by the second or 1b generation with ethnic elders, the language used with peers is almost invariably English. This is revealed clearly in the case of the active linguistic experience of tertiary students of Polish-Polish parentage. Of those with living grandparents 93% of the students spoke Polish to them; 74% used Polish when talking to their older relatives, 67% to their parents' Polish friends, 62% with their father and 56% with their mother (cf. Johnston, in this volume). In contrast, only 9% spoke Polish to cousins of their own age and 2% to friends outside of the university. In the other three categories, no Polish without English was spoken (Table 1). A similar linguistic differentiation according to the age of interlocutors was observed for tertiary students of Latvian parentage (Table 8).

A similar pattern was also evident among the sample of secondary school ('Central Area') students of Polish-Polish parentage with 42% and 39% speaking the ethnic tongue to their parents and parents' Polish friends respectively, and only 11% speaking it to ethnic peers while parents were present, 8% while parents were absent, and none speaking only Polish to their siblings (cf. also Klarberg, in this volume) (Table 5). The ethnic linguistic usage suffers a dramatic decline among children of 'mixed' ethnic parentage. Thus, when one examines the linguistic experience of high school students in the same central area of Adelaide, the figures reveal a greatly decreased proportion of children of Polish-other European and Polish-Australian parentages using the ethnic language even with Polish elders. For example, 42% of the students of Polish-Polish parentage spoke in the ethnic language to their parents, while only 16% of Polish-other European, and none of Polish-Australian, parentage did so. The corresponding percentages for students speaking Polish to their parents' ethnic friends were 39% (Polish-Polish parentage) 23% (Polish-other European parentage) and none (Polish-Australian parentage) (Table 5).

These findings on tertiary and secondary education Polish samples are supported by the research on primary school (10-12 years) Poles by Harvey in Canberra (Table 3). Her figures on the frequency of use of Polish confirms that it is virtually only to elders that the ethnic language is spoken. Percentages of children 'always' using Polish to various recipients were as follows: grandmother 62%; grandfather 50%;

other relatives 65%; adult Polish family friends 66%; mother 46%;
fathers 37%; and to siblings and other Polish children, none. At the
other extreme, while the numbers of children 'never' speaking Polish
to elders ranged from three to zero, 50% never spoke Polish to siblings
and 68% never spoke it to other Polish children.

With the 'Central Area' secondary students of Italian parentage,
again speaking the ethnic tongue was mainly limited to conversation
with Italian elders. Subdivision by birthplace of student reveals that
the Australian-born students spoke Italian less often than the Italian-
born students in all of the five given categories (Table 6). While 77%
of Italian-born students spoke Italian (mostly regional dialect) to
their parents and 35% spoke the ethnic language to parents' Italian
friends, these two figures were reduced to 36% and 29% respectively in
the case of Australian-born students.[11] (Table 5).

The data on the active linguistic experience of schoolgirls of
Italian parentage give a similar proportion of girls speaking Italian
(or dialect) to their parents. While the samples of Polish students,
however, revealed that the ethnic language is more often spoken to
fathers than to mothers, evidence from the Italian samples shows that
it is the mothers to whom Italian (or dialect) is most often spoken.
Sixty per cent of the girls spoke Italian (or dialect) to their mothers,
while 42% spoke it to their fathers. However, in this particular
sample, the girls spoke Italian most often to their older relatives
(76%). Only 3% spoke the ethnic language to siblings, and none to
their ethnic peers (Table 2).

The students of Dutch parentage (Central Area) spoke mainly English
in conversation with all recipients, though slightly more often with
peers (83% with parents present, 86% with parents absent) and siblings
(88%), than with parents (71%) and their parents' Dutch friends (76%)
(Table 7). One additional factor which confirmed that the ethnic
tongue is used by young migrants in deference to their elders' wishes
or convenience is that in each of the Polish, Italian and Dutch samples,
the percentage of students speaking the ethnic language to their own
ethnic friends with parents present was always higher than when parents
were absent.

The findings for Adelaide and Canberra Dutch were quite similar.
Harvey found in her sample of Canberra school-children of Dutch par-
entage that 84% and 73% 'never' spoke Dutch to their ethnic friends
and their siblings respectively, while the proportions never speaking
the ethnic language to Dutch elders ranged from 72% in the case of
adult ethnic family friends and relatives to 62% in the case of mother
and 59% father. The equivalent figures for children never speaking

Dutch to grandmother and grandfather were 38% and 27% (Table 4).

In the Adelaide Greek study, 86% of the children spoke to their mother and 71% to their father in the native language. But all children spoke to their siblings in English. In the case of relatives and ethnic friends of the family, the language used in conversation again depended on the age of the recipient: to children, they spoke English and to ethnic adults Greek, although if the adult understood English reasonably well, they tended to speak English to that person (Table 9 (c)).

3.1.2. Passive linguistic experience (hearing)

The figures on the passive linguistic experience of students in our samples also show that it is mainly from ethnic elders that they hear the native language spoken. In our sample of tertiary educated students of Polish-Polish parentage, the percentages of students hearing Polish from elders ranged from 93% from grandparents to 68% from mothers, while those hearing Polish from ethnic peers ranged from 9% from cousins to none in the case of friends inside university and younger siblings (Table 10). With the Canberra primary school sample, all children heard Polish 'always' or 'sometimes' from grandparents, adult ethnic friends and parents. From other relatives, 95% heard Polish 'always' or 'sometimes', and from siblings, 47% heard Polish 'sometimes' (Table 12).

In the case of the Canberra 'Dutch' sample, the children heard the native language spoken less often in all the given categories than the Poles, although the Dutch language was still spoken very frequently to the children by the older ethnics. All the children heard Dutch spoken 'always' or 'sometimes' from grandfather, 96% heard it from grandmother, 94% from adult ethnic family friends, 90% from father, 82% from mother and 59% from other relatives. However, only 31% heard it 'sometimes' spoken by siblings (Table 13). In the case of the Greek sample in Adelaide, 90% of the parents spoke the ethnic language to their children (Table 14(c)).

A similar contrast can be made between the Polish and Italian students' passive linguistic experience as was made earlier for their active usage. While the students of Polish origin heard the ethnic language spoken more often by their fathers than by their mothers, schoolgirls of Italian background heard Italian (or dialect) more from mothers (80%) than from fathers (70%) (Table 11).

Hence our previously expressed view that ethnic tongues in Australia are becoming the languages of age, and their use is increasingly

limited to certain well defined, mainly domestic, spheres of life.

3.1.3. The use of ethnic language in reading and writing

The migrant children's use of the ethnic tongue in reading and writing is even more restricted than their ethnic speech patterns. In all of the samples in Table 15, except in the case of tertiary students of Polish-Polish parentage reading ethnic newspapers, the majority of students never read ethnic newspapers or books, nor maintain correspondence in the ethnic language.

The use of the ethnic language was particularly restricted in the case of the students of Dutch parentage. Although they were only young children, this finding does seem to confirm previous studies which have shown that Dutch immigrants are one of the ethnic groups least concerned to maintain their ethnicity in Australia. The use of Polish in reading and writing by the secondary students (northern suburb) appears also strikingly limited. When this sample (no. 2) was broken down into two components, one of Polish-Polish and the other of Polish-European parentage, the children from the homogeneous ethnic background were found to be considerably more literate than those of 'mixed' parentage (Table 15). The effect of mixed parentage upon the students' use of Polish is revealed clearly in the instance of three tertiary Polish samples. Reading and writing in Polish declines steadily from those who have both parents Polish to those from Polish-other European marriages and still further to those of Polish-Australian parentage.

Although there appears no clear pattern in the reading and writing practices of the different samples in their ethnic languages, one trend is consistent: there is very little reading of **books** written in languages other than English. The only apparent anomaly in this pattern is that of the primary school children of Polish parents in Canberra. Harvey herself has commented, however, that this unexpectedly high figure (40% read books in Polish 'regularly' or 'sometimes') reflects the reading these 10-12 year olds did from their textbooks at Saturday school (and 25, or 68%, reported that they had attended Polish school for at least some time).

3.2. *COMMAND OF ETHNIC LANGUAGE*

3.2.1. Understanding

Figures on command of Polish (which are based on respondents' self-assessment) show that the vast majority of the tertiary and secondary students of Polish-Polish (samples 1 and 2) claim to have a fair to very good understanding of Polish (Table 16). Over three quarters of

the Italian secondary students (northern suburb) claimed this level of
competence in understanding Italian; in a sample of Italian schoolgirls
(sample 4), the Italian interviewer estimated that, in her opinion,
69% of the girls could understand Italian fairly to very well. The
proportions of those claiming competence in understanding Polish among
the tertiary students of Polish-other European and Polish-Australian
parentages fell markedly to 47% and 11% (sample 1) respectively. The
corresponding figure for secondary students of Polish-other European
parentage (sample 2) was 47%. Thus it is in this particular area of lin-
guistic competence that children from homogeneous ethnic background
show their greatest strength.

3.2.2. Speaking

The proportions of students claiming to speak their ethnic language
with any degree of command are rather lower than for understanding.
However, still around three quarters of the students of Polish-Polish
parentage (tertiary, secondary and primary) claim to speak their ethnic
tongue fairly to very well. The effect of mixed Polish marriages again
shows clearly. Thus for the tertiary and secondary school (central
area and northern suburb) students of Polish-other European parentage,
the proportions claiming to speak Polish fairly to very well were 22%,
23% and 36% respectively (Table 16). Again from the tertiary and
secondary (central area) samples, only one tertiary student of Polish-
Australian parentage claimed to be able to speak Polish at this level
of competency.

In the case of the students of Italian parentage, also two thirds
to three quarters claimed to speak Italian fairly to very well, al-
though the Italian interviewer's assessment on 61 of the schoolgirls
puts the proportion with this degree of fluency somewhat lower: 53%.
Only about two fifths of the Italians (northern suburb) and Dutch
(central area) secondary students claimed a fair to good command in
speaking their respective ethnic languages.

3.2.3. Reading and writing

It is apparent that command of the ethnic language lies predomi-
nantly in the realms of understanding and, to a lesser extent, speaking.
The ethnic tongue is not adequately grasped at the levels of reading
and writing in the second generation, which means that the verbal
aspects acquired through conversation will represent the only linguis-
tic elements filtering through to the third generation. A sizeable
minority of students of Italian parentage in the central area schools
(48% of the Italian-born and 42% of the Australian-born) and in the

Italian schoolgirls sample (43%) did claim a 'more than a little'
command in reading Italian, and the 1b generation central area Italians
did also in writing (41%). The remaining samples contained two thirds
or more of students who had to admit they had no, or very little,
competency in reading and writing their ethnic language (Table 17).

3.3.   *ATTITUDES TO ETHNIC LANGUAGE AND CULTURE*

3.3.1.   Attitudes of ethnic students

Table 18 summarizes the attitudes of ethnic children to the study
of their mother tongue at school. At the time of the investigations
no Polish, Greek, Dutch or Latvian was offered at any of the South
Australian schools. Italian language was taught only sporadically at
two Adelaide convent schools and it was not taught at any of the
schools from which our samples were drawn.[12]

In general terms more than two thirds of the ethnic youth indicated
their willingness to study their mother tongue had it been offered at
school. The Polish tertiary sample of mono-ethnic parentage displayed
a particularly high proportion (90%) of those claiming that they would
have studied Polish during their school days. It is of interest that
although the degree of interest in ethnic language studies drops in the
case of students from mixed ethnic background, still two thirds of
such students at tertiary institutions stated that they would have
studied Polish. (Percentage for samples 2b and 7b cannot be deemed as
a reliable guide in view of the very small student numbers).

The opinions of the sample of Italian schoolgirls on the subject of
learning their ethnic language at school is of special interest. Our
study reveals that Italian, or more correctly its numerous dialects
as used in Australia, can be regarded as predominantly an oral tongue
and that the girls' knowledge of the standard and literary forms of the
language is very limited. The girls' parents were predominantly of
rural background (70 out of 95 girls had parents in this category) and
their 'imported' educational deficiencies ensured that ethnic linguis-
tic stocks which were available to them in the home situation were of
a restricted kind. The lack of familiarity with Italian literature
was made manifest in the girls' replies to the question on what they
desired to know about Italy. As many as 75 (79%) actively wanted to
learn more about their country of origin, but of these only eight (8%)
would have liked to know more about Italian literature, in contrast to
the interest shown for 'places' (45%), 'way of life' (52%) and 'art'
(34%).

Yet these girls demonstrated a deep thirst for their linguistic and

cultural heritage, provided that the subject was given full academic status and included in the school curriculum. An attempt was then made to assess the girls' active commitment towards maintenance of the Italian language in Australia. Only four girls were unfavourable to some form of preservation of their ethnic language, and 10 more did not care very deeply about it. The rest showed varying degrees of involvement. 21 girls (22%) were in favour of preserving Italian to the extent that they wished to 'keep it up' as far as **speaking** was concerned; 19 girls (20%) would 'try to improve it on their own' by **reading** in Italian; 38 girls (40%) expressed an active desire to undertake **formal instruction** in standard Italian; and two would go as far as to study it at tertiary level.

It would seem therefore that not more than 60% would like to extend mastery of their mother tongue to reading and writing, as well as speaking, and not more than 40% were prepared to undertake serious formal study. Considering that most of the girls speak dialect at home, the 40% for formal study in standard Italian is not unimpressive. Of even greater interest was the girls' response to the possible introduction of Italian into the school curriculum on a formal basis, when 80% of the girls expressed their approval, with only 13% dissenting and 7% preferring to reserve their judgement. Nor was this approval merely for the sake of the other girls - Italian or Australian - since almost the same number (82%) wished to take such studies themselves, once courses were introduced into their school.

There may appear some contradiction between the over 80% willingness to take Italian when introduced to their school and only 40% preparedness to try to maintain Italian in Australia by systematic and formal study of the standard form of this language. What the 80% school response indicates is that, given Italian courses at school, many girls would prefer to take them in preference to some other school subjects. The official sanction of approval which the school would thereby confer on their mother tongue, and its consequent rise in status, may also have influenced some girls to decide to opt for such study, a course which they would not be sufficiently strongly motivated to follow outside school hours.

The attitudes of upper primary school children to bilingualism and ethnic language maintenance are revealing, although as Harvey warns, "the children's answers must be viewed with caution". Of the Polish and Dutch school children in the Canberra (No. 5) sample, 95% believed that it was useful to be bilingual, and 91% of the Polish and 83% of the Dutch children stated that they would like their **own** children to be bilingual. The reasons they gave for preserving their ethnic lan-

guage can be divided into: maintenance of cultural heritage; economic
(useful in interpreting or for export business); travel; talking to
other migrants; talking to family; and education (for studying a lan-
guage at secondary school, or tertiary level, or helping one to learn
another language). When the interviewees were thinking about their
own use for two languages, they often added a further category, namely
that of secrets (to share with ethnic peers).

It is interesting to note that although only three children were
ready to commit themselves to maintenance of their ethnic cultures on
purely traditional grounds, Polish children clearly wanted this for
their own children. Yet another marked difference between the two
groups was apparent from a question asking which languages they wanted
their children to speak. Of the Polish sample, 81% (30) wanted their
children to speak Polish and English (and another 5% wanted Polish and
French), yet of the 39 Dutch children wanting their offspring to be
bilingual, 15 did not choose their mother tongue.

3.3.2. Attitudes of Anglo-Australian students

Half of the tertiary students and a third or more of the secondary
students indicated that they would have studied ethnic languages and
cultures had these been offered at school (Table 18). The difference
between the two secondary samples may be attributed to the fact that the
northern suburb sample was drawn from a high school (45% willing to
study ethnic language and culture), whereas the north-western suburb
sample was recruited from a technical school with no tradition of
language teaching (31%).

3.4. ATTENDANCE AT ETHNIC SATURDAY SCHOOLS

The figures on the attendance of ethnic youth at schools teaching
their native tongue and culture outside normal school hours are listed
in Table 14. Students of Polish origin clearly stand out as the most
assiduous attenders, with more than two thirds in case of those with
mono-ethnic background claiming to have attended such schools (samples
1a, 2a and 5a). Just less than half of students of mixed Polish-other
European parentage reported attendance (samples 1b and 2b). The
central area Polish samples stand out as exceptions to this trend.
These children come from areas of high Southern European concentrations
and a proportion of them attended two large technical schools.

The five Italian samples reveal that the Italian ethnic group has
one of the least developed systems of ethnic Saturday schools (the
attendance figures ranged from 12 to 24%). Italian students showing

lowest attendance at ethnic schools were those from north (16%) and
north-west suburbs (12%) (areas known for their high proportion of
Polish immigrants). To the authors' knowledge there was only one
Italian Saturday school in this area.

Among our sample of 95 Italian schoolgirls only 23 (24%) had ever
attended such ethnic classes and only nine of them were still attending
at time of the study. Reasons given for non-attendance ranged from
'no interest' (12%), 'too much work' at the Australian school (15%),
to the belief that there was 'no need' for them (21%). Of the 23 who
had attended such classes, 16 attended for not less than one year and
only three for more than three years. This dismal state of Italian
studies was not counterbalanced by a great deal of home learning, for
of the 71 girls who did not attend such classes, only four gave as the
reason the fact that they were being taught Italian at home.

None of the Dutch in the central area of Adelaide had ever attended
a Dutch ethnic school; in fact, at the time of the study, there was no
evidence of the existence of any formal Dutch classes.

4. CONCLUSIONS

As has been indicated, the construction of a personal ethnic linguis-
tic system by a migrant child is dependent on, (a) the quality of the
ethnic linguistic stock in Australia; (b) the accessibility of that
stock to him; and (c) his willingness to make use of it.

The Australian immigration policy since the second world war has
favoured the entry of unskilled manual labourers from Europe.[13] As a
consequence, the quality of most of the ethnic linguistic pool is re-
stricted. Lack of any systematic ethnic language instruction in
Australian schools has further limited the capacity of the ethnics to
construct viable linguistic systems. Ethnic schools, operating outside
normal school hours, have proved largely ineffective due to lack of
financial resources and qualified teaching personnel. One further
difficulty has been the geographical distances in Australian cities and
lack of transport which prevented many of the early post-war settlers
from attending ethnic schools. Finally, the Anglo-conformist ideology
weakened the tendency of many of the migrant children to activate the
meagre ethnic linguistic resources which were available to them.

The results discussed in the previous section make manifest the
devastation of the ethnic linguistic reservoirs in Australia among
second generation immigrants. Our findings show that even the home
domain is not always secure for the ethnic tongue. The ethnic groups
do show some variation in the degree of ethnic language erosion in the

home domain, although the overall pattern is the same and spells ex-
tinction of ethnic tongues (at best) by the third or fourth generation.

Recent reports on the increase of **interest** in things ethnic among
third and later generations of Americans of Continental European
descent (e.g. Greeley,1971) do not imply a resurgence, or some kind of
spectacular resurrection, of the still rapidly fading ethnic languages.
For example, the figures on Polish ethnic parish schools in the U.S.
show the continual shrinking in numbers of both schools and pupils
(Sojka,1974). A mere interest in a culture is insufficient to revive
declining stocks and diminishing access. A transmission chain, once
ruptured, is extremely difficult to re-establish, even assuming the
reappearance of positive attitudes to the construction of ethnic lin-
guistic systems.

The process of decline in ethnic languages in Australia, where this
process has not yet advanced to the point of no return, could only be
arrested by developing a tradition of linguistic functional differen-
tiation, with the ethnic tongue retaining the home, extended family,
and possibly church and neighbourhood domains as its special preserves,
and English maintaining its ascendance over the domains of work, and
civic and commercial affairs.

For stable bilingualism to survive in Australia, the ethnic family
need transmit only the ethnic component of the dual (bilingual) system.
In America children who had become bilingual, as Fishman (1972:9) puts
it, "in the very bosom of the family and the immigrant neighbourhood",
increasingly abandoned their ethnic language "as they passed to and
through their English speaking schools, their English speaking careers
and their English speaking neighbourhoods. Such children raised their
own children in English".

The implications of American developments are quite obvious. With
the exception of occupations involving the skills of a translator and
interpreter, and possibly that of a teacher of ethnic languages, in
Australia, just as much as in America, English is the only language
with unmistakably utilitarian functions outside the home and immigrant
organization. Thus if ethnic tongues are to survive in Australia, the
home and other ethnic structures must continue to exist as distinct
and autonomous domains. Indeed, we are in agreement with Fishman,
that the development of a stable and balanced dual system of linguistic
values can only take place if there are domains in which the ethnic
language - and none other - is required for group membership. When
such domains cease to exist, ethnic languages can no longer be retained.

It is our view, however, that the preservation of the home domain as
the last bastion of the ethnic tongue is not a sufficient guarantee of

ethnic language perpetuation. The positive attitudes of ethnic chil-
dren to the study of their mother tongue, as outlined earlier in this
chapter, must be given the chance to find expression as tendencies in
the construction of more sophisticated and elaborated ethnic codes.
The figures obtained in our Adelaide studies in regard to the reading
and writing ability show that only a sustained effort by the school
system can reverse the process of the depletion of Australia's ethnic
linguistic resources before they run dry for ever.

To achieve a self-reproducing pool of ethnic linguistic values, it
will, therefore, be necessary to structure the system of education so
as to ensure that individuals are given the opportunity to construct
twin systems of linguistic values at approximately equal level of
sophistication. It is our view that, in the long run, the home domain
can be preserved for the mother-tongue only if the young ethnics can
converse in their ethnic language upon topics appropriate to their
education and interests.

Educational authorities in Australia are at long last beginning to
forsake their former tradition of inactivity, indifference - even at
times, a thinly veiled hostility - to the maintenance and development of
ethnic languages and cultures. After the introduction of 'migrant
English', we now witness such moves as the establishment by the
Australian Minister of Education of the Migrant Languages Committee to
examine the possibility of the initiation, and in a few instances of
the extension, of the teaching of ethnic languages in both State and
independent schools.

The educational innovations now being considered in Australia in-
clude a variety of approaches, one of them being the development by
the State education departments of some of the classes in ethnic
languages, which would operate outside normal school hours but
would be provided with finance and premises, in exchange for some
degree of supervision over syllabuses and qualifications of the teach-
ing staff. While such approaches might represent a useful interim
measure and possibly a more lasting solution for languages of the nu-
merically smaller ethnic groups, the more fully fledged culturally
pluralistic innovations would require the setting up of bilingual edu-
cation programmes in primary schools situated in areas of high migrant
concentration and the introduction of ethnic language electives in
most Australian secondary schools.

TABLE 1

ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - SPEAKING

Adelaide Tertiary 'Poles' (Polish-Polish Parentage Only)

(Sample 1)

Adelaide Tertiary Students (N = 63) of Polish-Polish parentage speaking to:	Polish		Mixture Pol/Eng		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. grandparents	13	93	1	7	0	–	14	100
2. older relatives	23	74	6	19	2	6	31	100
3. father	38	62	11	18	12	20	61	100
4. mother	35	56	16	25	12	19	63	100
5. parents' ethnic friends	42	67	17	27	4	6	63	100
6. older siblings	0	–	6	17	30	83	36	100
7. younger siblings	0	–	3	9	32	91	35	100
8. cousins own age	2	9	2	9	19	83	23	100
9. own ethnic friends outside university	1	2	11	18	49	80	61	100
10. own ethnic friends within university	0	–	6	10	55	90	61	100

TABLE 2

ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - SPEAKING

Adelaide Schoolgirls of Italian Origin

(Sample 4)

Schoolgirls (N = 95) of Italian parentage speaking to:	Italian (Standard or Dialect)		Mixture Ital/ English		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. older relatives	60	76	11	14	8	10	79	100
2. father	40	42	34	36	21	22	95	100
3. mother	56	60	25	27	13	14	94	101
4. parents' ethnic friends	56	60	17	18	20	22	93	100
5. siblings	3	3	14	15	76	82	93	100
6. own ethnic friends	0	–	12	13	83	87	95	100

TABLE 3

ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - SPEAKING

Canberra 'Poles'

(Sample 5)

Canberra Children (N = 37) of **Polish** parentage speaking to:	Speak Polish always		Speak Polish sometimes		Speak Polish never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. grandfather	4	50	4	50	o	–	8	100
2. grandmother	8	62	4	31	1	8	13	101
3. other relatives	13	65	4	20	3	15	20	100
4. father	13	37	20	57	2	6	35	100
5. mother	16	46	17	48	2	6	35	100
6. adult ethnic family friends	23	66	9	26	3	9	35	101
7. siblings	0	–	17	50	17	50	34	100
8. other ethnic children	0	–	11	32	23	68	34	100
9. for prayers	7	19	5	14	24	67	36	100

TABLE 4

ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - SPEAKING

Canberra 'Dutch'

(Sample 5)

Canberra Children (N = 50) of **Dutch** parentage speaking to:	Speak Dutch always		Speak Dutch sometimes		Speak Dutch never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. grandfather	3	20	8	53	4	27	15	100
2. grandmother	7	27	9	35	10	38	26	100
3. other relatives	5	16	4	12	23	72	32	100
4. father	2	4	18	37	29	59	49	100
5. mother	2	4	17	34	31	62	50	100
6. adult ethnic family friends	3	6	11	22	36	72	50	100
7. siblings	0	–	13	27	36	73	49	100
8. other ethnic children	0	–	8	16	42	84	50	100
9. for prayers	0	–	2	6	31	94	33	100

TABLE 5
ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE (SPEAKING)*
Central Area 'Poles'
(Sample 3)
All figures in this table are expressed in % form

Students speaking to:	Polish–Polish parentage (n=38)				Polish–European parentage (n=31)				Polish–Anglo–Saxon parentage (n=27)			
	Ethnic Lang.	Mixture	English	Unknown	Ethnic Lang.	Mixture	English	Unknown	Ethnic Lang.	Mixture	English	Unknown
1. Parents	42	26	32	–	16	23	61	–	–	–	100	–
2. Parents' Ethnic friends	39	18	39	3	23	6	61	10	–	4	92	4
3. Siblings	–	11	66	24	3	13	68	16	–	–	100	–
4. Own Ethnic friends (parents present)	11	13	76	–	–	3	97	–	–	–	100	–
5. Own ethnic friends (parents absent)	8	8	84	–	–	3	97	–	–	–	100	–

*Data in Tables 5, 6 and 7 were first recorded in R. Wiseman's M.Ed. thesis entitled 'An investigation into the social integration and academic achievement of students of Dutch, Italian and Polish parentage in South Australian secondary schools', University of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1974.

TABLE 6

ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE (SPEAKING)

Central Area 'Italians'

(Sample 3)

All figures in this table are expressed in % form

Students speaking to:	Italian-born (n=114)				Australian-born (n=186)			
	Ethnic Lang.	Mixture	English	Unknown	Ethnic Lang.	Mixture	English	Unknown
1. Parents	77	18	5	-	36	28	36	-
2. Parents' Ethnic Friends	35	18	48	-	29	14	50	6
3. Siblings	8	14	73	5	1	8	85	6
4. Own ethnic friends (parents present)	16	14	69	1	15	11	74	-
5. Own ethnic friends (parents absent)	12	10	78	1	7	7	86	-

TABLE 7

ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE (SPEAKING)

Central Area 'Dutch'

(Sample 3)

All figures in this table are expressed in % form

Students speaking to: (n=42)	Ethnic Lang.	Mixture	English	Unknown	Total
1. Parents	12	17	71	—	100
2. Parents' Ethnic Friends	12	7	76	5	100
3. Siblings	7	5	88	—	100
4. Own Ethnic friends (parents present)	7	10	83	—	100
5. Own Ethnic friends (parents absent)	5	10	86	—	100

TABLE 8

ACTIVE LINGUISTIC USAGE - SPEAKING

Adelaide Tertiary Second Generation 'Latvians'

(Latvian - Latvian Parentage only)(n=42)

Adelaide Tertiary Latvians speaking to:	Mainly Latvian		Mixture Latv/Eng		English only	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Parents	24	57	12	29	6	14
2. Siblings	8	19	16	38	18	43

TABLE 9
ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - SPEAKING

9(a)   North-Western Suburb Italians
(Sample 7a)

Children speaking to:	Italian		Mixture Italian/English		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Parents	12	46	11	42	3	12	26	100
2. Siblings	1	4	5	19	20	77	26	100

9(b)   North-Western Suburb Greeks
(Sample 7b)

Children speaking to:	Greek		Mixture Greek/English		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Parents	7	(50)	5	(36)	2	(14)	14	100
2. Siblings	0	-	4	(29)	10	(71)	14	100

9(c)   Adelaide Greeks
(Sample 6)

Children speaking to:	Greek		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Father	30	71	12	29	42	100
2. Mother	36	86	6	14	42	100
3. Siblings	0	-	42	100	42	100

TABLE 10

PASSIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - HEARING

Adelaide Tertiary 'Poles' (Polish-Polish Parentage Only)

(Sample 1)

Adelaide tertiary students (N = 63) of **Polish-Polish** parentage hearing from:	Polish		Mixture Polish/English		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. grandparents	13	93	1	7	0	–	14	100
2. older relatives	27	87	3	10	1	3	31	100
3. father	44	72	13	21	4	7	61	100
4. mother	43	68	16	25	4	6	63	99
5. parents' ethnic friends	48	76	15	24	0	–	63	100
6. older siblings	1	3	5	14	27	82	33	100
7. younger siblings	0	–	5	13	34	87	39	100
8. cousins own age	2	9	2	9	19	83	23	101
9. own ethnic friends outside university	1	2	12	20	48	79	61	101
10. own ethnic friends within university	0	–	6	10	55	90	61	100

TABLE 11

PASSIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - HEARING

Adelaide Schoolgirls of Italian Origin

(Sample 4)

Schoolgirls (N = 95) of **Italian** parentage hearing from:	Italian (Standard or Dialect)		Mixture Italian/English		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. father	66	70	17	18	11	12	94	100
2. mother	75	80	14	15	5	5	94	100

TABLE 12
PASSIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - HEARING
Canberra 'Poles'
(Sample 5)

Canberra children (N = 37) of Polish parentage hearing from:	Hear Polish always		Hear Polish sometimes		Hear Polish never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. grandfather	6	75	2	25	0	–	8	100
2. grandmother	10	77	3	23	0	–	13	100
3. other relatives	14	70	5	25	1	5	20	100
4. father	26	74	9	26	0	–	35	100
5. mother	21	60	14	40	0	–	35	100
6. adult ethnic family friends	33	89	4	11	0	–	37	100
7. siblings	0	–	16	47	18	53	34	100
8. church	14	41	11	32	9	26	34	99

TABLE 13
PASSIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - HEARING
Canberra 'Dutch'
(Sample 5)

Canberra children (N = 50) of Dutch parentage hearing from:	Hear Dutch always		Hear Dutch sometimes		Hear Dutch never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. grandfather	10	67	5	33	0	–	15	100
2. grandmother	16	62	9	35	1	4	26	101
3. other relatives	9	28	10	31	13	41	32	100
4. father	7	14	37	76	5	10	49	100
5. mother	8	16	33	66	9	18	50	100
6. adult ethnic family friends	20	40	27	54	3	6	50	100
7. siblings	0	–	15	31	34	69	49	100
8. church	0	–	1	6	17	94	18	100

TABLE 14

PASSIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - HEARING

14(a)   North-Western Suburb Italians
(Sample 7a)

Children hearing from:	Italian		Mixture Italian/English		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. parents	13	50	11	42	2	8	26	100

14(b)   North-Western Suburb Greeks
(Sample 7b)

Children hearing from:	Greek		Mixture Greek/English		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. parents	6	(43)	6	(43)	2	(14)	14	100

14(c)   Adelaide Greeks
(Sample 6)

Children hearing from:	Greek		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. parents	38	90	4	10	42	100

TABLE 15

USE OF ETHNIC LANGUAGE: READING AND WRITING

SAMPLE	SAMPLE NO.	N	READ NEWSPAPERS		READ BOOKS		RECEIVE LETTERS		WRITE LETTERS	
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Tertiary Poles (P-P)*	1	63								
regularly			6	10	2	3	9	14	6	10
sometimes			36	57	24	38	23	37	24	38
never			21	33	37	59	31	49	33	52
Tertiary Poles (P-E)*	1	28								
regularly			0	–	0	–	0	–	1	4
sometimes			14	50	7	25	10	36	13	46
never			14	50	21	75	18	64	14	50
Tertiary Poles (P-A)*	1	9								
regularly			0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–
sometimes			2	(22)	0	–	2	(22)	0	–
never			7	(78)	9	(100)	7	(78)	9	(100)
Northern Suburb Poles (P-P)	2	15								
regularly			0	–	0	–	3	(20)	1	(7)
sometimes			4	(27)	3	(20)	2	(14)	4	(27)
never			11	(73)	12	(80)	10	(67)	10	(67)
Northern Suburb Poles (P-E)	2	17								
regularly			0	–	0	–	2	(12)	0	–
sometimes			1	(6)	2	(12)	5	(30)	5	(30)
never			16	(94)	15	(88)	10	(59)	12	(70)
Canberra Poles	5	37								
regularly			1	3	3	8			NO	
sometimes			9	24	12	32	yes	35	FIGURES	
never			27	73	22	60	no	65		
Adelaide Greeks	6	42								
regularly			3	7	0	0	2	5	3	7
sometimes			19	46	2	4	18	43	15	36
never			20	47	40	96	22	52	24	57

* The symbol (P-P) indicates that both parents are of Polish origin, (P-E) indicates
a 'mixed' Polish-other European parentage, and (P-A) Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage.

TABLE 15 (cont.)

SAMPLE	SAMPLE NO.	N	READ NEWSPAPERS		READ BOOKS		RECEIVE LETTERS		WRITE LETTERS	
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Northern Suburb Poles (P-P)	2	15								
regularly			0	–	0	–	3	(20)	1	(7)
sometimes			4	(27)	3	(20)	2	(14)	4	(27)
never			11	(73)	12	(80)	10	(67)	10	(67)
Northern Suburb Poles (P-E)	2	17								
regularly			0	–	0	–	2	(12)	0	–
sometimes			1	(6)	2	(12)	5	(30)	5	(30)
never			16	(94)	15	(88)	10	(59)	12	(70)
Canberra Poles	5	37								
regularly			1	3	3	8				NO
sometimes			9	24	12	32	yes	35		FIGURES
never			27	73	22	60	no	65		
Adelaide Greeks	6	42								
regularly			3	7	0	0	2	5	3	7
sometimes			19	46	2	4	18	43	15	36
never			20	47	40	96	22	52	24	57
Canberra Dutch	5	50								
regularly			1	2	0	0				
sometimes			6	12	5	10	yes	36		NO
never			43	86	45	90	no	64		FIGURES
Northern Suburb Italians	2	38								
regularly			5	13	1	2	7	18	2	5
sometimes			10	29	6	16	12	32	11	29
never			23	63	31	82	19	50	25	66
Italian Schoolgirls	4	95								
yes			37	39	13	14	26	27	37	39

	READ SCHOOL-BOOKS		WRITE SCHOOL EXERCISES		WRITE SCHOOL ESSAYS	
	10	11	13	14	4	4

TABLE 16

COMMAND OF ETHNIC LANGUAGE - UNDERSTANDING AND SPEAKING

All the figures in this table are expressed in percentage form

SAMPLE	SAMPLE NO.	N	VERY WELL	FAIRLY WELL	NOT VERY WELL	ONLY A FEW WORDS	NONE
Tertiary Poles (P-P)[†]	1	63					
Understanding (S/A)[††]			46	44	6	2	2
Speaking (S/A)			33	43	19	3	2
Tertiary Poles (P-E)[†]	1	28					
Understanding (S/A)			11	36	14	18	22
Speaking (S/A)			11	11	32	25	22
Tertiary Poles (P-A)[†]	1	9					
Understanding (S/A)			–	(11)	(11)	(33)	(44)
Speaking (S/A)			–	(11)	–	(44)	(44)
Northern suburb Poles (P-P)	2	15					
Understanding (S/A)			27	60	7	7	–
Speaking (S/A)			27	40	27	7	–
Northern suburb Poles (P-E)	2	17					
Understanding (S/A)			12	35	24	30	–
Speaking (S/A)			12	24	12	53	–
Central Area Poles (P-P)	3	38					
Speaking (S/A)				71*	24*		5
Central Area Poles (P-E)	3	31					
Speaking (S/A)				23*	13*		64
Central Area Poles (P-A)	3	27					
Speaking (S/A)				0*	26*		74
Canberra Poles	5	37					
Speaking (S/A)			27	49		24**	–
Central Area Dutch	3	42					
Speaking (S/A)				43*	38*		19
Central Area Italians	3	300					
Speaking (S/A)				76*	20*		4
Italian Schoolgirls	4						
Speaking (61: I/A)[††]			28	25	44	3	–
Speaking (34: S/A)				68	15		17
Understanding (91: I/A)			34	35	24	7	–
Northern Suburb Italians	2	38					
Understanding (S/A)			16	63	21	0	–
Speaking (S/A)			8	34	42	16	–
Tertiary Latvians							
Speaking (S/A)	8	42	26	43	14	10	7

* In the 'Central Area' samples the gradings used were: 'more than a little', 'a little' and 'none'.

** In the 'Canberra' sample the grading used was "badly".

† The symbol (P-P) indicated that both parents are of Polish origin. (P-E) indicates a 'mixed' Polish-other European parentage, and (P-A) Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage.

†† S/A stands for self-assessment and I/A for interviewer-assessment.

TABLE 17

COMMAND OF ETHNIC LANGUAGE - READING AND WRITING

	SAMPLE NO.	N	MORE THAN LITTLE %	VERY LITTLE %	NONE %
READING:					
Central Area Poles (P-P)	3	38	26	18	56
Central Area Poles (P-E)	3	31	13	3	84
Central Area Poles (P-A)	3	27	7	-	93
Central Area Italians (Italian born)	3	113	48	25	27
Central Area Italians (Australian born)	3	187	42	17	42
Central Area Dutch	3	42	36	21	43
Italian schoolgirls	4	95	43	25	32
WRITING:					
Central Area Poles (P-P)	3	38	24	8	69
Central Area Poles (P-E)	3	31	13	3	84
Central Area Poles (P-A)	3	27	4	4	92
Central Area Italians (Italian born)	3	113	41	17	42
Central Area Italians (Australian born)	3	187	25	17	58
Central Area Dutch	3	42	21	7	71
Italian Schoolgirls	4	95	33	18	49

TABLE 18
WILLINGNESS TO STUDY ETHNIC LANGUAGES AND CULTURES
IF THEY HAD BEEN OFFERED AT SCHOOL

SAMPLE	SAMPLE NO.	YES N	YES %	NO N	NO %	UNDECIDED N	UNDECIDED %	TOTAL N	TOTAL %
Tertiary Poles (P-P)	1a	57	90	6	10	3	11	63	100
Tertiary Poles (P-E)	1b	19	68	6	21	3	11	28	100
Tertiary Poles (P-A)	1c	6	(67)	3	(33)			9	100
Northern Suburb Poles (P-P)	2a	9	(60)	6				15	100
Northern Suburb Poles (P-E)	2b	2	(12)	15	(88)			17	100
Canberra Poles	5a	27	73	6	16	4	11	37	100
Italian Schoolgirls	4	78	82	10	11	7	7	95	100
Northern Suburb Italians	2c	28	74	10	26			38	100
North-western Suburb Italians	7a	13	50	13	50			261	100
Canberra Dutch	5b	36	72	14	28			50	100
North-western Suburb Greeks	7b	4	(29)	7	(50)	3	(21)	14	100
Tertiary Anglo-Australians	9	185	50	180	49	4	1	369	100
Northern Suburb Anglo-Australians	2d	47	45	58	55	0	-	105	100
North-western Suburb Anglo-Australians	7c	44	31	79	55	21	15	144	101

TABLE 19

ATTENDANCE AT ETHNIC SATURDAY SCHOOL*

SAMPLE	SAMPLE NO.	YES N	%	NO N	%	TOTAL N	%
Tertiary Poles (P-P)	1a	44	70	19	30	63	100
Tertiary Poles (P-E)	1b	13	46	15	54	28	100
Tertiary Poles (P-A)	1c	3	(33)	6	(67)	9	100
Northern Suburb Poles (P-P)	2a	10	(67)	5	(33)	15	100
Northern Suburb Poles (P-E)	2b	8	(47)	9	(53)	17	100
Central Area Poles (P-P)	3a	13	34	25	66	38	100
Central Area Poles (P-E)	3b	4	13	27	87	31	100
Central Area Poles (P-A)	3c	5	19	22	81	27	100
Canberra Poles	5a	25	68	12	32	37	100
Northern Suburb Italians	2c	6	16	32	84	38	100
Central Area Italians (Italian born)	3d	26	23	87	78	113	101
Central Area Italians (Australian born)	3d	41	22	146	78	187	100
Italian Schoolgirls	4	23	24	72	76	95	100
North-west Suburb Italians	7a	3	12	23	88	26	100
Central Area Dutch	3e	0	–	42	100	42	100

* These figures refer to attendance at ethnic school at any time, not merely current attendance.

N O T E S

1. A re-organized and condensed selection of parts of this paper will appear in Smolicz and Harris (1977).

2. For a brief discussion of the basic assumptions of humanistic sociology, see Smolicz, (1974a). Section I of this chapter is based on Smolicz (1975a).

3. Those children who were born in Australia of immigrant parents are referred to simply as the 'second generation'. Those who had been brought to Australia as young children before their speech patterns had been consolidated by years of training in their mother tongue, i.e. before the fixing of their phonation habits, are labelled as 1b generation. They are thus distinguished from 1a generation immigrants whose phonation habits had been fixed and language systems well established before arrival. M. Clyne (1972:12) suggests a gradual fixing of speech habits up to the 12th year.

4. The discussion of the 'Polish study' is extended in Smolicz and Harris (1977), with special reference to the typology of second generation into 'High Ethnics', 'Polish-Australians', 'Anglo-Assimilates' and 'Alienates', evolved on the basis of cultural and structural characteristics of the subjects.

5. As a form of shorthand, students of Polish, Italian or Anglo-Saxon origin are simply referred to as 'Poles', 'Italians', or 'Australians'. It must be emphasised, however, that we regard all such students as Australian and that strictly speaking people referred to here as simply 'Australian' should have been labelled as 'Anglo-Australian'.

6. This study formed the basis of R. Wiseman's Master of Education thesis (1974). Various aspects of this research have already been published in Smolicz and Wiseman (1971); Wiseman (1971) and Smolicz (1971).

7. Most of the interviews were conducted by R. Wiseman; some of the Polish students were interviewed by J.J. Smolicz.

8. The linguistic sections of the interviews were conducted by Dr. L. Pieraccini, a linguist from the University of Rome, who was bilingual in Italian and English and was familiar with a number of Italian dialects.

9. Results on the extent and nature of culture tension between the Greek children and their parents have been published in Salagaras, Humphris, and Harris (1974).

10. The details of the structure of the sample, together with the analyses of data, are to be found in Harris and Smolicz (1976, in press).

11. Unlike the Poles, considerably fewer Italian students in this sample spoke the ethnic tongue to parents' Italian friends than to parents themselves. This may be explained by the difficulty of communicating with people using a different dialect and the need to use then either standard Italian (mostly unknown to students) or so called 'purified dialect', i.e. a dialect made as near the standard as possible.

12. The one exception was provided by a small proportion of the central area sample which was drawn from one convent school teaching Italian. Since 1971 we have witnessed the development of Italian studies to the extent that in 1974 there were in South Australia seven state and eight Catholic secondary schools teaching Italian (still mostly in the lower forms). There were also eight state primary schools claiming to teach some form of Italian, although in this case the low qualifications of teachers and the frequently non-linguistic content of courses make such developments less meaningful.

13. The exception in this matter is provided by some central European groups, such as the Czech and Hungarian, which show a higher than average proportion of professionals and people with higher educational qualifications. The Poles who arrived here during the 1948-51 period do not fall into this category since, unlike many other Central and Eastern Europeans, they had a greater choice of the area of migration and most of the pre-war elite preferred to settle in England and the United States.

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THE LANGUAGE BEHAVIOUR OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

Ruth Johnston[1]

Language behaviour has been the preoccupation of linguists for a long time and recently attention has focused on such principles as the domain in language usage propagated by Fishman (1972), and concentrating on language usage within the home, school, office and with members of the peer group. Others, e.g. Bernstein (1968; 1971; Bernstein and Henderson, 1969) focus on the relationship between language and social class origin and draw implications from their findings for educational policies in the future.

Language domain has been empirically demonstrated in the work by Burling (1971), who shows that people in Paraguay use the Spanish language for occasions which are official in nature, and shift to an old American Indian language called Guarani for conversations of more private and intimate shades. Johnston (1972) cites the case of German adult immigrants in Western Australia, who openly state that they use English with their compatriots in the street and on public transport, but inevitably revert to German in the privacy of their own homes.

1. SPEECH ECONOMY

Apart from language domain, there is also an all-prevailing situation which for convenience could be called speech economy, a term implied in a different context by Lambert *et al*. (1968). Speech economy applies to the usage of a language, whereby the speaker makes maximum use of words familiar to him to communicate a message for which other speakers, more advanced in a particular language, would use different words of a more precise and accepted nature. A young child, whose vocabulary in English was still restricted, said on one occasion "Unset the table". Generally people say "clear the table", for the child in question, however, it appears uneconomical to use a

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new word, when one already exists in his repertoire, needing only
slight modification. A few more examples illustrate the same point.
The sister of a young girl informs her: "My nose hurts", and the young
sister remarks: "It looks hurts". At four years of age the same child
announced one night: "I am going to dress myself down, I am sleepy".
When at the age of eight the same child was writing a poem for the
school magazine, she declared in the process: "I am now a poemer".

It has been observed by the present author that immigrant children
in Australia, as well as their parents, when first learning English,
resort to the same procedure (see Johnston, 1965; 1972). Many are
reticent and shy to use more elaborate words, even when they know them.
They therefore economise in their speech and employ simple, straight-
forward words and words which present little difficulty in pronunci-
ation so that their communication can be easily understood without
extra effort.

Economising in language usage also prompts many immigrants and
their children to exaggerate in their speech by using high powered
words or slang and swear words. All of these afford a short cut in
speech, otherwise the speaker would have to employ many more words,
thus risking the possibility of making mistakes in getting his message
across. Common words, strong in meaning make the speaker more comfort-
able and leave him less exposed to challenges from others in the con-
versation.

Considerations other than the mere choice of words in one language
become relevant, when immigrants and their children are faced with the
choice between the ethnic language and the indigenous language. The
present study is mainly concerned with the immigrant children's behav-
iour in this area.

2. THE STUDY PROPER

To show the economy of speech usage by immigrant children, three
national backgrounds of children were studied. They were Polish,
German and British children of randomly selected parents residing in
the metropolitan area of Perth, Western Australia. The Polish and
German children were highly representative of the population of chil-
dren from which they were drawn, but the same cannot be said about the
British children, who belonged to a small sample of a very large popu-
lation of parents of the same national background. All children were
between 13 and 19 years of age and their division by sex is shown in
Table 1.

TABLE 1

THE SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

Children's ethnic origin	Boys	Girls	Total
Polish	17	23	40
German	19	13	32
British	19	13	32
Total	55	49	104

All children were interviewed by the author in their homes, in private for the sake of minimising the influence in answering questions. Some parents, however, insisted on their children being interviewed in the ethnic language, because "no English was allowed to be spoken in their homes". The fact that the interview schedules, containing fixed alternative and open ended questions, were printed in English as well as in Polish and German, helped to meet parents' requests. All interviews with the children were carried out in the second half of 1968 and early 1969, and each interview lasted between 45 minutes and an hour. For more detailed accounts on the methodology of data collection and samples of children used, see Johnston (1972).

3. THE POLISH AND GERMAN CHILDREN

Since the issues of language behaviour are quite different for the Polish and German children on one hand, and for the British children on the other, they are treated separately. Although the Polish and German children have a factor in common in that English is not their mother tongue, there were nonetheless other differences, which significantly affected their language behaviour. Data gathered on the parents of the children, all of whom came to Australia after the Second World War, clearly indicated that the Polish parents were less inclined to adopt the Australian way of life than were the German parents (Johnston, 1972). Polish parents' lack of assimilation in Australia was evidenced before as was their strong reluctance to depart from their ethnic language (see Johnston, 1965). The German parents were well assimilated and were keen for their children also to assimilate. Hardly any pressure existed in the German homes to retain the German language, while in the Polish homes nearly half of the parents strongly insisted that Polish be spoken at all times.[2]

Ensuing from this home background was a different attitude to language usage on the part of the children. Only seven per cent of the Polish children reported that they spoke just English at home and the corresponding figure for the German children was 41 per cent. Despite their overt language behaviour, the Polish children showed inwardly a different inclination, as nearly half of the Polish boys and one third of the girls preferred to speak English at home. The difference between the Polish boys and girls was quite wide, supporting consistently, previous findings on the same children (see Johnston, 1967a; 1967b; 1969). The Polish girls were more submissive to parental control and for the sake of peace and equanimity at home, were prepared to forgo their personal language preferences. In a loose sense, this behaviour pattern resembles what the economists would call 'a trade off'.

Polish boys generally remain in greater opposition to their parents in all aspects of assimilation and more so regarding the question of language (Johnston, 1967a). For them the problem of assimilating to the ethos of the Australian culture has greater economic and vocational advantages than for the girls (see Johnston, 1969). They were therefore quite prepared to antagonise their parents and risk severe conflict with them for the sake of acquiring proficiency in a language, which in the long run would be more beneficial to them.

Bearing in mind that all the children studied came to Australia in their infancy or were born here, the problem of bilingualism continued to be an overriding factor in their lives. This problem was accentuated by the fact that in 80 per cent of the Polish and German homes the ethnic language was being constantly used.

For the German children the above mentioned 'trade off' in language usage was not as important as for the Polish children. Admittedly, half of the German fathers and mothers preferred their children to speak in German in private conversations with them. However, this wish was never strongly implemented, and the German parents saw great merit in their children's proper mastery of the English language as they had strong expectations for their children to become fully fledged Australians. They were also keen to advance their own knowledge of the English language and were hopefully looking to their children for assistance in this matter.

Having greater freedom of choice than the Polish children, the German children, both boys and girls, made serious attempts to learn German and English equally well thus maximising their net advantages in two languages. They also encouraged their parents to speak German at home with each other and with visitors, because it gave them the opportunity to learn the language better that way. Some of these

children were also learning German at school or the University and found the practical experience of listening to the language very beneficial to their studies.

Notwithstanding the limited evidence produced in this study, it would seem that from the parents' point of view, some consideration to speech economy should also be given. It is obvious that influences exerted by parents on children placed in a bilingual situation have, in fact, a double edge. Strong insistence on the preservation of the ethnic language may lead to rebellion on the part of some children, as is shown in the case of the Polish boys in this and other studies. Compliance and submission on the part of the Polish girls may also create a latent resentment to the ethnic language, which may demonstrate itself in the total rejection of the language later when parental control ceases to operate. All in all, parents would be well advised to give their children freedom of choice in language usage. Given tolerance, the prospects for ethnic language maintenance and the intellectual curiosity for its study may be enhanced to the satisfaction of both parents and children.

4. THE BRITISH CHILDREN

It is an established fact that there are major differences in English as spoken in Britain and Australia quite obvious to the speakers. Nearly all the British boys and only half of the British girls in the sample spoke 'the way Australians do', showing again young immigrant girls' ethnic approach to language usage. Many of these girls emphasized that they were conscious of the necessity to accommodate to the Australian language phonetically and lexically, in order to avoid discrimination for speaking the English 'English' variety. For the purpose of avoiding the disadvantages of punishment and not to appear different from others, they inhibited the usage of their own language, which they valued more.

The British boys quickly became aware of the risk involved in speaking in their own style and, like the Polish boys, deliberately copied the Australians. They went further and used a great deal of Australian dialect both for the sake of economy of expression and as a denial of their own language. Half of the British parents did not mind whether their children spoke 'proper English', as they called it, or Australian English. Again they were looking at language usage in 'trade off' terms, claiming greater benefits for their children in the social and economic sense, if they spoke the Australian way.

Pressures exerted by some unassimilated British parents to preserve
their own way of speaking went unheeded and many British boys completely
ignored them. The advice given to parents before, may well apply to
British parents as well, despite the fact that their children are not
as typically bilingual as are the children of the German and Polish
parents.

N O T E S

1. I wish to thank my colleague in the Economics Department, Mr. N.S. Narayanan, for his help with an earlier draft of this paper.

2. Cf. Smolicz & Harris, in this volume.

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LANGUAGE USE OF BILINGUAL ADOLESCENTS: A SELF-APPRAISAL

Marta Rado

0. INTRODUCTION

This study reports on the sociolinguistic awareness of a group of
adolescents in the Australian speech community. Their views on lan-
guage maintenance were sought in conjunction with a Multilingual Pro-
ject, a form of bilingual education developed by this writer (Rado
1973, 1974).

Originally the Multilingual Project aimed at providing bilingual
learning materials at secondary school level for newly arrived migrant
adolescents. The main objective is to ensure continued learning in the
mother tongue over the period of second language acquisition, in other
words, until English could be used effectively as the language of in-
struction. With the support of the Education Department of Victoria
learning materials are being currently developed in English and in
parallel versions in six migrant languages, i.e. Italian, Greek, Arabic,
Turkish, Serbian and Croatian. The materials consist of study units,
supplemented by workbooks, correction guides, and audiovisual materials.
They are designed for independent or small group study and provide a
one-year course in the social studies area. They are oriented towards
study skills (Libraries and You; Communications) and problems of urban
living (Traffic Accidents; Cities of Australia), or race relations
(Myths of the Australian Aborigines).

In Australia there is a steady inflow of immigrant children belonging
to different ethnic groups. The ethnic composition of schools often
varies from year to year. Because of this instability in the school
population, the diversity of languages, the dispersion of students, the
range of school subjects and levels of achievement in these, and the
lack of accredited ethnic teachers, bilingual education based on written

assignments seems a reasonable solution. In the bilingual program
developed by the Multilingual Project the non-ethnic teacher's role is
that of organiser, and co-learner. He provides the learning materials,
supports activities, arranges cross-age tutoring and ethnic community
support.

The Multilingual Project became operative in April 1974 in 15 schools
involving approximately 500 students. It is being employed with pure
ethnic groups, mixed ethnic groups and in whole class situations which
include students with an English language background. Students are
encouraged to refer to the language version of their preference, or to
use both if they wish. Once implemented, the full scope of the scheme
became apparent. It not only supports the non-English speaker but also
offers language maintenance opportunities to the proficient bilingual
and opportunities for the monolingual Australian to become bilingual.

The fact that the Project can serve as an instrument of language
maintenance prompted this writer to question bilingual senior secondary
school students about their attitude to bilingualism. It was assumed
that they had reached a sufficient level of maturity to discuss and
substantiate any opinions they may have formed on the subject. Their
views are of special significance because they may represent those of
others who would benefit from a bilingual program.

As children have no direct say in the educational process they are
rarely consulted. This study recognises the importance of their
opinions in educational planning and thereby makes a distinction between
the wishes of migrant children and their parents. Even if these wishes
are similar, the socio-psychological pressures moulding them are not.

1. SUBJECTS

Out of 480 immigrant secondary school students who participated in
an exploratory bilingual testing project, 69 spontaneously completed a
questionnaire in both their MT (mother tongue) and in English. From
these 69 students, 29 subjects (18 boys, 11 girls) were selected for
this study, because they had completed each phase of the testing pro-
ject.

Of the 15 to 18 year old Ss, 20 were Italian speakers, (17 born in
Italy, three in Australia); five Serbo-Croatian speakers, (all born in
Yugoslavia); four Turkish speakers, (three born in Turkey, one in
Cyprus). Their English language background can be summarized as fol-
lows. Those born in Australia began learning English at the age of
four or five. Of those born abroad, fourteen had begun learning English
by the age of ten. The majority started acquiring English on arrival

in Australia, except for five students who had been studying English
for one to two years prior to migration.

Ss attended Government secondary schools in inner or industrial
suburbs of Melbourne, Victoria.

2. MATERIALS

An interview schedule was developed consisting of 125 questions
based on the following categories:

1. Students' perception of their bilingualism
2. Language maintenance: a) social networks
                          b) literacy
                          c) the long-term view
3. Language contact and sociolinguistic awareness
4. Identification and accommodation.

3. PROCEDURE

Interviews lasted about 30 minutes per S and were conducted in
English by regular school staff or a visiting teacher. Interviews
were taped with the permission of Ss and the purpose of the study was
explained to them, i.e. to seek their opinions on bilingualism and
thereby help in educational planning. Sessions took the form of struc-
tured conversations and were administered individually during normal
school hours.

4. DISCUSSION

4.1. *STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF THEIR BILINGUALISM*

The first question to clarify in the interview was why these ado-
lescents had chosen to fill in the initial questionnaire bilingually
when the directions asked for completion in the language of their pref-
erence. They ostensibly opted for both because:

(a) they enjoyed it;("I just loved to put it in both languages.")
(b) they wanted to demonstrate their expertise in both languages;
     ("If I filled it in in English, I thought you'd think I didn't
     know Croatian, or if I did otherwise, that I didn't know English.")
(c) they wanted to appear impartial in their language choice;("To
     show that there was no preference.")
(d) they felt the need for both languages to ensure complete under-
     standing with regard to themselves and the researchers. ("Some
     questions I could understand better in Italian than in English,
     some in English better than in Italian."/"If they didn't under-
     stand one, they'd understand the other.")

In view of these explanations it is not surprising that all Ss categorically declared that they wished to maintain their two languages. The reasons for wishing to do so ranged from purely personal considerations ("It means a lot to me"/"To speak to parents and friends") to a feeling that it is an asset to know more than one language ("Useful in today's world" / "The more languages you know the better") and to reasons motivated by a social conscience ("Help people"/"Understand different people").

4.2. *LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE*

4.2.1. Social networks

Ss' bilingualism was based on face to face interactions. All students reported speaking in the MT to their parents. The MT was also used in interactions with relatives and family friends, and some Italians also had the opportunity to speak it in the street and shops. With siblings there was a tendency to use both languages and with peers to use English. Teachers, school friends, shopkeepers were the main interlocutors for English. Clearly, language use is person specific. But in other respects there is little evidence of domain separation (Cf. Fishman, 1972:8). Both languages are spoken in and outside the home; during school and after school hours; in everyday conversations. There is no evidence, besides interlocutors, that place, time or topic play a perceivable role in language choice. Students were certainly not aware of it. The list of topics mentioned for the MT is similar to, but more restricted than, the one given for English. Some explicitly stated that they speak about the same things in both languages. ("Just the same as English, same topics.") Topics discussed in the MT refer to personal everyday matters which they found difficult to specify, perhaps because they were talking about them in English ("All sorts of things"/"All aspects of life").

Despite the claim that the topics of conversation are identical, the topics reported for English are more specific and range over a wider area. Once again, this may be due to the fact that interviews were conducted in English but may also be due to a greater range in English speaking networks. Additional topics for English include school work, general issues, politics, hobbies, science, technology, news, TV., sport, shopping. As one respondent remarked: "More important things are said in English than in Italian, apart from my parents."

Nevertheless, the MT as the primary language continues to play a significant role in the affective domain. ("When I speak in Italian I can really talk about my feelings much easier.")

4.2.2. Literacy

Besides opportunities to use the oral language in face to face inter-
actions, the practice of literacy skills plays an important role in lan-
guage maintenance. In this respect schools give a one-sided support.
A serious effort is made to develop the bilinguals' English but the
listening, speaking, reading and writing skills in the MT are usually
ignored. In this group, seven Italians learnt their MT at school, two
Italians and one Turk took private lessons. The rest were left to
their own devices with respect to literacy skills. Nevertheless, all
Ss reported regular reading habits in both languages. However, sig-
nificantly more time was spent reading English than reading in the MT.

While English language newspapers, magazines and books were read
regularly, those in the MT were read less often. Easy availability of
English reading materials may partly account for this. Although local
foreign-language newspapers are usually published once a week, access
to magazines and books in the MT generally depended on relatives and
friends.

4.2.3. The long-term view

Emphatically, and without exception, Ss express their intention to
pass on the MT to their children by speaking it in the home. ("I'll
teach them Croatian first and as they are living in Australia they'll
have ample time to learn English.")

Ss intend to pass on the standard language, which is referred to by
them as 'pure' or 'proper'. Although a few speak a dialect at home all
claim to know the standard language. The fact that they read in the MT
would confirm this. It is recognized by Ss that the standard language
has a wider acceptance and application. ("Won't be confined to certain
types of people to talk.")

They justified their desire for language maintenance on grounds of
family loyalty, social networks and travel. Representative answers to
the question of when would their hypothetical children use the MT in-
clude ("with relatives"/"with friends"/"when they return to Turkey").

References to probable visits to the mother country can be inter-
preted as a recognition of cultural identity and heritage. These are
sometimes directly mentioned. ("It's our own language."/"To carry on
the tradition.")

The intrinsic value of language learning and its beneficial role
in human interaction is used by most students as a further justification
for language maintenance. ("It's good to know more than one language."/
"Children who speak more than one language have a far greater under-
standing.")

Although they are optimistic that they will succeed in passing on
the MT, all but three realize that the next generation will probably
feel differently about it. Because, for children born in Australia,
English will be the MT. ("For me it was the only language I knew until
I was twelve, for them Australia will be their country.")

They are unanimous in their opinion that knowing the parents' lan-
guage will not affect their children's proficiency in English. This is
a rare linguistic insight not generally shared in a country like
Australia where bilingualism is often blamed for poor progress in
English and general school achievement. ("A knowledge of English has
not spoilt my Italian.")

4.3. *LANGUAGE CONTACT AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC AWARENESS*

Ss' sociolinguistic awareness becomes evident when interference
phenomena are discussed with them. They all admitted that they trans-
ferred lexical items and short phrases from one language to the other.
But they only illustrated English lexical transference into the MT.
This may be indicative of its more frequent occurrence (Cf. Clyne 1967,
1972; Rando 1968) but could also be due to the fact that the interviews
were conducted in English. The transfers were consistently referred to
as "simple words or easy words that anyone can understand." The most
frequently mentioned were:

(i)   routines, e.g., greetings: bye-bye, good-bye, how are you?
        hello;
(ii)   a variety of discourse responses, initiators and fillers:
        alright, O.K., thank you, nice, shut up! you know;
(iii)   a heterogeneous list of content words referring to household
        and technical items: TV heads the list, others include rubbish
        tin, washing machine and parts of a car (Cf. Clyne 1967, 1972;
        Hasselmo, 1970).

Transference was partly imputed to habit shared by other bilinguals
in Ss' environment, partly to ignorance of the language specific ex-
pression. ("From habit"/"Sometimes I'm stuck for the word.")

Although students claimed that transference is unconscious and/or
dictated by necessity they apparently do not resort to it indiscrimi-
nately. As Haugen (1953), Weinreich (1966), Clyne (1967, 1972) and
others have pointed out it is interlocutor specific, i.e., it occurs
when speaking to other bilinguals who are expected to be familiar with
both languages. ("When I talk to people I know I speak English and
Turkish.") Under these circumstances it was judged acceptable because
it did not interfere with communication. ("It's not bad as long as a

person understands you.") On the other hand it was judged desirable
to control it when talking to people of a higher status, monolinguals
or if the topic of discourse is important. ("When I talk to older
people I only speak Turkish."/"If a person speaks one language I use
one language."/"If you're talking with your friends or relatives it
can't really be bad but if you're going for a job, to an interview, if
you mixed two languages then it would be bad.") Further evidence that
transference can be partly controlled is its deliberate use as anti-
social behaviour, for keeping secrets, insulting people. ("In English
speaking company when I don't want others to understand."/"Sometimes,
when I fight with somebody, I use words in Italian they can't under-
stand.")

Some Ss rejected transference on cognitive rather than social grounds
as an impediment to language learning and clear thinking. ("Makes you
feel his thoughts are mixed up, his mind is upside down.")

Transference introduces non-standard features into a bilingual's
speech. Such features can be criterial for speakers to be judged lin-
guistically inferior. Ss intuitively felt this to be the case. As
language acquisition is based on observation of language in use, it is
imperative for the learner to have models available to him that exemp-
lify consistent norms (Ervin-Tripp, 1973:273-281). The bilingual
often lacks such norms, as the language of immigrant groups is rarely
free of transference. Therefore, the school can play an important role
in supplying the bilingual with standard models in both his languages.

4.4. *IDENTIFICATION AND ACCOMMODATION*

Immigration often entails multiple loyalties based on a diversity
of social networks and the roles played in these. In this complex
situation the advantages bilingualism may offer in terms of job oppor-
tunities appear to be of minor significance. The careers Ss regarded
as favouring bilinguals (interpreters, newspaper reporters, bank em-
ployees, travel agents, lawyers, information officers, factory person-
nel, teachers) did not influence their own career choices except for
those who wanted to become teachers or interpreters.

Career aspirations of Ss can be summed up as follows:
Of the twenty-nine Ss, twenty had professional aspirations. These
covered a wide range, including specific careers such as electronic
engineer, agricultural scientist, physicist, chemical engineer, and
others such as teacher, doctor. Four Ss planned careers in skilled
areas such as hairdresser, typist, dressmaker, tradesman. Two Ss had
chosen the performing arts - actor·and musician. Only three Ss were

uncertain, but indicated intentions to continue studying after leaving
school.

Clearly, Ss did not intend to exploit the economic value of bilin-
gualism. For them its significance may be ideological and effective
rather than practical. Indeed, it may play an important role in their
search for identity and security.

Identification is not a unilateral decision. In order to identify,
one must (1) be accepted, (2) not be seen as different by the host
society. Irrespective of future plans Ss were hesitant to assume a
purely Australian identity. Only three would have liked to be thought
of as Australians, four would have liked to be identified as bicultural,
two were unsure, and the attitude of the remaining sixteen can be sum-
med up by the defensive remark of one of them, "I don't see what's
wrong with what I am." All but three (and these three did not seek to
be identified as Australians) reported that people can tell that they
were not born here. Ss were fairly equally divided between those who
ascribed this to accent and those who thought it was their appearance
that marked them as different. Lack of complete identification there-
fore may not simply be a question of personal choice but rather a
result of the attitudes of members of the host society who ostensibly
favour assimilation, yet make this difficult in practice by constantly
drawing attention to ethnic differences. Even after 30 - 40 years of
residence, no migrant who can be identified by accent or appearance can
escape the standard question during a first encounter with Australians:
"Where do you come from?"

Under these circumstances the decision to settle permanently in
Australia may well be taken independently of Ss' avowed ethnic identity.
Nineteen planned to stay in Australia, four wished to return to their
country of origin, and six were undecided. Those who have definitely
opted for Australia have done so because they seem to have developed
an 'instrumental attachment'. According to Kelman (1972) an individ-
ual's loyalty to the nation-state is based on his 'instrumental and
sentimental attachments'. In Kelman's (1972:189) words:

> "An individual is instrumentally attached to the national
> system to the extent that he sees it as an effective vehicle
> for achieving his own ends."

Ss comments illustrate this. ("I can get better jobs."/"I find it here
much more rewarding. I see myself as an individual here, everything
is free.")

> "An individual is sentimentally attached to the national system
> to the extent that he sees it representing him - as being, in
> some central way, a reflection and extension of himself" (p.188).

Such an attachment has not been achieved by Ss. But as the two attachments can substitute for each other Ss' loyalty as citizens is not in question. On the basis of Kelman's analysis one could argue that bilinguals can accept the national ideology and learn the national language without necessarily relinquishing their ethnic language and identity.

Kelman attaches great importance to a common language because it is a "uniquely powerful instrument in unifying a diverse population" (p.185). Ss have learnt the common language, and thus have made significant progress toward involvement in the national system. But a total involvement may not be possible until native-speaker competence is achieved.

Only one S claimed perfect competence in English on a five point scale (very easy, easy, fairly easy, difficult, extremely difficult). The majority found it easy to speak English to Australian friends but were less confident about speaking to teachers, reading and writing, although they did not find these activities difficult or extremely difficult. Their perceived lack of native-speaker competence in English does not necessarily indicate that they found learning English difficult. On the contrary, most Ss said that they "just picked it up" or that they had some difficulties at first that later resolved themselves. Nevertheless, learning English without any MT support, as practised in Australian schools, can be a traumatic experience. (Boy from Yugoslavia: "At first it was difficult. When I first came to school the teacher asked me to write my name. I didn't understand so I copied the girl's name next to me."/ Girl from Yugoslavia: "Reading and writing was fairly easy, talking and pronunciation was terrible. I came here in Form 2 (Average age 12 to 13). I didn't speak all year. I understood but I'd say things wrong and they'd laugh. I tried to learn as much as I could in English. The big step regarding isolation from the others was at the end of Form 2 year when I gave a talk. Everyone clapped and I got top marks and was really happy. I became confident in myself then.")

In accordance with the generally accepted views in Australia, the educational needs of immigrant students were seen primarily by Ss in terms of learning English. Ss were unanimous in advocating the development of English teaching resources for immigrants. Those who elaborated further on the question showed a remarkable insight into the immigrant child's insecurity and isolation, created by a language barrier. ("It really gets you down, if you haven't got other people to stick by you. If you are a little kid, you think, 'What's the use of learning the language? I am not wanted anyway'.")

Two students went as far as advocating a form of bilingual education. This is the more remarkable as at the time of the interviews there were no bilingual education programs in schools, nor was this a topic of public discussion outside academic circles. ("Help them in their own language to learn.") One Italian girl was actually practising bilingual self-education. ("I read all the time. Sometimes I read the same novel in English and Italian.")

Ss also expressed the wish to help children whose family language was not English. They thought they could be of assistance by teaching these students English. Some reported having done so on several occasions. ("I do help them all the time at school. My friend, she's French, I help her at school and outside. The best thing is to speak and explain in English.") Others thought they could be useful by giving support in the MT. ("I could help by being kind, helping in their language."/"I could show them how to use both languages.")

A striking feature of all interviews was the value attached to language because it played a significant role in communication. Seventy-three statements of varying length could be classified under this category. These responses were given in a variety of contexts, such as referring to the value of bilingualism for Ss or their children, or the prospects and desirability of extending language learning in Australia in order to understand others. ("You can understand people better, people who need help."/"You can go practically anywhere in the world without being a stranger, an outsider.") It seems Ss perceived the beneficial effects of 'between-code accommodations' on intergroup relationships (Giles et al., 1973:190).

When confronted by the specific question of what sort of partner they would prefer if sharing a tent on a camping holiday, all students, except two who preferred a bilingual, said that "it would not matter" what language they spoke as long as they could communicate. They made a point of displaying their tolerance. ("I don't judge people by what they speak."/"I would like to share with a nice, kind person. Someone's nationality or what language they speak or the way they look that does not matter to me.")

This openness towards others was further reflected in their favourable attitude to language learning in general. Nine Ss were happy to learn a third language, i.e. French, the dominant foreign language taught in Australia. Among those who did not learn a third language ten would have liked to do so. The languages they mentioned were French, German, Russian, Spanish, Chinese. The importance attached to easy communication, helping others, accepting others, and learning other languages could be interpreted as a sign of insecurity. Findling

(1972:153) who researched need affiliation in bilinguals in connection with domains, quotes Atkinson's definition of this concept as "concern over establishing, maintaining, and restoring positive relationships with others."

There is evidence that Ss perceived Australians as feeling superior, indifferent and at times even hostile to immigrants who are not native speakers of English. Their remarks reflect or imply negative personal experiences in encounters with Australians, and imply also the desirability for Australians to learn another language. ("I think it would be good if everyone could speak two or three languages. When you go to another country if someone could speak your language you would not feel so lonely which you usually do."/"Yes, for them to understand. It would be easier for Australians to understand that migrants are just like any other people and have the same feelings and not that they just have funny customs, e.g. music etc. Australians should be aware of migrants and look closer at the people and see what they're like - not just superficial things like the way they dress or that they eat spaghetti."/"Some of them would say: 'It's in the interest of Italians to learn English. Why should we learn Italian? We're not going to live in Italy'.")

Need affiliation as an important factor in the maintenance of bilingualism should be researched further. It could be hypothesized that bilinguals would wish to maintain the MT because it enables them to interact freely with members of their ethnic group, whereas competence in their second language gives them access to the dominant society.

In other words, in the perception of bilinguals two language codes are necessary to satisfy their intra- and intergroup communication needs.

5. SUMMARY

This study can be seen as yielding two types of results.
1. It gives the following picture of Ss' educational situation.
   a. They are under-educated: the provisions made to maintain their mother-tongue are insufficient or nonexistent.
   b. They are underestimated: they have the ability and interest to study other foreign languages.
   c. They are underemployed: they could help other bilinguals in cross-age tutoring programs.
2. It shows that Ss perceived their bilingualism positively because:
   a. it was part of their communicative competence;
   b. it expressed their cross-cultural loyalties;
   c. it satisfied their accommodation needs.

These are sufficiently cogent reasons to warrant bilingual education
as well as other forms of support in language maintenance. Hopefully,
there are signs that this situation is gradually being acknowledged by
educators in this country.

Migrant education is at the cross-roads in Australia. Perhaps the
time has come to heed the voice of this 18-year-old Italian: "I was
born in Australia. I don't mind being called Australian, I am not
ashamed of being Italian. I'm proud of my heritage - you could say I
have two - an Australian one and an Italian one."

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TWO AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGE EDUCATION PROGRAMMES - A LINGUIST'S VIEW[1]

Susan Kaldor

For the majority of its population, Australia is a geographically
large, homogeneous speech community in which the average speaker can
travel thousands of miles (the newly introduced 'kilometre' does not
yet come natural in an Australian context) in any direction and be sure
that wherever he stops, he will find speakers with whom he shares the
same range of speech varieties and verbal repertoires. Language prob-
lems appear, in the main, relevant only to the lives of members of
various minority groups and to the lives of those who communicate fre-
quently with non-English-speaking members of such groups. However, in
recent years, Australian governments have considered the language prob-
lems of two broad categories of speakers to be of sufficient importance
to warrant the establishment of long term language education programmes.
These broad and heterogeneous categories of speakers are: (a) migrants
whose mother tongue is a language other than English and (b) Aborigines.
The purpose of this paper is to examine and compare the language educa-
tion programmes directed at each of the above-mentioned categories of
speakers from the point of view of language planning theory and with
special reference to the implications the programmes have had for
Australian linguistics.

1. MIGRANT EDUCATION (to be referred to as ME)
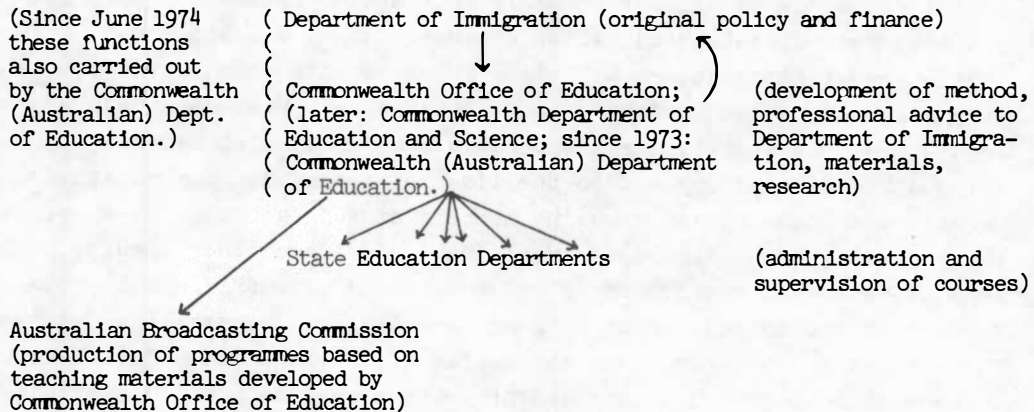
1.1. *PLANNERS, IMPLEMENTERS, AIMS*

The term 'Migrant Education' has, over the past quarter century,
come to stand for a variety of government-provided courses in English
as a Foreign Language for migrants. ME was launched in 1947 as a
service to "educate migrants in the English language and in the
Australian way of life" (Department of Immigration, 1974). The Federal

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Department of Immigration, established two years earlier to administer
and promote Australia's massive post-war immigration programme, was the
primary policy developer and managed and financed the scheme until
1974. The task of developing materials for student use, teacher train-
ing and for transmission by the media was originally performed by the
Commonwealth Office of Education. All these functions are now in the
hands of the Commonwealth Department of Education. In 1951 an agree-
ment was reached between the Federal Government and the States to the
effect that the State Education Departments would administer the pro-
gramme by taking responsibility for enrolments, the appointment and
supervision of teachers and the provision of classroom facilities.
Table 1 illustrates the administrative structure of the programme.

TABLE 1

PLANNERS AND IMPLEMENTERS OF ME

(Since June 1974   (Department of Immigration (original policy and finance)
these functions   (
also carried out   (
by the Commonwealth   (Commonwealth Office of Education;   (development of method,
(Australian) Dept.   ((later: Commonwealth Department of   professional advice to
of Education.)   (Education and Science; since 1973:   Department of Immigra-
                           (Commonwealth (Australian) Department   tion, materials,
                           (of Education.)   research)

                             State Education Departments   (administration and
                                                                        supervision of courses)

Australian Broadcasting Commission
(production of programmes based on
teaching materials developed by
Commonwealth Office of Education)

The courses were designed to cater for the English language needs of
migrants wherever possible from the time they decided to emigrate to
Australia until they were ready to take their place in Australian
society without the need of an interpreter. This necessitated a var-
iety of different forms of courses, viz, instruction in source coun-
tries, on shipboard, but most importantly, 'continuation classes'
(evening classes in two weekly two-hour periods), and radio and corre-
spondence courses for those for whom class instruction could not be
arranged because of distances or other reasons.

In the early literature of ME the aim most frequently mentioned was
the 'assimilation' of newcomers.[2] Later, 'integration' gained more
currency as a term which reflects an acceptance of cultural diversity
without prejudice (Department of Immigration, 1974). For either of
these aims, a thorough working knowledge of the majority language and
of the majority culture of the nation have been considered to be essen-
tial.

1.2. TARGET POPULATION

The target population of ME, in the first twenty-three years of its operation, was adult migrants who needed help with their English. The needs of migrant children and young adolescents were over-shadowed by the more urgent need of workers and breadwinners; but it was also tacitly assumed that children would 'pick up' English more readily than their parents and that the average migrant child would, without much difficulty and without special provisions, take his place in the general Australian education system. As it was pointed out by several speakers at a recently held national conference on migrants and their communi- cation needs (Australian Association of Adult Education, 1973), this did not prove to be the case. Some migrant children and young ado- lescents have been found to have considerable, in some cases, severe, communication problems in the Australian school system. In 1970 this need was also officially recognized and a Child Migrant Education Programme was instituted.

1.3. INITIAL LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

ME was in every way a pioneering task for Australian educators in the late forties. At that time there were no departments of Linguistics at any of Australia's universities, no prior Australian experience in teaching English as a Foreign Language, and the handful of Australian linguists who worked in linguistic research and teaching had no pro- fessional organisation. Attention had only just begun to be focused on Australian English (Mitchell, 1946), a term, the mention of which, for some years to come, was to evoke an embarrassed smile from many Australians.

The developers of the programme had to look overseas for some guide- lines in general language teaching principles and in the then fast expanding field of the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language (TEFL). The journals *Language Learning* and *English Language Teaching* and the works of individual scholars engaged on the building of TEFL theory and methodology provided important sources of ideas. Fries, Lado, Palmer, Hornby and Mackey are some of the prominent names that come to mind.

1.4. EARLY PROBLEMS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF METHOD AND MATERIALS

Early problems were many and varied. Pittman, whose work was instru- mental in the development of basic principles, method, materials and teacher training, described vividly (Pittman, 1952) some of the dif- ficulties he and his collaborators had to face. An educational experi- ment had to be begun before the normal prerequisites of such experiments

(classroom, materials, qualified teachers) were available. Class popu-
lations were constantly shifting, teachers had to cope with classes in
which there was a whole spectrum of different standards of English
competence and of different linguistic, cultural and educational back-
grounds among the pupils.

   While it was possible to gain stimulation and ideas from overseas,
the materials which had to be developed needed to be uniquely
Australian, from the point of view of method suited to the teaching of
mixed classes of migrants from any of the sixty source countries as
well as from the point of view of sociolinguistic and cultural content.
The materials which resulted, in the form of the Textbook, *English for
Newcomers to Australia*,[3] the Radio booklets and Correspondence Lessons,[4]
reflected a lively new configuration of modern language teaching prin-
ciples. This blend, which was developed specially for Australian con-
ditions, has long since become identified internationally as the
'Australian Situational Method'. It has been characterized by the fol-
lowing features: meticulous grading of the material with concentration
on sentence structure; the presentation and drilling of the material by
creating 'natural situations' to suit the pattern to be taught, but
controlling structural patterns within that situation; emphasis on
aural/oral skills;[5] maximum time given to students' oral practice,
avoidance of translation and strict vocabulary control. The method has,
over the years, been elaborated on the pages of the bulletin issued to
teachers, *English...a New Language,* which has also included contrastive
studies of English and a number of migrant languages as well as reprints
of important articles on methodology.

1.5. *LATER DEVELOPMENTS*

   As the success of the ME courses became widely known, the Common-
wealth Office of Education was called upon by other government agencies
to develop materials for other target populations. One of the earliest
of such secondary developments was the preparation of materials for
Aboriginal children in the Northern Territory in the early fifties.
The syllabus was drawn up with special regard to content suitable for
young Aboriginal learners, but was, in all essential ways, "strongly
influenced by the content of courses developed for adult foreigners"
(Ruhle, 1964). In the early sixties, a new demand arose: the English
language needs of overseas (mainly Asian) students who came to
Australia to study at institutions of higher education under the
Colombo Plan, other fellowships or as private students. It was not
long before Australian expertise was not only required for teaching

English to overseas students, but also for providing training to teachers (Asian and other) in English as a Foreign Language. The University of Sydney was the first academic centre to recognize this need by the establishment of a diploma course in TEFL in 1957. Yet another development, the utilization of ME materials for the teaching of other languages in Australia as well as for the teaching of English and other languages overseas, must be mentioned (Anderson, 1965).

Within the ME programme itself, the most recent developments have occurred in four main directions: (1) taking instruction outside the school walls into the home and the work site, (2) the provision of accelerated, intensive and advanced courses, (3) the expansion of Child ME and (4) the development of research and evaluation especially in relation to Child ME (Migrant Education Programme Report, 1973).

1.6. *THE INVOLVEMENT OF LINGUISTS*

While the materials which have been developed within ME have a solid foundation in applied linguistics, the training of teachers within the programme itself has consisted mainly of exposure to TEFL and the situational method rather than of a broad introduction to general linguistics, although this situation has been changing and there is now an increasing awareness of teachers' needs for linguistics training. Academic research in such areas as the exploration of the relationship between linguistic theories and particular teaching practices, the assessment of alternative approaches to language teaching, general evaluation and the sociolinguistic validity of content, has been comparatively underdeveloped in relation to ME. The substantial amount of research that has been contributed to the programme by a handful of dedicated TEFL specialists has been mainly pragmatic and goal oriented. The success of the approach developed in the early years of the programme has largely been taken for granted and energies have been concentrated on the elaboration and perfection of that approach. Current work on the development of test materials for migrant children by the Australian Council for Educational Research represents a new research orientation involving the exploration of sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of second language acquisition by bilingual children.

1.7. *SUMMING UP ME*

ME has been essentially a single-language education programme directed at monolingual (in other languages), bilingual and multilingual speakers. It involves the teaching of the national language in order to facilitate the integration of non-English-speaking migrants into the

wider community. The Australian Situational Method which was developed
within ME has been adopted in language teaching programmes in many
parts of the world. Progression has been from adult target population
to one including children and adolescents and from a target population
consisting entirely of beginning learners to one including pupils whose
competence in English is well advanced. Emphasis in teacher training
has been on TEFL and situational method rather than on a broad founda-
tion in general linguistics.

2. (ABORIGINAL) BILINGUAL EDUCATION (to be referred to as ABE)
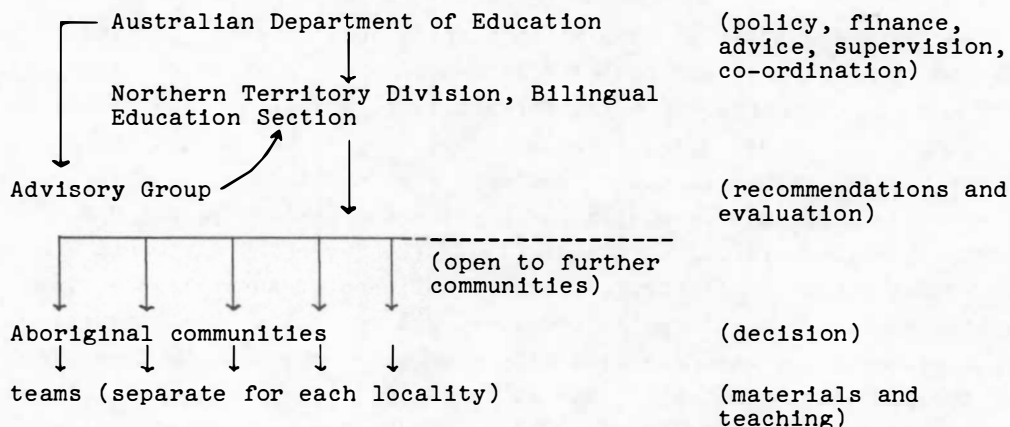
2.1. *PLANNERS, IMPLEMENTERS, AIMS*

As mentioned earlier, courses in Oral English based on ME experience
were introduced for Aboriginal children in the Northern Territory in
the fifties. However, it was only in 1973 that a language education
programme specially designed to suit the communication needs of
Aboriginal children living in Aboriginal communities was begun. ABE
was launched in December, 1972, with a press statement by the Prime
Minister that the Federal Government would "launch a campaign to have
Aboriginal children living in distinctive Aboriginal communities given
their primary education in Aboriginal languages" (McGrath, 1973). In
January, 1973, the Australian Minister for Education established an
Advisory Group, consisting of three educationists, which was to visit
communities, survey resources and make recommendations. By March, 1973,
the Australian Department of Education published a report prepared by
this Advisory Group (Watts *et al.*, 1973). By December, 1973, a further
report was published, this time on the first year of the operation of
the programme, in the course of which five schools in the Northern
Territory of Australia had introduced bilingual education.

It should be mentioned at the outset that the full title of ABE is
'Bilingual Education Programme in Schools in the Northern Territory'.
While the programme was undoubtedly envisaged as a 'campaign' towards
the establishment of bilingual education for all Aboriginal children in
Australia who live in Aboriginal communities and who speak an Aboriginal
language as their mother tongue, the Federal Government could implement
its policy directly only in the Northern Territory where it set up a
Bilingual Education Section within the Northern Territory division of
the Australian Department of Education. Aboriginal children do, of
course, live in Aboriginal communities also in several of the States
(mainly in Western Australia, South Australia and Queensland), but
decisions relating to bilingual education need to be made separately
by each of the relevant State Education Departments.

Within the Northern Territory itself, individual Aboriginal commun-
ities have been asked to make their own decisions as to whether they
wish to introduce bilingual education for their children. Where their
decision is positive, a team consisting of the Principal and teachers
of the local school, officers of the Bilingual Education division, a
resident (Summer Institute of Linguistics/or other) linguist and the
School Council, implements the programme. The structure representing
these arrangements is illustrated in Table 2.

TABLE 2

PLANNERS AND IMPLEMENTERS OF ABE

```
  ┌─── Australian Department of Education          (policy, finance,
  │                          │                      advice, supervision,
  │                          │                      co-ordination)
  │         Northern Territory Division, Bilingual
  │         Education Section
  │                    ↗     │
  ▼                  /       │
Advisory Group ─────╯        │                     (recommendations and
                             ▼                      evaluation)
  ┌────┬────┬────┬────┬ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─
  │    │    │    │    │      (open to further
  ▼    ▼    ▼    ▼    ▼       communities)
Aboriginal communities                              (decision)
  ↓    ↓    ↓    ↓
teams (separate for each locality)                  (materials and
                                                     teaching)
```

The aims of ABE were stated in the recommendations of the Advisory
Group (Watts *et al.*, 1973) as the "optimal educational, cultural and
social development of the Aboriginal people of the Northern Territory".
Bilingual Education is thus seen as an essential means to attain the
goal of the general development of Aboriginal people in the Northern
Territory.

2.2. *TARGET POPULATION AND PROGRAMME STRUCTURE*[6]

The recommendations of the Advisory Group contain two basic models
according to the availability of linguistically sound materials in the
relevant languages. Where such materials exist, the programme begins
at preschool level with the use of the Aboriginal language for most
tasks and special time set aside for the introduction of Oral English.
After preschool years, literacy is first established in the Aboriginal
language. Literacy in English is begun only when oral fluency in
English and literacy in the vernacular have been achieved. In later
primary and post-primary years English takes over as the medium of the
school subjects which are identical with primary school subjects taught

to all Australian children. The Aboriginal language is retained for
the special purpose of the learning of Aboriginal Language Arts and
Aboriginal studies. Where no linguistically sound materials are as
yet available, literacy is begun in English. Otherwise the second
model is basically similar to the first.

While Aboriginal preschool, primary and post-primary children thus
constitute the primary target population of ABE, courses have also been
established in many places for adult Aborigines as an important sup-
porting service.

2.3. *INITIAL LINGUISTIC CONTEXT*

During the quarter century which elapsed between the launching of
ME and that of ABE there had been much advance in Australian linguistics.
The main developments may be summarized as follows: (1) Australian
linguistics received great impetus through the establishment in the
early sixties of two important research organisations, viz. the
Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies and the Australian Branch
of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. (2) Several Departments and
sub-departments of Linguistics were established at Australian univer-
sities and other tertiary institutions, and (3) Australian linguists
established close communication with each other through the formation
of the Linguistic Society of Australia in 1967.[7]

Australian linguists working under the auspices of the Australian
Institute of Aboriginal Studies, the Summer Institute of Linguistics,
the universities and other research institutions have, by now, produced
a large body of valuable information on Aboriginal languages.
Australian linguistics as a research area has attracted linguists also
from outside Australia in recent years. All these factors have con-
tributed to a linguistic climate which is characterized by vigorous
activity and a sense of urgency and challenge. Important advances have
also been made in the study of Australian English.[8] Thus for the plan-
ners of ABE there is a much larger amount of material available from
Australian linguistic research than was available to the planners of
ME. Overseas experience with bilingual education and literacy pro-
grammes is, of course, also drawn on - and here the contribution of
Sarah Gudschinsky who conducted literacy workshops in Australia should
perhaps be mentioned in the first place (Leeding, 1974).

2.4. *EARLY PROBLEMS AND DEVELOPMENTS*

ABE involves a broad spectrum of language educational activity as
materials need to be prepared in a large number of languages. In the
English component of the programme, work has to be carried out on the

specific requirements of teaching English as a second language within
a bilingual education system. In the Aboriginal component of the pro-
gramme, difficult decisions have to be made concerning the choice and
role definition of particular Aboriginal languages, the designing and
standardizing of orthographies, the 'modernization' of vocabularies so
the languages may fulfil new functions (Kaldor, 1976). Research
priorities, teacher training, source materials and evaluation all re-
quire early attention. The multiplicity of languages in which bilingual
education may be desired by Aboriginal communities adds to the com-
plexity of the task. The recruiting and retention of teaching staff,
both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal is often a problem in view of the
exceptionally heavy demands which the programme places on teaching
personnel.

Materials are at present being prepared at each locality where ABE
was introduced in 1973. These numbered five, representing five dif-
ferent languages. Plans for subsequent years have extended to a further
eleven locations, involving some of the same five plus several further
languages (McGrath, 1973). By March, 1975, fourteen schools had bi-
lingual programmes involving twelve different languages.[9] The more
successful ABE is in a particular location, the greater the demand for
further reading matter in the language.

As was the case with ME, once the programme was begun, rapid growth
was inevitable. Materials are often prepared while teaching is already
under way and the teachers are learning about the new system at the
same time as they are applying it.

The planners are well aware of the need for early evaluation and the
development of instruments and techniques for this purpose is under way.
In the meantime, reports from the schools in which ABE was initiated in
1973, speak of definite advances in children's attitudes to school,
increased community involvement in education and of the enthusiastic
support of the programmes by the teaching staff in spite of difficulties.

An indirect development stemming from ABE has been the growing demand
for courses in Aboriginal languages. There are now several courses of
this type in operation. They are taken by non-Aboriginal learners, by
Aboriginal learners who speak English only and by Aboriginal learners
who speak other Aboriginal languages but wish to learn one which is more
widely spoken than their own.

2.5. *THE INVOLVEMENT OF LINGUISTS*

Australian linguists have been involved in ABE in a variety of ways
from the start. One of the first recommendations of the Advisory Group
(Watts *et al.*, 1973) was the inclusion of linguists in all future plan-

ning. Resident field linguists have become members of implementing
teams. Heavy emphasis is placed on the role of linguists in the *First
Annual Report* which recognizes some seven phases of the work in which
linguistic expertise is essential. It is interesting to note that
during less than one year's experience with ABE some modifications had
to be made to original plans to ensure an even greater participation,
than had been originally envisaged, by linguists at the level of deci-
sion making.

Education in general linguistics for teachers of Aboriginal children
is seen by the planners as a basic requirement and some local courses
given by resident linguists have already been organized as an emergency
measure.

ABE has, in the short time of its existence, also stimulated lin-
guistic research in a wide range of areas of specialization, e.g. in
psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, bilingual studies. Perhaps the
most interesting development closely related to ABE is the establish-
ment of a College of Australian Linguistics in Darwin which provides
linguistics training for Aborigines to enable them to analyze and
describe their own languages.

2.6. *SUMMING UP ABE*

ABE is a multi-language education programme directed at monolingual,
bilingual and multilingual target populations of pre-school and primary
school children. Its aim is the educational, cultural and social devel-
opment of Aboriginal people through initial education and literacy in
the mother tongue, with simultaneous instruction in English as a second
language. The brief history of ABE is too short for an assessment of
trends, but an upsurge of interest in Aboriginal languages and in lin-
guistics can already be noted. Future developments will undoubtedly
include linguistics training for all teachers of Aboriginal children.

3. SOME CONCLUSIONS ARISING OUT OF THE COMPARISON

The two major language education programmes in which Australia has
so far engaged have had distinctly different histories: with different
target populations, different aims and approaches, different government
agencies being involved as planners and implementers. However, as has
been seen, paths have already crossed and are even more likely to cross
or even converge in the future. Developments in ME have already been
utilized in the English component of ABE. It is likely that ABE experi-
ence will lead to the strengthening of the arguments of those who
advocate bilingual education also for some migrant children (Rado, 1973).

The comparison highlights the need for the development of comprehensive language planning for the treatment of all language problems in Australian society.

Such comprehensive language planning would point up language problems of groups which are, at present, not catered for in either of the existing programmes. Aboriginal children whose mother tongue is a non-standard dialect of English have so far received inadequate attention at the national level, as have, in general, Aboriginal children who attend schools where they are in a minority within a 'standard'-Australian-English speaking school population.

Comprehensive planning would ensure the economical utilization and pooling of resources, of energies and expertise. For example, if courses in general (applied) linguistics - including components of English as a second language, Aboriginal linguistics, Australian English studies, the structures of the main migrant languages and developmental linguistics - were part and parcel of all teacher education in Australia, then any teacher could move freely into either of the Government's present language education programmes or simply take his (her) place in any type of school in any part of the continent in the knowledge that he possesses a basic understanding of the language problems of all categories of speakers he may encounter in his work.

NOTE: Since this paper was written, some further changes in the structuring of Migrant Education programmes have taken place. Child Migrant Education, as from 1976, has been included in the programme of the Schools Commission.

N O T E S

1. This article and Tryon's were written simultaneously, in 1974. This one was revised in 1975 (Ed.)

2. See e.g. 'The Provision of Migrant Education in Australia' in *English ...a New Language*, Vol.5. No.6. 1957.

3. The most recent version of this book is entitled *Situational English for Newcomers to Australia*.

4. The latter two were combined into one course in 1963.

5. In correspondence courses, too, wherever possible, oral English patterns have been taught through the medium of writing and reinforced by radio.

6. For further details, see Tryon (in this volume) (Ed.)

7. For further details see Kaldor, (1968). It is impossible in a brief review to do justice to the contribution to Australian linguistics of pioneering individual scholars such as A. Capell or to the untiring efforts made by individual missionaries, linguists and educators to promote interest in bilingual education at a national level.

8. See e.g. Ramson, ed. (1970).

9. See information leaflet issued by the Department of Education, Darwin.

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION OF ABORIGINES IN THE
NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA

Darrell T. Tryon

1. INTRODUCTORY

In Press Statement No. 16 of 14th December 1972, the Australian
Prime Minister announced that the Federal Government would "launch a
campaign to have Aboriginal children living in distinctive Aboriginal
communities given their primary education in Aboriginal languages".
Although there had been considerable interest in vernacular education
for almost the entire previous decade, see for example Wurm (1963) and
Elkin (1963), official federal support for any type of vernacular edu-
cation in Australia had not been forthcoming.[1]

The reluctance of previous Federal Governments to embark upon a
programme of vernacular/bilingual education in the past is not sur-
prising, considering the complexity of the linguistic situation in the
Northern Territory, the only region in Australia whose Aboriginal popu-
lation is directly administered at the federal level.[2] In taking the
initiative, the Federal Government has given the lead to the States,
and it is to be hoped that the system of vernacular education which
they have initiated will find acceptance and implementation in the
States in due course.

Before discussing the linguistically complex situation in the
Northern Territory, it should be observed that the present federal pro-
gramme is not the first vernacular education/literacy programme to be
mounted in Australia. In the years preceding 1972, such programmes had
been developed in parts of Queensland, the Northern Territory, South
Australia and also in the Desert area of Western Australia. These pro-
grammes were developed largely by church and mission groups such as the
Summer Institute of Linguistics/Wycliffe Bible Translators and the

Tryon, D.T. "Bilingual Education of Aborigines in the Northern Territory of Australia". In Cline, M. editor, *Australia Talks: Essays on the sociology of Australian immigrant and Aboriginal languages.*
D-23:215-228. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1976. DOI:*10.15144/PL-D23.215*
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United Aborigines Mission, not to mention the programmes of smaller
mission bodies. To a large extent, the excellence of the work of these
groups has been instrumental in the Federal Government's official ac-
ceptance and sponsorship of what has become known in the Northern
Territory as the Bilingual Education Programme.

2. LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY

The Advisory Group set up by the Minister of Education to enquire
into the feasibility of a vernacular education system for the Northern
Territory estimated that at present there are one hundred and thirty
eight Aboriginal languages and dialects spoken within the Territory
borders (Watts, McGrath, Tandy 1973:21). This would probably represent
around sixty distinct languages judging by the Wurm classification
(Wurm 1972).

The Advisory Group surveyed approximately fifty Aboriginal commun-
ities, a total of some 6,000 school-age children. All things being
equal, this would give a surface figure of one language per hundred
school-age children. However, the situation was found to be much more
complicated than this simple ratio might suggest.

The major problem encountered was the fact that only a few commun-
ities have a single language spoken, that in only a small number of
communities is a dominant language spoken, while in many others there
are two or more languages of equal significance in terms of numbers of
speakers. In numerous other communities, especially on and around pas-
toral properties, up to twelve equally significant languages may be
spoken. Added to this was the problem that in four of the major commun-
ities in the Northern Territory very little use of Aboriginal language
is made, the language having been supplanted by an English-based Pidgin,
which has reached the creolisation stage in some cases.[3]

The Group advising the Minister, then, became quickly aware that the
ideal of establishing even basic literacy in an Aboriginal child's
first language may not be realisable in many communities. Apart from
the great linguistic diversity encountered, three other major impedi-
ments to the total introduction of a vernacular education system became
apparent, as follows:

1. Many of the languages have never been more than cursorily recorded
and even fewer analysed. No literacy materials whatsoever have been
developed in such languages.
2. Not all of the language groups have representatives in the Aboriginal
teaching force.
3. For administrative reasons, it is not practicable to introduce more
than one language per school.

In spite of the difficulties outlined above, it was concluded that
a vernacular education in the form of a bilingual education programme
could most profitably be implemented in many but certainly not all
Aboriginal communities of the Northern Territory. The scheme proposed,
details of which will be given below, involves the use of both English
and the language of the particular Aboriginal community from the time
the child enters Pre-school until the completion of his Post-primary
education. Before discussing the results and problems of the Bilingual
Programme to date, a brief survey of the basic aims and structure of
the programme itself would be useful.

3. AIMS/RATIONALE OF THE AUSTRALIAN SYSTEM

The Watts, McGrath and Tandy Report (1973), having examined the lin-
guistic situation and state of analysis of the languages of the Northern
Territory, was accepted and implemented by Federal Government agencies,
notably the Department of Education.

It concluded that "the optimal educational, cultural and social
development of the Aboriginal people of the Northern Territory can best
be fostered through the institution of a program of bilingual education"
(Watts, McGrath, Tandy 1973:6).

While a total bilingual programme was proposed, encompassing both
primary and high-school education, the introduction of the programme
has been concerned initially with pre-school (kindergarten) children
and with other Aboriginal children in the first two years of their
primary schooling. Following the rationale behind bilingual programmes
in other countries, it was felt that the child's first language (i.e.
Aboriginal) should be the language in which initial literacy is de-
veloped. Once literacy skills have been established in the child's
first language, transfer of the skills to the reading and writing of a
second language is, according to literacy specialists, less difficult
than the child's accomplishment of initial literacy in the second lan-
guage (see Gudschinsky 1973, Leeding 1973).

The Government agencies considered, further, that once literacy
skills have been established in the child's first language it is essen-
tial that he become literate in English also. They state that optimal
educational development of Aboriginal children cannot be secured
through the medium of Aboriginal languages only, since the full range
of resource materials cannot be adequately translated. In 5., below,
some of the sociolinguistic problems raised by the character of
Australian Aboriginal languages will be discussed.

Until the recent implementation of the Bilingual Programme, the

curriculum of early education was communicated in English. Conse-
quently, heavy burdens were placed on many children in their attempts
at learning. In fact, the teaching-learning situation, in English, in
Australian Aboriginal school communities has proved both inefficient
and stress-provoking. Glass (1973:5) describes the situation in an
Aboriginal Desert community school thus:

> "For most children at Warburton Ranges their first days at
> school are confusing. Commands given in English are translated
> by the brightest children and the rest work it out from there.
> Gradually there develops the realization that their own lan-
> guage is unacceptable at school. The fact that their language
> cannot be used in the school may finally be verbalised as one
> ten-year-old boy put it: 'Wangkayi is a rubbish language,
> isn't it?'."

Such a situation can only be expected to adversely affect the chil-
dren's concept of their parents, their homes and of themselves. Sommer
and Marsh (1970) and Sommer (1974) provide further striking illustration
of the psychological damage that an all-English system can provoke.

The Department of Education, then, recognised that an imprecise and
imperfect grasp of English is a major inhibiting force in the cognitive
development of Aboriginal children. In the first years of schooling,
therefore, in the case of schools participating in the Bilingual Pro-
gramme, the principal language of instruction is the child's first lan-
guage, and it is in this language that initial literacy is developed.
At the same time, English is introduced on a purely oral basis. Once
the child is literate in his own language and has achieved a reasonable
degree of fluency in English, it is planned that Aboriginal language
and English should be used as languages of instruction. The Watts,
McGrath, Tandy Report recommends that "there would be a gradual transi-
tion, probably beginning in the last year of the Infants' School (ca.
7 years) to English as the (principal) language of instruction." (Watts,
McGrath, Tandy 1973:12). It is stressed that the timing of the transi-
tion from the child's first language to English as the main language of
instruction is flexible and would depend entirely on the child's having
achieved the goals set in his mother tongue. (However, see the diagrams
below.)

As the children move through primary school and into high-school,
the Aboriginal language, in a given community, is seen by the Australian
Government policy-makers as the appropriate language for 'Language Arts'
and 'Aboriginal Studies', to be conducted sometimes by Aboriginal mem-
bers of the teaching team and sometimes by Aboriginal adults from the
community. This would assist in engendering community involvement in
and enthusiasm for the Bilingual Programme, a crucial factor if such a

programme is to succeed. This point will be further discussed below,
5.

The Watts, McGrath and Tandy Report also recommended two models for
structuring the proposed Bilingual Programme, both of which have been
implemented. Before attempting to make a preliminary assessment of the
programme to date, the two models will be outlined together with the
conditions under which each was introduced.

MODEL A: A bilingual education programme in schools where there is a
single Aboriginal language acceptable to the community and where lin-
guistic analysis and recording of that language have been completed.

POST-PRIMARY

Aboriginal Language	Other Aspects of	Y13 (ca.16 yrs)
Arts and Aboriginal Studies	Post-primary Curriculum	

PRIMARY

Aboriginal Language	Other Aspects of Primary Curriculum	
Arts and Aboriginal Studies		
	Language Arts (English)	(1)

INFANTS

Continued Literacy in A.L.	Maths/Literacy (Eng)	(2)
Establishment of Literacy in Aboriginal Language	Oral English	

PRE-SCHOOL

Aboriginal Language	Oral Eng.	Y1 (ca.4 yrs)

NOTES: 1. Gradual transition to English as language of instruction.

2. Individual differences in timing of transition from literacy
in Aboriginal language to literacy in English.

3. Each language to be presented only by native speakers.

MODEL B: For schools in which the accepted Aboriginal language has not been analysed and recorded by linguists.

POST-PRIMARY

Aboriginal Oral Language Arts and Studies	Other Aspects of Post-primary Curriculum

PRIMARY

Oral Aboriginal Language Arts and Aboriginal Studies	Other Aspects of Primary Curriculum

INFANTS

Aboriginal Language	Instruction in English
	Begin Literacy in English
	Oral English

PRE-SCHOOL

Aboriginal Language	Oral English

The major differences between Models A and B lie in the language of initial literacy, with a greater concentration on Oral English in Model B, accompanied by an earlier shift to English as the language of instruction.

Because of the nature of Australian Aboriginal languages, two concessions to English were deemed necessary. First, since Aboriginal languages do not contain a wide vocabulary related to colour, normally having terms only for black, white, red and one other colour, it was decided that colour names be taught in English from the outset. Second, since Aboriginal languages in the great majority of cases have numerals up to five only, mostly on a 1,2,2 + 1,2 + 2, one hand basis, it was decided to introduce numerals in English, and that the introduction of number operations be delayed until English has become the language of instruction, although actual number names are introduced earlier, in

English, in the Infant School.   Because of the constraints just refer-
red to, it is proposed that the language of instruction in mathematics
be moved from the Aboriginal language to English in the third year of
Infants' School.   (For a comprehensive survey of the features of
Australian Aboriginal languages, see Wurm 1972).

4. BILINGUAL PROGRAMME TO DATE

The Bilingual Programme was first introduced in the Northern
Territory in 1973, being introduced initially only to Pre-schools and
Infants I. In 1974 the programme was extended to Infants II and the
number of schools participating increased to a total of eleven, details
of which follow:

	SCHOOL	LANGUAGE	CLASS	ENROLMENT
1.	Angurugu (Groote Is.)	Anindilyaugwa	Pre-school Infants I* Infants II	37 21 24
2.	Areyonga	Pitjantjatjara	Pre-school Infants I Infants II	19 12 12
3.	Bathurst Is.	Tiwi	Pre-school	55
4.	Elcho Is.	Gupapuyngu	Pre-school Infants I	69 34
5.	Goulburn Is.	Maung	Pre-school Infants I Infants II	30 4 7
6.	Hermannsburg	Aranda	Bilingual Programme began here 1973. Attendance problem raises serious doubts as to whether a successful programme is operating.[4]	
7.	Milingimbi	Gupapuyngu	Pre-school Infants I Infants II	46 26 26
8.	Papunya	Pintubi	Pre-school	25
9.	Yayayi	Pintubi	There is an enrolment of 60 in the whole school which is following a basically bilingual approach.	
10.	Yirrkala	Gumatj	Pre-school Infants I	22 13
11.	Yuendemu	Walbiri	Infants I	31
			Total	573**

    *   Following Model B.

    **   Figures for Hermannsburg not included.

The conditions for the introduction of the Bilingual Programme to the above schools were as follows:

1. That a single language was spoken by or acceptable to the local community.
2. That linguistic analysis of the relevant language had been completed.
3. That a linguist be available for the school/language area, preferably residing on site.
4. That aboriginal teaching staff be part of the already existing school staff.

In the first two years of operation, then, the Bilingual Programme has been introduced to eleven schools in the Northern Territory. In the period 1975-76 it is planned that the programme be extended to include another five or six schools.

5. SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

While no formal evaluative studies of the Northern Territory programme have been undertaken to date, and while the programme itself is still regarded as experimental and flexible in character, several problems of a largely sociolinguistic nature have emerged, noted not only by the writer in his visits to the schools[5], but also by the governmental agencies directing the project.

Perhaps the central problem is that of involving the Aboriginal community as a whole in the Bilingual Programme as it applies to any single area. While there has been an enthusiastic participation in the programme by some communities, more often than not community involvement has been largely lacking, for a number of reasons and with a number of direct consequences. It appears likely that the initial enthusiasm of several communities for the Bilingual Programme has not been translated into practical involvement largely because other issues such as land and mining rights have occupied most of the deliberations of the tribal elders, whose council replaces the absolute chieftainship of many South Pacific areas. This, together with the relatively new Federal Governmental policy of 'self-determination', rather than 'assimilation' or 'integration', has placed heavy burdens on the tribal councils, and left little time for a detailed consideration of educational matters.

The consequences of a lack of community involvement are several. The most obvious resource need in all schools into which the Bilingual Programme has been introduced is for a large body of reading material in the Aboriginal languages. While some schools have prepared a small number of texts, in all cases the resource material is inadequate at

present. Linguists are available, on site in most cases, and govern-
ment support is conspicuous in all areas. In spite of these favourable
conditions, if community involvement is lacking then literacy materials
will fall well behind the expanding Programme requirements, since the
stories which constitute the bulk of the literacy resource material
must come from members of the community. More important, the narratives
must normally be approved by the tribal elders, since according to
Australian Aboriginal custom women and uninitiated males are not privy
to certain information of what is deemed a 'sacred' nature. Severe
social disturbance may result if such information should be communicated
to unauthorised members of the community.

Lack of community involvement and perhaps understanding has a direct
bearing, also, on school attendance, for under the policy of 'self-
determination' school attendance is no longer compulsory. As a result,
attendance figures have dropped considerably in many cases, the chil-
dren either playing in the camp or accompanying parents on food-gather-
ing or ceremonial excursions. Continuity of schooling is obviously
vital if the Bilingual Programme in its present form is to succeed.

While the schools into which the programme has been introduced so
far have a single language acceptable to the community, the composition
of the majority of the remaining Aboriginal communities in the Northern
Territory is multilingual, see 2. above. As previously suggested, this
will effectively preclude the possibility of introducing a bilingual
programme in many areas. While Mission linguists (mainly Summer
Institute of Linguistics and United Church) have provided the programme
with an excellent foundation, and while the Australian Federal Govern-
ment has made funds available for the appointment of several locally-
based linguists, the embryonic state of research into and analysis of
many languages (see Oates and Oates 1970) and the multilingual nature
of numerous communities must mean that the Federal Government's most
laudable initial aim of a Territory-wide bilingual education will at
best reach only half of the school-age children in the foreseeable
future. This result is a direct product of the linguistic situation in
Australia as a whole, not simply in the Northern Territory, where most
languages have fewer than one hundred speakers, while the 'largest'
language would not exceed approximately four thousand speakers, this
being the multi-dialectal Western Desert language (Wurm 1972:12).

The next problem, too, springs directly from the limited number of
speakers of individual Aboriginal languages, namely difficulties in
staffing. Because of the nature of the Bilingual Programme, all
Aboriginal staff must be recruited from the local language area, and,
with minor exceptions, are not transferable to other areas. This fact,

together with the singular lack of interest in teaching on the part of
male members of the community, means that in a community of only a few
hundred speakers of a single language the number of potential Aboriginal
teachers would be extremely low. This of course poses serious teacher
training problems if an existing Aboriginal staff-member is to be re-
placed. Government agencies indicate (Department of Education Report
December 1973) that staff retention, both Aboriginal and European, is
one of the major problems encountered. Naturally, in the many small
linguistic communities, the problems of staff selection, training and
retention are accentuated. At the same time, the European staff reten-
tion problem is related directly to the Bilingual Programme, since the
role of the European in the teaching team (ideally one Aboriginal and
one European teacher per class) has changed dramatically to a team
effort orientation rather than the traditional role of the sole class
teacher. To be fair, however, it must be stressed that the Aboriginal
member of the teaching team has adaptation problems which differ little
in extent from those experienced by the European member. Reports from
Bilingual Programmes in other countries indicate that similar problems
have been encountered there. Cottrell (1972) reports that:

> "Team efforts between co-teachers are much improved over last
> year, when there were some conflicts between team members ...
> the problems between co-teachers have been reduced and are not
> viewed as a serious problem". (1972:4)

This account of progress suggests that the staff adaptation problems
will diminish as the programme becomes more established.

The remarks above will serve to give an indication of some of the
sociolinguistic and concomitant sociological problems posed by the
introduction of the Bilingual Programme in selected schools of the
Northern Territory. As suggested above, the main problem appears to
centre around Aboriginal community involvement in the programme, es-
pecially when one considers that the programme to date involves only
the first four years of schooling, two of which are at the Pre-school
level, since the sections of the Primary and Post-primary curriculum
labelled 'Aboriginal Language Arts and Aboriginal Studies' have yet to
be formally devised. This section of the school curriculum must be
largely determined by the local Aboriginal community, since the teachers/
instructors will of necessity be drawn from it. Without community in-
volvement at a fairly intensive level, the Aboriginal component of the
Bilingual Programme, at this level, is in possible danger of collapse.

6. ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROSPECTS

The Bilingual Programme in the Northern Territory is in its infancy.
Its directors and administrators are well aware of the experimental
nature of the programme to date and of the extensive, but not insur-
mountable, sociolinguistic and sociological problems involved. Their
courage in proceeding, in spite of these difficulties, has been rewarded,
for in several centres of the Territory the programme has already proved
a resounding success.

While the Bilingual Programme has been concerned, to date, with only
the first few years of schooling, initial literacy in Aboriginal lan-
guages has most certainly been achieved, accompanied by a notable in-
crease in self-confidence on the part of pupils. As noted above, 3.,
the hesitancy of students under the previous all-English approach is
well attested. The change in self-concept and the sense of achievement
noted among pupils in schools in which the Bilingual programme has been
in operation, even for a single year, augurs extremely well for the
future.

The transition from literacy in the vernacular to literacy in English
has yet to come, since it is programmed to begin in the fifth year of
schooling. From the experience of literacy specialists in other coun-
tries, the transition should pose few problems. The phonologies of
Australian Aboriginal languages and English are rather different; the
voiced/voiceless distinctions of English plosives are almost never
maintained in Aboriginal languages, for example, while several English
vowel phonemes occur simply as allophones in the Aboriginal languages.
Again, the programme developers are aware of such differences and are
well equipped to handle such problems.

The details of the Aboriginal language component of the upper Primary
and Post-primary courses remain to be finalised. As suggested through-
out this paper, local community involvement is seen as a pre-requisite
for the successful implementation of the programme at this level, and
indeed for the programme as a whole.

The Bilingual Programme in the Northern Territory, then, appears to
be achieving its aims. The success recorded in several areas may be
expected to fire the enthusiasm and ensure the involvement of Aboriginal
communities in other parts of the Territory. Amongst educators, inter-
est in the programme is growing in all States of Australia and the pos-
sibility of its introduction in areas outside the Northern Territory,
on a governmental basis, is increasing as the scheme becomes more
widely appreciated. As stated above, the Bilingual Programme is in its
infancy. Accordingly, detailed evaluative studies cannot be undertaken
profitably at this initial stage. All would agree, however, that the
Programme represents a great step forward in Aboriginal education in Australia.

N O T E S

1. See also Kaldor, in this volume, section 2. The two papers were written simultaneously.

2. Within each of the States the administration of the Aboriginal populations residing within the State boundaries is controlled by each State Government.

3. The use of Pidgin as the first language of instruction in these areas is currently under consideration by the Department of Education. Cf. Sharpe and Sandefur, in this volume.

4. According to Department of Education report, March 1974.

5. The writer is a member of the Consultative Committee on Bilingual Education in the Northern Territory.

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC ISSUES IN AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGE RESEARCH: A REVIEW

Bruce A. Sommer

Systematic, scientific study of the 260 or so languages of the
Australian Aborigines only dates back some fifty years.[1] The records
handed down to us from prior to the 1920s - principally from mission-
aries and a vanished race of gentlemen scholars - are usually bad, and
sometimes atrocious. The exceptions, of which there are few, are now
doubly valuable, as the tribes concerned are extinct, and the languages
are generally lost. Linguistics thus shares with anthropology a late
beginning to serious systematic research in the continent. Both disci-
plines still face enormous fields of profitable research, which are now
being methodically attacked by personnel and funds from Australian
Universities and from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.[2]

The immensity of the unfinished research responsibilities of lin-
guists and of anthropologists alike has had serious implications for
sociolinguistics: While languages still exist without record of their
simplest noun morphology, or ancient survivors of disintegrated tribes
can yet recall bygone laws of marriage, sociolinguistic research will
remain an orphan. Neither linguists nor anthropologists are generally
committed to the depth of research necessary to describe and account
for sociolinguistic phenomena - there is plenty of more immediate,
superficial research which requires less sophistication.

The result is that the sociolinguistic literature to date contains
few really integrated studies, but consists rather of a scattering of
articles - some suggestive or fragmentary, others complete in them-
selves - over a broad range of topics. These relatively uncoordinated
offerings I intend to review here, and to indicate where possible what
implications these studies have. Two previous reviews of sociolinguis-
tic research in Australia deserve honourable mention: Capell's valu-
able 1962 article is the first to deal with the ethnolinguistics of

Aboriginal speech in a systematic manner. While he addresses his
remarks solely to the Aboriginal field, Kaldor's shorter 1968 review
also mentions migrant and Aboriginal education, and the linguistic
problems of foreign students. I have drawn on both scholars for this
review; from them and from my own observations I am led to believe that
kinship patterns have the most pervasive effect on Aboriginal verbal
behaviour, so that kinship provides the best point of departure for
sociolinguistic research. Australian Aboriginal kinship is, I under-
stand, quite unique, and the object of disbelieving wonder - even
hilarity - among anthropology undergraduates. Elkin (1938) and Berndt
and Berndt (1964) offer summaries of the research, but new studies (one
by Turner is in press) are appearing constantly. The reader unfamiliar
with Aboriginal kinship is referred to these sources.

Even in settlements where ritual is in disuse and the vernacular is
disappearing, terms for kin and a knowledge of correct behaviour to-
wards kin are still recalled. Marriage patterns are frequently still
observed. The 'extended family' embraces everyone in the village or
settlement (even some European-Australians) since patterns of behaviour
are based on kinship, and correct behaviour towards another cannot be
determined until the kin relationship is known. Not only social behav-
iour, but linguistic behaviour is determined in this manner. Kinship
research has focussed on permitted marriages, moieties, (sub-)sections
and idealized genealogical trees, and a large part of an Aborigine's
communicative competence depends on rules based on a knowledge of
abstractions of this sort. It is convenient to conceive of his social
status being determined at any point (with respect to another Aborigine)
by three factors:

    age: older superordinate to younger

    generational level: higher superordinate to lower

      (e.g. 'aunt' superordinate to 'niece')

    sex: male superordinate to female.

(See Sharp 1939:419 for this formulation which Berndt and Berndt 1964
and Sommer and Sommer 1967 have both found useful.)

There is, in the meeting of any two Aborigines, instant recognition
of a superordinate and a subordinate, given knowledge of these criteria.
In ceremony, ritual, or decisions of council, an older man may of
course prevail over a younger man of higher generational level - there
is some ambivalence at this point. (There is, however, no strict
equality, nor yet any place for an ultimately superordinate 'chief' or
'king'.) Behavioural patterns required by superordinate/subordinate
relations include linguistic behaviour: In Oykangand I found that
older speakers marked the mention of kin to whom they owed special

respect by insertion of a particle /oŋ/; kinship can thus have conse-
quences in the syntax (Sommer 1972:100). The influence of kinship on
pronominalisation is demonstrated by Capell (1962), Sommer and Sommer
(1967) and in a startling recent study of **Adnjamathanha** by Schebeck
(1973).

The personal names of Aborigines have drawn wide attention in an-
thropological literature, and beside useful summaries in Elkin (1938),
Berndt and Berndt (1964) and Berndt (1970), there are valuable studies
in Warner (1937), Hart (1930) and Stanner (1937). The latter notes
that names are highly personal, and not the most common means of ad-
dress or reference at all, with circumlocutions and nicknames preferred
for certain closer kin. Nicknames have the added advantage of being
highly specific terms of reference or address. Since, however, every
member of the community is related to EGO by kin terms, these terms are
the ones most commonly used in lieu of names. Typically, kin terms
fall into three systems: address, reference and respect. Relatively
simple rules derive each term from a single system of abstract, under-
lying forms in Oykangand (Sommer 1972:148). **Gunwinggu** appears to have
a much more complex system, reported as **gundebi** by the Berndts (1964:
74-75); one is suspicious that this system is also reducible to rules.

Names, to digress further, can be shared by two Aborigines, between
whom a special relationship exists. Stanner (1937) describes the
serious implications of sharing a name in the Daly River area. Such
formal proceedings as he describes may have existed in Cape York
Peninsular societies also, since I have observed, and been involved in,
situations wherein a shared name was repeatedly mentioned as a cogent
factor. Unlike the tribes which Stanner reported, shared names and
taboos on names apply in the Peninsula to English, as well as to 'bush'
names.

Names of the dead are taboo - at least for a time, as Berndt (1964:
389), Elkin (1938, chapter XII) and others have noted. Perhaps the
most exceptional taboo at death is recorded by Taplin (1879) who
claimed - in effect - that the taboo extended to totemic story-figures
and consequently that the term for 'water' in general use was changed
nine times in five years. Again, Peninsular practice is similar, but
normally there is a 'taboo avoidance' term (such as Olgol: **arambaṱ**)
which substitutes for the name, birthplace, totemic story-figure, etc.
of one recently dead. Much more needs to be learned about the linguis-
tic implications of death - taboos, euphemisms, and the content of
mourning chants - before it is too late. It is often possible to refer
to the dead by kin terms, and to close surviving relatives by 'bereaved-
kin' terms (such as English 'widow', 'widower' and 'orphan') that

frequently constitute, in the Aboriginal vernaculars, quite complete
systems.

Kin relations determine other linguistic behaviour, the best known
of which is the 'mother-in-law' or 'avoidance' language. Strictly
speaking it is not a language *per se*. More usually (but see later) it
is a special vocabulary, and the noun and verb morphology, pronouns
and rules of syntax of the language generally remain unchanged. In
these instances only the most common nouns, verbs, kin terms and direc-
tionals appear to have been replaced - sometimes by borrowing.[3] This
'avoidance' vocabulary normally conforms to the morpheme structure con-
ditions of the regular lexicon. Not enough is known about the use of
this vocabulary. For example: What topics must be discussed in this
vocabulary, and what topics can never be discussed? Is the avoidance
vocabulary dropped in heated argument? What other conditions affect
its use? These and too many other questions are still unanswered.
More is known of the linguistic **form** of the vocabulary than its **use**.
Dixon (1971 and 1972) bases some interesting semantic theory on the
relationship of 'avoidance' to 'regular' Djirbal vocabulary, and depends
on the distinction to support claims for tribal movement (1970). Hale
(n.d.) outlines the shape of avoidance vocabulary stems as used by the
Linŋitiɣ in northern Cape York Peninsula. These are two of the many
linguists who focussed attention on so-called 'mother-in-law' vocabu-
laries during the 1960s. Harris (1971) is another recent contributor
to the literature. Many others - who have yet to publish details -
provided an effective coverage of the entire continent. There were
many earlier commentators, including Hart (1930), Strehlow (1907),
Thomson (1935), Warner (1937) and Matthews (1902, 1903, 1905), who
together give plausibility to Capell's (1962) suggestion that an
'avoidance' language of some sort is probably universal to Australian
Aboriginal society. Thomson (1935) describes other linguistic behav-
iour relative to affinal kin between whom some degree of tension may
be experienced. This tension is relieved by ritual obscenity, indulged
in as a means of keeping the parties 'happy'. Thomson discloses that
the nature of the obscenities is conditioned by the kin relationship,
and Chase (in personal communication) assures me that obscenities are
classified as 'front', 'back', 'both' and perhaps even 'middle', and
that each class is appropriate according to the kin addressed. While
on this subject, it is interesting to note that euphemisms exist for
certain body parts and natural functions, including birth and death.
Little is available in the literature, however. Oykangand: aʈimb
(black) lizard species is used in lieu of oɖ *penis;* arʈar ambel *became
daybreak* is an euphemism for uḷfir *died*. The latter is not merely a

polite alternative, but is the expected form in certain situations. It
may be in fact an 'avoidance' term. This is possible because of social
uses of the avoidance vocabulary.

The fact is that 'avoidance' vocabulary has wider use than is gen-
erally claimed. Its use by a man before his mother-in-law - often the
most absolutely avoided of all kin - has given rise to a common label
for this type of speech.[4] In 1969, however, I documented a use of
'avoidance' vocabulary that depended on 'politeness' or respect, rather
than kinship *per se*. A better term for this phenomenon might be 're-
spect vocabulary'. As noted, our ignorance of its use and social func-
tion is still abysmal - and opportunities to conduct research into the
employment of it are shrinking fast, as communities disintegrate and
use of even the vernacular is lost. Capell's 1962 survey disclosed
that in some areas there was much more in question than a **single** alter-
native replacement of certain stems. He documented also the replacement
of vocabulary according to kin relationship to the addressee in a **mul-
tiple** system of stem alternates. Capell drew extensively both from his
own notes and from earlier workers, including R.H. Matthews (1902, 1903),
James Dawson (1881), Catherine Berndt, and Donald Thomson (1935). He
discusses also the phenomena of 'secret' languages, which are most
usually employed between initiands or men of a certain ritual degree.
These 'languages' are scantily represented in the literature but in
those instances that they comprise simple vocabulary replacement,
Capell notes an interesting fact: The stems do not conform to the
phonotactics of forms in the 'standard' language (as **Nyangumarda**,
O'Grady 1958). The phonology of **Demin**, the secret language of
Mornington Island reported by linguists in the 1960s but now almost
lost, includes 'click' stops - a highly atypical feature for Australian
languages. It may be possible to propose that 'secret' languages dif-
fer systematically from 'respect' languages.[5] The latter appear to
result from replacement of regular lexical items, the former display
divergence from the morpheme structure conditions of the 'standard'
language, or other lexical irregularity. The most outstanding innova-
tion in a secret language is that introduced by the **Walbiri** in their
ṭiliwiri speech. Hale describes the technique for manipulating **Walbiri**
for 'secret' talk thus:

> "replace each noun, verb and pronoun of ordinary Walbiri by an
> 'antonym'. ... if a ṭiliwiri speaker intends to convey the
> meaning 'I am sitting on the ground', he replaces 'I' with '(an)-
> other', 'sit' with 'stand', and 'ground' with 'sky'." (1971:473)

Hale's article is exciting for the insight it offers into Australian
Aboriginal cognitive psychology and philosophy.

Kinship ties influence language acquisition both directly and in-
directly. The literature is unanimous that a child traditionally
learned its father's language. Where exogamy demanded that the mother
represent a different linguistic group, the child could learn a second
language, and through other 'mothers' and actual or classificatory
grandmothers married into the clan, he could gain acquaintance with
perhaps five or six languages. Sommer and Marsh (1969) document the
degree of multilingualism on an Aboriginal reserve for which a variety
of English is increasingly the medium of communication. Older people
had a receptive control of an average of 2.6 vernaculars (of the three
such tested) and some were known to be proficient in two or three other
languages which were not represented in the test corpus. The degree of
passive multilingualism in traditional society is therefore believed to
be high, and active multilingualism (productive control of other lan-
guages) cannot have been far behind. No statistical survey of actual
language use in a multilingual community is yet available, so that
although possible to elicit what language(s) might be spoken, the fre-
quency with which a speaker does accommodate to his hearer's language
is not known. Nor are the factors that might condition such a code-
switch.

An interesting problem was highlighted in our survey of language
comprehension mentioned above (Sommer and Marsh 1969). Two adult mem-
bers of the community scored very poorly in both vernacular and English
comprehension tests. So poor were the scores that I investigated these
two more carefully. In both instances the father was a strong person-
ality, well integrated into the traditional culture, and each was a
prime source for visiting anthropologists and linguists. The mother
in each case was a relatively mild, inoffensive person. Both 'low
scorers' were men who had very broken employment records; one had
serious heart trouble and the other once attempted 'suicide' (but sur-
vived a nasty flesh wound). In connection with the first of these, it
was pointed out to me by various medical personnel that the incidence
of heart complaints, and relatively early deaths from them, was high
among Aboriginal people, and that tension could be a significant factor.
It is regretted that this patient died soon after our survey. The
surviving 'low scorer' later married - according to kinship patterns -
a lovely but determined and well westernised girl with a good command
of Aboriginal English. In a matter of months the man became a steady
worker, was elected to the Welfare Committee of the Community, and
gave evidence of a healthy, well-integrated personality well adapted
to westernised community life. Linguistically he became a proficient
speaker of Aboriginal English.

My tentative analysis is that both of the 'low scorers' in language comprehension suffered unresolved culture-identity conflicts due to paternal dominance.[6] In the first case, the conflict generated tension, which was responsible for a heart condition resulting in an early death (at c.34 years). In the second instance, the conflict reached crisis and resolution through marriage. These two cases, despite the lack of formal evidence from psychology or sociology, suggest that language acquisition in a changing Aboriginal society is - at least for some - not a simple matter. Statistically it would be advantageous to be able to call on more samples to validate the case I present - but in fact I am somewhat gratified that such cases are not common, as the degree of anomie attained must make the experience a traumatic one. At least one unknown in the equation of language acquisition in such instances is the active derogation of, or punishment for use of, vernaculars by mission and settlement teachers (Sommer 1974:40, Wurm 1963). Herman (1968:498-99) describes such situations as 'highly potent', and educators could be more aware of the damage that can be done by active derogation of what is, after all, an intrinsic component of the child's personality.

The facet of Aboriginal life which is second to kinship in its linguistic impact is that of oral art - story-telling and singing. There is no intermediate form we could call 'poetry' - only prose and song. The latter is the medium of entertainment, ritual, mourning and sorcery. If there are any secret words, any potent formulae, they are enshrined in song rather than incantation. Linguists (as Capell 1962, 1956) and anthropologists (as Berndt and Berndt 1964) both refer to such phenomena, and perhaps they exist, but nothing has been convincingly documented. Song texts abound, but rigorous linguistic analyses of them are lacking; ethnomusicologists and linguists have yet to meet up, it seems. Dr. Alice Moyle has been careful to transcribe songwords - sometimes with the aid of qualified linguists - and has remarked to me on the unusual nature of some forms. The only formal discussion of songwords is Alpher's contribution to the 1974 Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies' Conference, in which he documents phonological changes and archaisms in various song styles. It is a matter of some surprise that ethnomusicologists (aside from Moyle) have so grandly ignored songwords, and that major contributions to the field (as Jones 1965) can get by without even a mention of the content of songs under consideration.

Like songs, stories exist in abundance. They have been recorded, expurgated, and popularised by publication. Most traditional stories are myths, varying from sacred accounts revealed at various degrees of

ceremonial progress to men, to camp stories of an aeteological nature
enjoyed by children. Some stories exist in 'inside' and 'outside'
versions (Berndt and Berndt 1964:327), the former being more complex,
meaningful versions of the latter, revealed - perhaps successively - at
certain ceremonial stages as elaborations on a popular camp story.
Published myths such as those collected by Berndt (1952) and McConnel
(1957) typify the range of subjects dealt with and the levels of expla-
nation sought by the myths. Stories of this nature are told in a pecu-
liar style - much tends to be elided, and the raconteur proceeds apace
unless pulled up by a listener and questioned. Audience participation
is therefore expected - even needed - in the explication of the plot.
Story-telling therefore approaches most closely to our drama - a sort
of live theatre-in-the-round and talk-back show combined. Berndt and
Berndt (1964) describe what dramatics an involved raconteur can indulge
in, and shed light on the difficulties of myth recording for the field
worker. Perhaps it is fitting to mention their unique contributions at
this point. The Berndts are anthropologists who are convinced of the
necessity of a firm linguistic orientation to meaningful anthropological
research. Without pretensions of linguistic expertise they have con-
tributed widely - as the references indicate - to Australian ethnolin-
guistics. Their linguistic materials rival those of established pro-
fessional linguists, and remain a vast relatively untapped resource we
trust they will discourse upon further. Typical of their interest in
linguistics is the fact that Catherine Berndt's (1951) article on fig-
ures of speech remains, twenty years later, the only comprehensive
treatment of this topic in print for the entire continent. Linguists
could do much worse than emulate her Gunwinggu study in their own lin-
guistic areas.

     Stories and songs are constantly being composed in the camp, and
some doubtless find themselves incorporated eventually into ritual life.
The composers of songs are remembered, and consequently, Alpher claims,
their material is governed by informal laws of copyright. Songs are a
medium of social and personal communication over the entire spectrum of
Aboriginal life, sacred and profane. The 'songman' is a respected
figure. Story styles vary and complement other styles of discourse
such as those explored fully for Wik-Munkan by Christine Kilham in her
1974 Ph.D. Thesis. Discourse analysis at this level of sophistication
and beyond is otherwise missing from Australian linguistic research.
Bible Translators (in particular linguists of the Summer Institute of
Linguistics/Wycliffe Bible Translators) are giving increased attention
to discourse analysis as a crucial necessity to the preparation of
meaningful translations. Initial results have been good. Bible trans-

lations date back to 1827 in Australia, and Douglas (1962) provides a
good review of work done in this field up until a decade and a half ago.
More has been done since, and Australian sociolinguistics will be the
richer if some of these translators can be persuaded to write up their
accumulated knowledge.

I have mentioned many areas of research awaiting fuller sociolinguis-
tic investigation; I will mention just one more to close: In 1969 I
published a brief list of what I termed 'interjections' from **Oykangand**
- a language of central western Cape York Peninsula. More recently I
find that these are anything but language-specific. Exclamations such
as kaʈ! are recognised (much like English 'crash!') all over the
Peninsula as indicative of collision or impact. The possibility that
extrasystematic phenomena of this nature (**Oykangand** morpheme structure
constraints place /kaʈ/ outside the regular lexicon) are widespread or
perhaps universal is a thesis deserving of prompt empirical investiga-
tion. The field of sociolinguistic research in Australia is spiced
with interesting problems such as this. It is also chilled by the cold
winds of doubt that much of real value will be explored in depth
"Before it is too late" (Elkin 1970).

N O T E S

1. Wurm (1972) suggests that this number of languages existed; the picture is not entirely clear because of the necessarily arbitrary division between 'languages' and 'dialects' (O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin 1966). Histories of research and the problems of classification in Australia on which I have drawn include the above and Capell (1956, 1963, 1971), Wurm (1965, 1971) and Oates and Oates (1971).

2. To the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies I owe grateful thanks for support in the preparation of this review.

3. The source of forms for the avoidance vocabulary is a burning question. Dixon (1970) is the only writer who has scratched the surface of this subject.

4. Note that in relation to eastern Cape York Peninsula, Thomson (1955) mentions the even stricter avoidance that must be observed towards a man's actual MBD (and sometimes FZD), including the use of the special vocabulary. Consangual kin in this category are differentiated from classificatory MBD by addition to the kin term of a word such as 'poison'. The additional term distinguishes the 'cousins' who are too close to be marriageable from the class of (potential) wives. Catherine Berndt (cited in Capell 1962) actually refers to the avoidance language as a 'cousin language' when she recorded it among the **Gunwinggu** of Arnhem Land. In western Cape York Peninsula, the mother of an unmarriageable cousin, an aunt (FZ) who is consangual kin, is not avoided in the same manner as classificatory FZ are - no doubt because she cannot provide EGO with a wife.

5. Capell (1962) concludes so, noting however that Thomson's **Ngornki**

(avoidance vocabulary) departs in small details from **Koko-Ya'o** phono-
tactics, much as O'Grady's (1958) **Malj** (secret language) is only at
variance in minor points from **Nyangumarda**. Capell's thesis demands
confirmation or rebuttal while time still allows it.

6.   I owe this analysis to Lambert *et al.* (1968) whose remarks on
Franco-American students in Maine provided the basis of explanation for
my data:

> "Finally, those Franco-Americans who apparently face a conflict
> of cultural allegiances - showing an authoritarian preference
> for the Franco-American culture and a preference for American
> over European French culture - are poor in aural tests in
> French, feel they are poor in French and show signs of being
> poor in English vocabulary. Apparently, those students who
> face an unresolved conflict of cultural allegiances are held
> back in their progress in both languages." (pp.483-4;
> emphasis mine - B.A.S.)

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