

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

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1. EXOGAMY (MIXED MARRIAGE) AND LANGUAGE RESEARCH

For many years the phenomenon of exogamy has been considered of interest mainly to sociologists and demographers. More recently, sociolinguistic attention has been drawn to the linguistic effects of, and consequences resulting from, a mixed marriage. Are both languages maintained and passed on to the next generation? Are the languages used alternately or are they assigned to specific domains? Which factors influence the decision as to which language is to be maintained? These are only a few examples of questions involved in this kind of research. Here¹ I shall be concerned mainly with the topic of exogamy in its relation to language retention and shift in a migration context.

2. EXOGAMY AND LANGUAGE RETENTION IN AUSTRALIA

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

Price and Zubrzycki (1963) and Johnston (1965) have pointed out that inter-marriage patterns² (i.e. between Anglo-Australians and non-English-speaking immigrants) can be regarded as useful indices for assimilation but not for integration: they are the expression of an eagerness and willingness to become part of the new society but do not guarantee a sense of integration into that society.

Until recently, it was considered a foregone conclusion that exogamy would impair language maintenance, a fact which led to its being ignored. This was also the result of the study of language maintenance relying heavily on the theoretical guidelines in Kloss (1966) and Clyne (1976). Kloss (1966) divides his factors (demographic, sociocultural, linguistic, etc.) into those clearly promoting language maintenance³ (LM) and those with an ambivalent character. Clyne (1976) applies Kloss' categories to the Australian context and finds that very few of Kloss' LM promoting factors are operative in Australia. He did, however, discover that two factors not mentioned by Kloss are clearly

Michael Clyne, ed. *Australia, meeting place of languages*, 39-55. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-92, 1985.

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

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

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

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

Source: Clyne (1982:43, 50)

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

Source: adapted from Clyne (1982:54)

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

Source: Clyne (1982:51)

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

3. AIM OF THE INVESTIGATION

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

The following aspects will be examined:

- Is there a systematic difference in LM rate among the three groups?
- Which domains (areas of language use) are greatly affected by the marriage situation and which domains are not?
- Are there sex- or age-related differences?
- Are there significant differences with regard to LS in the second generation due to the marital situation of the parents?

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

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

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

By LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE is meant the retention of L1 (the immigrant's first language) in one or more spheres of usage (domains, see below), either together with L2 (here, English) or instead of it. LANGUAGE SHIFT, conversely, is used to indicate the process by which L1 is (gradually) replaced by L2 in all spheres of usage.

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

DEGREE OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE will be measured mainly in terms of the amount of L1 use in the specified bilingual domains. If a domain records less than 50% of L1, it will be regarded as one subject to language shift.

5. INVESTIGATION

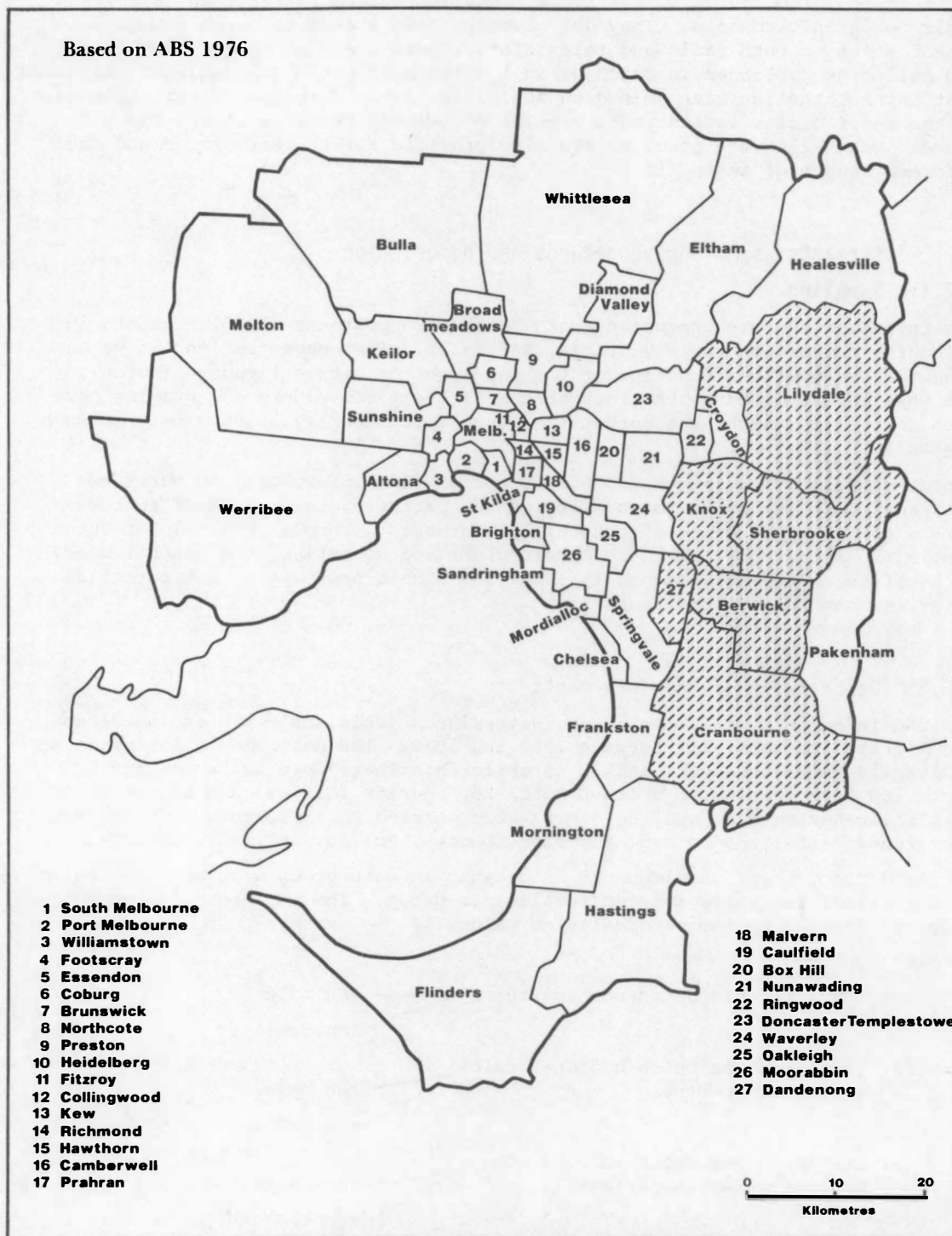
5.1. The Dutch community in Australia

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

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

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

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



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

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

5.2. Informants: sampling procedures and description

5.2.1. Sampling

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

Since Australian population records do not provide information on marriage patterns⁷ with regard to nationality of the partners, several other sources were used to obtain names of potential informants. Through the help of Dutch chaplains, secretaries of Dutch ethnic clubs and societies, the Dutch immigration office and advertisements in local and ethnic newspapers, 250 potential interview candidates were found.

5.2.2. Description of the informants

All 250 informants were born in the Netherlands (Frisians⁸ were excluded) and had migrated to Australia between 1950 and 1970. 180 had come to Australia as adults (18 years and over) and 70 as children. There were 127 women and 123 men. 100 were married to another Dutch-born person (G1), 97 had intermarried with Anglo-Australians and the others were married to immigrants of other ethnic backgrounds (Italian, German, Yugoslav, Danish, Polish, Latvian, Swedish).

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

Sample:

- | | |
|--|--|
| G1: involving two Dutch-born partners | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: center;"> { <div style="text-align: left;"> <p>ten males</p> <p>ten females</p> </div> </div> |
| G2: involving one Dutch and one Anglo-Australian partner | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: center;"> { <div style="text-align: left;"> <p>ten males</p> <p>ten females</p> </div> </div> |
| G3: involving one Dutch and one non-Anglo-Australian partner | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: center;"> { <div style="text-align: left;"> <p>ten males</p> <p>ten females</p> </div> </div> |

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

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

Group	Total	20-34	35-50	51-65	65+
G1	20	1	11	5	3
G2	20	2	10	6	2
G3	20	1	12	5	2

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

5.3. Data collection and processing

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

What language do you use when talking to your spouse?

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

Could you indicate which language you use more often?

1. English 2. Dutch 3. Other

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.4.1.1. Domain analysis

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

DOMAIN: NUCLEAR FAMILY

INTERLOCUTORS: SPOUSE, CHILDREN

Group 1

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

a. *gezelligheid*

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

b. Secrecy/habit

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

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

Very few of the G1 informants who spoke Dutch to the children (not always receiving or expecting to receive from them a Dutch reply) did so out of a conscious effort to maintain the Dutch language. The use of Dutch to the children was mainly a result of the informants' habit of speaking (some) Dutch with their spouse or with Dutch-speaking parents living in the house. The presence of the latter had a great impact on the children's use of Dutch. Children were far more willing to communicate in Dutch with their grandparents, whom they did not expect to have any great proficiency in English, than with their parents. Most informants in group 1 had started out by speaking Dutch to their young children, and had gradually shifted, willingly or unwillingly, to the exclusive or, at least, dominant use of English in communication with their offspring. This is a phenomenon typical of many immigrant families. (Haugen 1953, Bettoni 1981, Clyne 1977b, Pauwels 1980 and others). The move towards more use of English is usually instigated by the child when coming into contact with the L2-speaking world through school and playmates. Sometimes outsiders (teachers, chaplains, social workers) would advise parents to switch to the use of English in the family to alleviate linguistic and assimilation difficulties for their children. In the case of some parents, the children were regarded as useful sources of parental English language learning. Most informants of G1 were quite pleased if their children understood Dutch and did not usually insist on active command of Dutch. If parents in group 1 used Dutch to their children, its use was low, i.e. much more English than Dutch was spoken to them. They avoided using Dutch to their children in public or if English-speaking friends were around. Dutch language use usually increased temporarily before a planned visit to the Netherlands or from Dutch-speaking overseas relatives to Australia.

Group 2

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

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

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

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

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

Group 3

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

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

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

In the family of an inter-ethnic marriage, Italian seems to survive most ... and, if the father's language is Italian or Greek, that CLOTE¹⁰ is maintained the most, regardless of which is the other language. (Clyne 1982:53)

DOMAIN: EXTENDED FAMILY

INTERLOCUTORS: PARENTS, RELATIVES

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

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

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

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

DOMAIN: FRIENDSHIP

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

DOMAIN: CHURCH

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

REFORMED CHURCH

None of the G3 informants attended Dutch language services as a member of the Reformed Church. Only two female informants in G2 attended English language services of the Reformed Church. They did, however, speak some Dutch during their occasional attendance of a Ladies' Guild meeting. The language of these meetings was usually Dutch as they were attended by many elderly Dutch women. In the Dutch-Dutch marriage group (G1), six informants (four females and two males) regularly attended services in the Reformed Church and used Dutch with either the pastor or with fellow members.

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

HERVORMDEN AND ROMAN CATHOLICS

Some G1 informants went to occasional Dutch language services held by the migrant chaplain of the *Hervormden* or the Roman Catholic Church.

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

DOMAIN: WORK

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

DOMAIN: ETHNIC ORGANISATIONS

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

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

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

SUMMARY: DOMAIN ANALYSIS

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

5.4.1.2. Gender- and age-related differences

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

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

5.4.2. Dutch language use patterns in the second generation

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

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

Birthplace of parents	Male 2nd generation	Female 2nd generation	Male 1st generation	Female 1st generation
Germany	61.94	62.61	30.0	26.6
Greece	10.64	9.49	3.6	3.1
Italy	19.75	17.31	6.6	5.1
Malta	55.72	51.51	30.4	28.2
Netherlands	82.05	79.47	46.8	39.8

Source: Clyne (1982:42, 47)

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

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

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

6. CONCLUSION

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

The use of Dutch has almost completely disappeared in the interaction with non-Dutch spouses and with the children springing from a mixed marriage. The use of Dutch has also been affected in other domains, i.e. with regard to the proportion of Dutch used. Mixed marriage (G2 + G3) informants are, furthermore, more likely to put restrictions on the locale for Dutch language use. Based on the patterns of language use with eight different interlocutors, the Dutch-Dutch group (G1) displays a LM rate of 62.5%. The Dutch language use patterns in G2 and G3 have undergone a major shift to English with the former displaying only a 33.7% and the latter a 36.5% maintenance rate.

The impact of the marriage factor is even greater with regard to the language use patterns in the second generation. Children of mixed marriages are characterised by almost complete monolingualism. The L1 of their parents is neither understood nor spoken by them.

The chances of survival of the Dutch language in a mixed marriage situation are very low. Since the family domain, the domain '*par excellence*' for LM when the L1 has no longer access to domains such as education, employment, public life, etc., has become an English language domain and the use of Dutch seems to be linked entirely to interaction with the older generation, it is very likely that complete language shift may take place within the first generation (G2 and G3) with the passing of the elderly in this generation.

NOTES

1. This article is based on my M.A. Thesis: 'The effect of mixed marriage on language shift in the Dutch community in Australia', 1980. A slightly different version appeared in *ITL* 66, 1984:1-24.
2. Inter-marriage can of course be a result of the migration of single men: many single male immigrants did not return to their home country to select a bride, but married into another ethnic group.
3. In the German-American context, Kloss found the following factors to be language maintenance promoting factors: religio-societal insulation, i.e. presence of closely-knit religious groups, early time of migration, i.e. earlier or simultaneously with the arrivals of the first Anglo-Americans, existence of *Sprachinseln* (language islands), affiliation with denominations fostering parochial schools, pre-immigration experience with language maintenance efforts, former use as the only official tongue during pre-Anglo-American period.
4. The general pattern of migrant settlement has been for the poorest and the most recent migrants to settle in the inner city areas first before being able to move more outward.
5. The *Gereformeerden* established the Reformed Church of Australia in 1951. It is a strict orthodox Calvinist Church.
6. *Hervormden*: Dutch mainstream Protestant. They are affiliated with the Uniting Church in Australia.
7. Australian population records do not provide ethnic information on marriages having taken place outside Australia (i.e. immigrants' marriages) prior to migration.
8. Frisians were excluded as the Frisian language, though similar and related to Dutch, is recognised officially as a separate language.

9. Saunders (1982), however, is a clear proof that using two languages in the family does not have to be regarded as an obstacle. In his book Saunders describes the language patterns in his own family in Australia: the mother speaks to, and is spoken to by the children in English, the father (a native speaker of English but also a fluent speaker of German) constantly speaks German with the children who always reply in German.
10. CLOTE: Community Language Other Than English. This is one of the more recently developed terms to refer to languages spoken by ethnic groups in Australia.
11. There appear to be three basic models for attitudes towards the use of CLOTEs in various denominations (Clyne 1982).
 - Pluralist: Language and religion are seen as closely linked. The language of the congregation should therefore remain L1.
 - Transitional assimilationist: Religious services in L1 and ethnic parishes are seen as a transitional measure to a complete integration into an English medium church.
 - Assimilationist: Religion is not language-specific. Integration into an English medium congregation as soon as possible is seen as desirable.
12. % of males and females in Australia not regularly using English (selected countries of birth)

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

Source: ABS 1976 Census

