Tiles in a multilingual mosaic

Macedonian, Filipino and Somali in Melbourne

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1 *The context*

Human history has been characterised by the movement of peoples from one part of the world to another, motivated by such push factors as natural and human disasters, persecution and human rights abuses, and such pull factors as colonisation, exploration and the search for economic and social advancement. The current tendency towards globalisation has accentuated this movement. While the proliferation of economic ties and the speed of travel and communication has made the world a much smaller place, any particular location within the world is now faced with an increasing degree of contact between cultures and languages. Migrating people bring with them languages in various stages of planning, with differing status and with differing relationships to their personal and group identity.

In recent migration history there has been a broad distinction between New World countries such as the United States, Canada, Brazil, Argentina, Australia and New Zealand, whose development has been based on permanent settlers and may thus be termed countries of immigration, and the Old World language-based nation states, which have been seen largely as sources of such immigrants. Where immigration to these countries has occurred, such migrants have been largely regarded as 'guest workers' who will one day return to their own countries. This has had implications for both the language services provided by the host country as well as the language use and maintenance patterns of the 'guest workers'. As this expectation has proven false, and as the scope and status of immigration to these countries changes under the new world order, nations are being faced with new challenges and many new decisions with regard to both policy and practice.

The general expectation in Australia has always been that immigrants have moved to their new country for good. This expectation has been held not only by the host community and its office-holders but also by many of the immigrants themselves, and by the descendants of immigrants. For much of Australia's European-settled history, and particularly at the time of the post-war immigration boom of the late 1940s and 1950s, this has involved a clear and conscious dissociation from the country of origin and, eventually, from its language and culture. More recently, new policies and attitudes in Australia have facilitated the development of dual and multiple identities, which should allow the past and the present of the immigrants' identities to co-exist more comfortably. As we will argue throughout this monograph, language is a vital part of the development and expression of identity. It has a symbolic weight that has been recognised throughout the course of history by both policy makers and the communities they have sought to influence. The

issue of identity and its negotiation is an integral and significant part of the migration process. This is also true for the host community, which will itself be altered by the processes of migration.

The present study explores the ways in which three immigrant communities have adjusted and adapted to a new setting, and the ways in which the host community (Australia) has contributed to this process. It acknowledges the role that pre-migration experience plays in resettlement, and focuses specifically on the ways in which patterns of language use contribute to the maintenance of a pre-migration identity and/or the negotiation of a new one. The languages chosen for this research are Macedonian (from northern Greece) and the (Former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia, Filipino/Tagalog (see §1.1 below) and Somali.

1.1 The three languages

The mosaic of immigrant languages in Australia has been explored from a number of perspectives — structural and historical linguistic, sociolinguistic, demographic and psycholinguistic — over four decades (e.g., Clyne 1967, 1972, 1991, 2003; Clyne, ed. 1985; Bettoni 1981; Bettoni & Rubino 1996; Pauwels 1986; Kipp, Clyne & Pauwels 1995; Waas 1996; Ho-Dac 2001; Kovács 2001; Moan 2003). The identification of the shifting patterns of language demography — the broad pattern within the mosaic — has been complemented by the in-depth study of language communities — the individual tiles that make up the broader picture. It has been noted that while all language communities have their unique character, they also share experiences and features with other communities. So while tiles may be of different shapes and sizes, and internal patterning, they are also seen to resemble one another at one or more points. For example, a language community may share migration vintage with a number of other groups, and be of comparable size to yet another group, but the homeland experience may have been quite different for all of them. Or groups may share a cultural background in all aspects but religion. While the mosaic pattern relies on difference for its definition, repeating shadings, shapes and patterns also make for harmony.

The present monograph places the focus on three language groups, or tiles, which have until now received relatively little attention as immigrant languages, either in Australia or internationally, and which are in many ways very different from each other — ethnolinguistically, in immigration vintage and in terms of source region. In other ways, however, their experience in Australia has been similar, and some of the issues underlying this experience have been common. For example, all three languages have undergone late codification, and have faced issues in terms of status/recognition. They enable us to draw attention to the position of languages which, even within an immigration country with a multicultural ethos, are marginal to the 'main business' of multiculturalism in such areas as education, public services and the media (see §1.3 below, concerning Australian language policy). This issue is relevant to all classic immigration countries of the New Worlds as well as to the new, reluctant immigration countries of the Old World.

Insights gained into the experiences of the three languages of this study are also of relevance in other ways to the wider context of (immigrant) community languages, demonstrating the contribution of small-scale studies such as this to the wider theoretical exercise of model-building. For example, we will be considering the effects of:

1. multiple immigration vintage and three generations maintaining the language (exemplified in this instance by Macedonian speakers);
2. endogamous and exogamous families (particularly exemplified by Filipino speakers) and the effect of marriage patterns on language maintenance;
3. refugee status (exemplified here by Somali); and
4. the language situation in the country of origin prior to migration on the survival chances of the language in the country of immigration (exemplified in different ways by all the languages studied).

While data from the Australian National Census on home language use ('Does this person use a language other than English at home? If so, which one?') has enabled us to analyse and partially explain the differential in the rates of language shift to English for a wide range of languages over a number of censuses, such broad-based data can only act as a general indicator. The Census does not tell us, for example, how often and to whom the 'language other than English' is used in the home, whether the person speaks the language *outside* of their home and to whom, or whether they are literate in the language. It also tells us nothing about respondents' preferences with respect to language use or what attitudes they hold about bilingualism in general and their own language in particular. To gather such information, depth studies are necessary, and the three communities selected for special study here, while sharing sociolinguistic features with other language communities, each fits into the mosaic of Australia's multilingual, multicultural society in its own unique way. The infinite variety in the combination of features displayed by all the tiles in the wider mosaic is also evident in the three we have chosen, and the linguistic outcomes are correspondingly varied.

Macedonian speakers are one of the groups with the lowest language shift among all those languages for which we have appropriate Census information[1]. This applies to both the first and second generations. The number of respondents claiming to use Macedonian at home also rose substantially between the 1976 and 1996 censuses, and, in the absence of significant migration trends to support this (see Chapter 2), it seems probable that its use was understated in the earlier of such censuses. Danforth (1995:239) comments on the significant number of people in Australia who have changed from a 'Greek' to a 'Macedonian' identity, referring to them as 'Born-again Macedonians'. Macedonian speakers are one of the most concentrated groups in their residential patterns, not only in Melbourne, but also in Sydney and Adelaide. This concentration is based on the co-settlement of Macedonian speakers from northern Greece (an earlier vintage, with two Australian-born generations) and the (Former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia (a more recent vintage, with one Australian-born generation). Because of the late codification of the Macedonian language and the suppression of minority languages in Greece (see §2.1), most Macedonian speakers with origins in Greece are not literate in Macedonian, or have become literate in it for the first time in Australia. The very name of their language has been disputed in Australia, with the Victorian Government for several years insisting on

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[1] As statistics are not kept on language first acquired, language shift is calculated on the basis of the surrogate 'country of birth'. Such a surrogate is clearly unsatisfactory in instances where the population is/was multilingual (e.g., Yugoslavia, India) or where the speakers may have already started shifting to English prior to migration, because of its functions in the homeland, e.g., Fiji, Sri Lanka, India, Philippines.

referring to it as 'Macedonian (Slavonic)'. This initiated a conflict that has torn some families and friendship groups apart, but has also provided a rallying point for language maintenance.

The term 'Filipino', refers to a Tagalog-based national language with some (albeit minimal) concessions to other Philippines languages. Confusion has arisen in the Australian Census data, in that in 1996 Census officials coded only 'Tagalog', processing 'Filipino' as 'Tagalog'. As a result it is likely that the use of Tagalog was in fact overestimated in the 1996 census and that of regional Philippines languages underestimated. In the 2001 Census, the coding is 'Tagalog (Filipino)', which fails to capture any intended differentiation between Tagalog as a regional language and Filipino, the national language[2] (see Chapter 4). One of the issues to be canvassed in this study is the development of a Filipino-Australian identity expressed through the 'national' Filipino language (uniting the speakers of the regional languages) in much the same way as Standard Italian has become the symbol of Italo-Australian identity across regional backgrounds.

A further point of departure for Tagalog/Filipino is that, like Maltese, Tamil, Sinhala, Singapore Chinese and Fijian speakers, for example, Filipino speakers may have started their language shift to English long before migrating to Australia, since English has special functions in their country of origin. Speakers of Filipino languages are concentrated in Sydney, which has attracted the bulk of the newer communities from outside Europe (including speakers of languages such as Arabic, Korean, Spanish, Hindi, Urdu, and Fijian), with a secondary concentration in Melbourne. Tagalog/Filipino recorded the fourth highest growth rate of the major community languages in the number of home speakers between 1991 and 2001 (33.4%) following an increase of 129.6% between 1986 and 1991. It has the highest proportion of female (61%) to male speakers among community languages in Australia. While this would presuppose a high incidence of intermarriage with speakers of other languages, the census data indicates that 14.7% of Filipino home speakers are between 0 and 14 years of age and 15% between 15 and 24. A possible interpretation is that there is a high level of maintenance of Filipino in families where only the mother speaks the language. The present research will test this hypothesis.

While Melbourne's linguistic diversity is based largely on European languages, with the more recent addition of significant communities from south-east and northern Asia, the city is also attracting a number of even newer communities, admitted under the humanitarian component of the immigration program and mainly from Africa, such as speakers of Somali, Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya and Dinka. Somali is of special interest for a number of reasons. Because of their physical features, Somalis 'stand out' and are potential victims of racism. This is intensified because they are Muslims, and the women in particular will usually be identified as such by their dress. There is no easy way of predicting how racist attitudes from the host community will affect self-identification or language choice. In an earlier study (Clyne & Kipp 1999:324), we found that Arabic and Chinese speakers, for instance, have reacted quite differently to fear of racism in terms of language choice, with Chinese speakers tending to avoid their community language and Arabic speakers propagating it as an asset to the nation. Because of civil war, some Somalis have lived in other countries en route to Australia, giving them pre-migration

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[2] However, recently acquired and unofficial information from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (Rosa Gibbs pers. comm.) does now allow us to differentiate between responses, with 38,000 designating their home language as 'Filipino' and 39,000 as 'Tagalog' in 2001.

experience with language maintenance (cf. Kloss 1966, who considers this to be a clearcut language maintenance factor), but this has also required the use of competing languages, such as Arabic in Egypt or Saudi Arabia or English (and Kiswahili) in Kenya. Contact with English may also have begun in the country of origin, especially among those from the British colony. A particularly interesting issue for Somali is the ongoing conflict over the codified variety, which is continuing in Melbourne and reflects the regional and clan conflicts which have played such a significant role in recent Somali history (see below and Chapter 3). Another issue that is epitomised by Somali, but also allows for parallels with Macedonian, is to what extent a language that has a strong oral tradition and late codification can be maintained in a national and international context where literacy is all-important. Of particular importance for Somali language use patterns and literacy rates is the family disintegration and educational disruption resulting from war in the homeland. This may provide us with parallels with the Khmer, Vietnamese, and Afghan communities.

As we have already indicated, language maintenance patterns are conditioned by both pre-migration history and post-migration needs. The former includes corpus and status planning or the absence thereof in the homeland. Each of the languages chosen for this research has brought with it problematic issues from the source country, and none of the languages has been absolutely secure in its heartland. In the case of Macedonian the issues are late codification and consequent illiteracy due to suppression by other language groups. With Filipino there has been the problem of incipient national language status engendering opposition from other indigenous language groups in the homeland, a conflict which has taken place in the wider context of English as an exotic H language within a situation of diglossia (Fishman 1967). In Somali there is continuing conflict over standardisation following the H language status of English, Italian and Arabic in a diglossic relationship, with the dominant and aggrieved indigenous variety communities sharing refugee status in a country of migration. The three groups, Filipino, Macedonian, Somali, while migrating from different parts of the world, have thus arrived with somewhat similar language issues which had expressed themselves in different ways — suppression of the language (Macedonian), incipient national language (Filipino), suppression of a minority variety in the codification of a majority variety as the basis for the standard language (Somali).

1.2 Australia's immigration program — changing policies and increasing diversity

Throughout Australia's long history of non-English-speaking immigration both refugee and economic migrations have played significant roles. For example, 19th century Australia saw not only the waves of European and Asian immigrants in the wake of the discovery of gold, but also 'Old Lutherans' from eastern Germany fleeing religious suppression and refugees from the 1848 German and Italian revolutions. There were refugees from the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 and refugees from Nazism in 1938–39. The largest wave of refugees ever to reach Australia did so immediately following World War 2, when some 170,000 displaced persons from Central and Eastern Europe were settled here. Subsequent migration waves have included refugees from Chile, Viet Nam and Pol Pot's Cambodia. The post-war period also saw a huge influx of economic immigrants (largely from the United Kingdom, western and southern Europe), brought to Australia to provide a workforce for an expanding secondary industry, and also to boost population in the event of attack from Australia's northern neighbours. Immigration continues to play a major part

in Australia's population management and development, although the major source countries have undergone a number of changes since the post-war period and the make-up of the immigration numbers continues to reflect both world events and shifting Australian policy.

For example, with the introduction by the Whitlam Government (1972–75) of the 'Structured Selection Assessment System' (allocating points to various skills) the way was opened for 'non-white' immigrants to compete for entry on the same basis as 'white' immigrants (thus effectively dismantling the 'White Australia Policy' which had been in place since the federation of Australia in 1901), and the non-European component of the immigration program increased accordingly. For instance, over 80% of the immigration from Greece, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands since the Second World War occurred before 1971, whereas 89% of the immigration from Asia and the Middle East for the same period took place after 1970, 52% after 1980. Immigration from Northeast Asia, with a large component of highly skilled people (see below) grew from 4% of the total immigrant intake in 1982–83 to 18% of the total in 1990–91. Since 1988–89, when the total immigration intake peaked at 124,700, there has been a steady downturn in immigrant numbers, dropping to 107,391 in 1991–92, to 69,768 in 1993–94, back to 82,500 in 1995–96, then to 77,110 in 1997–98. In 1999–2000 it stood at 92,141, 35.4% of which, however, was 'non-program' (i.e., non-visaed) immigration (largely New Zealand citizens). Not only has the emphasis in recent years moved away from the 'Family' category to the 'Skills' category (comprising 52% of the total immigration program in 1997–98, the highest to that point of time), the categories themselves have been adjusted to accentuate the importance of skills, even where family members are involved — since July 1997, the category formerly known as 'Concessional family' (i.e., non-dependent siblings, nephews, nieces, parents, etc.) has been included in the Skill category as 'Skilled — Australian Linked'.

The major eligibility categories now in operation within Australia's immigration program are:

- Family stream (preferential) — includes dependent family members and spouses/ prospective spouses
- Skill stream
    - Skilled-Australian Linked (old 'concessional family' category: allows Australian residents to sponsor non-dependent family members subject to a points test involving work skills, age, etc.)
    - Regional Linked — allows sponsorship of skilled relatives to designated areas of Australia
    - Employer nomination — nominated by employers unable to find or train skilled workers in Australia
    - Business skills — successful business people with a commitment to establishing a business in Australia
    - Distinguished talent — people with outstanding records of achievement in particular areas
    - Independent — unsponsored applicants able to contribute to Australia's economy

- Special Eligibility (relatively small numbers involved, includes such applicants as former residents/citizens of Australia)
- Humanitarian Program
  - Refugee Program — inshore and offshore
  - Special Humanitarian Programs
  - Special Assistance Category (discretionary)
- Non-program immigrants (i.e., non-visaed) — largely New Zealand citizens.

For the period 1992–2000 the categories have been distributed in the following way ('concessional family' has been added to 'skills' in the years preceding 1997 for ease of comparison):

Table 1.1: Proportion of immigrants per category, 1992–2000

Category	1992–93	1993–94	1994–95	1997–98	1998–99	1999–2000
Family	31.3%	25.9%	33.3%	27.3%	25.6%	21.6%
Skill	39.8%	40.5%	32.2%	33.6%	33.2%	35.1%
Humanitarian	14.3%	16.3%	15.6%	11.4%	10.4%	7.9%
Non-program	13.1%	16.2%	18.4%	27.4%	30.6%	35.4%
Total number	76,330	69,768	87,428	77,110	84,143	92,141

Significant changes are the steady drop in the humanitarian program from 1993–94 (accelerating after 1996, when the present Liberal (conservative) government was elected), the drop in the family program (largely achieved by stricter strategies in determining *bona fides* of spouses/fiancés and by capping the numbers for dependent parents) and the steady increase in the 'Non-program' immigrants (i.e., largely New Zealand citizens).

Throughout the 1980s the most important source countries for migration after the UK were located in Southeast and Northeast Asia: Viet Nam, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Malaysia, Taiwan, China — not necessarily always in that order. The proportion of migrants from the United Kingdom did, however, drop from 41.3% in 1973–74 to 18.7% in 1983–84. During the early 1990s there was a relative decrease in immigrant numbers from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Malaysia, although proportionately numbers from Viet Nam, the Philippines and the PRC remained relatively steady. There was an increase in migration from eastern Europe beginning from 1992. From 1995, the situation has been as follows:

Table 1.2: Source of immigrants, 1995–2000 (Australian Bureau of Statistics)

	1995–96	1996–97	1997–98	1998–99	1999–2000
Oceania	16.4%	19.5%	23%	26.7%	28.2%
UK/Ireland	12.2%	12.2%	12.8%	11.2%	10.8%
S. Europe	8.9%	7.2%	7.6%	7.6%	5.3%
W. Europe	2.1%	2.4%	2.1%	1.9%	2.0%
N. Europe	0.4%	0.5%	0.4%	0.3%	0.3%

	1995–96	1996–97	1997–98	1998–99	1999–2000
E. Europe	1.3%	1.4%	25.2%	23.3%	20.4%
Former USSR + Baltic States	26.7%	25.9%	na	na	na
Middle East	6.6%	6.3%	6.4%	5.0%	5.4%
North Africa	1.1%	1.0%	1.1%	1.2%	1.1%
S.E. Asia	13.3%	13.2%	12.5%	13.0%	12.2%
N.E. Asia	18.8%	17.6%	13.2%	12.9%	12.3%
S. Asia	7.8%	6.5%	6.9%	6.3%	7.9%
N. America	2.5%	2.8%	2.6%	1.9%	1.1%
S. America, Cent. America + Caribbean	1.3%	1.2%	0.9%	0.9%	0.7%
rest of Africa	5.5%	5.8%	8.1%	8.6%	8.5%
Total	99,139	85,752	77, 327	84,143	92,272

Points of interest in this table include:

- the steady rise from Oceania (i.e., largely New Zealand) — this rise more than compensates for the drop from UK/Ireland (New Zealand, later included under 'Oceania': 1963:1.4%; 1973:3.6%, 1983:8.2%, 1993:8.8%)
- a drop in immigrant numbers from southern Europe
- the significance of eastern Europe in mid 1990s, but a gradual dropping off since then
- a slight drop from the Middle East
- numbers from southeast Asia have been relatively steady, but there has been a decline in numbers from northeast Asia
- an increase in numbers from 'rest of Africa' — this is largely due to a growing South African component in the Skill stream.

If we assume that immigrants from the UK, New Zealand and most of those from 'rest of Africa, including South Africa' and North America will be from an English-speaking background, then between 46 and 49% of the immigration program in 1999–2000 would fit into this category. This is very comparable with the situation in 1963–64, when some 50% of the immigration program was from English-speaking countries, but not with that in 1983, where only 29% fitted in this category, or 1991 (22%). It would appear that immigration policy is swinging away from non-English-speaking countries, and also away from source countries that are culturally quite different from Australia. Numbers entering Australia under the humanitarian program (where one would expect a culturally diverse input) have dropped considerably since the mid-1990s, although humanitarian crises have clearly not diminished throughout the world. By far the largest component of the program in 1997–98 was from the former Yugoslavia (49.4%), followed by Iraq (15.6%) and Afghanistan (7.5%). Actual numbers from the last two source countries were less than two and a half thousand.

While official rhetoric (based on birthplace statistics for the Australian population) may still extol the virtues of Australia's cultural diversity, such diversity is not at present reflected in the actual immigration intake and this must have implications for future trends in language demography.

1.3 Australia's language policy and its impact on languages of more limited communication

While the advent of an explicit national language policy has been a relatively recent and arguably not a lasting phenomenon, language policies have, in fact, operated throughout the history of European settlement in Australia. For most of the 20th century, the policies have been negative ones. They have discouraged the use of languages other than English, or at least relegated them to the private sphere. The big turnaround occurred in the early to mid 1970s, when Australia's espousal of multiculturalism generated policies in the interests of social justice, such as the provision of public services, interpreting and broadcasting in community languages, and the extension of the range of languages taught in schools and universities to include more community (i.e., immigrant) languages.

The 1980s saw a parliamentary inquiry into the need for an explicit and comprehensive national language policy and the release of the subsequent National Policy on Languages. The report of the inquiry, based on evidence and opinions provided by the public during 18 months of hearings or in written submissions, established the following guiding principles which became the basis of subsequent language policy at the federal and state levels:

1. English for all
2. maintenance and development of community and indigenous languages
3. provision of services in community and indigenous languages
4. learning of second languages.

The National Policy on Languages (Lo Bianco 1987) was based on the guiding principles and informed by Australian and international research. It balanced strong arguments in favour of multilingualism from the viewpoints of social equity, economic strategies and cultural enrichment, and recommended implementational strategies, including budgetary requirements, which were accepted by Parliament.

But soon the tide of Australian policies and society turned, and Australian society and the entire government apparatus were to be dominated by economic rationalism (neo-liberalism), the principle of 'user pays', and concomitantly a decline in the emphasis on social agendas (see papers in Lo Bianco & Wickert 2001). A new Australian Language and Literacy Policy (ALLP) was developed to accommodate to this. It was the work of the minister (The Hon. John Dawkins) and public servants of the by then amalgamated portfolio of Employment, Education and Training (note the order). The emphasis was on employment and training needs, hence an emphasis on languages of economic benefit and on English literacy. A dichotomy of language and literacy was introduced into the discussion, with 'literacy' being viewed in monolingual English terms. Some 14 languages were 'prioritised' because of their importance to the nation, and each of the six

states and two territories[3] were required to further prioritise eight of these. The Federal Government would then grant schools or school systems (state, Catholic) $300 for each student successfully completing the matriculation examination in one of these languages in an effort to lift the retention rate in LOTEs (languages other than English — the term used to avoid 'foreign languages' in a multicultural society) to the final year of schooling. Although the prioritised languages (both federal and state) included the major community languages Greek, Italian and Vietnamese, as well as international languages which have also become important community languages, such as Chinese (Mandarin), German, and Spanish, the three languages in the present study do not rate a mention as prioritised languages at either national or state level.

The ALLP has been followed by a return to a fragmented language policy. There have been policies on Asian languages, on literacy, on translating and interpreting. Because school education is constitutionally a responsibility of the states, each state has its own languages-in-education policy. The position of LOTEs in primary and secondary schools across the nation varies vastly. For instance, Victoria requires a LOTE to be part of the curriculum of all children for the first eleven years of education, starting with Preparatory, the year before Grade 1, while New South Wales requires all pupils to take only (at least) 100 hours of a LOTE as part of their junior secondary curriculum. It should be noted that there is also variation between the situation in government and non-government schools (either Catholic or independent, the latter being frequently aligned with other religious denominations). The report, *Asian Languages and Australia's Economic Future* (Rudd 1996) proceeds from the assumption that languages should be studied for their economic usefulness, especially for trade and tourism, and that Australia's economic relations will be increasingly bound to neighbouring Asian nations. Filipino does not rate a mention, nor does Vietnamese (or Cantonese), the thrust being towards Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, and Mandarin. Many states, including Victoria, no longer prioritise particular languages, but where this prioritisation takes (or took) place, French, German, Greek, Italian, Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese, and either Spanish or Vietnamese feature/d prominently. The push towards 'economically useful' languages has been a factor in the closure of two out of the five primary school Macedonian programs running in Melbourne in 1998. However, one of the remaining ones is a thriving bilingual program, and there are still seven mainstream secondary schools with Macedonian programs. There are no mainstream schools teaching Somali and only one Catholic primary school teaching Filipino.

Some states have developed ways of delivering programs in community languages which are dispersed or which have small numbers of speakers. The Victorian School of Languages (VSL) is an institution of the Education Department of that state which operates from 33 schools on Saturdays and teaches a total of 47 languages.[4] These are most of the languages accredited as subjects for the Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE, matriculation) examination, including Filipino (taught at two centres, both outside Melbourne) and Macedonian (taught at six centres, five in the Melbourne metropolitan area and one in the second largest urban centre, Geelong). Moves to introduce Somali have not yet come to fruition. There are similar institutions in New South Wales and South Australia. Filipino and Macedonian are offered in New South Wales (at 5 out of 16 centres), but not in South Australia.

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3 Territories are entities that do not enjoy the full status of states but which, among other things, have their own education system — the Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory (Canberra).

4 This is in addition to part-time (usually Saturday) schools run by ethnic communities.

Following the acceptance of the Report on Post-Arrival Services and Programs to Migrants (Galbally Report) in 1978, a second nation-wide government television channel (Special Broadcasting Service, SBS) has specialised in films in languages other than English, with English sub-titles, English-language programs focussing on cultural diversity, and, more recently, also satellite news broadcasts in languages other than English. However, of 3,661 hours of television in languages other than English in 2002–03, only 17.76 hours were in Filipino and nothing was offered in the other two languages. SBS also runs one or two multilingual radio stations in each city or region, in a total of 68 languages (SBS Annual Report 2002–2003). These now include Macedonian, Somali and Filipino programs. In addition, there are public multilingual community stations broadcasting in each of the languages in Melbourne and on some stations in other capital cities. There are currently a total of eleven hours in Macedonian, seven in Filipino and two in Somali on Melbourne's three most multilingual radio stations. In addition, there is a low-frequency 24 hour radio station broadcasting in Macedonian. A public multilingual community television station in Melbourne presents half an hour weekly in Macedonian and fortnightly in Somali.

Australia also has a telephone interpreter service operating in over 90 languages, including the three under consideration. Public notices on elections and voting procedures, health and safety and special security matters, the traffic code, the education system, and library facilities are now issued in a range of languages. The actual languages depend on the nature of the announcement and whether the notices are directed to a local community with a specific demography or a wider one. In the latter case, about 20 languages are usually used, including Filipino and Macedonian but not Somali. In most states, the local public library system has, since the 1970s, endeavoured to meet the needs of a linguistically and culturally diverse population, with holdings reflecting the language demography of the user area. However, this too has not greatly benefited the readers of the languages under consideration. Of over 300,000 community language books in the public libraries of Victoria in 1997 (the year of the latest survey), 2,223 were in Macedonian, 467 in Filipino, and eight in Somali.

The above brief account has brought to the fore some inequalities in the provision of services in community languages, with our three languages somewhat disadvantaged within the broader range of support for community languages. This may be partly an indication that community language service provision is not keeping up with demographic change. An additional factor may be that none of the languages is projected publicly as being of benefit to Australia economically in a context where money is considered all-important. They are not considered of regional importance to Australia, despite the location of the Philippines. They are neither international languages nor the languages of big business. None of the languages are projected as embodying a 'culture' such as Japanese, Chinese, Italian, Greek, German or French that may enrich people of other backgrounds. They have not been prioritised for mainstream school language teaching, and the numbers of students wishing to take the languages are not very high. At the same time there has, with the possible exception of Macedonian, not been a great push from these groups for their language to be taught more.

However, while the three ethnolinguistic groups, coming from different parts of the world, have faced somewhat similar problems here, each group has also had its own unique experience in Australia. There has been ongoing friction between Greek and

Macedonian speakers in Melbourne, with the political advantage often on the side of the demographically stronger Greek community. Filipino is perhaps seen as superfluous because people in the Philippines can also use English and the Filipino language is largely identified with women married to English speakers. Somalis are perceived as a disadvantaged group who should be helped to settle and be protected from racism rather than from loss of culture and from the loss of the means to communicate across generations. Another major difference between the language communities is in their pre-migration exposure to English. Macedonian speakers had no contact with English on arrival, except for the latest vintage from the Republic, who may have taken English as a foreign language at school. Filipinos and Somalis (except for some from the south) have had experience of English as a colonial language and a means of instruction, a language from which Somalis liberated themselves, and with which Filipinos have had an ambiguous relationship, having developed their national language to ease themselves away from it while still clinging to it in some domains (see Chapters 3 and 4 respectively).

In a previous study (Clyne & Kipp 1999), we found evidence of differences in language attitudes between older and newer migrations. Older groups and vintages tended to be less assertive of language rights, less supportive of multiculturalism, more satisfied with any concession to pluralism. The newer groups and vintages tended to be more assertive of language rights, more supportive of multiculturalism, and complained more of the state of pluralism. They also had more contact with the homeland due to better communications and cheaper airfares, and tended to use new technologies such as internet, email and video in the community language more than then older groups. This needs to be revisited for the groups studied, including the Somalis who, like some of the European groups of the 1930s and 1940s, came as refugees. The Filipinos and Somalis are relatively recent arrivals. However, the Macedonians constitute two vintages — the earlier one from northern Greece and the more recent one from former Yugoslavia.[5]

1.4 Australia's and Melbourne's language demography (including differential language shift)

According to the 2001 Census, 26.9% of Melbourne's population (as opposed to 15.4% for the entire Australian population) speak a language other than English in the home. This is clearly an underestimate, given that many people regularly use a language other than English not in their own home but in that of their parents or other elderly relatives or in community groups. Also, since the question reads: 'Does this person speak a language other than English in the home? If so … give language', any negative answer (e.g., from people living on their own) is interpreted as the default response, 'English only'.

The following breakdown of languages (top 10) in Australia, Melbourne and Sydney from the 2001 census indicates that Macedonian and Filipino are both quite prominent nationally, whereas Somali was in 2001 still one of many demographically less significant languages (in 61st position nationally, 72nd in Sydney and 41st in Melbourne). Macedonian is more prominent in Melbourne, and Tagalog in Sydney (Macedonian speakers are in 7th

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5 While we realise that there can be no absolute distinction between 'early' and 'late' vintage on the basis of source country, it is nevertheless true that the vast majority of the earlier Macedonian-speaking immigrants to Australia came from northern Greece, and that the vast majority of more recent Macedonian-speaking immigrants come from the former Yugoslavia. These are the groups that we shall be referring to when discussing 'earlier' and 'later' vintages of Macedonian speakers.

position in Melbourne and are the 12th largest group in Sydney, while Tagalog speakers are the 8th largest group in Sydney and the 13th largest in Melbourne). Macedonian is the only language from outside the Asian region to show a significant increase nationally from 1991 to 1996. Succeeding tables will concentrate on the Census period between 1996 and 2001.

Table 1.3: Top 10 community languages in Australia, 2001

Language	2001	Percentage change from 1991
Italian	353606	-15.6
Greek	263718	-7.7
Cantonese	225307	+38.9
Arabic (incl. Lebanese)	209371	+28.6
Vietnamese	174236	+58.1
Mandarin	139288	+155.9
Spanish	93595	+3.4
Tagalog (Filipino)	**78879**	**+33.4**
German	76444	-32.6
Macedonian	**71994**	**+11.7**
Somali	**4465**	**+95.7**

Table 1.4: Top 10 community languages in Melbourne and Sydney, 2001

Melbourne			Sydney		
Language	2001	Percentage change from 1996	Language	2001	Percentage change from 1996
Italian	134675	-6.1	Arabic (incl. Lebanese)	142467	+16.2
Greek	118755	-1.4	Cantonese	116384	+13.7
Vietnamese	63033	+17.8	Greek	83926	-2.9
Cantonese	59303	+13.2	Italian	79683	-5.6
Arabic (incl. Lebanese)	45736	+18.0	Vietnamese	65923	+20.6
Mandarin	37994	+52.8	Mandarin	63716	+63.5
Macedonian	**30859**	**-0.5**	Spanish	44672	+1.8
Turkish	26598	+9.8	**Tagalog (Filipino)**	**40139**	**+12.0**
Spanish	21852	+1.0	Korean	29538	+31.9
Croatian	21690	+1.0	Hindi	27283	+43.2
Tagalog (Filipino)	**16759**	**+12.2**	**Macedonian**	**19973**	**+6.0**
Somali	**2845**	**+78.6**	**Somali**	**691**	**+70.2**

The first generation language shift, calculated from the percentage of those born in a particular country using 'English only' in the home, varies between 2.4% for those born in Viet Nam and 63.3% for those born in the Netherlands. Table 1.5 sets out the language shift rates for the languages of this study for 1996 and 2001. One must bear in mind that it is impossible to tell from which of the Filipino languages the shift to English has occurred, or, indeed, whether the shift for the first generation had already been initiated in the Philippines, given the important functions of English in Filipino society (including as a *lingua franca* within inter-regional families). English also had functions in Somali public life, especially as a language of education and, in the British colonial area, as a language of administration (see Chapter 3). Figures given for Macedonian are for those born in the (Former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia (our Group B). Based on birthplace alone, it has not been possible in the past to calculate language shift for Macedonian speakers born in Greece (our Group A). The addition of a question on ancestry in the 2001 Census has, however, made it possible for us to estimate language shift for Greek-born persons claiming 'Macedonian' as their ancestry of first choice (up to two ancestries were coded) in 2001. This is added beneath the table, with the proviso that the means of calculation were different, and the figures are not fully comparable. Up until 1996, language shift in the second generation was calculated as the percentage of persons born in Australia (and now speaking only English at home) with one or both parents born in a country where a particular language other than English is spoken. The changing of the question on parental birthplace in the 2001 Census to include only two options ('in Australia' or 'outside Australia') has made it impossible for us to calculate language shift for the second generation in 2001. We do not have figures on language use for Somali in the first generation in 1996.

Table 1.5: Language shift for Filipino, Macedonian and Somali, 1996 and 2001

	Filipino		Macedonian		Somali	
	1996	*2001*	*1996*	*2001*	*1996*	*2001*
First generation	24.8%	27.4%	3%	4.7%	na	3.4%
Second generation	75.3%	na	14.8%	na	24.7%	na

Language shift calculated on the basis of ancestry (Macedonian) for Greek-born persons, 2001:8.3%

It is clear from these figures that both Somali and Macedonian are much better maintained in the first generation in Australia than is Filipino. The intergenerational shift for Filipino is striking, as indeed is the proportional increase for Somali (one may assume that the first generation shift rate for 1996 would have been very low, particularly given the recency of the migration — see §3.2).

1.5 Models and factors of language maintenance and shift and their applicability to the languages under consideration, in the Australian context

A study of language shift across time and ethnolinguistic groups (Clyne 2003:Ch. 2) shows language shift to be a product of both pre-migration and post-migration experiences, mediated through culture. Factors promoting language maintenance and language shift (Kloss 1966; Conklin & Lourie 1983) should additionally be seen in combinations rather

than in isolation. For instance geographical concentration, while traditionally seen as promoting language maintenance, may be offset by other factors particular to certain languages. This is exemplified by the Australian Maltese community, which experienced quite a rapid shift to English even though they were very concentrated geographically. An explanation for this may be found in the situation of diglossia[6] which operated in Malta at the time of migration between English (H language) and Maltese (L language) — there was pre-migration experience of English, which in addition was regarded as the prestige language of social advancement. For the Macedonian community, on the other hand, which had very little experience of English prior to migration and arrived with low or nonexistent proficiency in English, concentration appears to have been a factor promoting language maintenance.

Factors operating on language shift (LS) can be both individual and group-related. Individual factors include:[7]

- *Generation* — LS increases with each generation.
- *Age* — In the 1st generation LS tends to decrease and in the second to increase with age.
- *Exogamy* — The 2nd generation from exogamous marriages will shift more than those from endogamous marriages.
- *Gender* — In some groups there is a greater tendency to shift in males (largely European-origin groups) or females (largely Asian-origin groups), especially in the first generation. This seems to correlate with exogamy trends (Clyne & Kipp 1997:465–467).
- *Socioeconomic mobility* — Membership of the elite can mean less time for one's own ethnolinguistic group and the use of English across a wider spectrum of interlocutors.
- *English proficiency* — This varies but on the whole, those groups with higher English proficiency are more likely to shift than those with more limited English proficiency. In those groups with more limited English proficiency, the younger people are more likely to maintain the language to communicate with the older generation. But this does not happen consistently – for instance, second generation Australians from Cantonese, Mandarin and Italian speaking families record a high LS in the home despite relatively low English proficiency ratings in those communities.

Among *group factors* we find some of the ambivalent ones identified by Kloss (1966) (the first three below):

- *Community size* — Large groups can afford substantial language maintenance (LM) institutions but cannot avoid multiple contacts with other groups as much as smaller ones.
- *Pre-migration experience* — A group that has had experience maintaining its language in a competition situation, especially with English, may be better equipped

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6 In the sense of Fishman (1965), a model revised from Ferguson (1959).

7 Again based on Clyne (2003:Ch. 2).

to resist this challenge. However, it may wish to maintain the more important majority language from their country or region of origin (Polish or Russian for Yiddish speakers, Greek for Macedonian, German for 19th century Sorbian settlers, Dutch for Frisians) or, in the case of prior contact with English, they may not see a need to use their original first language (L1) at all.

- *Educational level* — A higher educational level facilitates a high culture around the community language and additional opportunities for its use; a lower educational level promotes isolation from the dominant culture and thus LM. On the other hand, a higher educational level brings the immigrant closer to the cultural life of the dominant group, while less education could lead to a more limited range of cultural; activities within the ethnolinguistic group. Both of these situations promote LS.
- *The situation in the homeland* — In the case of refugees, fleeing from an oppressive regime can lead to their complete abandonment of the language and culture (as with some refugees from Germany and Austria in the 1930s) or a preoccupation with the language and culture which they consider to have been 'corrupted' in the country of origin (as with Latvian, Lithuanian and some Croatian refugees of the late 1940s), whose stated intention was to return to their homeland after its liberation.
- *Cultural distance (incl. religious distinctiveness)* — The languages with high LS rates in both the first and second generations tend to be those from northern and central European cultures; those with low LS rates are from southern Europe and the Middle East, with speakers from Eastern Orthodox or Muslim backgrounds (cf. Fishman 1985 on religious distinctiveness as a factor). Contrary to Kloss (1966), who lumps cultural and linguistic distance together, it seems to be cultural rather than linguistic distance that is important. This is borne out by vastly different LS rates for languages with similar distance from English (Maltese: high; Arabic: low; Hungarian: fairly high; Turkish: low) and in some cases, differences in LS for different groups with the same pluricentric languages (European Spanish: medium; Chilean Spanish: low).
- *Attitude of majority to language or group* — Suppression of a language or of a culture can lead to assimilation or to greater efforts to maintain a language.
- *The role of language in a cultural value system* — In some cultures, speaking the ethnic language is understood as essential to group membership or closely linked with other cultural values such as religion, family cohesion or a common history that are essential to this (Greek, Arabic); in others, this is less or not so (Dutch, Irish) (Smolicz 1981). Smolicz's model has been refined over time and now recognises some variation between sub-groups and generations within an ethnolinguistic community in the importance of language as a core value (Smolicz et al. 1990; 2001; Katsikis 1997; Clyne 1991, 2005). The core value theory now takes into account the fact that attitudes may or may not correspond to actual language maintenance and that the relation between collectivist (family) or individualist values and language varies between cultures.
- *Ease of travel to homeland* (Conklin & Lourie 1983) — Traditionally, very long distances and high travel expenses made it very difficult for immigrants to visit their homelands. This has changed, and more recent groups and vintages have taken for granted their own visits home and those of their relatives from the homeland. This

applies especially to countries in the Asia-Pacific region, and some immigrant groups, especially from Hong Kong and Taiwan and parts of India, maintain business links with such homelands, something that prevents LS of the proportions evident in families from the People's Republic of China (PRC).

Some more general factors include:

Time — This should not be seen merely as a quantifiable measure of *period of residence*, assuming that the longer a person, family or community have lived in the new country, the more time they will have had to shift to its dominant language. It can also indicate *migration vintage*, which can represent a difference in attitude to and practice in LM (see §1.3). This will encompass both reasons for migration and the likely settlement experiences, such as pressure to assimilate or the promotion of multiculturalism.

Place — Geographical concentration of a group facilitates access to other speakers, to a range of activities and transactions through the language, and the conglomeration of language maintenance institutions. But, as has been stated above, that does not necessarily prevent LS if that is motivated by other factors, such as ethnic regrouping, as in the case of the highly concentrated Yiddish-speaking community, or pre-migration diglossia, in the case of the highly concentrated Maltese-speaking community.

Ethnolinguistic vitality — This is a notion developed by Giles et al. (1977) and extended in later publications (e.g. Bourhis 2001). The concept involves the willingness and ability of a group to behave distinctively in inter-group situations. This is usually measured both through questionnaires and by analysing factors such as demography, economic status and perceived status of the group, and international status of the language. In the Australian context, most of these factors do not play a significant role except sometimes in combination, as a comparison of language shifts over successive censuses has revealed (see Clyne 2003; Yağmur et al. 1999 for Turkish in Australia).

Fishman's (1985) quantitative model to predict and explain language use and maintenance focuses on two kinds of variables — racial, religious and cultural distance and the number of language maintenance institutions in the respective community. While the comparative analysis of Australian data has suggested some problems with the variables (Clyne 2003), the variables are ones that are extremely amenable to the study of the three languages in Melbourne which are the subject of this monograph.

For a study of relatively minor languages in contact with the major international language in a country in which it is the dominant language, an overwhelming question arises, namely is it worthwhile or even feasible to maintain the language? The model that not only permits the comparison of states of shift but also facilitates action is Fishman's Reversing Language Shift (1991). This is based on eight stages of his 'quasi-implicational' Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Fishman 1991:87). Each stage is a step towards reversing language shift. Stages 5 to 8 are all concerned with the creation

of special functions for the community language, providing the need to guarantee natural intergenerational language transmission:[8]

Stage 8 — Reassembling the language.

Stage 7 — Most users beyond child-bearing age, but socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active.

Stage 6 – Family-neighbourhood-community based link with younger generation. Speakers demographically concentrated, and language institutionally supported.

Stage 5 — Community language literacy in the home and community, without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy (including community-run and funded after-school-hours language programs).

Of these, *Stage 6* is the most crucial to intergenerational language transmission.

Stages 4 to 1 involve 'increasing power-sharing' with the dominant language.

Stage 4a — Ethnic day schools satisfying state compulsory education requirements.

Stage 4b — Community language programs in mainstream schools.

Stage 3 — Community language work spheres, involving interaction with the wider community.

Stage 2 — Mass media and lower-level government spheres.

Stage 1 — Higher education and higher government spheres.

As can be deduced from §1.2, Macedonian has both a long continuing and a short history in Australia, while Filipino and Somali are recent additions to the language mosaic. In Chapter 5, we will attempt to place each of the languages in a stage of disruption.

1.6 Methodology

This project employs both quantitative and qualitative methods in a combination which proved successful in an earlier study of Arabic, Chinese and Spanish in Australia (Clyne & Kipp 1999).

There were two focus group meetings held for each language group, one at the beginning and one at the end of the project. The focus groups brought together key people from various sections of each community, such as ethnic and day school teachers, religious leaders, community group and welfare society office-bearers, social workers, broadcasters and editors to provide us with basic information about the community and introductions to networks for the surveys (cf. Milroy 1980; Milroy & Li Wei 1995). The initial focus group meeting provided us with input on the ways in which the community feels the language is being maintained and its perceived success, as well as fundamental community attitudes to multiculturalism and multilingualism in Australia. The final focus group enabled us to report on findings, and especially to elicit input from a broad cross-section of key community representatives into the interpretation of the data, particularly if some issues were ambiguous.

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[8] The naming of the stages has been simplified and adapted to the Australian community language context.

For the quantitative part of the project, a written questionnaire was devised and administered by a language-specific research assistant, from within the ethnolinguistic community and with many community contacts. The surveys collected information on background, family type, language use patterns both within the family and socially, media use, literacy practices and (self-evaluated) language proficiency in both the community language and English. Individual attitudes on language and multiculturalism and information on language use patterns and social networks were also elicited. Because of immigration and settlement history and demographic characteristics, there were differences in the sampling methods for each group.

Some 20 individuals from the first generation of immigrants were interviewed for both the Macedonian and Filipino groups. An even distribution of males/females was aimed for, and in the Macedonian group there was the added factor of birthplace: northern Greece or the (Former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia (10 from each). For the Macedonian group 40 second generation people were interviewed, 20 with parents from northern Greece and 20 with parents from the Republic of Macedonia. All second generation informants were over the age of 15, and as broad an age range as possible was aimed for (some of the informants with parents from the earlier vintage were already in the 35–45 age range). It was even possible to find third generation Australians with one parent born in Australia of parents from northern Greece. Ten such informants were interviewed, bringing the total of Macedonian group informants to 70.

The Filipino migration being a more recent one, it was quite difficult to find 40 informants over the age of 15 who were born in Australia. This meant that we had to widen the age range to include a section 10–15, also that we included in the second generation children born in the Philippines but with all or almost all their formal education undertaken in Australia. Twenty informants from Filipino-Filipino marriages were included, and 20 from Filipino-non-Filipino marriages. In the latter case, all the female parents were from the Philippines.

The Somali migration is even more recent than that from the Philippines, and the 'true' second generation are still quite small children, and not candidates for the kind of survey outlined above. It also became evident to us that the family structures among Somali speakers in Melbourne are quite different from those of other immigrant groups, largely because of their refugee status. For example, many families do not migrate together, and many are permanently fragmented/disrupted, with children living with aunts/uncles or other guardians in Australia, the grandparent generation often not accessible and a large proportion of single parent families (usually mother and children). Unlike the other groups in this study, the Somali speakers in Melbourne have often remigrated through other countries, such as Saudi Arabia or Kenya, which has added to their linguistic repertoire as well as to their experience of displacement. In many cases family members are still in this intermediate country, sometimes working, but often waiting to be sponsored by family members in Australia. For these reasons it seemed more practical and informative to base the Somali part of the study on families rather than on individuals. Ten families were selected, with representation from each of the two major dialect/clan groups. They were chosen from a range of residential areas in Melbourne, there was one multigenerational family (i.e., with grandparents living with children and grandchildren) and there was one single parent family. The number of informants yielded by this method was 36. Children from the age of 10 were interviewed, generally no more than two from each family. The

survey replies were considered both across families and as part of family case studies. Because of the recency of the migration, informants were divided into 'parental' and 'younger' generation rather than first or second generation, as only one child interviewed was actually born in Australia and a number migrated as young teenagers.

1.7 Concluding remarks

The study of the Macedonian, Filipino and Somali language communities in Melbourne enables us to consider the impact of factors such as the following on the long-term viability of the community language:

1. English influence prior to emigration (Somali, Filipino, not Macedonian)
2. disadvantaged or suppressed languages prior to migration (Macedonian, Somali, not Filipino)
3. late codification (all these languages)
4. oral tradition; some illiteracy (Somali, Macedonian, not Filipino)
5. degree of cultural, racial and religious distance (Somali most distant in every respect; Filipino distinctive in race, Macedonian distinctive in religion)
6. migration vintage (particularly between the two distinct vintages of Macedonian speakers, but also between the 'older' Macedonian vintage and the 'newer' Filipino and Somali migrations)
7. marriage patterns (particularly within the Filipino community).

What all the languages have in common is their late codification, problems in their status/recognition (albeit in different ways), and their marginality to the 'main business' of multiculturalism and language teaching in Australia. One of the important issues is whether it is possible for such languages to be maintained at all.

2 *Macedonian*

The Macedonian tile has been part of the Australian mosaic for many years, its first significant presence dating from the 1920s. While national birthplace has varied, commitment to the Macedonian language has typically been strong. The community has never set out to be particularly 'visible' in the Australian context, although they have demonstrated in recent years their willingness to fight for their language rights in the public arena. This tile could be described as sturdy, although somewhat muted in shading, and different 'batches' (or vintages) have had a high degree of consistency.

2.1 History of the Macedonian language

The region of Macedonia, like much of the Balkans, has been a multilingual, multicultural one for many centuries, and in fact was likely to have been so at the time of Philip and Alexander (Lockwood 1972:6, 162). The ancient Macedonians were related to the Greeks but regarded by them as foreigners. Not much is known of the ancient Macedonian language since only a few fragments are retained, mainly in glosses and proper nouns (Lockwood 1972:6).

By the sixth and seventh centuries, the majority of the population in the Macedonian region and the adjoining areas was of Slavic origin. The language known today to linguists as Macedonian is the most direct descendant of Old Church Slavonic, into which Saints Cyril and Methodius translated the Bible in 862-63AD. Though Greek was their L1, they also spoke the Slavic dialect of their native Salonika and this provided the basis for the translation undertaken for the benefit of Moravians (Topolinjska 1998:3). The Vita of Methodius has the Emperor asking Constantine the Philosopher to 'take your brother, the Archimandite Methodius and go. For you two are Thessalonians and Thessalonians all speak pure Slavic' (Kantor & White 1976:75). Due to multiple language contact, Macedonian, a south Slavic language closely akin to Bulgarian and Serbian, is characterised by a radical loss of case inflexion, especially contrasting with Russian and Polish. Macedonian also has a fairly free word order, a complex verbal system, and an antepenultimate stress (Friedman 2000). The spread of literacy among the speakers of the forerunner of the present-day Macedonian language was continued by Clement, Archbishop of Ohrid, and Naum. A Macedonian state, centered first in Prespa, then in Ohrid, existed from the mid-ninth century until 1018, after which the Macedonians were ruled by the Byzantines, and subsequently by Bulgars, Serbs, and (from the end of the 14th

century) by the Turks as part of the Ottoman Empire. Within the Ottoman Empire, the various Balkan groups continued to use their languages, usually in the form of dialects (as was the case with Macedonian), although most groups in the region identified essentially according to religion rather than ethnicity. The Macedonians identified with the Orthodox Church, their allegiance being to the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople until the establishment in 1870 of an autocephalic independent Bulgarian Church with an exarch, at which time the majority of Macedonians joined the new institution (Hill 1988). During the time of the Ottoman Empire, Orthodox Christians of all ethnolinguistic backgrounds were identified as 'Greeks' (Irvine & Gal 2000:66). It is from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire that most of the Balkan national groups obtained their independence.

As in the other parts of the Balkans, the 19th century was the era of nationalist movements, when myths were developed — 'Nationalism is not the awakening of nations for self-consciousness: it *invents* nations where they do not exist' (Anderson 1983:15). Language is a symbol of aspiring nationhood, and has been an extremely significant one for Macedonian speakers. While literary texts in Macedonian date back to the late 18th century, the major push towards codification of Macedonian began in the late 19th and early 20th century (with the rise of nationalism) but was disrupted by pressure from Bulgarian authorities (Kramer 1999:236). Irvine and Gal (2000:64–65) draw on comments from amazed early 20th century Western European observers about transethnicisation and translinguicisation of individuals within families between 'Bulgarian', 'Greek', 'Rumanian' and 'Serbian'. The 'linguistic chaos' was seen as 'oriental' (Irvine & Gal 2000:74).

Following the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, Macedonia was partitioned between Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia. The Macedonian language, as well as the Macedonian identity, was treated in different ways by the respective administrations: as non-existent by Greece; as part of Bulgarian by Bulgaria because of the similarity in linguistic structures; and as part of Serbian by Serbia because of structural similarities but inferior to it because of its relatively few nominal inflections (despite a complex verbal system) (Irvine & Gal 2000:69). As the informants for the present study represent migrations from northern Greece and the (Former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia, these are the regions we will concentrate on. The extent of the Macedonian-speaking area within the present Balkan states is illustrated in the map on the following page.

As a result of a hellenisation process in the wake of the Balkan Wars, the northern Greek region around Salonika, where Macedonian speakers lived, received an influx of patriotic Greeks from Turkey (Davies 1996:134), and increasingly languages other than Greek, especially the language they termed 'Slavic', were not tolerated. The notion of 'inferiority' was promoted in a number of ways. In the period between 1913 and 1928, the Greek government managed to transform the demographic structure of Aegean Macedonia from an area in which Slavs had constituted the majority into an area in which the remaining Macedonian population found itself a minority in its own land. It was an overwhelmingly rural population and scattered in small, mainly mountainous towns and villages — virtually the entire intelligentsia and most activists had been forced to leave and seek refuge in Bulgaria. The Macedonian community in northern Greece thus lacked an elite of its own, and the Greek education of the small number of well-educated Macedonians tended to estrange them from their roots and cultural traditions. During the 1930s the policy towards Macedonian became increasingly hostile, to the point where even

home use was forbidden, and despite a brief renaissance in the latter years of the Greek Civil War (1947–48), when 87 Macedonian schools were operating with a total of 10,000 pupils in the areas controlled by the Resistance, there has been an ongoing policy by successive Greek governments of disempowering, understating, oppressing and assimilating the Macedonian population of their northern regions (Kramer 1999). In the 1950s, for example, Macedonian-speaking villagers were coerced into taking oaths never to speak 'Slavic' again (Irvine & Gal 2000:70).

Figure 2.1: Approximate extent of the Macedonian-speaking area (adapted from Irvine and Gal 2000:62)

Serbia also prohibited the official use of Macedonian. However, it was to be from the Serbian state that the development of a Standard Macedonian could take place, with a separate Macedonian state (with Macedonian as its official language) declared on the liberation from Nazi occupation. The Macedonian Republic became one of the constituent republics of the Yugoslav Federation, and in 1991 achieved independence, the first independent Macedonian state in nearly a thousand years. In 1967, an autocephalic Macedonian Orthodox Church had been established, a move which had already given autonomous Macedonian culture greater status.

Macedonian was one of the official languages of the Yugoslav Federation, the official language of the constituent Republic of Macedonia, and, in 1991, the official language of the newly independent Republic of Macedonia. About two-thirds of the two million population of the republic have Macedonian as an L1, with the vast majority of the

remainder being Albanian-speaking (Kramer 1999). Codification of Standard Macedonian was based on the west-central dialects spoken around Prilep and Veles. The long history of Ottoman rule is reflected in the strong Turkish element evident in modern Macedonian — according to Friedman (1998:35), this element 'pervades every part of speech, every level of style' of Macedonian, and has become more prominent again in the past decade (1998:48), presumably to differentiate Macedonian from other Balkan languages. As is usually the case where language planning is an important element in nation building, lexical items from local dialects were also employed to differentiate the national language from its neighbouring competitors, in this case Bulgarian and Serbian. Friedman shows that most of the codification took place within the five years from 1945 to 1950, including the standardisation of orthography, the establishment of norms, and the expansion of the vocabulary (see also Vidoeski 1998:14).

It is impossible to gain reliable statistics on the number of Macedonian speakers in Greece, Bulgaria, and Albania, with the absence of recent censuses and the continuing non-recognition of the language in Greece, which emerged from the Civil War of the late 1940s as a language-based nation-state in the Herderian sense (see also §5.7). This model entailed (and entails) the prohibition of the public use of Macedonian and the refusal to accept any connection between the language codified in the former Yugoslavia and the dialects spoken by minorities in northern Greece. Although Bulgaria has still not officially recognised the Macedonian language, a positive development has been its use alongside Bulgarian in bilateral agreements. Apart from Yugoslavia, only Albania offers education in Macedonian and that only in the first four years of primary school (Kramer 1999:244).

The very name 'Macedonian' has become a bone of contention since two different ethnic groups claim possession of it, on the basis of competing heritages at different times in history. Hobsbawm (1990:107) writes:

> Macedonia did not become a battlefield for Slav philologists until the twentieth century, when the Greeks, who could not compete on this terrain, compensated by stressing an imaginary ethnicity.

Danforth (1995:4–5) presents at least five possible definitions of the word 'Macedonian', based respectively on geography, history, ethnicity and current national boundaries, highlighting both the complexities and the conflict inherent in the naming process. Ownership of the language is particularly important for those who identify themselves as Macedonians, as it is largely the language that has provided the basis for ethnicity — those who shifted to Greek or Serbian in their country of origin transethnicised in the process. The present Republic is not without its problematic aspects in terms of identity, and the recent conflict with Albanian minority rebels may put in jeopardy the name 'Macedonian' for the ethnic group (but not for the language).

The naming issue of the language in Australia (see §2.2.1) became both a challenge to linguistic human rights in that exemplary multicultural nation of Australia and an important factor in the unusually high level of language maintenance of Macedonian (see §1.5).

2.2 Macedonian in Australia

According to Hill (1989), the first arrival in Australia of Macedonian speakers in any numbers was in the 1920s after the US introduced restrictive immigration policies. Most

early migrants were single males, who could be regarded as 'guest workers', in that they intended to stay for only a few years, often returning home to father another child or two before leaving again. The majority of migrants before World War 2 were from the Macedonian speaking area apportioned to Greece after the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), although significant numbers of Macedonian speakers were also included in the immigrant populations of nations such as Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. It is for this reason that it is extremely difficult to estimate with any accuracy the number of Macedonian speakers in the 'first wave', as they would have been travelling on Greek, Yugoslav or Bulgarian passports. Cašule (1998) reports that Price's (1963:23) figure of 1,290 Macedonian settlers at this time is deemed to be excessively conservative by Macedonian activists, who propose a more realistic estimate of 10,000 (Miovski 1971:34).

The second[1] wave of migration to Australia was after World War 2, particularly in the late 1940s and early 1950s, when a large number of Macedonian speakers arrived from northern Greece after the Greek Civil War. Much of the motivation for migration from this area, including for first wave migrants, was provided by the assimilative and repressive policies of Greek governments of all persuasions (Cašule 1998).

A third wave of migration occurred towards the end of the 1960s, when a great number of Macedonian speakers from the People's (later Socialist) Republic of Macedonia in Yugoslavia settled in Australia, mainly for economic reasons. During the period 1969-1973, over 50% of all immigrants from Yugoslavia were from the Republic of Macedonia (Hill 1989). This wave was at its peak in the early 1970s, but strong migration from the area continues today, and Cašule (1998:107) believes that we can also speak of a 'fourth wave', since the late 1980s and in the 1990s, when a large number of highly qualified migrants (engineers, architects, doctors) from the now independent Republic of Macedonia settled in Australia. Chain migration has been particularly important in the postwar years (from families of first and second wave migrants).

In the first, second, and to a large degree in the third wave of migration, the majority of migrants were peasants or labourers, unqualified or with limited qualifications and little formal education (Cašule 1998). What formal education they did have was not in the medium of Macedonian, due to the very unfavourable conditions for the development of the language between the two World Wars. It was banned from public and even private use in Greece, and restricted to the home domain in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The official and definitive codification of the Macedonian literary language in 1944–45 was relatively late, and at a distance for many Macedonian speakers. Migrants would have spoken their regional dialects (most of which were, however, very close to the dialectal base of the modern standard — Cašule 1998:108) and they would have had extremely limited literacy (which would have been almost always in a language other than Macedonian). This put pre- and early post-war migrants in an essentially different position from many migrants in the third wave, and particularly from those in the fourth wave.

Each census from 1976 (the first to elicit information on language use) to 1996 registered a marked increase in numbers using Macedonian, an increase which has levelled out in 2001:

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[1] Researchers divide the migration of Macedonians in slightly different ways. Radin (1995), for example, divides prewar migration into first (single men) and second (family reunion) waves, with immediate postwar migration as third wave, and all migration from 1960 onwards as fourth wave.

1976	16,693
1986	45,610
1991	64,429
1996	71,347
2001	71,994

For the last four of these censuses the language question was identical, namely, 'Does this person use a language other than English in the home? If so, which?' The 1976 Census elicited information on *regular* use of such languages rather than use specifically in the home. For the reasons given by Hill (see §2.2.1), the census data, especially that from the earlier censuses, is most likely to be substantially underestimated, some Macedonian-speaking respondents indicating that they spoke Greek and not Macedonian, or calling the language 'Yugoslav'. In 1976, the numbers using both Greek and Macedonian in addition to English were recorded. In Melbourne, there were 3,692 such respondents (or 39.4% of all Macedonian speakers in Melbourne). Although only one language other than English has been coded in the national census since 1991, it is quite likely that fewer people would have indicated both languages in the last decade because of the controversy concerning Macedonian language and identity (see §2.2.1). The increase in the total number of speakers may be partly attributed to this controversy, as well as to a more general ethnic revival resulting from the freedom to claim one's own language in a multicultural nation (see also §1.3).

Some 42.9% of Macedonian speakers in Australia live in Melbourne, and within Melbourne speakers are also highly concentrated (see below, §2.2.2). The largest numbers of speakers (53.2% of the national total) at the time of the 2001 Census were born in the Republic of Macedonia, followed by Australia (37.6%) and northern Greece (4.4%). About a tenth of the Australian-born have parents from northern Greece.

The age structure of the community as a whole (and including the two sub-groups we are considering) is as follows:

Table 2.1: Macedonian speakers by age, 2001

Age group	All Macedonian speakers	Born northern Greece (Group A) G1	Born Republic of Macedonia (Group B) G1
0–4	3.6%	0.0%	0.3%
5–14	10.4%	0.0%	2.5%
15–24	15.1%	0.2%	5.8%
25–34	17.3%	1.2%	11.3%
35–44	14.1%	6.5%	20.0%
45–54	17.8%	16.2%	28.8%
55–64	11.4%	29.2%	17.4%
65+	10.1%	46.7%	14.0%

Some 29.1% of Macedonian speakers are then under the age of 25, with the greatest proportion of these coming from the second generation, but with Group B G1 more prominent in the younger age groups and Group A G1 more prominent in the older age groups.

The settlement of Macedonian speakers in Australia has always been characterised by its tight concentration in particular areas. Price (1963) noted the 'village-type' settlement patterns that resulted in concentrations in small towns or in particular suburbs of capital cities. This was often the result of chain migration, with the typical stages being: (1) guest workers (*pecalbari*); (2) brothers, uncles, friends; (3) wives, fiancees, children; (4) grandparents.

Many village communities became stronger in terms of numbers in Australia than in the old country (Hill 1989) and exist here in the form of village societies which organise dances, picnics, etc. Radin (1995:119) suggests that such villages may be even more closely knit than in the homeland, given the defensive attitudes that were a reaction to what was perceived to be an essentially alien and unsympathetic social environment. This must of course be set against the increasing economic and geographic mobility of the descendants of earlier migration waves, and the less concentrated settlement patterns of 'fourth wave' migrants.

Having said this, research undertaken on the 2001 Census shows that Macedonian was one of the most concentrated languages within the major centres of Sydney and Melbourne. For example, in the Melbourne Local Government Area (LGA) of Whittlesea (see map, Figure 5.1), Macedonian had a concentration factor of 11.1 — that is, there were 11.1 times as many Macedonian speakers in the area than one would expect from a random distribution. In Sydney's Rockdale (inner south), the concentration factor was even higher, at 12.3 times the expected number.

2.2.1 The 'renaming' of the language in Victoria

In §2.1, we discussed the development of the Macedonian language, its treatment in the countries of origin, and the importance attached by two ethnic groups to the name 'Macedonia(n)'. When, in 1991, the Republic of Macedonia declared itself independent of the Yugoslav Federation, which had fallen apart, Australia, like many other nations, recognised this new state with the temporary designation, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (or 'FYROM'). The recognition of the new state was opposed by Greece and by some 60,000 Greek-Australians who marched to Parliament House. Subsequently, a number of Greek and Macedonian churches and community buildings were attacked or destroyed.

In addition to formulating the designation of the new state as it did, the Australian federal government also stipulated (14 March 1994) that the ethnic group had to be referred to as 'Slav-Macedonians', and those specifically from northern Greece, 'persons associated with Slav-Macedonians'. The Victorian Government ruled that the language had to be designated by all government departments as 'Macedonian (Slavonic)'. The latter was a decision of the Victorian Premier, the Hon, Jeff Kennett, an avowed 'Hellenophile'. The reason given for the directive to all ministers (21 July 1994) was consistency with the federal ruling and 'to avoid confusion'. It was acknowledged that this could not affect the way in which the community referred to itself. In fact, there was no confusion concerning language because there is only one Macedonian language and it is a Slavic language.

Those identifying as Greeks in the Macedonian region of Greece use the Greek language. The suggestion that the federal ruling entailed a complementary one on language was contradicted by both the (federal) Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Gareth Evans, and the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Senator Nick Bolkus (himself of Greek descent), 15 May 1995.

In practice, the ruling had the following effects:

1. In submissions written by Macedonian-speaking community and Macedonian-language teacher groups for funding or otherwise, they had to call themselves 'Slav-Macedonians' and their language 'Macedonian (Slavonic)'. Ministers of state refused to officiate at or attend functions of the community unless the 'Slavonic' affix appeared on invitations, certificates and the like.
2. The school and examination subject was renamed 'Macedonian (Slavonic)' in Victoria although its name was 'Macedonian' in New South Wales.
3. Radio and television broadcasts in the language had to be renamed 'Macedonian (Slavonic)'.

More importantly, the ruling caused distress to those whose language had been renamed by 'outsiders'. It was a unique decision — probably never before had a country of immigration taken such action with regard to an immigrant language. It was not even a ruling taken by the Federal Government, which had the constitutional power over foreign affairs, but by a State Government with jurisdiction over only one constituent part of the nation. It could be seen to give special treatment to one group, since no corresponding requirement was made with respect to, say, Maltese (Semitic), Vietnamese (Mon-Khmer), Irish (Celtic), or, for that matter, English (Germanic). Thus, it could be seen as an infringement of linguistic human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1994).

Australia had been relatively free of major inter-ethnic conflicts between groups who had disputes in their region of origin. Certainly Australian governments had always kept out of any such conflicts to promote harmony in a culturally diverse nation. There had been attempts by representatives of the Greek legation to influence Australian authorities to avoid the use of the name 'Macedonian' for the language since at least 1980 (pers. comm., the late Dr Grisha Sklovsky, then Director of Multicultural Television). Such requests had previously been considered inappropriate. The Premier's directive followed representations by members of the Greek community to Phil Honeywood, minister assisting the premier in Multicultural Affairs (Evidence, Phil Honeywood, 8 January 1998). The directive was claimed (Phil Honeywood, letter to Gareth Evans, 5 December 1994; Jeff Kennett, letter to Nick Bolkus, 25 May 1995), to be a response to keep the peace between two ethnic groups (Greek-speaking and Macedonian-speaking) in Australia since the independence of the (Former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia. The conflict came to a head in early 1994, when there were fire bombings of some churches and community centres, attacks on business premises, and graffiti daubing of buildings. The government's intervention on language came as a culmination of events which were seen by some as evidence of the failure of multiculturalism (*The Age*, 19 March 1994). In a letter published in the Melbourne daily newspaper, *The Age*, on 30 March 1994, eight prominent advocates of multiculturalism called on federal and state political leaders to reaffirm their commitment to multiculturalism, stressing the right of all Australians to choose their own

identity without any pressure 'from above', and emphasising that multiculturalism entailed tolerance of other people's viewpoints.

A community organisation, the Australian Macedonian Human Rights Commission Inc, challenged the renaming of the language under the Race Discrimination Act in August 1995. A case was mounted before the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission. The Commissioner, Sir Roland Wilson, ruled that, while the language directive may be hurtful to some people, the 'impugned conduct' had been based on the intention of alleviating ethnic tension and not on discriminating against people on the basis of ethnic origin. The case was thus dismissed. Demoralised by a legal system that they did not fully understand, but still convinced of the injustice they were suffering, the Macedonian Community appealed to the Federal Court. On 21 December, 1998, Judge Weinberg gave his ruling that the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission had wrongly interpreted 'based on' to mean 'by reason of' and 'on the grounds of' and that the intention of keeping the peace did not contradict the fact that discrimination on the basis of ethnicity had taken place in the unique way in which the language had to be designated. The Victorian Government appealed against the Federal Court ruling but it was upheld. The Kennett Government then appealed to the High Court. With a change of State Government in 1999, the Macedonian Community hoped that the appeal might have been dropped but, although there was a division among ministers of the new government on this issue, the appeal proceeded and was lost (26 May 2000). The High Court endorsed the decision in favour of the Macedonian Community (*Herald-Sun*, 24 February 2000). A proposal to drop the language designation requirement was, however, not proceeded with due to pressure from within the Greek community, leading to some disillusion among Macedonian speakers with the political process. On 8 September 2000, Commissioner Alexander Street of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission brought down a final ruling that the language directive was unlawful as it constituted discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin. He spoke of the way in which the 'persons represented by the complainant have been distressed and humiliated by the unlawful conduct of the government'. The premier, Steve Bracks, immediately foreshadowed that he would withdraw the language directive and called upon community groups to respect the decision (*The Age*, 14 September 2000).

The above issue demonstrates the crucial significance of language to the community using the Macedonian language — it is the very symbol of their identity, and it is something that they have had to keep fighting for. The struggle that some of them had had in the homeland to keep their language has continued in Australia, even though it had become to many a model multicultural nation. At a community dinner held early in 2001 to celebrate the withdrawal of the language directive, those present drank a toast to Australia which, despite all, had allowed justice to prevail in a way that would have not been possible elsewhere.

It is important to remember that the struggle for Macedonian is also continuing in the homeland — Cašule (1998:106) reports that about 50% of Macedonian speakers live in countries where their language has no official status and is undergoing language shift. As we will see, both pre- and post-migration experience with adversity has strengthened the resolve of Macedonians in Melbourne to maintain and transmit their language, and their success is demonstrated in the field of education. Like 42 other languages other than English (LOTEs), Macedonian is a subject in the VCE (Victorian Certificate of Education, years 11 and 12 of secondary school). Macedonian teachers have been in the forefront of

the push to consolidate and legitimise the use of Macedonian in Australia, and the Macedonian Teachers' Association was among the most active groups in the mounting of legal cases. The teachers, most of them women, initiated the legal challenge, and their determination gave the rest of the community renewed morale when it was low. The success of the campaign to promote Macedonian in schools is evident in the fact that from 1996 to 1998 the number of students taking Macedonian at secondary school increased nearly threefold, from 231 to 666. At the same time, however, two out of five state primary schools teaching the language dropped the subject for fear of political controversy, or to replace it with a 'priority language' such as Japanese or Italian. However, one of the remaining schools has a longstanding Macedonian-English bilingual program, and seven (mainstream) state secondary schools have retained their Macedonian programs.

2.3 Language maintenance institutions in Melbourne

There are a multitude of institutions within the Macedonian community in Melbourne which explicitly or implicitly support the maintenance and transmission of the Macedonian language. Many of these are social clubs, most of them bringing together people from a particular village or region, as well as dancing groups, and sporting clubs, in which the coaches use Macedonian. There are also language-specific welfare groups. Apart from the government and public radio stations mentioned in Chapter 1, there is a low-frequency 24-hour Macedonian broadcasting station, and the language is also heard on a regional radio station in the Plenty Valley district in Melbourne's northern suburbs, where Macedonian speakers are concentrated. Two Macedonian-language weeklies, *The Australian Macedonian Weekly* and *Today* are published in Melbourne and read throughout Australia.There are now seven parishes of the Macedonian Orthodox Church within the Melbourne metropolitan area as well as one in Geelong, about 70 km from the Melbourne Central Business District and adjacent to the western suburbs. They are divided between two broad organisations, according to church governance, overseas affiliations and even to some extent age and generation of membership. Each parish has a Sunday service, some also hold mid-week services — all in Macedonian. One parish is contemplating English-language services for young people and already conducts some weddings in English. All three parishes have social activities conducted in Macedonian.

2.4 The sample

As indicated in Chapter 1, our research on the maintenance of Macedonian was based on two sources of data:

- two focus group meetings with members of the Macedonian-speaking community in Melbourne
- a written survey containing questions designed to elicit both qualitative and quantitative information.

Some 20 G1 informants were selected for the written survey, 10 born in northern Greece (Group A) and 10 born in the Republic of Macedonia[2] (Group B). In addition, 40 G2 informants were interviewed, 20 with parents from northern Greece (Group A) and 20 with parents from the Republic of Macedonia (Group B). Finally, 10 informants with at least one parent born in Australia of parents from northern Greece (Group A) were surveyed. Half of the informants over all age groups and birthplace were male and half were female.

While Group B informants in the first generation were fairly evenly spread over the age groups from 15 to 65+, the informants from northern Greece (Group A) were clustered around the 45–54 age group, with no representative in the 15–24 group. This reflects migration vintage, and the comparative length of residence of the two groups in Australia (see §2.2). The informants were from a variety of localities within the metropolitan area, with Group A slightly more concentrated in the Whittlesea area (see map, Figure 5.1). A variety of occupations and family types were represented, from students living with parents to retired people whose children have left home. Only one informant lived alone.

In the second generation the age profile was also from 15–65+, but this time Group A informants provided the wider range, with a clustering in the 35–44 group, while Group B informants were almost all aged between 15 and 35 years. Group A informants were no longer concentrated in the Whittlesea area, but tended more towards the outer eastern suburbs, while Group B informants were more concentrated in Whittlesea and Brimbank (see map, Figure 5.1). In accordance with the age profile, the largest number of Group B informants lived at home with parents and siblings, while the largest number of Group A informants lived in their own homes with partners and children. Some lived in multi-generational families.

Most of the 10 third generation informants represented in reality a G2/G3 ‘mix’, with one parent born in Australia of (originally Group A) Macedonian-speaking parents, and one parent born in a Macedonian-speaking country (in some cases Group B). All but one were aged between 15 and 24 years (the remaining informant between 25–34). They came from a variety of Melbourne suburbs: east, outer east, north and west. All lived at home with parents and siblings.

2.5 Findings

2.5.1 Perception of Macedonian language maintenance in Melbourne

When the question of *why* Macedonian should be so well maintained in Australia, and specifically in Melbourne, was put to Focus Group 1, the answers received centred around the issue of oppression in the homeland. It was felt that *home* language use (the domain specified by the Census) was particularly important for Macedonian speakers in that use outside the home had been effectively banned, by the Greek authorities, for most of those who came as first and second wave migrants. Placing Macedonian exclusively within the home domain has meant that women, who are vital to the culture of the home in Macedonian society, have become in a sense ‘custodians’ of the language. Mothers, and particularly grandmothers, play an enormous role in the maintenance of Macedonian, both

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[2] The area that was, until 1991, part of Yugoslavia and is referred to by the Australian government as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Hereafter, we will refer to the area as the Republic of Macedonia.

in the homeland and in Australia. As mentioned above, grandparents have tended to form the last link in chain migration from Macedonian-speaking areas, and are of particular importance because of their role in bringing up the younger generation. This was already the case in the homeland (where the younger women were often needed for harder physical work at home and in the fields) and continued in Australia, where both parents often had to work long hours in order to finance the family home. The Macedonian grandmother typically speaks Macedonian to her grandchildren. As well as being the language in which the majority of the current generation of grandmothers was raised, it also represents Macedonian home values, comfort and security. This point was stressed by members of the focus group (particularly the women) and was also made many times by survey informants. One focus group participant said that she uses Macedonian to create a personal bond with her daughter, another called it the 'personal, private language of intimacy', while another reported on a G2 woman who speaks English with her husband, but feels absolutely compelled to use Macedonian with her children. It will be interesting to see whether this pattern will hold with a newer generation of grandmothers, whose dominant language will increasingly be English.

Even where the dominant language of the home is English, it was noted by one focus group participant that terms of endearment to children are usually spoken in Macedonian (cf. Wierzbicka 1985:192 for Polish). A survey informant reported using Macedonian for the expression of both affection and anger, and said that she finds it much easier to talk to her small nephews in Macedonian. Others stated that they use Macedonian for secrets and profanities, and for personal affairs. Third generation informants, while being less fluent in the language than either the G1 or the G2, also stressed the importance of Macedonian as the language of emotion and intimacy:

> I speak mostly English with my brother, but I use Macedonian to describe how I feel (G3, female, 15–24 years old).

A focus group informant said that he always swears in Macedonian, and one of the teachers present said that non-Macedonian speakers at her school are picking up Macedonian swearwords from the Macedonian-speaking children.

As far as actual language use with grandparents is concerned, the survey indicated that, while Group A informants are generally more likely to have regular contact with the older generation than Group B informants (probably due to their longer migration history and the relative completeness of the 'chain' effect), both groups are highly likely to use only Macedonian with this generation. This likelihood diminishes with generation. In the case of the first generation the use of 'Macedonian only' is universal, in the case of the second generation, Macedonian is still the highly preferred language, but some English is also spoken (more among Group A), and by the third generation most informants use at least some English with their grandparents. Some use only English. Information gained from the focus group would suggest that the use of Macedonian between grandparents and children of the third generation is strongest in preschool years when grandparents act as principal caregivers during the day. When the children start school, they tend to address their grandparents in English, even if the grandparents continue to speak Macedonian to them.

Oppression of the language in the homeland followed by relative openness and tolerance in the adopted country was suggested by one informant as a further factor in what he called a 'renaissance' of Macedonian in Australia. The policies of multiculturalism that have been introduced in Australia over the last decades, and the example of other ethnic

groups freely using and establishing public functions for their languages, has led to a renewed interest in Macedonian among its speakers. This factor must be seen in conjunction with the 'naming' issue mentioned above (see §2.2.1), which has also resulted in greater determination amongst Macedonian speakers to be granted their own identity. According to the written survey results, language is a very important part of this identity. One hundred per cent of G1 and G2 (both groups) and 90% of G3 feel that language was at least 'important' to their sense of ethnic identity. It is 'very important' for 100% of Group A G1 and 80% of Group B G1. While the second and third generation seem to be fairly evenly divided between 'very important' and 'important', one of the younger members of the first focus group agrees that there does seem to be a revival of interest in Macedonian among young people, who are much more likely to speak Macedonian among themselves today than they were 10 years ago. Comments from a younger member of Focus Group 1, and the generally positive attitudes towards bilingualism and ethnicity displayed by the G2 respondents surveyed would tend to suggest that a struggle for self-identification (cf. §2.2.1) is at the root of successful language maintenance.

2.5.2 Does one country-of-origin group maintain the language better than the other?

It was generally agreed among the first focus group that Group A migrants of both the first and second waves have had the 'edge' in their commitment to the Macedonian language on account of their negative experiences in the homeland. One informant also commented on the fact that the majority of these migrants were from a village background, unlike more recent arrivals from cities in the Republic, where people want to assimilate more (love of modernity, sophistication, all things western), and suggested that class, as well as background group, may well play a part in linguistic and cultural retentiveness. Another informant pointed out that, while Group A speakers tend to be more committed to the symbolism of Macedonian, they have, because of their lack of education, and their limited literacy in Macedonian, found it difficult to develop the institutions that would maintain the language. He feels that the coming of the third and fourth waves has been very good for the language of the first and second wave speakers, and that they network in a number of ways (schools, churches, social gatherings, marriage). While the very positive attitudes of Group A migrants towards language maintenance were confirmed by the focus group (composed of speakers from both groups) it was also suggested that, with the passing of the Group A G1 and the higher rate of literacy of Group B, the balance of actual language proficiency and intergenerational transmission may well be held by Group B. This is borne out from the survey results, over a number of areas — proficiency in Macedonian, language use in the home, language use with family members outside the home, and language use in the wider community.

2.5.3 Proficiency in Macedonian

In the survey, Group B informants were slightly more confident overall than Group A informants in the first generation, particularly in literacy skills. The situation was repeated in the second generation, although the literacy skills difference between Group B and Group A informants had closed considerably.

Among Group A informants, confidence in all skills dropped from G1 to G2 (particularly literacy skills). Confidence in oral skills continued to drop from G2 to G3, although confidence in literacy skills (for those that were literate) did not change much.

Among Group B informants, confidence in oral skills was comparable between G1 and G2, although there was a sharp drop in confidence in literacy skills between the generations.

Table 2.2: Self-rated proficiency in Macedonian, G1

Birthplace	Speaking		Listening		Reading		Writing	
Group A	very well	40%	very well	80%	very well	50%	very well	20%
	well	50%	well	10%	well	20%	well	40%
	not well	10%	not well	10%	not well	0%	not well	0%
	not at all	0%	not at all	0%	not at all	30%	not at all	40%
Group B	very well	50%	very well	60%	very well	90%	very well	60%
	well	40%	well	40%	well	10%	well	30%
	not well	10%	not well	0%	not well	0%	not well	10%
	not at all	0%	not at all	0%	not at all	0%	not at all	0%

Table 2.3: Self-rated proficiency in Macedonian, G2

Birthplace	Speaking		Listening		Reading		Writing	
Group A	very well	10%	very well	30%	very well	15%	very well	15%
	well	70%	well	60%	well	20%	well	15%
	not well	20%	not well	10%	not well	20%	not well	20%
	not at all	0%	not at all	0%	not at all	45%	not at all	50%
Group B	very well	40%	very well	45%	very well	25%	very well	30%
	well	40%	well	55%	well	35%	well	30%
	not well	20%	not well	0%	not well	15%	not well	10%
	not at all	0%	not at all	0%	not at all	25%	not at all	30%

Table 2.4: Self-rated proficiency in Macedonian, G3

Speaking		Listening		Reading		Writing	
very well	10%	very well	30%	very well	10%	very well	10%
well	40%	well	40%	well	30%	well	30%
not well	40%	not well	30%	not well	10%	not well	10%
not at all	10%	not at all	0%	not at all	50%	not at all	50%

2.5.3.1 Reading and writing in Macedonian

First generation

All Group B informants (and 70% of Group A informants) claimed to read in Macedonian. All read Macedonian-language newspapers, most also read letters and

magazines, and Group B informants also read religious books. Most read at least weekly. Similarly, all Group B informants (and 70% of Group A informants) claimed to write in Macedonian. Letters (and notes) were the most common items for both groups, although Group B informants wrote more regularly than Group A informants.

It should be remembered that late codification of Macedonian, non-vernacular medium education, and a strong oral tradition all work against a high level of competence in writing Macedonian. Some elderly Macedonian migrants have become literate in the language in Australia, largely through the efforts of Macedonian language teachers and often with the help of grandchildren.

Second generation

Some 55% of Group B informants, and 60% of Group A informants, claimed to read in Macedonian. Almost all read newspapers (other items: religious books, textbooks, magazines, poetry and letters). Group B informants read more regularly than Group A informants. Some 70% of Group B informants, and 50% of Group A informants, also claimed to write in Macedonian. Items were either letters/notes or work-related tasks (bulletins, announcements, brochures, etc.). Once again, Group B informants wrote more regularly.

Third generation

Some 50% of informants claimed to read in Macedonian, although 80% of these said that they read only occasionally. All read newspapers (one informant also read magazines and novels). Only 40% said that they wrote in Macedonian, all of these wrote letters, messages or cards and all wrote only occasionally.

2.5.4 Proficiency in English

Proficiency in English was an issue that was largely confined to the first generation, as the second and third generations were fully proficient in the language. A very small number of second and third generation informants chose ‘well’ rather than ‘very well’ to assess their skills.

While Group A informants were more confident than Group B informants over all areas (speaking, listening, reading and writing), they were generally more confident with their literacy skills than with their oral skills. The reverse was the case for the Group B informants, who were more confident with their oral skills.

2.5.5 Language use

2.5.5.1 Language use in the home

First generation

Of family types where children still live at home, more ‘Macedonian only’ was reported between parents and children in Group B families than in Group A families. The overall balance of choice between English and Macedonian in Group B families was towards Macedonian, while the balance in Group A families was about even, with mothers and

children speaking more Macedonian than fathers and children. In adult-adult interactions, the balance in both groups was towards Macedonian, although Group A informants used more English.

The majority of both groups preferred to use Macedonian at home, although there was a higher preference for English in Group A (40%) than in Group B (20%).

Table 2.5: Preferred home language, G1

Language	Group A	Group B
English only	40%	20%
Macedonian only	50%	80%
No preference	10%	0%

Second generation

While the balance in parent-child interactions in the Group B families was still towards Macedonian (with more mothers than fathers using Macedonian with their children), in Group A it was towards English.

Table 2.6. Language use between fathers and children, G2

Language(s)	Group A		Group B	
	Father to child	Child to father	Father to child	Child to father
English only	30%	45%	5%	5%
Macedonian only	0%	0%	15%	15%
Macedonian and English	25%	10%	60%	60%
N/A	45%	45%	20%	20%

Table 2.7: Language use between mothers and children, G2

Language(s)	Group A		Group B	
	Mother to child	Child to Mother	Mother to child	Child to mother
English only	35%	50%	0%	0%
Macedonian only	5%	0%	45%	40%
Macedonian and English	20%	10%	50%	55%
N/A	40%	40%	5%	5%

The majority of both groups used English with siblings, although more Macedonian was reported in Group B.

The majority of both groups preferred to speak English at home.

Table 2.8: Preferred home language, G2

Language	Group A	Group B
English only	60%	55%
Macedonian only	20%	30%
Macedonian and English	5%	5%
No preference	15%	10%

Third generation

This group responded in a very similar fashion to the Group A second generation, with no 'Macedonian only' communication between parents and children, and the majority using English only.

Table 2.9: Language use between parents and children, G3

Language(s)	Father		Mother	
	Father to child	Child to father	Mother to child	Child to mother
English only	40%	50%	40%	50%
Macedonian only	0%	0%	0%	0%
Macedonian and English	50%	40%	60%	50%
Croatian, Macedonian, English	10%	10%	0%	0%

Sibling language use was also very similar to that in the G2, with 'English only' (40%) being the most common situation, followed by Macedonian and English (30%). There was an even greater stated preference for English at home (80%) among the G3 than among the G2 (58% overall).

2.5.5.2 Language use outside the home

With family members

More English was spoken by Group A G1 informants to relatives outside the immediate family than was the case with corresponding Group B informants. This probably reflects migration vintage and relative proficiency in English.

Table 2.10: Language use to relatives outside the family home, G1

	Group A	Group B
Macedonian	30%	57%
Macedonian and English	70%	14%
Depends on age	0%	29%

The majority of older G2 informants (those who had left the family home) from both groups also used both Macedonian and English to relatives outside the home. No-one spoke only English with such family members, and only one Group A informant reported speaking only Macedonian.

Table 2.11: Language use to 'other' family (G2, informants in own homes)

	Group A		Group B	
Macedonian only	8.3%	(1)	0%	
Macedonian and English	83.3%	(10)	50%	(2)
Depends on age	0%		25%	(1)
Macedonian and Polish	0%		25%	(1)
Macedonian and Serbian	8.3%	(1)	0%	

However, among those still living with their parents, slightly more English was spoken to relatives outside the immediate family. This was true for both groups.

Table 2.12: Language use to 'other' family (G2, informants in parents' homes)

	Group A		Group B	
English only	12.5%	(1)	20%	(3)
Macedonian only	12.5%	(1)	0%	
Macedonian and English	62.5%	(5)	60%	(9)
Depends on age	0%		6.7%	(1)
Unclear	0%		6.7%	(1)
English, Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian	12.5%	(1)	6.7%	(1)

Of the third generation, some 70% of informants spoke both English and Macedonian to relatives outside the family home, while 30% spoke only English. The dominant pattern over both groups and all generations, with the exception of Group B G1 (where English proficiency may be a factor), is a bilingual mode of communication with family members living outside the home.

In the wider community

The survey results indicate that, in the first generation, the majority of informants from both background groups had at least some Macedonian-speaking component in their social networks, and most also spoke Macedonian with their Macedonian-speaking friends. Some 50% of both groups preferred to use Macedonian socially, although a higher proportion of Group A informants (40%) than Group B informants (10%) preferred to use only English. The remaining informants were equally happy to use either.

By the second generation, while most informants had a mix of social networks, Group A informants (30%) were more likely than Group B informants (10%) to have social networks entirely outside the Macedonian-speaking community. Almost half of both groups claimed to speak only English with their friends (with Group B informants speaking marginally more Macedonian). The patterns of preferred social use were almost identical between the groups, with 'English only' accounting for 65%–75%. Some 60% of the third generation had social networks entirely outside the Macedonian-speaking community, while 70% reported using only English with their friends and 90% claimed that they preferred to speak English only socially.

What emerges is a diversification of social networks by generation, more pronounced for Group A, who have been in Australia longer and are also generally better established financially.

2.5.6 Networking between the two groups

As mentioned above (see §2.2), the settlement pattern of Macedonian speakers in Australia, and in Melbourne, has tended to be a very concentrated one. While the first and second wave migrants have tended to shift north from inner (and northern) Melbourne to the Local Government Areas (LGAs) of Darebin and Whittlesea (see map, Figure 5.1), third wave migrants have tended to settle in the latter areas as their first 'port of call' in Melbourne. In the meantime, the more 'upwardly mobile' descendants of the first and second waves are now moving further away from the primary and secondary areas of concentration (inner city and Whittlesea) to the more affluent outer north eastern suburbs.

This pattern is reflected in the residences of the survey informants. While Group A G1 informants were slightly more concentrated than Group B informants in the 'heartland' of Macedonian speakers (Whittlesea), this was not the case for the second generation, where Group B informants were still concentrated in the 'heartland' while Group A informants tended to be concentrated more in the outer north-east. The third generation informants came from a variety of Melbourne suburbs: east, outer east, north and west.

A focus group informant suggested that the two major 'background' groups (Group A[3] and Group B) do network in churches and schools, and that there is a significant level of intermarriage between the two groups. Soccer clubs and dancing groups may also provide the opportunity for young people of different homeland groups to get to know each other. However, it is clearly the case that young Macedonian-speaking Australians with limited contact with Macedonian speakers from outside their immediate family may not mix socially at all with people from their own background, let alone the 'other' background. This was indeed the case with an informant from a family from northern Greece where the orientation has been more Greek than Macedonian, and church attendance has been tied to the Greek Orthodox Church (festivals only, not regular attendance). The research assistant through whom we made contact with her was the first Macedonian-speaking person of her own age that she had met socially (at the age of 21). The family had also moved out of the initial point of settlement and away from the area of Macedonian concentration.

2.5.7 The role of the church

Linked to language use in the wider community, and central to the 'networking' of various migration vintages and birthplace groups, is the church.

According to Hill (1989:4) and Popov and Radin (1995), the Church has played an important part in the developing national consciousness of rural Macedonians, whose allegiance was, until the beginning of the 20th century, largely confined to family, clan and village. The Church has certainly played a very important part in the lives of Macedonian speakers in Australia, providing a focal point for Macedonian community activities as well as satisfying spiritual needs, although it was not until the early 1950s that specifically 'Macedonian' churches were established. Until that time, Macedonians had turned for their spiritual needs to a variety of churches, in Melbourne generally to the Greek Orthodox Church of the Annunciation in East Melbourne. Those with particularly 'anti-Greek' feelings tended towards the Syrian Orthodox Church of St Nicholas (also in East Melbourne), while in country areas the Anglican church was generally chosen, or the

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[3] In terms of 'networking' between groups the 'multiple identities' of many of those from northern Greece must be kept in mind (see §2.3.3).

Methodist church. Popov and Radin (1995) believe that the fairly 'pragmatic' attitude of many in the Macedonian community towards Orthodoxy and its institutions may have developed in the period where a national church did not exist, and Macedonians were forced to express their religious devotion within the confines of other (aggressively nationalistic) churches (notably Serbian, Greek and Bulgarian).

Pre-war and post-war migrants from northern Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria or Albania had had no experience of a Macedonian Orthodox Church in the homeland, opting either for the Bulgarian (since the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870) or for the Greek church (Hill 2001). Hill suggests that 1959 can be considered as the birth-date of a Macedonian Orthodox Church in Vardar Macedonia (or Yugoslavia), although, being under the jurisdiction of the Serbian patriarch, it still fell short of complete independence. The Macedonian Orthodox Church declared itself autocephalous in 1967, a status not recognised by any other Orthodox Church, but protected by the government of Yugoslavia.

In 1950 the Macedonian Church of Saints Cyril and Methodius was constituted in Melbourne, under the jurisdiction of an anti-communist Bulgarian bishop. The initiative for St George's, which was to be an independent Macedonian church, dates from the end of 1955. It was originally planned to place it under the jurisdiction of the Anglican Church, but when the Macedonian Orthodox Church in Yugoslavia achieved administrative autonomy, the church committee in Melbourne approached the hierarchy in Skopje, and were eventually accepted as the first parish of this church outside the homeland. However, in the meantime, the local municipal council had revoked the permit to erect a Macedonian Orthodox Church, apparently on the grounds that no such church organisation existed, and the church committee had to fight a battle in the Australian courts before their right to set up such a church was formally recognised by the Supreme Court of Victoria. It was finally registered in 1959, and consecrated and officially opened in 1960 by a Macedonian Archbishop. According to Popov and Radin (1995), it was from this time that Macedonian speakers in Melbourne began to develop a cohesive socio-religious life which affirmed their presence and visibility in Australia. In 1967 a Greek Orthodox Church under the jurisdiction of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia was set up to minister specifically to the spiritual need of those Macedonian speakers from northern Greece who wish to identify as Greeks (also called St Cyril and St Methodius) (Hill 1989).

A Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs survey, reported by Hill (1989:20), confirms the central importance of the Macedonian church in Australia to the community of Macedonian speakers in Australia:

> Almost without exception, household heads spoke positively of the role that the Church played in the life of their community. While greater emphasis was placed on the role of the Church as a unifying force and as a central Macedonian identity symbol, its more traditional role as an institution to reinforce moral and spiritual values was also clearly recognised.

Najdovski (1997) also sees the church as one of the main institutions in Australia around which much of the life of the Macedonians has revolved. A practical contribution made by the church to the maintenance of Macedonian has been the establishment of 'ethnic schools' under the auspices of the local church, taught in many cases by the local priest, which have been responsible for much of the formal language teaching that second and subsequent generations of Macedonian speakers in Australia have received, particularly before the introduction of Macedonian into mainstream schools. Many survey

informants cite a church school as the place where they learnt to read and write in Macedonian, for example. The first cultural and artistic associations, the first soccer clubs, social clubs, monasteries and investment houses were also formed under the auspices of the Macedonian Orthodox Church in Australia (Najdovski 1997:90).

While Najdovski (1997) sees the opening of St George's as the beginning of the cohesive socio-religious life of the Macedonian speakers in Australia, he also sees it as marking the beginning of a strong and extraordinarily public campaign against the Macedonian community by Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian churches in Australia, a campaign which may have had the result of entrenching resolve to maintain a specifically Macedonian spiritual and cultural heritage. The Australian Diocese of the Macedonian Orthodox Church has also acted as the mouthpiece for a Macedonian consciousness, issuing, for example (with affiliated churches), a statement in February 1988 denouncing the 'International Congress of Macedonian Studies', an organisation of Greek-Australians from the Macedonian region or northern Greece claiming the name 'Macedonian' exclusively for Greek culture.

In spite of the undoubted importance of the Church, and specifically the 'Macedonian' Church, in shaping the consciousness of Macedonian speakers in Australia, Hill (2001) emphasizes that the Macedonian Orthodox Community was, and continues to be, very divided, along lines of church government, overseas affiliation, and even age of membership.

The priest from a Macedonian Church in Whittlesea attended the focus group, and reported that all services and liturgies at his church at present are in modern Macedonian. However, while some 90% of the Macedonian-speaking population of the area attend the church for special functions and at special times, only 30% of the younger generation regularly attend liturgy. This was borne out by the survey results, which showed that 90% of the first generation, 75% of the second generation, and 90% of the third generation attended the Macedonian Orthodox Church, at least for festivals. Apart from the first generation, where the majority of Group B informants attended regularly, most of the others only attended for festivals, weddings, christenings or funerals. The priest did, however, stress that this appears to be a general problem for organised religion today, and not just for the Macedonian church. His church runs a youth club, a newspaper for young people, special meetings and English Bible study for young people, and is currently working on a liturgy in English. Both the overwhelmingly 'part-time' attendance of Macedonians at church services (particularly in Group A) and the continuing fascination of the Church for all sectors of the Macedonian community, mentioned in the literature on the core values of Macedonian culture (see §2.5.9) are borne out by our research findings.

When asked about the viability of Macedonian in the third generation of church-goers and beyond, the priest indicated that he was interested in introducing English, as the important aspect is faith, not language. He suggested that one of the major problems with comprehension for the young people is that their education has not allowed for specifically 'Macedonian' religious instruction. His church provides some such instruction on Monday nights, and his feeling was that young people are becoming more, rather than less, interested in spiritual things and in their own church and culture. Another participant in the focus group (a teacher) confirmed this interest among the young people, saying that she took a group of children to the church for an Easter service, and received a lot of highly positive feedback from them. The survey confirms also that most people are satisfied with the role of the church in their lives, and the language of the church. The satisfaction with

language, however, did decline with generation, from 89% in the first generation to 56% in the third generation. Such a change over generations is a common phenomenon across ethnic congregations (Woods 2004). The group desiring most English content was Group A.

2.5.8 Attitudes to bilingualism, ethnic identity and language

The above discussion of findings has tended to characterise Group A as the group with strong memories of suppression in the homeland, a correspondingly stronger emotional attachment to Macedonian and a determination to begin to define themselves freely as 'Macedonian' for the first time. In terms of literacy, overall proficiency and actual language use patterns at home and in the wider community, however, Group B informants appear to be more successful in actually maintaining the language. Survey results in the area of attitudes towards bilingualism and ethnic identity, together with the results discussed above in terms of language proficiency and use, generally support this characterisation.

G1 informants from Group A recorded stronger support than Group B informants across all questions, while the reverse was true for the second generation, with the exception of the last of the three issues (importance of language to ethnic identity). The third generation, while recording less strong support for issues concerning ethnicity, showed extremely positive attitudes towards bilingualism *per se*.

Table 2.13: Attitudes to bilingualism, ethnicity and language by generation

		Being able to speak two languages		Maintaining ethnic identity		Importance of language to ethnic identity	
		Group A	Group B	Group A	Group B	Group A	Group B
G1	++	90%	70%	100%	80%	100%	80%
	+	10%	30%	0%	20%	0%	20%
	+/-	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
	-	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
	--						
G2	++	65%	95%	55%	80%	50%	75%
	+	35%	5%	25%	20%	50%	25%
	+/-	0%	0%	15%	0%	0%	0%
	-	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%
	--						
G3	++		80%		50%		50%
	+		10%		40%		40%
	+/-		10%		10%		0%
	-		0%		0%		10%
	--		0%		0%		0%

2.5.9 Family structures, core values, and motivation for language maintenance

There are a number of differing views expressed in the literature on the relation between family and culture within the Macedonian community in Australia. Coseski (1995) regards family structure as being one of the major features of cultural differentiation between Anglo-Australian and Macedonian culture. His study of 50 families indicated that such a differentiation not only exists, but that it shows no signs of dissolving in Australia, even in the second generation. Radin (1995), on the other hand, suggests that a conservative outlook, dependence on the extended family and its head, lack of social and geographic mobility and lack of involvement in the market economy, while being very successful in maintaining the culture (and language) of the home in a village setting, may actually be counter-productive when transplanted into an urban, globalised environment where young people receive substantial education in the language and the ways of the host society. He cites a study by Betty Kris, undertaken at the University of Adelaide in the 1970s, in which second generation Macedonian speakers whose parents were born in northern Greece were interviewed about their involvement with Macedonian values and particularly about their relationship with their parents and their parents' generation. There was widespread dissatisfaction expressed with the amount of control parents attempted to exert over their children, particularly in the area of socialisation and marriage partners. Some 58% said that they did not feel they belonged to the Macedonian community, 67% preferred to engage in Australian social activities, 79% had adopted Australian customs and almost 30% spoke no Macedonian at all (91% spoke only English among themselves, while 56% spoke Macedonian with friends and relatives).

The strength and density of the family and village network in Macedonian culture could be expected to exert a strong normative influence on its members. As Coseski suggests, the concern for acceptance by one's own ethnic group (often encapsulated by the phrase 'What will people ("our" people) say?' can help maintain core values and ensure their transmission to the next generation. Of course, others may opt to leave the network, as seems to be born out by the earlier findings outlined above. The core values that Coseski proposes for the Macedonian community are family collectivism, the Macedonian language and the Macedonian Orthodox religion. The loss of any one of these, he suggests, would to a greater or lesser extent undermine one's continued membership of the Macedonian group in Australia. He makes no suggestions as to the relative importance of these values, saying that this would require further research. He does however make the point that they are in any case integrated, since family cohesion helps preserve both language and religion while in the absence of a common language family unity would suffer and church services become less meaningful. Koneski (1978) confirms the importance of both language and religion for the formation and/or retention of the notion of 'nationhood':

> He who attacks our language is as much our enemy as he who attacks our faith. Faith and language, these are the soul of a nation, and with their alteration, a nation undergoes a radical spiritual transformation (Koneski 1978, cited in Fishman 1997:247).

Stewart (1995), commenting on a study conducted by Kalantzis in 1984–1985 in Wollongong among first and second generation Macedonian-Australians, agrees that the Macedonian language could be regarded a core value of Macedonians. Kalantzis found a much higher rate of maintenance among the second generation (G2) of her sample than Kris found in Adelaide in the 1970s, with 99% of those interviewed from the second

generation speaking Macedonian. While the first generation felt that Macedonian should be maintained because it is internationally under threat and maintenance of the language allows maintenance of religion and social cohesion in the community, the attitude of the second generation tended to depend upon their peers. That is, if they worked or went to school with large numbers of Macedonians, then it should be maintained. However, many said that they would not study it at secondary school, seeing more prestige attached to languages such as French, German or Italian. (This is in line with what other researchers have said about the problems attached to the internalisation of a negative image of all things Macedonian, for example Petrovska 1995). Stewart also makes the point that Macedonian may be quickly lost with the passing of the elderly and the assimilation of the newly arrived, *if* communication with family and others is the only motivation for its maintenance. If, however, Macedonian develops or retains a symbolic importance then it may be maintained or revived in the third and subsequent generations. The struggle for self-identification that Macedonian speakers have been involved with for most of the 1990s (see §2.2.1) may well provide such an impetus. The raising of the status of the language in the eyes of its speakers, through educating the children, is also an important factor, stressed in both focus groups, and also expressed by a number of researchers in the field. Stankovska (1995) suggests, for example, that one of the most important achievements of Macedonian activists (specifically women) in Australia has been the progress that has been made in schools, where children are no longer ashamed to be 'Masso' (a positive identity affirmed by Anglo-Australian teachers). This is, she suggests, the first generation of Macedonians in Australia who have a positive Macedonian identity and are proud of their heritage. Stewart (1995) cites the Kalantzis study (see above) as demonstrating that students who study Macedonian at school, in addition to speaking it at home, have a confidence and ability in both English and Macedonian unknown to those who learn Macedonian only at home.

Some contradiction is apparent in attitudes towards the place of the church in the transmission of Macedonian culture and values. Popov and Radin (1995), while acknowledging the importance of the church in Macedonian culture and recognising its very real contribution to the establishment of a 'Macedonian' identity, both in Australia and in the homeland, are of the opinion that the emphasis placed by the Macedonian Orthodox Church on maintaining Macedonian ethno-specificity has led to an 'appreciable lessening of the significant role which it could be expected to have in such maintenance' (Popov & Radin 1995:49) This is, they suggest, the result of the means employed and the nature of the Macedonian identity promoted. Church committees and boards of management tend to be made up of older, conservative men, and the identity aimed for borrows heavily from the traditional agrarian society with its attendant conservative and patriarchal values. Not surprisingly, the cultural model presented has come to be seen as ossified and irrelevant to the needs of younger Macedonian-Australians seeking their place in modern society. The relative lack of representation of younger members of the community — and especially of younger women — on church boards continues to compound this problem. (Popov & Radin 1995:49). As Hill (2001:576) puts it, 'present church conflicts often reflect a struggle between the older and younger generations'.

Survey informants were asked to identify their main motivation for maintaining Macedonian in Australia, and the position of the language within the core value system of the community is confirmed by the response.

First generation

Both groups responded identically to this question, with 70% opting for 'identity', 20% for 'communication with friends and relatives' and 10% for 'contact with country of origin' as the most important language maintenance motivating factors. The factor that was in last position for both groups was 'getting a better job'.

Second generation

'Identity' continued to be the most important factor for Group B informants (60%), followed by 'communication with friends and relatives' (30%) and 'contact with country of origin' (10%). 'Identity' and 'communication with friends and relatives' were equally important for Group A (45%), with two informants opting for 'participation in festivals'. Once again, the factor in last position for both groups was 'getting a better job'.

Third generation

'Identity' was seen as the most important factor by 60% of informants, followed by 'communication with friends and relatives' (20%) and 'getting a better job' (10%).[4]

It would seem then that for all generations, and for both groups, 'identity' is the most (or one of the most) important factors, followed by 'communication with friends and relatives'. While identity has also proved to be a significant factor for other language groups (Clyne & Kipp 1999), the second factor has typically increased to a larger degree by generation than is evident in the Macedonian data — i.e., the second generation generally tends to see its community language largely as a vehicle for communicating with the older generation. When this generation passes, so will the need to speak the community language. The particular history of Macedonian, and the issues that have affected it in Australia, may well be playing a part in keeping 'identity' in the forefront.

This explanation is supported by the overwhelmingly positive response to the survey question 'Are there any events that have changed your attitudes towards Macedonian?' Overall, the majority of informants in all groups and all generations felt that there had been a change in their attitude towards Macedonian prompted by external events. This feeling was strongest in the first generation and strongest among Group A informants. The 'naming' issue was the main one mentioned, and its effect was seen as leading to a greater determination to be identified as, and identity themselves as, Macedonian. Others factors mentioned were the formation of an independent Macedonian Republic in Europe, the recent Balkan war (which has put Macedonia 'on the map' in the eyes of many Australians) and the encouragement for multiculturalism in Australia and the example of other community language groups. Only one (G2) informant felt that outside events have had a negative effect on his perception of Macedonian.

As an added prompt to articulating the place of Macedonian in the value systems of its speakers, informants were asked whether Macedonian held a 'special value' for them, and, if so, what this value was. All first generation informants, and 90% of second and third generation informants, said that Macedonian held a 'special value' for them. 'Identity' was once again the most important component of this for the first and third generation, while 'communication' (Group B) and 'heritage/nostalgia' (Group A) were also important for the second generation.

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[4] The remaining informant did not submit a clear first choice.

Most informants from the first and third generation thought that 'older people' maintain Macedonian best. While this category was still significant for the second generation, a wider range of possibilities was represented, including 'those who value the past', 'those who struggled back home', 'the first generation', 'community workers', 'teachers' and 'religious people'.

While Group A informants over all generations tended to emphasise the home use of Macedonian as the most effective means of maintenance, Group B informants were more likely to emphasise ethnic schools.

2.5.10 Perceptions of support for Macedonian

Within the community

While all G1 informants thought that there was at least some support for language maintenance from Macedonian speakers, this was more strongly expressed by Group B informants than by Group A informants. All G1 informants had an opinion on this issue.

In the second and third generation there was a 'don't know' response of up to 20% to this question, with very little strong support and an element of dissent (20% of Group B G2 informants). The G2 Group B still showed marginally more strong support for the proposition (25% as against 20% from Group A).

From outside the community

The perception of support or lack of support for a community language from the wider community could arise from the following areas:

- Matters of public policy (e.g., teaching of a language in schools, prioritisation of the language in schools (see §1.3; §2.2.3) availability of interpreters or translated material, radio and television scheduling). One of the teachers at the focus group pointed out that after the prioritisation process was introduced (and Macedonian was not prioritised) Macedonian has been phased out of some 'feeder' primary schools, classes have become smaller, and children are losing the incentive to develop their language when they see classes in other languages with more resources. Successful primary school programs (such as a bilingual program in which one participant teaches) are being left with no follow-on language program in the local secondary school.
- General height of the profile within the community (this would include the 'visibility' of the Macedonian-speaking community through shop signs, restaurants, festivals, etc.). This has never been a feature of the Macedonian community in Australia, largely due to the necessarily 'private' nature of Macedonian maintenance arising from historical circumstance. One of the focus group participants did in fact say that shopkeepers have the impression that 'if you advertise Macedonian you get no customers', even in the 'heartland' of Macedonian settlement.
- Purely personal experience (comments from others in the wider Australian community). On this level, focus group participants felt that many Macedonians have become tired of threats, attacks, and the need to defend themselves (largely from some sections of the Greek community). The Federal and State governments

were also seen as adversaries (over the naming issues — also see §2.2.3). One participant said that she always thought carefully before sharing the origin of her surname, because she knows it often leads to trouble, and to arguments. Another said that she has seen university students opt out of their Macedonian identity altogether because it is simply too much trouble (particularly from some students of Greek background).

The survey proposition regarding support from other Australians drew a predominantly negative response from all groups but the G1 Group A, where 50% thought there was at least some support in the community for Macedonian. The 'don't know' response occurred in all generations, increasing from 10–20% in the first generation to 20–35% in the second generation to 60% in the third generation.

Both generations of Group B expressed very similar opinions as to the desirability of other Australians learning Macedonian, with 20% agreeing strongly, and 50% agreeing. While 90% of Group A either agreed strongly (20%) or agreed (70%) to the proposition, however, this was only true of 55% of the second generation and 50% of the second generation.

Table 2.14: Perceptions of support for Macedonian

		Support from other Macedonians?		Support from other Australians?		Should more Australians learn Macedonian?	
		Group A	Group B	Group A	Group B	Group A	Group B
G1	++	40%	60%	10%	10%	20%	20%
	+	60%	40%	40%	30%	70%	50%
	don't know	0%	0%	10%	20%	10%	10%
	-	0%	0%	30%	40%	0%	20%
	--	0%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%
G2	++	20%	25%	5%	5%	20%	20%
	+	60%	45%	10%	5%	35%	50%
	don't know	20%	10%	35%	20%	40%	15%
	-	0%	20%	50%	45%	5%	15%
	--	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%	0%
G3	++		20%		0%		20%
	+		60%		10%		30%
	don't know		20%		60%		20%
	-		0%		20%		30%
	--		0%		10%		0%

Sixty-seven out of the 70 informants thought that other community language groups got 'a better deal' than they did. This included 100% of the first generation, 100% of the Group A G2 and 90% of the Group B G2 and 90% of the third generation.

2.5.11 Language and the media

From a representative of the government multilingual radio network (SBS) at the focus group we heard that Macedonian speakers tended to see SBS as a reference centre, and a contact point. She also said, however, that almost all listeners were from the first generation. Although a Macedonian youth program is produced, there has been very little response to it. Another participant agreed that SBS and the multilingual community access station 3ZZZ were listened to almost exclusively by the first generation, but added that Youth Radio has a program in Macedonian that does have an audience (plays English and Macedonian songs in a ratio of approximately 40:60). Another participant made the point that children and young people tend to listen to what is playing in the house, whether or not they have chosen it. That is, they are to a certain extent the passive participants in the recreation/information activities of their parents.

There were representatives of the two Australian Macedonian-language newspapers at the focus group: *Denes (Today)* and the *Australian Macedonian Weekly*. The former is a more recent publication, and edited by a journalist from Group B, the latter has had a much longer history, and has been more oriented towards Group A. The representative from *Denes* reported that most of the readership are middle-aged and older, and almost all G1. An attempt had been made to publish a Youth Magazine (largely in English), but this had only run to four issues before it folded, being economically non-viable. The journalist expressed the view that it is the job of the education system to educate, and that the media cannot take on the role and responsibility of an educator. The representative from the *Australian Macedonian Weekly*, on the other hand, argued that it had seen itself very much in the role of an educator, even to the point of running a crusade for the cause of the name of the Macedonian language. He did however add that the world climate of economic rationalism impinges on language as on everything else, and that the languages of the moment appear to be Japanese and Mandarin, or English. As he commented: 'the writing is on the wall — and it is generally in English'.

The survey indicated that the 'scale of use' of radio, television, videos and audio material was the same for all groups and generations, with CDs (and other audio material) and videos leading radio and television. Internet use increased with generation (from 30% in the first generation to 65% in the second generation to 70% in the third generation). Overall, Group A informants were more likely to use the Internet, and, while most users did so only in English, this was more marked with each generation (with no third generation informant using Macedonian at all).

First generation

All Group B informants, and 90% of Group A informants, watched videos in Macedonian, while all Group A informants, and 70% of Group B informants, listened to audio material in Macedonian. All Group A informants listened to folk music, while 29% of Group B informants also listened to pop music, reflecting in all probability the younger age profile of Group B.

Some 90% of both groups listened to Macedonian radio programs, and 60% of both groups watched Macedonian television. Group A informants tended to be more critical of the television programs, while Group B informants were more critical of the radio broadcasts.

Second generation

Some 85% of both groups listened to audio material in Macedonian, mostly 'folk', with the addition of some pop music (largely from Group B). Some 80% of Group B informants, and 70% of Group A informants watched Macedonian videos, with Group B informants also reporting marginally more frequent viewing.

While 75% of Group A informants listened to Macedonian radio, only 45% of Group B did so, and there was a higher level of dissatisfaction with the programs among the latter group (reflecting the situation in the first generation). Some 50% of Group B informants, and 65% of Group A informants, watch Macedonian programs on television, and, once again mirroring the first generation, Group A listeners were more critical than Group B listeners.

Third generation

While all of the informants reported listening to audio material in Macedonian (folk music), only 50% watched Macedonian videos or listened to Macedonian radio programs, and only one informant watched Macedonian television. There was a high level of dissatisfaction with both the radio and television content, with most complaining that there was not enough provision for young people, and one also wanting some English content.

2.5.12 Language, multiple identity and transethnicisation

Radin (1995:124) notes that many Macedonian speakers from northern Greece opted to join Greek organisations in Australia.

> In a democratic and open society, the question of identity and allegiance became at once both alluring and confusing, given that they then had a choice. Many were genuinely ignorant, others rallied to the Greek cause out of fear and concern for relatives and property remaining in Aegean Macedonia. As a result, it was not surprising to see many villages and even families split as a result of this contentious and very real issue.

He cites Hill (1988) as saying that Macedonians who had 'defected to the Greek cause' were not themselves comfortably thought of and accepted as 'Greeks' by Greeks, and that this convoluted issue was further complicated by the fact that the incidence of inter-marriage was prevalent and created genuine 'Greek-Macedonian' families. Radin feels that the questions of 'do we exist?' and 'what are we?', heightened by the context of competing propagandas, have become less mandatory for a younger generation with the skills, educational qualifications and language to enable them to opt for a passive Anglo-conformity (Radin 1995:124).

Petrovska (1995) confirms the complexity of self-identification for those Macedonian speakers from Greece, in her case study of an immigrant family, one brother of whom opted for 'Macedonian' identity, the other for 'Greek' identity. She outlines the background of 'hellenisation' and persecution in the homeland, and the subsequent negative self-image that has been internalised by many Macedonian speakers. As one of the subjects of the case study says:

> As a child, almost from the age that I could understand, I was taught that my people were lower class, my language was lower class, everything we did, customs, everything was inferior … (Petrovska 1995:163).

The feeling of 'inferiority' was promoted through the marginalisation of the Macedonian speakers and the suppression of their language by Greek authorities (see §2.1). The internalisation of a negative self-image, Petrovska claims, is central to oppression of culture, and can clearly affect self-identification even in a third (and supposedly 'neutral') country. Elsewhere Sapurma and Petrovska (1997) describe the tension between the public and private faces of Macedonians as the 'tragedy of the Macedonians from northern Greece'. They see it as a 'true suppression of personality [which has] had catastrophic effects on families and extended kin groups' (Sapurma & Petrovska 1997:138).

One of the brothers in Petrovska's case study maintained a very strong Greek Macedonian public image. He went to a Greek Orthodox Church, and actively assisted 'prosfigi'[5] refugee migrants coming to Australia. He had nothing to do with the Macedonian community in Melbourne, and showed no outward support for anything Macedonian. As stated, this was his public face. Privately, the family communicated only in the Macedonian language, had only a basic knowledge of spoken Greek, and were practically if not totally illiterate in that language. The public face, Petrovska claims, was the result of fear, the internalisation of a negative self-image, and a sense of not wanting harm to come to family and property in the homeland. A common characteristic of people such as this, Petrovska suggests, is that they do not in fact want to engage in politics at all. This may in fact lead to the adoption of yet another identity, that of the host country, thus leaving behind the dualism of the past and hoping to gain acceptance in a wider society.

The other brother, feeling deeply the injustices dealt to his people in the homeland, had vowed never to return (unlike the first brother, who was keen to retain visiting rights). He was active in Macedonian affairs in Australia, and became involved in community organisations such as St George's Church, Fitzroy (the first Macedonian church to be built outside of Macedonia). His grandchildren attended the first Macedonian community school. When his wife died, her funeral service in St George's was very poorly attended (particularly by male relatives) as many were afraid of the repercussions for family and property in the homeland if spies were present at the service and reported their presence to the Greek government. For this reason, when the mother of the two brothers died, a woman who had felt so strongly about her 'Macedonianness' in the homeland that she had burnt her children's Greek schoolbooks, she was buried by her surviving son after a service in a Greek church under a gravestone with a Hellenised version of her name.

Although much of Petrovska's case study and its contextualisation rest upon the complexities and the dualism of self-identification in a situation such as northern Greece, she makes mention of the effect, in terms of the development of a national 'psyche', of the first multi-party democratic elections held in the Macedonian Republic in 1990 and the subsequent establishment of an independent Macedonian Parliament. She sees this as a definite fillip to the defining process for Macedonians everywhere. This was also mentioned by our survey informants in response to the question 'Has anything happened which has affected the way you view Macedonian?' Petrovksa feels that the structures for defining the parameters of a public Macedonian ethnic identity have been put into place. However, she also poses a question: 'Can the public ethnicity of a people be developed

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5 Refugees, largely from Asia Minor and Thrace, who were settled in northern Greece at the expense of Macedonian inhabitants of the area.

even if all areas of the nation don't develop simultaneously, as in the case of the Macedonian homeland?' On 'split families' in the diaspora, see also Danforth (1995:196).

Our research has also included the case study of a family from northern Greece who have opted for a more 'Greek' public face in Australia.[6] This family is from a different (younger) age group than the one described by Petrovska (1995). Con and Mary were both born in northern Greece. Con came to Australia at the age of four and Mary came at the age of eight. They both spoke Greek and Macedonian at home as children. Con, who came from a town in the area, recalls that switching between the languages at home was fairly random. He did not become literate in Greek as he left Greece before he started school. Mary, on the other hand, who came from one of the surrounding villages, said that her family always spoke more Macedonian at home, and the children spoke Greek at school, where she developed literacy in that language. She pointed out that the villagers did on the whole use more Macedonian that those in the towns, where there was more commercial life (Greek was the language of commerce). While Con's family have moved several times since arriving in Australia (from Fitzroy to the eastern suburbs), Mary's family remain in Thomastown (where they settled on arrival, part of Whittlesea, the strongest concentration of Macedonian speakers, see map, Figure 5.1). Neither attended ethnic school in Australia, and Con's literacy in Greek, learnt from his mother, is limited. They were both christened in the Greek Orthodox Church, which they still attend, albeit only for festivals. While Greek is technically the language of the church, they make the point that the congregation is not expected to understand it, so it makes no appreciable difference to the experience.

While Con now uses all languages, English is his dominant language. His Greek is, he considers, probably slightly better than his Macedonian, although he does speak Macedonian with Mary's family. Mary, on the other hand, doesn't speak much Greek any more, as her family mainly speaks Macedonian. She speaks Macedonian to her mother, and although Con's relatives speak more Greek, she mainly answers in Macedonian or English. Both Con and Mary said that they are unsure as to where they stand culturally. They made the point that speakers from the Republic of Macedonia are more homogeneous, while speakers from Greece are less sure about their identity, with families split in many cases, some regarding themselves as more Greek, and others as more Macedonian. Some will deny knowledge of one language or the other for political reasons (see also Danforth 1995:220). Mary generally describes herself as Greek, or Greek-Macedonian, while Con will 'officially' say that he is Greek. In the 1996 Census Con entered 'Greek' under the language question, and Mary entered 'Macedonian'. She is, she said, a little sorry that she has 'lost' Greek.

Con and Mary have two children, in their late teens and early 20s. Emma, the oldest, is a student. She speaks neither Greek nor Macedonian, although she understands more Macedonian than Greek. She did go to Greek school for a year when she was 12 years old, but was in a class with much younger children, and her oral skills did not improve, although she learnt how to read and write in Greek. She is unsure as to her identity in an ethnic sense, preferring 'Australian'. If pushed, she will say that her background is Greek-Macedonian. Neither of these appear to 'fit' particularly well to her. She is Greek, but not from the central region. She does not speak Greek and has been ridiculed by other Greeks from her school for this fact. She is Macedonian, but not Yugoslav. She doesn't have a lot of contact with Macedonian speakers from the Republic (only met one or two in the last couple of years) and speaks English to them if they do meet. The 'Greek-Macedonian

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6 The names used for members of this family are pseudonyms.

issue' of the mid-1990s flared while she was at school, and this was quite difficult for her. With her name, and her 'Mediterranean' looks, she could not avoid involvement, although she would much have preferred to have opted for a wholly 'Australian' identity at this time. She enjoys Greek dancing, and still does it when she can.

Emma's younger sister, Liz, also speaks neither Greek nor Macedonian, although she gets the general gist of a conversation if the languages are mixed with English. She went to Greek school for a year with Emma to keep her company, although she did not continue with the language. Not being involved with the same Greek 'in-group' at school, she hasn't encountered quite the same criticism for her lack of Greek, and, with her predominantly mainstream Australian friends, she has managed to stay outside the political issues in a way that Emma couldn't.

When asked whether a 'multiple identity' had contributed to a shift to English, Con and Mary thought that this was unlikely, stating that it was necessary because of the 'uneven' spread of languages between them — Mary did not speak Greek well, while Con's Macedonian was not very good. They add that most of their friends are English-speaking, and they do not tend to get involved with the Greek or Macedonian communities apart from their immediate families and occasional church services.[7] When they were young, all they wanted to do was integrate into mainstream Australia.

Because of the sensitivity of the language and identity issue, it was not possible to attract more transethnicised Macedonian-Greek-Australians to this study. It would be interesting to consider more generally the possibility that transethnicisation and language shift to Greek might accelerate a complete shift to English.

2.6 Concluding remarks

Macedonian is one of the few community languages in contemporary urban Australia to have experienced maintenance into the third generation. The two country of origin groups complement each other in terms of stronger language activism and stronger language proficiency. Macedonian also offers a positive example of Kloss' (1966) ambivalent factor 'attitude of majority community to the language or group' (see §1.5), due to the 'private' nature of language maintenance. There appears to be general agreement among those writing from within the Macedonian community that a particular characteristic of the Macedonian people is one of stoicism and 'invisibility' in the face of oppression.

The decision restoring the public use of the name 'Macedonian' for the language constitutes a watershed for the community. If language maintenance efforts have been strengthened by this issue of linguistic human rights, will the resolution of this issue lead to a reduction in efforts? Or will the euphoria associated with a small community having successfully challenged a hostile government in the courts have a long-term effect? Will the presence of a state with Macedonian as its official language be counterbalanced by the political conflict in that state? These are issues which will affect the long-term continued retention of one of Australia's best maintained community language.

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[7] While they mainly attend the Greek Orthodox Church they have also been to services at St George's, in Fitzroy (see above).

3 *Somali*

The Somali tile is one of the newest in the Australian mosaic, and is still relatively small. It stands out, however, in its 'exoticism' and on closer inspection it is almost two-toned, with the Somali language and culture running beneath a strong layer of Islamic culture and attachment to Arabic in the religious domain.

3.1 History of the Somali language

According to Reh and Heine (1982:15), 'there are among the multiplicity of African nations only a few in which language policy has been fought for as passionately as it was in Somalia' (our translation).

The majority of the seven million or so speakers of Somali, an East Cushitic language of the Afro-Asiatic group, live in desert areas, and 80% are nomadic. Most of the speakers of Somali live within the present-day Somali Republic but there are also considerable numbers in the Ogadeen region of Ethiopia, in north-east Kenya, and in the former French territory of Djibouti (previously Afars and Issas). Somali language and culture have a strong oral tradition, embodied for instance in poetry and proverbs.

3.1.1 Regional variation

While Puglielli (1995:124) describes Somali as one of the best described African languages, she also points out that different fragments of descriptions were actually undertaken by different scholars on different varieties. Lamberti (1988:20) refers to the differentiation between two main varieties, which the Somalis tend to recognise, namely *Maxaad tiri* (meaning 'What did you say?'), which Andrzejewski describes as 'common Somali', and *May* (meaning 'What?'). The two main varieties are differentiated on the basis of isoglosses for pharyngeals, lexical items, a verbal focus particle in Maxaad tiri and the phoneme schwa in May (absent in the other group). This binary differentiation is of significance for most Somali speakers in Melbourne, as we shall show in this chapter, and so we will employ it. An earlier traditional classification, which Lamberti (1988) attributes to Cerulli (1919) and Moreno (1955), distinguished between a larger number of varieties. It comprises:

1. a northern group, Isaaq
2. a central group, Daarood
3. a coastal group named Hawiyya or Benaadir, and
4. the Upper Juba group, named Sab or Digil.

Figure 3.1: Somalia and the surrounding region (1960)
(adapted from Laitin 1977:xii)

Andrzejewski (1971:272) combines the northern and central varieties into a common Somali group and renames the Upper Juba group 'central Somali'. This reclassification into three groups is taken over by Saeed (1982:2). Lamberti (1988:23–24) suggests a six-group classification comprising:

1. Northern Somali, corresponding to Andrzejewski's 'central Somali'
2. Benaadirn corresponding to (3) above (Moreno)
3. Ashraaf dialects used by a small number of Somalis of Arabic descent in the capital Mogadishu
4. May dialects from the Upper Juba district

5. the four types of Dighil varieties, which are also numerically almost negligible
6. Rendille dialects from Kenya, which had been separated from other Somali varieties.

Common Somali has spread through trade, religious students, and pilgrimages. It is used on the radio for news broadcasts, commentaries, and announcements.

The linguistic emancipation of the Somalis has been part of their liberation from colonisation. The Somalis had been under British and/or Italian colonial rule in the late 19th century and early 20th century — British in the north, Italian in the south. Somalia was then for some years Italian under trust until it secured its independence in 1960. Siad Barre assumed control of the country in the Socialist revolution of October 1969, at which time all democratic institutions became inoperative.

While the Somalis have generally been successful in minimising the western cultural influence and avoiding Christianisation, with modernisation not seen as synonymous with westernisation (Laitin 1977:83), three 'exotic' languages have nevertheless played a role in restricting the development of Somali as a national language. The first of these is Arabic, as almost the entire population are Sunni Muslims, and Somali culture is inseparable from Islam. Arabic is accordingly strongly established in the religious domain, and there have also been Arabic-medium schools and newspapers.[1] It is not however well established in the home and neighbourhood domains, Laitin (1977:5) stating that 'rarely do Somalis converse in Arabic among themselves'. Then came the colonial languages English in the north and Italian in the centre and south — the languages of education, administration and the media (Puglielli 1995) up until the socialist revolution of 1969.

After the collapse of the Barre regime in 1990, various clan-based military factions competed for control, leading to the outbreak of civil war in 1991. Even after the election of President Hassan, in August 2000, stability continues to be threatened by the opposition of a number of faction leaders. The destruction of state institutions and infrastructure during the civil war makes the task of reconstruction difficult, although Somalia is recovering rapidly economically. However, the implementation of language policy does not appear to be a priority.

3.1.2 The process of codification

The codification of Somali involved four processes — standardisation and koineisation, deciding on a script, status planning, and the devising of terminology. Of these the script issue occupied the greatest attention during the 20th century and, judging from the literature, standardisation the least. It is perhaps significant that, in early 21st century Melbourne, it is the marginalisation of one of the main varieties that is causing the most problems. Nevertheless, Mous and Ruumi (2001) make the point that Somali is one of the few nations of Africa with a single indigenous national language, the usual pattern being many indigenous languages and the former colonial language as the official language. As Laitin (1977:42) puts it: '... the Somali language is the most powerful symbol of their nationality'.

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1 Not on the same scale as English- or Italian-medium schools prior to 1969.

3.1.2.1 Script

The lack of opportunities for education (Laitin 1977:65–66),[2] together with the use of exotic languages (Italian, English, and Arabic) as mediums of instruction kept literacy levels very low until after 1975. The script dilemma had been an ongoing obstacle to improving literacy levels, and had been accompanied by extremely heated debates (in 1939 a demonstration against a British proposal resulted in three deaths). All in all, three main options were considered:

1. The adaptation of Somali phonetics to Arabic script by Sheekh Yuusuf bin Axmed al-Kawneyn in the 13th century, with subsequent modifications of this script; presenting problems of vowel fixation for a language with as rich a vowel system as Somali.
2. A type of Arabic script devised by X.I. Galaal in 1954; rejected by Islamic leaders because of its distance from the Koranic Arabic script.
3. The indigenous and phonetic Cismaaniya script devised by Cismaan Yuusuf of the powerful Darood clan in about 1920, but support for the script fluctuated with the fortunes of the clan.

Less successful attempts at an indigenous Somali script disseminated from Sheikh Cabduruxmaan Sheikh Nuur in 1933 and Xuseen Sheikh Axmed Kaddare of Mogadishu in 1952.

A UNESCO Commission in 1966 approved 10 unique writing systems for Somali. The two exotic alternatives were Arabic and Latin. The obvious disadvantage of Arabic script was its unsuitability for the language (see point 1. above). The arguments for Arabic script were:

(a) No suitable indigenous script had been found (Laitin 1977:95).

(b) Arabic was an international language and a lingua franca in Somali.

(c) Arabic had strong links with Islam and provided openings to the Middle East.

The chief disadvantage of Latin script was its association with the colonial past. Its advantages were that, in Laitin's words (1977:91) it is 'easily best suited to express Somali', it was already well-known, could be introduced quickly, and would facilitate links with the rest of the world and assist modernisation. While an indigenous script was desirable to promote national identity, it proved to be a delaying issue in terms of status planning for language and literacy development. Latin script was eventually selected by default (Laitin 1977:117, 120).

3.1.2.2 Status planning and terminology development

These two issues went hand in hand. The most important body propagating language planning, the Somali Youth League, set up in 1943, collected material on the Somali language, used and supported its use in social and educational contexts, and aimed at having the best foreign books translated into the language. Originally it also propagated an

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[2] According to Laitin (1977:66), of an estimated primary school-age population of 212,000 in the Italian trusteeship in 1961–62, only 14,000 were enrolled at school. Even four years later, there were only 17,938 students enrolled at primary level, 556 at intermediate level and 159 at secondary level, out of an estimated total school-aged population of 1,290,000.

indigenous script (Laitin 1977:98). In January 1971, a Linguistic Commission of 21 members was established, with the aims:

1. to write textbooks for elementary schools
2. to write a Somali grammar
3. to compile ten thousand word Somali dictionary.

Within a few months, four language books had been produced, as well as six mathematics and science textbooks, two in geography and history, and a dictionary. The media were also important elements in status and corpus planning. A new government daily *Xiddigta Oktober* (October Star) was established in Somali, to replace the earlier newspapers in English, Italian, and Arabic.

As Andrzejewski (1971) documents, broadcasting played an important role in the modernisation of Somali, making it suitable as a language of politics and public life. While Somalis had no official orthography and no daily press or school books in the language, they had a modern vocabulary, thanks to radio. However, when the first world news broadcasts in Somali went to air in 1943, the language lacked words for *socialism*, *capitalism*, *diplomatic relations*, *independence*, *secession*, *president*, *economic development*, *coup d'état* or *trades unions*, *hydro-electric dams*, *tear gas* or *prognosis* (Andrzejewski 1971:262). The language was on the other hand well suited to poetry, agriculture, traditional medicine, social organisation and Islam (the latter borrowed from Arabic). Semantic extension aided the expansion of the language. Cultural bearers such as illiterate poets were also consulted by educators about how to transfer items from other languages. As for the variety, Andrzejewski describes 'common Somali' as a 'group of dialects fully mutually intelligible'. We can assume this to be 'Maxaad tiri'.

Another exercise in corpus planning was that carried out jointly by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Somali National University from 1977 and described by Puglielli (1995) as the 'Somali language lexical project'. The objectives of the project were a linguistic description of Somali — to produce a descriptive reference grammar which could be the basis of pedagogical grammars as well as several dictionaries: Somali-Italian (started in 1978 and published in 1985), Italian-Somali, a Somali monolingual dictionary, and a Somali school dictionary (the latter two started in 1989). Terminology in a number of disciplines was collected, in collaboration with the Curriculum Development Centre of the Ministry of Education.

3.1.3 A note on diversity

Puglielli (1995:134) closes her account of the Somali language lexical project with the hope that the Somalis 'will realize that in spite of their undeniable regional and tribal differences, many other linguistic and cultural features unite them and allow them to consider themselves as a united people'. In terms of language planning for a Somali language, speakers of Maxaad tiri varieties have clearly been advantaged in that the standard language is similar to, and at least fully mutually comprehensible with their variety. Southerners are, in fact, doubly disadvantaged. Not only is the standard language far more distant from 'their variety', May, but their 'colonial' language, Italian, was also replaced by English. Laitin (1977:128) points to the resulting initial discrepancy in the results of Standard 8 (8th Grade) students in the first central examination. Both the status of English, the colonial language used in the north, and the northern basis of written standard

Somali worked towards literacy development in the north as opposed to the south. Illiteracy remains a serious problem among Somalis at home and abroad. As we shall see, educational levels and regional background both play an important role in the maintenance of Somali in Melbourne. From §3.1.1 it will also be evident that the civil war divided people from Maxaad tiri- and May-speaking areas, a division which potentially hinders the development of community in countries of migration.

In summary, the codification of Somali has passed through the following stages:

1897ff.	Various attempts at developing/choosing appropriate script.
1943	Somali Youth League set up for status planning.
1943	First Somali broadcasts.
1949	Formulation of objectives of Society for Somali Language and Literature.
1960ff.	Official language and national orthography issues combined.
1969ff.	Inquiry into all aspects of status/corpus planning
1971	Commission to develop textbooks, grammar, dictionaries (Implementation)
1977ff.	Corpus planning project with Italians.

3.2 Somali in Australia

The Somali community has had a relatively short history in Australia, becoming established only in the last decade. Whereas South Africa is growing in importance as a source of migrants under the skills stream of the migration program (see §1.2), migration numbers from the rest of Africa remain small, and those that settle in Australia do so mainly via the Special Humanitarian Program (SHP) for refugees. Somali-speaking migration can be traced to the outbreak of civil war in Somalia in the early 1990s, and by 1997 settlers from Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Sudan made up 14.1% of the total for the SHP, along with 47% from Europe (largely from the former Yugoslavia) and 37.1% from Iraq. Actual numbers, however, were small, with the total humanitarian project in 1997–1998 standing at 8,799 (i.e. approximately 1,002 individuals from all of the African countries mentioned). The 2001 Census registered 4,735 speakers of Somali in Australia, an increase of 107.6% since 1996. As is often the case with refugees, the proportion of skilled and educated among them is quite high, a phenomenon also noted among the Somali refugee community in the Netherlands (Mous & Ruumi 2001).

As indicated in §1.5, Melbourne is home to most speakers of Somali in Australia, with 3,051 or 64.4% of the national total reported in the 2001 Census. Sydney was next with 713 speakers, followed by Perth with 583 speakers, Brisbane with 190 speakers and Adelaide with 119 speakers. There were less than 50 speakers each in the ACT, the Northern Territory and Tasmania. Within Melbourne, speakers tend to be concentrated to the west and north of the central business district (see also §5.4.1.1), typically areas with a high proportion of community language speakers from a wide range of backgrounds. Significant factors in this concentration pattern are availability of low-cost housing, chain migration patterns (with later migrants sponsored by earlier ones) and access to mosques (given the importance of the Islamic faith to the majority of Somali speakers).

3.3 Language maintenance institutions in Melbourne

Compared with some other ethnic groups, the Somali community has established relatively few LM institutions. This is partly related to the late codification of the language and to the use of an exotic language for religion, which is so basic to Somali culture. There is no Somali-specific mosque, but there are some social groups, notably the Somali Islamic Society, operating from the four main mosques attended by Somalis. The language of religious observances is, of course, Arabic. The Somalis do not have an ethnic language newspaper, although there are some moves to start one. Arthur (2003:262) draws attention to the fact that the spoken rather than the written word is of central importance in traditional Somali society, both communicatively and symbolically. One of the four weekly Somali-language radio programs, and the fortnightly television program, are on multilingual community stations and produced by community members. The five Somali after-hours ethnic schools have culture and tradition as a focus and other lessons related to religion are also taught. The two connected with mosques are conducted mainly in Arabic, while those conducted independently of mosques are conducted largely in Somali. A scarcity of resources and materials, such as textbooks, is hindering the schools' efforts in the maintenance of Somali. In 2001 the total enrolment was 353 primary and 254 secondary pupils. During 2003, moves were initiated by community members and educators to introduce Somali as a Year 7–10 subject at the Victorian School of Languages, preparatory to proposing it as a subject for assessment in the final years of secondary school in Victoria (Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE)) (see §3.5.2.1). Social clubs and incorporated associations, some of which also deliver social welfare services, are clan-based and therefore use a regional variety as their main medium of communication, but also help other Somalis, in which case they use 'Common Somali' (Awes Amin, pers. comm.). Public libraries are not well endowed with Somali books (see §1.3).

3.4 The sample

As indicated in Chapter 1, it seemed more appropriate to aim for a number of families, rather than individuals, in the Somali component of this research. After some discussion with the Somali research assistant, it was decided to interview families from the two major regional variety groups (Maxad tiri and May), and from a number of different localities/networks. Given the fragmented nature of many Somali families in Australia, largely the result of their refugee experience, it was also planned to include examples of:

- a single parent family
- a family with regular contact with grandparents.

The final sample, comprising 36 individuals, includes four families from a May background and six from a Maxaad tiri background. One of the May families is multi-generational (the grandfather lives with them), and one of the Maxaad tiri families is a single parent family. Several other families have regular contact with grandparents.

Only one of the younger generation from the families interviewed were actually born in Australia, with two more born in Jedda and the remaining 14 born in Somalia. The generations are thus referred to in the survey analysis as 'parental' generation (19 informants) and 'younger' generation (17 informants). The younger generation, not born in Australia, arrived in Australia at the following ages: 4 years (1 informant), 5 years

(2 informants), 6 years (2 informants), 7 years (3 informants), 8 years (1 informant), 9 years (1 informant), 10 years (2 informants), 12 years (1 informant), 13 years (2 informants), and 14 years (1 informant).

3.5 Findings

3.5.1 The family case studies

The language use and maintenance patterns of the 10 families are set out below. Some general comparisons will then be drawn before going on to the survey results over all families.

3.5.1.1 Family A (Maxaad tiri speaking,[3] living in the north-eastern metropolitan region)

The parents and two sons (12 and 14 years old) were interviewed in this family. There are three other children in the family, two older (one girl, one boy) and one younger (a boy). The family came to Australia together in 1994 (when the children interviewed were 5 and 7 years old), via Kenya. The father is unemployed, and the mother works from home (as a child care worker). The children both attend a state secondary school.

All family members speak only the Maxaad tiri variety of Somali. The mother also speaks Kiswahili, and the father Italian. None of them can communicate in Arabic, although all use it for reading the Qu'ran and praying. The father is literate in Somali (rating all four Somali language skills as very good), although he does not speak or write English well. The mother is less literate than her husband in Somali (rating her oral skills as very good, but her literacy skills as not good), and she does not speak or write English well. The two boys say that their Somali is only 'fair' (oral: not good, literacy: none), although their English skills are very good.

The parents speak Somali in the home to each other and to the children, while the children answer mostly in English. The boys say that they sometimes try to answer in Somali, but they consider their Somali not to be good. While the parents' friends are mainly from a Somali background, and they speak Somali with them, the boys' friends are from both Somali- and non-Somali backgrounds and their language of interaction is English. The parents prefer to speak Somali at home, socially, and when they are with other Somalis, while the boys prefer English in all these settings. The parents speak Somali to relatives who do not live with them, while the boys speak English to these relatives. The research assistant noted that there was no real encouragement in the home for the children to speak Somali, although the English skills of the parents are poor.

The parents say that they would like their children to learn Somali (any variety — the mother comments that, as they have almost lost it anyway, it really doesn't matter) and the boys both say that they would like to learn it. Their main stated reason is to be able to communicate better with their parents and other Somalis, although one also says that he wants to understand more about his culture/background. Both boys say that they would

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[3] As will become clear from the case studies, families are not easily labelled 'Maxaad tiri speaking' or 'May speaking', as different generations (and in some cases different parents) may make use of different varieties. The choice was made on the basis of the regional background of the parental generation and the main variety of interaction in the home.

like their children to know Somali (also do not specify any variety). All four family members interviewed give their preferred 'identity' as Somali (father added 'from Africa, and an Australian citizen'). The most important features of his identity that the father wants to pass on to his children are religion, followed by culture and traditions, while the mother did not respond to this question.

3.5.1.2 Family B (Maxaad tiri speaking, living in the inner city)

The parents and two children (a 13-year-old boy and an 11-year-old girl) were interviewed. There is one other (younger) child in the family. The mother and children arrived in Australia via Saudi Arabia in 1994 and the father in 1996. The father works as a taxi driver and volunteer technical assistant for the Somali television program, and the mother is a housewife. The paternal grandparents have been in Australia since 1993 (arriving via Kenya), and they visit at weekends. The children attend Islamic schools.

The father speaks both Maxaad tiri and May, as well as Arabic and Italian (the latter two when driving taxis). The whole family uses Arabic for reading the Qu'ran and praying. The mother speaks fair communicative Arabic (which she uses when shopping, and sometimes to speak to other parents at her children's schools). The children both say that they speak Somali, and the boy uses some Arabic to friends at school, while the girl has no communicative Arabic. The father rates all of his Somali skills as very good (and his English skills good), while the mother's oral skills in Somali are very good and her literacy skills good. While the mother claims to speak and understand English well, but not to read/write it well, the research assistant felt that none of her English skills were good. The children rate all their English skills as very good, and their Somali (all skills) as not good.

The parents speak Somali to each other at home and to family members outside the home. However, while the mother also speaks Somali to the children (who answer in Somali), the father says that he speaks mainly English with the children. The research assistant noted that the father tends to speak Somali with the children until there is a point of some complexity that he wants to explain. The children report speaking English to each other and Somali to their parents, but English to other family members. The research assistant suggests that there is little complex interaction between the children and their parents, which makes few demands on the children's Somali. The parents' preferred home and social language (including groups with many Somali speakers) is Somali, while the boy prefers English at home and with his friends, but Somali with larger Somali-speaking groups. The girl did not respond to questions on preferred social language. The parents' friends are mainly of Somali origin, the boy's mainly non-Somali and the girl's of both Somali and non-Somali origin. Although the children visit their grandparents (with their own parents) they try to avoid communicating with them, because their Somali is not good. When they do, it is likely to be in English, and they spend the bulk of their time with their cousins (usually playing video games).

The parents say that they would like their children to learn Somali (any variety) and the children both say that they would like to learn it, in order to communicate better with their parents/relatives. Both children say that they would like their children to know 'Somali' (no differentiation into variety). While the parents give their preferred 'identity' as Somali, the boy gives his as 'pure Somali' and the girl as 'Muslim'. While the father wants to pass on culture, language and religion to his children, the mother places religion first, followed by culture/traditions.

3.5.1.3 Family C (May speaking, living in the northern metropolitan region)

The parents and two children (an 18-year-old girl and a 13-year-old girl) were interviewed. There are five other children in the family (two older, two younger and one 15-year-old).

The mother and the children arrived in Australia in 1995/6 after four years in Egypt, and the father in 2000 (from Saudi Arabia, where he was working). The father came to Australia initially for a three-month period, returned to Saudi Arabia, then came back to Australia again. The father is studying English and the mother is a housewife. The daughter attends a tertiary institution and the son a state secondary college.

The parents speak both May and Maxaad tiri, although the mother points out that her Maxaad tiri is 'only fair'. Both parents use Arabic for purposes other than religion, the father while shopping and socially, and the mother for watching movies. The daughter also communicates in Arabic with her friends, with one of her brothers and with her fiancé, who, like her, is a Somali who migrated to Australia via Egypt. The son interviewed said that he does not use Arabic communicatively. All members of the family use Arabic for reading the Qu'ran and praying. The father also speaks Italian and still uses it when he shops. Although the parents are from a May-speaking region, the children speak Maxaad tiri rather than May. The research assistant attributes this to the fact that they lived in a Maxaad tiri-dominated neighbourhood in Somalia, where they used Maxaad tiri at school and with their friends. The father is more confident in Somali than his wife, claiming very good skills in all areas. The mother rates her literacy skills as good, rather than very good. Both parents claim that their English (in all areas) is not good. The daughter says that while she speaks/understands Somali well, she doesn't read and write it well, and the son says that he doesn't speak, read or write it well, although he can understand it well. He also chooses 'well' for all four English skills, while his sister chooses 'very well'. The daughter uses a lot of Arabic via Internet chat rooms (and still maintains contact with friends in Egypt). Her older brother (not interviewed), on the other hand, does not speak very good Arabic, reflecting the different ways in which the children reacted to their time in an Arabic-speaking country.

The father speaks May most of the time to all members of his family, and they respond in May or Maxaad tiri. The mother speaks May to all family members. Her husband responds in May or Maxaad tiri and states that the children respond mainly in English. The children interviewed, on the other hand, claim to speak Somali with their parents, but English with their siblings. The research assistant suggests that the apparent contradiction in terms of child/parent interaction may be explained by their respective definitions of 'Somali' and the depth or requirements of the interaction. The parents speak both May and Maxaad tiri to family members outside the home, the daughter speaks 'Somali' and the son speaks both 'Somali' and English. The father prefers 'Somali' at home, the mother prefers May, the daughter prefers Arabic and the son prefers English. While the mother and children have both Somali and non-Somali friends, the father's friends are mainly from a Somali background. The father speaks May or Maxaad tiri to his friends, depending on the setting and relationship, and his wife speaks May or English to hers, depending on their language background. The daughter speaks mostly English with her friends (with some Somali and Arabic), while the son has no real preference between Somali and English. In larger groups the father prefers Somali, the mother prefers May, the daughter prefers English (because her Somali is not very good) and the son also prefers English. The

research assistant comments that the father seems ashamed that his children speak Maxaad tiri rather than May, and frequently admonishes them to speak May.

Both parents want their children to speak Somali (the May variety). The children in turn want to learn Somali to maintain the language (daughter) and to communicate with their relatives (both children). The son also makes the point that 'it is my language'. They would both like their children to learn Somali (both May and Maxaad tiri). The father, mother and son see their identity primarily as Somali, while the daughter sees her identity in terms of religion (Muslim). The father wants to hand on religion, 'good culture' and language to the children, while the mother wants to hand on religion and respect for others.

3.5.1.4 Family D (multigenerational family) (May speaking, living in the north-western metropolitan region)

Two adults of the parental generation and two children, a nephew aged 16 and a niece aged 13, were interviewed. There are three other children in the family, all younger and the children of the adults interviewed. The grandfather lives with them, while the grandmother lives with her daughter. The children visit their own parents at weekends.

The adult male came to Australia as a student in 1985. He married an Australian woman, from whom he was subsequently divorced, and remarried (a Somali woman) in 1995. The adult female came to Australia in 1995, while the children arrived in 1994 with their grandparents. The adult male is a university student and part-time taxi driver, while his wife does not work outside of the home. The nephew attends a state secondary school, while the niece attends an Islamic school.

The adults speak both May and Maxaad tiri, although the wife says that her Maxaad tiri is only fair. The children speak only May. All members of this family group use Arabic for reading the Qu'ran and praying, but only the husband can communicate in it, which he does while shopping and also while driving taxis. He claims very good skills in all areas in both languages, while his wife is not so literate in Somali, claiming very good oral skills but reading and writing skills that are not good. She cannot speak or read English at all. The children both say that they speak and understand Somali well but do not read and write it well, although they claim that all skills in English are very good.

The adults speak May to all family members at home, who mostly respond in May, the only exception being the younger children who have grown up in Australia and who will sometimes respond in English to their father. The two children interviewed say that they speak May to all adults in the house, but English with the other children. The wife and children all say that they prefer to speak 'Somali' at home, while the husband specifies 'May'. All family members interviewed say that they speak Somali with relatives outside the home, with the husband once again differentiating between the varieties, saying that he speaks both May and Maxaad tiri, depending on the background of his interlocutor. The husband and children all have friends from both within and outside the Somali community, with the husband preferring to speak Somali with friends, the nephew happy to use either Somali or English and the niece preferring English. The wife has friends mainly from within the Somali-speaking community and prefers to speak Somali with them (she cannot in any case communicate in English). While the wife and niece say that they prefer to use May with larger groups of Somalis, and the nephew prefers 'Somali', the husband says that he prefers to use either May or Maxaad tiri, depending on the backgrounds within the group. The children speak May with their grandfather. The research assistant notes that

this is the only family in the sample who do, in fact, speak May most of the time unless 'outsiders' enter the group, and then they will speak Maxaad tiri. The Australian-born 7-year-old (not interviewed) speaks very good May.

Both adults say that they want their children to learn Somali (husband: both May and Maxaad tiri; wife: May), while both children say that they want to learn it. Both give communication with relatives and other Somalis as their primary reason, but the nephew also mentions his identity, and a desire to learn more about his culture. The wife and children all give their preferred identity as 'Somali', while the husband gives his as 'Somali-Australian'. The most important features of his identity that the husband wants to pass on to his children are language, values and norms, while for the wife it is religion, culture and language.

3.5.1.5 Family E (May speaking, living in the northern metropolitan region)

The parents and two sons (18 and 15 years old) were interviewed. There are seven other children in the family, all younger. The mother and children came to Australia together from Kenya in 1995 (when the boys interviewed were 13 and 10 years old). The father arrived some time later. The father is studying English and the mother is a housewife. The boys both attend a state secondary college.

The father speaks only May, while the mother and boys speak both May and Maxaad tiri. None of the family members interviewed are able to communicate in Arabic, although the father and the younger son say that they read the Qu'ran. The use of Arabic in the religious domain was not mentioned by either the mother or the older boy. The parents both say that they speak and understand Somali very well, while the father can read well and write 'not well'. The mother says that she can neither read nor write Somali well. The older boy claims to speak and understand Somali very well, while the younger boy reports good speaking and understanding skills. Both boys self-rate their literacy skills in Somali as 'not good'. While the older boy says that all of his English skills are good, the younger boy reports that he can speak and understand English very well, and read and write it well.

The father speaks May to all family members, who respond in May, also to relatives outside the home, and his preferred home language is May. The mother uses 'Somali' to all family members, who respond in 'Somali', also to relatives outside the home, and her preferred home language is 'Somali'. The older boy speaks both May and Maxaad tiri to parents, who respond in May. While his mother reports that the children use English among themselves, this son reports that they only sometimes use English. He speaks May and Maxaad tiri to other family members, and his preferred home languages are May and Maxaad tiri. As with the children in Family B, the children in this family learned Maxaad tiri through being brought up in Somalia in a largely Maxaad tiri-speaking environment. The younger boy uses 'Somali' to his parents and siblings, who respond in 'Somali', although he also speaks to his siblings in English. He speaks to other relatives in 'Somali', and his preferred home language is May. While the parents' friends are mainly from a Somali-speaking background, the boys' friends are both from a Somali and a non-Somali background. While the father states that his preferred language socially (including Somali groups) is May, the mother states that it is 'Somali'. The older boy prefers to speak English with his friends, while his younger brother is happy to speak English, May or Maxaad tiri, depending on their background. The older boy prefers to speak 'Somali' (Maxaad tiri?) in larger groups, while his brother prefers to speak either May or Maxaad tiri, again

depending on the interlocutor's background. The research assistant notes that the father in this family speaks May to almost everyone (even if they don't understand it).

The parents both say that they would like their children to learn a variety of Somali (father: May; mother May or Maxaad tiri) and the children interviewed both want to learn Somali. The older boy plans to return to Somalia and to teach others, and also wants to be able to communicate with other Somalis. His brother wants to learn the language so that he 'does not forget'. Whereas the mother and the older boy identify themselves as 'Somali', the father and younger boy identify as 'Rahwein' (the clan). The father and this son also want their children to learn May, while the mother wants them to learn either May or Maxaad tiri, and the older boy does not specify a particular variety.

3.5.1.6 Family F (Maxaad tiri speaking, living in the western metropolitan region)

The parents and one daughter (10 years old) were interviewed. There are four other children in the family, all younger. The family arrived in Australia together from Kenya in 1998, when the daughter interviewed was 7 years old. The father is tertiary educated and the mother is a housewife and student. The daughter attends a state primary school.

While the father claims to speak all varieties of Somali, his wife and daughter speak only Maxaad tiri, and the daughter rates hers as only 'fair'. Neither the wife nor daughter can communicate in Arabic, although all members use it for religious purposes. The father uses Arabic for shopping and for reading scientific texts, and says that he also speaks Italian and Kiswahili. The father has very good skills in all areas in both languages, while his wife has very good skills in all areas in Somali, but reports that none of her English skills are good. The daughter says that she does not speak or understand Somali well, and that she never reads nor writes it at all. She responded with 'well' for all areas in English.

The parents both claim to speak Somali with all family members, both inside and outside the home, and indicate that these family members respond in Somali, although the father does say that he sometimes speaks English with the children. The daughter, on the other hand, says that she speaks English with all family members, although she sometimes speaks a little Somali with her mother. The research assistant confirms that the mother's English is not good. The daughter speaks English to relatives outside the home, and her preferred home language is English, while that of her parents is Somali. While the father has friends both inside and outside the Somali-speaking community, the wife and daughter have friends mainly from within the Somali-speaking community. The wife's preferred language socially (and in larger Somali groups) is Somali, however, while the daughter's preference is English (in both of these areas). The father prefers to speak Somali, English or Arabic with his friends, but Somali in larger groups of Somalis.

All family members interviewed identify themselves as 'Somali' (father: 'pure Somali'), the parents want to pass on Somali to their children (father: all varieties; mother: any variety) and the daughter wants to learn it, in order to communicate with other Somalis. She also wants her children to learn Somali (any variety).

3.5.1.7 Family G (Maxaad tiri speaking, living in the inner city)

The parents and one son (9 years old) were interviewed. There is one other child in the family, a younger daughter. The father arrived in 1988, the mother in 1992, and the son was born in Australia. They visit their grandmother on weekends and holidays. The father

is a student and part-time taxi driver, the mother is a housewife and the son attends an Islamic primary school.

The father speaks both Maxaad tiri and May, as well as Italian and Arabic (for religious purposes, taxi driving and socially), while the mother speaks Maxaad tiri and Kiswahili (occasionally with friends). She cannot communicate in Arabic, although she uses it for religious purposes. The son speaks Maxaad tiri and also only uses Arabic for religious purposes. Both parents claim very good skills in all areas in Somali, and the father also claims very good English skills in all areas (mother: 'good' in all areas). The son claims very good skills in English in speaking, listening and reading ('good' in writing), but only 'good' in Somali for speaking and listening, 'not good' for reading and 'not at all' for writing.

All of this family say they speak Maxaad tiri to all family members, who answer in Maxaad tiri. They speak Somali to family members outside the home, and prefer to speak Somali at home. While the father and son say that their friends come from both within and outside the Somali-speaking community, the mother says that her friends are mainly of Somali background. The father prefers Somali, English and Arabic with friends (depending on relationship and setting), the mother prefers Somali (and sometimes Kiswahili), while the son prefers both English and Somali. All family members say that they prefer to speak Somali at larger gatherings of Somalis. Both children speak Somali with the grandparents.

While the mother identifies as 'Australian', the father identifies himself as a 'member of the Somali community in Australia', and the son identifies himself as 'Somali-Australian'. Neither parent responded to the question on which features of their identity they wish to pass on to their children, although both say that they want their children to learn Somali (Maxaad tiri — the father made the point that it would be confusing for the children to learn more than one variety). The son also wants to learn Somali, because it is his mother language, and enables him to communicate with family and other Somalis, and he would also like his children to learn Somali (Maxaad tiri).

3.5.1.8 Family H (Maxaad tiri speaking, living in the northern metropolitan region)

The parents, a daughter (16 years old) and a son (14 years old) were interviewed. There are six other children in the family, all younger. The family arrived together from Kenya in 1999, when the children interviewed were 14 and 12 years old. The father and children are students, while the mother is a housewife. The children both attend an Islamic secondary school (run by the Turkish Islamic Society). The research assistant notes that this school, due to its Turkish bias, uses more English than Arabic. Turkish Muslims have transliterated the Qu'ran into Turkish script.

The parents both speak Maxaad tiri and May, and cannot communicate in Arabic beyond religious purposes. The children speak Maxaad tiri and also cannot communicate in Arabic beyond religious purposes. Both parents claim very good skills in Somali in all areas, and the father also claims very good skills in English, while the mother claims that she does not speak or understand English well, and that she does not read or write it at all. The children both claim good skills in speaking and understanding Somali, but say that they do not read or write it well. They both claim good skills in all areas of English.

The parents report that they speak Maxaad tiri among themselves (the father also mentions May) and to the children. The father indicates that he sometimes speaks English to the children, and the mother reports that sometimes the children answer in English. The

children interviewed say that they speak Somali to their parents and English among themselves. The parents both claim to speak Somali with family members outside the home, the daughter says that she speaks both English and Somali with these family members, and the son that he speaks English to them (because they are able to speak English). The mother and children all prefer to speak Somali at home, while the father prefers to speak both Somali and English. The parents both indicate that their friends are mainly from a Somali-speaking background, while the children both say that their friends are from both inside and outside the Somali-speaking community. The father prefers to speak Somali (both varieties) with his friends, the mother prefers to speak 'Somali' and the children are happy to speak either Somali or English, depending on the circumstances. All family members interviewed say that they prefer to speak 'Somali' at larger gatherings of Somalis.

The parents and the daughter identify themselves as 'Somali', the son as Muslim (and doesn't mark any of the other alternatives on the list provided). The father wants to hand on language, religion, culture and values to his children, while the mother did not respond to the question. Both parents want their children to learn Somali (both varieties) and both children wish to continue to learn Somali, because it is their mother tongue. The girl also mentions communication with relatives and other Somalis. Both children would also like their children to learn Somali (any variety).

3.5.1.9 Family I (single parent family) (Maxaad tiri speaking, living in the inner city)

The mother and two daughters (16 and 14 years old) were interviewed. There is one other (younger) child in the family. The family visits the grandmother on weekends and holidays. The children arrived in Australia in 1992, and the mother in 1994. The father is in the United Arab Emirates, although he has been sponsored for migration and is coming to Australia at some time in the future. The mother is a community worker and the girls are both students at a state secondary school.

The mother speaks both Maxaad tiri and May ('fair') as well as German and Arabic (which she uses at work, as well as for religious purposes). She uses German with friends, and sometimes also at work. The girls speak Maxaad tiri ('fair') and use Arabic only for religious purposes. While the mother claims very good skills in both languages in all areas, the children have very good English skills, but claim that their speaking/listening skills in Somali are 'not good' and that they do not read or write it at all.

While the mother claims to speak Somali with her children (who answer in English), the children report speaking English to their mother, who answers in English. They speak English also among themselves. While the mother speaks Somali to relatives outside the home, the children speak mostly English to these relatives, and prefer to speak English at home (their mother does not respond to the question on home language preference). All family members interviewed say that their friends are from both within and outside the Somali-speaking community. The children both prefer to speak English with their friends (and also at larger gatherings of Somalis), whereas their mother prefers to speak Somali in both settings (but will also use Arabic, English and German).

While the mother and the younger daughter identify themselves as 'Somali', the older daughter says that she is 'of Somali origin' (chooses 'Somali-Australian' from the list, as do her mother and sister). The most important features of her identity that the mother wants to pass on to her children are religion, culture and language, and she would like her

children to learn Somali (variety unclear). Both of the children interviewed would like to learn Somali (for communication), and they would both like their children to learn Somali (any variety).

3.5.1.10 Family J (May speaking, living in the northern metropolitan region)

The parents and one son (13 years old) were interviewed. There are five other children in the family, all younger. The father arrived in 2000, and the mother and son in 1999, when the child was 10 years old. The family had been in Saudi Arabia for 10 years prior to migration. The father is learning English, the mother is a housewife, and the child attends a state primary school.

All members of the family speak both May and Arabic. Both parents use Arabic when shopping, and the mother also sometimes speak it with the children. The son speaks it with friends and siblings. All members of the family also use Arabic for religious purposes. The parents also speak Maxaad tiri. While all family members answered 'not well' to all English skills, the father claims very good Somali skills in all areas, compared with 'well' in all areas from the mother and the son.

The father reports speaking May to the children (and being answered in May), and the mother that she speaks mostly May with the children, who respond in both May and English. Sometimes she also speaks Arabic with them and they respond in May, English or Arabic. The parents report that the children speak English among themselves, while the child interviewed said that he speaks English and Arabic with his siblings. All family members speak a variety of Somali to other relatives (father and son: May; mother: May and Maxaad tiri), the father prefers May at home, the mother 'Somali' and the son Arabic. The parents' friends are mainly from within the Somali-speaking community, while the son has friends from both within and outside the Somali-speaking community. The father prefers to speak 'Somali' with friends, the mother specifies May or Maxaad tiri, and the child prefers to speak English. The mother and son prefer to speak May with larger groups of Somalis, while the father prefers May or Maxaad tiri, depending on background.

The parents both say that they would like their children to learn May, as does the son. While the father and son identify themselves as Somali, the mother identifies herself as African. While the father would like to pass on religion, language, culture and values to his children, the mother would like to pass on language and religion.

3.5.1.11 Some comments on the case studies

Although each case study represents the unique experience of one family, several general points can be drawn from them, before going on to the focus group and survey findings. An obvious issue is the difficulty in making firm distinctions between 'May' and 'Maxaad tiri' speaking families, in that parents and children often have quite different language use patterns and preferences, depending on (a) the region of Somalia in which the children were born and (at least partially) educated and (b) the intermediate countries or regions of migration. Another point (derived largely from participant observation on the part of the research assistant) is that it can be difficult to establish exactly what is meant by 'speaking Somali', a difficulty demonstrated by contradictions between the reported language use of parents and children in a number of families. The research assistant reports that there is not a great deal of verbal communication of any depth between the generations

(even between parents and children). This is clearly exacerbated in Australia by the limited English skills of many of the parents, and the limited Somali skills of many of the children. The 'Maxaad tiri' families tended to use the term 'Somali' exclusively to refer to *their* language, while the 'May' informants, particularly the men, were careful to make the distinction between 'May' and 'Maxaad tiri' when talking about language. While the family with a 'live-in' grandparent did exhibit a stronger use of Somali in the home and between generations, the presence of grandparents in Melbourne does not seem to guarantee this result, as a number of other families reported that the children have very limited verbal communication with grandparents (exacerbated, no doubt, by the rapid language shift among the children and the limited English skills of the grandparents). Finally, while families were drawn from a range of geographical areas in Melbourne, this does not on the face of it appear to contribute very much to language use patterns. One possible explanation of this could be drawn from the fact that the clan system in Somali society, particularly following on the civil war, has made it very difficult to establish a network within the Somali community in Melbourne based on area of residence. The research assistant noted that women in particular do not intermingle much, but rather use the telephone as a surrogate. Geographical location would thus become less important.

3.5.2 Findings from the focus groups and surveys

The following section concentrates on the information gained from the two focus groups (of similar, but not identical, composition) and the surveys, viewed individually and in terms of regional origin (Maxaad tiri/May) rather than as family groups.

3.5.2.1 Perceptions of what constitutes 'Somali'

There was a great deal of animated discussion at both focus groups around the issue of the mutual intelligibility between different varieties of Somali, which was probably more a debate about language and identity. The second focus group was, in fact, centred around this question, following on as it did from the presentation of survey findings by the researchers, which had been couched partly in terms of the differences/similarities between the responses of May- and Maxaad tiri-speaking informants. The opinion of the Maxaad tiri speakers present was that all Somalis understand the standard Somali language (based on Maxaad tiri), and that most Maxaad tiri speakers can also understand May (if spoken slowly). The May speakers present disagreed, one participant citing the example of a court case in which he had had to interpret for a May speaker who was not able to communicate via the 'Somali' interpreter. Another participant said that his children, speaking only May (L1) and English (L2) would most certainly be disadvantaged if 'standard Somali' only were to be introduced as a VCE subject. This participant also stressed the importance of language as a carrier of culture — because the culture, history and traditions of his area are so different from the culture, history and traditions of other areas in Somalia, the languages also are totally different. He wants his children to learn about *his* culture, in *his* language. A discussion of the standard in terms of its script also suggested that there are phonemes in May which cannot be represented by the graphemes of the standard language. Some participants suggested that the May speakers most likely to have difficulty in understanding the standard are those from remote rural regions where there is not a lot of exposure to mass media. When pressed as to actual linguistic differences between the two

varieties, one participant described both varieties as SVO languages, but with some variation in verbal forms. He said that, while many lexical items are common to both varieties, there is also a significant degree of difference, due to the different cultural traditions. It was suggested also that competence in varieties of Somali other than one's own tends to be passive rather than active. May was generally agreed to be the major variety in Somalia other than Maxaad tiri by focus group participants (cf. Mous & Ruumi 2001:266). One Maxaad tiri-speaking participant drew attention to the existence of speakers of other 'minority' varieties in Melbourne, something that did not carry much weight with the rest of the focus group, whether Maxaad tiri- or May-speaking.

By the end of the second focus group it was apparent that unity of purpose is a major issue, perhaps *the* major issue, for this particular language community in Melbourne (a point clearly obvious to, and expressed by, the participants present). It would appear to be seriously undermining any attempts to address the rapid language shift in the community, a language shift (and a situation) deplored by all participants of the focus groups.

This lack of unity of purpose may have been at the core of the failure of the Somali community to get Somali introduced as a school and examination subject along with the many other community languages. A first step was to have Somali introduced into the Victorian School of Languages (VSL). As a result of the second focus group, at which concern was expressed about the language shift among young people, a Somali Working Group was formed to develop a subject for the VSL. Initially it was intended for the middle secondary level as a preliminary to working out a proposal for a nation-wide Year 11 and 12 subject. For the time being, the group was to approach schools and ethnic schools for assistance in drawing up a list of students who would be interested in joining classes, find one or more suitable locations for the program, find suitably qualified teachers, and find or develop curriculum materials. The Working Group comprised four educated Somalis (including two teachers), a retired Australian language teacher, the deputy principal of the Victorian School of Languages, and the authors. Right from the beginning, there was anxiety from the Somali side that the task would be undermined if the membership of the group was too open. For some months, the group worked cohesively and, while information was relatively slow in coming in, it looked as though the program would start in April 2004. But as from early that year, the Somali members absented themselves from meetings and the program did not see the light of day. It should be stated that many of the active Somali community members are overstretched in the number of tasks they have to undertake on behalf of the community.

3.5.2.2 Language, ethnicity and identity

In light of the views expressed at the focus groups, both in terms of the value of maintaining Somali in Australia, and the stresses felt by families and individuals when a community language is lost, the views of the survey informants on the value of bilingualism, on the maintenance of ethnicity, and the role of language in ethnicity may be illuminating. The younger generation informants were also asked whether they wanted to learn the language of their parents.

All but one of the 36 informants surveyed thought that bilingualism was at least helpful, and, in all groups but the Maxaad tiri younger generation, most thought it was very helpful.

Table 3.1: 'Being able to speak two languages is helpful'

		Maxaad tiri	May	Total
PG[4]	very helpful	100%	87.5%	94.7%
	helpful	0%	12.5%	5.3%
	not important	0%	0%	0%
YG	very helpful	30%	71.4%	47.1%
	helpful	60%	28.6%	47.1%
	not important	10%	0%	5.9%

Taken overall, May speakers displayed stronger positive attitudes to bilingualism than did Maxaad tiri speakers, and parental generation speakers were more positive than younger generation speakers.

All but one of the younger generation speakers said that they wanted to learn Somali. The exception did not respond to this question at all. While 'communication' was the major reason given for wanting to learn the language, the largest group of Maxaad tiri speakers cited 'communication with other Somalis' while the only communication specifically cited by May speakers was communication with parents and relatives. This clearly relates to the status and function of the respective varieties.

The parental generation speakers were also asked how important it is to maintain a Somali identity in Australia, and how important the Somali language is to maintaining such an identity in Australia. Although both groups attached importance to both the Somali identity and the language, the perceived importance in both instances was greater for the Maxaad tiri-speaking group than for the May-speaking group. This may reflect the more 'marginalised' position of May speakers in terms of a 'Somali' identity, their language variety not having been chosen as the base for standard, codified 'Somali'.

As in Toronto and London (McGowan 1999), Somalis in Melbourne still rely on their clan as their support group. It may be that McGowan's prediction of a diverse western, Muslim identity will hold for Somalis in Australia as well as for those in Britain and Canada.

3.5.2.3 Perception of intra-community support for Somali

While the majority of the survey informants (both groups) felt that other Somali speakers were supportive of language maintenance, there was some dissent from both groups (stronger from the Maxaad tiri group). It had already been foreshadowed by the first focus group that some parents either saw English as the language of status in Australia and encouraged their children to use it exclusively, or used their children's proficiency in English to improve their own. This was seen as more likely to be a problem where the parents' own education is low.

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[4] As indicated in §3.4, PG refers to 'parental generation' and YG to 'younger generation'.

Table 3.2: 'Somali speakers in Melbourne are supportive of language maintenance'

		Maxaad tiri	May	Total
PG	agree strongly	36.4%	12.5%	26.3%
	agree	36.4%	62.5%	47.4%
	don't know	0%	0%	0%
	disagree	27.3%	12.5%	21.1%
	strongly disagree	0%	0%	0%
	no response	0%	12.5%	5.3%
YG	agree strongly	0%	28.6%	11.8%
	agree	50.0%	57.1%	52.9%
	don't know	30.0%	14.3%	23.5%
	disagree	20.0%	0%	11.8%
	strongly disagree	0%	0%	0%
	no response	0%	0%	0%

While the Maxaad tiri speakers tend to show greater extremes of agreement/ disagreement in the parental generation, the May younger generation speakers generally perceive the Somali community as being more strongly supportive of language maintenance, which may reflect the situation within their own families, and within other May-speaking families. This may point once again to a greater consciousness of the May variety as a marker of identity among May speakers in Melbourne.

3.5.2.4 Perceptions of language maintenance and transmission

The general consensus across the two focus group meetings was that Somali is being lost in Australia at an alarming rate. Young children are shifting to the use of 'English only' in as little as three years, and even teenage immigrants are losing quality of expression in Somali. Young people typically speak only English among themselves. Grandparents are generally not accessible in Australia, and even where they are present, the children are often no longer able to communicate with them, and rather play among their cousins on family visits. All of these points were borne out by the surveys and family case studies. One focus group participant cited an even more extreme situation from America, where interpreters have had to be used on occasion to help parents and children to communicate with one another. Given the strong oral tradition within Somali society, where information and values have been traditionally passed on by word of mouth, this is extremely distressing for Somali parents. Parents do, on the other hand, see the value of their children learning English, and, particularly where the parents are not well educated themselves, they tend to overestimate their children's level of academic achievement (which is often poor). Some parents perceive a 'trade-off' situation between proficiency in Somali and proficiency in English, with English the more important, while others want to practise English with their children. The importance of television culture for the children in Melbourne, and the dominance of the English environment at school, were also seen by focus group informants as factors militating against the use of Somali. Geographical

distribution was also cited as a factor, with many Somalis living in areas where there are very few, if any, other Somali speakers.[5] This is seen as an issue not only for the children, but also for adults, particularly women if they are at home all day. Clan differences can add another dimension to this isolation, and the telephone was suggested as an extremely important point of contact, particularly for women. The comment was made that Somalis, with their emphasis on oral communication, are far more likely to hand out telephone numbers than business cards or addresses when they make new acquaintances.

Education was seen as one of the major avenues for redressing this situation of rapid shift, and there was general dissatisfaction, in both the focus group meetings and from the individual surveys, that Somali is not taught in mainstream schools, and particularly that the language is as yet not an examination subject for the VCE (the end of secondary school/matriculation certificate). Out of the 36 informants interviewed for the surveys, only one said that [he] did not think Somali should be a VCE subject, on the grounds that it was not a 'language of science'. While the parental generation (surveys) focussed more on the benefits to language maintenance of a VCE subject, the younger generation was more interested in the potential benefit of VCE Somali as a subject that could enhance their tertiary entrance scores. The main obstacles to the introduction of Somali at VCE level were seen (in both focus groups) to be lack of funding, lack of resources, lack of teachers, lack of profile for Somali, and, perhaps most importantly, lack of a unified approach from the Somali community themselves. This lack of unity can, according to both focus groups, be traced back to continuing clan differences, and, more specifically, to lack of agreement as to what actually constitutes the Somali language, and which variety/ies of it should be taught (see also §3.5.2.1).

Education was also seen as a problematic area generally, with many Somali children failing to achieve success within the school system (as is the case in the Netherlands, see Mous & Ruumi 2001). In this regard links between school and parents were seen to be vital, but generally rare (often due to cultural and language barriers). A recent Somali youth consultation conducted by the Victorian Multicultural Commission revealed that young Somalis in Melbourne were experiencing great difficulty continuing with education due to prolonged periods of interrupted schooling. Low achievement, resulting low self-esteem and the number of early school leavers were causing concern to the community. The Victorian Multicultural Commission has established a steering committee to involve young Somali-Australians in service delivery to address their needs (*Multicultural Victoria*, 2002:13).

3.5.2.5 Perceived language proficiency

Both proficiency in English and proficiency in Somali were established by a self-rating technique. While this technique is not necessarily accurate or reliable, it does give some indication as to the confidence a speaker has in their linguistic skills, and, taken together with language use data, it can help to establish a basic proficiency level.

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[5] The geographical factor did not seem to be significant for this (admittedly small) sample. As suggested in §3.5.11, this may be partly due to the political fragmentation of the Somali community in Melbourne.

The information presented below was gathered from the survey informants. It confirms the impression gained from the focus groups that there is a significant shift between the parental and younger generation of Somali speakers. It needs to be noted (see §3.4) that the 'younger generation' for the purposes of this survey were almost all born in Somalia, and some came to Australia as young teenagers. The table also confirms that members of the younger generation have more confidence in their passive than their active language skills.

Table 3.3: Self-rated proficiency in Somali

		Speaking	Listening	Reading	Writing
PG	very well	94.7%	94.7%	63.2%	63.2%
	well	5.3%	5.3%	21.1%	15.8%
	not well	0%	0%	15.8%	21.1%
	not at all	0%	0%	0%	0%
YG	very well	5.9%	5.9%	0%	0%
	well	52.9%	58.8%	5.9%	5.9%
	not well	41.2%	35.3%	64.7%	58.8%
	not at all	0%	0%	29.4%	35.3%

For this particular sample, Maxaad tiri and May speakers are comparable in the parental generation in terms of oral skills in Somali, although Maxaad tiri speakers are more confident in literacy skills. In the younger generation, however, it is the May speakers who report greater confidence in all areas. The late codification of Somali (see §3.1), may be reflected in the lower overall confidence in literacy skills in the parental generation when compared with oral proficiency. Somali literacy skills fall drastically between generations (reading: 84% 'very well' or 'well' in the PG, dropping to 5.9% in the YG; writing: 78% 'very well' or 'well' in the PG, dropping to 5.9% in the YG).

This sliding scale is comparable to that reported for young Somali speakers in the Netherlands (Extra et al. 2001, p.13), who self-rated their Somali skills on an average of 88% for listening, 85% for speaking, but only 31% for reading and 27% for writing. The oral skills for our sample are relatively high compared to other young bilinguals in the Netherlands, while the literacy skills are comparatively low.

The self-rating of English proficiency reverses the positions of the generations. While the younger generation informants do not show the same confidence in English as most of their parents do in Somali, they still outrate the older generation in all areas, all but one claiming to perform all skills either 'very well' or 'well'. The majority of the parental generation, on the other hand, claim to function either 'not well' or 'not at all' in all four language skills in English. Taken together, the tables indicate cause for concern as far as intergenerational communication is concerned, a point already raised by the focus groups (see §3.6.4). Participant observation during the interviews confirms the lack of 'depth' in parent/child interactions (see §3.5.11).

Table 3.4: Self-rated proficiency in English

		Speaking	Listening	Reading	Writing
PG	very well	26.3%	26.3%	26.3%	26.3%
	well	21.1%	21.1%	10.5%	10.5%
	not well	47.4%	47.4%	52.6%	52.6%
	not at all	5.3%	5.3%	10.5%	10.5%
YG	very well	64.7%	64.7%	58.8%	52.9%
	well	29.4%	29.4%	35.3%	41.2%
	not well	5.9%	5.9%	5.9%	5.9%
	not at all	0%	0%	0%	0%

3.5.2.6 Language use

3.5.2.6.1 Language use in the home

The information in the following tables was also gathered from the survey, and separates the sample into its Maxaad tiri and May constituents. Because of the small resultant number of cases in each 'cell', numbers are given rather than percentages.

Table 3.5: Language of fathers and children

		Maxaad tiri	May	Total
Father to children	Somali	2	3	5
	mostly English	1	0	1
	mostly Somali	2	0	2
	no response	0	1	1
	N/A	1	0	1
Children to father	English	2	0	2
	Somali	5	7	12
	mostly English	1	0	1
	N/A	2	0	2

Table 3.6: Language of mothers and children

		Maxaad tiri	May	Total
Mother to children	Somali	6	4	10
Children to mother	English	3	0	3
	Somali	5	7	12
	mostly English	2	0	2

Table 3.7: Language between adults and between children

		Maxaad tiri	May	Total
Language between adults	Somali	10	8	18
	N/A	1	0	1
Language between children	English	8	4	12
	Somali	2	1	3
	English and Arabic	0	1	1
	English sometimes	0	1	1

For this particular sample at least, the following points can be made about home use of Somali. Firstly, all the mothers interviewed reported speaking only Somali to their children, and all adults interviewed reported speaking only Somali among themselves. Consistent with the reported proficiency in Somali/English, however (see §3.6.5), the Maxaad tiri-background families reported more use of English between parents and children. No May-background younger generation informant reported speaking anything but Somali to their parents. Among themselves, however, they were just as likely as the Maxaad tiri-background informants to use English. A focus group participant also queried the reported exclusive use of Somali by younger generation May informants to their parents, saying that this may involve formulaic and incomplete/fragmented responses rather than continuous or complex discourse. While this may indeed be the case, the two younger generation groups respond quite differently to the question 'What language do you *prefer* to speak at home?', reinforcing the strong independent linguistic identity of the May speakers.

Table 3.8: Which language do you prefer to use at home?

		Maxaad tiri	May
PG	Somali	81.8%	100.0%
	Somali and English	9.1%	0%
	no response	9.1%	0%
YG	English	70.0%	0%
	Somali	30.0%	71.4%
	Arabic	0%	28.6%[6]

The findings on home language use for this particular sample do on the whole support the existence of a linguistic divide between the older and younger generations, albeit somewhat more pronounced for the Maxaad tiri-background families than for the May-background families.

In Extra et al.'s (2001) study in the Netherlands, the use of Somali to the parents decreased as the children became older, from 90% among 4–5 year olds to 60% among 16–17 year olds communicating with mothers, and from 79% (4–5 year olds) to 57% (16–17 year olds) communicating with fathers. This was still relatively high compared with many other groups (Extra et al. 2001:133). Arthur (2004) reports non-reciprocal language use (Somali by parents, English by children) in Liverpool Somali families, although this varies according to the parents' understanding of English.

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6 This family migrated to Australia by way of Saudi Arabia.

3.5.2.6.2 Language use outside the home

Information on language use outside the home was sought in a number of different domains.

Extended family

Once again, the parental generation is characterised by its preference for Somali, while the younger generation uses more English. This is far more marked for the Maxaad tiri group, however.

Table 3.9: 'What language do you speak to family members outside of the home?'

		Maxaad tiri	May
PG	Somali	100.0%	100.0%
YG	English	60.0%	0%
	mostly English	20.0%	0%
	Somali	10.0%	71.4%
	English and Somali	10.0%	28.6%

Friendship (social networks)

The survey informants were asked to describe the background of their friendship networks. The parental generation of both groups are very similar to each other in this regard, with some 75% saying that they socialise mainly with other Somalis and 25% indicating that they socialise with both Somalis and non-Somalis. The younger generation groups are also similar, with 100% of the May group and 80% of the Maxaad tiri group claiming to have both Somali and non-Somali friends. The divide between older and younger generations is thus still clear, although not complete, in terms of socialising (with the exception of one Maxaad tiri younger generation speaker, who said that his friends were mainly non-Somali).

The majority of the parental generation (72.7% Maxaad tiri, 87.5% May) prefer to speak only Somali with their friends, and nobody prefers to speak only English. By contrast, the majority of the younger generation (60% Maxaad tiri, 42.9% May) prefer to speak only English, and nobody prefers to speak only Somali.

The only domain where there is evidence of a greater preference for Somali language use among the younger generation is social gatherings where there are a number of Somali speakers, with May and not Maxaad tiri younger generation again reporting greater use of Somali (English: Maxaad tiri 50%, May 14.3%; Somali: Maxaad tiri 40%, May 71.4%). This tendency may be read as necessity, in that there are many parental generation speakers whose command of English is not good. As has been indicated elsewhere, 'use' does not, of course, necessarily indicate a high standard of Somali used between younger and older people at such functions.

Transactional use of Somali

The majority of parental generation Somalis consult a professional who can speak Somali (72.5% Maxaad tiri, 87.5% May). Almost all of these professionals are community/social workers, reflecting the special needs of refugee groups such as this one.

Only two families consult a Somali-speaking doctor. Where a Somali-speaking professional is consulted, Somali is used with that professional. The majority of informants interviewed (once again, slightly more May than Maxaad tiri) also visit Somali-speaking businesses, but largely on a monthly or occasional basis.

Although very few (five) of the 36 informants interviewed were part of the paid workforce, four of these used some Somali in their work (two taxi drivers, two community workers).

It did not appear from the survey that attendance at an Islamic school had any effect on the language use of the younger generation, although it could potentially have promoted the use of Somali both by proximity to other Somali Muslims and greater distance from mainstream Australian culture. In both Muslim and non-Muslim school settings, the language preference of the children is overwhelmingly English.

3.5.2.7 Language, religion and identity

The strong position of Arabic within the religious domain of Somali speakers has already been noted as a potential influence on the role of Somali as a marker of identity (see §3.1.2). Other authors have also drawn attention to the crucial significance of both Islam and the Arabic language to Somali identity (e.g., Laitin 1977; Mous & Ruumi 2001). As Arthur (2003:263) puts it: '…religion can be seen as a core value of this minority community, central to the preservation of its cultural heritage'.

Religion — a positive or a negative factor in language maintenance?

Religion is a very important core value for the Somali community in Melbourne. This was obvious both from the focus groups and from the individual surveys, and came out strongly over all the family case studies. Adherence to Islam, however, and Islam's emphasis on Arabic as the language of the Qur'an and the language of God, may in fact detract from an attitudinal focus on the Somali language in a country of migration where a third language (in this case English) enters the equation.

The importance of Islam, and the establishment of mosques which take on educational and settlement functions, may, however, still lead to the bringing together of people of like background, which may in turn facilitate communication in the community language(s) of these groups. Of the adult survey informants, almost all the men reported regularly attending a mosque (while almost all of the women said that they did not do so). During the worship Arabic was the most commonly used language reported (in one instance together with Somali and in another together with English), although one informant reported Turkish and another Somali alone. Only one informant said that he would like to see more Somali used in worship. After worship, however, all informants reported that Somali was spoken (in one instance together with English).

Even where all family members may not attend the mosque, religious observance is clearly kept within the home. Some 32 of the 36 informants said that they used some Arabic, and only one of these informants did not specifically cite religion as one of the uses. This was a younger generation May informant, who said that she used it socially, and also with her fiancé (who, like her, had migrated to Australia via Egypt). For most informants religion (reading the Qur'an and praying) was in fact the only use, with 26 informants saying that they were unable to communicate in Arabic.

While research has shown that affiliation with a religious group (where religion represents a strong core value within the community) can be very beneficial to language maintenance (Olesch 1969) this is clearly only the case while the community language is utilised by the religion in question. Some religious groups (e.g., the Lutherans in early 20th century Australia) can begin by using the community language and shift to the dominant language (Kipp 1980; Woods 2004), and for others the language of their religion has never been the language of the community (e.g., for many Islamic and Orthodox groups, such as Russians using Old Church Slavonic, an ancient South Slavic language, for the Liturgy). This is the case with the Somalis, and, while classical Arabic may not compete with Somali or English as a medium of day-to-day communication, the home domain may not be enough to sustain Somali (given the dominance of English in the surrounding community and the absence of a strong core value nexus between religion/language, for instance). Where a variety of Arabic is also the home language, affiliation with Islam has been shown to promote language maintenance, particularly in terms of literacy (Clyne & Kipp 1999).

Another point to consider in assessing the role of religion in language maintenance is the relative symbolic weight given to language and religion within a community or, ultimately, within a family and by an individual. This was an issue considered in general terms in the first focus group, and more specifically through a number of questions in the surveys. Two of these concerned the way(s) in which the individuals being surveyed identified themselves, and another (targeting the parental generation only) concerned the features of identity that the parent wishes to pass on to their children. At the focus group, there was divided opinion as to whether religion was part of Somali culture or whether it was separate and a more crucial value in Somali identity.

Language and identity

As indicated above, there were two questions regarding self-identification in the survey, the first of which was open-ended — 'How would you describe yourself in terms of your ethnicity/identity?' — and the second of which provided a range of options for the informant to rank in order of preference — 'If you had to identify yourself by one (or more) or the following 'labels', which would you choose?' Response to these questions has already been foreshadowed in the family case studies, but is looked at in more detail here.

The responses to the open-ended question indicate that a clear majority of informants from both generations see themselves as 'Somali'. Very few included an 'Australian' component at this point and very few identified themselves as 'Muslim' rather than 'Somali' (those that did so were from the younger generation). Two informants from the May group (father and son) identified themselves in terms of their clan (Rahwein).

Table 3.10a: 'How would you describe yourself in terms of your ethnicity/identity?'

	Maxaad tiri	May	Total
PG	Somali 81.8% Somali-Australian 9.1% Somali from Africa and Australian citizen 9.1%	Somali 62.5% Somali-Australian 12.5% African 12.5% Rahwein 12.5%	Somali 73.7% Somali-Australian 10.5% African 5.3% Rahwein 5.3% Somali from Africa and Australian citizen 5.3%
YG	Somali 70.0% Somali-Australian 10.0% Muslim 20.0%	Somali 71.4% Rahwein 14.3% Friendly, egalitarian 4.3%	Somali 70.6% Somali-Australian 5.9% Muslim 11.8% Friendly, egalitarian 5.9%

When given a range of choices where both the Australian and the Muslim components are explicit, the picture changes a little, with 'Somali-Australian' becoming the preferred option in both groups over both generations, followed by 'Somali' and 'Muslim' in the parental generation, and by 'Muslim' and 'Somali' (closely followed by 'Australian') in the younger generation.

Table 3.10b: 'How would you describe yourself in terms of your ethnicity/identity?' [7]

		Maxaad tiri	May	Total
PG	Somali	13	8	21
	African	6	0	6
	Somali Australian	27	12	39
	Australian Somali	4	4	8
	Muslim	13	7	20
	Muslim Australian	0	4	4
	Australian	0	3	2
YG	Somali	9	3	12
	African	0	0	0
	Somali Australian	18	6	24
	Australian Somali	6	0	6
	Muslim	9	9	20
	Muslim Australian	6	3	9
	Australian	7	4	11

The survey results on this point suggest a greater differentiation between Somali and Muslim identity than is suggested by Laitin (1977:53). In some members of the younger generation, and particularly those of May-speaking background, the emphasis is more on Muslim identity in the Australian context.

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[7] Given that informants were invited to number the options in order of preference, a scoring system has been used in this table which assigns 3 points to a first preference, 2 points to a second preference, and 1 point to a third preference.

The parental generation informants were however also asked which aspects of their identity they wanted to pass on to their children (also foreshadowed in the case studies), and this yielded the following responses:

Table 3.11: Aspects of identity to be transmitted

	Maxaad tiri	May
religion/culture	18.2%	12.5%
culture/language/religion	9.1%	0%
religion/culture/language	9.1%	12.5%
religion/respect	0%	12.5%
language/values	0%	12.5%
language/religion	0%	12.5%
religion/language/culture/values	0%	25.0%
religion/language	0%	12.5%
Somali language	18.2%	0%
language/religion/culture	9.1%	0%
no response	36.4%	0%

'Religion' appeared in all but three of the responses, and it was placed in first position in 75% of the May responses (compared with 27.3% of the Maxaad tiri responses). Language appeared in first position in about a quarter of the responses from both groups, and two Maxaad tiri speakers were the only informants to single out 'language' as the single feature of their identity that they wanted to pass on.

3.5.2.8 Language and media

The role of the media in language maintenance was discussed at both focus groups, and there were also a number of specific questions in the survey questionnaires for both generations.

Television

Channel 31 broadcasts half an hour of television in Somali on every second Saturday. The program is run by volunteers, and, according to the representative at the focus group, the programs try to show the commonality within the Somali ethnicity and to promote the 'good' side of politics — i.e., unity. Another focus group participant agreed that, in the context of clan disputes among Somalis, it is very important that the media be impartial. A point made at both focus groups was the dominance of the English-speaking media (particularly television) in the lives of the younger generation, and the negative effect this has on the maintenance of Somali, both in terms of content and the time that television consumes.

Overall, from the survey, the majority of parental generation informants watch television in Somali and the majority of younger generation do not. Looked at by group, the parental generation Maxaad tiri speakers watched significantly more Somali television than the parental generation May speakers (81.8% as against 37.5%), and there was also a relative difference in the same direction, although not so marked, between the younger

generations of the two groups (30% as against 14.3%). All of the younger television viewers watched only occasionally, while the majority of the older viewers watched at least fortnightly. The Maxaad tiri speakers were also far more likely in both generations to be dissatisfied with the programs, with suggestions for improvement including aspects of time allocation as well as program content.

Radio

Radio has been one of the most important media in the development of the Somali language (Andrzejewski 1971) and this tradition has continued in the diaspora (e.g., in the Netherlands, see Mous & Ruumi 2001). In the focus groups, at which a number of media presenters were present, it was reported, for example, that there are about three hours of Somali radio per week (including programming on SBS, the public access station 3CR, the ethnic communities access station 3ZZZ, and the Islamic station, Islamic Voice), but not much content suitable for young people. One participant pointed out that radio programs are, on the whole, scheduled too late for children, and the time available is very limited. The Somali program is very small (and marginalised) in the 'big picture' of broadcasting in languages other than English. As for other community language groups, listeners are mainly elderly (Clyne & Kipp 1999:97–102, 181, 264, 327), and programs are largely made up of music, and politics from the homeland. Broadcasters take account of both major varieties. Some members of the Somali community are avid listeners to the BBC's Somali program, now available on the Internet.

Confirming the importance of radio for Somali speakers, significantly more survey informants from both groups listened to the radio in Somali than watched television (100% of Maxaad tiri speakers and 75% of May speakers), although older people still listened more than younger people (89.5% as against 41.2%). Over 90% of the older generation informants listened weekly, as did 75% of the Maxaad tiri younger generation (but only 33.3% of the May younger generation). Once again Maxaad tiri speakers were more likely to be critical of the broadcasts than May speakers, although the criticism was largely directed towards the lack of time allocation for Somali.

Videos

Videos were watched by the majority of informants (89.5% of the parental generation, 52.9% of the younger generation), but largely on an occasional basis only. Younger generation May-background speakers watched more videos than did younger generation Maxaad tiri-background speakers, while the Maxaad tiri parental generation made more use of the medium than did May parental generation speakers. The videos watched tended to be either family videos (with weddings the most important theme material) or other events such as concerts or lectures, rather than movies. The preponderance of family videos may reflect the oral nature of the Somali culture and the importance of oral/visual aspects in keeping in touch with the homeland.

Audio material (tapes, CDs, etc.)

Once again, the majority of the parental generation (84.2%) listened to audio material in Somali, and once again more Maxaad tiri (90.9%) than May (75%) speakers. The May speakers who did listen to such material, however, did so more frequently. The majority of the younger generation, however, did not listen to audio material in Somali. This would

indicate (given that the data is based on families) that the listening habits of parents are not necessarily reflected in those of their children. Songs were the most commonly reported material, followed by religious tapes.

Internet use

Overall, the majority of informants (57.9% of the parental generation, 58.8% of the younger generation) used the Internet, with the most frequent use among the May younger generation (85.7%). Most of the parental generation used at least some Somali on the Internet, while most of the younger generation used only English.

Print media (and availability of reading material)

It was generally felt at both focus groups that there is not enough written material in Somali. This was confirmed by the surveys, with the older generation particularly noting the lack of such items as newspapers and newsletters and the younger generation lacking school books (teaching resources) and storybooks.

Most of the older generation informants read in Somali, while most of the younger generation informants do not. While most of the older generation feel that there is not enough for them to read in Somali (more dissatisfaction coming from the Maxaad tiri speakers), for most of the younger generation this is not an issue (i.e., they did not respond to the question). Almost all speakers who responded to the question 'What sort of reading material should be available?' cited newspapers as a major lack, followed by magazines, community newsletters and textbooks. In contrast, Mous and Ruumi (2001:267) report that there are six Somali periodicals in the Netherlands, including a weekly and a monthly. According to the second focus group, a Somali newspaper is due to start publication in Australia in the very near future.

3.5.2.9 Factors in motivation for language maintenance

The factors operating for the younger generation in their desire to learn/continue to learn Somali have already been foreshadowed in §3.6.3 — i.e., all those that responded to the question wanted to learn the language, and communication was a major factor (largely with family for the May group, and also with other Somalis from the Maxaad tiri group). A similar situation pertains with the parental generation in terms of family vs 'other Somali', although identity is the major factor here for both groups.

Table 3.12: Motivation for maintenance (most important) – parental generation only

	Maxaad tiri	May	Total
retain one's identity	63.6%	75.0%	68.4%
communicate with relatives and friends	18.2%	25.0%	21.1%
maintain contact with Somalia	18.2%	0%	10.5%

Both groups were unanimous on the least important motivation for maintenance — 'getting a better job' — reflecting their view of the status of Somali in Australia.

3.5.2.10 Perception of support beyond the Somali-speaking community

Table 3.13: 'Other members of Australian society are supportive of Somali'

		Maxaad tiri	May	Total
PG	agree strongly	9.1%	12.5%	10.5%
	agree	27.3%	50.0%	36.8%
	don't know	36.4%	25.0%	31.6%
	disagree	18.2%	0%	10.5%
	strongly disagree	9.1%	12.5%	10.5%
YG	agree strongly	0%	0%	0%
	agree	20.0%	14.3%	17.6%
	don't know	70.0%	42.9%	58.8%
	disagree	10.0%	28.6%	17.6%
	strongly disagree	0%	14.3%	5.9%

When looking at the responses to this question it is important to bear in mind that it may be interpreted in terms of how supportive the host community is of a minority group rather than specifically of a minority language. In another study (Clyne & Kipp 1999), it was certainly the case that Chinese and Arabic speakers were far more inclined to disagree with this proposition than Spanish speakers, and the former two groups also struggled with attitudes of racism from the wider Australian society, both because of their visibility (Chinese speakers and Arabic Muslims) and because of political events such as the Gulf War (for Arabic speakers). Somali speakers are potentially the object of prejudice on two counts — their physical visibility and their religion.

The May speakers were generally more likely to have an opinion on this issue than the Maxaad tiri speakers, and in the parental generation the opinion of both groups was more likely to be positive than negative (with more negative opinion from Maxaad tiri speakers). In the younger generation, however, May speakers were more than twice as likely to hold a negative than a positive opinion, and they expressed considerably more disagreement with the proposition than did Maxaad tiri speakers. This could be due to the stronger link between language and identity in the May-speaking group and their frustration that no-one understands their plight in seeking rights for what they consider to be their language. Although the majority of both groups felt that other languages were better treated than theirs within the framework of Australian multiculturalism, May speakers were also more likely to be dissatisfied (100% of the parental May generation as against 90.9% of the Maxaad tiri parental generation; 71.4% of the May younger generation as against 60% of the Maxaad tiri younger generation).

3.6 Concluding remarks

Many of the issues, attitudes and language use patterns that have emerged are common to most immigrant groups in Australia. There is, by now, substantial anxiety in the Somali community about the shift to English in the younger generation. Because the proficiency in English of the parental generation is not very high, this is leading to severe intergenerational communication problems and a crisis of identity. The absence of school programs and assessment puts Somali in an inferior position in comparison with Italian,

Arabic, Turkish and other community languages spoken in the same localities of Melbourne. Language maintenance remains basically in the family domain. Because of the crucial significance of Islam in Somali identity and the identification of Arabic with Islam, the Somali language has an ambiguous place in the community's identity.

Somalis are characterised by variation in and between families in language variety and migration experience. The Somali community in Melbourne is further characterised by a high degree of fragmentation arising largely from clan membership and variety of Somali spoken, exacerbated by the experiences of the Civil War in Somalia. This is making it difficult for them to establish common language maintenance institutions such as school language programs. May speakers tend to see themselves as 'marginalised' in the Somali context (basing their identity more on their regional culture and language variety), and their use of Somali-May is for this sample even more confined to the home domain than is the case for Somali-Maxaad tiri. However, the younger May speakers in this sample are more confident in all their language skills than their Maxaad tiri counterparts, and they use less English in the home. More than half of the younger generation have no literacy skills in Somali. While there are some strong 'pro language maintenance' statements made by the parental generation in this sample, these do not necessarily lead to more language use at home.

4 *Filipino*

The Filipino tile, like the Somali one, has appeared relatively late in the mosaic that is multilingual Australia, and, also like the Somali one, it has an element of 'exoticism' to it. It is however larger and longer established, and, unlike the essentially 'two-layered' character of Somali, it is multi-faceted — almost opalescent, in fact. Colonisation by Spanish, then English, speakers, and a multiplicity of regional languages overlaid by a 'planned' national language, have resulted in a multilingual and highly adaptable language community, who have also intermarried with the host community to a considerable degree.

4.1 History of the Filipino language

According to Gonzalez (1997), there are about 85 genetically related Austronesian languages of the Malayo-Polynesian family used in the Philippines. McFarland's (1981) *Linguistic Atlas of the Philippines* estimates 120 languages, including 10 major languages spoken by at least a million speakers. The discrepancy is due to the difficulty in drawing the line between 'languages' and 'dialects'. The most widely used of the languages are Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilokano, and Hiligaynon.

The vernacular languages of the region provide a substratum for the Philippines variety of English, one of the New Englishes. The Philippines were for centuries under colonial rule — from the 17th to the 19th centuries under Spain and for half of the 20th under the US. A non-indigenous language (first Spanish, and then English) has thus been the language of administration, education, commerce and law for most of the last 400 years. This resulted in a delay in literary development in all of the eight (or 10) major indigenous languages of the country, although these languages were used to some extent in the missionary work of Spanish religious orders, who played a role in alphabetising them. While American policy, which propagated compulsory education in English for all Filipinos, was initially directed against Spanish, it was almost equally hostile to the indigenous languages of the Philippines, with penalties imposed on pupils using their home languages on school premises (Manhit 1980; 1981). The indigenous languages did however survive, and gradually a movement developed in which Filipinos demanded their own linguistic rights. This created a new linguistic conflict. With independence in 1946, the Philippines were conceptualised as a European-type nation-state with a single national language. In a quest for a linguistic symbol of national unity and for modernisation, a series of plans were developed to develop a national language based on Tagalog, the language spoken around the capital of the Philippines, Manila and in the provinces to the north and south of Manila.

The first plan (1937), in the spirit of the 1935 Constitution, to simply base a national language, named first Wikang Pambansa 'national language' and subsequently Pilipino, on Tagalog, had been rejected by many speakers of other indigenous languages. However, a degree of corpus planning (standardisation of grammar and some lexical development) occurred during this phase, first in a spirit of purism, then aimed at borrowing and adapting vocabulary for special purposes. The initiation in 1959 by the then secretary-general of Education, Jose Remero, of a project to develop a Pilipino language based on Tagalog, but with some input from other varieties, was also eventually rejected on the grounds that it was still Tagalog by a different name. The 1960s were termed the time of the 'language wars' (Gonzalez 1998).

A constitutional provision in 1973 both 'unmade' the earlier attempt at a national language (Pilipino) and allowed for Filipino ('Filipino $_1$', in Gonzalez' (1997) terms), a 'confected language composed of elements from different languages in the Philippines' (Gonzalez 1997:314–315), to be one of the two national languages of the Philippines, the other being English. Although acceptable in theory, this was not feasible in practice due to continuing lack of acceptance from Filipinos. The Institute of National Language did however produce specialised vocabulary for specialised fields and a revised orthography.

Then began the phase of development which Gonzalez (1997) refers to as 'Filipino $_2$'. In the early years of the Aquino government (about 1987), amendments to the Constitution were passed, proclaiming Filipino to be the national language and enabling the government to declare it as the medium of official communication and of instruction. The other official language would be (unless otherwise provided) English. The position of English was actually protected by regional differences, as the retention of English as a H language was one of the conditions for the acceptance of Filipino (Tagalog-based) by speakers of other varieties as the 'national' language. Regional languages would be auxiliary languages of instruction.[1] Congress would establish a national language commission 'composed of representatives of various regions and disciplines which shall undertake, coordinate and promote researches (sic) for the development, propagation, and preservation of Filipino and other languages' (Gonzalez 1997:320). Thus the issue of having as a national language 'Manila *lingua franca* with lexical borrowings from other languages' had ceased to be contentious. This change of heart was aided by the context of euphoria at the replacement of Ferdinand Marcos as president by Corazon Aquino (Gonzalez 1997:320; 1998). The creation of texts and the development of scholarly registers ('intellectualization' — Sibayan 1996) continue in the interests of status planning and modernisation. As Gonzalez (1998:506) points out, 'the current policy on the use of Filipino and English is the product of a compromise situation of the demands of nationalism and internationalization'.

Arguments surrounding issues of identity and cultural autonomy, which had driven the search for a 'national' language in a country with 87 languages, continue to accompany the gradual replacement of English in government and education with the emerging national language, Filipino. However, English still occupies a place of dominance not only in public office transactions and in higher education but also in many areas covered by mass media, entertainment and technology (Smolicz et al. 2000:245). A Bilingual Education Program, involving the expanded use of Filipino alongside English as a medium of instruction, was formally implemented in elementary and secondary schools from 1974 and reaffirmed in 1986, with the aim of developing a bilingual nation (Department of

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[1] In fact, literacy is taught in some schools through the medium of a Philippines language other than Tagalog (Smolicz, et al. 2000:262).

Education, Culture and Sports 1989). English, the medium of mathematics and science, is used for the 'world's knowledge' and Filipino, the symbol of national identity, for all other subjects (Sibayan 1996). In some regions, other languages of the Philippines also have a presence in the classroom — Gonzalez (1998:497) reports, for example, 'the teacher explains in Filipino or in English depending on the subject matter … then repeats the same material in the local vernacular to make sure the students understand the materials.' Some claim that this division has led to a deterioration in both English proficiency and academic levels in the humanities and the social sciences (Sutaria, et al. 1989, Congressional Committee on Education 1991). On the other hand, Benton (1980/1996:311) points out that the regional languages have been denigrated as 'mere dialects with little intrinsic value', despite their informal use within the classroom. Benton (1980/1996) further argues that the speed of implementation of the Bilingual Education Program and inequalities and deficiencies in the education system are leading to the formation of a new, middle-class, Manila-based elite with high proficiency in the two national languages. More recently, Young (2002) reports on an experimental vernacular education program in which a regional *lingua franca* is the medium of instruction in Grades 2 and 3. This involves Tagalog-based Filipino in Tagalog areas, as well as Cebuano and Ilokano in the appropriate regions. Critics such as Baguingan (1999, cited in Young 2002:228), argue that this burdens children with too many languages without giving them the opportunity to learn in their first language. The central problem lies in the difficulty of reconciling the 'competing demands of ethnicity, nationalism, and modernization' (Bautista 1999:10). In addition, Young (2002) acknowledges the cognitive benefits of learning in L1, while mentioning the problems of developing localized curricula.

Smolicz et al. (2000) carried out attitudinal surveys based on questionnaires and personal statements on language among senior secondary students and their parents from three non-Tagalog-speaking communities in the Philippines — Cebuano, Ilokano, and Waray — and the Filipino community in South Australia. They found generally positive attitudes towards oral communication in regional languages in the Philippines. Ilokano speakers in the Philippines, however, preferred to read and write in Filipino, reflecting the reported imposition of English in that area, while speakers of the southern languages favoured English as a language of literacy, a position attributable to their resistance to Tagalog-based Filipino. The study found that the regional languages are identified with the family and with conversation, Filipino with national identity, but in an unemotional way, and English as a *lingua franca*. Up until recently, English was also the first (and often the only) language in which litera cy was developed in the Philippines. In Australia, the mothers (who in mixed marriages are usually the Filipino parent) tended to use Filipino more for speaking (rather than reading and writing), reflecting the importance of Filipino as an ethnic identity marker in Australia. The difficulties of the regional languages are, according to Smolicz et al. (2000:261), their territorial base and their tendency to be restricted to the oral mediums.

4.2 Filipino in Australia

While the 1970s saw the onset of significant migration from the Philippines to Australia, the fastest period of growth was the 1980s. The migration has always been characterised by a high female:male ratio, with 61% of the Filipino-speaking population in 1996 being female, and a high proportion of Filipino women married to non-Filipino men.

Boer (1988:11) notes a rise in the number of Philippine-born women in Australia from less than 1,000 in 1971 to nearly 17,000 in 1984 and 19,000 in late 1985. She also notes that, although migration from the Philippines to other countries such as the US has been greater, the incidence of marriage involving Filipina brides in Australia is four times as high as in Canada and three times as high as in the US if measured on a per capita basis. The fastest period of growth in the Filipino-speaking community in Australia was between 1986 and 1991, when there was an increase of 129.6% (from 25,746 to 59,110), followed by an increase of 19.2% between 1991 and 1996 (70,343 speakers), and a further increase of 12.1% between 1996 and 2001 (78,879 speakers). Filipino entered the top 12 community languages in Australia for the first time (in eleventh position) in 1991, and had advanced to tenth position in 1996 (although in 1996 it was coded as 'Tagalog'). In 2001 (coded as 'Tagalog (Filipino)') it had advanced to eighth position, with about half of the 78,879 respondents designating their language as 'Filipino' and about half as 'Tagalog'. In addition to speakers of 'Tagalog (Filipino)' there were 795 people in 2001 who said that their home language was Bisaya, 820 speakers of Cebuano and 267 speakers of Ilokano. Our research indicates that this is a gross underestimate of those who actually use these regional languages in their homes, and would indicate that the vast majority of speakers from the Philippines chose the term 'Filipino' for their language(s).

The Filipino-speaking population in Australia is concentrated in Sydney (with 50.9% of the total), followed by Melbourne (21.2% of the total). Brisbane is next (with 6.7%) followed by the 'rest of Queensland' (with 5%). Within this distribution, Cahill (1990) has noted an imbalance between endogamous couples, who are concentrated in certain areas of Sydney and Melbourne, and exogamous couples, whose geographical distribution is very similar to that of the Australian population (urbanised, more dispersed within urban centres, not generally concentrated in pastoral and agricultural areas). Cahill does however cite an earlier study (Jackson & Flores 1989), which noted a concentration in isolated mining areas of Australia such as Mt Isa and Weipa (both outback areas of northern Australia), showing a correlation with areas of 'marriage squeeze' for the male population (not all of whom, of course, are Australian-born — see below). Cahill attributes the attraction of the Philippines as a 'target area' for Australian males seeking marriage partners to its relative proximity, its knowledge of English and its Christian heritage. In terms of 'push' factors from the Philippines he cites sex imbalance, with marriage squeeze on women, the development of a 'migration mentality' (massive internal and external movements in recent decades) and political/economic factors in the Philippines. On the whole, the Filipinas married to Australians in the Cahill study were better educated than their husbands, with two thirds having completed undergraduate or postgraduate studies. Some 37.1% of the Australian male partners were born overseas, including 23% from non-English-speaking-background (NESB) groups. Within Melbourne (see map, Figure 5.1), the Filipino-speaking community is concentrated in the western suburbs (which have a large proportion of non-English speaking migrants), but with no particular focal point and relatively low 'visibility' (focus group A). Numbers of Filipino speakers are also increasing in the 'growth areas' to the far west and outer south-east of the metropolitan area (ABS, 2001).

The results of Cahill's survey, which compared intermarriages with Filipinas in Japan, Switzerland and Australia, showed that support structures for intermarried Filipinas in Australia are far more extensive than those in either Switzerland or Japan. The Australian Filipino community, although geographically spread and in some instances factionalised,

has given birth to a complex network of community organisations. The Catholic Church in Australia has also been very important to intermarried Filipinas, both in terms of support in a difficult situation and as a solid and sure link with family and with the Filipino culture generally (Cahill 1990:125).[2] Some myths that the study debunks are:

- Filipinas who intermarry are mostly mail-order brides. This has been an issue, but not as big a one as has been made out. Australian men are required to meet and interact with Filipinas in the Philippines before a visa is issued to the Filipina.
- Filipinas who intermarry are mainly prostitutes and bar girls. There is only partial truth in this, and it is in any case more likely to be true for Europe and Japan than for Australia.
- Filipinas who intermarry are poorly educated from poverty-stricken areas of the Philippines. This is clearly not the case, particularly for the Australian setting.
- Filipinas who intermarry are mostly living in remote rural areas.

Boer (1988) does not comment as favourably on the support systems available to the intermarried Filipinas in Australia, claiming that such women tend to be stigmatised as 'mail-order' brides, not only by the general community, but also by the Filipino community. Personal communication from the Filipino chaplain in Melbourne would indicate that, while this negative stigma has certainly been an issue for intermarried Filipinas in the past, this is gradually changing. He cites the example of his congregation on the Mornington Peninsula,[3] where there have been a large number of intermarried families over many years. While the women in exogamous relationships were once looked down on by the rest of the Filipino community they are now more accepted, largely as the result of the arrival of younger women from mixed marriages in the area. Some of the men are actually learning some Filipino (from church services, from Filipino social gatherings, and from trips to the Philippines). Pinches (2004) comments that the Filipino community in Perth includes non-Filipino spouses and in-laws, and the same could be said for Melbourne. Pinches (2004:293) also notes: '… it is undoubtedly the Filipino women who play the dominant organizational role' in the community, something that was also the expectation in the Philippines.

The Filipino chaplain confirmed the important position of the Catholic Church within Filipino society, both in the homeland and in Australia, commenting that he is often invited to purely social functions to provide his blessing or to conduct Mass. While Filipino church organisations proliferate (seven prayer groups, half a dozen church choirs and a number of other religious movements in Melbourne, some of which were 'planted' by lay missionaries from the Philippines), there are however even more social groups and organisations. The huge number and variety of such groups was confirmed in both focus groups, the general opinion being that 'Filipinos love a party'. While many of these groups are based on regional background in the Philippines, others cut across such boundaries (e.g., theatre groups).

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2 It is uncertain whether Cahill is referring here to the mainstream Catholic Church in Australia, with its important settlement functions, and its bringing together of groups of Filipinos, or a Church with a Filipino cultural component. Such a component has only been available in Melbourne for the past nine years.

3 A coastal/bay region within the outer south-eastern metropolitan area, some one and a half hours drive from the centre of Melbourne.

4.3 Language maintenance institutions in Melbourne

Because both Filipino and English have national language status in the Philippines and for many people, a regional language other than Filipino/Tagalog is the first everyday language and medium of communication (see above, §4.1), Filipino ethnic organisations in Australia may use any of these languages or code-switch between them. This applies especially to social clubs and welfare societies, as well as at the many social functions within the community. Filipinos tend to read mainly in English because of their school experience in English, and the local Filipino weekly appears in English. This mirrors the situation in the Philippines, where the dominant language of the press is English — in 1995, there were 21 national daily newspapers in English and 16 in Filipino, with 21 regional newspapers in both English and a local language. Dramatic Society performances in Melbourne tend to be in English also, not only because of the regional diversity of the actors but particularly to attract mainstream Australian audiences.

There is a Filipino ethnic school in Melbourne's western suburbs, where many of the Filipino immigrants live. While about 70 children attend the school, only 14 are in the top class in which they are prepared for the Victorian Certificate of Education. There are also two centres of the Victorian School of Languages (see §1.3) in the Gippsland region, east of Melbourne, at which candidates are prepared for this examination in Filipino. One Catholic primary school offers language maintenance programs of about an hour a week in Filipino (and a number of other languages). Filipino is relatively poorly catered for by the public library system (see §1.8).

Apart from a total of 14 hours of radio programs on the three multilingual radio stations (see §1.3), a Filipino television network on the satellite is now available, and soap operas are very popular among the Filipino-Australian community (Father Rolyn Vics, pers. comm.).

More than 500 families are now networked through small groups within the Filipino Catholic Chaplaincy. The groups cater for differing spiritual orientations from traditional Catholic to Charismatic, and there are also small groups for young people, singles, widows, and women separated from their husbands. Language choice varies according to the composition of the groups, regional languages being restricted to those small groups that are regionally homogeneous, but young people's groups are always conducted in English. The central importance to Filipinos of community prayer means that there is at least some Filipino (or regional language) component at functions, including parties, which are usually opened by the priest with prayer. There are 10 Catholic churches at which Filipino congregations attend Mass once a month — eight of these have Tagalog/Filipino services owing to the regional mix and the remaining two are held in English. In addition, there is a bilingual Mass at one city church, where songs and readings are in Filipino. Bilingual sermons, where portions are translated into, or summarised in, English are preached at a number of the centres to cater for both Filipino-born and Australian-born generations. In addition there are Church of Christ services in Filipino.

4.4 The sample

Apart from two focus group discussions (as with the other two groups) some 60 individuals from within the Filipino community in Melbourne were surveyed — 20 first generation speakers (10 males and 10 females) and 40 from the second generation (20 male and 20 female).

The Filipino migration being a relatively recent one, it was quite difficult to find 40 informants over the age of 15 who were born in Australia. This meant that we had to widen the age range to include a section 10–15, also that we included in the 'second generation' children born in the Philippines but with all or almost all their formal education undertaken in Australia. Twenty informants from endogamous marriages were included, and 20 from exogamous marriages. In the latter case, all of the female parents were from the Philippines. Because of the small size of the sample, it was not planned to further divide the cells by particular regional background, although the use of any Filipino language apart from Filipino/Tagalog was noted. A little under half of the first generation sample came from the Manila region (Tagalog) and 10 informants, or half of the endogamous second generation sample, had parents from two different regions in the Philippines.

4.5 Findings

4.5.1 Family structures

In his study of intermarriage between Filipino women and non-Filipino men, Cahill (1990:48) emphasises the centrality of the kinship system to Filipino society:

> The Filipino psyche is best understood in the context of the kinship system and the primacy of the family which is the building block of society and the cornerstone of society with virtually no social security system.

This centrality of family to the Filipino way of life was confirmed in both of the focus groups, particularly the second one, where there was an extended discussion on what it means to be Filipino (particularly in Australia). One participant said that the migration experience is particularly difficult for Filipinos in that in the homeland one is identified by one's family ('child of …'), whereas in the US or Australia no-one really cares about your family and how, or to whom, you are related. This is in spite of the opinion expressed in both groups (and in the surveys) that Filipinos are a particularly versatile and adaptive people. Another participant spoke about one of her children's friends, a boy of Greek background, who is very attracted by the 'closeness' of their (her sons') family life, and has learnt Filipino customs and even a few Filipino words. The Filipino boys have, however, told him that he has 'no hope' of becoming Filipino because he has no family connections who are Filipino. The feature mentioned most frequently over both generations in response to the survey question 'What makes you 'Filipino?' was 'a feeling of belonging'.

In mixed marriages, the issue of Filipino identity may become problematic for the marriage partners and also for their children. It was suggested in the second focus group that dominance patterns between the parents may determine which culture(s) (and language(s)) is/are passed on to the children, and that in Filipino families the woman is often the dominant partner.[4] Trips 'home' to the Philippines are a regular occurrence for many members of the Filipino community in Australia (including women in mixed marriages), and there is often dismay on the part of these women when they find that their children cannot communicate with their extended family. The implications of this for family cohesion (and Filipino identity) are significant. Personal communication from the

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[4] One participant noted, however, that (in her experience) children of mixed marriages where the father is of Greek origin invariably learn Greek (whether or not they also learn Filipino).

Filipino chaplain in Melbourne suggests that this is one of the major reasons behind a resurgence of interest in Australia in teaching Filipino to the younger generation.

In Australia, as in the Philippines, grandmothers (or 'aunties') often provide much of the childcare when both parents work, and they often 'live in' with the families. A focus group participant noted that in the Filipino community grandparents tend to be less independent than in other communities, where grandparents, even if they are looking after grandchildren, tend to do it in their own houses and more or less on their own terms. In Filipino families, on the other hand, grandparents and other female relatives are often sponsored especially to look after small children, and they have no homes or resources of their own. Many of these grandparents do not speak English well, which makes them even more dependent.

Researchers have pointed out difficulties that can arise in mixed marriages where the wife wishes to fulfil her obligations to family (often in the Philippines) and the husband sees this as unnecessary or, indeed, a form of extortion. Boer (1988), for example, notes that one of the major sources of conflict within mixed marriages is in fact the woman's wish to support her family back home because she feels duty-bound to do so. The family in the Philippines may also have unrealistic expectations about how much the couple can afford to send, which can lead to tension within the Filipino family members as well as between husband and wife.

4.5.2 Language use

Both focus groups discussed language use within the Filipino community, both at social functions and within the home. Members of both groups depicted English as dominant across all domains, with 'Taglish'[5] gaining ground, particularly in recent years and among the younger generation, as it is seen as 'modern' and 'trendy'. The dominance of English was explained partly in terms of its prestige in the Philippines, particularly in the educational domain, and the desire of parents for their children to do well academically, although there was general agreement among focus group participants that the position and prestige of English in the homeland is probably diminishing now. It was also thought that many parents wanted to improve their own English by speaking English with their children. The position and prestige of English in the homeland has also made it possible for families and social groups to communicate at least partly in English (thus obviating the necessity to maintain Filipino), and the general opinion in both focus groups was that the younger generation, while very enthusiastic about many aspects of Filipino culture (such as fiestas, music and sport) generally prefer to use English at these events, particularly among themselves. The respect accorded to the older generation, however, means that they will attempt to speak Filipino to older people.

Different members of the same family can differ in their language use patterns and preferences. One focus group participant, for example, who has three sons (two from a previous, endogamous marriage and one from a later, exogamous marriage) reported that her two older sons are very much identified with the mainstream Australian culture and have not maintained Filipino. Her younger son, on the other hand, a keen sportsman, has learnt to identify with the Filipino community through his sporting club, considers himself Filipino, and can also speak some Filipino. Exogamy does not, then, invariably lead to

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[5] A variety characterised by the frequent code-switching between Filipino and English.

language shift. Another participant expressed the opinion that children initially want to be seen as 'Australians', particularly in their teenage years. When they are not recognised as such, they can turn to the 'Filipino' identity almost as a rebound instinct. They also like to use Filipino as a secret 'in-group' language, even if it is 'broken' and far from fluent.

In terms of use of regional vs standard language, focus group opinion was that the status of Filipino is greater in Australia than in the Philippines because of its function as a *lingua franca* between Filipinos of different regional backgrounds. One participant from a non-Tagalog background said that she had in fact first learnt Filipino in the US, when she had to use it as a *lingua franca*. In the Philippines, she had simply used English whenever she went to Manila. Focus group opinion was also that where parents are of different regional backgrounds they are very unlikely to pass on either regional variety to their children, as they feel this is confusing and unhelpful. One participant said that the younger generation can however also find their inability to speak regional varieties confusing and disorienting — when their parents and grandparents speak together, they would often like to join in, but cannot understand the 'provincialisms'. Survey results would bear out the feeling among the focus groups that (a) Filipino is gaining ground in Australia; and (b) the younger generation is not maintaining regional languages. Whereas 50% of the G1 informants had used a regional language (or regional languages) in the Philippines, only 15% still used a regional language regularly in Australia. Where a regional language was used in the Philippines this was almost exclusively limited to the home (with one informant saying she also used it with her neighbours). Only one second generation informant (from an exogamous marriage) reported using a regional language at all.

4.5.2.1 Language use in the home

Survey results showed the following language use patterns in the home between parents and children, between adults, and between children.

First generation

Table 4.1: Language use between parents and children, G1

Language(s)	Fathers		Mothers	
	father to child	child to father	mother to child	child to mother
English only	5%	20%	5%	15%
Filipino	20%	15%	15%	10%
Filipino and English	20%	10%	25%	25%
regional language	10%	10%	10%	10%
regional, Filipino, English	0%	0%	5%	0%
N/A	30%	30%	10%	10%
Unclear	15%	15%	30%	30%

Both fathers and mothers speak more Filipino to their children than their children do to them, English is used slightly more by mothers than by fathers, and most children speak at least some English to their parents.

Second generation

In the survey results from the second generation (where the informants reported on their own language use to their parents[6]), the use of English by children to their parents is even more marked. No child of an exogamous marriage speaks any Filipino with his/her father.

Table 4.2: Language use between fathers and children, G2

Language(s)	Endogamous		Exogamous	
	father to child	child to father	father to child	child to father
English only	20%	55%	85%	85%
Filipino	40%	5%		
Filipino and English	25%	20%		
N/A	15%	15%	15%	15%

Table 4.3: Language use between mothers and children, G2

Language(s)	Endogamous		Exogamous	
	mother to child	child to mother	mother to child	child to mother
English only	15%	60%	65%	65%
Filipino	50%	10%	20%	20%
Filipino and English	30%	25%	10%	10%
regional lang. and English	0%	0%	5%	5%
N/A	5%	5%	0%	0%

Between adults and between siblings

There was no clear patterning of language use among the first generation informants interviewed, with most using both English and Filipino and only one informant claiming to use a regional language. Among siblings of the second generation, however (where there were siblings in a family), English was almost the only language used (with one informant — from an endogamous marriage — using both English and Filipino).

Table 4.4: Language use between siblings, G2

	G2	G2 by family type	
		Endogamous	Exogamous
English only	57.5	70	45
Filipino and English	2.5	5	0
N/A	40.0	25	55

6 The first and second generation informants did not necessarily come from the same families.

Between grandparents and grandchildren

While 12 of the children from endogamous marriages saw their grandparents on a regular basis, this was the case for only two of the children from an exogamous marriage. The question related to language use referred to grandparents who had regular contact with their grandchildren. Grandparents of children from endogamous marriages speak more Filipino to their grandchildren (15% clearly reported as speaking 'Filipino') than their grandchildren do to them (only 5% clearly reported speaking 'Filipino'). One child (endogamous marriage) reported speaking 'Taglish' to grandparents, and the only informant from an exogamous marriage to give a clear answer to this question spoke English with his grandparents.

Preferred home language

Consistent with the results for language use, the first generation is fairly evenly divided between preference for a Filipino language in the home (50%) and preference for either English (30%) or Filipino and English (20%). The preference for English is high compared with other community language groups in Melbourne (see for example Clyne & Kipp 1999). The preference of the second generation for 'English only' stands at 75% (65% of children from endogenous marriages and 85% of those from exogamous marriages). A further 10% preferred to speak both Filipino and English, 7.5% said that they preferred Filipino, 5% had no preference, and the remaining informant preferred to speak both English and a regional language.

4.5.2.2 Language use outside the home

By far the greatest proportion (70%+) of social networks, in both generations, include both Filipino and non-Filipino speakers. Only four (two from each generation) of the 60 informants reported networks that were largely Filipino-speaking, and marginally more second generation (25%) than first generation (15%) informants said that their social networks were entirely outside the Filipino language community. As could be expected, more children from exogamous marriages than endogamous ones (45% as against 5%) reported totally non-Filipino friendship and social groups, and more children from endogamous marriages than exogamous ones (88% as against 55%) reported social contact both within and outside of the Filipino-speaking community.

The preferred social languages of the older generation, in keeping with the networks reported, were both Filipino and English (65%), while the overwhelming majority of the younger generation (90%) preferred English. No informant from either generation reported a sole preference for Filipino in social settings. So, even in those few instances where the social networks are centered entirely on the Filipino-speaking community, the language mode of choice is at least bilingual, with the younger generation favouring English.

4.5.3 Language proficiency

The first generation speakers reported similar proficiencies in Filipino and English, with one informant choosing 'not well' for speaking and writing tasks in Filipino, but all other informants claiming good or very good skills in both languages. Receptive skills are rated more highly than active skills. This apparent ease in both languages is reflected in the

language use patterns described above, where a 'bilingual' mode appears to be the preferred one for first generation Filipino speakers. There is a considerable drop in self-rated proficiency in Filipino between the first and second generations, particularly marked for children of exogamous marriages and particularly marked in the area of literacy. In English on the other hand, the second generation reports almost total confidence in all areas.

Table 4.5: Self-rated proficiency in Filipino by generation

		Speaking		Listening		Reading		Writing	
G1	very well	73.7%		78.9%		73.7%		47.4%	
	well	21.1%		21.1%		26.3%		47.4%	
	well not well	5.3%		0%		0%		5.3%	
	not at all	0%		0%		0%		0%	
G2		end.	exog.	end.	exog.	end.	exog.	end.	exog.
	very well	5%	20%	45%	25%	10%	15%	0%	5%
	well	45%	10%	50%	10%	55%	5%	35%	15%
	well not well	50%	15%	5%	15%	35%	20%	45%	10%
	not at all	0%	55%	0%	50%	0%	60%	20%	70%
		0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 4.6: Self-rated proficiency in English by generation

		Speaking		Listening		Reading		Writing	
G1	very well	73.7%		68.4%		68.4%		63.2%	
	well	26.3%		31.6%		31.6%		36.8%	
	well not well	0%		0%		0%		0%	
	not at all	0%		0%		0%		0%	
G2		end.	exog.	end.	exog.	end.	exog.	end.	exog.
	very well	85%	95%	100%	95%	100%	95%	90%	95%
	well	15%	5%	0%	5%	0%	5%	10%	5%
	well not well	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	not at all	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

4.5.4 Language and media

Videos were the most important electronic media among the informants for this survey (viewed by 65% of the sample overall), followed by audio material (58.3%), radio (53%) and television (50%). This reflects to some extent the lack of television offerings in Filipino. In all cases, informants over the age of 35 made much more use of the media than those under 35. This was most marked with relation to radio, where 43.8% of the under 35s, but 91.7% of the over 35s, reported listening to Filipino programs.

Table 4.7: Media use by age

	Under 35	Over 35
Radio	43.8%	91.7%
Television	52.1%	58.3%
Video	60.4%	83.3%
Audio material	52.1%	66.7%

Looked at in terms of endogamous/exogamous marriages, the children of endogamous marriages behave much more like the over 35s in all areas, in fact listening to more television and audio material than the over 35s in this sample. It is the children of exogamous marriages who have very little exposure to such media. Video and audio material were slightly more utilised by children of exogamous marriages than radio or television.

Table 4.8: Media use in the second generation by marriage type

	Endogamous	Exogamous
Radio	80%	10%
Television	80%	10%
Video	80%	30%
Audio material	80%	25%

The Internet is used by all but one of under 35s, and by 66.7% of those aged over 35. There is very little difference between age groups in the language used, with 81.3% of the over 35s and 84.6% of the under 35s using English only. Once again, children from exogamous marriages are more likely (90%) to use only English than children of endogamous marriages (79%).

4.5.5 Attitudes to bilingualism, ethnic identity and the place of language in ethnic identity

The first generation in the survey sample places more value overall on bilingualism than does the second generation. The neutral or negative responses in the second generation, however, come entirely from the children of exogamous marriages, with the children of endogamous marriages actually scoring higher than the first generation in terms of very positive responses (85% stated that bilingualism is very helpful).

Table 4.9: Importance of bilingualism by generation

Being able to speak two languages is …	G1	G2	G2 endogamous	G2 exogamous
very helpful	75%	65.0%	85%	45%
helpful	25%	20.0%	15%	25%
neutral	0%	7.5%	0%	15%
not important	0%	7.5%	0%	15%

The first generation informants also place more importance on the maintenance of ethnic identity (and the importance of language to the maintenance of such an identity) than do the second generation informants. In these two instances there is no substantial difference in the second generation between children of endogamous marriages and those from exogamous marriages.

Table 4.10: Importance of maintenance of ethnic identity by generation

Maintaining one's ethnic identity is …	G1	G2	G2 endogamous	G2 exogamous
very important	60%	37.5%	45%	30%
important	35%	50.0%	45%	55%
neutral	5%	12.5%	10%	15%

Table 4.11: Importance of language to maintenance of ethnic identity by generation

In maintaining ethnic identity, language is …	G1	G2	G2 endogamous	G2 exogamous
very important	65%	30.0%	30%	30%
important	30%	52.5%	50%	55%
neutral	0%	17.5%	20%	15%
not important	5%	0%	0%	0%

Overall, it would appear that the informants in the Filipino sample place more value on bilingualism for its own sake than on the specific maintenance of Filipino, and that it is the children of exogamous marriages who place the lowest value on bilingualism.

4.5.6 Motivation to maintain Filipino

The single most important motivation for the maintenance of Filipino over both generations was the issue of identity (55% of the first generation and 50% of the second generation). In the first generation this was followed by 'contact with the country of origin' (20%), while for the second generation this was followed by 'communication with relatives (35%). Language took on an even more important role in identity for the children of exogamous marriages, where 60% gave 'identity' as the most important motivation for the maintenance of Filipino, as against 40% of those from endogamous marriages. Communication with relatives was marginally more important for those from endogamous marriages (40%, as against 30% from exogamous marriages), as was contact with the country of origin and participation in festivals. The latter points reflect a certain 'distance' from Filipino contacts and cultural activities on the part of children from exogamous families, in this sample at least.

'Getting a better job', followed by 'participation in worship' were the motivations placed last by all groups. There was no substantial difference in response between children from endogamous and exogamous families.

4.5.7 Core values

It was evident from both focus groups that, in addition to the important and central core value of kinship and family relationships and obligations, Filipinos see themselves as particularly sociable, resourceful and adaptable. This was attributed to their colonial history and the necessity to adapt to different regimes with different cultural and linguistic requirements. Widespread bi- and trilingualism, and the ease with which Filipinos switch between English, Filipino and their regional languages (occasionally also Spanish) was cited as evidence of this adaptability and is clearly also a source of pride. It was also however seen as problematic, in so far as Filipinos find it difficult to assert themselves and insist on their linguistic rights in the Australian context.

The responses to the survey confirm the impression from the focus groups that the central value for Filipinos is 'belonging' to a group (the family), but that flexibility is also highly valued. Although there were a total of 33 different responses, most of which themselves included a number of values (e.g., 'wisdom, loyalty, warmth, talent'; 'caring, hospitable, family-oriented, musical, sociable'), the single most frequent response was 'feeling of belonging' (15% of G1 and 10% of G2). The first generation then provided a further five responses that highlighted flexibility ('east-west orientation, multilingual, sense of humour, artistic, tolerant'; 'flexibility'; 'colonisation experience, hybrid identity'; 'survivor, flexible, warm, hospitable, social'; 'linguistic diversity'). The second generation, although one informant (from an exogamous family) also mentioned the membership of two cultures, tended to concentrate on personal values such as friendliness — there were nine instances where this attribute was mentioned in varying ways: 'happy', 'friendly', 'easy to please', 'warm', 'fun-loving', 'easy to talk to'. Two informants, both from exogamous families, said that Filipinos were 'other-oriented'.

The only qualitative difference in the responses from children of endogamous and exogamous marriages is seen in the mention of 'culture' — nine instances from 'endogamous' G2 informants and none from 'exogamous G2 informants. This would support the impression gained from the responses to the question on motivation for language maintenance (see above, 4.10) that the G2 informants from exogamous families in this sample generally have less experience of or access to a 'Filipino' culture in Australia.

4.5.8 Perception of support for Filipino

The majority of informants from both generations felt that other groups were better off in terms of their community language in Australia than they were. This feeling was most marked in the exogamous G2 sample, then in the first generation, then in the endogamous G2 sample.

Table 4.12: Treatment of Filipino in comparison with other groups

Are other groups better off?	G1	G2	G2 endogamous	G2 exogamous
yes	70%	62.5%	50%	75%
no	30%	32.5%	40%	25%
no	0%	5.0%	10%	0%

In terms of actual areas of disadvantage, the availability of Filipino in schools was seen as the major issue over both generations (mentioned by four G1 informants and nine G2 informants). This was followed by disadvantage in the area of translated material (three G1 informants and five G2 informants, all from exogamous marriages) and interpreters (three G1 informants). Only one informant (G2 endogamous) mentioned media offerings. There were a number of objections raised in the miscellaneous or 'other disadvantage' category, many of which had to do with the 'visibility' of Filipino in Australia — for example, 'Australians are more aware of other languages' (G2 exogamous); 'Filipino is not seen as important' (G2 endogamous)'; 'others have more clubs and festivals' (G1); 'there are not many facilities to promote Filipino' (G2 endogamous, G2 exogamous).

4.6 Concluding remarks

There are a number of factors which characterise the language situation of the Filipino community in Melbourne. The first of these is the use and status of the Filipino language. It is a language based on Tagalog and was planned to become a symbol of national cohesion. As such, like its predecessor Pilipino, it was only modestly successful in a highly multilingual situation in the Philippines where it competed with the many regional languages, symbols of regional/ethnic identity, and English, the 'neutral' H language. In Australia, many couples and Filipino social networks have mixed regional backgrounds. This, compounded with a considerable number of migrants from the Manila area, where Tagalog itself is used, and the need for a single ethnic language to be the language of public notices, ethnic broadcasting, and school examination subjects, has meant that for many Filipinos in Melbourne, Filipino has become an instrument of Filipino-Australian identity, completing a process that was incomplete before their migration. It is however true that the other regional languages continue to thrive in some circles and families in Melbourne where people are interacting within their regional group. They feel that their regional language is the true symbol of their identity and regard Filipino as really 'someone else's' language.

Another homeland language factor is far more powerful in resisting the maintenance of Filipino, and that is the pre-migration role and status of English in the Philippines. English is the H language in a di- or triglossic situation, a language of education, and a language in which a great deal of written communication takes place. This has led to a high degree of confidence among Filipino-Australians in their English and contributed to the Filipinos' ease of settlement in Australia, their economic well-being (considering they do not generally arrive in the business migrant category), and the relatively smooth integration of the children in the education system. In many Filipino families, there was seen to be no need to maintain any other language on migration. This is reflected also in the sole use of English in Filipino newspapers in Australia and in some theatre productions. Frequent code-switching between Filipino and English may be heard on Filipino broadcasts on multilingual radio stations in Australia and confirms the self-identification of Filipinos as linguistically versatile. The role and status of English in the Philippines has formed the basis of communication in the many unions between Filipinas and men of other backgrounds in Australia, predominantly English-speaking. While a shift to English in the home is a common result of exogamy, it should also be added that inter-regional Filipino marriages are also often characterised by a shift to English only. English, as one of the official languages of the Philippines, and with significant functions over a number of

domains, can only be strengthened in Australia by its position as the national language. Hvenekilde and Lanza (2001) found that even in Norway English has gained ground, particularly in the second generation, as the language of communication with family in the Philippines.

In spite of this, Filipino continues to be used in many Melbourne homes, often kept alive and transmitted by grandparents or a grandparent living in and providing child care, or by the mother determined to pass on the language of her identity to the child(ren). There is some evidence of a reversal in language shift, sometimes resulting from a homeland visit in which communication has been limited, especially on the part of children who have grown up in Australia. Filipino is used passively through radio and videos by a very large proportion of the speakers, especially those over 35.

While the maintenance of some community languages is driven by language as a cultural core value, the shift to English among the Filipino community is promoted by the perception from inside and outside the community that Filipinos are versatile and culturally adaptable, something that makes them good inter-cultural communicators (cf. Clyne 1994:183–184).

5 *Dimensions of community languages*

5.1 Introduction

For this monograph we have chosen three under-researched languages which each contribute to the mosaic that is the totality of the multilingual situation in Australia. Each language community has brought with it sociolinguistic attributes from the source country (or source countries) and has had its own particular experience of migration to and settlement in the host country. Within Australia, all community languages are subject to similar overarching conditions and contribute to the multilingual and multicultural profile of the nation. However, there are some languages which, on the basis of disputed status or limited functions in the country of origin and 'invisibility', low demographic strength or low perceived economic value in Australia are more marginal than others. They are afforded a smaller share of increasingly scarce resources in media, education, libraries and public services, necessitating use or transmission in purely private community spheres and often severely compromising the chances of successful transmission to subsequent generations. While we are discussing this issue of marginality within the Australian context, we are proposing it as an issue for language policy in multicultural immigration countries generally, as well as an issue in language maintenance studies.

While individual language communities clearly differ from each other there are also potentially shared characteristics (e.g., sociolinguistic history and conditions, migration history, language typology), and the sociolinguistic study of one community may shed light on the relative survival chances of other languages with similar characteristics. Where outcomes are not similar, the combination of factors may be significant, and it is here that in-depth studies are of particular value. When the experiences of a great many languages are pooled, as in a longitudinal study of the Australian Census, general or universal trends can be identified.

5.2 The larger mosaic

To consider first the 'large-scale' information available to us from public sources, such as Census information and immigration data, the languages under consideration are grouped in a number of different ways, and compare differently with the wider context of Australian language demography. Macedonian and Filipino, while not rivalling languages such as Italian, Greek, Cantonese or Arabic, are nevertheless both in the top ten community languages nationally, with 71,994 and 78,879 speakers respectively. Somali, with 4,735 speakers, constitutes one of the smaller but growing speech communities.

Macedonian is relatively strongly concentrated in its settlement patterns, while Filipino has some pockets of concentration but also a degree of dispersion (particularly in the case of families of exogamous marriages), and Somali, while strongly concentrated in Melbourne, does not display local concentrations comparable with Macedonian. In terms of length of settlement, the Macedonian-speaking community comprises at least two major vintages, the first dating from the immediate postwar period and largely from northern Greece, and the second dating from the 1980s and 1990s and largely from the Republic of Macedonia. Filipino became a significant community language in the 1980s and continues to grow (albeit more slowly), while Somali (with a largely refugee population) dates from the 1990s.

The languages also differ in terms of age and gender profile, with Macedonian and Filipino similar in their proportion of speakers aged 0–14 (13.8% and 13.3% respectively), but different in their proportion of older speakers (55+), reflecting the dual vintages of Macedonian speakers, where there are 21.5% over 55, compared with only 10.8% of Filipino speakers. The Somali-speaking community is the youngest recorded in the 2001 Census, with 40.2% of its speakers under the age of 14 and only 3.5% over 55. Filipino is the language with the highest proportion of females to males (61.1:38.9) of those that we have data for, while Macedonian and Somali have identical proportions of females to males (49.3:50.7). The proportion of females to males is even higher for the regional Philippines languages, Bisaya (69.1:30.9) and Cebuano (65:35), although the overall numbers are much smaller, with 806 and 774 speakers recorded respectively. The literature suggests that the high proportion of females in the Filipino-speaking community is related to a high degree of exogamy. While we have no demographic information on exogamy/endogamy within the Somali-speaking community in Melbourne, the parental birthplace figures for Macedonian in 1996 indicate a low level of exogamy. Exogamy has been shown to be a factor promoting language shift (see above, §1.6).

There are clearly factors at work within language groups, families and individuals that are not accessible from large-scale statistics alone, and it is to elucidate these that we have conducted the depth studies that were carried out in the three communities. A summary of results from the surveys and focus groups follows, after which we will attempt to identify factors, and combinations of factors, pertaining to the language groups studied, others for which they may be seen as surrogates within Australia, and finally in immigrant contexts generally.

5.3 The depth studies (survey, focus groups)

5.3.1 Home language by language group

Table 5.1: Home language use by language group

Group		Adult to adult	Mother to child	Child to mother	Child to child
Filipino	CL	20.0%	37.3%	19.6%	6.5%
	CL/E	20.0%	29.4%	25.5%	12.9%
	E	60.0%	33.3%	54.9%	80.6%
Macedonian	CL	20.6%	35.9%	25.6%	0%
	CL/E	55.9%	43.6%	46.2%	24.0%
	E	20.6%	20.5%	28.2%	76.0%

Group		Adult to adult	Mother to child	Child to mother	Child to child
Somali	CL	100.0%	88.9%	63.0%	13.6%
	CL/E	0%	3.7%	18.5%	9.1%
	E	0%	7.4%	18.5%	77.3%

A comparison between the three groups in terms of home language use supports the large-scale census data in that the rank ordering from most to least use is Somali, Macedonian and Filipino. What the survey can tell us that the census data cannot, however, is the differing dynamics of language use within the home. The recency of the Somali migration, and the corresponding lower level of skills in English (see also §3.5.2.5) is reflected in the exclusive use of Somali among adults in that sample. Although the Macedonian- and Filipino-speaking groups are actually quite similar in the amount of 'community language only' used between adults, the Macedonian group is much more likely to use both Macedonian and English while the Filipino group is much more likely to use English only.

There is 'asymmetry' in all language groups in terms of mother-child and child-mother interaction, with more children speaking English to their mothers than vice versa. The discrepancy is most marked with the Somali group (although the proportion is smaller), followed by the Filipino group, and occurs least in the Macedonian group. Once again, the Macedonian group is more likely to opt for 'community language + English', and the Filipino group for 'English only'. In terms of exclusive use of the community language between mothers and children, the rank ordering is still Somali, Macedonian and Filipino.

There was a marked tendency across all groups for children to speak only English amongst themselves, even in the Somali group, where most of the younger generation were born in Somalia. The tendency was greatest for the Filipino sample, followed by the Somalis, then the Macedonians. The Macedonian sample was the only one in which none of the younger generation reported speaking only the community language among themselves, but they were more likely than either of the other groups to make use of both the community language and English.

In the Somali group we can trace the effect of recent immigration on the language use of adults to adults, and to a certain extent on that of adults to children, an effect which extends in only a minor way to use of Somali among children. The majority of all interactions (with the exception of those between mothers and children) occur only in English for the Filipino group. While the proportion of 'English-only' interactions within the Filipino group is clearly inflated by the addition of exogamous families in the second generation figures, exogamy has been established as a feature of the Filipino-speaking community in Australia. Within the Macedonian group, adult to adult and adult to child interactions typically employ both the community language and English, although the second generation clearly make more use of English only. While the position of Filipino as the language that has undergone the greatest shift of the three is confirmed in the depth studies, the fact that the Somali younger generation (most of whom are Somali born) are using slightly more English than the Macedonian Australian-born second generation raises some questions about the fate of Somali in the longer term.

With this in mind, a comparison of the home language use preferences between the three groups may be illuminating, in that recent migration will presuppose the necessity to use the community language with some members of the community but may not necessarily be reflected in language preference. Again, preference is something that census data cannot tell us.

Table 5.2: Home language preference by language group

Group		First generation	Second generation	Total
Filipino	CL	50.0%	7.5%	21.7%
	CL/E	20.0%	12.5%	15.0%
	E	30.0%	75.0%	60.0%
	no preference	0%	5.0%	3.3%
Macedonian	CL	65.0%	25.0%	38.3%
	CL/E	0%	5.0%	3.3%
	E	30.0%	57.5%	48.3%
	no preference	5.0%	12.5%	10.0%
Somali	CL	89.5%	58.9%[1]	75.0%[2]
	CL/E	5.3%	0%	2.8%
	E	0%	41.2%	19.4%
	no response	5.3%	0%	2.8%

The unusual thing about this table in the context of other studies (e.g., Clyne & Kipp 1999) is that for all language groups the preference for English in the home is lower than the actual reported use of English in the home. This is particularly marked for the Somali and Macedonian groups in the younger generation, indicating perhaps a desire for communication or proficiency in the community language that is not being met. In the case of Somali it may also reflect the fact that many of the younger generation were in fact born in Somalia and some arrived in Australia as young adolescents. There may then still be situations in which they are more comfortable in Somali, or Arabic in the case of those who migrated via an Arabic speaking country. The table also indicates that the situation pertaining for Macedonian in terms of language use, where the use of both languages was frequently reported, does not pertain for language preference. By far the greater proportion of both generations opted for either one language or the other. In terms of preference it is more likely to be the Filipinos who have no real preference as regards language (but actually end up speaking more English).

5.3.2 Proficiency in the community language

The information on home language use can be related to comparative competence in English and the community language, with the Somali group standing out as the most frequent users of the community language and also the most recently arrived group. The informants were asked to rate their own linguistic skills in the two languages, with the following results.

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1 Includes 11.8% who preferred Arabic.

2 Includes 5.6% who preferred Arabic.

Table 5.3: Self-rated proficiency in the community language by language group, G1

		Speaking	Understanding	Reading	Writing
Filipino	very well	73.7%	78.9%	73.7%	47.4%
	well	21.1%	21.1%	26.3%	47.4%
	not well	5.3%	0%	0%	5.3%
	not at all	0%[3]	0%	0%	0%
Macedonian	very well	45.0%	70.0%	70.0%	40.0%
	well	45.0%	25.0%	15.0%	35.0%
	not well	10.0%	5.0%	0%	5.0%
	not at all	0%	0%	0%	20.0%
Somali	very well	94.7%	94.7%	63.2%	63.2%
	well	5.3%	5.3%	21.1%	15.8%
	not well	0%	0%	15.8%	21.1%
	not at all	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 5.4: Self-rated proficiency in the community language by language group, G2

		Speaking	Understanding	Reading	Writing
Filipino	very well	12.5%	35.0%	12.5%	2.5%
	well	27.5%	30.0%	30.0%	25.0%
	not well	32.5%	10.0%	27.5%	27.5%
	not at all	27.5%	25.0%	30.0%	45.0%
Macedonian	very well	25.0%	37.5%	20.0%	22.5%
	well	55.0%	55.0%	27.5%	22.5%
	not well	20.0%	7.5%	17.5%	15.0%
	not at all	0%	0%	35.0%	40.0%
Somali	very well	5.9%	5.9%	0%	0%
	well	52.9%	58.8%	5.9%	5.9%
	not well	41.2%	35.3%	64.7%	58.8%
	not at all	0%	0%	29.4%	35.3%

Table 5.5: Self-rated proficiency in Macedonian, G3

		Speaking	Understanding	Reading	Writing
Macedonian	very well	10%	30%	10%	10%
	well	40%	40%	30%	30%
	not well	40%	30%	10%	10%
	not at all	10%	0%	50%	50%

[3] One Filipino G1 informant did not respond to this set of questions.

The data on language proficiency only partially overlaps with that on language use, with the Filipino group in the first generation claiming the highest overall proficiency in their community language but actually using more English than the other two groups. The first generation Macedonian response (45% each for speaking the language 'very well' and 'well') contrasts with the high rating of 'very well' (73.7% and 94.7% respectively) among first generation Filipino-Australians and Somali-Australians respectively. This perception may be due to a belief that 'very good' (i.e., *Standard*) Macedonian is not spoken in Australia, and may also be related to relative time away from the homeland and resultant 'attrition' of L1 skills, either real or perceived. In the second generation, however, the Filipino group records the highest generational drop in the areas of speaking and understanding, closely followed by the Somalis.

Literacy skills are rated lower than oracy skills for all groups over both generations, and writing receives lower scores than reading. The Somali group, while recording the highest confidence in oral skills, records the lowest in literacy skills, and also the largest intergenerational difference in this area.

Although the Filipino group displayed greater confidence in their English skills over all areas and in both generations, reflecting their pre-migration experience with English, the only group for which English proficiency is an issue are the Somalis. This was largely confined to the first generation, where over 50% chose the 'not well' or 'not at all' option over all skills. Only one of the younger generation chose 'not well', and did so over all skills.

Table 5.6: Self-rated proficiency in English by language group, G1

		Speaking	Understanding	Reading	Writing
Filipino	very well	73.7%	68.4%	68.4%	63.2%
	well	26.3%	31.6%	31.6%	36.8%
	not well	0%	0%	0%	0%
	not at all	0%	0%	0%	0%
Macedonian	very well	35.0%	50.0%	50.0%	35.0%
	well	35.0%	45.0%	30.0%	20.0%
	not well	30.0%	5.0%	20.0%	35.0%
	not at all	0%	0%	0%	10.0%
Somali	very well	26.3%	26.3%	26.3%	26.3%
	well	21.1%	21.1%	10.5%	10.5%
	not well	47.4%	47.4%	52.6%	52.6%
	not at all	5.3%	5.3%	10.5%	10.5%

Once again, recency of arrival in the Somali group, reflected in a lower reported English language proficiency, is clearly contributing to language maintenance in the first generation. Although the language use of the second generation is potentially also constrained by the language proficiency of the older members of the community, particularly within families, there is some evidence from both the surveys and the focus groups that the second generation is in fact rapidly becoming dominant in English, leading to intergenerational communication problems. For such a recently arrived community, using a language which is extremely well maintained in the first generation, the shift rate of 24.7% for the Australian-born in 1996 (see §1.5, §5.2) was already very high.

5.3.3 Language for social purposes

The informants' social networks tend to be both inside and outside the language community among first generation Filipino-Australians, and mostly inside it among first generation Macedonian- and Somali-Australians. Although the group with the most ethnospecific networks is the most recently arrived one, the Somali-Australians, period of residence alone does not appear to affect the make-up of social networks. The Filipino-speaking community is, after all, relatively recent and they have considerably fewer exclusively 'Filipino' networks than the 'mixed vintage' Macedonian-speaking group. Within the Macedonian-speaking group, the longer established settlers from northern Greece do actually have a slightly higher proportion of exclusively Macedonian networks than the later group from the Republic of Macedonia. Being from an exogamous family background also clearly plays a part in the social networks of the younger generation from the Filipino group, with 45% of the exogamous group having networks entirely outside the 'Filipino' community, compared with 5% of the endogamous group.

In the second generation generally, the social networks tend to be both within and outside the community for all three groups, especially the Somali-Australians. Nevertheless, second generation Macedonian-Australians still have substantially more social networks inside their ethnic communities than the other two groups put together. While this may be based on existing family networks and mutual interests rather than necessarily on language background, it could still be a significant factor in the low language shift rates within the Macedonian-background community in that it provides people with the opportunity to use both Macedonian and English. Only in the third generation Macedonian-English bilinguals was there a majority (60%) with social networks mainly outside the language community. But 30% still had social networks both inside and outside the group and 10% had mainly Macedonian-speaking ones.

Table 5.7: Social networks by language group and generation

Group	Social networks	First generation	Second generation	Total
Filipino	mostly within CL group	10.0%	5.0%	6.7%
	mostly outside CL group	15.0%	25.0%	21.7%
	both inside and outside CL group	75.0%	70.0%	71.7%
Macedonian	mostly within CL group	55.0%	17.5%	30.0%
	mostly outside CL group	10.0%	20.0%	16.7%
	both inside and outside CL group	35.0%	62.5%	53.3%
Somali	mostly within CL group	73.7%	5.9%	41.7%
	mostly outside CL group	0%	5.9%	2.8%
	both inside and outside CL group	26.3%	88.2%	55.6%

Social networks are to a large extent reflected in preferred language in social settings, with both the Macedonian- and Somali- background groups (but particularly the Somali group) favouring the community language in the first generation and the Filipino group favouring either a bilingual mode or English only. The greater first generation use of a bilingual mode of communication in the Filipino sample reflects their image of themselves as flexible, adaptable and skilled with language (see also §4.5.4). English is the preferred language for the younger generation in all groups, most markedly in the Filipino group and

least so in the Somali group. This may of course also reflect the English language skills of the groups as a whole (see above), as social interaction often requires communication with older community members.

Table 5.8: Preferred social language, by language group and generation

Group		First generation	Second generation	Total
Filipino	CL	30.0%	0%	10.0%
	CL/E	35.0%	10.0%	18.3%
	E	35.0%	90.0%[4]	71.7%
Macedonian	CL	50.0%	7.5%	21.7%
	CL/E	20.0%	22.5%	6.7%
	E	25.0%	67.5%	53.3%
	no preference	5.0%	2.5%	15.1%
Somali	CL	84.2%	0%	44.5%
	CL/E	10.5%	23.6%	16.7%
	E	0%	52.9%	25.0%
	no preference	5.3%	17.6%	11.1%
	no response		5.9%	2.8%

5.3.4 Media use

The use of media in the community language must be considered in relation to the resources available. As there are few television programs in their languages in Melbourne, the three groups of this study use this medium less than radio. Videos substitute for the modest opportunity to watch television programs in their community language. Filipinos and especially Macedonian speakers listen to audio material such as tapes and CDs more than they do to radio programs. All these media are used in the community language considerably more by the over 35 than by the under 35 age groups. This concurs with similar results for Arabic, Chinese and Spanish speakers in Melbourne (Clyne & Kipp 1999:313–315). This study also showed that young Arabic, Chinese (Cantonese and Mandarin) and Spanish speakers find radio programs in these languages in particular to be of little interest to them and more appealing to the older generation. The greatest intergenerational variation across all the groups for this study is also for radio, although there is a similar divide for televions among Somalis. The latter may be attributed to the absence of Somali films on SBS Television (see §1.3) and the sole opportunity to view Somali programs being a program on a public television station which presents commentary programs — that is, in effect, radio with pictures.

The age distribution is reversed for the Internet in two of the groups. Almost all the Filipino-background informants under 35, but only three quarters of those over 35, use the Internet. Of these, the over 35 group is slightly more likely to use some Filipino (18.8% as against 15.4%). Twice the proportion of the Macedonian group under 35 use it than those over 35. Once again, slightly more of the over 35s (18%) than under 35s (13%) use some Macedonian. There is, however, a slightly higher proportion of over 35s using the Internet

[4] In the case of children from exogamous marriages, 100% preferred English.

in Somali. This could be due to the lower average age of both parents and children in the Somali sample. While the clear majority of all age groups for Macedonian and Filipino use the Internet in English only, this is only true of the younger generation in the Somali sample. Some 88% of the parent generation use at least some Somali. This reflects the fact that the Internet is for Somalis especially a way of accessing newspapers and also BBC broadcasts in the community language in the absence of a Somali-language newspaper in Australia.

The questionnaire results on Internet use concur with the rank ordering from the 2001 Census which does, however, indicate a lower Internet use than our survey. The Census data do not indicate in which language(s) the Internet is being used.

There is to date no Somali-language newspaper in Melbourne. This is perhaps related to the relatively new development of journalism in the language (see §3.1) as well as the young profile of the community (see §3.2) and the lack of cohesion within it. On the other hand, the two Macedonian weeklies (and for a brief period, also a Macedonian literary magazine) have attracted as contributors second as well as first generation Macedonian-English bilinguals in what is also a recently codified language. The Filipino ethnic newspaper is printed in English. This may be at least in part attributed to the fact that all Filipino immigrants could read and write English before migrating, and English played a role as an H language in the homeland. However, there are Australian-based newspapers in languages with similar sociolinguistic properties, such as Maltese.

5.3.5 Attitudes towards bilingualism, ethnicity and language

Table 5.9: Attitudes towards bilingualism, ethnicity and language by language group

		Being able to speak two languages			Maintaining ethnic identity			Importance of language to ethnic identity		
		F	M	S	F	M	S	F	M	S
G1	++	75.0%	80%	94.7%	60.0%	90.0%	63.2%	65.0%	90.0%	73.7%
	+	25.0%	20%	5.3%	35.0%	10.0%	15.8%	30.0%	10.0%	26.3%
	+/-	0%	0%	0%	5.0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	-	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5.0%	0%	0%
	--	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	no response	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	21.1%	0%	0%	0%
G2	++	65.0%	80%	47.1%	37.5%	67.5%	N/A	30.0%	62.5%	N/A
	+	20.0%	20%	47.1%	50.0%	22.5%		52.5%	37.5%	
	+/-	7.5%	0%	0%	12.5%	10.0%		17.5%	0%	
	-	7.5%	0%	5.9%	0%	0%		0%	0%	
	--	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		0%	0%	
G3	++	N/A	80%	N/A	N/A	50.0%	N/A	N/A	50.0%	N/A
	+		10%			40.0%			40.0%	
	+/-		10%			10.0%			10.0%	
	-		0%			0%			0%	
	--		0%			0%			0%	

The Macedonian informants exhibit the greatest overall positivity and consistency over all comparable questions in this grouping, standing out particularly with regard to the importance of ethnic identity and the place of language in ethnic identity. This supports our findings that the Macedonian language is a cultural core value for its community, and that cultural maintenance has historically been of great significance to them. The Filipino group has the least positive attitudes towards these issues in the first generation, reflecting their perception of themselves as adaptable and flexible. The transmission of ethnic awareness is also much greater in the Macedonian group than in the Filipino group, with a greater proportion of Macedonian G3 informants thinking that the maintenance of ethnic identity (and language) is important than Filipino G2 informants.

Table 5.10: Perceptions of intra- and inter-group support for the community language

		Community language group supportive of language			Wider community supportive of community language			More Australians should learn the community language		
		F	M	S	F	M	S	F	M	S
G1	++	20.0%	50.0%	26.3%	10.0%	10.0%	10.5%	25%	20.0%	10.5%
	+	45.0%	50.0%	47.4%	50.0%	35.0%	36.8%	50%	60.0%	57.9%
	+/-	15.0%	0%	0%	25.0%	15.0%	31.6%	15%	10.0%	21.1%
	-	15.0%	0%	21.1%	15.0%	35.0%	10.5%	10%	10.0%	10.5%
	--	5.0%	0%	5.3%	0%	5.0%	10.5%	0%	0%	0%
G2	++	15.0%	22.5%	11.8%	2.5%	5.0%	0%	10%	20.0%	0%
	+	65.0%	52.5%	52.9%	37.5%	7.5%	17.6%	55%	42.5%	23.5%
	+/-	17.5%	15.0%	23.5%	40.0%	27.5%	58.8%	20%	27.5%	29.4%
	-	2.5%	10.0%	11.8%	17.5%	47.5%	17.6%	15%	10.0%	41.2%
	--	0%	0%	0%	2.5%	12.5%	5.9%	0%	0%	0%
	no response	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5.9%
G3	++	N/A	20.0%	N/A	N/A	0%	N/A	N/A	20.0%	N/A
	+		60.0%			10.0%			30.0%	
	+/-		20.0%			60.0%			20.0%	
	-		0%			20.0%			30.0%	
	--		0%			10.0%			0%	

While no community group feels that the wider community is particularly supportive of its language (underlining their ‘marginal’ position in the Australian context), the most critical group in this regard are the Macedonians, which is not surprising in view of their very public struggle with the Victorian government over the naming issue (see §2.2). They are also the group who are most positive about their own attempts to maintain their language. The Somalis are the group most likely to have no opinion about wider community support of their language, in both generations, and the group with the most strongly expressed criticism of their own community’s support of the language, particularly in the G1. They are also the group most likely to have no opinion about, or to disagree with, the proposition that more Australians should learn their language. They

seem to have a much less clear conceptualisation of their language, Somali, in the Australian context than either of the other groups. This could reflect recency of arrival, small relative size of community and refugee status (with the attendant distraction towards other issues), as well as the continuing division between clan loyalties and regional varieties of Somali.

Table 5.11: 'Are other groups better off?'

		Are other groups better off?		
		F	M	S
G1	yes	70.0%	100.0%	94.7%
	no	30.0%	0%	5.3%
	don't know	0%	0%	0%
G2	yes	62.5%	95.0%	64.7%
	no	32.5%	5.0%	35.3%
	don't know	5.0%	0%	0%
G3	yes	N/A	90.0%	N/A
	no		10.0%	
	don't know			

The majority of informants in all groups over all generations feel that other groups are better off than they are in terms of resources. Once again, the Macedonian group is the least satisfied, in both generations, and with very little intergenerational difference. The intergenerational difference is most marked for the Somali group. It is interesting to note that there is also a significant intergenerational difference in attitudes towards bilingualism in the Somali group. Although both Macedonian and Somali record very low language shift rates in the large-scale census data for the first generation, the intergenerational difference is striking for the Somalis, even in 1996 (see §1.5). It seems clear that the success of Macedonian language maintenance beyond the first generation is based on the transmission of strong pro-Macedonian attitudes (cf. G2 responses to the importance of ethnicity and language), and a clear message as to how the Macedonian language has been/is being treated.

5.4 Models of language maintenance revisited

In §1.6, we discussed a number of factors promoting language maintenance and/or language shift which have been identified in previous research. In this section, we will test the factors on the language communities chosen for this study, and in doing so comment on their validity and/or their applicability to other languages in an immigrant situation.

The features, or factors, that have been shown in the literature to promote language maintenance, and are exhibited by some or all of the language communities in question, are: concentration of settlement, low proficiency in the language of the host country (in this case English), core value status for the community language within the value system of the community language group, cultural/religious distance, low exogamy rates and pre-migration experience with language maintenance. In so far as recency of arrival may also be correlated with low proficiency in English, and/or strong ties with the homeland, this

could also be regarded as a factor promoting language maintenance. The whole issue of 'vintage' of migration is however further complicated by factors such as policies towards speakers of other languages in the country of migration, which are often highly dynamic. They may favour more recent settlers if policies have become more favourable, or they may favour earlier settlers if they have become less favourable. Other factors relevant to the migration process, such as refugee status, must also be taken into account. Refugee status has been identified (Kloss 1966; Clyne 1991) as an ambivalent factor, in that it may work both for and against language maintenance — for, if the settlers perceive themselves as 'carriers of the culture in exile', against, if they wish to put behind them anything to do with a regime that has persecuted them. Refugee status is often accompanied by an inability to return to a country in which their language is regularly used, or to maintain strong ties with family members at home. 'Hostility from the host society' has also been identified as an ambivalent factor, as has numerical size. Factors seen as promoting language shift can be conceptualised as the absence or opposite of the factors promoting maintenance (e.g., high proficiency in English, high rate of exogamy).

Although it is very difficult to establish and maintain a clear distinction between factors favouring language maintenance and those favouring language shift, largely due to the combination and interaction of factors, we have divided the following discussion into two major parts, beginning with features that have been generally accepted as favourable to language maintenance.

5.4.1 Factors promoting language maintenance

5.4.1.1 Settlement concentration

Like previous censuses, the 2001 Census indicates that Macedonian is one of the most concentrated languages in Melbourne. This is also the case in other capital cities. The average concentration factor[5] in the three local government areas in Melbourne where Macedonian is most concentrated is 6.1 (with 11.1 in one of the municipalities). The corresponding average concentration factor for Filipino is 2.5 (with the 'top' local government area (LGA) for Filipino having a concentration factor of 4.5). Somali is placed somewhere between Macedonian and Filipino in terms of concentration, with an average concentration factor of 4.2 over three municipalities to the north and north-east of the metropolitan area, and a concentration factor of 5.1 in one of these (see map in Figure 5.1 for position of municipalities).

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[5] This takes into account the total number of speakers of a language in a local government area of Melbourne in relation to the total throughout the Melbourne metropolitan area as well as the relative size of the local government area. A concentration factor of 1 would indicate a dispersion pattern identical to that of the general population, while a concentration factor of 2, for example, would indicate that there are twice as many speakers of a particular language in a particular area as one could expect from a totally random pattern of dispersion.

Table 5.12: Concentration factor by language, 2001

	Average concentration factor (over top three LGAs)	Local government areas (see map, Figure 5.1)	
Macedonian	6.1	Whittlesea	11.1
		Brimbank	4.5
		Darebin	2.8
Somali	4.2	Banyule	5.1
		Moonee Valley	4.2
		Darebin	3.2
Filipino	2.5	Brimbank	4.5
		Wyndham	2.6
		Melton	2.4

Concentration of language speakers is potentially a very positive factor in the maintenance of language — close proximity to other speakers, together with the clustering of language-specific facilities, work in the interests of intergenerational transmission of the language far more effectively than raw numbers alone. For Macedonian, close settlement (in largely) contiguous areas may indeed have promoted the maintenance of the language, but other factors have also been favourable. For example, there has been a strong will to maintain the language, born in the case of the earlier vintage from a determined resistance to linguistic suppression in the homeland. For these speakers Macedonian had by necessity become a language to be used in the privacy of one's home, or in the homes of friends and relatives, and close settlement with friends and relatives in Australia allowed for continued regular use in this domain. Later migrants from the Republic of Macedonia co-settled with the earlier arrivals, and networking has developed in a number of domains, including schools, churches and families. Each group has benefited from the particular strengths of the other — the later vintage has been exposed to the strong political motivation of the earlier one to maintain an important symbol of their identity, while the earlier vintage has been exposed to revitalisation linguistically from a group which has been accustomed to using Macedonian freely across all domains, and has well-developed literacy skills in the language

While most Somali speakers in Australia live in Melbourne, and Somali is also relatively highly concentrated within Melbourne, other factors make the outcome less clearcut. First of all, numbers are still comparatively small (4,735, as against 71,994 Macedonian speakers, for example), and while the concentrations present would favour the establishment of language maintenance institutions such as schools in the areas of concentration, the relative size of the population may disadvantage them in a competition for government funds with a larger group, for example. Lack of political cohesion appears to be an even more important factor for this particular community. Somali speakers may indeed live in close proximity to each other, but clan differences are limiting the amount of interaction and networking that takes place on a geographical basis. It has been suggested (Awes Amin, pers. comm.), that the telephone is an extremely important mode of communication for Somalis, particularly housebound women, and geographical location/ concentration thus becomes largely irrelevant. When Somalis meet each other for the first time, they typically exchange telephone numbers rather than addresses.

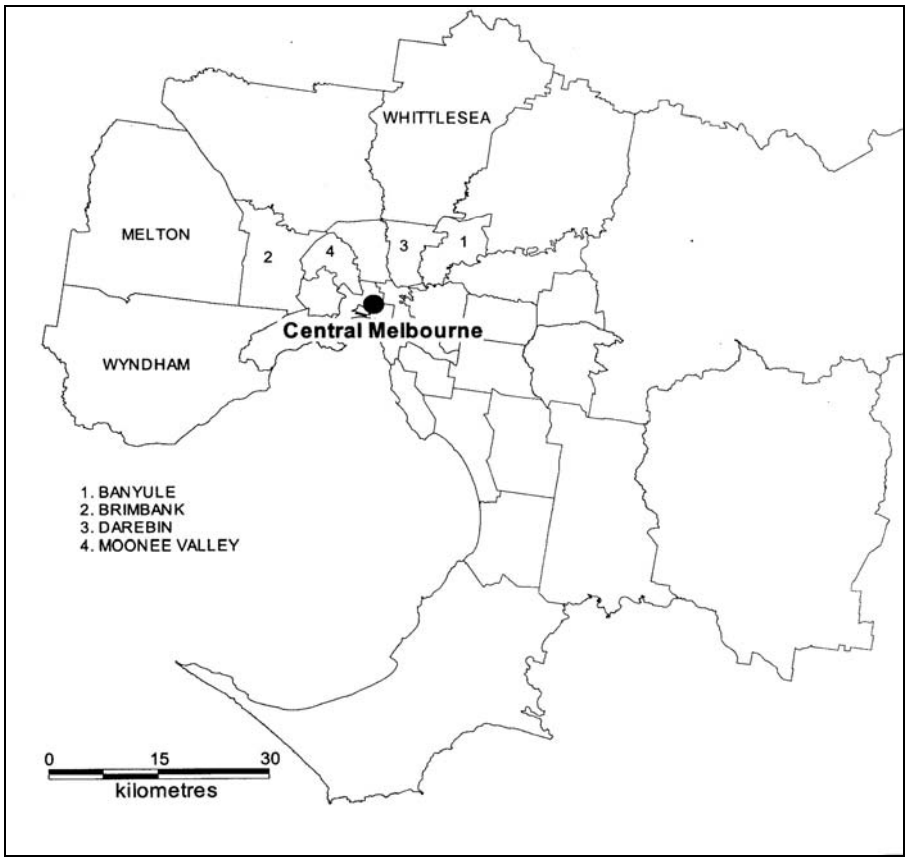

Figure 5.1: Areas of concentration for Filipino, Macedonian and Somali
(Local Government Areas, Melbourne Statistical Division, ABS 2001). See Table 5.12.

In the case of Filipino, lower concentration factors, which reflect and are combined with high rates of exogamy, do not favour the development of close geographical networks or the clustering of language-specific facilities. Although the somewhat negative attitudes held by the Filipino community towards Filipinas in mixed marriages are beginning to change (Father Rolyn Vics, pers. comm.), such attitudes have in the past succeeded in further isolating women in exogamous marriages. The tendency for Australians of Filipino background to use a lot of English in their interactions (as reflected in the surveys) is clearly due to more than lack of geographical concentration, however, and, given a greater concentration, may actually hasten language shift rather than promote language maintenance. This is demonstrated particularly well by the case of Maltese, where the language community is concentrated to almost the same extent as Macedonian, but where the language shift rate is in the medium to high category (38.2%). Like the Filipinos, the Maltese (also with pre-migration experience in English) typically use English for a wide range of functions.

Settlement patterns can thus go a long way towards explaining the close and multiplex networks within the Macedonian community, contributing to very successful language maintenance across three generations, and still providing some of the conditions which Fishman considers so vital, in Stage 6 of his GIDS. It must however be emphasised that geographical concentration only contributes to language maintenance if the community in question has a high degree of coherence and there is a strong community will in favour of language maintenance.

5.4.1.2 Vintage/Old and new languages and language maintenance/refugee status

While still issues of settlement (see above), factors such as 'vintage' of migration and motivation for migration are even less clearcut than concentration of settlement. In Clyne and Kipp (1999:319–322), we suggested that 'older' and 'newer' groups held different attitudes towards language maintenance and multiculturalism, attitudes which are partly due to their time of migration and the resultant expectations. The older groups were less self-assertive, less supportive of multiculturalism, more satisfied with their treatment on Australia, had less contact with their homeland and used new technologies less than the newer groups. This dichotomy is challenged by the current study, with the longest-established group (Macedonian speakers) holding the most proactive position with regard to language rights and language maintenance. However, it needs to be taken into account that the first generation of Group A (Macedonian speakers from northern Greece) were themselves exposed to suppression of their language in the country of origin. The acknowledgment of multiculturalism in Australia had moved Macedonian for the first time from the private to the public domain for these speakers. While Group B speakers (from former Yugoslavia) did not need to fight for language rights either in the old or the new homeland, the name change initiated by the Victorian government revived the necessity to resist suppression for these speakers. It provided a way for the more linguistically competent and confident Group B and the more politically competent Group A to cooperate in a common cause. Our research shows that a sense of identity, with language as an important symbol, is shared by all generations and both vintages.

The Filipino and Somali groups are both of more recent vintage. However, neither of them shows the assertive features of the 'new vintage' in our previous study. For the Filipinos, their lack of political will to assert their language rights may be due to the somewhat unclear status of the 'national language' among settlers from a wide range of regional backgrounds as well as their prior proficiency in English and their view of themselves as a particularly adaptable and linguistically proficient people. It is the common failure of the second generation to communicate effectively with relatives visited in and visiting from the homeland that has been a much more important catalyst for reversing language shift in many families. The Somali community is still a relatively small group, and the settlement issues associated with recent refugee status, as well as the importance placed on religious observance (largely through the medium of Arabic) may well have deflected attention from issues of language and language rights. For Somalis also, being refugees, regular contact with the homeland is impossible, and the sort of motivation experienced by the Filipinos in this regard is not yet available. The two groups of refugees, the Macedonian Group A and the Somalis do, however, behave quite differently, the former more assertive, the latter less so. It should be noted that in the case of the Somalis but not the Macedonians, the adversaries in the home situation are within the same ethnic community. The outcome for Macedonian language maintenance is positive, the outcome for Somali is not yet quite clear.

As we have already suggested (see §1.1), immigrant language maintenance is conditioned by pre- and post-migration experience. This will influence the impact of vintage on language attitudes and maintenance practices, as will other factors such as patterns of exogamy, proficiency in English pre-migration and group cohesion in the country of immigration. The contrast between old and new vintages can best be done within one community language.

5.4.1.3 Low level of proficiency in English (and lack of pre-migration experience with English)

As was suggested above, this factor is closely related to, but not dependent upon, recency of arrival. Data from the 2001 Census, supported by the information received from the surveys, would suggest that the Somali community is the only one of the three selected communities for whom English proficiency is an issue. While this was certainly an issue for the first generation of Group A Macedonian-speaking speakers on arrival, and to a somewhat lesser extent for Group B speakers, this is no longer the case, and for the Filipinos, with their pre-existing competence in English, and indeed education through the medium of English, it has never been an issue.

Pre-existing knowledge of English clearly does not guarantee the *status* of English within a speaker's repertoire, as is shown in the case of Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong, where English has also been widely used in business, administration and education, but where it has not typically been used in personal interactions between Chinese in Hong Kong, Cantonese rather being the language of solidarity (Clyne & Kipp 1999). While for Filipinos the status of English has been high, and continues to be so, there is some anecdotal evidence that Filipino is gaining status at the expense of English, in both the homeland and to a lesser extent the diaspora.

It is clear from this particular study that the lower overall proficiency in English of first generation speakers in the Somali community is contributing to a very high rate of maintenance in the first generation (confirmed by Census statistics). It is probable, however, that there is a great deal of individual and group variation within the community, both in their proficiency in English and their pre-migration experience with it. It should be noted that the northern part of the Somali homeland had the stronger tradition of English because Britain had been the colonial power there. To a large extent, that overlaps with Maxaad tiri-speaking territory, giving Maxaad tiri speakers a double advantage in linguistic capital.

5.4.1.4 Core values

It is clear from the discussion to date that the issue of whether a language has symbolic significance for a particular community can combine with other factors, such as geographical concentration, or refugee status, to be a very powerful promoter of language maintenance efforts. In the context of the present study, Macedonian is the language that has benefited most in this respect.

From the focus group meetings and surveys, it would appear that in the Macedonian culture intertwined core values are language (as a unifying factor in the absence of a political entity that covers all regions where Macedonian is spoken), religion and family cohesion. The position of Macedonian is strengthened by its direct link both with Orthodox religion (see §2.1) and the domain of home, particularly for the first vintage of Macedonian-speaking migrants to Australia. In the Filipino culture, on the other hand, the intertwined central core values are family and group cohesion, food, and happiness/well-being. Language plays only a peripheral role, and at that mainly regional language, which may or may not be Tagalog. In the Somali group, religion and clan are of prime importance, with religion being observed largely through the medium of Arabic, and clan membership expressed through one or other regional variety of Somali.

Both the Macedonian and Somali cultures have very strong oral traditions, and none of the cultures vests great value in the written language.

Comparing the three groups, then, it is only in Macedonian culture that the language assumes 'core value' status in its own right and intertwined with two other cultural core values of political entity (Smolicz 2002) and religion, while it appears to be secondary in the case of Filipino to family and cultural values and in Somali to religion. Smolicz et al. (2000:261) note an increased tendency for Filipino as a spoken language to assume core value significance as an identifying value for Filipino-Australians, even if less frequently among those of non-Tagalog background.

5.4.1.5 Pre-migration experience with language maintenance

All three communities have had histories in which they have been exposed to linguistic imperialism during a colonial period but in quite different ways. The group that has most benefited from this factor is Macedonian (Group A), where the experience of maintaining their language in a contact situation (with Greek), and in a context of suppression, has provided the basis for strongly home-based, and very successful, language maintenance efforts in Australia. The issue of suppression does of course introduce an element of ambivalence, as suppression could also lead to abandonment of a language (see below, §5.4.2.3). For these speakers, what was being maintained in the homeland were largely non-literate varieties. Many speakers from this area are becoming literate in their language for the first time in Australia.

The very existence of 'Filipino' as a national language may itself be seen as a type of linguistic imperialism against the regional languages, but this measure is a response to an earlier linguistic imperialism which made the Filipino immigrants bi- or multilingual (in English and/or Spanish and a home language) before they left their homeland but at the same time weakened the need for their community language. On the other hand, Filipino, English, and in many cases, regional languages, as well as 'code-switching' between them, have come to constitute a symbol of multiple identity and adaptability, something that Filipinos are very proud of. It is the increasing use of Filipino in the homeland (observed during visits), rather than pre-migration experience with maintaining a regional language or Filipino in the face of Filipino or English, that have most promoted a need for reversing language shift in Australia, especially in the younger generation.

In the case of Somali, Somali dialects, in a pre-codified situation, were L languages in a colonial diglossia relation, with English (and/)or Italian as the H language in secular domains and Arabic as the H language in the religious domain. They were the vehicle for cultural transmission in an oral society. The encroachment of English into the hitherto Somali domains of home and neighbourhood, and the continuing status of Arabic as the language of religion, appears to be compromising Somali maintenance in Australia, particularly in the younger generation.

5.4.1.6 'Distance' as a factor — clear-cut or ambivalent?

While researchers have long regarded 'distance' from the mainstream a factor in language maintenance or loss, they have differed with regard to the dimensionality of its effect, and also the elements they subsume into the factor. For example, while Kloss (1966) regarded 'cultural and linguistic distance' as one factor and with ambivalent force,

Clyne (1991:88) suggested that the two factors should be separated, with linguistic distance remaining ambivalent but with cultural (including religious) distance a clear-cut factor in favour of language maintenance. This modification was based on his work on the 1986 Australian Census, where the groups displaying the highest language maintenance rates all had 'distinctive religious affiliation, world-views and practices (Buddhist, Muslim, Eastern Orthodox or Eastern-rite Catholic) that distinguish[ed] them markedly from mainstream ones (mainly Roman Catholic or Protestant)' (Clyne 1991:68). Of the groups under discussion in this study, Somali is the one displaying the highest degree of distance from the mainstream in both culture and religious practice (Islam), while for the Filipino group the religious distance is the smallest (Roman Catholic), and cultural distance is also substantially reduced by the colonial history of the Philippines, with first a Spanish, then an American presence. The Macedonian group, with their Balkan culture and Orthodox religion, is placed on a religious distance scale somewhere between Somali and Filipino. In terms of culture, they are 'closer' to the Australian mainstream in some ways than the Filipinos, being European (but without the direct influence of American culture such as has occurred in the Philippines), although on a European scale they are much more 'distant' from the mainstream than Dutch, for example. The interplay between religion and culture is a complex one, with 'national' churches such as the Macedonian Orthodox Church playing a particular role in the development of identity, and even international religious denominations such as Islam and Roman Catholicism differently interpreted and practised in different parts of the world. Somali Muslims are not the same as Turkish Muslims, for example, and Irish Catholics are very different from Filipino Catholics. Some cultures, such as the US or Australia, are made up of numerous religious groups, and one can clearly be part of a particular culture without adhering to any religion or religious practice at all. Apart from the very complex interplay between religion and culture, there are clearly difficulties inherent in placing groups (particularly groups such as the Macedonian speakers with a number of birthplaces and vintages) at a particular point on a scale of 'cultural' distance. The perception of 'distance' itself is both subjective and relative, and will change over time. While Macedonian speakers were seen as markedly different from the mainstream in post-war Australia, for example, the advent of large numbers of migrants from non-European countries, and particularly the increasing numbers of Muslims from different parts of the world, places them much closer to the mainstream in 2003. The 'mainstream' is also changing with the diversification of the population. Bearing all of this in mind, the issue of religion as it relates to language use raises some very interesting questions in the three languages under consideration, challenging Clyne's (1991) assessment of effect, and it deserves particular treatment here.

Both Somali and Macedonian, with their more 'distant' religious practices, are better maintained in Australia than is Filipino. However, as with other factors, religious distance alone is clearly not sufficient to ensure continuing maintenance of a community language. This is made clear by the considerable language shift that is already occurring among younger members of the Somali community, who are, however, still practising Muslims who see Islam as part of their core identity (see, for example, §3.5.2.7). A critical issue seems to be the expression of religion or religiosity, and specifically the degree to which the community language is associated with, and is supported by, religious practice. Woods (2004) argues that each Christian religious denomination she researches has its own language culture governing the link between language and religion, especially the position

on a continuum between the choice of a special and distant code and an intimate and everyday code for communication with God. For Muslims, Arabic is the 'perfect language' in which Allah speaks to them through the Qu'ran. It is in fact a core value in their religion. On the one hand, the strongly passive and formulaic religious domain in Islam does not contribute much to the Arabic communicative competence of the Somali group, though many have developed it and/or one of the colloquial varieties through residence in Arabic-speaking countries and through the earlier use of Arabic in other domains in Somalia. However, in a culture in which religion is a central core value, and itself has its own language-oriented culture, the use of an exonational language for the religious domain lessens the motivation for the maintenance of and continuing input from the national language in a third country, where English is dominant and crucial for economic advancement.

Of the three languages under consideration in this monograph, Macedonian is the one benefiting most from the religious domain. This is partly because religion gives the language a particular form of authenticity, as Macedonian is the direct descendant of Old Church Slavonic, the liturgical language of all the Slavic Orthodox churches. While the use of a liturgical language also creates distance in Woods' terms, it is, unlike the case of Arabic for the Somalis, a language that has both cultural and religious significance for this particular group. The struggles of the Macedonian Church in Australia and the Macedonian-speaking community in Australia to assert its/their distinctive identity[ies] have been closely intertwined, and language is both a separate core value and an important symbol of the Church.

Religion promotes the group cohesion that is considered so important in Filipino culture. While religious practice does provide opportunities for Filipinos in some areas to interact in a common pursuit, it does not however necessarily promote the Filipino language. On the one hand, there are many Filipino speakers who belong to monolingual English parishes, or do not actively practise their religion in Australia (particularly some women in exogamous marriages). On the other hand, while the other two language communities have fixed liturgies, there is far more spontaneity in the religious domain among the Filipinos (e.g., in prayers and discussions), even within the Filipino chaplaincy of the Catholic Church, which incorporates a number of Charismatic groups. Roman Catholic Mass, while being traditionally formulaic, is now celebrated in the vernacular — because of the presence of a large number of regional groups within the Melbourne Filipino chaplaincy, this is usually Filipino. There are also more spontaneous sections, including ones (e.g., intercessory prayers) in which lay people are involved in a way that does not occur in Macedonian and Somali religious observances. The practices of the Filipino church in Australia are thus positioned towards the 'intimate and everyday' end of Woods' continuum.

An interesting development within the Macedonian church in Melbourne, which places it in some ways more in line with the practices of the Filipino chaplaincy, is the introduction of Modern Macedonian as the liturgical language of one of the Orthodox churches, thus reinforcing on the one hand the standard language employed in other formal domains and providing a model for the language used in home and community. On the other hand, this particular parish is also introducing English services and Bible classes for the youth to further aid comprehensibility of religious concepts. The logical conclusion of an attempt to encourage a more personal and intimate relationship with God, particularly

for the younger generations, may in fact be the hastening of language shift within the church domain for this sector of the community.

One must conclude that religion is an ambivalent factor in language maintenance. It can vest the language with an aura of authenticity, even if the scriptural or liturgical language is of an ancient and incomprehensible variety. (This applies to Greek and Hebrew as well.) It can support language maintenance in a cohesive and sometimes inward-looking community speaking the language. But if this community has already shifted to English (like sections of the Filipino-speaking community) or if the religious language is not the ethnic community language (as is the case with Somali), religion can actually assist with the shift to English. Looked at in terms of Woods (2004) continuum, an emphasis on a personal and intimate relationship to God, usually in the dominant language of the individual, may hasten language shift.

Another scale of difference that has been suggested in the context of 'culture' is that of physical appearance. Fishman (1985:158–166) suggests that a high degree of difference from the mainstream in terms of physical features is correlated with a high language maintenance rate, while a high degree of similarity to the mainstream in this respect correlates with a high language shift. Our present study does not support a positive correlation between distinctive physical appearance and language maintenance, nor did an earlier study, which also included populations that were physically distinctive (Clyne & Kipp 1999), and concluded that the factor was ambivalent. This study showed that the Chinese in Melbourne have been tending to react to racism by shifting to 'English only', and putting as much distance as possible between themselves and an 'Asian' identity, particularly in the adolescent years. The Arabic community in Australia, on the other hand, experiencing the negative reaction engendered by the Gulf War (directed against people of 'Middle Eastern' appearance, and particularly against Muslims), put renewed effort into educating the wider community about the nature of the Arabic-background population of Australia (a significant proportion of whom are not in fact Muslim), a less biased view of Islam and the importance of Arabic as an international language. The events of September 11, 2001, have exacerbated anti-Muslim sentiment around the world, and this has the potential to create particular problems for the Somalis, who are highly 'visible', not only as Africans, but as Muslims (particularly the women). The shift away from Somali among the children and adolescents of the community (many of whom were born in Somalia) may in part be reflecting this. It may be that the combination of a mainstream religion, a culture influenced by Hispanic and more recently American cultures, and slightly 'exotic' physical features is the one most conducive to both integration and language shift, as the popularity of Filipino as marriage partners for Australian men of European descent confirms. In the absence of a more 'distant' cultural or religious base, there is some evidence from focus group discussion that Filipino children and adolescents are in fact turning their physical distinctiveness into an advantage, both as a marker of in-group solidarity and one of more general attractiveness.

The above discussion highlights the difficulty involved in treating a particular factor, such as 'religion' or 'culture' or 'physical appearance' in isolation from other factors. The most obvious issue is the interaction between perceived 'distance' on a number of levels (which has often been treated as a 'clear-cut' factor in favour of language maintenance) and 'attitude of the host society' (which is generally recognised as an ambivalent factor). If the host society identifies distance and reacts negatively to it, then the minority group may

react in a number of different ways, depending on which component of their identity is being attacked, and how important the maintenance of this component is to them (there may of course be a number of levels of 'distance' involved). If distance is present but not regarded as 'dangerous' by the host society, then once again a community may react by either taking the opportunity to establish cultural institutions and maintain difference or gradually assimilating into the mainstream as the result of 'false feelings of cultural security' (Kloss 1966:212). Other factors, such as refugee status in the case of the Somalis, may also affect outcomes in that they tend to deflect attention from issues (such as language) which are not immediately connected with emotional and physical settlement needs.

5.4.2 Factors promoting language shift, and factors with potentially ambivalent effect

As was also pointed out by Kloss (1966), the factors promoting language shift are often expressed as the absence (or opposite) of factors promoting language shift. Already discussed, for example, are factors such as:

- pre-migration experience with, and proficiency in, English — working against language maintenance for the Filipinos, and to a lesser extent the Somalis. Combined with high status for English in both the Philippines and Somalia.
- low settlement concentration — working against language maintenance for the Filipinos, inconclusive for the Somalis due to their lack of political unity.
- lack of cultural/religious distance — working against language maintenance for the Filipinos.
- lack of independent core value status for language — working against language maintenance for both Filipinos and Somalis.
- cultural, religious and racial distance — although these components have been grouped in different ways, and have sometimes been categorised together as a clear-cut factor promoting language maintenance, we have demonstrated that they do, in fact, act independently of each other. We have categorised both religious and racial difference as ambivalent factors, with religious distance working for Macedonian but against Somali, and with racial difference working against both Somali and Filipino, but in slightly different ways.

Other factors relevant to our research are:

5.4.2.1 Family structures (specifically a high level of exogamy and/or limited access to grandparent generation)

The Macedonian community in Australia is the least affected on both of these counts, with the Filipino community characterised by a high level of exogamy and moderate access to grandparents (both in Australia and on visits home to the Philippines) and the Somali community characterised by a low level of exogamy to date, but very limited access to the grandparent generation. To look at each of the factors in a little more detail:

- Across ethnic groups, exogamy tends to lead to the exclusive use of English in the home by the second generation (Pauwels 1985; Clyne 1991:109-111; Clyne & Kipp 1997:463). Not only does exogamy severely decrease the survival chances of

Filipino in the second generation because it reduces the number of potential interlocutors in the language, it may lead to the Filipino-speaking parent also opting to use only English in the home, a choice which then affects the language use of grandparents, who may in any case not see the child very often. However, there are also instances where the mother has made strong efforts to transmit the language to the child(ren) and succeeded. Grandmothers often provide vital support in such cases. Language shift is clearly not a foregone conclusion in exogamous situations, as is demonstrated both by detailed studies of bilingual language acquisition in Australia (Saunders 1988; Döpke 1992) and by an overall decrease in language shift in the second generation from exogamous families, 1991–96.

- Grandparents, whether living in Australia or visiting from the country of origin for a limited period of time and offering an immersion experience to their grandchildren, have long been regarded as an important catalyst for language maintenance (Clyne 1982:30; Kipp, et al. 1995:140). The grandparent generation has been most accessible to the longer-settled Macedonian-speaking community and least accessible to the largely refugee Somali-speaking community. As was suggested in the Filipino focus group (see also §4.5), Filipino grandmothers often have a particular role in childcare, as they may be sponsored from the Philippines for the express purpose of caring for the children where both parents wish to be part of the paid workforce. Such women are likely to be socially isolated, live in the same house as their children and grandchildren, and often have poor English skills. This was contrasted with the situation in many other immigrant communities, where grandparents live in their own homes and are more independent. The Catholic priest interviewed confirmed the importance of the 'imported' grandmothers to the Filipino community in Melbourne, reporting that some 50 or 60 meet at a city church for a prayer meeting on Saturday mornings, for example. He added that it is probably because of the grandmothers that the children speak as much Filipino as they do. The situation did not however pertain for any of the surveyed families, and there was generally little contact in Australia with grandparents.
- Of the grandparents who were accessible on a regular basis, those from the Macedonian- and Somali-background groups were reported as the ones most likely to address children in the community language. In Filipino-background families, the grandchildren tend to address Filipino grandparents in English only or (in a minority of cases) through code-switching between English and a Filipino characterised by transference from English (termed 'Taglish' by the community). In exogamous families, they are also addressed by their grandparents in English, while both English and a Filipino language were reported as being used by grandparents to grandchildren in endogamous ones. In the Somali community, while live-in grandparents have promoted language maintenance in the one family where they occur, both using and being addressed in Somali, grandparents living elsewhere in Melbourne do not seem to make any significant difference to the language use of children. It was suggested in one of the focus groups that the actual interaction between children and grandchildren in the latter situation is limited, even during visits, as the children tend to play with their siblings and cousins and avoid addressing their grandparents. This was attributed to an already advanced state of language shift and lack of confidence in Somali.

5.4.2.2 Small size of group

Kloss (1966) defines this factor as ambivalent, a positive effect possible via the ease with which leaders may control or direct a group, a negative effect stemming from the difficulty in maintaining separate cultural institutions such as schools, press, etc. In this study, Somali is the language which may well be disadvantaged by size, with extremely limited media exposure and with no representation at all in mainstream schooling. Such ethnic schools as exist tend to concentrate on religion rather than on the Somali language. This situation is clearly contributed to by lack of political unity, a factor which also nullifies the potential advantage of a small group as suggested by Kloss. The ambivalence of the factor is further attested to by the Filipino-background group, which is much larger but which has also not succeeded in establishing Filipino in the mainstream school system, for example. In this case both the multiplicity of sub-groups and the position of English within the community work against the potential advantage of numbers.

5.4.2.3 Attitude of dominant community

As has been discussed under §1.6, Kloss' taxonomy of language maintenance/shift factors also classifies this factor as ambivalent. In the case of Macedonian in Melbourne, both negative and positive attitudes in the dominant community have been shown to promote language maintenance. The passive resistance over time to suppression of Macedonian in its core areas, together with the confidence gained through multiculturalism in Australia, have equipped Macedonian speakers to resist more actively and effectively an unexpected suppression in the immigration country. This self-confidence has been reflected in part in increased identification with the language and heightened language maintenance efforts. Thus, the increased identification with a language which Fishman (1985:158–166) documents in an atmosphere of 'trendy multiculturalism' also works under the more adverse conditions of a new marginality within the same general trendy multiculturalism. Another potential example would be Kurdish if at least part of Kurdistan had nation-state status.

This factor is closely related to those of cultural/religious/racial distance, and, from the above discussion (see §5.4.1.6), it would seem that, for the younger generations of Chinese in Melbourne (Clyne & Kipp 1999), perceived racism has had the effect of promoting cultural and linguistic shift, and this may also be part of the explanation for the shift currently underway among the younger generation of Somali Australians. Although there was some feeling at the Filipino focus groups that Filipino was not (and should be) one of the Asian languages prioritised as school subjects, there were limited expectations among the group of support for their language from the dominant community. This is also true for the Somalis, the other more recently arrived group.

The reason for the generally greater expectations among the Macedonian group may be attributed to their presence in Australia during the period of demands for pluralistic social and language policies (particularly the mid 1970s, see §1.3), their awareness of political action by the Greek community, and the actual resources they have achieved.

5.4.2.4 Literacy issues

The possession of literacy skills in a community language allows access not only to the Standard (if a non-Standard variety is spoken in the home), but also to consolidation and development of language skills and to domain diversification. It also confers status to the community language, and without it the language remains outside the reach of the new technologies, especially the Internet, with its opportunities of continuity and renewal.

The cultures linked with the Somali and Macedonian languages have strong oral traditions. They are also languages which have undergone codification relatively recently (see §2.1, §3.1) — thus many of the speakers in Australia have had little or no experience with literacy in them. This applies especially to the earlier vintage of Macedonian speakers from northern Greece, some of whom became literate in the language in Australia through programs within the community, or with the help of their grandparents, or in bilingual or language programs at school. The strong political will within the Macedonian community to maintain and to develop their language has underpinned such efforts. In the absence of such a clear goal, however, and with a tradition that remains essentially oral, the appeal and exigencies of modernity and urban living in Australia may severely interrupt the intergenerational transmission of language. This has been expressed in the Somali focus groups, with particular reference to the appeal of the television screen (in English) for the children in the community.

Filipino also enjoys a strong oral tradition, through the regional languages, but not to the same extent as the two other cultures, probably due to the strong influence of Roman Catholicism and the pragmatic selective importation of some aspects of Anglo-American and Hispanic cultures. Very much on the crossroads between south-east Asian and Hispanic communicative styles (Clyne 1994:183–184), Filipino culture is described by Hofstede (1991) in terms of very large power distance, low uncertainty avoidance, and low individuality. This underlies the cultural adaptability of the Filipinos. The longstanding di- (tri)glossic relation between English and Philippines languages has facilitated widespread diglossic biliteracy. Due to the prevalence of English within the education system of the Philippines, however (see §4.1), literacy is an activity which has typically been English-based. As stated earlier (see §4.3), the local Filipino weekly in Australia appears in English, which is still the dominant language of the press in the Philippines.

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that an in-depth study such as this emphasises the underlying ambivalence and interdependence of factors affecting language use. Table 5.13 summarises the ways in which they have combined in the communities in question to produce certain outcomes.

Table 5.13: Summary of factors affecting language use

	Filipino	**Macedonian**	**Somali**
Pro language maintenance (LM)	• recency of arrival • ongoing revitalisation	• high settlement concentration • core value status for language (interwined with church and family) • moderate religious distance • pre-migration experience with LM • positive effect of persecution on LM (homeland and Australia) • combination of vintages co-settled and networking	• recency of arrival • low proficiency in English for many • high degree of religious distance • moderate concentration of settlement
Pro language shift (LS)	• high rate of exogamy and limited access to grandparents • low settlement concentration • pre-migration experience with, and proficiency in, English; westernised colonial experience • lack of core value for language • high degree of 'adaptability' • lack of political will for LM • lack of religious distance	• length of residence (for Group A) • low level of literacy in Macedonian (Group A)	• lack of core value for language • status of English in homeland • limited access to grandparents • low levels of literacy • small size of community • lack of political unity • family disruption
Outcome to date	Limited LM in G1 Very poor LM in G2	Very good LM in G1 Good LM in G2 Limited LM in G3	Very good LM in G1 Accelerating LS in G2 (includes G1b in this study)

Macedonian has by far the largest number of factors actually working in its favour, and it has been very well maintained through two generations and into the third. This is demonstrated both by the large-scale Census data and our in-depth study. While a number of these factors are also shared by one or other of the other groups, what sets the Macedonian group apart is the symbolic importance of its language, both in its own right and intertwined with other core values. Without such status, settlement patterns, recency of arrival, high degrees of cultural and religious distance, low proficiency in English and ongoing revitalisation have not been shown to guarantee intergenerational transmission of the community language. With it, close settlement has led to multiplex networks operating in the community language, the earlier and later vintages have been able to complement one another in terms of political will and language skills and the ongoing practice of a distinctive religion has supported the use of the community language.

5.5 Degree of disruption

Fishman's (1991) intergenerational disruption scale (see §1.6) enables us to identify similarities and some differences between the three language communities. The best instance of three-generational concentration (Family-community-neighbourhood link, Stage 6) is that of Macedonian. This is the result of both length of residence and concentration. There are far more families among the Macedonian-speaking groups than either the Filipino or Somali groups with a representative of the grandparental generation close at hand, especially among speakers from northern Greece, where today's grandparents were the original migrant generation. In the other communities, there are many families where only two generations are represented in Melbourne, often not in the same locality. (In fact, some of the Somali-Australian children live with relatives who are not their biological parents, though this does not appear to affect intergenerational continuity.) In addition to the lowest settlement concentration factor of the languages under consideration, the Filipino community displays an unusually high exogamy rate, effectively halving the Filipino content of the extended (exogamous) family. Even in endogamous families, the intragenerational transmission of the community language is not very high, due to the multiplicity of functions for English in intergroup communication. The disruption within Somali families due to their refugee status and often complex migration history, together with limited access to the grandparental generation and the relative lack of political and social unity in the country of migration, does not place the Somali community in a favourable position with respect to Fishman's Stage 6. Our data suggests that Somali is in fact far less likely to be transmitted to a third generation than has been the case with Macedonian.

For most community languages, including the three we are focusing on in this study, part-time ethnic schools (Stage 5) cater mainly for primary school aged students, that is up until the age of 12. The Macedonian and Filipino communities in Melbourne each have only one state-registered part-time ethnic school, and although there are three such Somali schools that we have been able to identify,[6] only two of these have the Somali language as a primary focus. There are no ethnic day schools (Stage 4a) run by any of the three communities corresponding to Greek Orthodox, Coptic or Jewish schools. One Islamic school has one-third of its pupils of Somali background but no Somali is taught.

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6 There may well be others registered as 'Arabic' schools.

Macedonian is the language that is best represented in language programs in mainstream education (Stage 4b) in Melbourne, with programs at three primary and seven secondary day schools, all in the 'core' area of Macedonian settlement. A minimal program in Filipino is taught at one Catholic primary school, and there are no mainstream schools currently offering Somali. Macedonian is also strongly represented in the Victorian School of Languages (VSL), whereas only two regional centers offer Filipino, and Somali has not yet been introduced either in the VSL or as a subject for the Victorian Certificate of Education (see below). As far as we are aware, there are no identifiable Macedonian, Filipino or Somali work spheres in which the community languages are used (Stage 3).

Library facilities, not included in Fishman's GIDS but which support literacy development, are relatively deficient for all three languages, most particularly for Somali. Again, public notices (Stage 3) and government services are available most in Macedonian and least in Somali, despite the low English proficiency level of adult Somali speakers (see Table 3.4 and Table 5.6). This is partly a reflection of the needs generated by different age groups. For instance, Centrelink, the Federal Government's social security agency, disseminates 59 notices in Macedonian, 25 in Filipino, and 18 in Somali. The ones on aged care and old age pensions are available in Macedonian but not in the other two languages, presumably because of the differing age structures of the communities. Notices on travelling overseas and on domestic violence are available in Macedonian and Filipino but not in Somali, presumably because of differing levels of demand. Interpreters can be accessed in all three languages through the Telephone Interpreter Service as well as in some hospitals and law courts.

In Australia, it is difficult to differentiate, as Fishman (1991) has done, between local and national media (Stages 1 and 2) (cf. Fishman 2001). Most of the newspapers circulate throughout Australia regardless of where they are published, but there are no Somali-language ones and the Filipino newspapers are in English. SBS Television and some SBS Radio are national. However, since Somali is not broadcast on SBS Radio and there have to date not been any Somali films on SBS Television (see above), that language is in effect available only on local media. All in all, the GIDS scale points to diglossic and limited power sharing facilities for Macedonian, rather limited diglossic and power sharing ones for Filipino, and diglossic but almost non-existent power sharing ones for Somali. That is, there is very little audible and visible use of any of these languages and there are relatively few opportunities for service provision in them. However, there are still some specific functions for Macedonian (especially within religion), somewhat fewer for Filipino and fewer still for Somali.

To locate the languages on the GIDS scale is difficult since there is some presence of all three (as of other community languages) in the media, part-time education and other public domains. The difference is in the extent of the availability and the use that is made of them. Somali schools teach little Somali and mainly religion; Filipino newspapers are mainly in English. The fact that there are in Australia very few teachers qualified to teach Somali whose teaching qualifications are acceptable in Australia has made it difficult to introduce Somali as an examination subject. With that rider, we could locate Macedonian at Stage 4b, with Stage 6 well established and some activity in Stage 2. Somali could be placed at Stage 5 at this point, but with reservations as to the efficacy of the ethnic schools in the transmission of Somali (as against religion) and also some reservations as to the continuity of Stage 6. Filipino is probably somewhere between Stages 6 and 7, with minimal activity at Stages 5, 4b and 2.

Table 5.14: Fishman's GIDS scale and the languages of the study

Stage 7 *Most users of the community language are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age*	Some sectors of the Macedonian community (Group A) and the Filipino community would qualify for Stage 7. The recency of most of the Filipino-speaking community would work against the 'child-bearing age' requirement.
Stage 6 *The attainment of intergenerational informal oracy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement*	*Macedonian*: fulfils all requirements, but relies on the later vintage for revitalisation at the younger end of the community. *Somali*: home use of Somali is largely driven by the poor English skills of older members of the community. There is already some evidence of intergenerational communication disruption. Very little institutional reinforcement. *Filipino*: intergenerational communication takes place largely in English. Very little institutional reinforcement.
Stage 5 *Community language literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy*	Strongest in the Macedonian community, but largely limited to primary school students (with the VSL taking over from ethnic schools at the secondary level).
Stage 4 *Community language in lower education (types a and b) that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws*	4(a) not present in any group, 4(b) strongest for Macedonian and weakest (non-existent) for Somali.
Stage 3 *Use of community languages in the lower work sphere (outside of the particular neighbourhood/community) involving interaction with the wider community*	Strongest in Macedonian and weakest in Somali.
Stage 2 *Community language in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either*	No group is well represented, but Macedonian most and Somali least.
Stage 1 *Some use of community language in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided by political independence)*	

The above table and discussion demonstrates that plotting a community in an urban migration situation on this scale is a 'relative' rather than an 'absolute' exercise.

5.6 Cost benefits, generation gap and language maintenance

Factors such as those identified in taxonomies of language maintenance and shift (such as Kloss 1966; Conklin & Lourie 1985) are complemented by the individual's assessment of the cost benefits of language maintenance (Clyne 2003). Disadvantages, such as the negative baggage/burden on one's self-identity and imposed identification from outside, and/or the perceived burden which is incurred in time and money, are weighed up against such advantages as the value of effective communication and solidarity in family and community, the self-fulfillment gained by speaking the language, the opportunity of expressing multiple identity verbally, and economic benefits. As has been mentioned above, people of Filipino and Somali background are identifiable as such, regardless of whether they speak their community language, and this has been shown to lead towards language shift rather than language maintenance. While there is little need to abandon the community language in an environment such as contemporary Australia where multilingualism is not sanctioned as it was in the immediate postwar period, there is little perception of economic advantages deriving from speaking any of these three languages, except in the service professions serving immigrant populations. In fact, there is evidence that bilingual Australians of Hungarian, Polish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian as well as Indian, Hong Kong and Vietnamese backgrounds have established trade links with their country of origin or obtained high-status jobs in those countries, to Australia's national economic advantage.

The community which has made the strongest language maintenance efforts on the basis of identity are the Macedonian speakers, having maintained the language over three generations. Family solidarity and communication is a more essential argument for language maintenance in the Somali community than in the other two because many of the parents (and grandparents) have low proficiency in English and are dependent on the children's (or grandchildren's) Somali for basic communication to take place. This has led to a very shallow level of communication in many families. This does not occur in Filipino families because of the first generation's relatively high English proficiency. In the Macedonian community (at community and family gatherings), the use of both languages is a pragmatic way of expressing multiple identity and intergenerational variation in language.

Table 5.15: Summary of perceived costs and benefits for the languages of the study

Community language group	Benefits	Costs
Filipino	• communication on return visits to family in Philippines	• unnecessary effort, as family members in Australia all speak English • unnecessary effort, as Filipino identity not dependant on language • effort and expense involved in out-of-hours education, for both students and parents

Community language group	Benefits	Costs
Macedonian	• membership of 'Macedonian' network • self-identification	• effort needed to acquire literacy in Australia (Group A) • continuing burden of opposition by some members of the community • effort and expense involved in out-of-hours education, for both students and parents[7]
Somali	• communication with family members, and other Somalis with limited English	• tri-glossia difficult to maintain in Australia, Somali most 'expendable' • burden of negatively perceived 'difference' • effort and expense involved in out-of-hours education, for both students and parents

5.7 Homogeneity and heterogeneity

Herder's link between nation, culture and language forms the basis of the 19th century European concept of the nation-state. Before 1989, there were signs that this concept may have outlived its usefulness, having given way to the not always contradictory dynamics of massification and diversification. However, the breakup of the Soviet Union and of the Yugoslav Federation reintroduced the aspiration of ethnic groups to nationhood, often involving the recodification of their language or the codification of an *ausbau* language (Kloss 1969) and status planning in favour of one national language. Similar developments of fragmentation on the basis of ethnic rights have taken place in Indonesia and in parts of Africa. While the Philippines provided a 'stable' nation-state for the migrants prior to their migration, this could not be said for the Somali heartland. The map of the Balkans was very untidy in terms of any nexus between political and ethnolinguistic boundaries. While the Republic of Macedonia was not subject to the 'ethnic cleansing' of the late 1990s, Albanian and other ethnolinguistic groups live within its boundaries, while Macedonian speakers may be found in neighbouring countries. It is to this historical experience that we attribute the distinction in political will relating to ethnicity and language.

Australia's position contrasts with the 'nation-state' of the Herderian model. While possessing a *de facto* (not *de iure*) official language, which serves as the medium of some official domains such as the law as well as the lingua franca of a culturally diverse nation, Australia has developed a policy of unity within diversity which defied the definition of a nation on the basis of cultural, including linguistic, homogeneity (cf. Isajiw 1980;

[7] There is some mainstream provision for Macedonian as well, but largely at primary school level.

Kedourie 1961). One of the successful achievements of Australia's immigration schemes has been a very heterogeneous population in which a large section of the population can report multiple ancestry.

5.8 'Marginality'

Even in a nation such as Australia, which affords some support for the use and maintenance of immigrant languages, all such languages will not necessarily be treated equally. In the contemporary Australian climate of 'economic rationalism', languages of larger communities (which are likely to influence electoral contests) and languages of perceived economic benefit to the nation are favoured. This has not always been the case — in the 1970s and early 1980s perceived needs were a more significant determining factor in support for community languages (Clyne 1982:137–142). 'Visibility' of languages at the community level also varies. When Australians think of community languages, they are more likely to think first of Greek and Italian, Arabic, Chinese, Vietnamese, perhaps Spanish and Turkish, further back German, Polish, perhaps Dutch and Hungarian. As we have shown in §1.3, Macedonian, Somali and Filipino are all somewhat neglected in education, media, library resources, business, and in other domains. This is in spite of the over 70,000 home users of both Filipino and Macedonian, far in excess of Polish, Turkish, Dutch, and Hungarian, and the fact that Somali is the most widely used African language in Australia's multilingual mosaic.

Marginality need not only be a condition experienced in the host country. In its core area, Macedonian had minority status and was marginalised for a long time. Filipino in the Philippines could also be seen as marginal, not being taken very seriously by the migrants who came in the 1980s and having been regarded as a threat to the regional languages, the true mediums of communication and identification. It took so long to undertake the corpus planning of Somali that many migrants had not developed the capacity to use it in certain domains before leaving their homeland (see §3.1). Both Filipino and Somali had been subordinated to English in a di- or triglossic relationship, Filipino throughout the country and Somali in part, in competition with other H languages, Italian and Arabic. In various ways, Maltese, Irish, Tamil, Sinhala, Fijian and Fijian Hindustani have shared some of this marginality, all in relation to English and in some cases in spite of official status, and Sri Lankan Tamil, Fiji Hindustani, Kurdish, Romany and Yiddish in relation to other languages in their country of origin.

All the languages in this project have undergone late codification. This meant either that literacy standards were not high or literacy was associated with another language, giving English relatively high importance in comparison with both Filipino and Somali. In the case of Macedonian and Somali speakers, low literacy skills and the primacy of English also contributed (initially) to low socioeconomic status in Australia. However, the cohabitation of speakers of a pre-codified Macedonian from Northern Greece and later arrivals of a standard Macedonian from (former) Yugoslavia counterbalanced some of this disadvantage.

Marginal languages in the core area tend also to be marginal in the immigration country. Such languages tend to share some, if not all, of the following attributes:

1. Languages which have become significant at a time when scarce resources have already been allocated due to inflexible decision making: e.g., Filipino, Somali, Hindi, Tamil.

2. Languages for which not enough materials are available from the country/ies of origin because of the size of the market in that country /those countries: e.g., Filipino, Macedonian, Somali, Maltese, Oromo, Tetum.
3. Languages overshadowed by English in the country of origin, creating the belief that the speakers do not require any support or rights for their community languages in Australia: e.g., Filipino, the languages of India, Sri Lanka and the Pacific Islands, and to some extent Maltese.
4. Languages of ethnic and regional minorities which are not taken seriously. This includes, for instance, Catalan, Yiddish, Romany, Oromo, Hakka, Tamil, Kurdish, and Dari. Here we can include Macedonian outside and prior to the Republic of Yugoslavia.

As we have seen, 'marginal' languages are not necessarily ones that undergo language shift more rapidly than other community languages, although institutional support at a public level is limited and may preclude an even stronger outcome. The communities of each of the three languages of this study respond differently to this situation — Macedonian is one of the best maintained community languages in Australia on the basis of private and community initiatives. In the case of Filipino, because it is a recently planned national language in a nation of a multiplicity of regional languages, the community has largely developed its identification with it in Australia, as a symbol of Filipino identity, something that was not relevant when in the Philippines. Here we have parallels with Italian identity in Australia through Italian rather than the dialects with which people migrated, of Chinese identity through Mandarin rather than Cantonese, of Arabic identity through Standard Arabic rather than Lebanese, Iraqi, Palestinian or Egyptian Arabic. On the other hand, the high postcolonial status of English in the pre-migration era Philippines has led to a cultural cringe attachment to English. The more recent rise in status of Filipino becomes evident when people become conscious during visits home of the need to transmit Filipino to the next generation more effectively than they have done up to now. Because of the civil war, which Somali refugees had fled to Australia, the language as a new marker of identity is not so relevant to Somalis. Indeed, the Maxaad tiri-May dispute is at this stage exacerbated through the use of 'Common Somali'. This may change when social and educational needs entail the identification with a common community language. Until then, English plus Arabic (for religion) are strengthened by the dispute.

As social justice fades into the background as a motive for whatever language policy development remains, inequalities increase in the access to both service provision and language maintenance resources. The notion of the 'community language' becomes dubious if it needs to be justified against criteria of economic or demographic importance. Any nation currently rethinking its language policy should consider the generic entities of language and culture. For adolescents arriving, the interdependence of the first and second language to ensure that the second can develop out of the roots of the first (graphically depicted in Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:59; see also Cummins 1979, Cummins & Swain 1989) makes the support of all languages an imperative. For those born and raised in Australia, the heightened metalinguistic awareness arising from overcoming the hurdle of monolingualism provides a range of cognitive advantages, such as the early differentiation of form and content, an earlier capacity for more divergent thinking, and more

psycholinguistic flexibility (Baker 2001; Reynolds 1991; Cummins & Gulutsan 1974; Balkan 1970). Obviously not all community languages can be allocated the same resources. But Australia does have ways of sharing facilities and infrastructures among an almost infinite number of languages. For instance, the Victorian School of Languages and its counterparts in New South Wales, South Australia, and the Northern Territory enable languages to be taught after hours in a multilingual education context within the mainstream system. This model has been acclaimed overseas (see for example, Extra, et al. 2001). Other examples of state infrastructures allowing for a flexible introduction of more community languages are the collaborative arrangements for curriculum development and examinations in languages across states, the Telephone Interpreting Service, and the radio networks of the Special Broadcasting Service. Programs on community stations Channel 31 and 3CR are initiatives not requiring bureaucratic effort such as submission writing. In fact, 3CR is proactive in approaching disdvantaged groups with an offer of regular transmission time. Both the Filipino and Somali groups have avoided making representations to government agencies.

Among the specific initiatives that are highly desirable in the interests of social justice as well as language maintenance for the languages of this study are:

(a) An increase in the availability of Filipino in mainstream schools: Like its widely taught cousin, Indonesian, Filipino is a highly accessible 'Asian' language for second language learners in the Australian context. It uses Latin script, and the grammar is not very complex. In addition, the culture is equally accessible because of the Christian tradition and the Hispanic and American influences. Nevertheless, it is still a language of Asia linked to a culture, both of which should be better understood as part of the push for closer links with Asia promoted through education. The wider teaching and learning of Filipino would give a stronger motivation to Australian children of Filipino background to maintain and develop their competence in the language. More centres of the Victorian School of Languages, especially in metropolitan Melbourne, need to offer Filipino. The present lack is because there has been no pressure from the community and little visible interest among students to take it at VSL. Also, there is not a single Australian university offering Filpino language or Philippines Studies, reducing incentive to study the subjects at upper secondary level and keeping teaching resources low.

(b) It is unfortunate that Somali is not yet available and accredited as a Year 11 and 12 (Matriculation) subject, although considerable progress towards this end was made in 2003 (see §3.5.2.1). This exercise has demonstrated that, even with significant 'outside' intervention and assistance, a goal such as this cannot be achieved without the unified commitment of community groups involved. Also, Somali should be available at university level. There are currently no programs in Somali or related languages at any Australian university (see comments for Filipino with respect to incentive and teacher training).

(c) From the statistics in §1.1 it will be evident that all three languages, particularly Somali, badly need an increase in library holdings. This is in spite of two municipal libraries in Melbourne specialising, among other things, in Somali materials (books, cassettes, videos, newspapers).

(d) More radio and television programs are required in all three languages. One obstacle is the mode of acquisition of television programs, which, in the case of SBS, is directed towards their appeal to a wide audience of film viewers rather than towards language and cultural maintenance purposes. For radio, it is more the limited number of hours available for broadcasting in the languages that is problematic as well as the relative lack of appeal of the programs to young people growing up in Australia.

(e) There is a deficiency in the provision of public notices in the three languages, especially in Somali. While the number of Somali speakers is not substantial, the social needs of the community (and the numbers of those with little or no English) are relatively great. The needs are particularly strong for notices on health and child welfare, education, and residents' rights.

(f) All in all, the community with the greatest needs (Somali), despite its recency, is perceiving substantial intergenerational communication problems. It requires the support that groups such as Turks received in the more socially conscious period of the 1970s and 1980s, including SBS Radio, the introduction of language programs in the VSL and mainstream schools and as a VCE subject, and public notices in all relevant areas.

There are some indications that the Filipino community is undertaking a modest amount of language shift reversal and that non-Filipino spouses are playing a supportive role in this. The Macedonian-speaking community continues to be a model for bi-(multi)lingualism, combining private initiatives with the fruits of a supportive multilingualism policy, even with declining resources.

5.9 What these three languages can contribute to an understanding of language contact

For all three languages of this study, the issue 'What is our language?' plays a crucial role. The importance of language to identity, and the accurate defining of that language, has been demonstrated in the untiring efforts of the Macedonian-speaking community to protect the name of their language, something that involved them in a legal dispute with the Australian political machine as well as serious tensions with their Greek-Australian neighbours (here and in the home region) and cultural cousins in the struggle for a more culturally inclusive Australia. It is also demonstrated in the continuing uncertainty among many of the May as to whether 'Somali' is really their language, exacerbating division at a time when unity is required to conduct strong political action to further Somali interests in education, media and the delivery of government services. The social mix of Filipino-Australians from different regions and linguistic backgrounds has given the Filipino language a new post-migration identity. But for Tagalog speakers at least, it is unclear if there are boundaries between their language 'Tagalog' and the national language 'Filipino', which they use with people from other regional Filipino backgrounds. A clear concept of 'ownership', combined with strong political will to retain and develop a language, have been demonstrated by this study to be extremely powerful factors in successful language maintenance.

Another contribution of the study to theoretical frameworks of language maintenance and shift is a closer understanding of the ways in which different factors may interact in different communities to produce different outcomes. This is in fact one of the particular advantages of qualitative case studies. The research confirms the importance of symbolic weight for language within a community language group, and has explored the ways in which this may interact with the much more instrumental motivation of 'costs and benefits' (particularly as they relate to 'marginal' languages). It has also provided insights into the role of both pre- and post-immigration experiences in language use.

The findings from the present study demonstrate both distinctiveness and universality. The three languages are from different parts of the world and from a variety of migration vintages. While both the linguistic demography of the homeland and the status within it of the community language in question is different in all instances, what the languages all share is late codification and a complex interaction with issues of nationhood/identity. In Australia the communities differ in terms of vintage, 'visibility', retentiveness and concentration patterns, while sharing, among other things, a 'double marginality' — they are as it were 'minority minority languages' in a nation that has developed some commitment towards community languages. However, this multicultural immigration nation and others like it need to consider the challenge of the more neglected community languages, their contribution to the multicultural mosaic, its cultural and economic resources, and how they can best be sustained.

Even during the period when Australia made substantial progress in the development of pluralistic language policy (Lo Bianco 1987) many languages remained marginal to the general undertaking. Nevertheless, the frameworks developed for community language service delivery, such as SBS, the Telephone Interpreter Service and the Schools of Languages, benefited even the more marginal languages, as did general attitudes. As was reported in Chapter 2, for example, a group of exhausted Macedonian language activists, triumphant over their legal victory over the then Victorian state government, declared Australia as 'the only country in the world where this could have happened'. At the present time, however, multilingualism and multiculturalism are subordinated to a revitalised monolingual mindset (see §1.3, also Clyne 2005), and there is no longer a strong push for comprehensive policy development. Effort needs to be renewed and sustained, and a first step is the reinstitution of a national languages policy that is reviewed periodically according to a set of guiding principles such as Australia's (1987) National Policy on Languages.

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