ERRATA

p.i: '3.1 Italian and dialects in Italy' for '3.1 Part One: Italian and dialects in Italy'

p.ii: '3.2 Italian and Veneto in Australia' for '3.2 Part Two: Italian and Veneto in Australia'

p.8, l.3: 'label' for 'labels'

p.12, n.6, l.1-2: 'At this point' for 'At this point of'

p.17, l.12: '2001" for '20001'

p.14, l.8: 'the psychological research tradition' for 'psychological research tradition'

p.18, l.5: 'unbalanced' for 'imbalanced'

p.24, n.55, l.4: 'Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:125' for 'Bettoni, 1996:125'

p.25, l.9: 'perceived as superior' for 'perceived superior'

p.31, l.4: 'levels' for 'level'

p.38, l.12: 'equivalence constraint' for 'equivalent constraint'

p.43, n.100: '2.3.2.1' for '2.3.2.2'.

p.43, l.-5: 'system' for 'syste'

p.48, l.2: 'unbalanced' for 'imbalanced'

p.48, l.4: 'unbalanced' for 'imbalanced'

p.49, n.117, l.3: 'unbalanced' for 'imbalanced'

p.55, l.5: 'than to their parents' for 'than their parents'

p.61, l.6: 'succeeded in' for 'succeeded on'p.63, l.8: 'dominance' for 'the dominance'

p.64, l.22: 'unbalanced' for 'imbalanced'

p.64, l.-4: 'the homeland' for 'homeland'

p.66: '3.1 Italian and dialects in Italy' for '3.1 Part One: Italian and dialects in Italy'

p.67, l.-3: 'unification' for 'the unification'

p.67, l.4: 'have accompanied' for 'have been accompanied by'

p.68, n.163: 'Gentile's Reform Bill' for 'The Gentile's Reform Bill'

p.69, n.169, l.1: 'more than' for 'more the'

p.74, l.1: 'che è nazionale è senz'altro' for 'che è nazionale senz'altro'

p.75, n.185, l.2: 'devoid of' for 'devoided or'

p.75, l.-4: 'before unification' for 'before the unification'

p.75, l.-2-3: 'After unification' for 'After the unification'

p.76, n.194, l.3: 'at odds' for 'at odd'

p.77, l.-2: 'of the previously dialect-monolingual population' for 'of previously dialect-monolingual population'

p.81, l.2: '(Pellegrini, 1960)' for '(Pellegrini, 1959)'

p.90, l.-6: 'dialectalisation' for 'dialectilisation'

p.90, l.-2: 'Italian' for 'Italy'

p.95, l.6: '(Pellegrini, 1960:138)' for '(Pellegrini, 1959:138)'

p.98, n.249, l.1-2: 'acquire' for 'acquire with'

p.99, n.252, l.3: 'her sample' for 'he sample'

p.99: '3.2 Italian and Veneto in Australia' for '3.2 Part Two: Italian and Veneto in Australia'

p.106, l.15: '27%' for '20%'

p.113, l.13: 'who conceived' for 'conceived'

p.114, l.6: 'lines' for 'line'

pp.114-115: "Haller (1997:402) referred to a more varied repertoire and diglossic model." for "An alternative position is Haller's (19977:402), who referred to a more varied repertoire and diglossic model."

p.117, l.13: 'it would seem that' for 'it is argued,'

p.117, l.-1: 'it would seem that' for 'it is believed'

p.119, l.1: 'varieties' for 'variety'

p.122, n.301, l.1: 'of Sicilian background' for 'Sicilian of background'

p.123, l.13: 'English' for 'all the English'

p.129, l.-6: 'Italian speech' for 'the Italian speech'

p.134, l.-2: 'grounded in' for 'grounded on'

p.142, l.7: 'linguistically conservative' for 'conservative'

p.147, l.13: 'arrive in' for 'arrive to'

p.148, l.-2: 'arrive in' for 'arrive to'

p.148, l.-6: 'in that order' for 'respectively'

p.148, l.-5: '3A' for '3a'

p.149, l.3: 'the other' for 'other the'

p.150, l.7: 'The five subjects' for 'The six subjects'

p.168, l.5: 'in the Italian sample' for 'in Italian sample'

p.169, table 28: greyed rows should be white

p.173, l.-4: 'unbalanced' for 'imbalanced'

p.175, l.-10: 'example' for 'example'

p.176, l.-7: 'than was possible' for 'than what was possible'

p.176, l.8: 'all three generations' for 'all the three generations'

p.178, l.17: 'advanced age' for 'elderly age'

p.182, l.5: 'that the' for 'the that he'

p.182, l.8: 'recorder' for 'recorded'

p.182: l.12: 'shift' for 'shif'

p.182, l.6: 'The effectiveness' for 'Effectiveness'

p.189, point b, l.2: 'dry herself' for 'dry up'

p.190, n.376, l.1: 'differentiation' for 'defferentiation'

p.192, l.11-12: 'community life' for 'the community life'

p.193, l.12: 'more than' for 'more the'

p.195, l.-5: 'make any claims' for 'raise any claims'

p.197, n.384: 'used' for 'usd'

p.197, l.-5: 'rest of the corpus' for 'rest corpus'

p.198, l.9: 'with regard to the corpus' for 'with regard to corpus'

p.198, n.386:'xxiii-xxv' for 'xviii'

p.204, l.9: 'by the speaker' for 'by speaker'

p.213, l.1: 'Many instances of English' for 'Many instances English'

p.221, example 53: 'I' for 'Italian'

p.222, l.1-2: 'source-language 'function' 'variable' words' for 'source-language 'function' 'variable' '

p.225, l.-7: 'both source-language items and whole' for 'both source-language items as whole'

p.226, n.428, l.1-? 'correspond to what Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000) re-categorised as' for 'correspond to what recently re-categorised by Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000) as '

p.226, n.428, l.3:'morpheme' for 'morphemes'

p.233, example 84: '(Veneto '…svéja) for '(Veneto '…sévja')

p.236, L.2: 'was' for 'is'

p.237, l.3: 'Italian' for 'I'

p.237, l.3: 'as is' for 'as it is'

p.240, l.11-12: 'many of them' for 'a lot of them'

p.240, l.13: '5) rather than 4)' for '4) rather than 3)'

p.243, l.-7: 'items' for 'item'

p.245, l.6-7: "In the noun phrases preceding and following the verb phrase, the articles come from English and the nouns come from Italian (*the bambina*, Italian 'la bambina', English 'the girl'; *a barca*, Italian 'una barca', English 'a boat')." for "The noun phrases preceding and following the verb phrase come from English."

p.246, l.8: 'there are no' for 'there are not'

p.246, n.452, l.6: '5.2.3 above' for '5.2.3 below'

p.247, l.2: 'Italian' for 'I'

p.247, l.5: 'Italian' for 'I'

p.250, l.-3: 'the source' for 'as the source'

p.260, l.12: 'Australia' for 'Australian'

p.261, l.11: 'in the speech' for 'in speech'

p.263, l.-1: 'than to that' for 'than that'

p.269, l.6-7: 'from 0.4% in the Italian narration to 13.4% in the Veneto narration' for 'from 1.7% in the Italian narration to 13.9% in the Veneto narration'

p.297, l.2-3: "As discussed in 5.2, clauses in the corpus contained a maximum of three transfers." for "As discussed in 5.1, clauses in the corpus contained a maximum of three transfers."

p.298, l.4-5: "As explained in 5.2, the maximum number of transfers found in any clause in the corpus was three." for "As explained in 5.1.1, the maximum number of transfers found in any clause in the corpus was three."

p.310, l.-9: 'the role of Veneto' for 'the role Veneto'

p.316, l.10-12: 'there were more transfers occurring in Italian-base clauses than in Veneto-base clauses, compared to clauses entirely in Italian and Veneto, respectively.' for 'compared to clauses entirely in Italian and Veneto, respectively, there were more transfers occurring in Italian-base clauses than in Veneto-base clauses.'

p.317, l.-2: 'Veneto' for 'the Veneto'

p.319, l.-9: 'In Italy' for 'Here'

2

CONTACT PHENOMENA

BETWEEN

VENETO, ITALIAN AND ENGLISH

IN THE THIRD GENERATION

IN AUSTRALIA

ANTONELLA REFATTO

(Laurea in Lingue e Letterature Straniere Moderne, Università di Padova)

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Linguistics
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF GRAPHS

ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the co-occurrence of Veneto, Italian and English in the speech of third-generation bilinguals in Melbourne. The analytical paradigm used is that of transference (Clyne, 1967; 1972). Transference is contrasted to monolingual speech in the three languages considered. Natural and elicited language data were collected and analysed quantitatively. The study focuses on the language used by the third-generation informants with their first-generation grandparents. Conversations between the informants' parents and grandparents were also recorded for comparison. The sample included a control group of speakers in Italy that were related to the participants.

The findings indicate that in the third generation Veneto was only used by children of intra-regional marriages who had one overseas-born parent. The informants who belonged to later stages in the third-generation continuum seemed to have shifted away from Veneto and to English. Italian appeared to be used only by the children in inter-regional families. Unlike the choice of Veneto and English, the choice of Italian did not seem to be dependent on characteristics of the informants' parents and grandparents. A higher ability to produce speech in Italian did not necessarily imply its use to address the grandparents. However, those informants who were more proficient in Italian produced more speech (in any language) when conversing with the grandparents, which seemed to stem from a more balanced interaction between the interlocutors. This shows the possible significance of a habitual and active verbal interaction with the first-generation relatives for language maintenance in the third generation.

The informants had a greater control over Veneto than Italian. Both in Australia and in Italy, Veneto was more successfully 'activated' and 'deactivated' according to which community language was elicited. The Veneto of the grandchildren in Australia was also substantially less permeable to transference than their Italian. The opposite was the case in the control group. However, the Veneto of the youngest-generation speakers in both countries was strongly influenced by Italian at the syntactic level.

Italian in the third generation was more strongly 'Anglicised' than Veneto, even at the level of pronunciation. The influence from the dialect was substantially weaker than in the older generations, although it involved the same typology of transference. This was not the case for the grandchildren in the control group, whose grandparents virtually used no Italian when conversing with them.
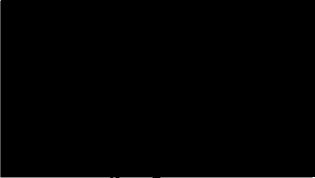
The choice of English, which was not as frequent as expected, was largely restricted to the third generation. The informants who resorted to using English when required to narrate in the community languages were more likely to use it also to address their grandparents. The use of English strongly inhibited transference from the other languages. This suggests that shift to English represented a shift to monolingual use of the dominant language.

The study highlights the role of parental input and habitual verbal interaction with the grandparents in language maintenance beyond the second generation. The findings suggest that the apparently greater autonomy from the family input of Italian in the third generation might be accompanied by a higher permeability to transference from the dominant language. However, there is evidence of a higher structural permeability for the dialect in the language spoken by the younger generations in both countries. Future research could provide further insight into the complex interplay between input from outside the family, diglossic status and structural convergence in the maintenance of Italian and Italian dialects in migration contexts.

STATEMENT

I affirm that this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution and that to the best of my knowledge, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

A. Refatto
October 2002

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ABBREVIATIONS and TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

A) Abbreviations

'V(en.)'	Veneto
'I(tal.)'	Italian
'E(ng.)'	English
'I(tal.)-A(ustr.)'	Italian-Australian
'ItoV'	transfers from Italian to Veneto
'EtoV'	transfers from English to Veneto
'VtoI'	transfers from Veneto to Italian
'EtoI'	transfers from English to Italian
'VtoE'	transfers from Veneto to English
'ItoE'	transfers from Italian to English
'Ital. Narr.'	Italian narration/elicitation session
'Ven. Narr.'	Veneto narration/elicitation session
'GC(hild)'	grandchild(ren)
'GS(on)'	grandson
'GD(aughter)	granddaughter
'P(ar.)'	parent(s)
'M'	mother
'F'	father
'GP(arents)'	grandparent(s)
'GM(other)'	grandmother
'GF(ather)'	grandfather
'Pat.'	paternal
'Mat.'	maternal
'speak's'	speakers
'GP(GC)'	grandparents while conversing with grandchildren
'GP(P)'	grandparents while conversing with parents
'Cls.'	clause(s)
'Tr(ansf)'.	transference; clauses exhibiting transference; occurrences of transference (transfers)
'Occurr.'	occurrence(s)
'Oth.C.Ph.'	clauses exhibiting only contact phenomena other than transference
'avg.'	average
'freq.'	frequency

inv.	invariable lexical transfer(s)
lexical (unint.)	unintegrated lexical transfer(s)
m(or).int(egr).	morphologically integrated transfer(s)
m(orph).transl.	morphological translation(s)
mor(phol).	morphological transfer(s)
p(hon).int(egr).	phonically integrated transfer(s)
ph.	phonic transfer(s)
phr.	phrasal transfer(s)
sem.	semantic transfer(s)
syn.	syntactic transfer(s)

B) Informants' codes

Explanation of grandchildren's code, e.g. 'GD-8-3Av/3B3ci-23':

'GD'	granddaughter
'8'	grandchild's number
'3A'	generational stage on maternal side (cf. 4.4.1-2)
'v'	region of birth of maternal grandparents ('v' Veneto or 'i' other Italian region)
'3B'	generational stage on paternal grandmother
'3c'	generational stage on paternal grandfather
'i'	region of birth of paternal grandparents ('v' Veneto or 'i' other Italian region)
'23'	age

Explanation of code identifying the relatives of the grandchildren:

e.g.	M-8-3Av/3B3ci-23	mother of grandchild 8
	GM-8-3Av/3B3ci-23	grandmother of grandchild 8
	GD-8/9Ital.-20	Italian grandchild related to grandchildren 8/9

C) Transcription conventions

Phonetic transcription conventions for Italian and Veneto were taken from Canepari's (1977) application of IPA to Italian and Italian varieties. With few exceptions, graphic transcription conventions for Veneto were taken from Canepari and Cortelazzo (1980). However, /s/ and /z/ were noted as –s– and –z–, respectively, and /dz/ and /ts/ were noted as –ts– and –dz–, respectively (cf Bettoni, 1986:84, note 5). Italian words were transcribed according to the standard Italian spelling. English words were transcribed according the standard Australian spelling

–s–	/s/
–z–	/z/
–ts–	/ts/
–dz–	/dz/

+	filled pause
/	silent pause of one second
//	silent pause of two seconds
///	silent pause of three seconds
////	silent pause longer than three seconds
---	researcher's back-channeling or prompting
: ::	non-phonemic lengthening
[?xxx]	approximate translation
[..?..]	unintelligible stretch of 1/2 seconds
[...]	omitted in the transcription
[xxx]	omitted by the speaker

italics	items focused on in the analysis
normal script	Veneto or Italian words
SMALL CAPS	English words[1]

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[1] Different conventions had to be used in section 5.3 to contrast material from the different languages in the examples.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The study of the consequences of migration on the speakers' language repertoire has predominantly focused on the first and the second generations. In most migrant communities around the world, competence in and use of the first migrants' native language among their grandchildren have been found to be irremediably diminished unless attributable to school instruction. These issues seem to have made the inquiry of 'language maintenance' in the third generation appear fruitless and theoretically ungrounded.

The generational structure of the Italian communities that were formed in Australia, and in other countries, as a result of the peak of mass migration in the 1950s was reflected in an intensification of research interest in the speech of the first and the second generations in the 1980s. With the bulk of the Italian-Australian community now into its third generation, opportunities to gain a more comprehensive view of the characteristics and the use of the migrant language over the generations are available to researchers. From a linguistic perspective, phenomena emerging in the migration context have been found to be relevant to the language as spoken in the homeland. In cases of survival beyond the second generation, the migrant language is likely to exhibit the most advanced stages of possible parallel tendencies between the country of origin and the new one. The third generations offer a privileged vantage point for the observation of such phenomena. From a sociolinguistic perspective, moreover, the third generations might represent a reliable 'test' for the predictive force of factors that promote the continued existence of the migrant language.

This thesis offers a window on the study of the language of third generation Australians of Veneto background, i.e. speakers whose grandparents migrated from the Veneto region, in the north-eastern part of Italy. The project is largely descriptive in its aims and attempts to provide an account of the co-presence in the speech of the youngest generation of the host language and the language spoken by their grandparents and parents. Given the

sociolinguistic situation that migrants from Italy left behind, dialect was expected to be the dominant code in the original repertoire of at least some of the grandparents of the participants in this study. In the inter-generational maintenance perspective taken here, both dialect and Italian had to be taken into consideration. Moreover, the family and natural speech within it were regarded as crucial factors in the transmission of the migrant languages. In making these methodological choices, the present study addressed issues that have been largely neglected by research in this area. The dearth of natural language data about Italian dialects abroad, lamented in a recent review by Rubino (1998:396-8), was caused by a widespread reliance on self-reported data and language data collected via interviews/conversations with Italian-speaking researchers, during which the dialect represented the 'marked' choice.

In the section below (1.0), a brief account of the presence in Australia of migrants from Italy and particularly from the Veneto region is given. The issues at play in the study of the speech of the third generation of the Veneto and the wider Italian-Australian community sketched above are discussed at length in Chapters 2 and 3. These chapters also deal with available data on language use among speakers from Veneto and from Italy in general. The objectives and an outline of the thesis are presented in 1.1.

1.0 Presence of Italian and Veneto migrants in Australia[2]

While Italians began to arrive in Australia from the earliest period of colonisation, the vast majority came in the period following the Second World War. Between 1947 and 1961, the Italian-born population in Australia increased dramatically (i.e. from 33,632 in 1947 to 119,897 in 1954 and 228,296 in 1961 – see Table 1 below). While the population reached its numerical peak in 1971 (289,476), the migration flow from Italy had by then started to slow down and since 1976 has had negligible proportions. Thus, while according to the 1996 census Italians still represented the largest non Anglo-Celtic community in Australia,

[2] The data discussed in this paragraph are taken from Martinuzzi-O'Brien (forthcoming), to which the reader is referred for a comprehensive account of the history of the migration of Veneto people to Australia among Italians from different regional groups and the socio-cultural profile of their community. Bertelli (1987, 1988a, 1988b) was also drawn upon for less recent data pertaining to the Italian-Australian community in general. A demographic, historical and socio-cultural profile of Italians in Australia in also in Castles et al. (1992). As further discussed in Chapter 4, throughout the thesis 'Venetian' only refers to speakers from or the dialect of Venice, rather than the whole of the Veneto dialectal area, for which 'Veneto' is used (cf. Pellegrini, 1977).

the figures showed that the first generation was rapidly aging. In 1996, Italian-born were best represented in the 55+ age bracket, while most in the second generation were aged between 25-34 (cf. 3.2.1.1).

Since 1954 the state of Victoria has recorded the largest Italian-born population, followed by New South Wales, with a high concentration in their capital cities of Melbourne and Sydney, respectively (see table 1 below and 3.2.1.1.1). People from the Veneto region are the third-largest Italian regional group in the Italian-Australian community, after Sicilians and Calabrians. It has been estimated that in 1976 and 1996 around 45% of them resided in Victoria, where they represented around 15% of the Italian-born population (see table 2 – Martinuzzi-O'Brien, forthcoming).

Table 1 Italian-born by state and census year (source: Martinuzzi-O'Brien, forthcoming)[3]

Year	NSW	Vic	Qld	SA	WA	Tas	Terr.	Total
1947	8,721	8,305	8,541	2,428	5,422	58	157	33,632
1954	29,940	42,429	16,795	11,833	17,295	1,235	370	119,897
1961	62,365	91,075	20,000	26,230	25,249	1,536	921	228,296
1966	72,875	111,219	20,272	30,848	28,141	1,448	1,506	2673,25
1971	80,416	121,758	19,280	32,428	30,541	1,485	2,220	289,476
1976	78,396	116,712	18,875	31,943	29,317	1,423	3,488	280,154
1981	77,086	115,431	17,596	31,324	29,783	1,342	3,531	275,883
1986	73,159	109,205	17,430	29,600	27,742	1,263	3,482	261,881
1991	70,565	105,753	17,800	28,951	26,992	1,358	3,505	254,924
1996	66,090	98,231	17,138	27,219	25,124	1,233	631	238,246

Table 2 Total Italian-born and estimated Veneto-born by state (source: Martinuzzi-O'Brien, forthcoming)

State	Italian-born 1976 (Census)	Estimated Veneto-born 1976	Italian-born 1996 (Census)	Estimated Veneto-born 1996
VIC	116,712	17,507	98,231	14,730
NSW	78,396	11,759	66,090	9,910
SA	31,943	3,149	27,219	2,680
WA	29,317	2,932	25,124	2,510
QLD	18,875	2,831	17,138	2,570
TAS and TERR	4,911	705	1,846	260
TOTAL	280,154	38,883	238,246	32,660

[3] 'NSW'= New South Wales; 'Vic'= Victoria; 'Qld'= Queensland; 'SA'= South Australia; 'WA'= Western Australia; 'TAS'= Tasmania; 'Terr.'= Northern and Capital Territories.

Most of the first post-war Italian migrants were young men from rural and depressed areas of the Italian peninsula who had low levels of education, farming and labouring skills or other professional qualifications which were not recognised in Australia (cf. 3.1.1). In 1976, the majority of the first-generation post-war migrants were still employed in lower occupational positions in the manufacturing and the construction industry as tradesmen and labourers. The number of migrants from the Veneto region working in the latter sector has traditionally been very high. For Italian-born women, the largest employer in 1976 was manufacturing, followed by wholesale and retail trade. In 1976, the second generation generally had a higher level of education than their parents and was more concentrated in professional and technical, administrative and clerical occupations. However, a large proportion of the males in the second generation was employed in trades and labouring categories. Between 1976 and 1996, there was a movement in the first generation away from manufacturing towards wholesale and retail trade, especially among the females. In 1996, in the second generation there were substantially fewer labourers and more clerical and service workers as well as professionals than in 1976. The 1996 census data thus showed a more evident intergenerational mobility compared to 1976. Self-employment has attracted a high number of Italian born since the first years in Australia in the post-war period, when owning one's own business represented an alternative to low-status occupations.

As in other countries, Italians in Australia preferred compact intra-regional settlement patterns, which enabled them to recreate the life conditions of their village of origin. In 1958, Veneto people, and among them those from the provinces of Vicenza and Treviso, were the most numerous regional group in Carlton, the inner-city suburb of Melbourne which represented the most concentrated Italian settlement in Australia (Lancaster Jones, 1962, reported in Martinuzzi-O'Brien, forthcoming). In the 1960s and 1970s, Veneto migrants in Melbourne, like other groups, tended to move to outer, more middle-class suburban areas, where regional concentration was still relatively high (cf. discussion in 2.4). Here, they established some of their major regional clubs and associations, which spontaneously arose from cohesive networks of friends who regularly met for social and traditional sporting activities.

Since the first arrivals, political and socio-cultural conditions for migrants in Australia have greatly changed. In the 1970s, multiculturalism replaced the highly assimilationist attitude of the Australian government towards migration and settlement since the early part of the 20th century. The recognition of the right of migrant communities to maintain their culture was accompanied by the allocation of considerable funding for the teaching of their languages in the 1980s, which was extended to non-background students. As the chief beneficiary, Italian language teaching saw an enormous expansion. This was especially the case in primary schools, where Italian is the 'community language' with the largest number of students. In secondary schools, it is preceded by Japanese and French (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:15). Multilingualism culminated in the drafting of the National Policy on Languages (Lo Bianco, 1987, cf. discussion in 2.2.3).[4] From the beginning of the 1990s, an increasingly utilitarian attitude toward multilingualism has been reflected in a change of focus to Asian languages as the languages of Australia's main trading partners and to issues of literacy (Clyne, 1991a:230-1; Clyne, 1991b; Ozolins and Clyne, 2001).[5]

Despite governmental efforts towards the maintenance of community languages in Australia, 'shift' to use of the host language is inexorably advancing from one generation to the next in many migrant groups, including Italians (cf. discussion in 2.2 and 3.2.1.1). However, in comparison to another major Italian regional group, i.e. Sicilians, Veneto speakers were found to have a more conservative attitude towards the intergenerational transmission of their dialect (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996, discussed in 3.2.1.2). Thus, they were particularly suitable for the study of the language of the third generation in the Italian-Australian community.

1.1 Objectives and outline of the thesis

The thesis aims to describe the *contact* between Veneto, Italian and English in the speech of the third generation in the Veneto community in Melbourne. The main focus is on the analysis of the '*proportions*' of the three languages in the natural language used by the informants in the extended family and the '*forms*' which their co-occurrence takes.

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[4] A historical overview of the phases that led to multilingualism in Australia is in Clyne (1991:6-31) and Ozolins and Clyne (2001).
[5] Cf. the 'National Literacy and Numeracy Plan' (http://www.dest.gov.au/schools/literacy+numeracy/plan).

Contextually, the thesis analyses the significance of a restricted number of variables for the participants' use of the three languages with their first-generation relatives.

The first part of this thesis presents a discussion of the literature that provides a background to the study. Chapter 2 gives an overview of major theoretical and analytical approaches to the study of language contact and shift from a sociolinguistic and linguistic or structural perspective. In this chapter, the premises of the model that was employed in the analysis of the language data are laid. Some of the informants' relatives residing in Italy were included in a control sample to enable a more principled assessment of the variation of dialect and Italian that would take into account on-going dynamics in the homeland. Aspects of the language situation in Italy and in Australia relevant to Italian and Veneto are outlined in Chapter 3.

The methodological part of this thesis includes a discussion of the characteristics of the participants and the collection of data (Chapter 4) as well as the paradigm within which they were analysed, i.e. the 'transference' paradigm (Chapter 5).

The findings are analysed in Chapters 6 and 7. The former focuses on the incidence of transference vs. monolingual speech in the three languages, while the latter deals with the directions and the types of transference.

Chapter 8 summarises the main findings of the study, the implications of the methodology and other issues for further research.

CHAPTER 2

MIGRANT LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGES IN CONTACT

2.0 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the main research areas that have developed within the field of study concerned with languages in contact. As the first part of the title of the chapter suggests, the focus in the present study is on the contact between languages that is brought about through migration.[6] 'Language contact' is intended as an umbrella term for research pertaining to the interaction between different languages in various (socio)linguistic contexts. However, both the study of languages in migration contexts and in other contact situations also falls under the general heading of 'bilingualism'. Section 2.1 of this chapter is devoted to the discussion of notions developed within bilingual research that are fundamental to the study of migrant languages. Section 2.1.1 introduces the processes which influence the speakers' selection of one or more languages from a number of languages available to them. Language choice is ultimately the mechanism that determines whether a language in contact with others continues to be used or is abandoned. The former process is generally referred to as language maintenance, the latter as language shift. An overview of relevant issues studied within the paradigm that takes its name from these processes is found in 2.2.

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[6] The view is here taken that only *first-generation bilinguals* can be adequately referred to as *migrants* proper. However, the notion of *linguistic generation* in fact defines bilingual speakers in terms of their direct migrant experience or their migrant ancestry, i.e. views their bilingualism *as the result of migration* at some point in their own lives or that of their parents'/grandparents'. Throughout the thesis, bilinguals in *all* linguistic generations are sometimes referred to in terms of 'migrant speakers', i.e. first-, second- and third-generation bilinguals. 'Migrant speakers' is used as a general term to refer to *all* speakers whose bilingualism is, for the purposes of the research, viewed wholly or partially as the result of migration. 'Migrant languages' is also used to indicate the languages other than the host language that are spoken by 'migrant speakers' as defined here, i.e. the languages whose presence in a certain country is viewed, for the purposes of the research, wholly or partially as the result of relatively recent migration. However, 'community languages' is used in relation to the Australian context, in accordance with a tradition in the literature (for a discussion of the terms used in the Australian literature see Clyne, 1991a:3).

As outlined in chapter 1, the present study analyses contact phenomena in the language of third-generation bilinguals by comparing their production with that of their older-generation relatives. For this reason the present analysis can be said to take an *intergenerational maintenance* approach. However, the language 'shift/maintenance *paradigm*' (2.2) has traditionally *not* included the analysis of contact-related structural aspects of the language that is being abandoned. These are discussed at length in section 2.3. The tools of linguistic analysis which were developed within the *language contact paradigm*, i.e. 'interference/transference', are described in section 2.3.1. Interference analysis has been accompanied since its inception by the development of a corollary of theoretical notions which have been at the centre of lively debates. These are examined in 2.3.2 under the general heading of 'codeswitching'.[7]

In addition to the language shift/maintenance and the language contact paradigms migrant and minority languages can also be studied from the perspectives of the language death paradigm and the language loss/attrition paradigm (Clyne, 1991a:159-160). While these paradigms are not the object of separate sections, the frequent overlap between their objects of study and those of the language shift/maintenance and the language contact paradigms is pointed out where relevant. The interrelation between theoretical notions from these as well as other paradigms becomes more apparent in relation to third-generations speakers. Issues pertaining to their particular position at the crossroads of different areas of bilingual research are discussed in 2.4.

2.1 Bilingualism

The complexity of the phenomena that are subsumed under the labels 'bilingualism' is reflected in the many definitions and typologies that scholars have proposed over time.[8] In one of the earliest definitions of 'bilingualism', Bloomfield (1935:55-6) reserved this term

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[7] Categories of contact phenomena envisaged in the present study are described in chapter 5.

[8] No crucial distinctions have been drawn between situations in which only two, rather than three or more languages are present in the speakers' repertoire. Weinreich (1953:1, footnote 1) further makes clear that "unless otherwise specified, all remarks about bilingualism apply as well to multilingualism", a term reserved for "the practice of using alternately three or more languages". Along the same lines is Mackey's definition (1962:52), for whom 'bilingualism' is the "alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual" (see also Romaine, 1989a:12). Li Wei (2000:7) also observed that "the word 'bilingual' primarily describes someone with the possession of two languages. It can, however, also be taken to include the many people in the world who have varying degrees of proficiency in and interchangeably use three, four or even more

to "native-like control of two languages" (1935:56), where "perfect foreign-language learning is not accompanied by loss of the native language" (1935:55-6). However, there is now general agreement that the term 'bilingualism' can be aptly used to describe a much wider-range of degrees of proficiency in the two languages.[9] In a groundbreaking book on language contact, Weinreich (1953:1, original capitalisation) defined bilingualism without making any reference to the speaker's level of *proficiency*:

> "two or more languages will be said to be IN CONTACT if they are used alternately by the same person. [...] The practice of alternately using two languages will be called BILINGUALISM and the persons involved, BILINGUAL."[10]

Different typologies of bilingual speakers have envisaged a continuum of levels of proficiency and relative *dominance* in the languages included in the bilingual's repertoire.[11] Besides those with a comparable level of proficiency to that of monolinguals, e.g. 'balanced bilinguals' or 'equilinguals' (Baetens Beardsmore, 1982:9) there are those with minimal skills. Within the *language death* paradigm, Dorian (1981) identified 'semi-speakers', who had excellent *receptive* skills in the dying Gaelic dialect that she analysed, including the application of turn-taking sociolinguistic norms during the interaction with

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languages". Here and throughout the thesis 'bilingualism' is also used in the sense of 'trilingualism' and 'multilingualism'.

[9] Even Bloomfield (1935:56), however, noted that the "degree of perfection at which a good foreign speaker becomes a bilingual" could not be defined, as "the distinction [between the former and the latter] is relative". The 'relative' nature of the phenomenon has been further stressed in subsequent definitions, which have aimed at 'relaxing' the conditions on the basis of which 'bilingualism' can be said to obtain. Mackey (1962:52) also pointed out that bilingualism can only be studied if it is considered as "something entirely relative", as the point at which a speaker can be 'declared' bilingual is either arbitrary or impossible to determine.

[10] In the same year, in another seminal work on language contact, Haugen (1953) took a 'minimalist' view on the competence that is necessary for a speaker to be defined bilingual. In his terms, 'bilingual' refers to any speaker of one language who is able to "produce *complete and meaningful utterances* in the other language" (Haugen, 1953:7 my italics). Mackey (1962:51, footnote 1, my italics) however expressly distinguishes bilingualism from language contact: "it is important not to confuse bilingualism – the use of two or more languages by the individual – with the more general concept of language contact, which deals with the direct or indirect influence of one language on another resulting in changes in *langue* which become the permanent property of monolinguals and enter into the historical development of the language. Such foreign influences may indeed be due to past periods of mass bilingualism [....] but bilingualism is not the only cause of foreign influence [....]. Language contact includes the study of linguistic *borrowing*." The concept of 'borrowing' and other related issues are discussed in 2.3.2.

[11] Baetens Beardsmore (1982:93-4) suggested 'interference direction' as a possible index for identifying the dominant language. The terms 'dominant language' or 'L1' are generally preferred to the more common 'mother tongue', which as Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:12-57) discussed in a critical overview, has lent itself to misleading interpretations of the criteria that define it.

competent speakers, but very weak *productive* ones.[12] In these terms bilingualism is revealed to be a widespread phenomenon that can encompass a broad spectrum of individuals and situations. Three major dimensions have been identified in its study, i.e. a sociolinguistic, a linguistic and a psycholinguistic dimension (Li Wei, 2000b), which have branched off into specialised fields of inquiry (cf. Romaine, 1989a:7-11). The discussion in this chapter focuses on the first two dimensions. However, notions that have built on psycholinguistic investigations are also referred to.

2.1.1 The sociolinguistic and linguistic dimensions of bilingualism: macro and micro levels of analysis

This section discusses fundamental theoretical notions that link the *social* (*societal* and *macro*-sociolinguistic) and the *linguistic* (*individual* and *micro*-sociolinguistic) dimensions of language use. The interrelation between these two dimensions is at the basis of bilingual speakers' *language choice*, on which *language maintenance* ultimately depends (see discussion in 2.1).

In its *societal* dimension, bilingualism has been more closely associated with the *sociology of language* rather than *sociolinguistics*. These two traditions of research place different emphasis on different aspects of the relationship between *language* and *society*, i.e. the former on *sociological* aspects while the latter on *linguistic* ones.[13] The focus on sociological aspects has translated itself into a stronger tradition of research within the sociology of language at the macro-sociolinguistic level via large-scale surveys on e.g. language distribution and use, the linguistic composition of nations, language policy and language planning, etc. (cf. e.g. Wardhaugh, 1986; Fishman, 1970; 1972b).

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[12] Dorian's notion of 'semi-speaker' is discussed further in 2.5. Based on research on Finnish migrant children in Sweden, Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) identified 'semilinguals', who showed, it was argued, signs of severe developmental deficit in both languages. Different levels of *proficiency* have often been correlated with the *age* at which the languages were acquired, which has been used in research into migrant languages to differentiate between different generations of migrant speakers (see discussion in 4.4.1-2). Many other criteria have been used to identify different types of bilingual speakers. Li Wei (2000b: table 1, 6-7) summarised a list of more than thirty terms which have been used to describe them.

[13] Hudson (1980:4) summarised this different focus in defining sociolinguistics as "the study of language in relation to society" and sociology of language as "the study of society in relation to language". Similarly, Fasold (1984, 1990) diversified the two perspectives in the titles of two books, i.e. 'sociolinguistics of society' and 'sociolinguistics of language'.

Sociolinguistics, on the other hand, has tended to concentrate on the micro-sociolinguistic level, i.e. the analysis of the single communicative interaction.[14]

However, the link between the *societal* and the *individual* aspects of bilingualism is at the very core of the *sociology of language*. This discipline, which is primarily associated with the work of Fishman (e.g. 1965; 1972b; Fishman et al., 1966; Fishman et al., 1985), seeks an answer to his well-known question 'who speaks what language to whom and when?' (Fishman, 1965). It does this by "examin[ing] the interaction between [...] use of language and the social organization of behaviour" (Fishman, 1972b:45). Individual language choices (i.e. "lower order regularities") are derived from stable patterns of choices (i.e. "higher order regularities") from within a number of co-available languages or varieties in general spheres of activity (Fishman, 1972a:436-7). Fishman (1972a:436-7) proposed the notion of *domain* as the key concept in "the relationship between micro- and macro-sociolinguistics". In Fishman's words:

> "the *domain* is a sociocultural construct abstracted from *topics*, relationships between *communicators*, and *locales* of communication, in accord with the *institutions of a society* and the *spheres of activity of a speech community*, in such a way that *individual* behavior and *social* patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other" (1972a:442, my italics).[15]

Besides highlighting the link between *individual* and *societal* bilingualism, the concept of domain provides a common framework for both *bilingualism* and *monolingualism*.[16]

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[14] However macro-sociolinguistics should not be identified *tout court* with the sociology of language and, vice versa, micro-sociolinguistics with sociolinguistics. 'Macro' and 'micro' designate two levels of analysis, rather than opposite areas of inquiry (Berruto, 1995:27, note 47). Hudson (1980:4) observed that the area of overlap between the two disciplines is such that it is pointless to try to divide them more clearly than in terms of a different emphasis. Indeed, he added that much of what was written in his book on sociolinguistics (Hudson, 1980) "could equally well have been written in a textbook on the sociology of language" (Hudson, 1980:4).

[15] 'Topics', 'locales', 'communicators' and their 'role relations' are the main components of 'situation' (Fishman, 1972a:440-4) and are discussed in relation to the methodology used in the present study in 4.5. A discussion of the interaction between language, topic and listener is in Ervin-Tripp (1964). Mioni (1987:170, my italics) defined a domain as "a cluster of interaction *situations*, grouped around the same field of experience". As Berruto (1995:94) summarised, domain is part of a hierarchy of constructs which link the macro-sociolinguistic and 'social' level to the microsociolinguistic and 'linguistic' one. The social system is articulated in domains; domains are clusters of recurrent situations; a fundamental component in the situation is the linguistic event; events are (sequences) of speech acts (translated from Berruto, 1995:94). For the value of the concept of 'speech act' (e.g. Austin, 1962; Searle et al., 1980), in sociolinguistics see e.g. Hudson, (1980:129-36), Fasold (1990:42-3).

[16] As *variation* studies by Labov (e.g. 1966; 1972a; 1972b) have shown, even so-called monolingual situations are far from being monolithic. Baetens Beardsmore (1982:36) noted: "one can imagine a scale of

Fundamental notions in this common framework are those of *speech community, social networks, linguistic repertoire* and *diglossia*, which have been used in language maintenance studies.[17] The notion of linguistic repertoire is the counterpart of speech community in terms of linguistic means (Berruto, 1995:72). In their Norway study, Blom and Gumperz (1972:409) intended "to relate the structure of the speakers' linguistic repertoire to the verbal behavior of members of the community". As the authors explained:

> "Although ultimately the *selection* from a range of alternates within a repertoire of speech forms is a matter of *individual choice*, the *rules* of codification by which the deep structure of interpersonal relations is transformed into speech performances are [...] similar in nature to the grammatical rules operating on the level of intelligibility. These rules are part of the speaker's *communicative competence*" (Blom and Gumperz, 1972:432, my italics)[18]

In this study, Blom and Gumperz (1972) made use of the notion of *social network* and found a link between the loyalty to the Norwegian non-standard dialect among speakers who had strong relationships with the local villagers, as opposed to those who also had external contacts. In Austria (Oberwart), Gal (1979) found that as a result of large-scale social changes German came to symbolise the speaker's claim to 'worker' rather than 'peasant' status, associated with Hungarian. Those speakers with 'non-peasant networks' had started to use German with progressively more interlocutors and to a greater extent than those with 'peasant networks'. Gal observed that (1979:17, my italics):

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differentiation between different varieties of a language that reaches a point of mutual unintelligibility. At this point of the same conditions as bilingualism obtain." These issues are relevant for the differentiation between 'language' and 'dialect', discussed in 3.1.2.

[17] The notions of '*language variety*' and 'norms of use' appear in many definitions of speech community, which contextualises language use in its social dimension. For Fishman (1972b:48-9) to be members of the same speech community share a linguistic repertoire and "know when to shift from one variety to another" according appropriate language usage (Fishman, 1972b:49). For Mioni and Trumper (1977:330, my italics) a speech community "condivide attivamente o *passivamente* lo stesso repertorio verbale", i.e. "[...] shares actively or *passively* the same linguistic repertoire" (my translation and italics). Hymes (1974:51) defined a speech community as a "community sharing knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech". See also Gumperz (1970, 1972). The issue of passive competence in the varieties included in the wider community's total repertoire is particularly relevant in the Italian situation, discussed in chapter 3.

[18] The notion of 'communicative competence' is central to the 'ethnography of communication' or 'ethnography of speaking' (Hymes, 1970:101; 1974), which also uses the concept of domain to analyse patterns of language choice and 'ethnographic' methods of data collection. Typologies of linguistic repertoire in the Italian context and among Italian-Australian migrants are discussed in 3.1.3 and 3.2.2, respectively.

> "it is through their effects on the shape of *social networks*, on the statuses speakers want to claim, and on the cultural association between linguistic varieties and social groups that *macrosociological factors* can influence the language choices of speakers in *everyday interaction*."[19]

2.1.1.1 Diglossia

The concept of 'domain' is at the basis of that of *diglossia*, which defines the *functional specialisation* of different languages and/or varieties in a repertoire as institutionalised at the societal level. In the original formulation, Ferguson (1959:336) defined diglossia in terms of a "*stable* language situation" in which in addition to the varieties of a language, i.e. standard, regional standards, dialects, etc.

> "there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of an earlier period of another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation."

However, as Macnamara (1967:3, my italics) observed, within approximately a decade from the publication of Ferguson's article, the term diglossia had come to be

> "generalized to all situations in which a *high* or standard variety is employed for the purposes of a more formal communication, and a *low* or relatively uncultivated variety is employed for the purposes of more intimate communication."

Fishman (1967) expanded the conceptualisation of this notion. As Fasold (1984:40) observed, Fishman's (1967) diglossia was *not* restricted to situations "in the middle range of linguistic relatedness." In Fishman's (1967:30, my italics) words, diglossia "exists *not only* in multilingual societies which officially recognize several 'languages'" but, also, in

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[19] In Milroy's (1980:178) terms 'social network' "refers quite simply to the informal social relationships contracted by an individual" within his/her community. Milroy (1980) used social networks to gain access to Belfast vernacular speech styles combining a 'network' and a 'variationist' approach (see discussion above). She found a correlation between the frequency of vernacular linguistic variables and the closeness of speakers' networks to vernacular culture, which suggested that individual's network structure was likely to be reflected in patterns of language use (Milroy, 1980:214). The notion of 'social network' is discussed further in relation to language maintenance in 2.3 and in relation to convergence in 3.1.2.5.

those which employ different "dialects, registers, or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind"[20]

In his 1967 paper, Fishman (1967:37, my italics) also intended to relate *individual* bilingualism' to '*societal* diglossia'. As he observed, "repertoire diversification [...] is the beginning of *bilingualism*. Its *societal* normification is the hallmark of *diglossia*" (Fishman, 1967:37). He argued that bilingualism "is essentially a characterization of *individual* linguistic behavior" (Fishman, 1967:34 my italics) and as such it is the major construct in psychological research tradition (1967:29). Diglossia, however, "is a characterization of linguistic organization at the *socio-cultural* level" and is the product of 'sociological' or 'sociologically oriented' research tradition (Fishman, 1967:29; 34, my italics). He described four combinatory possibilities where bilingualism and diglossia may exist with or without each other (Fishman, 1967).[21]

2.1.2 Micro-sociolinguistic aspects of bilingual interaction and language choice

As discussed above (2.1.1), scholars conceive of language choice from a range of varieties in the speakers' repertoire as a regulated social behaviour. Through their language choice, speakers interpret and at the same time reflect the social meaning of the situation in which

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[20] Fasold (1984:42-54) critically compared Ferguson's and Fishman's concept of diglossia concluding that the only element that they have in common is the functional differentiation between language/varieties, "which is the very heart and soul of the diglossia concept" (1984:53). On the basis of this comparison Fasold (1984:34-59) proposed his own all-embracing *broad diglossia*, in which rather than to two linguistic varieties the prefix *di-* refers "loosely to the two ends of the formality-intimacy continuum of language use" (1984:53). In 'broad diglossia' "highly valued *segments of a community's linguistic repertoire*" are reserved to different situations than "less highly valued segments [...] of any degree of linguistic relatedness to the higher valued segments, from stylistic differences to separate languages" (Fasold, 1984:53, my italics).

[21] The situations resulting from the combinations between bilingualism and diglossia are discussed in 2.3, in relation to language maintenance in migration contexts, and in 3.1.4 and 3.2.2 with reference to the linguistic situation in Italy and the Italian-Australian community, respectively. Some have argued that Fishman's enlarged notion of diglossia weakened its specificity (e.g. Pauwels, 1987:350; Berruto, 1995:229). Partly to redress this perceived descriptive shortfall, scholars have proposed *ad hoc* typologies that would reflect more faithfully the particular situations under examination. Some of the types of diglossia developed within the Italian context are discussed in 3.1.4. As the available bibliographic reviews reveal (e.g. Hudson, 1992; Fernández, 1993), the notion of diglossia has generated a vast amount of theoretical debate. See e.g. Wardhaugh, (1986:ch. 4), Fasold (1984:ch. 7), Fishman et al. (1986), Romaine (1989a:33-38), Ferguson (1991), Berruto (1995:227-250).

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the interaction takes place, i.e. "the social value implied when an utterance is used in a certain context" (Blom and Gumperz, 1972:417).[22]

Much of Gumperz' research (e.g. 1971, 1982) was devoted to interactional aspects of bilingualism and the speaker's processing of contextual information. Based on concrete ethnographic observation of the use of the *standard* and the *local dialect* in the Hemnesberget community in Norway, Blom and Gumperz (1972) identified two types of 'switching' between the two varieties, i.e. a *situational* and a *metaphorical* type. Situational codeswitching "assumes a direct relationship between language and the social situation" (Blom and Gumperz, 1972:424) and is employed by participants to signal a redefinition in the norms governing the situation, e.g. when a group of locals engaged in conversation is approached by outsiders (Blom and Gumperz, 1972:409; 424). In metaphorical switching the "language switch relates to particular kinds of topics or subject matters rather than to change in social situation", e.g. use of standard and dialect phrases depending on whether speakers are talking about official affairs or not (Blom and Gumperz, 1972:424).[23] Gumperz (1982) elaborated on these concepts on the basis of the distinction between the 'we' code and the 'they' code. The minority language tends to be identified as the former and the majority language tends to be identified as the latter.[24]

Auer and Di Luzio's research (Auer and Di Luzio, 1983a; 1983b; Auer, 1984a, 1984b, 1991) also embraced Gumperz's perspective on codeswitching. Based on their research on second-generation Italian migrant children in Germany (Auer and Di Luzio, 1983b), the authors derived an approach to codeswitching from conversational analysis, which was later extended (Auer, 1984a, 1984b; Di Luzio, 1984) and applied to the Italian community

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[22] 'Codeswitching' is described from a structural point of view in 2.3.2. It will become clear that this and other terms have been variously used by scholars to refer to different phenomena. For a critical review of some terminological issues see e.g. Boeschoten (1998:16-21), Jacobson (1998b:51-52).

[23] An important aspect of metaphorical switching is its *semantic effect*, which depends on the existence of regular relationships between linguistic variables and social situations (Blom and Gumperz, 1972:425), i.e. "the context in which one of a set of alternates is regularly used becomes part of its meaning, so that when this form is then employed in a context where it is not normal, it brings in some of the flavor of this original setting."

[24] (Myers)-Scotton's (Scotton, 1983; Myers-Scotton, 1993b) *markedness theory* of language choice built upon Gumperz's research. The author postulated that in any community and for each interaction type there is a code choice, including codeswitching, which is 'more unmarked' than others. An unmarked code choice reflects the rights and obligations conventionally allocated to him/her in the given situation. A marked code choice is used by the speaker when (s)he intends to activate a different allocation than the expected one. Muysken (2000:29) criticised Myers-Scotton's notion of markedness on a number of grounds, the first one being that "it is hard to argue for the (un)markedness of any single instance of mixing".

in Toronto (Auer, 1991). Auer and Di Luzio (1983b) identified two main notions, i.e. codeswitching and codeshifting. *Codeswitching* takes place 'between' systems, i.e. is the use of different varieties (Auer and Di Luzio, 1983b:13). *Code-shifting* takes place at the phonic and morphological level and is "the gradual transition from a variety A to a variety B" (Auer and Di Luzio, 1983b:6).[25] While the authors provided a detailed structural description of these two types of variation (Auer and Di Luzio, 1983b:1-13), they argued that they could not be identified in abstraction from the *function* they fulfil in specific situations.[26]

A basic distinction in Auer and Di Luzio's approach is that between 'language *alternation*' and '*non* language alternation'. In the former the speaker perceives and *signals* the alternation between the two languages, which is thus assumed to have a conversational *function* (Auer, 1991:409-410). The general notion of 'language alternation' is differentiated into a) *codeswitching*, when connected to a particular *point* in the conversation and b) *transfers*, when connected to a particular *structure*, e.g. units such as individual words (Auer, 1988:192). Both, furthermore, can be either cases of c) *discourse-related* alternation, when it provides cues for the organisation of the ongoing interaction or d) *participant-related* alternation, when it provides cues about the attributes of the speakers (Auer, 1988:192).[27]

Among the factors defining the situation in which face-to-face encounters take place, 'social psychology of language' has developed a theory of the influence of *interlocutors*,

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[25] Codeshifting is 'made up' of *single parameter variation*, which is a third type of variational phenomenon (Auer and Di Luzio, 1983a: 89-98; 1983b: 6, 10, 13). Auer and Di Luzio (1983a) also developed the concept of *code-fluctuation* (see 3.2.2).

[26] *Codeswitching* is one of the techniques that is available to turn-occupants to change the 'participant constellation', e.g. to include or exclude participants by indicating an intended addressee according to the language they normal speak with them (Auer and Di Luzio, 1983b:14-17). The most important situational feature which is produced and symbolised by *codeshifting*, among other techniques, is the involvement vs. the distance of participants, e.g. the gradual dialectalization of their speech may correspond to a greater involvement in the interaction (Auer and Di Luzio, 1983b:14-17). Di Luzio (1984) also observed how switches into a dialectal variety of Italian or the choice of this variety realised verbal activities that focused on an emotive-expressive component and marked part of the speakers' identity, e.g. funny comments, intensive and emphatic pleading, reproaches and comically exaggerated threats, personal stories, etc.

[27] Heller (1988a) contains studies that focus on a conversational-analytical approach to codeswitching, including Auer (1988), discussed above, Poplack (1988), discussed in 2.3.2, and Heller (1988b), which explores the function of codeswitching in the conflict between identities connected to the two different languages. Auer (1998) contains a collection of studies of codeswitching from a conversational analysis perspective. In the Italian community in Australia Auer's approach was used by Rubino (2000), discussed in

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i.e. the *accommodation theory* (Giles et al., 1977). During the interaction, and within the repertoire available, speakers tend to *converge* at various level (variety employed, lexicon, pronunciation, speed, etc.) towards the way in which their interlocutor speaks, or with which (s)he is identified. *Divergence* from the interlocutor's speech would represent a marked choice (Giles et al., 1977).[28]

Building upon psycholinguistic research, Grosjean (1995, 2001) developed a model of bilingual speech production that also focuses on the interlocutor. He postulated that "bilinguals find themselves at various points along a situational continuum" (Grosjean, 1995:261). This continuum ranges from a totally *monolingual language mode*, when interacting with monolinguals, through to an *intermediate mode* and a *bilingual mode*, in which bilinguals find themselves when interacting with other bilinguals and "with whom they mix languages (code-switch or borrow)" (Grosjean, 1995:261-2; 20001:3-5).[29] Even in the monolingual mode, *deactivation* of one of the languages is never complete. In all modes, therefore, "bilinguals usually choose a *base language* to use with their interlocutor", i.e. "a main language of interaction" (Grosjean, 1995:262, my italics) or "the language that governs language processing" (Grosjean, 2001:4). Speakers can travel along the *mode continuum* to different extents according to different factors, e.g. their attitudes, profession, the language mixing norms of their community, etc. (Grosjean, 1995:262).[30] Grosjean (1995:263) argued that *language mode* and *language base* should be used to distinguish "phenomena which, on the surface, may at times appear to be identical".[31]

3.2. In Italy codeswitching between Italian and dialect from a conversational analysis perspective was studied by e.g. Trumper (1984), and Alfonzetti (1992a, 1992b, 1998 - see 3.1.5).

[28] With regard to a migrant context, Clyne (1972:115-6), for instance, found a tendency among second-generation German-Australians to make adjustments in their English at the phonological, lexical and syntactic level when addressing their parents or other German speaking elders. The relevance of 'accommodation' in language shift and 'structural convergence' are discussed in 2.3 and 3.1.2.5.

[29] Clyne (1967:16, note 2) had already noticed how the habit of addressing bilingual speakers often made his German-Australian informants unaware that they were switching back and forth between German and English, or transferring any type of material from one language to the other.

[30] However, the two languages in their function of *base* for the conversation do not seem to be conceived of as a continuum. Speakers can decide to "*switch* base languages", if elements in the situation requires them to (Grosjean, 1995:262, my italics). As the author (Grosjean, 1995:182) conceded, however, there is a very fine line "between rapid [base] language switching and code-switching". From a structural point of view, this issue leaves open one of the most vexed questions in codeswitching theory (see discussion in 2.3.2). Grosjean's model is discussed further in relation to the methodology used in the present study in 4.5.2.

[31] For instance, a morphologically integrated element such as 'baving' from the French *baver* (English 'to dribble') should be considered as an 'interference' (i.e. "the result of the deactivated language intruding [...] onto the language being spoken" if produced in a monolingual mode. However, it should be considered either as 'interference' or as 'borrowing' ("the normal access of a word in the less activated lexicon and its

As Grosjean (2001) observed, *proficiency* is also a factor in determining the extent to which bilinguals can move along the mode continuum. Auer (1988:195) also referred to 'competence-related alternation' and noted how hesitation phenomena and the grammatical features of the Italian of their second-generation Italian-German informants (i.e. *'italiano stentato'* – see 3.2.2) indicated that their switching to German was due to an imbalanced bilingual competence. However, Cavallaro (1997) found that his second-generation Italian-Australian informants actually chose to 'use' less than they 'knew'.[32] An important finding of Li Wei's study in a Chinese community in England (1994:151) is that in the shift situation he investigated codeswitching was *not* a community wide phenomenon and made up for a minimal part of the corpus analysed. Li Wei (1994) found that the general *preference* was for monolingualism. Some of the grandparents in his sample were monolingual Chinese, and were addressed in Chinese by all interlocutors. Parents generally used Chinese for intra-generational communication, while British-born children used English (Li Wei, 1994:151).[33]

2.2 Language maintenance and language shift

"Language *maintenance* and *shift* are the long-term, collective consequences of consistent patterns of language *choice*" (Fasold, 1984:239, my italics). Fishman (1964:32, my italics) observed that the study of language maintenance and shift is concerned with

"the relationship between change or stability in habitual *language use*, on the one hand, and ongoing *psychological, social or cultural processes* of change and stability on the other hand".

Speech communities undergoing shift gradually choose to abandon one or more of the languages in their repertoire thus threatening their maintenance through language shift. Fasold's (1984:213) definition of language shift highlights the 'completion' of this process, i.e. 'language shift simply means that a community gives up a language completely in favour of another one'.[34] *Intergenerational* (or 'generational' or 'transgenerational') *shift* to the host language is a reality for the majority of *migrant communities* around the world.[35] In migration contexts the typical shifting pattern is the passage from monolingualism, through to transitional bilingualism and to monolingualism in the host language. Normally the migrant language cycle is concluded within three generations.[36]

As observed above (2.1), language maintenance/shift *as a paradigm* (e.g. Fishman, 1966b; Fishman et al., 1985) does not include a linguistic component. However, language shift *as a process* can be studied both in its *sociolinguistic* and *linguistic* aspects (Fasold, 1984:214). The former pertains to *factors* that contribute to languages shift or maintenance, for which this paradigm employs large-scale surveys or census data (see discussion in 2.1.1).[37] The latter concerns the structural modifications that the language being shifted away undergoes as a result of the contact with the dominant language. As Fasold (1984) pointed out, there has been very little success in using any combination of these factors to predict when language shift will occur. Fishman (1964:50) himself observed:

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integration into the base language") if produced in a bilingual mode (Grosjean, 1995:263). His approach was profitably applied, for instance, by Treffers-Daller (1998) to the analysis of Turkish-German codeswitching. The author found that the identification of the language base and mode helped differentiate various language contact phenomena. In a monolingual German mode her informants produced mostly *insertions* of single words, while in a bilingual German mode they produced mostly *alternations* at the periphery of the sentence, these two terms used in Muysken's sense (1995, 1997, 2000, discussed in 2.3.3).

[32] In the home domain and as well as with same-generation friends and relatives Cavallaro's second-generation informants (1997) restricted their use of Sicilian and Italian to 'tag switching' via the insertion of lexemes in English sentences that had the function of 'markers of ethnicity'. However, in the interaction with older relatives they showed a higher level of proficiency in the community languages.

[33] Li Wei (1994) took an integrated perspective on micro- and macro-sociolinguistic levels of language choice combining Auer and Di Luzio's conversational approach to codeswitching with an analysis of language choice patterns according to the speakers' *social networks* (see 2.1.1). In doing so, he intended to work towards a coherent social model which can account for the relationship between community-level language choice and interactional-level code, and for the relation of both to the broader social, economic and political context. The idea of a "two-step sociolinguistic analysis" was further developed in Li Wei, Milroy and Pong (1992) and Milroy and Li Wei (1995). The implications of proficiency on codeswitching patterns and their possible long-term effects, in terms of language shift, convergence and change are discussed further in 2.3, 2.4 and 3.1.2.5. The importance of the linguistic generation of the interlocutor in determining language choice in migration contexts is discussed in 2.3 below and 3.1.6 and 3.2.1.1-2 with reference to quantitative data from Italy and Australia, respectively.

[34] Cases in which no external heartland is available for the continued existence of the abandoned language have been more commonly described in terms of language *death* (Clyne, 1991:54). Clyne (1991:54) pointed out the ambiguity of the term 'shift'. The 'quantitative' meaning it has in the discussion of large-scale survey and census data is indicated in 3.2.1.1-2.

[35] See for instance Veltman (1983), Fishman et al. (1966) and Fishman et al. (1985) for the United States; Clyne (1991) for Australia. However, while language *shift* involves *bilingualism*, bilingualism in itself is not a sufficient condition for shift (Romaine, 1989a:40; Fasold, 1984:216-7). Maintenance is often a characteristic of bilingual communities (Fasold, 1984:213), e.g. the 'success stories' reported in Fishman (1991:287-336), Spanish in San Antonio (Hayden, 1966), French in Montreal (Lieberson, 1972 - cf. Fishman, 1972b:53). However, the fact that many smaller languages are being abandoned or dying out due to few languages represents a global trend (cf. Romaine, 1989a:38-9).

[36] 'Total' shift at the societal level takes place over generations. It is seldom the case that a substantial proportion of the individuals in a society completely gives up the use of one language within their own lifetime (Fasold, 1984:216). Third-generation bilinguals are discussed in 2.5. Quantitative data on language shift in the Italian-Australian community are discussed in 3.2.1.

[37] Sometimes the study of factors that promote shift/maintenance is called 'ecology of language', e.g. Haugen (1972), Clyne (1982).

"many of the most popularly cited factors purportedly influencing maintenance and shift have actually been found to "cut both ways" in different contexts or to have no general significance when viewed in broader perspective [...] the presence of so many ambivalent factors is a clear indication that complex interactions between partially contributory factors [...] must frequently be involved [...]."

In accordance with the objectives of the present study (discussed in 1.1), the main focus of the following sub-sections is on factors that are more relevant to a) the intergenerational transmission of the migrant language in the *home/family domains*, b) *Italian* and *Italian dialects*, and c) *third-generation* bilinguals. [38]

2.2.1 The family domain and related issues

Intergenerational transmission is obviously fundamental for languages to be maintained. This is the basic principle powerfully illustrated by Fishman (1991, 2001) in his works on 'reversing language shift' ('RLS'), i.e. "the theory and practice of assistance to speech communities whose native languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively" (1991:1). As he stressed, "the initial desideratum of language maintenance [is the] immediate protection of the *intimate intergenerational language transmission context*" (Fishman, 1991:Xii, my italics).

'Reversing language shift' efforts, Fishman (1991:1) argued, will be "only indifferently successful at best" unless they are directed at reinforcing the "family-home-neighborhood-community foundations" of intergenerational maintenance. The centrality of intimate, local, face-to-face processes puts the onus of 'reversing language shift' primarily on the language communities themselves rather than on the government (Fishman, 1991:277). Fishman (1991:Xii) argued that "stylish efforts to control the language of education, the workplace, the mass media and governmental services without having sufficiently safeguarded [the family and small-scale processes] is equivalent to constantly blowing air

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[38] Where relevant qualitative data will also be referred to. Other factors are discussed with direct reference to Italian and dialects in Italy (in 3.1.1 and 3.1.6) and the Italian-Australian community (in 3.2.1). The discussion in the present section draws upon Clyne (1982:ch. 2; 1991:86-109), to whom the reader is referred for a comprehensive review of the models for the investigation and prediction of language maintenance and shift in Australia (see also e.g. Appel and Muysken, 1987:33-8). In the Australian context the usefulness of Giles' theory of 'ethnolinguistic vitality' (Giles et al., 1977), which includes his 'accommodation theory' (discussed in 2.1.2), was in general found to be limited (see Clyne, 1991a:88-91) and therefore will not be included.

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into a tire that still has a puncture."[39] Thus, in his overview of 'reversing language shift' efforts from different continents, Fishman (1991:122-336) predicted that Australia's remarkably advanced policies towards community languages will ultimately be ineffective (Fishman, 1991:277-9).[40]

The importance of the *home* and the *family* in language maintenance has been pointed out by many.[41] While in recent migrant communities the 'home' and the 'family' domains might coincide, in longer-established ones, as the younger generations reach adulthood and move out of their parents' house, the 'home' domain of their community language use might be more restricted than the 'family' domain.[42] Since shift among the younger generations is generally advanced, the importance of the family is frequently believed to lie in its *extended* sense, i.e. comprising three (linguistic) generations or more, rather than its *nuclear* sense, i.e. comprising two (linguistic) generations. Older(-generation) relatives, especially those who are not proficient in the host language, are believed to have a pivotal role in the preservation of migrant languages among younger speakers (e.g. Clyne, 1982:28).[43]

Bettoni and Rubino (1996:71-2) found that the *generation of the interlocutor* in the family was crucial in determining the speakers' choice. However, while older interlocutors slowed down shift to English, younger ones accelerated it, i.e. as the age of the interlocutor decreased the use of English increased and that of Italian/dialects decreased (see also (Clyne, 1991a: 79-85).[44] As a result of the presence of younger generations, language shift

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[39] The role of school education is discussed further below.

[40] Clyne (1991:109), however, argued that the current state of affairs did not prove that language shift would not have been much greater without the policies (see 1.0). However, Clyne (2001:366-9) confirmed that over the 1991-2001 period in Australia there had not been significant changes in the direction indicated by Fishman's recommendations.

[41] E.g. Clyne (1982:32); Dorian (1981:105).

[42] This is not taken into account in the wording of the Australian census question since 1986, which focuses on 'languages other than English used *at home*', rather than those 'regularly used' in *any* domain of the previous wording. For a discussion of the implications on how census figures should be interpreted see Clyne (1991:37-41; 48-50), Clyne and Kipp (1997a:6; 1997b:19).

[43] This is the case especially in view of the tendency towards L1 reversion in old age (Clyne, 1991a:114-6).

[44] From a situational perspective, Rubino (1993, 2000) observed that her Sicilian-Australian mother informant tended to use more dialect if the grandfather was present. However, this factor was overridden if the focus of the interaction was on the children, with whom the mother's English tended to increase. In the context of language death, Dorian (1981:76; 106) also found that the use of English and Gaelic within the family was strongly influenced by the age of the addressee, i.e. the grandparents used Gaelic, the parents used Gaelic with their own generation and the older one, but English with younger speakers. See also Dorian (1977) and Li Wei (1994, discussed in 2.1.2).

starts as early as in the first generation, and within the family domain. Indeed, Bettoni and Rubino (1996:120-1; 127) found that even among Italian-born speakers in Australia, shift to English in the family domain was higher than in any of the other domains they took into consideration (see discussion in 3.2.1).[45]

The situation expectedly worsens in *exogamous marriages*, which have been consistently found to discourage language maintenance.[46] Bettoni and Rubino (1996:175-6) concluded that "[la famiglia,] più che il baluardo della lingua etnica, è il dominio in cui si gioca la partita più vitale tra la vecchia e la nuova lingua".[47] In general, Bettoni and Rubino (1996) found that while shift to English in more 'Australian' domains, like work/school, was advanced, it was highest in private and informal domains, i.e. those *domains which offered a greater freedom of linguistic choice*, such as the family (see 3.2.1.2).[48] Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that the *extended* family, including the grandparents' generation, may be perceived to be more important because the *nuclear* family, which usually coincides with the *home* domain, does not provide the means that are necessary for language

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[45] Clyne (1991:114) also observed how in Australia older-generation speakers addressed their children, and all interlocutors of their children's generation in English. In regard to the younger generations, Rubino (2000) found that the proximity to grandparents with very limited competence of English was ineffectual in encouraging the grandchildren's use of the native dialect. Clyne (1991:57) noticed how "it is almost a universal of language contact in Australia" that children will speak English to each other no matter in what language they address their parents (cf. Clyne, 1967). Both Bettoni-Rubino (1996) and Cavallaro (1997), found that in the communication between the second- and third-generation Italian-Australian speakers in their samples the use of English was predominant.

[46] However, Italians have shown relatively high rates of endogamy, i.e. 78.1% of marriages in the first generation in the immediate post-war period (after Greeks, 91.3% and Lebanese, 79.3%) and 50.8% in the 1980-5 period (after Turks, 74%, and Lebanese, 68.4% and Poles, 61.6%, and comparable with Greeks, 49.4%). In the second generation the rate of endogamy has been lower, i.e. 37.8% in the 1956-72 period (much lower than Turks, 37.8% but comparable to Greeks, 37% and higher than Lebanese 28.8% - Price (1988:128) reported in Clyne (1991:59). The high rate of endogamous marriages in the post-war period resulted in a high percentage of second-generation Italian-Australians (64%) whose parents were both born in Italy. For shift rates among children born from exogamous marriages in the Italian community see 3.2.1.1.2. The role of mixed marriages in language shift in the Dutch community is analysed in Pauwels (1980). For a discussion of the "one parent one language" principle in the raising bilingual children see e.g. Saunders (1982) and Döpke (1992). The effect of 'inter-regional' marriages on the maintenance of Italian and the dialects among second-generation Italian-Australians is discussed in 3.2.1.2.

[47] "Rather than the stronghold of the ethnic language, the family is the domain where the most vital match between the old and the new language is played" (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:175-6, my translation).

[48] By contrast, in the *workplace* the use of English in Australia seems to be prevalent, which can be explained by the higher level of integration of this domain in the Australian society (Clyne, 1991a:139-144). This is confirmed by Bettoni and Rubino (1996:125), who found that the highest shift rates among first-generation Italian-Australian after the family domain (25%) was at work (14% with interlocutors from the same region and 17% with interlocutors from a different one). In the second generation, shift at work/school was much more advanced than their parents', i.e. 61% and 59%, respectively (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:121).

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maintenance in the later generations.[49] However, it is clear that intergenerational transmission depends both on the original family nucleus, i.e. that of the first and the second generations, and all successive family nuclei that are formed as the younger generations move out and establish their own family.[50]

As Romaine (1989a:42) observed, "the inability of minorities to maintain the *home* as an intact domain for the use of their language has often been decisive in language shift." Fishman (1967) argued that failure to maintain a diglossic separation between the languages in different domains leads to the abandonment of the native language in the space of three generations. Situations characterised by *bilingualism without diglossia* (Fishman, 1967 – see 2.1.1.1), where the languages 'encroach' on each other in the same domains, are unstable and transitory, i.e. likely to undergo language shift. As Fishman's theory of 'reversing language shift' postulates (see discussion above), a diglossic differentiation seems to be crucial especially in relation to, broadly speaking, *informal and formal domains*.[51] As Fishman (1991:276, my italics) put it, "self-help and self-regulation in everyday intergenerational mother tongue transmission contexts safeguarded by *boundary setting* and *boundary preservation* are the *sine qua non* of I ˙ S". One effective 'reversing language shift' measure (Fishman, 1991:5, my italics) is the "attainment of *diglossic bilingualism*" by "strengthening of *ethnocultural boundaries* in connection with friendship, family and community".[52]

However, Romaine (1989a:46) believes that *bilingualism with diglossia* and *bilingualism without diglossia* are likely to be extreme situations, between which there might be communities with domains that are clearly compartmentalised and others in which both

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[49] Clyne (2001:367) suggested that one of the reasons why in older language communities in Australia grandparents rather than parents are playing an increasing role in intergenerational maintenance is that the parents desire to make their children bilingual, *although they themselves speak English at home*.

[50] In this sense Australian census data on 'home' use actually provide a realistic picture of the shift in progress (cf. Clyne, 1991a:106). Aspects of intergenerational language maintenance processes in the family nucleus are discussed further in 2.5

[51] Hayden (1966:204) pointed out that the "crux of the difference" between the Mexican-American community in San Antonio and the other four he to ˙˙, into consideration was that in San Antonio the use of Spanish and English showed signs of at least partial "contextual stabilization", with the former dominating in the 'home' and 'friendship/neighbourhood' domains and the latter dominating in formal spheres.

[52] The role of 'stable diglossia' in the maintenance of languages with dialect varieties is discussed in 3.2.2. There is a body of evidence that suggests that a close-knit, localised *network* structure is an important mechanism of language maintenance since cohesive groups are capable of resisting linguistic and social pressures from outside the group (see e.g. Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Gal, 1979 and discussion in 2.1.1). See also discussion of Kloss's (1966:207) 'Sprachinsel' in 3.2.1.1.2.

languages are used. In some stable bilingual communities, furthermore, the use of both languages in the same domains, as in *codeswitching*, is not necessarily a sign of shift in progress (cf. Romaine, 1989a:121; Fasold, 1984:217).[53] Giacalone Ramat (1995a:61-2), on the other hand, argued that the notion of *stable bilingual* community is questionable precisely because members of the same community and even the same family may show different *proficiency* levels and *codeswitching patterns* (see 2.1.2). As she pointed out (Giacalone Ramat, 1995:62), while no generalisation about the role of codeswitching in language *shift* can be made, a link between a *decline in bilingualism* and codeswitching or certain codeswitching patterns was shown in various studies, e.g. Poplack's 'tag switching' (1980 – see 2.3.2). Furthermore, Clyne (1991:ch. 4) showed that in all or some domains accommodating transference there seems to be a decrease in use of a language.[54]

Smolicz (1981) argued that *family cohesion* is a *core value* for Italians, i.e. a fundamental component of their sense of identity and continued existence. In Smolicz' theory, which is based on his research of migrant groups in Australia, core values explain different degrees of maintenance of the original language. This will be more successful in those groups for which *language* is a core value, e.g. Greeks in Australia, who maintain their language well, as opposed to Dutch immigrants, whose shift is very high (see discussion in 3.2.1.1). As Smolicz (1981:76) explained, more than one core value may be relevant and it may be possible to establish a hierarchy. Among Italians, or at least Southern Italians, while language is also a core value, family cohesion might transcend it (Smolicz, 1981:76; Chiro ad Smolicz, 1990). This, Smolicz (1981:76) argued, might explain Italians' reluctance to maintain 'literary Italian' as opposed to a 'purified dialect' or a 'mix' of Italian, English and dialect.[55]

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[53] See also diglossia typologies for the Italian situation discussed in 3.1.4.
[54] Other studies regarding this point are Alfonzetti (1992a), Sobrero (1988b), discussed in 3.1.5, and Auer (1988), discussed in 2.1.2. and 3.2.2.
[55] For a critical review of Smolicz's 'core values' theory in relation to the Australian context see Clyne (1991:91-105). Language maintenance is often associated with a network of *friends* from the same region or country. In the Italian-Australian community, as in other communities, this was found to be the case only in first-generation speakers (cf. Bettoni, 1996:125). When bars, restaurants, grocery shops are run by fellow country-people, the domain of *transactions* also plays a crucial role in language maintenance (Clyne, 1991a: 144-5; Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:125-8). In the Veneto-Australian community, as well as in other regional Italian communities, first-generation's friendship networks have been institutionalised into social clubs which reflect the provincial composition of the population. For a history and detailed description of Veneto social clubs in Australia see Martinuzzi-O'Brien (forthcoming). Based on casual and unsystematic participant observation during the fieldwork for the present study it seems that both Italian and Veneto are the intra-generational 'working language' within these clubs. All three generations might participate in the frequent

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2.2.2 Dialects vs. standard varieties

The presence of *dialects* is considered a significant factor in language maintenance. Their centrality in family and intimate relations makes dialects less adequate for communication beyond the local reality and thus potentially more vulnerable to shift in the host society. Linguistic fragmentation was sometimes found to be a disadvantage for the maintenance of the standard.[56] Bettoni and Rubino (1996) found that among the Veneto and Sicilian speakers in their sample, language shift represented a shift away from the dialects, rather than from Italian. The space reserved to Italian in the family was much smaller but less precarious than that of the dialects (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:79). In some cases, Italian migrants' desire to adapt to a model of society perceived superior, lead to the acquisition of the new language with the abandonment of the dialect as well as Italian (Bettoni, 1993:419).[57]

Standard varieties are sometimes accorded more favourable *attitudes* than dialects. 'Matched-guise' studies conducted among Italian-Australians (Bettoni and Gibbons, 1988, 1990) showed that while judgements towards dialects were relatively neutral and varied, Italian ranked high on social prestige, at the same level as English. Chiro and Smolicz (1990:202) found that infrequent use of Veneto dialect at home was influenced by a negative attitude towards it, even among second-generation speakers.[58] Haller (1993) found that his first-generation Italian-American judges expressed puristic judgements and favoured Italian varieties over the dialectal ones.[59]

Differential attitudes towards dialects vs. standard varieties are particularly evident in *raising children*. Fishman (1991:344) recommended that the school should take a "dialectally permissive approach" and that "RLS efforts should recognize, utilize and dignify the local dialect" (1991:340). Parents of a child who learns at school a different variety than their own might "get the impression that their local Xish is not real Xish or not

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social functions and events organised by the clubs. However, younger speakers tend to be addressed in English. The clubs do not seem to function as agencies of intergenerational language maintenance.
[56] See e.g. Pauwels (1983, 1986) for language maintenance among dialect speakers in the Dutch- and German-Australian community (see discussion in 3.2.2).
[57] The role of Italian as opposed to dialect for language maintenance purposes is discussed further in 3.2.2. Data on maintenance of Italian and dialects in Australia are discussed in 3.2.1.2.
[58] See, however, the discussion in 2.5.2.

proper Xish" and as a result get frustrated in their efforts to maintain their native variety and give it up entirely (Fishman, 1991:340).[60]

Pragmatic considerations about the usefulness of the community language are at the basis of Bourdieu's (1982) notion of 'linguistic market-place', which was used by some scholars (e.g. Jaspaert and Kroon, 1991:79-82) as a model for language maintenance and links the importance of a language, and of the competence in it, to speaker's socio-economic activity. [61] An *instrumental* rather than *integrative* motivation was sometimes found to be more important in determining language maintenance.[62] These factors have also been found to be relevant for parents-to-children transmission of the native language.[63] *Positive attitudes*, however, do not always translate into practical efforts to effect language maintenance (Auer, 1988:189; Cavallaro, 1997:283-4).[64] This is clearly demonstrated by the discrepancy between 'mother tongue claiming' and 'language use' in the United States reported by Fishman et al. (1985).

Clyne (1991:88) observed that the *attitude of majority to language or group*, one of Kloss's (1966) ambivalent factors, is particularly relevant for the third generation (see

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[59] As discussed in 3.1.2, Italian scholars do not consider 'Italian dialects', e.g. Veneto, Piedmontese, Sicilian, etc., as 'varieties' or 'dialects' of Italian and thus they also have their own 'varieties'.

[60] Haller (1981:187) reported that the majority (i.e. 55%) of his Italian-born American informants from various regions did not consider their native dialect as "less refined" than Standard Italian. However, only very few of them (17.4%) would encourage their use in the raising of their children. Cavallaro (1997) found that the use of both Italian and Sicilian was extremely infrequent in second-generation family nuclei with young children. However, the parents showed a more positive attitude towards the maintenance of Italian, although the corpus contained more sentences completely in Sicilian rather than Italian. For a discussion of this issue in the Italian context see 3.1.6. Language maintenance in inter-regional marriages in the Italian-Australian community is discussed in 3.2.1.2.

[61] Factors of 'ethnolinguistic vitality' (Giles et al., 1977), i.e. 'economic status', 'perceived status', 'socio-historical factors', 'language status' and 'demographic factors', were not found to be very useful in the Australian context. For a critical discussion see Clyne (1991:88-91). 'Perceived status', however, seems at the basis of the high language maintenance in the Greek-Australian community (Clyne, 1991a:90). 'Numerical strength', among other 'demographic factors', is discussed in 3.2.1.1 in relation to the Italian-Australian community. With regard to the status of Italian see e.g. Bettoni and Lo Bianco (1989).

[62] Studies such as Gal (1979) and Dorian (1981) demonstrated the higher prestige of the language being shifted to. Finocchiaro (1994:182-185) concluded that usefulness and need were the crucial factors in language maintenance among her informants (see 3.2.3). Dutch speakers in Australia, for instance, who present very high shift rates, are reported to be aware of limited use of Dutch worldwide and consider shifting away from Dutch as a move up the societal ladder (Ammerlaan, 1996:6).

[63] Pauwels (1980:163) found that Dutch parents often preferred that their children learned a more 'useful' language than Dutch. Dorian (1982:46) found that the perception of the practical value and prestige of a language was a factor in determining whether the parents deliberately decided not to transmit East Sutherland Gaelic to their children.

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discussion in 2.4). Clyne (1991:83) identified the change in Australian policies towards multiculturalism (see 1.0) as one possible cause for a drop between 1976 and 1986 in shift rates in the speakers of many Australian community languages in the 5-14 age group. Bettoni (1993:418) observed that the sense of shame and perceived linguistic inferiority among prospective *dialect*-speaking migrants from Italy was exacerbated in host countries in which the usefulness of the little Italian they had been able to learn with great effort was completely denied.

2.2.3 School

As already mentioned above (see 2.2.1), Fishman (1991) predicted the ultimate uselessness of current Australian progressive policies (see 1.0) in 'reversing language shift'. Fishman (1991:269) granted that learning the community language at school may contribute to increase the interest in it. However, if not grounded on "home-family-neighborhood face-to-face foundations", school instruction amounts to "intergenerationally disconnected stuff" that will at best have the effect of "buy[ing] some time at the most until the native-speaking grandparents are gone" (Fishman, 1991:269). Smolicz and Harris (1976:136-7) believe that home maintenance needs to be supported at least attitudinally by the *education system*. However, in 1989, Gatt-Rutter and Mercier (1989:151) observed that a major shortcoming in the Australian National Language policy (Lo Bianco, 1987, cf. 1.0) was that it did "not consider *transgenerational* language maintenance, to reverse the seemingly irresistible and almost total 'language shift' by the third or fourth generation." Gatt-Rutter (1992:6-15) recommended *medium teaching* as a possible step towards 'interlingualism' in Australia.[65]

In 1991, Fishman (1991:268) noted that "insertion classes" were relatively insignificant for 'reversing language shift' in Australia and that only 22% of all students attending them

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[64] However, parents in Australia generally have positive attitudes towards their children's learning languages other than English (e.g. Clyne, 1986a:139). Positive attitude towards Italian instruction were also observed by Di Pietro (1976:216) in the United States.

[65] Kloss's (1966:208) *membership of a denomination with parochial schools*, a clear-cut factor in the United States, was also found to promote language maintenance in Australia but *only* if the schools were conducted *bilingually* (Clyne, 1982:30; 1991:87). Clyne (1991:59) argued that the contribution of *bilingual education* is the most significant lesson to be learned from language maintenance German enclaves in rural Victoria in Australia. *Immersion programs* are a notable exception in the general low rate of success in providing children with adequate linguistic skills, e.g. Bayswater South (Clyne, 1986a). See also the discussion of immersion programs in e.g. Swain (1984) for Canada.

were studying the language that was spoken in their homes. In 1992, Gatt-Rutter (1992:7) reported that despite the consistent efforts over the previous decade, in Australian schools only a small number of students received instruction in their language of origin. Gatt-Rutter (1992:7) suggested that teaching community languages as school subjects in Australia did not have any appreciable effect against language shift other than "turn[ing] community languages into foreign languages". While this is positive, Gatt-Rutter argued (1992:7), "it is not language maintenance, which requires that a languages be a means of normal communication for a population of speakers."

Furthermore, when the community language is taught to a high number of students of different origins, like Italian in Australia, *input* in the classroom is too 'diluted' and positive results are likely to be limited to a heightened prestige of the language in the wider community (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:150). Catholic schools, which cater for 80% of the Australian pupils attending non-government schools (Clyne, 2001:370-1) are *multi-ethnic* (Fishman, 1991:264). Italian is taught in almost all of them and is no longer identified as a local community language (Clyne, 2001:372).[66] The "impressively large numbers" of supplementary ethnic schools in Australia have also had no evident positive effects on 'reversing language shift' (Fishman, 1991:262). In agreeing with Fishman's skeptical views reported above, Clyne (2001:375) pointed out that in Australia an additional factor in discouraging language maintenance among background learners is being suspected of having an *unfair advantage*.[67]

Italian school programs in Australia have been found to be largely ineffectual both for language maintenance and language acquisition purposes. In 1990, Ingram (1990:5) lamented how, in spite of the adoption and implementation of the National Policy on Languages (Lo Bianco, 1987 - cf. 1.0), the wealth of financial resources and curriculum

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[66] The Catholic Church in general has not promoted language maintenance of Italians in Australia and around the world as it has not had a socializing collective function (Bettoni, 1993:426). As Clyne noticed (1982:33), the church in Australia represents a promoting factor in the language maintenance only if services and social functions are held in the community language, which is the case in the Greek Orthodox church. One of the generalizations Glazer (1966:364) drew from the studies on language maintenance in the various ethnic groups in the United States included in Fishman et al. (1966) was that the Catholic Church became indifferent or opposed to the language maintenance efforts of affiliated immigrant groups (see also 3.2.1.1.2). However, Jaspaert and Kroon (1991:91) found that for Italians in the Netherlands and Flanders, the Church domain was resistant to shift to Dutch.

[67] A major factor that restricts the usefulness of such schools is the total *neglect of literacy*, which dooms the continued use of the language among second- and third-generation adult Australians (Fishman, 1991:262).

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initiatives, language enrolments remained low and little more than one in ten students learned a community language to "Survival Proficiency" level.[68] Efforts were also "plagued" by "absurdly short and ill-conceived teacher retraining programmes in language and methodology" (Ingram, 1990). Undergraduate university courses are insufficient for prospective language teachers to acquire a high level of proficiency, thus perpetuating a declining cycle in language skills (Cavallaro, 1997:289, cf. Gatt-Rutter and Mercier, 1989:150).[69]

2.3 Structural aspects of language contact

As discussed in 2.1.1, the distinction between the 'individual' and the 'societal' dimensions of bilingualism, as well as between 'bilingualism' and 'monolingualism', may be conceived as a distinction between *levels of investigation* and *stages on the same continuum*, rather than between different realities. Features from language A used in the B-language discou... individual bilinguals might become generalised at the community level as new B-language 'monolingual' norms (Romaine, 1989a:51). However, the different conceptualisations of structural phenomena at any point of this process, and indeed, a perceived lack of unity in it have been at the centre of the most hotly debated issues in bilingual speech research until present.

The following subsections focus on three major categories of phenomena, i.e. *interference* (and *transference*), *codeswitching* and *borrowing*. The discussion aims to create a reference framework for the model of analysis developed in the present study, which employs the notion of 'transference' (see chapter 5). Unlike major works in the *language contact paradigm*, within which 'interference' and 'transference' were developed, the present study takes into consideration more than one *language direction* and uses the *clause* as the basic unit of analysis. These methodological choices required the analysis of

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[68] However, Rubino (1987b) found school instruction had 'purified' second-generation children informants' home variety of its 'Italo-Australian' characteristics, i.e. the high degree of mixing between Italian, dialect and English. Tosi (1982:150-3) also highlighted the importance of language school programs in developing standardization (see also discussion in 3.2.2).

[69] The role of school in language maintenance is discussed further in 2.5. In regard to the 'level of education' of the migrants, in the Australian context there are no sufficient data to determine the effect of this factor (Clyne, 1991a:88), which was found to be ambivalent in the United States (Kloss, 1966 - for data relevant to the Italian-Australian community see 3.2.1.2). In discussing a possible predictive model for Australia, Clyne (1991:109) pointed out three demographic variables based from census data, i.e. the already mentioned

the relative role played by the languages. This has been at the core of much research in 'codeswitching', which is reviewed in 2.3.2. The discussion of 'interference' and 'transference' in 2.3.1 mainly focuses on technical and terminological issues that were used in developing the taxonomy used in the present study. Phonic and morphological integration are discussed in 2.3.2 in relation to 'codeswitching' and 'borrowing'.

2.3.1 Interference and transference

The language contact paradigm owes its inception to the classic studies by Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1953, 1956). These studies provided a detailed descriptive apparatus for the linguistic forms resulting from the contact between different languages. In particular, they were among the first to focus on the contact arising from the migration of languages.[70] While these two authors use the term *interference*, Clyne (1967, 1972) preferred the term *transference*, which had more neutral connotations of the relationship between the languages in contact.[71] Haugen (1956:39) defined interference as follows:

> "The simplest possible form of linguistic influence is that in which a single item is plucked out of one language and used in the context of another. If features of phonemic and morphemic structure characteristic of language A are not retained and are modified in favor of corresponding features of languages B there is *interference*."

For Weinreich (1953:1), on the other hand, interference represented

> "Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact".

Finally, Clyne (1967:19) defined his 'transference' as "the adoption of any elements or features from the other language."[72]

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endogamy, ethnolinguistic distribution and gender, which are discussed in 3.2.1.1-2 in relation to the Italian-Australian community.

[70] Haugen's work (1953) on the Norwegian language in America still represents one of the most comprehensive accounts of a migrant community.

[71] See also Weinreich (1953:7), discussed below.

[72] The two languages involved in 'interference' have been variously termed e.g. as 'primary system' and 'secondary system' (Weinreich, 1953), 'model' and 'replica', 'lending' and 'donor' language, 'source' and 'recipient' language (Haugen, 1956). This last pair is used in the discussion here and throughout the thesis.

These authors have proposed different although not mutually exclusive taxonomies that focus on different aspects of language contact and offered different degrees of detail of analysis. As Haugen (1956:61) observed, "no classification can be airtight or apply to all languages". Language contact phenomena were identified at the traditional level of linguistic analysis, i.e. phonology, lexicon, morphology syntax and semantics. Other levels were added later, e.g. the pragmatic, prosodic and graphic levels (Clyne, 1967, 1972). However, these levels are not discrete and phenomena at one level have implications on other components of language (Romaine, 1989a:53). The lexicon, which was privileged in the earlier studies, was studied in great detail in its relationship with phonology and morphology. As discussed in 2.3.2 below, *phonic* and *morphological integration* of source-language items into the recipient language has been at the heart of the distinction between 'interference' and 'codeswitching' on the one hand, and 'codeswitching' and 'borrowing' on the other.[73]

Weinreich's (1953) classification of contact phenomena moved from a structuralist theory of language as a system of oppositions. Potentially, any point of difference between two systems can be a stimulus to interference. Weinreich (1953:7-8) seemed to distinguish between two types of interference. The first involves 'transferring' or 'borrowing' elements that belong to a different language. The second kind of interference, 'interlingual identification', does not involve a transfer of elements but consists in the erroneous identification, i.e. on the part of the bilingual speaker of phonemes, semantemes, and word order (Weinreich, 1953:7).

Similar to Weinreich's 'transference' and 'interlingual identification' were Haugen's (1953:388-9) *importation* and *substitution*, which are distinguished on the basis of whether the items are drawn from the source language or belong to the recipient language, respectively. 'Substitutions' are made on the basis of 'interlingual identifications' and can either be *diaphonic* or *diamorphic* (Haugen, 1956:50). Through *equation formulas* that work on the basis of phonic 'similarity', bilinguals establish equivalents between phones of

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The concept of 'transfer' and 'interference' has also been used in Second Language Acquisition research, as touched upon in 2.5.

[73] 'Adaptation' (and the verb 'to adapt') has been sometimes used in place of 'integration' (and the verb 'to integrate'). Here they are also used interchangeably.

two languages, i.e. "the phones he hears will be identified with phones of his own language and be organized into much the same phonemic pattern as his own" (Haugen, 1956:44).[74] These 'bilingual allophones' are termed *diaphones*. The same happens at the morphological level, i.e. (Haugen, 1956:67-8, my italics):

> "when interlingual identification involves phonemes the identification leads to the phonemes of one language becoming diaphones of phonemes in another; when there are morphemes the identification makes the morphemes of one L[anguage] into *diamorphs* of morphemes in the other".

At the morphemic level, the possibility of identifying interlingually either the phonemic shape, the meaning or both gives rise to the three types of diamorphs, respectively (Haugen, 1956:53). These are *homophonous diamorphs* (e.g. Swedish *jung* [jUŋŋ], English 'heather', identified with English 'young'), *synonymous diamorphs* (e.g. Italian *neri*, English masc. plur. adj. 'black', used in the sense of 'Blacks' - Bettoni, 1981:69) and *homologous diamorphs* (e.g. Norwegian *stikke* > English 'stick', used in the sense of English 'drop', which is another meaning of the Norwegian item).[75] At the morphemic level, Haugen (1956:60-61) classified 'loans' according to their degree or manner 'substitution', as *loanwords* (no substitution) *loanblends* (some substitution) and *loanshifts* (complete substitution). 'Loanwords' result only from morphemic importation with "purely phonemic substitution", e.g. English *painkiller* into New Mexico Spanish /penkila/ (Haugen, 1956:52). *Loanshifts*, on the other hand, result from morphemic substitution, i.e. "the lexeme borrowed is translated by the redistribution of morphemes already found in the language", e.g. English 'court house' as Spanish *casa de corte*, where there is diamorphic identification of the individual morphemes (Haugen, 1956:52).[76]

Clyne's (1967:19-21) original taxonomy included different types of transference, i.e. morphological (i.e. the adoption of a word-form without the meaning), morpho-semantic (adoption of both word-form and content), semantic (the adoption of meaning without the word-form), syntactic (adoption of sentence pattern or system of inflexions), phonic

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[74] See also discussion on 'conversion rules' or 'correspondence rules' in relation to structural convergence in 3.1.2.5.

[75] The presence of many homologous diamorphs in closely related languages leads to the establishment of *conversion formulas* (Weinreich, 1953:2).

[76] Other differentiations among loanshifts are described in Haugen (Haugen, 1953:400-3).

(transference of sounds), multiple ("transference of whole stretches of speech", i.e. 'switching' (Clyne, 1967:19).[77]

Most have accepted the hierarchy of borrowing, i.e. lexical items, derivational morphology, inflectional morphology and syntax (Romaine, 1989a:63). Within lexical items, common nouns were found to be most frequently borrowed, followed by other grammatical categories with lexical content, e.g. verbs, adjectives. Haugen (1953:405-6) studied the comparative resistance of the various parts of speech to importation in his corpus. Nouns (75.5%) and verbs (18.4%) represented the vast majority of the total number of 'loanwords' in his corpus. The predominance of nouns was confirmed in a number of subsequent studies in which English was the source language (see table 3 below).

Various causes have been put forward for the high frequency of source-language nouns in the recipient language. Weinreich (1953:64-5) indicated structural weak points in the recipient vocabulary and the need to match differentiation in source language. Haugen (1953: 373) noted that "borrowing always goes beyond the actual 'needs' of a language". However, he pointed out that "in practice it is impossible to say when a word is needed or not" and that the only conclusion that can be drawn with certainty is that the speakers that use the borrowed word 'feel the need' for it (Haugen, 1953: 373). Clyne (1991: 165) indicated the need to express new concepts and speech economy as major causes for lexical transference.[78]

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[77] Clyne (1967:17-21) reviewed the terminology that had been employed up to then. The term 'morphosemantic' was later changed into 'lexical' (Clyne, 1972). The concept of 'triggering' (Clyne, 1967) will be discussed in 2.3.3. Categorisation of transference phenomena in the present study is discussed in chapter 5.

[78] The role of different lexical fields of vocabulary was also considered (see e.g. Clyne, 1967:29-35; Haugen, 1953:368). From the language attrition perspective, but drawing on data studies in various fields (pidginization, language death, second language acquisition, language contact), Andersen (1982:92) suggested that lexicon and its utility and adequacy depends more on linguistic experience than phonology, morphology and syntax. He hypothesises that an 'LA' (i.e. a speaker whose language is undergoing attrition) will have a smaller number and a smaller variety of lexical items than a comparable competent speaker, his/her repertoire will match his recent and prior experience, most impoverished in those areas where he has had little or no experience. What (s)he will retain will be common, highly-frequent, unmarked lexical items. Explicit comments on the decline of the quality of the Gaelic of Dorian's younger informants (1973:414) focused entirely on the lexicon. The younger speakers were aware that the elder had 'more words for things' than they did (Dorian, 1973:414). See also the discussion of Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) contact-induced types of language change in 2.5.1.

Table 3 Percentage of transference of different parts of speech from English into various migrant languages (source: Tamis, 1986)

Type of transfer	Norwegian	German	Italian	Greek
	Haugen (1950)	Klajn (1972)	Bettoni (1981)	Tamis (1986)
Nouns	75.5%	71-75%	70%	73%
Verbs	18.4%	18-23%	4%	7%
Adjectives	3.4%	3-4%	6%	7%
adverbs, prepositions	1.2%	1%	1.5%	2%
pronouns, conjunctions	--	--	--	1%
interjections	1.4%	1%	15%	10%

Attitudes have also been found to influence bilingual speakers' transference/interference habits (e.g. Baetens Beardsmore, 1982:121; Clyne, 1991a: 205-6; Haugen, 1953:373). In their matched-guise studies in the Italian-Australian community, Bettoni and Gibbons (1988, 1990 – cf. 2.2.2) found that transfers from English were tolerated only if integrated into Italian (but not in dialects) and that 'pure' varieties were preferred over mixed ones.[79] Romaine (1989b:374) observed that speakers of a dying, a pidgin or a migrant language tend to place a high value on linguistic 'purity' and 'correctness' of the variety of a certain language, or the superstrate and 'uncorrupted' language of a pidgin/creole, or the language spoken in the host country. Thus, transfers from the dominant language to the migrant languages can be both seen as prestige markers and corruptive elements (Romaine, 1989b:374).[80]

As discussed in the remainder of this section (2.3.2-2.3.3), a crucial issue is the 'switching of dominance relation' in the interference between the two languages across the generations (Gonzo and Saltarelli, 1983:189).

2.3.2 Codeswitching

Haugen (1953, 1956) himself was one of the first scholars who used the term 'switching'. In fact, Haugen defined the phenomenon of 'interference' discussed above in contrast to 'switching'. In his terms 'interference' is the *"overlapping* of two languages" and occurs

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[79] Similar 'puristic' attitudes were found by Haller (1993) among Italian-Americans.

[80] Clyne (1982:125) observed that many migrants pride themselves on resisting lexical transference and criticise those whose language is characterised by it. However, semantic and syntactic transfers, in which phono-morphological material is provided by the recipient language, are not detected by the 'purists' (Clyne, 1982: 125). Bettoni (1981:95) pointed out the importance of minimal transference habits in the family as a factor inhibiting lexical transfers in the speech of childhood bilinguals. These types of transfers in the present study have been termed 'covert' (see discussion in 5.2).

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when *"features of phonemic and morphemic structure* characteristic of language A are *not retained* and are modified in favour of corresponding features of language B" (Haugen 1956:40, my italics). 'Switching', on the other hand, is the "alternate use of two languages" which "occurs when a bilingual introduces *a completely unassimilated word* from another language" (Haugen, 1956: 40, my italics). The defining characteristic of Haugen's (1956: 50) 'switching' as opposed to 'interference' is the lack of phonetic or morphological integration.[81]

As Haugen (1956:40) clearly stated, 'switching' "need not embrace more than a single lexeme". In Clyne's (1967, 1972) terminology, 'multiple transference' was used as a synonym for 'code switching' but always referred to the 'transference' of *more than one* single adjacent lexeme. In the 'transference' paradigm, therefore, 'codeswitching' is seen as another aspect of transference itself. The crucial aspect that differentiates Haugen's 'switching' from Clyne's 'multiple transference', however, is that the identification of the latter does not rely on a criterion of phonetic/morphological integration, but merely points to adjacency of the items transferred from the other language. The 'transference' paradigm, therefore, deals comprehensively with Haugen's 'interference' and 'switching'.

The perceived divide between these two orders of phenomena, however, was soon to reemerge and has remained one of the issues at the heart of the debates in codeswitching research. In his study of Swedish in America, Haugen's former student, Hasselmo (1970), drew upon Haugen to define 'codeswitching'[82] as opposed to (phonetic and morphological) 'integration' in terms of a "binary choice" available to the bilingual speaker. Hasselmo's definition of 'codeswitching', however, took a more moderate stance with respect to integration than the one implied in Haugen's. While in his terms 'codeswitching' consists of "the use of *distinct* successive stretches of two languages" (Hasselmo 1970:180, my italics), he also took into consideration features of the Swedish phonology which are incorporated in the individual speaker's *"normal* E(nglish) speech". These are not regarded

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[81] In Haugen's view 'switching' is enabled by the bilingual speaker's command of the phonemic systems of both languages. The 'phonetically competent' bilingual speaker can avoid "interference in the strict sense" through a "clean break from one to the other (language)" whereby "there is no real interference, only successive stretches belonging to different languages" (Haugen 1956: 50).

[82] From now on and throughout the present thesis the term 'codeswitching', which is sometimes abbreviated as 'CS', is used as a synonym of 'switching' or 'code switching'. Quotations, however, report whatever term was used in the original text.

as 'interference' as such, which allows a less strict definition of 'codeswitching' as "the introduction into the context of Sw(edish) discourse of stretches of speech which exhibit *primarily* E(nglish) phonological and morphological features" (Hasselmo 1970:180-1, my italics).

Hasselmo (1970:180) also pointed out that the overlap between the phonologies and/or morphologies of two languages in a given stretch of speech may make the stretch in question ambiguous. To overcome this analytical problem, Hasselmo (1970) introduced the concept of 'social integration', which is achieved when "certain instances of interference are repeated often enough in discourse in a certain language to be regarded as habitualized" (1970:179) and is "interpreted as a function of the degree of consistency with which (given stretches) are used in a given context" (1970:180). Hasselmo utilised 'social integration' as a criterion for the differentiation of '(phonological and morphological) integration' from 'codeswitching'. A high degree of 'social integration' is indicative of the former, a low degree of 'social integration' is indicative of the latter. *"Interference in the strict sense"* was reserved by Hasselmo to a third category that gathers cases of what he called *'imperfect* integration' and *'imperfect* codeswitching', which result from the above described overlapping of two phonologies and/or morphologies.[83] On the basis of the occurrence of instances of 'imperfect codeswitching' as defined above, Hasselmo (1970: 182) distinguished between "cases of switching that are *clean* in the sense of representing a complete change of language on the phonological and/or morphological level and cases of switching that are *ragged*, in the sense of representing overlapping on one or both levels."

As can be summarised from Hasselmo's discussion, while 'interference' proper is in his terms distinguished from phonological/morphological 'integration', it however coincides with 'ragged' codeswitching, intended as 'imperfect' codeswitching. Similarly to Clyne's 'transference' paradigm, Hasselmo's approach dealt with 'interference' and 'codeswitching' as aspects of the same phenomena, through the recognition of the existence of 'degrees' bridging Haugen's concepts of 'alternate use' and the 'overlapping' of two languages. These issues were developed further by Poplack (1980), who in the early

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[83] Note that Haugen (1956: 40, my italics) had also envisaged 'integration' as the process whereby borrowed items gain "general *social* acceptance" through "the regular use of material from one language in another so that there is *no longer either switching or overlapping* except in a historical sense". 'Integration' is the last of

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1980s established one of the two main current schools of thought in codeswitching research, the other being Myers-Scotton's. Two main interrelated topics have characterised Poplack's research, i.e. the differentiation of 'codeswitching' from 'borrowing' and the grammatical constraints governing 'codeswitching'. The theoretical positions of both authors on these two issues are discussed in 2.3.2.1 and 2.3.2.2, respectively.[84]

2.3.2.1 Codeswitching and borrowing

The underlying idea marking the research of Poplack and associates has been that codeswitching and borrowing differ as *processes* (Poplack and Meechan 1998:129) and constitute 'alternate' vs. 'simultaneous' use of two languages, respectively. "Unambiguous codeswitches to English" have been defined as "the *juxtaposition* of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally, phonological) rules of the language of its provenance (Poplack, 1993:255 quoted in Poplack and Meechan 1998:132, my italics).[85]

Integration at various levels as well as further diagnostic tools for the identification of 'codeswitching' vs. 'borrowing' have been elaborated and refined by Poplack and associates over the years. As Poplack (1988:220) explained, the main analytical problem is faced with single-lexeme switches as "the smaller the switched constituent and particularly at the level of the lone lexical item, the more difficult it is to resolve the question of whether we are dealing with a code-switch or a loanword". Poplack and Sankoff (1984)

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three stages in 'diffusion', the other two being 'switching', i.e. the alternate use of two languages, and 'interference', i.e. the overlapping of two languages (cf. discussion above).

[84] As the title of the volumes edited by Jacobson (1990, 1998a, 2001) and other scholars (e.g. Heller, 1988a; Milroy and Muysken, 1995) show, 'codeswitching' and other variously termed contact phenomena are widespread around the world. The enormous interest in this field has lead to the establishment of an ESF (European Science Foundation) network on Code-Switching and Language Contact (cf. Milroy and Muysken, 1995). Codeswitching is also discussed in e.g. Ammon et. al. (1988:1174-80) and Romaine (1989a: ch. 4).

[85] However, similarly to both Haugen and Hasselmo, Poplack also observed that integration into the 'base language' or the absence of it represents a real option only for balanced bilinguals. In accounting for the varying bilingual abilities of her Puerto Rican informants, who included third-generation bilinguals, in her early work Poplack (1980) envisaged four possible combinations of integration into the base language, at the phonological, morphological and syntactical levels. According to this identification, segments integrated only at the phonological level are also considered "a code-switch into English rendered with a 'foreign' accent" (Poplack 1980:585). Furthermore, segments that were phonologically and morphologically *un*integrated, but followed Spanish syntactic patterns, were also considered cases of 'codeswitching'. Only items that were integrated at all three levels did *not* constitute 'codeswitching' and were classified as monolingual Spanish discourse, i.e. 'borrowing' or 'loanwords'. Different criteria for the identification of the 'base language',

envisaged various criteria for the identification of 'full-fledged loanwords'. Two main indices were developed, i.e. 'frequency of use' and 'phonological integration'. These two indices were combined with the principle underlying Poplack's 'equivalence constraint', which states that "code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L_1 and L_2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e. at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other" (Poplack 1980:586). On this basis, a 'loanword' was identified as any English word that was *used by many speakers* and hence uttered with *Spanish phonology and morphology* and (that) [...] *in non-equivalent Spanish-English structures* followed Spanish rules" (Poplack 1988:220, my italics).

However, in a later study in Finnish-English codeswitching, Poplack and associates themselves (Poplack et al., 1990) found that the equivalent constraint could not account for a large proportion of the material of English origin in their corpus. The authors discarded such potential counterexamples to the validity of the constraint by arguing that they in fact did *not* constitute codeswitching (Poplack et al., 1990:200):

> "the fact that most of these words carry the correct Finnish case-marking suggests, however, that they are not *codeswitches* at all, but result from *nonce borrowing*, a process which (unlike the relatively restricted set of established borrowing) applies to the entire English nominal lexicon."

Recently, diagnostics developed by Poplack (e.g. in Poplack and Meechan, 1998) have focused on more operational criteria, again in combination with a principle of syntactic 'equivalence'. The Labovian variationist approach was applied to the disambiguation of 'lone other-language words' (Poplack and Meechan 1998). The so-called 'conflict site', i.e. a site where the grammars of two linguistic systems "do not match", has been used as a central methodological tool by Poplack to calculate the differential "rate and conditioning of marking" of comparable functions in bilingual and unmixed languages, respectively. In the authors' recent work, the efficacy of 'phonology integration' as an index of 'borrowedness' advocated in earlier research (see above) seems to have been played down

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which term was also used by Hasselmo (1970) in the description of his informants' 'modes of speaking', are discussed in 2.3.2.2.

by morphological criteria.[86] However, 'frequency of use', also previously utilised, seems to be still current, at least in terms of "recurrence and diffusion". These two extralinguistic characteristics are seen by Poplack as distancing 'nonce borrowing' from 'codeswitching' on one side but making it resemble 'established borrowing' and their native counterparts in the (unmixed) recipient language on the other (Poplack and Meechan 1998:136-7).[87]

In open contrast to the position of Poplack and associates, Myers-Scotton (1993a:182) argued that codeswitching and borrowing are *not* separated as processes.[88] In this author's view, what differentiates codeswitching from borrowing forms is *frequency* and the *mental lexicon* to which they belong. Codeswitching forms are 'lower-frequency forms' and are part of the 'E[mbedded] L[anguage]' mental lexicon. Borrowed forms, on the other hand, are 'higher-frequency forms', have become part of the 'M[atrix] L[anguage]' lexicon and therefore are accessed more readily in constructions for which the ML is the frame than CS

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[86] Various morphological criteria were used such as noun inflection (e.g. plural marking), gender marking and reference marking and yielded remarkably similar results across different languages. Poplack and Meechan (1998:130) formulated the hypothesis that "if the constraints on variability of $L_{d(onor)}$-origin forms are parallel to those constraining the $L_{r(ecipient)}$-counterparts, the former can only be borrowings". To test this hypothesis, the authors compared bilingual structures with unmixed patterns in the same corpus. According to their proposed diagnostic method, borrowings were identified as those lone English-origin nouns that a) patterned like "unambiguous" "attested loanwords", b) patterned like counterparts in unmixed recipient language and c) patterned in a different way than nouns in unmixed English/unambiguous (multiword) intrasentential English codeswitches. These three points were taken by Poplack and Meechan (1998:131) to mean that only the grammar of the recipient language was operating, thus identifying the English-origin word as borrowed. Only a small minority of lone English-origin words did not pattern with the counterparts or the established loanwords of the recipient language (Poplack and Meechan 1998:135). The authors took this to mean that that "they have been borrowed into that language, despite the lack, in some cases, of any dictionary attestation or *diffusion within the community*" (Poplack and Meechan 1998:136, my italics).

[87] It is important to notice, however, that in the whole of Poplack's approach, 'codeswitching' has been kept apart not only from 'borrowing' but also from all other types of language contact phenomena. These include "*all* the other consequences of bilingualism which involve not alternate use but the truly *simultaneous* use of elements from both codes", i.e. not only '(nonce) borrowings' but also "incomplete acquisition and language loss" and "speech errors which involve elements of both languages, and which may be properly considered 'interference' " (Poplack 1988: 239, my italics).

[88] Myers-Scotton (1992:31; 1993a:177-191) argued against Poplack and associates' position on both full phonological and morphological integration as operational indices to distinguish borrowings from codeswitching. Myers-Scotton (1992) argued that full integration is not a necessary outcome 'given time' and it might depend on the proficiency of the speakers. Myers-Scotton (1992:32) also criticised Poplack and associates' notion of 'nonce borrowing' (cf. discussion above), a "category of quasi-borrowings which masks recognised similarities between either M[atrix] L[anguage]-origin or E[mbedded] L[anguage]-origin *in the production processes they undergo*" on the one hand, while blurring distinctions between borrowed forms and codeswitching forms as "*end products*" on the other. The role of the 'matrix' ('ML') and the 'embedded' language ('EL') in Myers-Scotton's 'Matrix Language Frame Model' ('MLFM') of codeswitching is discussed in 2.3.2.2.

forms (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:206).[89] Myers-Scotton (1992:28-9) differentiated two types of borrowings, i.e. *cultural* and *core* borrowings. The former type stands for objects or concepts that are new to the ML culture (Myers-Scotton, 1992:28-9), enter the ML lexicon abruptly (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:171-2), are near categorical in nature and are therefore unrelated to codeswitching. 'Core' borrowings, however, arise from the "desire to identify with the EL culture" (Myers-Scotton, 1992:29) and meet no real lexical need as the ML always has equivalents for them (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:169-172). It is this second type of borrowed forms that is strongly similar to codeswitching. Myers-Scotton's (1993a:174) hypothesis was that most *core* borrowed forms were once codeswitching forms, i.e. "CS [codeswitching] is the gate by which content morphemes as core B forms enter the ML".

In Myers-Scotton's (1993a:206) view there is a frequency continuum between borrowing and codeswitching. While codeswitching forms will show minimal recurrence values, core forms will show high frequency in relation to ML forms they duplicate, which shows that they are on their way to becoming B forms (Myers-Scotton, 1992:29).[90] By applying an "admittedly arbitrary" 'three-occurrence metric', Myers-Scotton (1992:35-6) suggested that "any form occurring at least three times in a relatively large corpus is a B[orrowing] form" (1993a:207).[91] This leaves forms which occur two or fewer times, from which lexemes standing for new objects or concepts are factored out as borrowing forms (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:207). The remaining lexemes are CS forms, i.e. lexemes that encode core concepts and occur no more than twice in a relatively large corpus (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:207).[92]

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[89] Myers-Scotton (1992:33) built on the premise that "there is no reason to remove from the CS arena the single-lexeme EL material which cannot be identified as established B[orrowing] forms". As Myers-Scotton observed (1993a:20), this was also Haugen's position (1956:40 - see discussion in 2.3.2), although early studies on codeswitching treated as 'true' codeswitching only clauses or sentences (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:168).

[90] Treffers-Daller (1994:90-3) also argued that 'codemixing' and 'borrowing' are similar phenomena. Mackey (1970:196) warned against the danger of 'synchronic fallacy', i.e. "belief that one can describe a language as if at any point in time its code were stable."

[91] Myers-Scotton (1993a:204) turned to a criterion of absolute frequency realizing that relative frequency of EL-origin forms in relation to their indigenous counterparts can only be measured when the concept they encode comes up in a text a considerable number of times.

[92] The separation of B forms from CS forms in order to assess morphosyntactic constraints on CS represents an issue only in the case of B forms which are 'system' morphemes, rather than 'content' ones, e.g. a 'complementizer', which could have both an ML and an EL complement (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:207). The distinction between morphemes in the Myers-Scotton's 'MLF' model is discussed in 2.3.2.2.

Through his notion of 'insertion', Muysken (2000) partially revived the distinction between 'code-mixing' and borrowing, as well as the notions of 'nonce' and 'established' borrowings, attempting to combine it into one framework. In his typology (Muysken, 2000:70), he contrasted *insertion*, which constitutes 'supralexical' mixing, with *borrowing*, which constitutes 'sublexical' mixing, i.e. below the level of insertion of a word.[93] He referred to the dimension of *listedness*, i.e. "the degree to which a particular element or structure is part of a memorised list which has gained acceptance within a particular speech community" (Muysken, 2000:70). As he explained "the sublexical mode is primarily reproductive (listed), the supra-lexical, syntactic mode primarily creative" (Muysken, 2000:72). In his model (Muysken, 2000:72, see table 4 below), code-mixings that are spontaneously formed in discourse and nonce loans (Poplack et al., 1990, discussed above) are 'non-listed'; patterns that are more frequent in one speech community (i.e. 'conventionalized') and loans that are familiar phenomena ('established loans') are listed.

Table 4 Muysken's (2000:72) differentiation of 'code mixing' and 'borrowing'.

	non-listed	listed
supra-lexical	code-mixing (a)	conventionalized code-mixing (b)
sub-lexical	nonce loans (c)	established loans (d)

2.3.2.2 Grammatical constraints on codeswitching

The question of what should be considered 'codeswitching' vs. 'borrowing' and indeed, whether the two phenomena can or should be differentiated at all, is still one of the hotly debated issues in codeswitching research. Poplack's 1980 study (discussed in 2.3.2.1 above) also gave fresh impulse to another main issue at the core of current major theoretical investigations in the field. With Poplack's research, renewed attention was also focused on the grammatical constraints that govern codeswitching, which had started to be explored since the 1970s by authors such as Pfaff (1979) and Gumperz (e.g.1982). The discussion in this subsection mainly concerns the theories proposed by Poplack and Myers-Scotton, respectively, as two of the most influential paradigms in the area.

In her 1980 paper, Poplack postulated the 'equivalence constraint', which was introduced above (2.3.2.1), and the 'free-morpheme constraint'. According to the latter constraint,

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[93] 'Insertions' are discussed further below in 2.3.2.2.

"codes may be switched after any constituent provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme".[94] In her 1980 study, Poplack found a negligible number of violations to both these constraints, both in the speech of balanced and non-fluent bilinguals.[95] However, counterexamples to both constraints emerged in various subsequent studies and Poplack herself (1988) found that in the codeswitching patterns used within the French Canadian community the "evaluation of the equivalence or any syntactic constraints is a fruitless pursuit".[96] Puerto Ricans engaged in "skilled or fluent code-switching", i.e. a "smooth transition between L_1 and L_2 elements, unmarked by false starts, hesitations or lengthy pauses" (Poplack 1988:218). 'Smooth' codeswitching was therefore found to be typical of highly fluent bilinguals.[97] However, the community-wide discourse mode Poplack found among French Canadians was 'flagged' rather than 'smooth' codeswitching. This type of codeswitching served stylistic or discourse functions, to which the speakers drew attention via e.g. repetition, hesitation, intonational highlighting, explicit metalinguistic commentary. This was consistent with the speakers' attitude towards English use. Through French Canadians' 'flagging' devices, the equivalence constraint "is (...) satisfied trivially" as potential grammatical violations were deliberately marked off in that way (Poplack, 1988).[98]

Poplack and associates' general theoretical approach to constraints on codeswitching contrasts primarily with the model proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993a), i.e. the 'Matrix

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[94] For instance, a switch between a bound morpheme and a lexical form, such as "eat-*iendo*", are permissible only if one of the morphemes has been integrated phonologically into the language of the other (Poplack 1980:585-6).

[95] Poplack (1980:581) found that different types of codeswitching resulting from the operation of the equivalence constraints can be "sensitive indicator of bilingual ability". A correlation emerged between a high bilingual ability and the tendency to switch at various syntactic boundaries *within* the sentence, wherever the equivalence constraint could be respected. Non-fluent bilinguals, however, favoured codeswitching between sentences in an apparent attempt to avoid violation of grammatical rules in either of the languages. Different types of codeswitching could be graded according to the bilingual competence they demanded, ranging from: a) "*intra-sentential* switching", which requires the most skill, b) "*(inter-)sentential* switching" and c) "*tag*" or "emblematic" "switching" (the use of a tag, i.e. fillers, interjections, idiomatic expressions - Poplack 1980:615), which require minimal competence in the grammar of the language of the tags. Issues pertaining to the relationship between proficiency and codeswitching are also discussed in 2.1.2 and 2.3.

[96] See also discussion in 2.3.2.1 above.

[97] Poplack (1988) found that codeswitching among Puerto Ricans formed part of an integral part of the community linguistic repertoire and the overall discourse strategy in in-group interactions, where the salience of the switch points was minimised.

[98] Poplack et al.'s (1990) rejection of counterexamples of the equivalence constraints in terms of 'nonce borrowing' is discussed in 2.3.2.1.

Language Frame Model' (MLFM).[99] The model was first formulated in Myers-Scotton (1993a) but was subsequently refined (e.g. Myers-Scotton and Jake, 1995; Jake and Myers-Scotton, 1997) and re-elaborated via the addition of two new sub-models, i.e. the '4-M model' and the 'Abstract Level model' (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2000; 2001). In general terms, the MLF model ('Matrix Language Frame Model') is founded on the idea of a differential role played by the languages involved in codeswitching. The model operates on the basis of a primary main distinction, i.e. between the 'Matrix Language' ('ML') vs. the 'Embedded Language' ('EL'). In Myers-Scotton's (1993a:3) terms, codeswitching is "the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation".[100] Three types of constituents are envisaged in the MLF model, i.e. 1) mixed or 'ML+EL constituents' with morphemes from two or more languages; 2) 'ML islands', which are constituents with morphemes from the ML only and well-formed according to the ML grammar; 3) 'EL islands', which are constituents with morphemes from the EL only and well-formed according to the EL grammar.[101]

The second major distinction underlying Myers-Scotton's MLF model is drawn between 'content' vs. 'syste' morphemes. The properties of these two classes of morphemes and the way they are accessed have been recently redefined into a sub-model called the '4-M model' (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001). The new quadripartite categorisation partly cuts across the original distinction between the two classes of morphemes on the basis of whether a) morphemes are "activated at the lemma level", i.e. 'content' and 'early system'

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[99] The MLF model marked the beginning of an exceptional development in the research of universal constraints on codeswitching and has, since its first formulation, both enjoyed support as well as attracted strong criticism. The rest of the present section will focus on it as well as Muysken's (2000) recent typology of codeswitching as both present theoretical aspects that are particularly relevant to the corpus of the present study.

[100] Myers-Scotton's definition of 'codeswitching' in relation to 'borrowing' is discussed in 2.3.2.2.

[101] While the MLF model was originally a model of 'intra-sentential codeswitching', Myers-Scotton subsequently identified the bilingual 'CP' ('projection of complementizer') as the appropriate unit of structural analysis for codeswitching, as it is "the highest unit projected by lexical items" (Myers-Scotton, 1996; Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:89). Codeswitching constituents within a CP include noun phrases, prepositional phrases, adjective/adverb phrases, verb phrases and full projections of inflections ('Ips') (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:89). Myers-Scotton's model employs notions derived from the theory of Government and Binding.

morphemes, or whether b) they are activated later, i.e. 'late bridge system' morphemes and 'late outsider system' morphemes (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:98-100).[102]

The different properties that distinguish the four types of morphemes can be schematically summarised as follows. 'Content' morphemes, as opposed to 'system' morphemes, are specified as [+thematic-role assigner/receiver].[103] It follows that while 'content' morphemes and 'early system' morphemes are *both activated at the lemma level*, only the former *assign or receive a thematic role*. Furthermore, the former "are *directly elected* by the semantic/pragmatic feature bundle, mapping conceptual structure onto the lemma" (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:98, my italics). 'Early' system morphemes, on the other hand, "are *indirectly elected* because content morphemes 'point to' them" (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:98, my italics).[104] Finally, *both* classes of 'late' system morphemes are *not* activated at the lemma level and are *structurally assigned* (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:99). However, unlike both 'late bridge' and 'early' system morphemes, the form of 'late *outsider*' system morphemes depends "on grammatical information *outside* of their own maximal projection", e.g. the English third person present tense –*s* (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:100, my italics).[105]

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[102] Lemmas are defined as the abstract entries in the mental lexicon supporting morphemes (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:105). The "abstract lexical structure" of the morphemes that are activated at the lemma level, i.e. 'content' and 'early' morphemes, sends information about "the constituent structure of morphemes" and "how they are assembled in larger constituents structures" to a "formulator" (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:98). While lemmas also include slots for 'late' morphemes, "the grammatical information they contain is unavailable until the formulator […] assembles the constituent structures of maximal projections" (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:98).

[103] Prototypical 'content' morphemes are "most verbs and some prepositions", nouns, and some pronominal forms. Prototypical "system" morphemes are "inflections and most function words" (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:90).

[104] Examples of 'early system' morphemes are English plural morphemes, definite articles (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001). Both 'early' and 'late' system morphemes "*always* are realized without going outside the maximal projection of the content morpheme that elects them" (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001: 98). Furthermore, both 'early' and 'late *bridge*' system morphemes "depend on information *within* the maximal projection in which they occur" (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:99, my italics). 'Bridge' system morphemes, however, differ from 'early' system morphemes in that "they do not add conceptual structure, but rather integrate a content morpheme into a large constituent", e.g. the genitive/possessive *of* and *'s* in English, which assign case on the basis of the construction rather than a content morpheme (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001: 99).

[105] In the German determiner in 'der Frau', for instance, Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001:100) explain that the morpheme encoding number and gender is coindexed with the head of the NP and is therefore an 'early system' morpheme; the morpheme encoding the genitive case depends on the verb or preposition outside the NP and is therefore a 'late system' morpheme.

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Three main hypotheses spell out the claims of the Myers-Scotton's model, i.e. the 'ML hypothesis', the 'blocking hypothesis' and the 'EL island trigger hypothesis'. These are, in brief, the hypotheses that were introduced in the 1993 formulation of the model (Myers-Scotton, 1993a) and apparently did not undergo any successive modifications, at least as far as the formulation of the main body of what is still called the 'MLF model' is concerned.[106] According to the 'ML hypothesis', "the ML sets the morphosyntactic frame for ML + EL constituents" (Myers-Scotton 1993a:82).[107] The 'blocking hypothesis' proposes that in ML+EL constituents a filter blocks the appearance of any EL content morphemes which do not meet certain congruence conditions with ML counterparts (Myers-Scotton 1993a:120). As a result of this hypothesis, the 'EL island trigger hypothesis' predicts that whenever an EL morpheme appears which is not permitted under either the 'ML hypothesis' or the 'blocking hypothesis', the constituent containing it must be completed as an obligatory EL island (Myers-Scotton 1993a:139).

The '4-M model', discussed above, and the 'Abstract Level model' were introduced by Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001:94, my italics) to explain "three atypical distributions in *classic CS*", i.e. the kind of codeswitching produced by speakers that "*are able to produce well-formed utterances in both of the participating varieties*" (2001:85, my italics). "*To a more limited extent*" the two models were intended to explain "what is involved when other language contact phenomena show *convergence* or attrition" (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:85, my italics).[108] The 'Abstract Level model' rests on the premise that lemmas

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[106] As already observed above, after the 1999 re-elaboration (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001), Myers-Scotton's whole theoretical apparatus envisages three models, or one main model and two sub-models, i.e. the 'MLF model', the '4-M model', discussed above, and the 'Abstract Level model'. However, *only* the '4-M model" seems to be related directly to the 'MLF model' as it re-categorised the classes of morphemes which operate within it. Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001:105) in fact referred to the '4-M model' in term of "its [the MLF model's] *extensions*". The 'Abstract Level model' was also referred to in terms of a "second *sub-model*" of the MLF model as such. However, as discussed below, on the basis of the 'Abstract Level model' Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001) proposed the concept of 'composite ML', which redefined in a substantial way the 'MLF model' itself. Apart from the new principles introduced through the '4-M model', therefore, the MLF model *proper* seems to be intended as it was formulated before 2000. The concept of 'composite ML' was used in Myers-Scotton (1996) in her discussion of the ML turnover. However, the 'Abstract Level model' was formally introduced in Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000; 2001).

[107] This hypothesis is realised by two principles. The 'morpheme order principle' dictates that in ML+EL constituents, surface morpheme order will be that of the ML (Myers-Scotton 1993a:83). The 'system morpheme principle' dictates that in ML+EL constituents "*all syntactically relevant system morphemes*, i.e. which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent, *must come from the ML*" (Myers-Scotton 1993a:98, my italics).

[108] The '4-M model' was used to explain cases of 'double morphology' (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:102) and the 'Abstract Level model' and the '4-M model' combined together were used to explain asymmetries in

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include three levels of abstract lexical structure, which contain the "grammatical information necessary for the surface realization of the lexical entry" (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:105). The level of 'lexical-conceptual structure' is the level at which pre-verbal intentions are mapped onto entries in the mental lexicon. The level of 'predicate-argument structure' is the level at which thematic structure is mapped onto grammatical relations (e.g. agent to subject, beneficiary to internal object (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:105). Finally, the level of 'morphological realisation patterns' is the level at which surface grammatical relations are realised, e.g. word order, agreement morphology, etc. (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:105). Congruence of EL 'content' morphemes with ML counterparts (cf. 'blocking hypothesis' above) is checked at all three levels. [109]

An "extension" of the 'Abstract Level model' (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:107) envisages that in some contact situations other than 'classic CS', the structures at the above three levels may come from different varieties. In such cases, speakers "do not have full access to the single variety that is the desired ML". As a result the bilingual CPs are framed on a 'composite ML', i.e. their 'ML frame' is built through a combination of "abstract lexical structure *from two or more varieties*" (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:107, my italics). According to Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001:107), the proposed concept "explains these [convergence] phenomena in a more precise and principled way than [...] more descriptive labels" such as " 'transference', 'intertwining', 'interference' and even 'creolization' ". 'Convergence' is defined by Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001:107) as the phenomenon in which "while all the surface forms and some abstract structure come from one variety, another variety contributes some of the abstract structure. That is, 'convergence' is "the splitting of levels and their recombining". The following is an example of 'convergence' reported by Myers-Scotton (1996:292) from Fuller's (1996) Pennsylvania German corpus, where the speaker uses the auxiliary verb *haben*, corresponding to English *have*, rather than *sei* ('be'):

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109 The way in which 'EL islands' and 'bare forms' occur as 'compromise strategies' in cases of insufficient congruence is discussed in Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995).

Pennsylvania German
"mer hab-e da auf-ge-wachscn"
(We have-1pl there up-part-grow)

Standard German
"Wir sind da aufgewachsen"
(We be-1pl there up-part-grow)
('We grew up there')

The above example is explained by Myers-Scotton (1996:292, my italics) in terms of a 'composite ML' structuring the grammatical frame, i.e. "the ML of Pennsylvania German *'converges'* towards English at the abstract levels of lexical-conceptual structure and predicate-argument structure." The surface "morphological realisation patterns" are wholly German but show "neutralization at the lexical-conceptual level of semantically based specification in verbs requiring haben or *sei*" (Myers-Scotton, 1996:292).

It should be noticed that the introduction of the concept of 'composite ML' restricted the application of the concept of ML as defined within it *only* to corpora from what Myers-Scotton and Jake termed 'classic CS'. This seems to contradict the original claims of the MLF model as stated in Myers-Scotton's 1993 book (1993a), the goal of which was to relate codeswitching as configured within the model to various scenarios envisioning different language contact settings, including 'ML turnover' (Myers-Scotton 1993a:ch. 7). While the actual linguistic phenomena accompanying an 'ML turnover' were *not* stated in the 1993 book, it seems that they could only be specified on the basis of a 'composite ML', which in fact seems to disallow the fundamental provisions of the MLF model itself. [110] These issues are discussed further in the sub-section below (2.3.3). [111]

2.3.3 Different approaches to contact phenomena

The purported universality of constraints on codeswitching was criticised from various points of view. [112] In particular, it appears that scholars working on issues that are highly relevant in the present study, have either engaged in the discussion on grammatical constraints by openly doubting the usefulness of powerful predictive models and/or steered

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110 The way in which the 'composite ML' accompanies cases of 'ML turnover' is discussed in Myers-Scotton (1996).
111 The relevance of these issues in the model of analysis developed in the present study is discussed further in 5.1.

towards the development of more flexible and probabilistic approaches. These issues are *a)* linguistic systems undergoing *convergence*, *b) closely related* languages, *c) imbalanced* bilingualism and d) *switching of dominance and interference/transference direction*.

As discussed in 2.3.2.2, convergence and imbalanced bilingualism (points a and c) were the issues that the recent developments of Myers-Scotton's model attempted to address through the postulation of a 'composite matrix language'. This notion differentiated fluent bilinguals' 'classic CS' from convergence and other language contact phenomena (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001:85). Convergence and closely related languages (point a and b) had been explicitly left out of Myers-Scotton's 1993 discussion of the MLF model:

> "the discussion does not take account of the difficulty of distinguishing ML ('matrix language') from EL ('embedded language') material in language-contact situations where *syntactic convergence* has taken place (cf. Clyne, 1987 on German/English CS among German immigrants to Australia), or where the switching is *between dialects of the same language* (cf. [...] standard Italian/regional dialects). Admittedly, in such cases it would be difficult (although not impossible) to test the claims of the model about the differential accessing of ML versus EL material" (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:17, my italics).

Clyne's paper (1987:743-4) critically examined the constraints proposed by various scholars by questioning the fundamental assumption that the languages in contact have 'standard' and 'stable' grammatical systems.[113] Based on his corpus of data from German and Dutch in contact with English in Australia, Clyne (1987:750) suggested that in many individuals the syntactic systems of these languages were converging towards English through syntactic transference. Overlapping word order patterns of the two languages *as represented in the bilingual speaker's repertoire*, allowed him/her to 'switch in and out' of the languages (Clyne, 1987:753). In specific instances, a link was found between *codeswitching* and *syntactic transference*, which apparently occurred "IN ORDER to ease code switching" (Clyne, 1987:753, original capitalisation). Examples similar to the one reported from Fuller's Pennsylvania German corpus by Myers-Scotton (see 2.3.2.2) have

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[112] For a review see e.g. Clyne (1987), Jacobson (1998b), Hamers and Blanc (1989:259-266)
[113] See also Mackey's (1970) notion of 'synchronic fallacy' (cf. discussion in 2.3.2.1). A comprehensive listing and critique on universal constraints is in Clyne (1991:198-204)

in fact been or would be described in terms of 'syntactic transference' (Clyne, 1967; Bettoni, 1981a) or 'grammatical interference' (Weinreich, 1953).[114]

In her discussion of codeswitching between dialect and standard languages, Giacalone Ramat (1995a) pointed out the "bidirectional relationship" between codeswitching and convergence (1995a:61). As she observed, in both convergence and code-switching mechanisms the "role of bilingual speakers in favouring structures shared by both languages is crucial" (Giacalone Ramat, 1995a:61). 'Neutral sites', which are frequent in closely related languages, promote codeswitching and in the long run promote structural convergence (Giacalone Ramat, 1995a:59). 'Homophonous diamorphs' (see 2.3.1) are crucial in the creation of such sites (Giacalone Ramat, 1995a:59). In Clyne's (1967, 1987) notion of 'triggering', to which Giacalone Ramat (1995a:59) referred, these items 'trigger' a switch from one language to the other by neutralising the distinction between the codes.[115]

Homophonous diamorphs could be thus said to 'trigger' a *phonology-driven* type of codeswitching.[116] However, as Myers-Scotton explained (1993a:17), her discussion also disregarded the "phonology of CS constituents" as "it does not seem to figure in conditioning or explaining morphosyntactic constraints on CS". This exclusion was not redressed in the latest additions to the MLF model (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2000; 2001; Myers-Scotton, 1996- see discussion in 2.3.2.2). This also contrasts with the prominent role attributed to scholars to homophonous and homologous diamorphs in languages undergoing *convergence* (see discussion in 3.1.2.5), which the '4-M model' set out to explain.[117]

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[114] Further examples are discussed in 5.2.7 in relation to the model of analysis employed in the present study.
[115] Other 'trigger words' are items belonging to the bilingual speaker's two systems, e.g. lexical transfers, proper nouns and 'compromise forms' (Clyne, 1967 - see 5.3.2). See also the discussion of Berruto's 'hybridisms' (1985) in 3.1.5. Alfonzetti (1992a:240-4) found that the 'triggering' function of 'homophonous hybridisms' was widespread in Sicilian/Italian codeswitching in Sicily.
[116] The same can apply to 'trigger words' that are 'compromise forms'.
[117] It should also be noticed that Auer and Di Luzio's notion of 'code-shifting', vs. 'code-switching' (1983b: 6-13 – see discussion in 2.1.2) was intended to account for the variation and structural heterogeneity of Italian and dialectal varieties as spoken by *imbalanced* bilingual children in Germany (1983b:4-5). In the authors' intention, 'code-shifting' incorporated into a single model 'inter-' and 'intra-systemic' *variation*. The latter is the variation in the 'realizations of single parameters' within a, (dia-)system, i.e. 'single parameter variation', e.g. final vowel treatment (e.g. Lucano *-ë* rather than Italian *-e*) and realization of article (e.g. Lucano *u* rather than Italian *il* for the definite singular masculine), which defines the variety the authors called '*italiano stentato*' (Auer and Di Luzio, 1983a:89-98; 1983b:6).

In her review of Italian/dialect codeswitching patterns, Giacalone Ramat (1995a:59-60) concluded that morphosyntactic constraints on codeswitching should be placed on a continuum reflecting *typological relatedness* of the languages involved.[118] Jacobson (1998b) reviewed critically the grammatical constraints proposed by various authors. On the basis of a contrastive analysis of codeswitching in different language pairs he recommended greater "modesty" in the cross-linguistic generalisation of findings (Jacobson, 1998b:75). Boeschoten (1998:20) lamented that in codeswitching research questions pertaining to *linguistic change* had been neglected as a result of a rigid conceptualisation of the interacting grammars as separate and totally independent, which "makes the problem of *synchronic fallacy* [...] look unassailable" (1998:23, my italics, cf. Mackey, 1970). In Gardner-Chloros's (1995:68, my italics) opinion "code-switching should [...] be considered as a much broader, blanket term for a *range of interlingual phenomena* within which strict alternation between two discrete systems is the exception rather than the rule".

Among recent developments in bilingual research, Muysken's (1997, 2000) typology seems to take into account the above recommendations. It is intentionally probabilistic, in explicit response to the purported universality of other models, e.g. Poplack's or Myers-Scotton's (Muysken, 1995:183-5 – see discussion in 2.3.2). Muysken (2000:7-8) differentiated three 'code-mixing' patterns, i.e. 'insertion', 'alternation' and 'congruent lexicalization', from structural, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic points of view.[119] While he also provided 'diagnostic' methods, his language was highly tentative and referred to e.g. likelihood, 'plausible options' and 'good possibilities', rather than clear-cut cases. Of the three patterns Muysken (2000) proposed, a 'base' or 'matrix' language is an issue only in 'insertion'. In 'insertions' there is 'embedding' and "it is reasonable to assume that there is a base-language" (Muysken, 1995:182, my italics).[120] As Muysken (2000:114) explained, 'insertion', which is likely to concern content words such as nouns

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[118] Alfonzetti (1992a:176, footnote 6) also found that many of the criteria that had been suggested for the identification of the base language were not applicable to Italian/Sicilian codeswitching.

[119] Muysken (2000:1) defined 'code-mixing' as "all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from 2 languages appear in one sentence".

[120] However, rather than giving principles to identify a base-language, Muysken (2000:64; 1995:182) reviewed different ways in which the base language could be identified according to different approaches.

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and adjectives, is "unidirectional", "constituent-internal" and elements that might precede and follow it are structurally related.[121]

'Congruent lexicalization' "of material from different lexical inventories into a shared grammatical structure" is particularly relevant to related languages such as standard and dialects (Muysken, 2000:4). This pattern is "plausible" "when several words are switched which *do not form one or more constituents together*" (Muysken, 2000:62, my italics). In 'congruent lexicalization', the two codes share the matrix language, which is therefore *impossible to determine* (Muysken, 2000:68). As a result of the 'sharedness' of structures "basically anything goes in congruent lexicalization", i.e. there are no constraints as to the categories that can be switched (Muysken, 2000:218) and there is a bi-directional "going back and forth" (Muysken, 2000:7).

Muysken (2000:69) argued that the possibility of a 'ML turnover' or change even during the same sentence, which was envisaged by Myers-Scotton (1993a:70), in fact restricts the empirical scope of the notion of 'matrix' itself. Yet, rapid change and turnover is precisely what characterises many bilingual communities, particularly *migrant* communities, which limits the usefulness of models based on this notion (Muysken, 2000:69). Furthermore, Muysken's (2000:123, 133) congruent lexicalization specifically accounts for grammatical *convergence* and the presence of *homophonous diamorphs*, which serve as bridges or *triggers*, in Clyne's (1967) sense, to this pattern of 'code-mixing'. As he pointed out, the distinction between 'code-mixing' patterns is gradual and between them there are "transition zones" (Muysken, 2000:10).[122] Therefore, "there can be a gradual shift from *one base language* to *shared structure* and on to the *other base language*, possibly varying with individual bilingual *proficiency* and over *time*" (Muysken, 2000:10, my italics).[123] He observed that "the undecidability of individual cases is the consequence of a robust and

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[121] 'Alternation', concerning mostly discourse particles and adverbs, is "bi-directional", "phrase- or clause-peripheral" (i.e. "there is a true switch from one language to the other involving both grammar and lexicon) and surrounded by elements that are structurally unrelated to it (Muysken, 2000:114).

[122] 'Insertion' of longer fragments can 'ead to more complete activation of the second grammar and thus 'alternation'. Sharedness of nodes between the languages increases from the top ones to most or all leads to a passage from 'alternation' 'congruent lexicalization' (Muysken, 2000:10). As Muysken (2000:231-2, my italics) observed: "Is a subject in language A followed by a verb phrase in language B a case of alternation, of subject insertion or of verb phrase insertion? For many language pairs the order of subject and verb phrase will be identical *so that the clause as a whole cannot be assigned to either language* with absolute certainty."

complex model rather than a sign of weakness" (Muysken, 2000:232). Muysken (2000:12) referred to the current stage in constraints research as a 'third stage' in which scholars are exploring the possibility that constraints can only be relativised to particular strategies (cf. Appel and Muysken, 1987:126-8).

The issues discussed in the present sub-section are particularly relevant in the analysis of the language of third-generation migrant speakers, on whom them following section (2.4) focuses.

2.4 Third-Generation Bilinguals

The analysis of the speech of third-generation speakers of migrant languages has seldom been the object of specific studies.[124] With regard to the Italian-Australian community, information about the third-generation can be gained from research that focused on the previous generations.[125] At a macro-sociolinguistic level, studies in this area in Australia have been hampered by the fact that the Australian census does not indicate ancestry beyond the parents (see discussion in 3.2.1.1). Similarly, censuses in the United States have generally collapsed all "native of native" into one category (Fishman et al., 1985). This does not allow the identification of 'post-second' generations belonging to different communities and vintages (Fishman et al., 1985:136). As argued in Fishman et al. (1985:136, 138), this is the "price of popular mythology" revolving around third generations, i.e. that "beyond the third generation there is nothing. By then the end of the

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[123] In migrant communities there can be a passage from 'insertions' of items into the native language, through to 'congruent lexicalization' and possibly to 'alternation' of set phrases and expressions from the native language occurring in the host language (Muysken, 2000:10).

[124] See however e.g. Murray (1995) and Clyne (1997) for German in Australia; Katsikis (1997) for Greek in Australia; Correa-Zoli (1981) for Italians in the United States.

[125] Bettoni and Rubino's survey (1996 – see 3.2.1.2) provided important quantitative data about language use in the first and second-generation with younger-generation interlocutors and the linguistic input to which these are likely to be exposed at home and in the family. Qualitative studies like Finocchiaro (1994) and Cavallaro (1997) included very young third-generation Sicilian-Australian speakers, as well as their parents and grandparents. In the former study, which included the analysis of tape-recorded speech, the younger subjects did not produce any Italian/Sicilian. In the latter, their language behaviour was reported on by the older relatives (see discussion in 3.2.3). Many other qualitative studies by Rubino (1987a, 1990, 1993, 1996, 2000), furthermore, analysed patterns of language use between a Sicilian mother of generation 1B and her children from a conversational perspective (Haugen, 1953:334). As Haugen (1953:334) observed, these speakers are much in the same linguistic position as those of generation 2A, who were born in the host country. Hence, their children (generation 2B) can be likened to those belonging to the third generation (3A). Li Wei's 'three generations' (1994 – see discussion in 2.1.2) also seem to include the same generational stages. In the present study, the two subjects in the earliest stages of the generational continuum belonged to Haugen's generation 2A and/or 2B (see discussion in 4.4.1-2). Rubino's work is discussed in 3.2.3.

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line has been reached and a new journey into the unmarked American mainstream is fully under way."[126]

In general, research in this field has been discouraged by the belief that the third generation closes the migrant language cycle and sees the complete shift to monolingualism in the host language (see discussion in 2.2). Any linguistic competence in this generation is predicted to be (largely) due to the acquisition of the community language from scratch, rather than its intergenerational maintenance.[127] Investigations in an intergenerational language maintenance perspective are perceived to be in need of 'self-legitimisation'. Gobbi (1994:note 25, my italics), for instance, wondered whether it is

> "ancora lecito studiare queste situazioni [terze e successive generazioni] nell'ambito [...] della linguistica dell'emigrazione o se non sia piu' opportuno trattarle come casi particolari di *apprendimento* (spontaneo) di una seconda lingua, magari alla stregua dei *'semi-speaker'*".[128]

As the above statement highlights, the third generations lend themselves not only to being studied from the perspective of *second language acquisition*, but also from *language death*, within which the concept of 'semi-speaker' was developed (Dorian, 1973, 1977).[129] There is often no major contrast between different *paradigms* of bilingual research (see discussion in 2.1). While they sometimes use different methodologies and analytical tools, they widely overlap in terms of the *phenomena* they investigate. As discussed below (2.4.1), the peculiar position occupied by the third generations makes these interconnections particularly relevant.

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[126] This is reflected in Di Pietro's (1976:212) fifth 'stage of ethnicity' among Italian-Americans, i.e. the stage in which the grandchildren of the first Italian migration typically find themselves and where speakers of Italian background enter the mainstream.

[127] On the basis of his research in the 1980s, Haller (1997:405) concluded that, for third-generation Italian-Americans, Italian is a "dim memory" made up of some words heard from the grandparents. In his fifth stage of ethnicity of Italian-Americans, Di Pietro (1976:212) postulated minimal or no receptive competence of Italian or the Italian-American koiné and the possible acquisition of Italian as a foreign language. Along the same lines are the comments by e.g. Correa-Zoli (1981) for Italians in the United States.

[128] "[..] still legitimate to study these situations [third and successive generations] within the framework [...] of migration linguistics or whether it would not be more opportune to treat them as particular cases of (spontaneous) *acquisition* of a second language, maybe in the same way as *'semi-speakers'* " (my translation).

[129] See discussion in 2.1 above and 2.5.1 below.

2.4.1 Possible paradigms of study

Scholars working within the language *attrition* paradigm, which is concerned with the assessment of changes in linguistic skills (e.g. Lambert and Freed, 1982; Weltens et al., 1986), have highlighted the wide overlap of phenomena studied within other frameworks. As Freed (1982:1) noted, since "language loss or attrition may refer to the loss of any language or any portion of a language by an individual or a speech community" it has lent itself to being applied to various contexts. Andersen (1982:86, 133) argued for a comprehensive and unified approach of the inclusion under a general rubric of research such as languages in contact in bilingual communities, maintenance in immigrant and minority communities, first language acquisition, second language acquisition, language death, language loss, pidgin and creole studies, 'foreign' language forgetting.

There are strong connections between *attrition* and language *death*.[130] As Dorian (1977:31) observed in her discussion of *'semi-speakers'* (see 2.1), a dying language is likely to suffer reduction and loss. 'Semi-speakers' are "imperfect terminal speakers" of a dying language and are positioned at the lower end of the continuum of *proficiency* (Dorian, 1977:31). In them, reduced language use is accompanied by "radical departures from the conservative norm" (Dorian, 1977:24). Dorian (1983) highlighted similarities between 'semi-speakers' and speakers of *migrant languages*. Drawing a comparison between 'semi-speakers' and migrants, Dorian (1983) observed that in both types of speakers there is an *imbalance* between the skills in the two languages in their repertoire and both acquired the weaker language in a *natural setting*.[131]

The concept of language *attrition* has been applied to both *first* and *second/foreign* languages (e.g. Gardner, 1982). As Gonzo and Saltarelli (1983:184) pointed out, both the *children of migrants* and Dorian's *'imperfect speakers'* differ markedly from *second*

[130] Freed (1982:1) pointed out that "language *attrition* may be used to describe the *death* of an entire language", for which no active speakers remain. As Clyne (1991:159) observed, the language *death* paradigm can be regarded as a sub-set of the language *maintenance/shift* paradigm as they both investigate languages which are being abandoned. As discussed in 2.3, however, 'language death' also encompasses the study of the linguistic consequences of languages undergoing shift and it is (usually) reserved to languages for which no external heartland is available for its continued existence (e.g. Dorian, 1981).

[131] However, the former learnt the weaker language during *childhood*, while the latter during adulthood. Furthermore, 'semi-speakers' do not hope to return 'home' one day as they are 'already home' (Dorian, 1983:158-9). They are often unsure as to which is their 'mother tongue' since the weaker language was

language learners. Both categories of bilinguals have very good *receptive* control over the weaker language despite their lack of fluency and often they do not receive any *formal instruction* in it. At least among third-generation Italian-Australians, the latter factor is often no longer relevant, which in Gonzo and Saltarelli's terms would make them more similar to second language learners than their parents.[132]

In Gonzo and Saltarelli's (1983:184) opinion, furthermore, *second-generation children* are also *'imperfect' speakers*. They did not receive enough *exposure* to the home language and they use it in a *form* that is markedly different from that of the older, fluent speakers. Certainly, this is increasingly the case among third-generation bilinguals. Gonzo and Saltarelli (1983:184) observed that this factor represents a major difference between *natural second language acquisition* and the *acquisition of a migrant language*, the latter being more similar to the acquisition of a *dying language*. As they (Gonzo and Saltarelli, 1983:184) further argued, both their studies and Dorian's investigations concern language 'loss'. Andersen (1989:385, my italics) also observed that

> *"second-* and *third-generation* speakers of a contracting or *dying* language are similarly limited in their access to the type of linguistic *input* and interaction that is necessary for them to become or remain competent speakers of their ancestral language. From this perspective, languages being *partially acquired* and dying languages seem very similar."

The limited access to adequate linguistic input and interaction also makes the partial acquisition by *first-generation migrants* of the host language similar to the acquisition or maintenance in *second-* and *third-generation* speakers of a "contracting or dying language" (Andersen, 1989:385). Andersen (1989:385) argued that the similarity between second *language acquisition* and *language contraction* and death is not accidental as the expansion and reduction of linguistic repertoires are constrained by the same cognitive processes.[133]

acquired first or early in the intimate settings of the home or the extended family. Migrant workers, on the other hand, do not have any doubts about their mother tongue and their ethnic identity (Dorian, 1983:158-9).

[132] See discussion of policies in 1.0.

[133] Schmid (1994:262) arrived at the same conclusion as he found a symmetry in the processes of acquisition and loss of Italian in contact with Spanish, i.e. the acquisition of Italian by Spanish migrants in German Switzerland and the loss of Italian among Italian migrants in Argentina (see 3.1.2.3.1).

Gonzo and Saltarelli (1983:182) defined a 'continuum in emigrant language' from the first generation before migration to the third generation. Among other factors this continuum is defined by the *setting* of acquisition and the nature of the linguistic *input*. Input to the second and the third generation is reduced both in quantity and in quality (Gonzo and Saltarelli, 1983:188). After migration, the native language is no longer under the strong influence of the native language *norms* and serves as the input for the second generation, which learns it either as a first language or simultaneously with the language of the host country. This already '*pidginised*' form serves as the input for the third-generation.[134] The weak *monitoring* and reduced communicative *function* produce a "*fragmented* and greatly simplified" version of the original language, which can no longer be considered one of its varieties (Gonzo and Saltarelli, 1983:184).[135] Gonzo and Saltarelli (1983:192) observed that there are similarities between *pidgin* languages, second language learners' *interlanguages* and *migrant languages*. All of them are characterised by borrowed lexicon, a reduction of redundant code distinctions such as gender and number, a reduction in sentence embeddings, levelling of paradigmatic and morphological systems, lack of markers for tense and aspect.[136]

The *language loss* paradigm is strongly interrelated with the *language contact* paradigm. Studies have assessed the loss of language skills in speakers of later generations against those of earlier generations or of competent speakers in control groups in the country of

[134] However, there is evidence that communication within the second generation and between the second and the third is largely in the host language. Thus, parental input to the third generation might be 'monolingual' in the new language, rather than 'pidgnised' (cf. discussion in 3.3.1 and 4.4.13).

[135] Gonzo and Saltarelli (1983:188) reported that there is evidence that even without the intergenerational restriction of communicative functions of the migrant language, weak monitoring of the language is enough for the language to continue in the direction of simplification "until its eventual death". Indeed, they referred to the studies by Seaman (1972) and Orlowski (1971) on the acquisition of Greek by second- and third-generation Greek children, whose language was simplified in the way that is typical of migrant languages, in spite of strong monitoring as well as formal instruction. From an attrition point of view, Dorian (1982:56) also found the same reductive phenomena in speakers of Gaelic, regardless of their acquisitional history (e.g. lesser or greater use of analogically regularised allomorphs in place of irregular allomorphs; complete loss of morphemes; loss of vocabulary from both open and closed classes).

[136] However, as Gonzo and Saltarelli (1983:192) argued, migrant languages serve primarily *integrative* purposes, rather than the *instrumental* ones, for which pidgin languages are developed over a relatively short period of time. The grammar of migrant languages, furthermore, may remain quite complex in spite of *simplification*. Finally, in migrant languages pidginization persists rather than going through creolization and/or decreolization, and the learner is quite rapidly more and more removed from the necessary input and the target language norm (Gonzo and Saltarelli, 1983:193). All studies in Andersen (1983) focus on the relationship between language acquisition, pidginization and creolization.

origin (e.g. Bettoni, 1986, 1990a, 1990b; cf. Jaspaert et al., 1986:41-2).[137] The processes of *loss* and *shift* were incisively defined by Jaspaert and Kroon (1991:77) as "a change in *competence* in a language" and "a change in *preference* for a language", respectively. Shift may result in a decrease or loss of competence in a language, which in turn may cause a reduction in the functionality of the language and lead to further shift away from it (Jaspaert and Kroon, 1991:77-8).

What is being lost does not necessarily have to be a 'once-dominant' language, e.g. the first-generation speakers' native language (Freed, 1982:1). With regard to third-generation speakers of a *migrant language*, Andersen (1982:85) recommended that researchers in language attrition should distinguish true attrition from a '*failure to acquire*'. Attrition can only refer to a previously acquired linguistic competence. In Andersen's (1982:84) view, attrition applies equally to whole language 'communities' (i.e. *intergenerational loss* of language in migrant or minority communities) and single individuals (i.e. the forgetting of a language due to lack of use). The progressive loss of the language from the first to the third generations is a case of language attrition at the *community* level, but *not* at the *individual* level (Andersen, 1982:84).

However, an individual third-generation bilingual might be said to be undergoing attrition, even though (s)he was never a fully competent speaker, if e.g. (s)he were removed from the restricted context of use of the migrant language and ceased to use it altogether (Andersen, 1982:84). Andersen (1989) suggested that '*simplification*' and '*transfer*' are the processes that explain phenomena in language contraction and death from several of the studies in Dorian (1989), e.g. loss of case markers, loss of agreement markers, loss of the 3rd person plural inflection (Andersen, 1989:390). The former process is spelt out in the '1:1 Principle'.[138] The 'Transfer to Somewhere Principle' pertains to the latter phenomenon.[139]

[137] The connection between language *shift* and language *loss* has also been highlighted in Dorian (1982).

[138] This principle governs both first and second language acquisition and states that "each linguistic form is uniquely linked to one and only one intended meaning" or that an "intended underlying meaning is expressed with one clear invariant surface form" (Andersen, 1989:388). Spanish L2 learners, for instance, initially disregard the gender, the number (and the case) of articles and personal pronouns (in the case of pronouns one form, usually stressed, is used for subject, direct and indirect object, and possessives) (Andersen, 1989:388).

[139] This principle governs only second language acquisition, states that transfer can only occur "if and only if (1) natural and acquisitional principles are consistent with the L1 structures or (2) there already exists within

Romaine (1989b) discussed the possible comparison of *pidgins, creoles, migrant languages, dying* languages, and *children's* language. This author (Romaine, 1989b) highlighted the *innovative* role played by children in communities which speak dying or pidgin languages, where corrective pressure by adults is low as a result of the high variability also characterising their speech.[140] In such situations, therefore, children's *deviant forms* are more likely to be accepted and become 'new rules', thus bringing about *linguistic changes*. Romaine (1989a:45) believes that *imperfect learning* of the variety by younger generations can lead to substantial differences in the minority language over time.[141]

The role of *attrition* (and simplification) and *interference* is at the core of the debate between *internally* and *externally motivated changes*.[142] Sapir's (1949) concept of '*drift*' showed that language change occurs even in the absence of the pressure from 'distinguishable' languages. On the other hand, scholars have identified changes that are brought about by the *contact* with the dominant language.[143] Bettoni (1993: 439) observed that the frequent, often compensatory use of the new language in terms of *interference/transference* is the other side of the coin of the progressive weakening of Italian as a migrant language around the world. Dialect was found to be a reliable index of the attrition Italian was undergoing among her second-generation children informants (Bettoni, 1990a – see 3.2.3).

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the L2 input the potential for (mis-)generalization from the input to produce the same form or structure" (Andersen, 1989:389). For example, English learners of French L2 incorrectly place object pronouns postverbally, whereas French learners of English L2, correctly do *not* place object pronouns preverbally. This is because, Andersen argued, the latter do not have a model for preverbal placement of NPs in the English input to transfer to (Andersen, 1989:389). Dulay et al. (1982) believe that the concepts of 'interference' and 'transfer' as developed in the language contact paradigm are not relevant in second language acquisition. However, Ellis (1994:310) observed that "it is no longer possible to dismiss the evidence of transfer effects in bilinguals as irrelevant to L2 acquisition". Studies in Italian in contact with other languages or dialect (e.g. Berruto, 1974; Gobbi, 1994), furthermore, frequently employed the notion of 'error'.
[140] 'Innovation' is discussed further in 3.1.2.5. For the role of children language change see e.g. Slobin, (1973).
[141] See Kaufman and Thomason's (1988) notion of change induced by 'imperfect learning' below. However, Romaine (1989a:45) believes that the presence of the school as a normative agency can also inhibit *interference* from the majority language. See discussion role of school in language maintenance and Rubino (1987b) and Tosi (1982) referred to in 2.3.3.
[142] For a discussion of the dichotomy between these two notions see e.g. Dorian (1993).
[143] The role of codeswitching in structural convergence was discussed in 2.3.3 in relation to grammatical constraints. Convergence is discussed further in 3.1.2.5 with reference to the situation in Italy.

Clyne (1967:78-83) showed that *transference* at the syntactic, semantic and articulatory-phonetic levels tended to economise attention and effort. At the syntactical, lexicosyntactic and morphological levels, Clyne (1991:176-186) explained transference and change in terms of a broad framework of structural markedness, i.e. changes occur in the direction of the more unmarked features (cf. also Schmid, 1994:264-5). Furthermore, Clyne (1967:100) found that in the German-Australian families in his sample transfers in the speech of first-generation speakers were passed on to the second generation, who accepted them as part of the German language. In some cases children would integrate phonically English transfers in evident *imitation* of their parents and, vice versa, the parents would repeat the transfers produced by the child (Clyne, 1967:50).[144]

Thomason and Kaufman (1988:ch. 1) observed how historical linguists have been biased in favour of internally motivated change. However, they (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988:63) argued that "when a source language and a source structure [...] can be identified" an external explanation, whether "alone or in conjunction with" an internal one, is appropriate.[145] They envisaged two types of contact-induced changes. One type of contact-induced change is '*interference through imperfect learning*' (or 'superstrate interference') (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988:39). It consists in the errors made by the shifting group, which then spread to the target language as a whole when they are *imitated* by original speakers. Unlike borrowing, it begins with sound and syntax, sometimes morphology, and concludes with words. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:119) described the linguistic assimilation of migrants within three generations in terms of '*shift without interference*'. With the exception of isolated cohesive groups in rural areas, no traces are left in the target language, e.g. among the migrants' grandchildren. As the authors (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988:120) explained, one possible reason for this is that interference is more likely to occur rapidly.

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[144] 'Imitation' is discussed further in 3.1.2.5.
[145] As discussed in chapter 5, following this observation, in the purely *synchronic* perspective taken in the present study, 'contact phenomena' is used throughout the thesis as an umbrella term to indicated both phenomena for which a 'source language' can be identified and those that can be more plausibly interpreted as primarily the result of a 'language internal source'. Given the generation of the informants here focused on, the view is taken that the latter type of phenomena can also be aptly referred to as 'contact phenomena' as they result from the co-presence of more than one language in the speakers' repertoire.

The other type of contact-induced change discussed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988:37) is 'borrowing', which occurs in language maintenance situations and consists in the incorporation of foreign features *into a native language* by its own native speakers. 'Borrowing' invariably pertains to words first. Depending on the typological distance of the languages in contact, 'slight *structural borrowing*' in *migrant languages* can occur in relatively non-urban settings, e.g. rural German migrant communities in Australia studied by Clyne (1981) (quoted in Thomason and Kaufman, 1988:82). In cases where *shift* to the dominant language is *slow*, borrowing is accompanied by a slow attrition process (or death). However, if shift takes only a few generations, borrowing will be minimal. Heavy borrowing is possible only in situations of intensive contact with much bilingualism (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988:100-1).[146]

Cortelazzo (1969: 168; 87: footnote 10) suggested that in Italy the passage from dialect monolingualism to Italian monolingualism might take two or three generations longer than in migration contexts. While in migration contexts speakers might have already lost Italian by the third or even the second generation, in Italy this process occurs over five generations, who will command the two systems with different degrees of competence (Cortelazzo, 1969:168).[147] Gonzo and Saltarelli (1983:194) stressed the importance of the study of dying/migrant languages as they can highlight processes of language change that the varieties in the homeland are undergoing although at a slower rate. Simone (1991:331) highlighted the importance of the study of migrant languages as they can reveal trends that

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[146] See discussion of 'regionalisation' Italian and 'Italianisation' dialects in section 3.1.2. Thomason and Kaufman's position was confirmed by Silva-Corvalán's study (1994) of language contact and change in a situation of societal bilingualism, i.e. in Spanish in Los Angeles. The author (Silva-Corvalán, 1994:130) found that both *transfer* and *simplification* were employed by the speakers as strategies to lighten the cognitive load and render communication more efficient. However, certain areas of morphosyntax, e.g. verbal clitics, were *impermeable to transfer*. Under what Thomason and Kaufman (1988) defined as 'normal transmission', transfer influenced directly only *lexicon* (Silva-Corvalán, 1994:130). However, *syntactic* permeability to foreign influence was evident only in 'nonce borrowing' and spread with extreme difficulty in the language system and across the speakers (Silva-Corvalan, 1994:166). Gonzo and Saltarelli (1983:194-5) also argued that the pressure of the dominant language is such that the "dying language is actually replaced by [it] before a great deal of linguistic *interference* in the form of lexical and syntactic *borrowings* can even take place". To her own surprise, Dorian (1982:56-7) also found a lot of *lexical interference*, but little *structural interference* from English. She argued that "we cannot simply assume that the person who is forgetting a language will substitute his dominant language's structures for whatever he has forgotten" (Dorian, 1982:57).

[147] These are a) active competence in the dialect in the first generation; b) active competence in the dialect as well as passive competence in the language in the second generation; c) active competence both in the dialect and the language in the third generation; d) passive competence in the dialect and active competence in the

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are relevant to their structure in the homeland. Giacalone Ramat (1990a) concluded that in the community of Gressoney (Valle d'Aosta) language contact had apparently accelerated internally motivated changes of the weaker language. Bettoni (1986:19) believes that abroad, over a relatively brief period of time, it is possible to observe changes which take generations to surface in Italian as spoken in Italy.

It is possible, therefore, that a migrant language that has succeeded on 'surviving' until the third generation may show contact phenomena, if only at the 'nonce' level, which had not appeared in the previous generations. These features might be indicative of emergent trends in the language as spoken at home. With regard to Italian migrant speakers, this is relevant for Italian as well as the dialect, both considered individually as well as in contact with each other. The situation of long-standing intensive contact in the home country thus represents a reference for a further comparison. Possible parallel phenomena in the two countries that have been accelerated under the pressure of a third language in the migration context might, however, 'need' the space of at least three generations to appear (cf. Cortelazzo, 1969 discussed above).[148]

2.4.2 Intergenerational transmission processes

Besides having undergone total language shift (see discussion in 2.4), third-generation bilinguals are generally believed to be essentially assimilated to the culture of the host country (cf. e.g. Edwards, 1984:278). However, some authors have hypothesised a resurgence of the interest of third-generation bilinguals in their cultural heritage. Hansen (1952) formulated his 'principle of the third generation interest', which is supposed to characterise any migrant group at its third-generation development stage. This concept was critically examined by Nahirny and Fishman (1966:343-4), who observed that if the supposed interest in the third generation is to be considered in relation to that of the second generation, as Hansen seemed to imply, it might amount to "no more than a somewhat appreciative, or merely indifferent, orientation".[149]

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language in the fourth generation, and finally, e) active competence only in the language in the fifth generation (Cortelazzo, 1969:168)

[148] The relevance of the study of contact phenomena between closely related languages was discussed in 2.3.3.

[149] Nahirny and Fishman (1966:344) referred to cases of strongly negative responses of children of migrants to their ethnic background and suggested that "[grandsons] need not emphasize their Americanism by dissociating from ethnicity because their Americanism is unstrained and their ethnicity attenuated. The sons,

Clyne (1991:88) argued that Hansen's supposed 'ethnic revival' in the third generation is strongly dependent on the *society's attitudes* towards language maintenance. Grandchildren are unlikely to have an interest in reviving the culture and the language of grandparents who in times of war were identified with the 'enemy'.[150] In relation to dialect varieties vs. standard varieties, in a matched-guise study Bettoni and Gibbons (1988, 1990) found that the judgements towards the relative prestige of Italian and dialects were less pronounced among second-generation speakers (of Sicilian and Veneto origin). The authors attributed this greater relaxedness to the fact that, unlike their parents, younger speakers did not experience discriminatory attitudes of their non-standard varieties.[151] Haller (1993) also found that first-generation Italian-American judges expressed puristic judgements and favoured the Italian varieties over dialect ones. However, second- and third-generation judges rated dialectal speech high on the ethnicity and family cohesion scales. The author attributed this difference to the fact that informants in the latter group did not have internalised the social discrimination directed towards their older-generation relatives' native dialect.[152]

While it is the third generation that concludes the migrant language cycle, there is evidence that its survival is already decided in the second generation. Cavallaro (1997) found that in his sample the 'turnover in the matrix language' for communication in both the home and in the extended family occurred in the second generation.[153] This is supported by quantitative data provided by Bettoni and Rubino's survey (1996:80 – see discussion in

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[150] still deeply involved in ethnicity, tend to deprecate it for the strength of its claims is a hindrance to them; the grandsons, only slightly affected by ethnicity tend to appreciate it for the weakness of its claims upon them removes all hindrance."

[150] Furthermore, in some communities language shift occurs earlier than the third generation (see discussion of census data in 3.2.1.1).

[151] As reported in 2.3, however, Chiro and Smolicz (1990:202) found negative attitudes towards Veneto even among the second-generation speakers in their sample.

[152] However, as discussed in 2.3, positive attitudes towards a language do not often translate into an actual effort to speak or learn it. Fishman et al. (1985:131-141) found that the 'native of native' contributed substantially to the 'ethnic revival' in terms of 'mother tongue claiming' in 1970 in the United States, which however did not bear out in terms of language use. At the cultural level, among Italian-Americans in the fifth stage of ethnicity, Di Pietro (1976:212) postulated either a rejection or a nostalgic attitude towards their Italian background. At the linguistic level, however, even the receptive competence in Italian or the Italian koinè has disappeared.

[153] While use of Italian and Sicilian among Cavallaro's second-generation informants (1997) increased when older relatives were involved in the conversation, English continued to be the base language, even when they were addressed directly. The author found that English dominated in all the interactions of second-generation speakers with interlocutors of the same generation, whether in the family or outside the family (Cavallaro, 1997).

3.2.1.2). These findings have huge implications for the linguistic environment in which third-generation bilinguals grow. By the time the second generation establishes its own families, English has displaced the migrant language as the language of the sphere of intimacy and becomes the language of the *parental home for the third generation*. Hayden (1966:204) attributed the successful language maintenance in the Mexican-American community in San Antonio to the "*continued viability* of Spanish in the family and in the context of *intimate* relations".[154]

Third-generation bilinguals share with their parents the dominance in the host language.[155] The third generation, however, is likely to have been exposed to *both* the migrant and the host language from birth.[156] However, Clyne (2001:367) reported that some young second-generation Australian parents are raising their children bilingually using the 'one parent one language principle' (e.g. Saunders, 1982; Döpke, 1992).[157] Furthermore, in some families *both* second-generation parents reserve the community language for conversation with both their own parents and their own children, while addressing each other in English (Clyne, 1991a:110-111).[158] This, it might be argued, can be an important factor in undermining the attempts of these zealous parents. To be able to function as 'transmitters' for the community language between the first and the third generation, it is believed that second-generation speakers should adopt it as *their own* in the whole family domain, including *intra*-generational communication. While addressing the children in the community language provides them with further exposure, it might deny them the sense of

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[154] The role of the family in language maintenance was discussed in 2.3.1. In other communities in the United States, Hayden (1966) examined language maintenance responsibility had been delegated to agencies outside the home, e.g. schools and organizations. These, however, only effected "cultural" rather than "functional" bilingualism (Hayden, 1966:204). Cavallaro (1997:289) also found that most of the second-generation parents in his sample had left their children's acquisition of Italian up to the school system. See also discussion of findings of Finocchiaro (1994) in 3.2.3 and efficacy of school programs in 2.3.3.

[155] As Haugen (1956:72) pointed out, in terms of the time of their linguistic development, second- and third-generation bilinguals are both early or infant bilinguals.

[156] As discussed in 2.3, a result of the parents' adoption of English for communication between themselves as well as with their children, the importance of grandparents in transmitting community languages in Australia is increasing. Furthermore, in modern Australian society both parents are likely to be working, which requires grandparents to be involved in the care-taking of the grandchildren, especially in the pre-kindergarten years, and hence in intergenerational maintenance (Clyne, 2001:367). This is perceived by many grandparents as an opportunity to pass on their language in societal atmosphere that is far more positive towards language minorities than the one in which their own children grew up (Clyne, 2001:367 - see discussion in 1.0).

[157] See also Finocchiaro (1994) in 3.2.3.

[158] The same attempt was made in some families in the present sample (see discussion in 4.4.13).

'generational continuity', which is implicit in Fishman's (1991, 2001) recommendations for 'reversing language shift'.

As Fishman (1991:258-9) pointed out, a basic problem in intergenerational transmission of community languages in Australia is that 'social mobility' results in 'residential mobility' towards more prestigious quarters. This movement erodes self-contained *primary settlements* established either in rural or urban areas in the early first generation years (Fishman, 1991:258-9). While oldest children in immigrant families in Australia grow up in these settings, younger ones are socialised in *secondary settlements* which are (sub)urban, ethnically mixed or 'non-ethnic' in composition and no longer self-contained. Here, language maintenance is dependent on "extra-neighborhood 'visits' to co-ethnic stores, schools, clubs, churches, family friends" (Fishman, 1991:259). Second-generation immigrants tend to raise their own families in these contexts (Fishman, 1991:259). This is a further disadvantage for third-generation children, who are less likely than their parents to experience on a daily basis 'the full-blown 'real thing'" in terms of family-neighbourhood-family links (Fishman, 1991:259).

2.5 Concluding summary

The present chapter has created a common framework of reference for the complex issues that are relevant to the study of third-generation bilinguals. From their position at the adjoining and overlapping 'borders' between the different branches of bilingual research (cf. 2.4.1), their linguistic behaviour might point with greater clarity to factors that are crucial for intergenerational language maintenance (cf. 2.2. and 2.4.2). At a structural level, on which the present study focuses, the analysis of the language of third-generation bilinguals, who are most likely to be imbalanced, seems to be particularly topical in the light of recent developments in international research on the principles underlying language contact (cf. 2.3).

The case of speakers of closely related languages that are undergoing structural convergence in homeland might further highlight the need for all-encompassing models that make provisions for phenomena revealing a much 'denser' level of language contact than those on which earlier theories were built (cf. esp. 2.3.3). Such phenomena should not be considered as a source of 'counterexamples' and 'border-line' cases. Rather, they

should be accounted for as possible clues to what might represent more advanced stages in language contact that might not be visible in other contexts (cf. 2.4.1). Although an investigation from a language change perspective is well beyond the scope of the present study (see 1.1), these issues had to be taken into account in the categorisation of the contact phenomena encountered in the corpus (see ch. 5).

The discussion in chapter 3 below contextualises the discussion of language maintenance and contact in Italy and Australia in relation to Italian and Veneto, respectively.

CHAPTER 3

ITALIAN AND VENETO IN ITALY AND IN AUSTRALIA

3.0 Introduction

The first part of this chapter (3.1) presents an overview of aspects of the sociolinguistic situation in Italy. Its aim is to provide information about the possible linguistic repertoire of post-war Italian migrants as well as their relatives in Italy, from which the first-generation informants and the control group in the present study were drawn, respectively (cf. 1.0). Subsection 3.1.1 presents a brief historical overview from political unification (1861) to the second post-war period. Aspects of the main varieties in the Italian repertoire and different repertoire and diglossic models are discussed in 3.1.2-4. A general description of the processes of 'Italianisation' and 'regionalisation' of the dialects as well as 'dialectalisation' and 'regionalisation' of Italian is given in 3.1.2.5. Part one concludes with a brief presentation of recent survey data on the use of dialect and Italian in Italy' (3.1.6).

In the second part of this chapter (3.2), the presence of Italian and Veneto dialects in Australia is discussed. Available quantitative data on the use of Italian and Veneto dialects are presented in 3.2.1. Some repertoire and diglossic models of Italian and dialects in migration contexts are discussed in 3.2.2. Subsection 3.2.3 presents a review of studies on different aspects of the linguistic behaviour and the language of the Italian-Australian community. Research in Veneto dialects in migration contexts is discussed briefly in 3.2.3.1.

3.1 Part One: Italian and dialects in Italy

The most prominent feature of the language situation in Italy is the presence of a local dialect spoken along with Italian in every administrative region (Berruto, 1989a:7).[159] As a

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[159] For a general discussion of the division of the dialectal areas in Italy see Pellegrini (1977). Issues pertaining to a definition of 'language' and 'dialect' are discussed in 3.1.2.

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result of the prolonged contact between dialect and Italian, the former has constantly tended to 'rise' to the language status, while the latter has 'lowered' towards the dialect (Pellegrini, 1960:140). The 'Italianisation' of the dialects and the 'dialectalisation' of Italian have been accompanied by a progressive shift away from monolingual use of dialect. The complex relationship between the two coexisting linguistic systems has given rise to a high degree of linguistic variation, primarily within a geographical and social dimension (Berruto, 1989a, 1993a, 1993b).

3.1.1 A historical overview of relationship between Italian and dialects: from the unification to the second post-war period.

Until the formation of a unitary state in 1861, linguistic development in Italy was polycentric and each political centre radiated its own dialect (Mioni, 1979:104). The use of a pan-Italian language, i.e. Florentine, in the public and private writings of educated classes started between the 14th and the 16th century (De Mauro, 1963:22).[160] Around the middle of the 19th century, however, Rome was the only large centre outside Tuscany in which speaking Italian was no longer considered an affectation and in which dialect had been relegated to inferior classes.[161] According to the first census of the new kingdom in 1861, 78% of the population was illiterate and therefore, outside Rome and Tuscany, could not have come into contact with Italian (De Mauro, 1963:36). De Mauro (1963:42-3) estimated that around the years of the unification, only 8 per thousand of the population outside Rome and Tuscany (some 160,000 out of a mass of 20 million people) had learned Italian.[162]

Since the unification in 1861, there was a transition from an almost exclusive dialectal monolingualism (described above), to a situation in which the most advanced trends are towards almost exclusive monolingualism in the standard language. *School* played a major

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[160] A major factor in the 'luck' of archaic Florentine becoming the foundation of standard Italian is grounded in the literary prestige established by three great literary figures of the 14th century, i.e. Dante, Petrarca and Boccaccio (Mioni, 1979:104).

[161] Dialects, however, were used both by popular and educated strata, the aristocracy and literary figures and even in public life. In Venice the dialect was used in political and juridical orations. Venice, as well as Milan, Naples and Palermo, formed 'illustrious' dialect *koinài* with literary traditions that threatened Italian even in its written domains of usage (Mioni and Arnuzzo-Lanszweert, 1979:86).

[162] Of the 'literate' population (20%) only those with post-elementary education could be considered 'long-term non-illiterate' and therefore in a position to acquire an effective knowledge of the common language (De Mauro, 1963:37). Including Romans (70,000) and Tuscans (400,000), Italian speakers in this period were 600,000 in total, out of a population of 25 million, i.e. 2.4% of the population (De Mauro, 1963:42-3).

role in the process of diffusion of the 'common language' to all regions and to wider social strata (De Mauro, 1963:88-105). Programs were generally intended to impose Florentine as the 'common language' and 'extirpate' dialects (De Mauro, 1963:88-89).[163] However, as a result of the low rates of attendance in primary schools, even though it had been compulsory since 1859, and the lack of a body of teachers that were proficient in Florentine, these programs only started to be actualised in the 15-year period after the Second World War (De Mauro, 1963:90).[164] Dialect was the language used by teachers in classroom interaction, especially in the countryside (Mioni, 1984:507).[165] This state of affairs led to the inception of Italianisation and regionalisation phenomena:

> "Nella scuola elementare, insomma, la lingua comune ancora all'inizio del secolo continuava a essere in genere una realta' lontana, staccata dalla vita quotidiana che trovava espressione nel dialetto, una lingua che si insegnava ma non si praticava veramente. Di conseguenza, l'azione della scuola elementare valse soprattutto a indebolire il dialetto, ad avviare maestri ed alunni verso forme italianizzanti di dialetto [...] o verso varieta' regionali di italiano che specie dal punto di vista fonologico, dovevano essere fortemente polarizzate verso i dialetti" (De Mauro, 1963:93).[166]

Between 1871 and 1951 a total of almost 21 million Italians are reported to have left Italy for a foreign country, 7 million of whom stayed abroad permanently, while 14 million returned to Italy after a period of absence (De Mauro, 1963:54).[167] *Migration abroad* 'subtracted' large masses of illiterate people from the less advantaged areas of the nation,

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[163] The Gentile's Reform Bill (1923) remained a short-lived attempt to introduce dialects in the school as a basis for a better understanding of the standard and as a curriculum subject before the advent of the Fascist school policy (De Mauro, 1963:140-1; Mioni and Arnuzzo-Lanszweert, 1979:99)

[164] De Mauro (1963:90) estimated that in 1870 67% of the school-age population were evading school compulsion. In 1906, 47% of Italian children between 6 and 10 were not enrolled at primary schools. In 1951, 27.7% of those born between 1896 and 1906 and 17% of those born in the following 20-year period were illiterate.

[165] For a long time, teachers' knowledge of the standard was limited to written, literary registers and did not have clear linguistic norms. This translated in 'repressive' corrections which modeled the pupils' Italian towards a rhetorical, artificial style (cf. Benincà et al., 1974; Mioni and Arnuzzo-Lanszweert, 1979).

[166] "In sum, at the beginning of the [20th] century in primary schools the common language generally continued to be a distant reality, detached from daily life, which was expressed through the dialect, [continued to be] a language which was taught but not really practiced. As a result, elementary school had primarily the effect of weakening the dialect and lead teachers and pupils towards Italianising forms of dialect [...] or towards regional varieties of Italian, which especially from the phonological point-of view must be strongly polarised towards the dialects" (my translation).

[167] In this period, the formation of a unitary *army* and *bureaucratic apparatus* brought about an intensification of contact between speakers from heterogeneous regional dialect areas and the consequent need for a more generalised knowledge of the standard. The First World War was also a major factor in bringing lower-class speakers from different regions into contact (De Mauro, 1963:105-10).

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creating more favourable conditions for the diffusion of literacy and the common language (De Mauro, 1963: 53-63).[168]

Between the first decade and the second half of the 20th century Italy passed from being mostly a rural country, with more than 50% of the active population occupied in agriculture, into an industrialised one (De Mauro, 1963:64). *Internal migration*, resulting from *industrialisation* and *urbanisation* of the north, had an enormous impact on the linguistic homogenisation in Italy (De Mauro, 1963:63-88). *Intra-regional* migration from the countryside to the city was followed by large-scale *inter-regional* migration from agricultural areas in southern Italy and Veneto to the 'industrial triangle' (Milan-Turin-Genoa) in the northwest, which experienced a boom in the post-war period.[169] This caused a twofold weakening effect on the dialects. Firstly, in the departure areas, there was a dramatic decrease in the number of dialect speakers; secondly, in the destination areas, the locals had to 'dilute' their own dialect in order to establish a common means of communication with the immigrants (De Mauro, 1970:73, 118).[170] The increase in incomes

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[168] Italian emigrants were mostly males and in the 10-30 age groups (De Mauro, 1963:55). Emigration to foreign countries affected especially southern regions and agricultural classes, in which illiteracy, and therefore the use of dialect, had been much higher. In 1861, 84.1% of the population in the south was illiterate, compared with 74.7% in the centre and 54.2% in the north (65% in the Veneto). In 1901 and 1911, in the period of most intense migration to foreign countries, percentages of illiteracy in the south were 68.9% and 58.9% vs. 34.7% and 24.8% in the north, respectively (De Mauro, 1963:56-7). According to De Mauro's estimates (1963:59), shortly before 1900 agricultural classes, especially in the south, were 100% illiterate. After the First World War, the introduction of the Literacy Act in the United States, which required immigrants to be literate, caused a decrease of Italian emigration from 232,000 yearly in average in the 1901-13 period, to 38,000 between 1921 and 1930 and 11,464 between 1931 and 1940 (De Mauro, 1963:59).

[169] De Mauro (1963:72-3) estimated that in 1961 in the 96 major Italian centres (i.e. with more the 50,000 inhabitants), compared to 20 existing a century before (including Padova, Venice and Verona in Veneto) around 8.5 million people, i.e. more than half of their residents, came from minor centres. However, only in 32 out of 96 large cities in post-unification Italy was the increase rate and demographic concentration such that they became the epicentres of the dramatic demographic change in post-unification Italy and major centres of influence and prestige. Venice and other regional capitals (Trieste, Palermo and Naples) were not among these. The relating regions, therefore, not only did not have intense immigration but also gravitated around large centres with historical prestige in which the dialect was not affected by immigration as in other regions (De Mauro, 1963:72-3).

[170] However, two factors limited the weakening effects of urbanization and migration on local dialects. De Mauro (1963:74) suggested that at least half of the immigrants spoke dialects which were similar to that of the locals. De Mauro (1963:74) further noticed that in comparison with the immigrants, the locals had the advantage of being homogeneous. Furthermore, the majority of the immigrants (54% in 1931) came from the same region or province and therefore spoke dialects which were similar to that of the locals (De Mauro, 1963:74). In many areas, the proportion of migration and the resulting relationship with the native population were such that there were no full, direct effects of urbanization on the traditional dialect structure. This was the case in Padova (unlike Turin, Milan, Genoa etc.) and the entire Veneto region. Here, the absence of an intense urbanization and migration has favoured a strong maintenance of dialects despite the high diffusion and the efficiency of educational institutions.

from occupations in the industrial sector resulted in a decrease in the number of children of school age forced to work (De Mauro, 1970:64-5).[171]

During the *fascist period*, primary school truancy rates remained the same as in the preceding decades (De Mauro, 1963:90-91). However, in the nationalistic linguistic policy of the era, dialects were seen as an obstacle to the acquisition of Italian and the press explicitly 'persecuted' them by forbidding even mere reference to their existence (Cortelazzo, 1969:185; Mioni, 1979:104).[172] The Constitution in 1948 extended compulsory schooling to fourteen years of age. By 1950, school attendance levels had reached almost 85% (De Mauro, 1963:90-1).[173]

In 1951, on the basis of the data collected by Rüegg (1956) (cited in De Mauro, 1963:130-1), a third of the Italian population (i.e. more than 15 million people) no longer used dialect as the only means of communication. However, only a little more than a sixth of them (i.e. around 8 million people) had completely abandoned it. Although 87% of the population (i.e. everybody except illiterates) could potentially use Italian, nearly 26 million people did not use it actively or habitually (De Mauro, 1963:135). Four fifths of the population still spoke dialect as their habitual language. Between the speakers who used exclusively Italian (18.5%) and those who used exclusively dialect (13%), two thirds of the population spoke both languages and it is in their usage that contact phenomena between the standard and the dialect originated.[174]

3.1.2 The Italian repertoire

As mentioned in 2.1.1, even in so-called monolingual situations, the delimitation between different languages or varieties of the same language might be arduous. As Berruto

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[171] Trade-unions and labor parties, which had risen at the turn of the century, were also important vehicles of diffusion for the standard language as an instrument of nationwide contact and solidarity (Mioni and Arnuzzo-Lanszweert, 1979:87).
[172] During this period, the beginning of radio broadcastings gave further impulse to the diffusion of the standard language, even though their highly formal style did not represent a model for everyday interaction (Mioni, 1979:105). The press, the theatre, cinema and television had an increasing impact over the next decades and in the second post-war period (Mioni and Arnuzzo-Lanszweert, 1979:88). See also discussion of the role of television in the formation of 'unitary popular Italian' in 3.1.2.3.
[173] While in 1951 illiteracy had in average decreased (12.9%), a wide gap remained between the north and the south, where the percentage was much higher (28% - De Mauro, 1963:91). In Veneto, among other northern regions, the percentage of illiteracy had been below 13% since 1931 (De Mauro, 1963:97-8).
[174] Statistical data on the use of dialect and Italian in more recent years are presented in 3.1.6. For an early overview of Italian sociolinguistics see e.g. Marcato (1974b).

(1995:224) claimed, between 'language' and 'dialect' there is no difference that is exquisitely linguistic and structural. Therefore, attempts at an exhaustive definition of 'language' in contrast to 'dialect' in terms of purely formal criteria has proved inadequate. As Li Wei (2000b:11-12, my italics) observed:

> "[..] language is a *social notion*. It cannot be defined without reference to its *speakers* and the context of its *use*. Language boundaries are boundaries between *groups of people* as *language contacts* are contacts between people."

'Language' and 'dialect', therefore, can only be differentiated based on sociolinguistic criteria, i.e. in their functional, social and communicative range, which for a language has become wider than for a dialect.[175] Berruto's (1989a:7) "somewhat paradoxical observation" was that "an *Italian dialect*, except for Tuscan and perhaps Roman, cannot be considered as a *variety of Italian*" or a *'dialect of Italian'* (see also Berruto, 1993a:3). Berruto (1995:226) suggested that Italo-Romance dialects are typical cases of what Coseriu (1981) termed 'primary dialects'. They are contemporary geographical sister varieties of the dialect from which the standard variety developed (e.g. Piedmontese, Lombard, Veneto, Sicilian, etc., which have a parallel history to Tuscan from which standard Italian developed). However, regional Italian varieties *are* 'dialects of Italian'. More precisely they are 'secondary' or rather 'tertiary' dialects in Coseriu's (1981:14) terms (cited in Berruto, 1995:225), as they are geographical varieties stemming from diatopical differentiation or the 'common language' or the 'standard' language after its diffusion, respectively ('regional Italian' is discussed in 3.1.2.2).

However, Trumper (1989:35-36) noted that between individual Italian dialects as well as between dialects and written Italian, there is enough typological difference for them to constitute separate *'Abstandsprachen'* (Kloss, 1977).[176] The *lexical, morphosyntactic* and

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[175] Berruto (1995:226) pointed out three characteristics which are *not* defining for the notion of dialect, i.e. 1) being spoken by a socially subordinated group; 2) being limited to spoken use; 3) being primarily or exclusively limited to an intimate, familiar, local, daily sphere of use. These, he argued, are concrete exterior aspects of a dialect which have become to be identified with dialect (Berruto, 1995:226). Berruto's (1995:225) simplified definition for 'language' is "un dialetto che ha fatto carriera" ("a dialect that has had a career" - my translation).
[176] In general terms, Kloss's (1977; 1987) dimensions of *'Abstand'* and *'Ausbau'* and of a language refer to its degree of 'distance' and 'development'. Criteria relevant to an 'Abstand' are 'mutual intelligibility' and differentiation at the lexical, or all linguistic levels, morphology in particular (Kloss, 1987:303-304). *Abstandsprachen* are immediately recognised as separate languages even though there might not be any

above all *phonetic differences* that separate the standard language from the dialects are not smaller that those between different national Romance languages. [177] Furthermore, a criterion of *mutual intelligibility* is not satisfied between most dialects and standard Italian or even among dialects of non-adjoining regions (Pellegrini, 1970; Mioni, 1979:102). [178]

The description of the Italian language situation in terms of 'Italian' and 'dialect' is however a convenient abstraction as speakers in Italy can draw from a much more varied repertoire than the dialect-Italian pair would suggest (Cortelazzo, 1969:186). De Mauro (1963:143) identified the period between the two World Wars as the period in which the relationship between the dialect and the 'common' language started to lose the character of the clear-cut opposition that it had had in the 19th century (cf. discussion in 3.1.1). A primary topic in Italian sociolinguistic research has been the classification of the varieties in the Italian linguistic repertoire. While there is general agreement as to the extremes of the repertoire continuum (e.g. Berruto, 1987; Mioni and Trumper, 1977; Sornicola, 1977), the debate has revolved around the subdivision of its intermediate area, which certainly accounts for most of the linguistic production of Italian speakers (Trumper and Maddalon, 1990:162). The Italian-dialect continuum is sometimes divided into two sub-continua, i.e. one for the language and one for the dialect (Mioni and Trumper, 1977; Berruto, 1993a:15). The Italian sub-continuum ranges from types of Italian that are closer to the standard to *'italiano popolare'* (Cortelazzo and Mioni, 1990:VII – see discussion in

written or printed texts in them (Kloss, 1987:302). One of the critera to identify an *Ausbausprache* is the presence of scientific or technical handbooks and treatises written in that language (Kloss, 1987:304). It can be a means of expression for all aspects of cultural life. This presupposes an adequate *codification*, and therefore *standardization*, and *lexical richness*.

[177] In terms of both Kloss's dimensions of *Abstand* and *Ausbau*, Berruto (1995:220) observed that different Italian dialects form a *continuum*. Sardinian, for instance, is a linguistic system with a relatively high character of *Abstandsprache* but with scarce or minimal character of *Ausbausprache*. Other dialects, however, e.g. Emiliano, Abruzzese, Lucano, are linguistic systems with a minimal character of *Abstandsprache* and minimal or no character of *Ausbausprache*. For further discussion of the term 'dialect' see e.g. Cortelazzo (1969:13-9), Cortelazzo (1977:74-85), Hudson (1980:ch. 2).

[178] Based on the observations by the Italian scholars reported above, Italian 'dialects', e.g. Veneto, Sicilian, Piedmontese, etc., could be aptly referred to *both* as 'dialects' *and* 'languages'. Taking advantage of this apparent contradiction, in the present thesis whenever it is convenient both Veneto and Italian are referred to as *'languages'*. This is frequently the case in the part of the thesis devoted to the analysis of the data (chapters 6 and 7). *In relation to English* in the Australian context, both Veneto and Italian are referred to as *'community languages'*, a term that has become established in language maintenance *literature in Australia* (cf. discussion in 2.0). Furthermore, Veneto, Italian and English are the *'languages'* included in the participants' repertoire. Nevertheless, in the *Italian literature*, the term 'language' is reserved to 'Italian' (cf. the titles of works by Berruto, 1974; Pellegrini, 1974 as well as the volume in which they are contained) while 'Veneto', as well as e.g. 'Pidmontese', 'Ligure', 'Lombard', etc., are 'dialects' (cf. e.g. Pellegrini, 1977

3.1.2.1-2). The poles in the dialect sub-continuum are the more Italianised and more 'rural' types of dialect, respectively (Berruto, 1993a:15; Mioni and Trumper, 1977). [179]

One of the first, more economical subdivisions of the Italian-dialect continuum was Pellegrini's (1960), which envisaged four basic categories. In addition to the 'literary' language and 'pure' or 'genuine' dialect at the extremes of the continuum, in the 'median sector' Pellegrini (1960:137) identified two main varieties, i.e. 'regional dialect' or 'dialect *koinè*', on the dialect side of the continuum, and 'regional Italian', on the Italian side. [180] A brief overview of the four basic linguistic systems in Pellegrini's repertoire model as described by him as well as other scholars is given below (3.1.2.1-4). [181]

3.1.2.1 Standard Italian

The 'ideal form' of 'standard Italian' is not easily defined in univocal terms (cf. Pellegrini, 1974:176). In their definitions of 'standard Italian' as the Italian end of the Italian-dialect continuum, scholars have made reference to one or more of at least three interconnected criteria. These are i) its *uniformity*, i.e. its distribution throughout the whole of the *national* territory; ii) its *literary Tuscan/Florentine* historical base and iii) its *written* rather than spoken form.

Berruto (1995:221) suggested that the notion of 'standard language' sometimes overlaps with 'national language'. Pellegrini (1974:176) made reference to a "*common* or standard language or something similar", or *'deregionalised'* Italian. Along the same lines, Cortelazzo (1969:185, my translation) talked about a *'common* and *unitary'* language. Canepari (1984:28), however, pointed out that in the Italian language situation "tutto ciò

and discussion below). Thus, in the present thesis, *in relation to Italian* Veneto is sometimes referred to as a 'dialect'.

[179] As discussed in 5.2, this situation had to be taken into account in the coding of the language data in the present study.

[180] Pellegrini (1960:137) stressed that his classification does not have to be taken with rigidity, the four labels being abstract terms used for convenience. The four-tier classification has remained substantially unmodified in Pellegrini's later works (e.g. Pellegrini, 1977, 1990). De Mauro (1963:143) also identified four linguistic varieties since the inter-war period (see discussion above), i.e. "common Italian, regional Italian, Italianising dialect and archaic dialect".

[181] *Italiano popolare* is an additional variety discussed here (3.4.2.3.), although Pellegrini (1974:178) did not include it in the continuum. As mentioned above, some scholars (e.g. Cortelazzo and Mioni, 1990:VII), however, included *italiano popolare* as part of the 'Italian' continuum. In the rest of the first part of this chapter and throughout the thesis the term 'variety' indicates any of the codes that have been identified along *both* the Italian and the dialect (portion of the) continuum. Thus, as already mentioned above, the terms 'Italian varieties' or 'varieties of Italian' do *not* refer to 'dialects' (cf. discussion in 3.1.2.1-3 and 3.1.3).

che è nazionale senz'altro "standard", ma non tutto ciò che è standard è necessariamente nazionale".[182] A 'broader' conception inspired to "practical simplifications" admits as 'standard' whatever is relatively widespread and frequent, i.e. 'more than one standard', e.g. a northern as opposed to a southern standard (Canepari, 1984:28-9).

Pellegrini (1960:137) referred to a '*literary* language' and Berruto (1989a:9) to a "*literary* Italian' based on *Florentine*, which forms the traditional *bookish* linguistic norm that textbooks refer to." Along the same lines standard Italian was also defined as the "*written* standard historically based on *Tuscan*" (Trumper, 1989:36) or simply as "Italian as it is *written*" (Cortelazzo, 1969:186 – my translation). Mioni (1977:55, my translation) also referred to the standard language as an 'Italian of a *Tuscan* type.'[183] *Uniformity* is highest in the *written* use (Mioni, 1979:105). However, even 'literary Italian' can only be considered "substantially common" and unitary in so far as its basic *grammar* nucleus (Mioni, 1977:58). Similarly, Canepari (1984:30) observed that standard Italian is more easily definable in terms of its grammar.

Geographical variation is highest at the level of *pronunciation*. As Trumper (1989:34) observed, in Italy "there has never been an oral standard capable of developing prestige to the degree attained by the written standard".[184] Berruto (1989a:9) pointed out that at this level social differentiation is irrelevant, as regional coloring is detectable in the pronunciation of all speakers of Italian, even among the educated ones of the higher classes. Canepari (1984:24) concluded that it is more useful to define 'standard Italian

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[182] "Whatever is national is also standard, but not everything that is standard is necessarily national." (my translation).

[183] However, Mioni (1979:106) pointed out that today the satisfaction of a possible criterion of "Tuscan-ness' is no longer sufficient to guarantee the 'standard', normative quality of the language. Northern Italian linguistic models are enjoying increasing prestige even in Florence, among the upper-middle classes (see discussion in 3.1.2.4). Galli de' Paratesi (1985) also found that the prestige of Florentine and Roman pronunciation is decreasing. Historically, Northern regions, where illiteracy was defeated earlier and potentiality of use of the Italian language was greater (see discussion in 3.1.1), had a more important role in the diffusion of the Italian language. The higher urbanization, industrialization and literacy are at the basis of the 'luck' of northern linguistic features in becoming part of Standard Italian (Cortelazzo and Paccagnella, 1992).

[184] However, Trumper (1989:34) observed that even in the upper-middle-class it is "permissible only to speak of a drift toward some standardization in pronunciation" merely as a "tendency to observe the same number of phonemic oppositions in speech as in orthography, no matter what allophones he used". In this slow standardization process "the only guide to spoken norm is the written norm", which means that oppositions that are not supported in the orthography are neutralised, e.g. <z> as /ts/ vs. /dz/ in Veneto Italian (Trumper, 1989:33-4 – see discussion in 3.1.2.2). Northern pronunciation (i.e. in Milan) was found to be more standardised than in Florence and in Rome (Galli de' Paratesi, 1985: ch. 4).

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pronunciation' in 'negative terms', as the pronunciation which is not marked by those features "that are geographically and socially identifiable as characteristic of certain areas or socioeconomic classes".[185]

Scholars have restricted the users of 'standard Italian' to a small group of specialised speakers. In regard to grammar and lexicon, Canepari (1984:24) suggested that 'standard Italian' is the "lingua *scritta* degl'intellettuali, dei politici e di categorie affini".[186] Standard Italian *pronunciation* is normally acquired through a voluntary choice, theoretical knowledge and practice by professionals (e.g. working in dubbing of movies, acting, news reporting and the like), who might however speak dialect or a less controlled variety of Italian outside their work (Canepari, 1979:203; 1984:24).[187] Standard Italian, therefore, is not learned as a 'mother tongue' and only figures as a *normative model*.[188]

3.1.2.2 Regional Italian

As discussed in 3.1.1, in the decades before the unification, Italian was not spoken outside Tuscany and Rome and had been acquired mainly in the written form. After the unification, spoken Italian had to be learned on the basis of native *local dialects* (Mioni, 1979:105).[189] The formation of regional Italians reflects the process of the 'appropriation'

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[185] Galli de' Paratesi (1985:72) referred to Chapallaz's (Chapallaz, 1979) '*fiorentino colto emendato*' ('amended educated Florentine'), i.e. devoided or those locally marked features which would be unacceptable as non-regional Italian outside Tuscany. See also Trumper and Maddalon's (1988:253) suggestion that 'standard spoken Italian' might be easier to define "in terms of what it is not."

[186] "[Standard Italian] is the *written* language of intellectuals, politicians and the like" (my translation, original italics).

[187] Galli de' Paratesi (1985:202) found the existence of ambivalent attitudes toward the standard accent, the normative pronunciation of radio and television announcers, which rated positively on the socioeconomic and education scales but was felt to be unnatural, cold and distant.

[188] The notion of standard is discussed further in e.g. Berruto (1987:55-62) and Galli de' Paratesi (1985:39-87). In order to be able to proceed in any kind of linguistic analysis, Canepari (1984:30, 35) suggested relying on specific bibliographical references such as dictionaries. Berruto (1995:212) suggested adopting Ammon's (1986:50 ff.) criterion of 'standardization', i.e the existence of a 'linguistic code' in terms of handbooks, grammars, dictionaries, etc. which prescribe norms for the correct use of the language, and exemplarity texts on which the handbooks themselves are based. The need of a 'point of reference' for linguistic analysis exists also with regard to dialect, for which, however, a 'grammar' cannot be intended in a 'normative' sense and has to take into account the orality and the variation that are its inherent characteristics (see e.g. Marcato, 1988; 1991:181-4; Marcato and Ursini, 1998:36). The analytical approach taken in the present study, described in chapter 5, recognised this methodological necessity and attempted to soften its limitations by taking into account features of the Italian as spoken in the Veneto region (see discussion in 3.1.2.2).

[189] The emergence of regional varieties of Italian was documented as early as in the mid-19th century, when forms which came from urban dialects and were relatively close to Italian were detected (De Mauro, 1963:134-5). Historically, Cortelazzo (1969:192) observed that northern and southern dialects behaved in a

of the Italian language on the part of speakers that had up to then effectively functioned within almost completely monolingual dialect social networks. Cortelazzo (1977:78) thus defined regional Italian as a "varietà di italiano, caratterizzata geograficamente, che risente dell'influsso del dialetto."[190] As Mioni (1977:59) observed, this influence can be described in terms of 'interference' of the dialect, i.e. the 'true mother language', with Italian, which was a 'second language'.

Furthermore, rather than on direct face-to-face contact sources, the acquisition of Italian *pronunciation* had to rely mainly on *graphic information* (Trumper and Maddalon, 1990:181; Mioni, 1990:194).[191] Trumper and Maddalon (1990:181) found that spoken regional Italian in the Veneto region seemed to result from a series of attempts to transfer writing norms to the spoken usage.[192] Mioni (1990:205) also concluded that the tendency towards the 'norm' in reading style pronunciation among his urban informants in Padova and Bolzano was *not* the result of imitation of standard forms but of the information conveyed through the written language.[193]

At a synchronic level, regional Italian is characterised as a variety of Italian that results from the linguistic variation within a geographical dimension. In Berruto's (e.g. 1993b) approach, *diatopic* linguistic differentiation has priority over all other types of linguistic variation.[194] However, regional Italian is also characterised by *social* stratification (Berruto,

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different way in the formation of their regional Italian. The greater distance between northern dialects and Tuscan, slowed this process down. In the 1870s, speakers in the south of Italy were already regionalising their Italian, as well as italianising their dialect speech (Cortelazzo, 1969:193). However, signs of an emerging Veneto variety of Italian were attested in 1889 (Cortelazzo and Paccagnella, 1992:403-4).

[190] "[...] geographically characterised variety of Italian which is affected by the influence of the dialect" (my translation).

[191] For this reason pronunciation is the linguistic level at which the influence of dialect on Italian and the differentiation throughout the Italy's national territory is greatest (cf. discussion in 3.1.2.1 above). Lexicon is affected to a lesser extent than pronunciation. *Morpho-syntax* of 'regional Italians' differs from standard Italian only in some cases.

[192] Variables that disrupted a "tendentially isomorphic relationship between phonological and graphic oppositions" were a) neutralization of the opposition between geminated and simple consonants; b) deaffricativization of 'z' /ts, dz/; c) neutralization of 'gli' /ʎʎ/ and 'li' /li/ (e.g. *figli* vs. *fili*; Eng. 'children' vs. 'threads'); d) possible neutralization of 'sci' /ʃʃ/ and 'ssi'/'ss' (e.g. *lascio* vs. *lasso*; Eng. 'I leave/let' vs. 'lapse of time' (Trumper and Maddalon, 1990:181).

[193] When the orthographic code was not explicit (e.g. /e/ ~ /ɛ/, /o/ ~ /ɔ/, /ts/ ~ /dz/) Italian pronunciation reflected the influence of the dialect substratum or the counterbalancing effect of hypercorrection (Mioni, 1990:205).

[194] Mioni (1979:105), for instance, refers to "*regional varieties* of the standard language"). While regional varieties of Italian can be considered as 'dialects of Italian', their geographical restriction is not necessarily at odd with their possible 'normative' status. Within their respective region they actually constitute the

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1989a:11), which ignited the debate about the relationship between regional Italian and 'popular Italian', as discussed in 3.1.2.3 below. Mioni (1979:59) observed that middle-class speakers, who can afford higher geographical mobility and are in more frequent contact with speakers from different regions, will show lower degrees of 'interference' and approximate the theoretical standard model more closely. The lack of reliable and readily accessible linguistic models creates a sense of "linguistic insecurity", which is present at varying degrees in different social classes and becomes the object of social discrimination (Mioni, 1979:106).

As mentioned above (3.1.2.1), Tuscan or *Florentine* Italian is no longer a reliable 'normative' point of reference for Italian speakers. De Mauro (1963:174) included it in a classification of four major regional varieties of Italian on the basis of their prestige and number of speakers, along with i) the northern variety, the main cities in northern Italy as radiation centres, ii) the Roman variety and iii) the southern variety, for which the major centre is Naples.[195]

3.1.2.3 Italiano popolare

As discussed in 3.1.2 popular Italian[196] is generally considered as the highest variety of Italian migrants (e.g. Rovere, 1977; Bettoni, 1993 – see 3.2.2 below). De Mauro (1970) suggested that the events after the unification promoted the diffusion of Italian to wider portions of previously dialect-monolingual population (discussed 3.1.1) and determined the formation of popular Italian and its *unitary* character.[197]

"social norms", which could justify their reference in terms of 'standard regional Italians' (Berruto, 1989a:11 – see also discussion 3.1.2.1).

[195] Speakers of wealthy classes and those with an average level of education in central-southern Italy and even in Florence seem to be adopting phonological features typical of the north (e.g. /ɛ/ vs. /e/ in certain words; /dz/ vs. /ts/ in word initial position; /z/ vs. /s/ in intervocalic position etc. - Mioni, 1979:106; De Mauro, 1963:173).

[196] *Italiano popolare* has been variously translated as 'popular Italian' or 'folk Italian' (Berruto, 1989a:9; Trumper, 1989:32) or 'working-class Italian' Trumper (1989:32). The term *popolare* became established in Italian linguistics following De Mauro (1970) and Cortelazzo (1972). For a discussion of the polysemy of the term 'popular' see Berruto (1979:484).

[197] The first signs of the emergence of a code "che si propone di non essere dialettale, di essere sovradialettale" (i.e. "that aims at not being dialectal, at being supra-dialectal" - my translation) are to be found within the phenomenon of *migration* and *urbanization* (De Mauro, 1970:119 - see 3.1.1). 'Unitary popular Italian' first consolidated itself during the First World War. Soldiers were largely drawn from the peasant, uneducated classes and through the war in the trenches they were brought into contact with speakers of different dialects with whom they had to develop a common code of communication (De Mauro, 1970:118). *Television* was "a means of linguistic unification" and more than school itself (see 3.1.1) it

Mioni (1975:16-17; 1979:105) argued against De Mauro's theory suggesting that the notion of 'unitary popular Italian' is premature. He identified 'a sufficiently uniform Italian' within the *middle class* especially in the written usage but even at a colloquial level (Mioni, 1979:105). At the popular or lower-middle class level, however, rather divergent, *regionally differentiated* linguistic forms co-exist (Mioni, 1979:106). Sabatini (1990:76) distinguished between a 'regional Italian *of the educated classes*' and a 'regional Italian *of popular classes*', which in his terminology corresponds to 'popular Italian'. This distinction, Sabatini (1990:76) argued, allows a 'popular' usage of Italian to be appropriately collocated in a fundamentally 'regional' dimension (see also Canepari, 1984).[198]

Cortelazzo (1972:11) defined popular Italian as 'Italian imperfectly acquired by those who have dialect as their mother languages' and indicated that regional italian is different from popular Italian only in the writing (Cortelazzo, 1974:22).[199] He proposed a diagram along the dimension of written ~ spoken uses and the criteria of correctness and acceptability (Cortelazzo, 1974:22):

Table 5 Cortelazzo's (1974:22) differentiation between regional and popular Italian

	Written		Spoken	
	Correctness	Acceptability	Correctness	Acceptability
Regional Italian	+	+	–	+
Popular Italian	–	–	–	+

However, as Cortelazzo (1974:22) noted, the written ~ spoken dichotomy should be replaced by the more efficacious distinction between *phonetics* (including the graphic

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represented "a school of expressivity" for subaltern classes who did not have the capacity to communicate in the common language (De Mauro, 1970:128-9). See also the role of media in convergence in Trudgill (1986 - mentioned in section 3.1.2.5)

[198] However, Sabatini (1990:76) identified a convergence between 'pan-Italian' phenomena from different regional Italian varieties, e.g. pleonastic use and generalization of pronouns, e.g. *gli* third-person singular masculine dative pronoun, to the feminine and the plural; the elimination of conditional and subjunctive forms; generalization of conjunction *che*, etc.). Mioni (1979:106; 1984:500-501) attributed the elimination of subjunctive, which exists in the dialect, to the different, complex distribution of thematic vowels in the dialects and in the standard. This requires great effort to be acquired and creates doubts as to the correctness of the forms. Examples of other syntactic phenomena are the elimination of conditional and subjective forms, a preference for coordination rather than subordination, the difficulty in transforming the direct speech into indirect speech, etc. (De Mauro, 1970:134).

[199] Pellegrini (1960), who established the notion of regional Italian in Italian linguistics (see discussion in 3.1.2), also suggested that it can have a 'popular register'. However, he did not consider *popular Italian* in

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level) and *grammar* (including lexicon). De Mauro (1970:130-134) also pointed out that a typical divergence in 'unitary popular Italian' is found between *phonetic* (and graphic) characteristics, polarised around the regional or dialectal tradition, and *lexical* and *syntactic* characteristics, polarised around the 'common' tradition.

Berruto maintained that in principle regional Italian pertains to a 'diatopic' dimension of variation (see 3.1.2.2), while popular Italian is a 'diastratic' variety of Italian, i.e. "la varieta' sociale per eccellenza dell'italiano" (Berruto, 1993b:58).[200] However, in the Italian sociolinguistic situation geographic and social dimensions of variation are often inextricably linked and according to the focus on one or the other it is possible to talk about '*regional* popular Italian' or '*popular* regional Italian', respectively (Berruto, 1979:487). Berruto's (1979:488) perspective reconciles the 'unitary' characters of popular Italian as well as its 'regionally differentiated' ones. Interference from dialect, Berruto argued, influences both the 'popular' and the 'regional' aspects of Italian. Those that speak popular Italian are those that are more familiar with the dialects and therefore more prone to produce phenomena deriving from the contact between the varieties (Berruto, 1979: 483-484). Considering both social and geographical factors, Berruto (1989a:9, my italics) defined popular Italian as "the substandard variety of Italian spoken (and written) by *uneducated* people having *dialect* as the usual means of communication in everyday life".[201]

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his four-tier system (discussed in 3.1.2) because in the discussion of this variety, scholars (e.g. De Mauro, 1970; Cortelazzo, 1972) had mainly relied on *written* sources (Pellegrini, 1974:178-180).

[200] "the social variety of Italian par excellence" (my translation).

[201] For further discussion about popular Italian see e.g. Berruto (1983, 1986a, 1987:30-39; 105-38) and Lepschy (1983). Giacalone Ramat (1993:349-352; 1995b:121-3) considered the possibility of including *interlanguages* of immigrants in Italy among those varieties of the Italian repertoire that are more distant from the standard. A series of studies conducted within the 'Progetto Pavia' (Giacalone Ramat, 1990b; Bernini, 1994) among adults with various first languages in northern Italy found a partial overlap between certain traits of simplification of foreigners' Italian and the native speakers' low diastratic varieties, mainly at the morphosyntactic level (Giacalone Ramat, 1993:350-351). The role of dialects in the natural acquisition of Italian L2 in adult immigrants in Italy was also investigated by Felici (1994). Issues pertaining to linguistic education of immigrants in Italy are discussed e.g. in Tosi (1995). Schmid (1994:275-282) also found parallel phenomena in the interlanguages of Spanish L1 learners of Italian L2 as a *lingua franca* in German Switzerland and northern popular varieties, e.g. degemination of double consonants (CC→C/V_V), reduction to fricative of voiceless dental affricate (ts→s), anteriorazziation of palatal fricative (ʃ→s), simplification of articles and unstressed pronouns paradigms, reduction of verbal allomorphs, generalization of auxiliary 'to have' in the *passato prossimo*, and use of redundant personal pronouns (cf. also 2.4.1).

3.1.2.4 Regional koinè and rural dialects

The code at the dialect end of the continuum (cf. discussion in 3.1.2) has been variously referred to by scholars as 'pure', 'rural' or 'local' dialect (Pellegrini, 1960, 1972; Berruto, 1989). All these terms refer to the variety of dialect spoken away from urban centres, which is slowly but relentlessly disappearing (Pellegrini, 1960:137). Within the dialect continuum, the 'archaic' dialect or *patois* is distinguished from the *'Italianised/regionalised'* or 'urban' dialect variety called *'koinè'* (Cortelazzo, 1969). This results from a reduction of the structural differences from different local dialects, i.e. 'levelling', through the elimination of their most peculiar and marked features. For Pellegrini (1960:138, note 1, my italics) a 'regional *koinè'*

> "è costituita sostanzialmente da un dialetto *depurato* da *tratti locali* piu' vistosi e che accoglie, di norma, fonemi e morfemi dei *grandi centri regionali*, con la sostituzione di vocaboli dialettali peregrini e marginali mediante quelli usati nei grandi centri e con quelli corrispondenti *italiani*, spesso in *veste fonetica vernacolare*".[202]

Like regional varieties of Italian (see 3.1.2.2), *koinài* developed as a result of industrialisation, urbanisation and mass education, which promoted geographic and social mobility (Cortelazzo, 1969: 148-9). From a practical point of view, dialectal *koinài* represent a means of communication that can be used in a regional or provincial environment among speakers of different dialect varieties (Berruto, 1989a:21).[203] Through *imitation*, many 'genuine' idiomatic dialect forms, which are often perceived as more 'vulgar' by locals, are substituted or co-exist side by side with variants that are more widely used, more prestigious and closer to a regional or an Italian type (Cortelazzo, 1969:192).[204]

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[202] "[...] basically consists of a dialect that has been purified of the most marked local traits and that receives phonemes and morphemes from the large regional centres. It substitutes uncommon and marginal dialect items with those used in large centres and Italian equivalents, often in a vernacular phonetic shape" (my translation).

[203] Like other regions in northern Italy, the Veneto region has a regional *koinè*, which is fundamentally based on the dialect spoken in Venice. Since the 15th-16th centuries Venetian started to establish itself as the most prestigious dialect (Pellegrini, 1977, 1990). Local varieties, especially those in the major centres have been attracted towards Venetian for centuries and have therefore lost the more rustic and 'municipal', often stigmatised traits (Zamboni, 1977:7).

[204] Words that do not correspond to the standard are replaced by adapted Italian loanwords, e.g. Veneto *piròn* [pi'roŋ] substituted by [for'keːte] < Standard Italian *forchetta* [for'ketta] (English 'fork') (Mioni and Arnuzzo-Lanszweert, 1979:92). Phonemes/allophones unknown in Italian are eliminated, e.g. rural Veneto

Dialectal *koinài* represent the first linguistic model to which less educated and lower-middle classes aspire (Pellegrini, 1959). In the regions where a *koinè* is available the local dialect is not in direct competition with Italian but with this regional, more prestigious variety of the dialect itself (Benincà, 1996:5). This factor has represented a powerful disincentive against the adoption of Italian in the spoken use and in the maintenance of Italian dialects (Benincà, 1996:5-6). Mioni and Arnuzzo-Lanszweert (1979:94) observed that in regions which do not have a *koinè*, dialects can be said to be affected more by a decrease in prestige and use than interference from Italian (see discussion in 3.1.4 below). However, far from being a sign of vitality, this 'purity' is "the hallmark of a dying language" (Mioni and Arnuzzo-Lanszweert, 1979:94).[205]

3.1.2.5 Structural convergence[206]

De Mauro (1963:142-3) suggested that with the formation of regional varieties of Italian local elements acquired an Italian phonological *facies* which made less and less perceivable the introduction of words and constructions of dialect origin into the common language. At the same time, influences in the opposite direction were also taking place. Forms of the Italian adopted by the speakers in a certain area were inserted with increasing ease into the local dialects, thus contributing to their Italianisation. As De Mauro (1963:159) pointed out, "il tramite per questi prestiti dei dialetti alla lingua comune e' stato costituito dalle varieta' regionali di italiano".[207] Mioni (1984:503) observed that the phenomena of interference, simplification and hypercorrection, through which dialect influences Standard Italian, have been affecting not only the Italian acquired by dialect speakers but also the Italian of bilinguals and, through colloquial and less careful forms, the Italian of monolinguals (Mioni, 1984:503).

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interdental /θ/ as in *tharéza* /θa'reza/ (English 'cherry'), which is unknown in Italian, in the regional *koinè* is substituted with /s/ *saréza* [sa'reza]. This sound is not so much closer to the Italian equivalent (i.e. /tʃ/ in 'ciliegia') but presents a sequence phonetically acceptable in the standard even though the corresponding form is different (Berruto, 1989a:18; Mioni, 1979:107; Mioni and Arnuzzo-Lanszweert, 1979:91). For further examples see e.g. Sobrero (1997) and discussion in 3.1.2.5 below. The role of imitation in language change is touched upon in 3.1.2.5 below.

[205] This point is discussed further in relation to divergence/convergence processes in Veneto in Trumper and Maddalon (1988).

[206] For the notion of 'convergence' in Myers-Scotton see 2.3.2.2. For a discussion of convergence in relation to constraints on codeswitching see 2.3.3.

[207] "[...] regional varieties of Italian have constituted the link for these borrowings from the dialects to the common language" (my translation).

Sanga (1985:10) defined convergence in terms of the processes whereby a 'hegemonic language' and a 'subaltern language' become structurally closer. This does not necessarily lead to the elimination of linguistic differences but rather to the

> "trasformazione fonologica, grammaticale, lessicale delle LS [lingue subalterne] secondo il modello della LE [lingua egemone], e alla creazione di una *rete di parallelismi morfo-fonologici* che permette il passaggio automatico da una lingua all'altra attraverso *regole di commutazione fonologica*" (Sanga, 1985:10, my italics).[208]

These 'morpho-phonological parallelisms', as Sanga (1985:endnote 11) further explained, are the result of a systematic comparison that is established by the speakers themselves. Two conditions are necessary to establish this network of 'morpho-phonological parallelisms' (Sanga, 1985:11). The first condition is the 'homogenisation of the lexical bases', through which lexical forms of the hegemonic language are translated phonetically into the subaltern language, e.g. Milanese *erbiuu* (Eng. 'peas'), Italian *piselli > pisèi* (Sanga, 1985:11). This leads to a phase of variability between synonymic pairs and then the elimination of old local forms. The second condition is the remodelling of the conditions of phonetic evolution based on the hegemonic language through the 'progressive elimination of dissimilar positions' (Sanga, 1985:11). This makes the passage from one language to the other automatic (Sanga, 1985:11). In Milanese, for instance, the elimination of metaphony, which does not exist in Italian, makes the conversion from Italian easier, e.g. Milanese *bèl* (Italian 'bello'; English 'beautiful' masc. sing.) plur. *bi-i* (Italian 'belli') > *bèl*, plur. *bèi* (Sanga, 1985:13). Mioni and Trumper (1977) also discussed interference from Italian to Veneto in terms of variable *'correspondence rules'*, e.g. /s/, /z/ > /tʃ/; /z/ > /dʒ/, so that ['zeŋte] and ['dʒeŋte] (English 'people') coexist (see also discussion in 3.1.2.4).

However, according to Grassi (1993:306:7), as a result of a process of internal 'renormativisation', Italian tends to distance itself from dialects. Thus, in Italy

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[208] "phonological, grammatical and lexical transformation of the LS [subaltern languages] according to the model of the LE [hegemonic language] and to the creation of a network of *morpho-phonological parallelisms* which allows the automatic passage from one language to the other through *rules of phonological conversion*." (my translation and italics). Weinreich (1953:2) had also observed that in closely related languages there will often be so many such homologous diamorphs that the speakers will set up what Weinreich has called 'conversion formulas' (see discussion in 2.3.1).

'convergence' cannot be intended as the tendency of Italian and dialects to 'join' at a point in time in the future.[209] Cortelazzo (1969: 152, my italics) sees linguistic change as the

> "conseguenza a una ripercussione piu' o meno rapida di un'*adesione imitativa* ad un modello ritenuto superiore, il quale, a sua volta, sempre si *rinnova* per mantenere intatta la sua preminenza"[210]

Cortelazzo (1969) identified a 'descending' and 'ascending' type of linguistic change governed by a general mechanism of *'imitation'*. An initial phase of linguistic 'differentiation' between social groups is followed by a 'levelling' one, then a new 'differentiation' one and so on. Urban centres, which have a propulsive force in spreading new forms, 'imitate' the most prestigious regional centre (Cortelazzo, 1969:148). Subsequently, as peripheral centres adopt the more prestigious forms, a 'levelling' is reached in the speech of two different social groups. As a result, speakers in the higher social group feel that these forms have lost the character that once distinguished them as an élite and therefore start acquiring a substitute status marker (Cortelazzo, 1969:170).

Trudgill (1986:2-41) expanded Giles and associates' (Giles and Smith, 1979 - see 2.1.2) theory of *'accommodation'*, i.e. the interlocutors' 'convergence' to each other through the reduction of dissimilarities between features in each other's speech during an interaction. He suggested that if *'face-to-face* accommodation' is repeated frequently enough it may in time become permanent giving rise to the geographical diffusion of the 'accommodated' linguistic forms (Trudgill, 1986:2-41). That is, *'short-term* accommodation' may lead to *'long-term* accommodation'.[211] Auer and Di Luzio (1988:4) also discussed

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[209] Direct contact, Grassi (1993:307) argued, occurs only between colloquial, heavily regionalised or popular Italian and the highest varieties of dialects, rather than the local dialect varieties and standard Italian. Berruto (1989a:20) also observed that rather than convergence between Italian and dialect, there is a formation of multiple varieties both in the language and in the dialect end of the continuum.

[210] "[...] consequence to a more or less rapid repercussion of the *imitative adherence* to a model which is considered superior, which in turn is always *renewing* itself to maintain its prominence intact" (my translation). The role of imitation was mentioned in 2.4. Johanson (1993) proposed 'codecopying' as single coherent framework within which various language contact phenomena, including 'convergence' (e.g. 'borrowings', 'loans', 'interference', 'levelling' etc.) should be dealt with. Similarly, Walters (2001:122, my italics) suggested that 'interference', 'codeswitching' and 'translation' "can all be considered partial *copies* of their L1 sources". 'Imitation' is therefore presented as the process which underlies both socio-pragmatic and psycholinguistic processes in bilingual speech production.

[211] Interlocutors may belong to the same speech community or to different geographical areas. In the latter case speakers will come more often in contact with speakers from areas that are closest to where they live and from those centres that are more populated, e.g. for a purely demographic reason an inhabitant of Norwich is more likely to meet a Londoner than vice versa (Trudgill, 1986:39). Kerswill (1994) analysed the

convergence/divergence at the level of single interactions and larger societal constellations, where structures and processes gain access to the converging repertoire of the speech community. Berruto (1990:106) discussed '*codeswitching*' and '*convergence*' as the two manifestations of the contact between the Italian and dialect. Structural 'convergence' is the counterpart at the level of the *linguistic* system of 'codeswitching' at the *discourse* level. 'Codeswitching' creates permeable sites between Italian and dialect varieties (Berruto, 1990:106).[212]

Auer and Di Luzio (1988:5) observed that both in the micro- and macro-dimension, a '*horizontal*' type of convergence (i.e. 'interdialectal') has to be distinguished from a '*vertical*' type of convergence (i.e. between standard and dialect). However, the former is also influenced by the standard, thus incorporating aspects of the latter; vice versa, by diminishing differences between dialects, 'vertical convergence' involves koineisation aspects. In Veneto, Trumper and Maddalon (1988:240) found a general convergence both among local dialects (historically determined by the Venetian *koinè*) and between the dialect *koinè* and regional varieties of Italian. Sobrero (1988b:209) found that linguistic change in an urban community in Salento, in south-eastern Italy, was characterised by a passage from '*conversational*' to '*vertical* convergence' via the extensive use of tag switching involving dialectal micro-structures. These structures (e.g. deictics, interjections, indef. art. *nu/na* vs. *uno/una*; demonstrative adj. *stu/sta* vs. *questo/questa*, etc.) were found not only in colloquial but also in formal registers of regional Italian. Sobrero (1988b:214) suggested that they were 'stateless' both in the speaker's awareness and at the repertoire level.[213]

The potential for language change, however, does not always flow along a linear geographical dimension or depend on direct interactions. According to Sobrero (1997:414), with the development of *mass media* in Italy, local varieties have got into direct contact

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speech of first-generation migrants to a community of speakers of a related dialect in Norway. He found that first-generation migrants could be considered as 'precursors' of koineisation. Kerswill (1994:161) compared features in their speech and attested outcomes of koineisation, seen as the result of long-term accommodation. Among the migrants stigmatised and strongly localised features were lost in favour of forms that were not necessarily those of the dialect of the host community but those found in the speech of younger people or were widespread in other dialects, i.e. forms that were intermediate and sociolinguistically 'neutral'.

[212] See discussion of 'neutral sites' and 'triggering' in 2.1.2.

[213] See also Sobrero (1988a).

with Italian "thus dispensing with the intermediary role of the local centres of influence". He observed that age, education as well as degree of exposure to television are becoming more influential than social class and geographical factors (e.g. town centre vs. suburbs, town vs. village, etc.).[214] Trudgill (1986:41) suggested that one way in which diffusion of linguistic forms can occur *without face-to-face interaction*, which would constitute 'accommodation' (see above), is through '*imitation*' or '*copying*', e.g. from the media. Italy, he suggested, offers an example of the way in which core syntax and phonology can be influenced via imitation of television language (Trudgill, 1986:41). Standard Italian is substantially distant from the dialects and dialect speakers who have consciously decided to acquire it may use the media as a model (Trudgill, 1986:41).[215]

In noticing a change in 'innovation' mechanisms in contemporary Italy, Sobrero (1997:414-5) has recently identified two main large-scale processes. The first is the '*abandonment of local terminology*', which parallels the abandonment of the relating objects and customs to which the terminology refers. The second is '*expansion in lexical borrowings*' that are variously adapted on the phonetic model of the town's dialect or Italian (see discussion above). However, (relatively) unadapted borrowings are becoming more and more frequent (Sobrero, 1997:415).

3.1.3 Repertoire models

As mentioned above (3.1.2), the classification of the varieties comprising the Italian linguistic repertoire is one of the main topics in Italian sociolinguistics. Berruto (Berruto, 1989a:10) observed that a major difficulty in identifying the varieties within the Italian-dialect continuum stems from the necessity to account for both the geographical and the

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[214] Cortelazzo (1969) discussed how through '*parachuting*', higher social classes in villages directly draw on their urban counterparts for a source of innovation (Cortelazzo, 1969: 171). The luck and expansion of an 'imitating-innovating' ('*imitatrice-innovatrice*') current depends on the force with which it can oppose the conservative, compact wall of tradition and cohesion (Cortelazzo, 1969:154). One of the mechanisms of self-defense of a group is *satire* and *mockery* against those who want to distance themselves from it through abandonment of some group traditional norm. In some Italian dialects there are satirical poems about hypercorrection and set phrases to admonish those who want to abandon the native language for Italian (Cortelazzo, 1969:173). Zamboni (1977) pointed out that the dialect of the regional capital can sometimes exert its influence *directly* on the dialect of rural centres, thus 'skipping' the dialect of provincial and minor centres, respectively.

[215] See discussion of 'popular Italian' in 3.1.2.3.

social dimensions of linguistic variation.[216] Mioni (1975:20) elaborated Pellegrini's model (Pellegrini, 1960 – see 3.1.2) and hypot.......sed that the total repertoire of an average Italian region includes:

1) I1 - Aulic Italian
2) I2 - Formal spoken Italian
3) I3 - Informal-colloquial Italian
4) D1 - Koinè dialect and/or elevated style dialect
5) D2 - Provincial capital dialect
6) D3 - Local dialect[217]

Sabatini (1985;1990:76-7) observed that the contact between Standard Italian (written tradition) and the *dialect* as spoken by *educated speakers* has resulted in the formation of an innovative type of Italian i.e. *'italiano unitario medio'*, ('middle unitary Italian'). This type of Italian is unitary at the morphosyntactic and lexical levels and is predominantly spoken, although it is also present in writings with an average degree of formality (Sabatini, 1990:77). Sabatini's (1985) repertoire model envisaged six varieties, i.e. 1) standard Italian, 2) *'italiano dell'uso medio'* ('Italian of the average use') or *'italiano unitario medio'* ('unitary average Italian'), 3) regional Italian *of the educated classes*, 4) regional Italian of the uneducated classes (or popular Italian), 5) regional or provincial dialect, 6) local dialect (cf. 3.1.2.3).

Sanga's (1981) complex model envisaged as many as seven varieties of Italian (anglicised Italian, Standard literary Italian, regional Italian, colloquial Italian, bureaucratic Italian, popular Italian, dialectal Italian), five varieties of dialect (Italianised dialect, dialectal koinè, urban dialect, 'polite' local dialect, rural local dialect), three slang/jargon varieties, and one Italian-dialect mixed variety. Both Sanga (1981) and Trumper and Maddalon (1982) encompassed 'mixing' or 'interference' phenomena into varieties with their own position in the repertoire. Trumper and Maddalon, (1982), however, separated written varieties from spoken ones. Their model envisaged four written varieties (Standard Italian,

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[216] This point has been already discussed in relation to popular Italian and regional Italian in 3.1.2.3. In addition to geographical ('diatopic') and social ('diastratic') dimensions of variation, 'diaphasic' (situational) and 'diamesic' (written~spoken) ones are taken into consideration by Berruto (Berruto, 1987; Berruto, 1993b; Berruto, 1993a).

[217] Mioni (Mioni, 1983) subsequently extended and modified the above model taking into consideration 1) Standard Italian, 2) colloquial Standard Italian, 3) regional Italian, 4) popular regional Italian, for the Italian portion of the continuum and 1) formal dialect, 2) informal urban dialect, 3) informal rural dialect for the dialect end.

sub-Standard Italian, interfered sub-Standard Italian, literary dialect) and six spoken ones (formal regional Italian, informal regional Italian, careless regional Italian, dialect koinè, urban dialect, local *patois*).

Mioni and Trumper (1977) also attempted to incorporate interference, as well as socio-economic and stylistic factors in their repertoire model. They classified the varieties in the speakers' repertoire in the province of Padua. As already mentioned above (3.1.2), they envisaged two continua, one for the language and one for the dialect. Giving the concrete example of a phonological feature (i.e. the preconsonantal nasal), Mioni and Trumper (1977:337-8) identified *four varieties* in each continuum.[218] At the linguistic level the varieties are characterised by different degrees of 'interference' (Mioni and Trumper, 1977:350). The authors (Mioni and Trumper, 1977:350) postulated 'interference' a) from dialect into the whole of the Italian continuum, except the highest variety, which they define in terms of 'normative Tuscan-based Italian', and was introduced in their description as a term of comparison;[219] b) from Italian into the whole of the dialect continuum, with the possible exception of the lowest, rural dialect variety, also introduced as a term of comparison. The model Mioni and Trumper (1977:370) proposed included two grammars. 'Grammar 1' pertains to the Italian continuum and contains an 'interference filter' from the dialect affecting all the varieties of Italian but the highest. 'Grammar 2', for the dialect continuum, contains an 'interference filter' from Italian affecting all the varieties of dialect but the lowest.[220]

3.1.4 Bilingualism and diglossia in Italy[221]

Each of the different phases in the history of Italy corresponded to different situations in terms of diglossia and bilingualism and different language/dialect contact situation in terms of Italianisation (Sobrero, 1997:413).

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[218] Competence in these varieties varies in relation to the speakers' region of origin, their age at arrival to the Veneto region, their social class and age (Mioni and Trumper, 1977:337-8).

[219] See discussion in 3.1.2.1.

[220] In his introduction to 'Italian language in the Veneto region', Canepari (1984) pointed out the difficulties in trying to encapsulate functional, social, situational geographical as well as the different linguistic levels (lexicon, grammar and pronunciation) in a detailed description of the language situation. Frequency, diffusion and typicity as well as individual variation also play a major role. Canepari (1984:36) did not label the variety he described in his work and decided to "[...] parlare della lingua italiana d'una certa localita' piu' o meno ampia [...] senza volere specificare meglio" ("talk about the Italian of certain, more or less wide area [...] without specifying in greater detail"), hence the title of his book.

Grassi (1993:280) observed that in Italy there has been a gradual passage from a situation of predominant diglossia to one of predominant bilingualism. Mioni (1975:15) observed that three of the four situations described in Fishman (1967 – discussed in 2.1.1.1) have been attested in Italy (see also Mioni and Arnuzzo-Lanszweert, 1979). *Diglossia without bilingualism*, i.e. functionally compartmentalised use of Italian and dialect but competence of Italian limited to few restricted elite groups, was the situation of post-unification Italy (see 3.1.1) and persists in the least industrialised areas. *Bilingualism with diglossia*, i.e. a generalised competence of both Italian and dialect and relatively stable division of their functional domains, is most frequent in regions in which the dialect is vital, i.e. Veneto, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Sicily, etc. and in those provinces of the industrialised regions where there has not been a strong immigration influx. *Bilingualism without diglossia* is characterised by competence in Italian and dialect without sufficient delimitation of their functional domains and shift away from dialect to Italian. This is the case of industrial and metropolitan areas in Italy that have seen a strong influx of migrants, so that a situation of diglossia can only obtain in restricted domains in regional ghettoes (Mioni, 1975:15).[221]

Trumper (1977:261-276) introduced the distinction between 'macro-diglossia' (or true diglossia) and 'micro-diglossia' (or pseudo-diglossia), which is based on a fundamental criterion of 'strength' of the dialect (see table 6 below). In areas characterised by 'macro-diglossia' (e.g. Veneto and Campania) the dialect is still in competition with Italian in many domains. Besides a local variety, 'macro-diglossia' presents one or more regional or sub-regional dialect variants with increasing prestige (see 3.1.2.4), which gives rise to language mixing.[223] 'Micro-diglossia', on the other hand, characterises areas (e.g. Emilia and Romagna) in which the dialect is restricted to few domains and is in direct competition

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221 Bilingualism and diglossia were discussed in general terms in 2.1 and 2.1.1.1, respectively.
222 Sobrero (1997:412) thinks that in Italy a situation of *diglossia without bilingualism* lasted until the beginning of the 20th century. In the second half of the 20th century *bilingualism* spread in the space of three generations and became the norm, although it may or may not be accompanied by diglossia depending on the geographical areas of the peninsula.
223 However, Trumper (1989:44) observed that the Veneto *working class* seems to present a classic example of diglossia as it differentiates between exclusive use of dialect in intra-group interaction and use of mixed dialect-Italian varieties in inter-group interaction (cf. discussion of data about Veneto use in Australia in 3.2.1.2.2).

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with Italian. Speakers switch from one to the other when circumstances require thus keeping the two codes separated.[224]

Table 6 Trumper's (1977) macro- and macro-diglossia

Macrodiglossia (true diglossia)	Microdiglossia (pseudo-diglossia)
Both codes distributed over a large number of domains	One code used in very few domains
Formation of dialect koinè	Absence of dialect koinè
Great deal of overlapping between codes in functionally ambiguous contexts	Clear-cut functional separation between codes
Mixed utterances in everyday interaction as normal speech behaviour	Varieties generally not mixed
Dialect socially stratified in varieties and registers	Socially undifferentiated dialect

Berruto (1989a:14) observed that one of the conditions defining diglossia in Ferguson's (1959:336) terms, i.e. that the high variety "is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation", does not hold in the Italian situation (see 3.1.4). On this basis, he proposed the concept of '*dilalia*' to define situations characterised by the presence of two separate varieties which are both used for ordinary conversation (Berruto, 1986b:67). '*Dilalia*' is one of the four fundamental types of organisation of linguistic repertoires, the others being societal 'bilingualism', 'diglossia', and 'bidialectism'. Berruto (1986b:67) listed five main diagnostic criteria for their identification:

1. co-existence of two Abstandsprachen/Ausbausprachen;[225]
2. substantial difference between variety A and B;
3. use of both codes in ordinary conversion;
4. clear-cut functional differentiation between the two codes (which determines their characters 1 and 2)
5. (partial) domain overlap between the two codes;

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224 Berruto (1995:237) commented that it is surprising that Trumper (1977) considered 'macro-diglossia' to be equivalent to '*true diglossia*' and 'micro-diglossia' to be equivalent to '*pseudo diglossia*'. It seemed, Berruto (1995:237) argued, that the latter in fact presents the traits of a diglossic relationship in the Fergusonian sense (see discussion in 2.1.1.1). The notions of 'micro' and 'macro' diglossia were elaborated upon in Trumper (1982, 1984, 1989) and Mioni and Arnuzzo-Lanszweert (1979).
225 See discussion in 3.1.2.

In 'dilaiia' code A is also used, at least by part of the community, in habitual spoken interactions. Although the functional distinction is clear, there are domains in which it is normal to use both A and B, alternatively or in conjunction. This is the average situation in Italian regions (apart from Tuscany and Rome), where most of the population uses Italian as well as dialect. Although the codes are closely related varieties, they have a substantial structural difference (criterion 2), they are both employed in everyday spoken use (criterion 3), they play clearly different functions (criterion 4) and they share classes of situations in which there is functional overlap (criterion 5 - Berruto, 1995:246-7).[226]

As a result of the dramatic decrease in competence in the dialects, in Sobrero's (1997:413) opinion the current development in Italy is towards a situation which can *no longer be described in terms of bilingualism* or *diglossia*. At least certain areas are characterised by the *abandonment of the dialect*.

3.1.5 Contact phenomena between Italian and dialects at the discourse level

As pointed out by various authors (e.g. Berruto, 1997:394; Giacalone Ramat, 1995a:45), the main focus of Italian linguists has been on the processes of dialectilisation, regionalisation and Italianisation (see 3.1.2) rather than contact phenomena at the discourse level (discussed in general terms in 2.3). The co-occurrence of Italian and dialect is a very common phenomenon in everyday conversation in contemporary Italy (Berruto, 1997:394). It started to spread in the inter-war period and became more frequent in post-war Italy as a result of the progressive diffusion of Italy to wider sections of the population (De Mauro, 1963:143; Berruto, 1997:394).

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[226] In Berruto's (1995:244) *'societal bilingualism'* the two languages are clearly differentiated and elaborated and are both used in formal written uses as well as in informal conversation, e.g. the Italian-French bilingualism in the Valle d'Aosta region. In *'diglossia'* the two codes can be both clearly differentiated as autonomous varieties of the same language (as in 'dilalia') but only one is a full *Ausbausprache* since B does no cover formal written domains, e.g. some Italian regions until the late 19th century (Berruto, 1995:245-246). In *'bidialectism'*, the codes are relatively close, the population can master with greater or lesser ease all varieties, although regional or social ones are normally used in the everyday conversation, e.g. in Tuscany and Rome (Berruto, 1995:246-7). While given two varieties 'societal bilingualism', 'diglossia', 'dilalia' and 'bidialectism' are mutually exclusive, composite repertoires are possible with different relationship between different pairs of varieties (Berruto, 1995:248). Bilingualism and diglossia in Italy are also discussed in e.g. Francescato (1973; 1986).

Berruto (1974; 1985; 1989a; 1989b; 1990; 1997) has studied contact phenomena between Italian and dialect in Italy from both a structural and a functional point of view.[227] Among contact phenomena between Italian and dialect that are more relevant to the discourse level, Berruto (1985:71-4; 1989a:17-8) considered 'incipient hybridization'. As Berruto (1993:29-30) argued, between Italian and dialect there are no intermediate linguistic *varieties* proper or hybrid systems, but *instances* of 'hybridization'.[228] *'Hybridisms'* are:

"forms at the level of words in which rules of Italian and rules of dialect are merged in the same word, so that is difficult, if not impossible, to assign them reasonably either to one system or to the other" (Berruto, 1989a:21)

e.g. [tʃéner] (English 'ash', Italian '['tʃenere]), which presents the dialect rule of final vowel deletion, but the Italian rules of palatalisation of /k/ before front vowel (vs. fricativisation) and maintenance of post-tonic vowel (vs. its deletion).[229] Besides hybrid forms, Berruto (1985:74) also considered dialect/Italian *'homophones'* (see 2.3.1). Both types of items were found to 'trigger' the passage from one code to the other (Clyne, 1967 cited in Berruto, 1985:73 – cf. discussion in 2.3.3).

Berruto (1985:59) argued that for a situation of *lingua cum dialectis* like the Italian situation, *'code-switching'* is too broad and generic a category and should be distinguished from 'mixtilingual'/'mixed' utterance, i.e. *'code-mixing'* (1997:395). Berruto (1997:395) defined 'codeswitching' proper as *'intersentential* codeswitching', "namely the change from one code to the other at sentence level *with a function in discourse* and a social motivation in context". However, the passage from Italian to dialect and vice versa does not always seems to have a 'function', especially if it occurs within the syntactico-discourse entity of a 'sentence' (Berruto, 1995:262). In these cases, Berruto (1997:395, my

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[227] In an early study, Berruto (1974:47, 59) discussed the notion of language *errors* and equaled them to *interferences* between Italian and dialect (see 2.3.1). When certain frequent and recurrent 'errors' or 'interferences' become part of the norm and they cease to be 'errors' (Berruto, 1972:49). The notion of 'interference' was also used by e.g. Mioni and Trumper (1977 – see 3.1.3). Interference from Veneto in Italian at the phonic-graphic level was studied by Zuanelli-Sonino (1983).

[228] Berruto (1989a:18, my italics) referred to "[...] incipient hybridization, that is, traces of processes/phenomena of partial merging of Italian and dialect *or, better, presence of Italian-dialect hybridisms*" and "hybridisms *in discourse*" (Berruto 1989a:17-8:21, my italics).

[229] Example cited from Moretti (1988) in Berruto (1989a:21). See discussion of similar instances in the present corpus in 5.3.2.

italics) suggested using the terms 'code-mixing', which has been recently defined as *'intrasentential* codeswitching',

> "namely the production of mixed utterances in which sentences consist of *constituents from both Italian and dialect* and in which changes from one code to the other seem to have *no recognizable function in discourse*".[230]

In code-mixing, the passage from one code to the other seems to be caused by the high degree of the functional comparability of the two codes and the 'interpenetrability', 'compatibility' and 'interchangeability' of their grammars (Berruto, 1990:125). In the central part of their repertoire, Berruto (1990:125) observed, speakers have one single syntax for more varieties. Morphology and phonology, however, remain separated and lexicon is half-way between these two levels. Syntactical overlap corresponds to a functional overlap. From a psychological point of view, the two codes can be easily activated at the same time. From a social point of view, furthermore, mixing is accepted by wide sections of the community and the codes do not stand in a conflictual relationship.

According to Berruto (1989a:23), Veneto is one of the regions in which code-mixing is common. As Berruto (1989a:23) noted, Trumper (1977; 1984) took the presence of 'mixed utterances' in everyday speech as a criterion for differentiating 'macro-diglossia' from 'micro-diglossia' (see discussion in 3.1.4). In his investigation of patterns of 'situational' and 'metaphorical' codeswitching (see 2.1.2) in Veneto, Trumper (1984:41) found frequent instances of 'mixed utterances' in regional Italian characterised by heavy dialect interference at the syntactic, morphological and phonetic levels.

Trumper (1984:39) concluded that they represented a "hybrid between situational and metaphorical codeswitching" where codeswitching might occur without motivation and therefore is unpredictable. This is typical of 'macro-diglossic' regions, where codeswitching enjoys a high degree of acceptance (Trumper, 1984:41 – see discussion above and in 3.1.4).[231] In the provinces of Pavia (Lombardy) and Piacenza (Emilia

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[230] Cf. the notions of 'code-switching' and 'code-shifting' in Auer and Di Luzio (1983) discussed in 2.1.2.

[231] Among her Veneto informants, Marcato (1974a) found that 'mixing' between Italian and dialect was often an unconscious phenomenon. Two fundamental linguistic behaviours emerged from her corpus. The first one consisted of an "intentional, colloquial mix" consisting of rather rare dialect sentences alternating with Italian ones with insertions of "often modified dialect items". In this case the informants often claimed they were using dialect. The second type, where the informants claimed they were using Italian, was characterised by a

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Romagna), however, Giacalone Ramat (1995a:54) found that much of the codeswitching between Italian and dialect was of an 'inter-sentential' type in Poplack's sense (Poplack et al., 1990 – see discussion in 2.3.2). As the author suggested, this may be due to the fact that those areas are characterised by 'micro-diglossia', in which varieties do not mix within sentence boundaries (Giacalone Ramat, 1995a:54).

The notion of 'code mixing' as described by Berruto has a lot in common with Muysken's 'congruent lexicalization' (discussed in 2.3.3). In presenting 'congruent lexicalization', Muysken (2000:122-3) specifically referred to dialect/standard 'mixing'.[232] He pointed out that grammatical convergence leads to 'congruent lexicalization', which in turn paves the way for further convergence. Berruto (1985:70) also observed that the presence of code-mixing leads to the hypothesis that Italian and dialect

> "forniscono paritariamente materiale lessicale e morfologico alla costruzione dell'enunciato, in un continuo *zig-zag* dall'un sistema all'altro come se in fondo fossero fusi in un'unica grammatica".[233]

Berruto (1989a:26, footnote 5) observed that 'code switching' in Italy occurs between systems that are related and "much less distant than the majority of languages whose switching has been generally studied, mostly in situations of either 'official' national bilingualism or bilingualism owing to migration." 'Code switching' in Italy is characterised by a high degree of 'reversibility' of the direction of the switching (Berruto, 1985:66).[234]

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mix determined by the inability to continue in Italian after uttering the first few conventional words (Marcato, 1974a:103-7). See also Trumper and Maddalon (1982).

[232] As discussed in 2.3.3, however, Muysken (1995, 1997, 2000) used the term 'code mixing' as an umbrella term for 'congruent lexicalization', 'alternation' and 'insertion'.

[233] "[...] provide on an equal basis lexical and morphological material to the construction of the utterance in a continuous *zig-zag* from one system to the other as if they were fundamentally fused in a single grammar" (my translation).

[234] In both 'code-switching' and 'code mixing', furthermore, the close relatedness of Italian and dialect creates a problem of identification of the varieties involved and the assessment of possible hybrid varieties, or at least hybrid forms (Berruto, 1985:71). Mioni and Trumper (1977:330) as well as Pellegrini (discussion note by Pellegrini in Mioni and Trumper, 1977:333) agreed in considering *morphological criteria* as discriminating factors in the distinction between (regional) Italian and regional dialect (or *koiné*) utterances (see also Mioni and Arnuzzo-Lanszweert (1979:94). The presence of morphs from one system or the other, whether influenced by 'interference' from the dialect or hypercorrection, will determine to which system the utterance belongs. In addition to this objective principle, a subjective one can also be applied, i.e. which code the speaker thinks (s)he is using (Pellegrini, 1990: 6).

Giacalone Ramat (1995a:55) used the notion of 'word-internal' codeswitching between a base and a bound morpheme. In referring to Myers-Scotton's notion of 'matrix language', which is supposed to provide bound morphemes (cf. discussion in 2.3.2), Giacalone Ramat (1995a:55) argued that its identification is very hard to achieve in a situation characterised by convergence and interchangeability of codes (see 2.3.3). On a functional level, furthermore, Giacalone Ramat (1995a:52) argued that the direction of the switching was largely irrelevant as it depended on the preferred language. Poplack's (1980) 'free morpheme constraint' (discussed in 2.3.2.2) was therefore found to be too powerful. Given the similar syntactic linear order of Italian and the dialects, Giacalone Ramat (1995a:56) did not expect Poplack's 'equivalence constraint' to have much relevance for Italian-dialect codeswitching. However, with regard to the cases in which Italian and syntactic patterns do *not* overlap, Giacalone Ramat (1995a:57-8) did not find any violation of this constraint.[235]

A *conversational* approach to Italian/dialect codeswitching was developed further in the works by Alfonzetti (e.g. Alfonzetti, 1992a, 1992b, 1998) and Sobrero (e.g. 1988b, 1992). Sobrero (1988b, 1992) found that codeswitching served different functions in the village and the urban setting in Salento (Apulia region) he investigated.[236] Drawing on the results of various studies, Giacalone Ramat (1995a:49-51) observed that the 'alternation' or codeswitching between Italian and dialect mainly fulfils two functions. It corresponded to a strategy of *convergence* between the participants and of organisation of the discourse into sequences, e.g. change of topic, side sequence, facetious comment, etc. Berruto (1997:397) identified four recurrent functions of dialect/Italian codeswitching, i.e. an

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[235] As discussed in 5.2.7 and 5.3.1, in the present corpus, which was analysed in terms of 'transference' (see 2.3.1), the different subject pronoun patterns in Italian and Veneto was found to be highly relevant among the youngest informants both in Italy and in Australia.

[236] In the village, Sobrero (1988b) found that *choice of dialect* for communication within his informant's *network* was categorical. However, a diglossic evaluation oriented the speaker's *codeswitching* behaviour as well as the choice of the *basis* for the codeswitching. With interlocutors at the periphery of the informant's network, while the basis remained dialectal, there was codeswitching towards Italian. However, with more educated and younger interlocutors (e.g. young university students, her daughter's friends) the *basis* was Italian and codeswitching towards dialect (Sobrero, 1998b). In the town diglossic evaluation was less obvious. The repertoire continuum ranged between 'mixed discourse'/regional Italian, rather than dialect/Italian. The conversational convergence function of codeswitching was prevalent. Codeswitching acted on a much *lower level of awareness* than in the rural patterns and mainly took the form of 'tag switching' involving dialectal micro-structures (deictics, pragmatic locutions, interjections, phonological interferences – see also 3.1.2.5).

94

'expressive/emphatic' function, a 'quotative' function, a 'gloss or comment' function, a 'personalization vs. 'objectivization' function.[237]

3.1.6 Use of Italian and dialect in Italy

The current situation in Italy is characterised by a progressive shift to Italian.[238] While dialects in Italy are much more vital than in other European countries, especially other Romance-language countries (Berruto, 1989:8; Mioni, 1979:104; Cortelazzo, 1969:183, Pellegrini, 1959:138), there is evidence that the dialect-language bilingual situation in Italy is transitory (Cortelazzo, 1969:20).

Doxa[239] (1974, 1982, 1988, 1992, 1996) has periodically surveyed the use of dialect and Italian in Italy.[240] As mentioned in 3.1.1, it was estimated that in 1861 only 2.4% of the population spoke Italian (De Mauro, 1963). Doxa's data showed that in 1974 25% of the respondents spoke Italian with all of their relatives and 35.7% outside the family, i.e. with friends/work colleagues (i.e. 12.9% more often, 22.8% always - Coveri, 1984:78-79; Doxa, 1974:table 1.1).[241] In 1982, exclusive use of Italian in the family had increased from 25% in 1974 to 29.4% (+4.4%). Overall, in the 22-year period from 1974-1996, the use of dialect

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[237] See also Auer and Di Luzio (1983b) mentioned in 2.1.2. For further discussion on Italian-dialect codeswitching see e.g. Alfonzetti (1992a, 1992b) for Catania (Sicily); Berruto (1985) for Piedmont; Rindler Schjerve (1998) for Sardinia; Trumper (1984) for Calabria.

[238] Some information about the use of dialect and Italian from unification until the post-war period was given in 3.1.1.

[239] Data about the distribution of Italian and dialect in Italy have to be retrieved from Surveys by Doxa (Istituto per le Ricerche Statistiche e l'Analisi dell'Opinione Pubblica, i.e. 'Institute for statistical research and analysis of public opinion' and Istat (Istituto Nazionale di Statistica, i.e. 'National statistics institute') as the national censuses no longer include questions about the language (Mioni, 1993:101).

[240] Various authors (e.g. Coveri, 1984:80; Berruto, 1993a:6; Cortelazzo and Paccagnella, 1992:406) recommended that care should be taken in interpreting survey data. Not much is known about the samples, and data are self-reported. Another limitation is the geographic aggregation of areas, which considers very different language situations under the same denomination. Regions of 'Triveneto' were grouped together thus including Veneto areas, bilingual areas in the province of Bonzano and Slovene-speaking areas in Friuli-Venezia Giulia, and Friulano areas (Cortelazzo and Paccagnella, 1992:406). Another, unavoidable drawback is that the questions have to impose a discrete choice between dialect and Italian as informants cannot be expected to assess the variety they employ (Cortelazzo and Paccagnella, 1992:406, footnote 199). For further discussion of these issues see Coveri (1984:80-1).

[241] Relevant questions in Doxa surveys referred to 1) the language used 'with relatives', 2) the interlocutors in the family with whom Italian was spoken; 3) the language used 'outside the home with friends and work colleagues'; 4) which dialect was spoken (Coveri, 1984:78). Data, therefore, refer to the whole of the extended family domain (1) and both the friends and 'equal' work colleagues (3). In 1992 and 1996 Doxa (1996:169) included a question about the language used by the respondents with interlocutors from different age groups, although not in the family, i.e. young children; adults younger than the respondent; interlocutors of the same age as the respondent; interlocutors older than the respondent (the sample included people aged 15+).

95

in the family constantly diminished (Doxa, 1996:168). In 1974 more than half of the sample (51.3%) spoke dialect with all their relatives and 23.7% spoke both dialect and Italian (Coveri, 1984:78). In 1982, those who spoke dialect with the whole family had decreased (46.7%, i.e. -4.6% - Coveri, 1984:79) while in 1996, only a third of them did (Doxa, 1996:168). The percentage of those that spoke dialect at least with some of the relatives decreased from 75% in 1974 to around 66% in 1996 (Doxa, 1996:168).

In 1974 around 42.3% of the respondents surveyed by Doxa spoke only or mainly dialect *outside the family*, i.e. with friends/colleagues (i.e. 28.9% 'only' and 13.4% 'mainly' dialect) In 1982 those who used mainly dialect outside the family had decreased to 36.1% (-6.2%) (23% 'always' and 13.1.% 'mainly'), which corresponded to an equal increase among those that used only or mainly Italian (from 35.7% to 41.9%, i.e. +6.2% - Coveri, 1984:79; Doxa, 1982:table 1.1). Overall, in 1974 two thirds of the respondents (64.4%) spoke exclusively dialect or both dialect and Italian while in 1996 only half of them did (i.e. 50.4% - Doxa, 1996:168).

In 1974 *North-Eastern regions*, including Veneto, registered the second-highest rate of *dialect* use with *all relatives* (61.3%, after the South and the Islands[242] with 66.8%, followed by the North-West with 39% and the Centre with 33.2% - Coveri, 1984:79; Doxa, 1974:table 1.2). In 1982, exclusive dialect use in the family among speakers in the North–East had slightly decreased to 59.6% (-1.7%), to a lesser extent than in the South -Islands (-6.2%), which were, however, still in first position (60.6%). In 1982 *Tre Venezie* were in first position for dialect use in the family (74.6%, followed by Sicily with 73.1%) and in second position for exclusive use of the dialect with friends/work colleagues (41.5%, preceded by Sardinia 42.4%).[243]

As Cortelazzo and Paccagnella (1992:407) observed, in 1982 in Triveneto the gap between use of the dialect in the family and use of the dialect with friends/colleagues was one of the widest in Italy (74.6% vs. 41.5%, i.e. -33.1%). In Sardinia, the difference was only 11.8%,

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[242] Campania, Abruzzi, Puglia, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicily and Sardinia.
[243] Istat data, which differentiate between regions, confirm this situation for Veneto. In 1989 *Veneto* was the region in which exclusive or predominant use of *dialect in the family* was highest in the population aged 6+ (69.5% - Istat, 1989:8; table 7). In 1995 in the Veneto region use of dialect in the population aged 6+, whether with relatives, friends or strangers, was the highest in Italy (16.3%), while the use of Italian was among the lowest (below 20% - Istat, 1997:4).

which means that while Sardinian was a language used for all purposes, speakers in Triveneto diversify the use of their dialect in relation to the situation.[244] In the 1974-1982 period speakers in North-Eastern regions were also among those who used only or mainly *Italian* with their relatives the least. [245] Overall, the figures for this period showed that i) a high percentage of speakers in Veneto still used dialect in the family (with all or some relatives) and also outside the family; ii) a considerable number of Veneto people used Italian in the spoken form and for some of them it can also be the language of intimate relations (Cortelazzo and Paccagnella, 1992:407).

In 1996, the percentage of dialect use with all relatives in the *North-Eastern regions* was much lower than in 1974 (47.5%, i.e. -13.8%), yet larger than the Southern regions and the Islands, in which the decline had been much sharper (44.2%, i.e. -22.6%) (Doxa, 1996:tables 1-2.1). In 1996, *Tre Venezie* were third in the use of dialect with at least some of the relatives (82.1%, after Basilicata-Calabria, 91.3%, and Campania-Abruzzo-Molise, 83.3%) and, conversely, for exclusive use of Italian (17.9%). Comprehensively, however, the percentage of speakers in Tre Venezie that in the family or outside the family spoke only/mainly dialect or dialect and Italian with the same frequency was the second-highest (79%, after Basilicata-Calabria, 83% - Doxa, 1996:171; table 1-2.4). This means, that in 1996 only 21% of the respondents in Tre Venezie used only or predominantly Italian in the family or outside the family (vs. 17.1% in Basilicata and Calabria - Doxa, 1996:171; table 1-2.4).[246]

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[244] This, however, seems to contradict the 'macro-diglossic' model that Trumper (1977, discussed in 3.1.4) proposed for regions like Veneto, which is characterised by a relatively wide functional overlap between domains of use of different codes. See also the discussion of similar findings in the Veneto-Australian community in 3.1.1.2.3. The above findings and Trumper's notion might be possibly reconciled considering that Doxa offers data on self-reported linguistic behaviour. Discrepancy between actual and claimed use among Veneto speakers was pointed out by studies like Marcato (1974a), discussed below. As Bettoni and Rubino (1996) observed with regard to their sample of Veneto-Australian respondents, a further relevant point is that macrodiglossia or true diglossia might be more typical in the working class (cf. discussion in 3.1.4)
[245] In 1974 only 14.5% of the respondents in the North-East spoke *Italian* with *all relatives* (vs. 55.1% in the Centre and 28.3% in North-Western regions). Use of Italian with 'some relatives' in the North-East was also the third-lowest (24.2%, after the North-West with 32.7% and the South and the Islands with 22.6% - Doxa, 1974:table 1.2). However, in 1982 exclusive use of Italian in North-Eastern regions in the family had increased, like in the three other geographical areas, (19.2%, i.e. +4.7), and the use of dialect in alternation with Italian was lower (21.2%, i.e. -3% - Doxa, 1982:table 1.2).
[246] Cortelazzo and Paccagnella (1992:408) noticed that unlike other similar local political movements in other Italian regions, in its first years of activity (1979-1980) the *Liga Veneta* gave strong emphasis to dialect as a factor of 'national' identification of Veneto people and used it as an instrument of propaganda. However, the *Liga* subsequently put aside the linguistic aspects of its ideology and reduced the written use of the

Despite the findings reported above, in 1974 North-Eastern regions were precisely those in which Italian was spoken most frequently with *younger interlocutors* in the family, i.e. 'children'/'grandchildren' (83.2%. vs. 78.5% in the North-West, 68.8% in the South-Islands and 57.4% in the Centre - Coveri, 1978:73).[247] Marcato (1981b), observed that in the Veneto region the high percentage of respondents who reported using Italian with their children/grandchildren might in fact reflect their 'desire' to 'give a good impression' by declaring what is perceived to be the 'right' linguistic behaviour (Marcato, 1981b:67-69).[248] Her in-depth research in the Veneto local reality showed that the 'Italian' addressed to younger interlocutors is, by her informants' own admission, restricted to few sentences exhibiting typical characteristics of 'popular Italian' (Marcato, 1981b:67 – see 3.1.2.3).[249]

In 1996, more than 80% of respondents who were under 55 used Italian 'always' or 'more often' *with small children* outside the home in their neighbourhood. Predominant or exclusive use of Italian to address small children decreased as the age of the speakers increased but was substantial even among respondents in the 64+ group (i.e. 66.6% - Doxa, 1996:table 3.1).[250] In the 1987/88-1995 period there was a significant increase in the use of Italian among children between 6 and 10 years of age in the family (58.5% vs. 66.9%,

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[247] However, the respondents' use of Italian to address their 'parents' was 7.4% in the North-Eastern regions. 3.1% in the North-Western ones (Doxa, 1974:table 2.1).

[248] Pellegrini (1960:139) pointed to the habit of parents to use an 'approximate' kind of Italian with their children. This tendency, and the critical or satirical reaction it attracted, is documented in Veneto as early as in the mid-1920s (Cortelazzo, 1969:182). These 'ambitious' working class parents represent an active and rapid vehicle for the strengthening of the passage from one monolingualism (in the dialect) to the other (Cortelazzo, 1969:182).

[249] Marcato (1981b:68) argued that the great effort with which they themselves were attempting to acquire with an active competence in the national language lead them to claim for the variety they produce the label of 'Italian'. Furthermore, in her research she found that the less proficient in Italian speakers were, the more they were lead to identify as Italian texts that even partially contained non-dialectal elements (Marcato, 1981b:68). Marcato et. al. (1974) also found that the agricultural students in their sample had a low level of confidence about their Italian proficiency.

[250] Consistently, with older interlocutors the percentage of respondents that used 'always' or 'more often' Italian with older interlocutors was much lower (43%), yet higher than that of those that used 'always' or 'more often' dialect (around 36% - Doxa, 1996:168-9;table 3). This situation has not significantly changed in the 1991-1996 period (Doxa, 1996:168-9). Marcato et al. (1974) noticed how in Veneto under a certain age it was no longer possible to find 'peasants' that were exclusively such, but 'peasant-labourer' or 'peasant-student', that is individuals in a transitional and unstable situation. While use of the dialect was still regarded as an efficient of communication in a rural environment, the need for Italian emerged in relation to a communication with wider sectors of the community. At the level of speech production, Trumper and Maddalon (1990) found that informants in their youngest age groups tended to a greater accuracy in the pronunciation of most of the variables they had isolated for their study of Veneto regional Italian.

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respectively), with friends (60.9% vs. 68.6%) and with strangers (69.8% vs. 81.7%) which was more marked among young girls (Istat, 1997:2).[251]

In 1974 *women* more than *men* (around 81% against 65%) addressed their children and grandchildren in Italian. In the 1974-1996 period both women and men showed a preference for a more frequent use of dialect within the family than with friends and work colleagues (Doxa, 1996:tables 1.1-2.1). However, men claimed to use dialect more frequently than women with at least one relative in all Doxa surveys but the earliest ones, i.e. in 1974 when three quarters of both the men and the women did, and in 1982, when a slightly higher percentage of women did (71.7% vs.69.6% - Doxa, 1996:table 1.1). The most marked difference between the two genders was found outside the family. In 1996, 36% of the men and 32% of the women used dialect will all relatives. Outside the family, however, the percentage of men that used 'always' or 'more often' dialect or both dialect and Italian was consistently higher in the whole 1974-1996 period (Doxa, 1996:table 2.1). The gap between the genders was wider in relation to the use of Italian in the family and outside the family. i.e. 31.5% vs. 44.6% for men (i.e. +13.1%) and 35.8% vs. 54.3% for women (i.e. +18.5%), respectively (Doxa, 1996:170; table 1-2.1).[252]

3.2 Part Two: Italian and Veneto in Australia

Section 3.1 provided information about the possible original linguistic repertoire of Italian and Veneto post-war migrants to Australia. It illustrated the on-going trends in the structural development resulting from the contact between Italian and dialects in Italy. It provided a background and a common terminological framework for the discussion of research in the speech of the Italian migrants and their offspring, which follows below. A brief historical overview of the presence of Italian and Veneto migrants in Australia and in Victoria was given in 1.0. Part two of the present chapter opens with a discussion of

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[251] As for intra-generation communication outside the home, around 59% of the respondents aged between 15 and 24 spoke Italian 'always' or 'more often' with each other (only 24% both Italian and dialect and even less, i.e. around 17% only dialect - Doxa, 1996:table 3.1). This percentage mirrored in the 64+ group, of whom around 59% spoke dialect 'always' or 'more often'. As the age of the respondents grew, the percentages of Italian use with same-generation interlocutors decreased, but not below 50% for all respondents under 44 years of age (Doxa, 1996:table 1-2.3).

[252] Trumper and Maddalon (1990:172) found that women were more accurate in relation to most of the variables taken into consideration. Berruto (1989a:17) noticed that women tend to hypercorrect towards standardization Galli de' Paratesi (1985) found that women in he sample appeared to be more 'standardised' than men (see also discussion in 3.2.1.2 below).

available quantitative data on the use of Italian, Veneto dialect and English among first-
and second-generation migrants in Australia (3.2.1). Section 3.2.2 illustrates repertoire and
diglossic models for Italian and Italian dialects in migration contexts. An overview of
research in this field is given in 3.2.3. Studies investigating Veneto dialects in Australia
and in other migration contexts are surveyed in 3.2.3.1.

3.2.1 Language shift among Italian and Veneto speakers in Australia

The discussion of census data about language shift among first- and second-generation
Italian-Australians in the present section is based on Clyne and Kipp's analysis (Clyne and
Kipp, 1996; 1997a; 1997b; 1997c; Kipp and Clyne, 1998). Australian censuses do not
differentiate Italian from Italian dialects, or one dialect from the other. A rare, major
source of information about the linguistic behaviour of Veneto-Australians is Bettoni and
Rubino's large-scale survey (1996), which compared the use of dialect, Italian and English
among first- and second-generation speakers of Veneto and Sicilian origin. Relevant
findings of this study are reported in 3.1.1.2.

3.2.1.1 Australian census data

The Italian-Australian community emerged from language census data over the 1986-1996
decade as an ageing community. Although it preserved its position as the nation's largest
community language group, it was starting to be displaced by more recent migrant groups
from Asia, the Middle East and South America. Among the 240 languages processed in the
1996 census, Italian was still the language other than English with the highest number of
home users (375,834 – Kipp and Clyne, 1998:11).[253] However, after recording a slight
increase (+0.7%) between 1986 and 1991, Italian lost 10.3% of its home speakers over the
next five-year period (1991-1996).[254]

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[253] See discussion about the wording of the census question about language in 2.2.

[254] The same trend was shown by other older established community languages such as Dutch, French and
Maltese, which over the 1986-1996 period lost as many as 34.4%, 25.2% and 24% of their home users
respectively. Over the same decade, percentages also decreased for German (-11.2%) and for the first time
between 1991 and 1996, Australia's second most-widely spoken community language, Greek, declined (-
5.6%), although to a lesser extent than Italian (Clyne and Kipp, 1997a:8). Both Italian and Greek became
established as a result of migration waves in the immediate pre- and post-war period (Kipp and Clyne,
1998:11). German had a period of major significance in Australia as a result of the arrivals of prewar
refugees and post-war migrants from Germany, Austria, Switzerland and from German settlements in eastern
Europe and the Middle East, as well as from multilingual areas of Central Europe (Kipp and Clyne, 1998:11).
Mass migration from Italy from the mid 1950s was followed in the 1960s by the wave of Greek migrants.

In both 1991 and 1996, Italian was followed by Greek, Cantonese and Arabic, in
descending order, and in the latest census, the other community languages in the top-10
group were Vietnamese, German, Mandarin, Spanish, Macedonian and Tagalog. Among
these, however, over the same five-year period, Asian languages showed the opposite
tendency to older established languages, recording the highest growth rates.[255]

3.2.1.1.1 Geographical distribution

The above situation reflected in the *geographical distribution* of Italian speakers
throughout the Australian territory and in the capital cities, especially Melbourne and
Sydney. As one of the older established European languages, in 1996, Italian, similarly to
Greek, was traditionally clustered around Melbourne, which in that year accounted for
25.4% of all of Australia's home speakers of a community language. In that year, however,
Melbourne was no longer Australia's linguistic 'multicultural capital'. Sydney had been
attracting more recent arrivals and languages in the Australian context and was in 1996 the
home city of a slightly larger proportion of the nation's speakers of a language other than
English (26.4% - Clyne and Kipp, 1997c:456).

The 'numerical strength' of the community, which Kloss (1966:210) indicated as an
'ambivalent' factor in the United States, was found to be significant if considered in terms
of the *relative size of the community* in different states or capital cities (Clyne, 1991a:88).
In absolute terms, however, it had less impact, e.g. Greeks, who are less numerous than
Italians, were shown to maintain their language better throughout Australia. One factor that
advantaged the Italian community was its relatively high geographical concentration
throughout the Australian territory. As observed in other communities, in 1996 Italian-born
displayed their lowest rates of shift to English (12.5% and 13.8%, respectively) in the

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[255] That is, +68.4% for Mandarin; +32.7% for Vietnamese; +24.2% for Cantonese. Vietnamese and Mandarin
displaced German and Spanish, respectively, with Mandarin leaping from the 12th to the 7th position (Clyne
and Kipp, 1997a:8). Arabic, brought to Australia by successive migrations from Egypt (1950s) and Lebanon
(1960s and 1980s), was in 1996 the most widely spoken community language in Sydney, i.e. the Australian
city with the highest number of speakers of a language other than English for that year (Clyne and Kipp,
1997c:452; 457). In the absence of a first language question in the census, cross-tabulation between language
use and country of birth are used as the basis for estimates on language shift. In reading the figures that
pertain to Vietnamese-born, it should be borne in mind that the number of speakers of Chinese varieties is too
large to use this group as a basis for estimates on Vietnamese (Clyne, personal communication).

states in which the largest proportions of Italians in the total population were found, i.e. Victoria (3.6%) and South Australia (3% - Clyne and Kipp, 1997c:Tables 4, 5).

- While in 1996 Italian (followed by Greek) was still the language with the largest number of home users in Melbourne (143,406), in the 1991-1996 period it had descended from the second to the fourth position in Sydney. Since 1991 Italian had been overtaken by both Cantonese and Greek, which in 1996 were in second and third position, respectively.[256] The geographical distribution throughout the states of Victoria and New South Wales almost replicated the situation observed in the relating capital cities. However, in the whole of New South Wales, Italian, with 102,773 home speakers, gained one position, displacing Greek from the third position (Arabic and Cantonese were still in first and second position, respectively). Like in Melbourne, Italian was in first position in the whole of Victoria with 160,061 home users, followed by Greek, Vietnamese and Cantonese (Clyne and Kipp, 1997a:9).

At the state level in 1996 Italian was the most widely spoken community language at home in Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia and Queensland, while in New South Wales it ranked third (after Arabic and Cantonese) and in Tasmania it ranked second (after German). In the capital cities, Italian was the best represented language in Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, but was only in second position in Brisbane, after Cantonese, and fourth in Sydney, after Arabic, Cantonese and Greek (Clyne and Kipp, 1997c: 458-9).[257]

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[256] In both the 1991 and the 1996 censuses, furthermore, the most widely spoken language other than English in Sydney was Arabic, which was only in fifth position in Melbourne (Clyne and Kipp, 1997a:9). Similarly to what was observed at the national level, in the 1986-1996 period the fastest growing communities both in Sydney and Melbourne spoke an Asian language. While Italian in Melbourne lost 10.5% of its home users between 1991 and 1996, over the same five years Mandarin (+ 66.1%), Vietnamese (+ 37.5%) and Cantonese (+ 19.9%) increased substantially. In 1996, Mandarin was also the language with the highest growth rate in Sydney (+ 77.2%), followed by Korean (+ 42.1%) and, again, Vietnamese (+ 33.8%) and Cantonese (+ 31.2% - Clyne and Kipp, 1997a:9).

[257] In 1996, Italian was the most widely spoken community language at home also in Adelaide as well as throughout South Australia, again, followed by Greek. In Perth and in Western Australia, Italian was also in first position, no longer followed by German, but by Asian languages, i.e. Cantonese, Vietnamese and Mandarin (in that order) (Clyne and Kipp, 1997a:9; 1997c: 458-9). In Brisbane, since 1991 Italian had been overtaken by Cantonese. The data, however, showed that a significant proportion of Italian speakers was distributed outside Queensland's urban areas, since at the state level Italian was still the most widely spoken community language at home. In Queensland, German was in second position, followed by Asian languages (Cantonese, Vietnamese and Mandarin). In 1996, German was the best represented language in Tasmania, where Italian was second (Clyne and Kipp, 1997a:7; 1997c:458-9). In the Northern Territory and the Australian Capital Territory, Italian was not among the main community languages (Clyne and Kipp, 1997a:7; 1997c: 458-9).

3.2.1.1.2 Linguistic generation, age and gender

Census data over the 1986-1996 period showed that the Italian-Australian community was gradually but relentlessly shifting to the exclusive use English at home. The shift to English already started in the first generation.[258] Over the 1986-1996 period Italian followed the same trend shown by the vast majority of community languages in Australia. In all community language groups, with the exception of Hong Kong- and Chinese-born, there was an increase in first generation shift to English (Clyne and Kipp, 1997b:24). The percentage of first-generation Italian-Australians who used only English at home rose from 10.5% in 1986 to 11.2% in 1991 and 14.7% in 1996. Italian-born ranked somewhere towards the lower end of the first generation shift continuum, much below Austrians and Germans, who recorded the highest shift rates (48.3% and 48.2%, respectively), and the Netherlands-born (61.9%). However, speakers born in Italy were found to be less successful in maintaining their language than those born in Greece (6.4%), Taiwan (3.4%), the People's Republic of China (4.6%), Lebanon (5.5%), Turkey (5.8) and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (3%), which showed the lowest shift rate (Clyne and Kipp, 1997c:459).[259]

In all communities, shift to English increased from the first generation to the second.[260] However, intergenerational shift in the Italian community was substantially more advanced than in other communities. In 1996, even in endogamous families, shift to English among Australian-born Italians (42.6%) was three times as high as among their parents (14.7%). Furthermore, as in other communities, these rates increased substantially for children of exogamous marriages, i.e. if the father (73.1%) or the mother (80.9%) had not been born in

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[258] The shift from a community language to English in the first generation is calculated on the basis of the difference between the percentage of people who were not born in Australia and the percentage of people who do not speak the relevant community language at home (Clyne and Kipp, 1997c:458).

[259] This distribution showed that shift to English in the first generation was slowed down by factors which do not favour the Italian community. Apart from the obvious importance of a fresh input through new arrivals from the source country, which strengthened Asian communities over the 1986-1996 period, *cultural distance* was identified as a key factor in language maintenance. This was more successful in communities that are either racially different or have a distinctive religious affiliation, e.g. Vietnamese, Turks, Lebanese and Greeks, rather than from northern, central and western Europe (Clyne and Kipp, 1997c:459; Fishman et al., 1985; Clyne, 1991a:66-67 – see discussion in 2.2). Kloss (1966:211) had indicated 'linguistic and cultural similarity with dominant group' as an ambivalent factor. In the Australian context, however, Clyne (1991:65) separated 'linguistic' from 'cultural distance' as the former was not found to have as a determining factor.

[260] Shift percentages in the second generation are calculated on the basis of the percentage of people who speak only English at home, of whom one or both parents were not born in Australia.

Italy.[261] On average, the percentage of shift for second-generation Italian-Australians went up from 29.3% in 1986 to 49.8% five years later and to 57.9% in 1996 (Clyne and Kipp, 1997c:464 – see table 7).[262]

Table 7 Language shift (%) in the second generation in Australia (aggregated), 1986, 1991 and 1996 (source: Clyne and Kipp, 1997c:464, Table 7)

Parents' birthplace	1986	1991	1996
Germany	73.1	88.7	89.7
Greece	8.7	21.8	28.0
Hong Kong	N/a	40	35.7
Italy	29.3	49.8	57.9
Malta	58.8	78.5	82.1
Netherlands	85.4	95.0	95.0
Poland	N/a	74.4	75.7
PRC	N/a	45.5	37.4

As in other communities, among first-generation Italian-Australians shift decreased as age increased, while in the second the opposite is the case. In 1986 shift among Italian-born in the 25-34 group was 20.3% and 16.2% in the 35-44 group. Between these groups and the next one (45-54) there was a substantial drop in shift rate (i.e. down to 7%). The lowest shift rate was registered among the speakers aged 65+ (Clyne and Kipp, 1996:80-1).[263] The same tendency was found in 1996 (i.e. 29% in the 25-34 group; 30.6% in the 35-44 group; 20.8% in the 45-54 group and 6.5% among the speakers ages 65+) (Clyne and Kipp, 1997c:469, table 9). In the second generation shift increased, first slowly until the young adulthood and then more rapidly, probably owing to marriage or the birth of the first child (Clyne, 1991a:84-5).[264] In 1986, shift rate among second-generation Italian-Australians between 15-24 was 20.3%. In the older group (25-34) it was 36.7%. Shift rate increased in the older age group and was highest among speakers aged 65+ (73.6%), who are more likely not to have any surviving first-generation relative with whom they can use Italian.

Data in 1996 confirmed this trend, although a wider gap was found between the 25-34 group (53%) and the 35-44 (60% - Clyne and Kipp, 1997c:468; table 10).

Apart from reflecting the level of language maintenance, shift figures also indirectly indicate the *period of presence* of a community in Australia and its *age structure*.[265] In 1996, around half (49%) of Australians of Italian background were aged between 25 and 45 (Clyne and Kipp, 1997c:464). In 1996, Italian home speakers were best represented in the 55+ group (37.3%), which was also the age group that in the first generation showed the highest level of language maintenance (Clyne and Kipp, 1997c:468). Only 9.3% of Italian home speakers were aged between 0 and 14, although they still ranked as the third-largest group in Melbourne, preceded by speakers of Greek and Vietnamese, and followed by those of Arabic, Cantonese and Mandarin. In 1996, Italian had been overtaken in both capitals by both Greek and Vietnamese, which were the languages with the highest number of younger home speakers. Based on these data, it can be predicted that Italian, as well as Greek, will gradually be overtaken by Arabic, Cantonese and Vietnamese as the most widely spoken community languages in Australia.[266]

Like first-generation women in other communities in Australia, Italian-born *women* were generally found to maintain Italian better than males. Gender differences have tended to increase from one census to the other. In 1986, 13.3% of Italian-born male speakers used English at home, while only 7.2% of the females did (i.e. –6.1% - Clyne, 1991a:256, table A4). The 1996 census confirmed this trend for all European-origin communities, including Italians (18.4% for males vs. 10.5% for women, i.e. –7.9%) (Clyne and Kipp, 1997c:465-6; table 8).[267]

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[261] As discussed in 2.2, however, Italians have generally shown high endogamy rates. Gender differences are discussed below.

[262] However, Italian follows the same trend as the best maintained of the languages spoken by long established communities in Australia, i.e. Greek, for which second-generation shift rates at home were as low as 8.7% in 1986 but went up to 21.8% five years later and 28% in 1996.

[263] See discussion of L1 reversion in Clyne (1991:114-116).

[264] Older children were found to use community languages more than younger children. Children often stopped speaking it with the arrival of younger siblings, on school entry or at the beginning of puberty as the urge to conform increases (Clyne, 1982:28). See also the discussion of Bettoni's study (1986) of the birth-order factor in 3.1.3.

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[265] In languages with a longer history in Australia, a substantial proportion of second-generation speakers is old enough to live on their own and therefore more likely to speak English at home (see discussion in 2.2). Clyne (1991:86-88) noticed that Kloss's (1966:207) 'early point of immigration' and '*Sprachinsel*' clearly promoted language maintenance only if considered together, i.e. in close-knit and closed groups. In addition to closed German settlements, with generations of successful language maintenance, Italian was also relatively successful maintained in the group settlements, e.g. in Northern Queensland, in the Riverina region in New South Wales and in the Ovens Valley (Clyne, 1972:52-7; 63-7).

[266] In Sydney, Italian home users in the 0-14 group were only in sixth position, after those of Arabic, Cantonese, Vietnamese, Greek and Spanish. In its turn, in Sydney Greek had been displaced by Vietnamese (Clyne and Kipp, 1997c:468).

[267] However, differences were greatly reduced in the second generation, in which circumstances for males and females are more comparable.

3.2.1.2 Maintenance of Italian and dialects in the family

Bettoni and Rubino (1996) conducted a survey on the use of English, Italian and dialect in a large sample of first- and second-generation Italian-Australians of Veneto and Sicilian origin.[268] These researchers found that shift to English among *first-generation* speakers was highest (25%) *in the family* (see discussion in 2.2). From Bettoni and Rubino's findings (1996:136-138) dialect emerged as the language of private and informal domains. Here, where the shift to English was most advanced, dialect maintenance was strongest. *Second generation* speakers were found to shift to English almost three times as much as their parents (67% against 25%, respectively, i.e. +64%). In general, however, the maintenance of dialect and Italian in second generation was much higher than the shift to English in the first generation (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:120-22).[269] Intergenerational shift to English was found to affect dialect (54% vs. 22%) more than Italian (22% vs. 11%).

In Bettoni and Rubino's sample (1996:136-138) use of English did not fall below 20% even in the 65+ group, which is almost three times as high as that of Italian (7%). Between the 65+ and the 64-55 groups dialect use substantially decreases (73% vs. 50%) and Italian increases (7% vs. 20%). Between the 44-35 and the 34-25 age groups there was a sharp increase in the use of English (44% vs. 69%) and a sharp decrease in the use of dialect (43% vs. 19%). Between the 35-25 and the 24-14 age groups, including second-generation speakers that were likely to be still living in the parental home, shift to English slightly decreased (69% vs. 64%) and use of dialect slightly increases (19% vs. 23% - Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:61; 187, table 1).

Bettoni and Rubino (1996:71-2) found that the generation of the *interlocutor* in the family was a crucial factor in determining language choice among their respondents. Again, the difference was more marked in relation to English and dialect, rather than Italian. The

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[268] Some of the findings of Bettoni and Rubino's study (1996) have already been mentioned in 2.2 and 2.4.2. Note that language census data refer to the percentage/number of respondents of Italian origin in the Australian population who use/do not use Italian as "a language other than English at home". Bettoni and Rubino's findings (1996) refer to the relative frequency of use of English, Italian and dialect in the domains/situations included in their questionnaire.

[269] In the family the difference between the first and the second generation in the shift to English were much smaller (+64%) than the 'internal monologue' (+85%), i.e. in a situation in which language choice is totally free and not conditioned by the presence of other interlocutors (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:120). When talking to themselves, second generation speakers showed an almost absolute preference for English (93%), although it is interesting to notice that English was not absent even amongst first generation speakers (14%).

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almost exclusive use of dialect among first generation speakers with older relatives (91%) was mirrored by the overwhelming preference for English among second generation speakers when speaking with younger relatives (90%), or even with relatives of the same age as their own (92%). However, the presence of younger interlocutors was found to accelerate the shift to English in the first generation, in the same way as older interlocutors in the family proved to encourage language maintenance in the second generation. Among first generation speakers, the use of English was found to increase from 3% with interlocutors of an older generation, up to 17% with interlocutors of the same generation as the speaker's, and 35% with interlocutors of a younger generation. The use of dialect, however, was found to follow the opposite trend, increasing with the age of the interlocutors (39%, 67% and 91%, respectively - Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:71-2).

Shift to English in the family among *Veneto* Australians was slightly slower and dialect use was more frequent than among the Sicilian-Australians (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:62-3). The highest rate of shift of English in the second generation was found among women and Sicilians. Among the Veneto-born, Bettoni and Rubino (1996:132) found that the shift to English was less advanced than among Sicilian-born (20% vs. 30%). While in both groups the use of Italian was similar (22% and 21%, respectively), the maintenance of dialect in the former was higher (58% vs. 48%). Veneto- and Sicilian-born were also found to differ in the language they preferred to speak in relation to the age of the *relative being addressed* (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:72-3). With regard to dialect, in their role of 'guardians' of the native language to be passed over to younger speakers, first-generation Veneto speakers showed a more conservative attitude than Sicilians. With relatives belonging to a younger generation Veneto-born were found to speak more dialect (43% vs. 33%) and less English (32% vs. 39%) than Sicilian-born. Therefore, in the Veneto-born group dialect was still the most frequently used language with younger interlocutors, whereas English was preferred by first generation Sicilians. With older relatives, however, the use of English of the first generation in both the Veneto and in the Sicilian group was similar (3% and 4%, respectively). The lower frequency of dialect in the Veneto group (89% vs. 96%) was compensated by a higher use of Italian (8% vs. 0%).

Within the *first generation* in the two regional groups in Bettoni and Rubino's sample (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:63-4), a further relevant differentiation was found between the

linguistic behaviour of *men* and *women* in the family. Generally, first-generation women also maintained dialect better in the family domain (+23%) and to shift to English substantially less than men (-20%). Veneto women used English the least (11%) while Sicilian men used English the most (44%). First generation Veneto women also recorded the highest use of dialect (69%), followed by Sicilian women (62%), Veneto men (48%) and Sicilian men (30%), with a difference of more than 50% between Veneto women and Sicilian men. Similarly to the variation observed between the two regional groups, the most noticeable difference between genders in the first generation was found in relation to younger interlocutors. While with relatives of an older generation female-male variation was negligible (95 vs. 87% for dialect and 2 vs. 4% for English, respectively), with younger ones it became substantial for both dialect (53 vs. 24%) and English (22 vs. 49% - Bettoni and Rubino, 1996: 72)

Bettoni and Rubino (1996: 120) found that differences in the *second generation* in the two regional groups were softened. Like their parents, second-generation Veneto-Australians were found to use less English within the family (62% vs. 71%) and more dialect than Sicilians (26% vs. 20%), while the use of Italian was similar in both groups (12% and 10% - Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:63-4). Significant differences were also found in the second generation of the two regional groups in the distribution of the three languages according to the generation of the interlocutor (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:73-4). The better maintenance of dialect by Australian-born Veneto speakers, which corresponded to a less advanced shift to English, was found to be encouraged by the presence of older relatives. Second-generation Veneto speakers proved to be more willing to adapt to the linguistic preferences of their older relatives, with whom their use of dialect (58% vs. 46%) and even Italian was slightly higher (22% vs. 16%), while English was spoken substantially less frequently (20% vs. 38% - Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:191, table 2).

With interlocutors of the same or a younger generation, second-generation speakers' use of English was predominant in both regional groups (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:73-4). However, with younger interlocutors, some interesting variations between the two regional groups emerged in relation to Italian. While Australian-born Sicilians used the same amount of Italian and dialect (4%), when talking to younger relatives, second-generation Veneto-Australians spoke more Italian than dialect (10% vs. 2%). The above variation in

the second generation of the two regional groups was also found between *genders*. Like the first generation, second-generation Veneto-Australians, in comparison to Sicilians, showed the same linguistic behaviour as women in comparison to men. Second-generation women were found to use less dialect and more Italian than men. This tendency was extreme with younger interlocutors, with whom they did not use any dialect at all (0% vs. 5%) and more Italian than men (9% vs. 5%).

Bettoni and Rubino (1996:75-7) found differences between *intra-* and *inter-regional families*.[270] In the *first generation*, when the *spouse* came from the same region use of dialect was very high (83%), and decreased dramatically with spouse from different region (7%) (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:75-7). This was mirrored in the use of Italian (6 vs. 87%, respectively), while use of English was slightly higher between spouses from the same region (11 vs. 6%).[271] *First-generation parents* from the same region also frequently used their dialect to address their children (55% vs. 7% in inter-regional marriages). However, when talking to their children, parents from the same region claimed they used more Italian than between themselves (24% vs. 6%), while those from different regions used less (87% vs. 60%). In inter-regional families there was a larger increase in the use of English from the conversation between the parents to the conversation with the children (from 6% to 33% vs. from 11% to 21% - Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:75-77; 192, table 3).

In the second generation, use of Italian was totally absent in both intra-regional marriages and inter-regional couples, although in the former there was still some dialect (18% vs. 1%). However, second-generation parents from different regions claimed they used both more dialect and Italian with their children rather than between themselves (1% vs. 12%; 0% vs. 12%, respectively). On the other hand, in intra-regional families in the conversation with the children, dialect was just slightly lower than between the parents (18% vs. 12%, respectively) to the advantage of Italian (0% vs. 6% - Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:75-7; 192, table 3). These findings lead the authors (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:77) to conclude that the second generation tended to slow the shift to English with their children and maintain Italian, rather than dialect.

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[270] As discussed in 4.2 and 4.4.7, the sample in the present study included two intra-regional and two inter-regional extended families.

3.2.1.2.1 Other domains

Like the surveys on Italian/dialect use in Italy (discussed in 3.1.6), Bettoni and Rubino's study (1996) showed that in *more formal or public domains*, i.e. with shopkeepers, professionals and at work/school, use of Italian was more frequent. Maintenance of dialect was weakest in domains that are more public and formal, or involving speakers from different regions. The use of dialect in the Sicilian group was substantially higher than in the Veneto group both in both the first and, to a lesser extent, the second generation.[272]

Women were found to privilege Italian in conversations with shopkeepers, professionals and colleagues at work/school. First-generation women did not take the opportunity to use their own dialect as frequently as men (44% vs. 60% with shopkeepers; 50% vs. 59% with professionals; 50% vs. 66% with colleagues at work/school) as a result of their stronger preference for Italian (56% vs. 23%; 50% and 32%; 50% and 15%, respectively). Shift to English, among first-generation women was totally absent in the conversations with fellow country people in all three domains (vs. 17%, 9% and 19% among men, respectively - Bettoni, 1996:91; 95-6; 195, table 6; 196, table 7). Some of these *gender*-related differences in language use with shopkeepers and professionals were also in the *second generation*. Like their mothers, with shopkeepers and professionals from the same region as their own, second-generation women used much more Italian (50% vs. 10%; 67% vs. 19%, respectively), to the disadvantage of dialect (10% vs. 40%; 0% vs. 50%,

respectively), rather or to a lesser extent than English (40% vs. 50%; 33% vs. 31%, respectively).[273]

With friends, Bettoni and Rubino (1996:83; 193, table 4) found that differences between the two regional groups were relatively marginal. In the first generation in both groups, use of English was very low and with friends from the same region use of dialect was predominant (89% for speakers from Veneto and 93% for those from Sicily). Use of Italian was very low, although higher among Veneto speakers than Sicilians (11% vs. 5%, respectively). In the *second generation*, use of the three languages was comparable, i.e. English was very frequent (80% for Veneto speakers and 83% for Sicilians), although dialect use was relatively high (20% and 17%, respectively). Italian was totally absent but was reserved to communication with friends from another region, more so among second-generation Sicilians (16% vs. 29%), who thus decreased their shift to English (still 80% for Veneto-Australians, vs. 69% for Sicilian-Australians).

In sum, Bettoni and Rubino (1996) found that Italian occupied a defined space in formal domains, which narrowed the gap between the two generations. Use of Italian was also substantial in the second generation even with interlocutors from the same region. Especially among *women* of both the first and to a lesser extent the second generation, a lower use of dialect was sometimes compensated by a higher use of Italian, rather than English. In the second generation, Italian use was highest among women in both regional groups (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:138-140).[274] *Veneto* speakers, more than Sicilians, and in these groups *women*, more than men, tended to avoid the use of dialect in public

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[271] While dialect was still used if the spouse is from another ethnic group (29%) or Anglo-Celtic (18%), Italian completely disappeared. In the first generation singles showed the highest use of dialect (above 70%) and the lowest of English (11% - Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:64-5).

[272] With *shopkeepers* from the same region as their own, Bettoni and Rubino's Veneto-born respondents (1996:92; 195, table 6) used more Italian (45% vs. 32%), more English (12% vs. 0%) and less dialect (43% vs. 68%) than the Sicilian-born. Like their parents, *second-generation Veneto* Australians in Bettoni and Rubino's sample (1996:89-97) claimed they addressed Veneto *shopkeepers* more frequently in Italian than their Sicilian counterparts (32 vs. 13%, respectively). With *professionals* from the same region as the informants, *first-generation Veneto* speakers claimed they used more Italian (47% vs. 25%) and less dialect (47% vs. 75%) than Sicilians. In the *second generation*, use of Italian with Veneto professionals remained high (31%), and comparable to that of English (33%), but lower than that of dialect (36% - Bettoni, 1996:96; 196, table 7). No Australian-born Sicilian in Bettoni and Rubino's sample (1996) reported dealing with professionals from Sicily. With fellow region people at the *work place* or *at school* Bettoni and Rubino (1996:105; 198, table 9) found that *first-generation Veneto* Australian informants were shown to use more Italian than Sicilians', who did not use any Italian at all (34% vs. 0%), while their use of dialect was much lower (53% vs. 81%).

[273] In the workplace/school domain, however, shift to English among second-generation was much higher than with shopkeepers and professionals (69%, 40% and 33%, respectively) and than men (69% vs. 56%). Their use of Italian was only slightly higher than men's (19 vs. 15% - cf. 50% and 67% in the other domains, respectively). While *second-generation women* used less dialect even in this domain, gender differences were also reduced (12% vs. 29% - Bettoni, 1996:91; 95-6; 104-5; 195, table 6; 196, table 7; 198, table 9).

[274] Bettoni and Rubino's study (1996) in general confirms the data from Italy and the Australian censuses (3.1.6; 3.1.1.1). However, while in Australia women are more conservative than men, in Italy they are more innovative (3.1.6). The authors attributed this behaviour among first-generation Italian-Australian women to their more rigid role of housewives, which limits their opportunities for use of English and their exposure to innovations. Mioni and Arnuzzo-Lanszweert (1979:98-9) noticed the sometimes divergent behaviours shown by women towards innovation often depends on their socioeconomic situation. In a moderately mobile situation, men will generally innovate towards dialect *koinè* and women towards the local variety of Italian (Mioni and Arnuzzo-Lanszweert, 1979:98). Cortelazzo (1969:165) also noticed that in the abandonment of dialect in favour of Italian as a tangible sign of social promotion, women do not always have the conservative function that has been traditionally attributed to them. Indeed, in a modern society, women are more willing than men to climb the social ladder and assume polemic and clearly negative attitudes towards the dialect, which is seen as an obstacle (Cortelazzo, 1969:181).

domains, even with interlocutors of the same regional background, thus showing a higher awareness of the diglossic differentiation of the native varieties.[275]

3.2.2 Repertoire and diglossic models for Italian and Italian dialects as migrant languages

As discussed in part one of this chapter and 3.1.1.2 above, post-war migrants were likely to be largely dominant in a dialect. As Giacalone Ramat observed (Giacalone Ramat, 1993:nota 1), the Italian learned overseas by Italian migrants and their children may have to be considered a *foreign* language, as the language used at home was likely to be a dialect. Haller (1997:402) argued that historically Italian migrants' dialects have represented the most important stratum in their repertoire. Most of the informants he used in his 1981 study (Haller, 1981:183) actually indicated a dialect as their mother tongue.

Bettoni (1993:416), however, postulated a higher degree of Italian-dialect bilingualism among Italians leaving the peninsula in the post-war period. While the typical prospective Italian migrant spoke dialect, those who had decided to migrate had gone through a sort of 'anticipatory socialisation' (*socializzazione anticipatoria*') whereby their greater openness towards the reality beyond their local village translated into a greater permeability to Italian (Bettoni, 1993:415). During some years of schooling in Italy, furthermore, prospective migrants had been taught 'Standard Italian', or rather a kind of Italian that was artificial, normatively undefined and rhetorical in style as it represented the Italian learnt by dialect-speaking teachers (Mioni, 1979:101 - see 3.1.1). Migrants leaving Italy in the post-war period were thus likely to have at least a passive competence of Standard Italian. Active competence in Italian, on the other hand, varied but it is reasonable to believe that it ranged between popular Italian and the popular registers of regional Italian (Berruto, 1987:180 - see 3.1.2.2-3).

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[275] This reflects the situation found in Italy in general and in the Veneto region in particular. However, as already pointed out in 3.1.6, these findings seem to contradict Trumper's (1977) notion of 'micro-diglossia' (see discussion in 3.1.4). Bettoni and Rubino (1996:161) explained this apparent discrepancy by referring to the already reported (see 3.1.4) differentiation made by Trumper (1989:44) between the middle class, whose behaviour is '*macro*-diglossic', and the working class, which is adherent to a '*micro*-diglossic' model and from which migrants to Australia were mainly drawn. This explanation, however, is more problematic for findings in Italy, since the sample for Doxa surveys (see 3.1.6) presumably included evenly represented categories of people. As suggested, a possible (further) explanation for the apparent contrast between Trumper's diglossic model and the findings from Italy and Australia is that the latter refer to self-reported behaviour, which might be influenced by the respondents' attitude (cf. Marcato et al., 1974) discussed in 3.1.6).

Once in host country, increased contacts with speakers of different dialects favored the strengthening of their competence in popular (registers of regional) Italian as a trans-regional means of communication. Haller (1997:410) observed that the often mutually unintelligible dialects in the new country a) produced varying degrees of dialect levelling, in some instances dialect *koinài* (like in Brazil)[276]; b) exerted pressure towards the use of more 'Italianised' variety, which resulted in a 'dialectal' or popular Italian *H variety* (like in North America and in Australia); c) came into contact with the language of the host country, which resulted in the formation of 'loanwords' and 'hybrid' speech.[277]

Pauwels (1986) found that speakers of Limburgs dialect in Australia, who come from a 'rigid' diglossic situation, either avoided contact with non-Limburgers or spoke English with them, thus threatening the maintenance of the national language. However, the maintenance rate of dialect vs. standard in the dialect or L language domains was not greatly affected by this process. Speakers of Swabian, conceived of the relationship between their dialect and German in more '*fluid*' diglossic terms (Pauwels, 1986:36), maintained use of German as the H language.[278]

However, when the host language is also considered, functional compartmentalisation between dialect and Italian becomes blurred. Bettoni (1981a:20) described the language situation in the Italian community in North Queensland in terms of bilingualism *without diglossia* (cf. Fishman, 1967 – see 2.1.1.1), a notion that can probably be extended to the Italian community in the whole of Australia as well as many others. Bettoni (1993:416) proposed a diglossic model for the varieties in the repertoire of Italian communities abroad (Table no.8).[279] The model takes into account a) the reciprocal collocation of the varieties in the migrant's original repertoire and b) the relationship between these varieties with the

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[276] *Koinài* in Italy are discussed in 3.1.2.4.

[277] In regard to dialects in Australia, Rubino (1996), for instance, reported that in the Sicilian family she studied, the parents, who had come to Australia as adolescents, made a distinction between the 'pure' variety of dialect spoken by grandparents and their own, which was more 'Italianised'. As discussed in 3.1.2, this situation is parallel to the development of dialects and Italian, especially in the decades after the second post-war period.

[278] As reported above (3.3.1.2), Bettoni and Rubino (1996:155) found evidence of a rather 'rigid' functional differentiation between dialect and Italian in their Veneto sample, which they explained with the parallel language situation in the home region (see discussion in 3.1.6). However, both the situation in Italy in terms of Berruto's (1986b) 'dilalia' and in the Veneto region in terms of Trumper's (1977) 'macro-diglossia' seems in general to be more similar to Pauwel's 'fluid' situation. For a discussion of this apparent discrepancy see 3.1.6 and 3.1.1.1.2.

[279] Translated from Bettoni (1993:416).

varieties in the host country. The native codes comprehensively constitute the 'low' varieties while the latter constitute the 'high' varieties.[280] However, both the original varieties and the host varieties are in turn subdivided into 'high' and 'low' varieties. The highest variety spoken by the migrants is popular Italian (see 3.1.2.3).[281] Italian, dialect and the language of the host country stand, therefore, in a 'double diglossic' relation.[282] As Bettoni (1993:416) explained, the broken line in table 8 below indicates that the model describes an unstable language situation, which allows for both functional and structural permeability between all the varieties and between the two levels.[283]

Table 8 Bettoni's (1993:416) diglossia model for Italian communities abroad

HIGH VARIETIES	High variety	language of the new country
	Low variety	dialect of the new country
LOW VARIETIES	High variety	Popular Italian
	Low variety	Italian dialect

Rubino (1991, 1993) however, found that for her Sicilian-born subjects, Italian rather than English occupied the highest diglossic position. While English was undoubtedly the prestigious language, it was also the language used by the subject's children at *home*, thus mixing with Sicilian in the mother's language addressed to them.[284] An alternative position

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[280] This distinction might not be relevant in the situation in Australia.

[281] While Bettoni's (1993:417) model envisaged 'popular Italian' as the highest variety in Italian migrants' repertoire, as discussed in 3.1.2.3, this variety is not clearly separable from regional Italian.

[282] Bettoni's (1993) model, therefore, took into account a relationship of 'in-glossia' between varieties belonging to the same (dia)system (i.e. Italian and dialect) and one of 'out-glossia' between clearly differentiated codes (i.e. Italian/dialect and English), in Kloss's (1976) sense (cf. Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:20, note 36). Similarly, Timm (1981) proposed the notions of 'interlingual diglossia' for the relationship between English and the immigrant languages in the United States and 'intralingual diglossia' for the relationship between the immigrant language. See also Jaspaert and Kroon's (1991:78) notion of a new diglossic relationship resulting from the shift associated with communication between the migrants and the host community (discussed in 2.2).

[283] However, the host language is the only option for communication with the locals and has clearly defined domains of use. On the other hand, since communication with Italian monolinguals is no longer possible, all situations are potentially bilingual, which greatly exposes Italian to structural interference (Bettoni, 1993:417).

[284] Bettoni's (1993) and Rubino's (1991, 1993) positions, however, are not irreconcilable. Indeed, the latter points out the permeability between the varieties allowed by the former. As discussed in 2.2, the instability of situations characterised by blurred functional differentiation between co-available varieties is primarily associated with the home domain, which is considered crucial for language maintenance. As Bettoni and Rubino's (1996) results showed (see discussion in 3.1.1.2) the speakers' initial Italian/dialect diglossia among Veneto is maintained in the migration context. However, it was in the home that the shift to English was higher. Bettoni and Rubino (1996:21) explained the difference between their respective positions in

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is Haller's (1997:402), who referred to a more varied repertoire and diglossic model. In the continuum of varieties comprised in the repertoire of Italian migrants in the United States, the extreme poles are "a regional or dialectal popular *H variety*" and "a hybrid *L variety* with significant admixture from English", the dialect occupying a median position between the two (Haller, 1997:402).

Allowing for a higher degree of structural and functional permeability, Bettoni and Rubino's findings (1996 – see 3.1.1.2) indicated that in terms of the relationship between Italian and dialect, Bettoni's (1993:416) model seems to be applicable also to the *second-generation*, in particular Veneto-Australians. However, as Bettoni (1993: 419) pointed out, the presence of popular Italian in the linguistic repertoire of the second generation of Italian communities abroad is generally linked to particular acquisitional situations, e.g. when the neighbourhood in which they grow up is particularly Italian and regionally diversified or when the parents speak very different dialects or are linguistically very ambitious.

As Bettoni and Rubino's (1996) findings showed (see 3.1.1.2), in *inter-regional* families (popular) Italian was often resorted to for communication both between the parents, who speak different dialects, and with the children. In both inter- and intra-marriages, furthermore, the original diglossic relationship between Italian and dialect frequently expressed itself in the choice to use 'highest' variety of Italian known for communication with children born in the new country. The improved economic conditions and the upward social mobility among Italian migrants sometimes lead to repression of the use of dialect at home for the 'good' of the children (Bettoni, 1993:428; De Mauro, 1963:53-63).[285]

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terms of perspectives, i.e. from outside the host community by the former author and from inside the Italian community by the latter.

[285] See discussion in 3.1.6. An adequate description of the varieties in the repertoire of second generation Italian migrant children in Germany was the aim of Auer and Di Luzio (1983b). They developed the notion of 'code-shifting' (see 2.1.2), which attempted to account for the structural heterogeneity in their dialect and their Italian (Auer and Di Luzio, 1983b:4-5). The authors (Auer and Di Luzio, 1983b:10-11) noticed how realizations of single linguistic categories in the children's production could be aligned on a continuum ranging from a standard pole to the dialectal pole. Their appearance could indicate a potential movement from one pole to the other, i.e. which constitutes 'code-shifting'. Furthermore, Auer and Di Luzio (1983a; 1983b; Auer, 1991) termed *'italiano stentato'* the hesitant speech some of their children informants constructed by heavily relying both on dialect and the host language realizing that "not all realizations of a category may be locatable on this continuum. Some may be elements of an inter-language that characterises a certain acquisitional stage" (Auer and Di Luzio, 1993a:89-98;1983b:10, note 4). This tendency was found to be stronger among the children in the overseas context they took into consideration, i.e. Canada, than in the European one. i.e. Germany (Auer, 1991:424). Furthermore, around adolescence some German Italians of

In most cases, post-war Italian migrants' children in Australia learned Standard Italian at school or at other institutions.[286] Even when children were exposed to Italian rather than dialect at home, the variety learned at school was likely to be markedly different to that learned at home. Clyne (1967:120) observed how children of German migrants in Australia learning German at school were assumed to have an unfair advantage, when in fact, similarly to Italian-Australian children, at home they would only be exposed to a *dialect* or a *'sub-standard' variety of the language*, or a *variety rich in transfers*.[287] Auer (1991:412) argued that the acquisition of a *near-standard* although regional variety of Italian by the second or third generation is a crucial factor in determining language maintenance beyond the first generation. Drawing a parallel with the *Italianisation of dialects* in Italy (see 3.1.2.4), Haller (1986:39, my italics) suggested that in the United States

> "Nello stesso modo in cui in Italia i *dialetti* vengono *italianizzati* quotidianamente, anche le *forme di lingua ibride* che si trovano ancora fra gli italo-americani della prima generazione *diminuiranno probabilmente insieme alle varieta' dialettali* sotto l'influsso della nuova emigrazione. Questo processo, che qualcuno potrebbe anche deplorare come perdita di diversita' ed espressivita', e' atto a preparare la base per una piu' dinamica lealta' linguistica verso l'italiano che verrebbe mantenuto per piu' generazioni nella situazione bilingue funzionale con l'inglese"[288]

However, the sociolinguistic forces that are 'pushing' for the abandonment of dialects in both Italy and Australia, do not seem to be sparing Italian from the heavy pressure of English in Australia (see 3.1.6 and 3.1.12). In both countries, *upward social mobility* is attracting successive generations of speakers towards forms and varieties that are perceived

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second and third generation, unlike their Canadian counterparts, gradually return to a preference for (dialectal) Italian, which is used not only for communication with first generation but also peer interaction (Auer, 1991:427).

[286] See discussion of language policies in 1.0.

[287] See discussion of the role of school in language maintenance in 2.2.3.

[288] "In the same way as in Italy dialect are being Italianised every day, hybrid linguistic forms that are still found among first-generation Italian-Americans will also decrease, probably together with dialect varieties under the influence of new migrations. This process, which might be deplored by someone as a loss of diversity and expressivity, is in fact necessary to lay the foundations for a more dynamic linguistic allegiance towards Italian, which would be maintained for more generations in a situation of functional bilingualism with English" (my translation). Already in 1981, Haller (1981:189) had found that informants in the 35- age group had reported to be less familiar with Italian-American words that Menarini (Menarini, 1947) had listed in his study. Younger migrants were more and more diglottic and in favour of Standard Italian (Haller, 1981:187, 189).

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as functional to self-promotion.[289] As Fishman (2001:6) observed, 'the motor of shift' in this century is globlisation and modernisation. Haller himself (1986:39, my italics) noted that in the United States

> "Nella terza generazione il *monolinguismo inglese* si sostituisce generalmente al bilinguismo eterogeneo delle precedenti generazioni come *unica chiave alla mobilita' sociale*."[290]

In the shifting situation in Italy, Italianisation of dialects can be seen as a sign of vitality and capacity of self-regeneration in a wider context of communication (see discussion in 3.1.2.5). However, a possible 'purification' of the speech of Italian-Australians and the observed decline in their use of dialect do not seem to point in the same direction. The 'sacrifice' of dialects for the future of Italian in Australia would only be worthwhile if Italian were to be adopted as the *home* and the *parental language* in the second generation (see discussion in 2.2 and 2.4). In fact, it is argued, either native language, *regardless* of their L or H status, would be adequate for language maintenance *if* at least in the home it were consistently used for intra-generational communication in the second generation and inter-generational communication between the second and the third (see discussion in 2.4). [291]

In Australia, however, it seems that it is in virtue of its H status in relation to the dialects that Italian is better maintained in the more formal/public domains, from which it mainly derives its overall higher endurance (see 3.1.1.2.2). That is, the higher status of Italian translates only to a very limited extent into its maintenance/adoption as the home language in the second generation. While it is instructive to study the different reaction of the two native varieties to the impact from English across different domains, it is believed that the

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[289] The role of social mobility in innovation and convergence is discussed in 3.1.2.5.

[290] "In the third generation *English monolingualism* generally substitutes the heterogeneous bilingualism of the preceding generation as *the only key to social mobility*" (my translation and italics).

[291] As mentioned in 2.2.3, Rubino (1987b) found that Italian school instruction among her second-generation children informants had resulted in a 'purer' variety in which they showed they could separate more successfully Italian, dialect and English, thus substantially reducing the 'Italo-Australian' characteristics of their speech.

home remains the most reliable indicator for intergenerational language maintenance (see discussion in 2.2. and 2.4).[292]

As discussed in 2.4.2, a major difference in the acquisitional history of third-generation bilinguals in comparison with that of their parents is that the language of the parental home for the latter is almost exclusively English.[293] Direct exposure to either Italian or dialect largely depends on the presence of first-generation relatives.[294] As a result of the development of language policies in Australia (see 1.0), the vast majority of third-generation Italian-Australians from the second post-war period is likely to have received formal instruction in Standard Italian at school. Especially in the third generation and in relation to Italian, 'language maintenance' and 'foreign language acquisition' might overlap. As Bettoni (1993:411) pointed out, however, the two should be kept separate as they refer to processes that fundamentally go in opposite directions, i.e. the gradual loss of the (grandparents') language on the one hand and its gradual development on the other. Furthermore, the bases of departure are different, i.e. popular and dialectalised and spontaneous in the former, standard and formal in the latter (Bettoni, 1993:411).

Table 9 below schematically summarises *some* of the points in the linguistic history of the three generations in the Italian-Australian community and the resulting repertoire. Numerous cautions should be taken into account.[295] Varieties were indicated using conventional labels. However, they should be intended to indicate a 'polirisation' of features towards the relevant ends in a linguistic continuum, rather than clear-cut linguistic systems. *Relative proficiency* in the varieties was also not considered and can vary from

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[292] With specific reference to the Australian example, Giacalone Ramat (1994:48-9) observed that despite the 'Italianisation' of the language spoken by Italian migrants and their children, the survival of Italian is far from certain.

[293] Data about language choice by second-generation speakers in relation to the generation of the interlocutors was discussed in 3.1.1.2. The attempt observed in some cases on the part of second-generation parents to adopt the community language for communication with the children is discussed in 2.4. Differences in the residential settings in which younger second-generation children and third-generation ones grow up are discussed 2.2.

[294] The limitation of an 'indirect' exposure to the grandparents' native variety during their interaction with the parents was pointed out in 2.4.

[295] 'Settings' are intended as taking into account both possible exposure to the varieties as well as active use. The family domain was kept separate from the 'natural L2 acquisition', i.e. the host country, in which setting first-generation migrants might learn English and strengthen their popular/regional Italian. Only grandparents, parents and siblings were considered, although relatives in the same generations in the extended family might play a similar role in the speakers' acquisition. Intentionally, only *stage A* of each

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knowledge of some features to full competence. The order in which variety are presented indicates their likely relevance. It should be pointed out that the individual *variation* which is inherent in community languages (Clyne, 1991a:161) is likely to be extreme in the third generation. As for a possible *diglossic differentiation* between Italian and dialect, when both are present, the use of the former might be restricted to the Italian class at school, and the latter to conversation with the grandparents. However, it could be hypothesised that even when neither are actively used, *passive competence* in them might include a) awareness of their being two *separate linguistic* systems and b) a *passive diglossic awareness* of the functional distribution they have in their older relatives' language choice patterns.[296]

Table 9 Acquisitional history and maximal linguistic repertoire of Italian-Australians

Setting	Generation 1A	Generation 2A	Generation 3A
Family domain			
Parents	Dialect	Dialect Pop./Reg. Italian English	English Dialect Pop./Reg. Italian
Siblings	Dialect	English	English
Grandparents	Dialect	---	Dialect Pop./Reg. Italian English
Instruction medium	Standard Italian Dialect	English	English
Formal L2 acquisition	---	Standard Italian	Standard Italian
Natural L2 acquisition	English Pop./Reg. Italian	---	---
Total Repertoire	Dialect Italian English	English Dialect Pop./Reg. Italian Standard Italian	English Dialect Pop./Reg. Italian Standard Italian

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generation were considered, as parent's age at arrival, birth order, etc. might be relevant factors (see discussion in 4.4.1-2).

[296] Berruto (1995:231) pointed out that one doubt in relation to the notion of 'diglossia' concerns the level of the relative proficiency in the A and B, respectively, the speakers should have so that diglossia obtains. Mioni and Trumper (1977:330) observed that while the community in Padova shared *either actively or passively* the same repertoire, all speakers could easily identify the diglossic differentiation between a high variety (Italian) and a low variety (dialect).

3.2.3 Studies of Italian in Australia

As the discussion thus far has shown, in the repertoire of Italian migrants varieties of 'Italian' are closely interlinked with the dialects. However studies of the speech of speakers of Italian origin in Australia have mainly focused on Italian. One major area or research on Italian in Australia has traditionally focused on transfers from English, e.g. Andreoni (1967, 1971, 1981), Comin (197!), Rando (1967, 1968, 1984) and Leoni (1981, 1990).[297] Some of these studies referred to 'Australitalian' as a *homogeneous* 'language' that was developed by Italian migrants in Australia.[298] This position, however, was refuted by Bettoni (1987; 1981b), who argued against the supposed 'unitaryness' of 'Australitalian', its 'language' status and its adequacy for language maintenance purposes in the second generation.

An articulated analysis of the contact phenomena in the speech of Italian migrants in Australia is found in Bettoni (1981a), which represented a major early contribution to the field of research into Italian as a migrant language in Australia. Bettoni (1981a) studied transference phenomena (see 2.3.1) in the speech of first- and second-generation Italian migrants in North Queensland. Her sample included speakers of northern Italian dialects, including Veneto. As the author explained (1981a:45), however, linguistic data were collected through formal, unstructured interviews which she conducted in her Standard/regional Italian, thus eliciting her informants' most prestigious variety of Italian. Even though the data collected by Bettoni do contain Veneto dialect items, the main focus of her research was on the analysis of how English elements are transferred into the informants' variety of Italian.

Following Clyne's (1972:9) terminology (cf. 2.3.1), Bettoni (1981a) examined transference patterns at the phonic, lexical, semantic, syntactic, pragmatic and prosodic levels. In correlating socio-demographic factors with the relative incidence of types of transference, Bettoni found a great degree of variation among her informants, both at the quantitative and the qualitative levels. Degrees of language *dominance*, distributed according to the *linguistic generation* of the subjects, were found to be crucial factors in determining transference patterns. *Phonic* transference, i.e. the partial or total integration of Italian

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[297] Others, e.g. Di Pietro (1981), have looked at the English spoken by Italian first-generation migrants.

words into the English phonic system, was found almost exclusively in the speech of subjects who were dominant in English, namely childhood bilinguals, who belonged to generations IB and II (Bettoni,1981a:55;91).[299] Furthermore, most childhood bilinguals in Bettoni's sample (1981a:56; 73) used *multiple* transference, i.e. transference of more than one simple word, while adult bilinguals, who were dominant in Italian, never did, unless their command of English was good.

English *lexical* transfers, the most widespread in Bettoni's corpus (1981a), were found to be slightly less frequent among speakers of generation IA, who were dominant in Italian and therefore had more readily available the lexicon needed to refer to the Italian matters frequently brought up during the interviews. However, an average knowledge of English, as opposed to both a good and a poor knowledge of it, seemed to favor lexical transference. Furthermore, dominance in Italian resulted in a higher frequency of phonic and to a lesser extent formal *integration* of the lexical items transferred from English. Only a good knowledge of standard or regional Italian reduced lexical transference to a minimum, while an imperfect command of standard Italian, resulting in popular Italian, apparently favored *semantic* transference. *Interest* in language and *careful monitoring* of speech were found to be ultimately responsible for a successful learning process of the non-dominant language(s) (see discussion in 2.2. and 2.4). These attitudes were often shared by members of the same family, who seemed to place importance on controlling both transference from English to Italian and switching from dialect to popular Italian during the interviews (Bettoni, 1981:111-2).[300]

A series of studies by Bettoni (1985a, 1986, 1990a, 1991b) investigated patterns of language attrition in the Italian of second-generation children with Veneto background.[301] Bettoni (1986) looked at the role of *birth-order*. The author (Bettoni, 1986:64) reported

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[298] See for instance the introduction to Leoni's *Vocabolario* (Leoni, 1981).

[299] This generational subdivision comes from Haugen (1953) and is discussed in 4.4.1-2.

[300] See discussion of findings of Bettoni and Gibbon (1988, 1990) below. Bettoni (1981a) found that the subjects' personal characteristics such as *time* and *age at migration, current age, education in Italy* (for adult bilinguals) and *education in Italian in Australia* (for childhood bilinguals), had no direct bearing on the subjects' relative *knowledge* of the varieties, i.e. if they were not associated with "socio-cultural circumstances that exposed individuals to such varieties" (Bettoni, 1981a:110). Also, the relative *frequency of use* of the two languages was not a significant factor. The amount of *transference* did not correlate with the length of stay in Australia in adult bilinguals or with family structure and proximity to Italian relatives in either type of bilinguals (Bettoni. 1981a:110).

that the subjects had shifted from dominance in their parents' Veneto dialect to English when the oldest child in the family started school and the new language was brought into the home becoming the siblings' favorite medium of communication. Bettoni (1986:65-66) drew on Givón's (1979) structural properties of a *pragmatic* versus a *syntactic* communicative mode. She found that second-generation language attrition stretched on a continuum which presented degrees of variability, rather than being characterised by the categorical loss of discrete features (Bettoni, 1986:65-66).[302] The performance of only children was between that of the parents and the first-born, which Bettoni explained with the fact that children with no siblings receive an ethnic language input undiluted by English for a longer time than children with siblings in general. These results generally confirmed Bettoni's (1986:80) hypothesis that

> "second generation Italian erodes in the direction of a pragmatic mode both philogenetically (in terms of the history of various languages) and ontogenetically (in terms of language development from child to adult)."

In her 1990 paper, Bettoni (1990a) drew on the results of her previous attrition studies to investigate the role of the dialect in her informants' repertoire in Italian attrition. She found that as the speakers moved towards a pragmatic mode the presence of Veneto dialect increased (Bettoni, 1990a:78), which in turn contributed to a higher internal 'variation' in their speech, i.e. the type of variation which Auer and Di Luzio (1983a) termed 'code fluctuation' as opposed to 'code switching' and 'code shifting'(see 2.1.2, 2.3.3 and 3.1.2). Intrusion of Veneto words ranged from monosyllabic function words (e.g. articles, prepositions, personal pronouns, certain adverbs,), to forms of the verb 'to be', bisyllabic words (e.g. articulated prepositions), a wider range of adverbs and nouns (Bettoni, 1990a:79-83). These elements were accompanied by a growing number in features characteristic of the pragmatic mode (Bettoni, 1986; 1990:83). In its compensatory

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[301] The author (Bettoni, 1981a) relied on interview data collected by a speaker Sicilian of background, which ruled out the possibility of using their dialect.

[302] Bettoni (1986:64) found that as birth order increased, children uttered fewer words, required more promptings by the interviewer, spoke at a slower rate and for a shorter time. The frequency of hesitation phenomena (silent/filled pauses, drawls, stutters, repeats, omissions, word changes, sentence corrections, sentence incompletions) also positively correlated with birth order (Bettoni, 1986:66-9). Furthermore, among younger siblings, morphology, measured in terms of adjective-noun agreement, progressively weakened, internal variation and inconsistency at the lexical, phonic, morphological, syntactic levels increased (Bettoni, 1986:71; 75-6). Subordinate sentences, as opposed to loose and coordinate sentences, decreased in frequency and range (Bettoni, 1986:81).

function, English intruded in the informant's Italian mainly in the form of strong content words (Bettoni, 1986:87). These results showed that the speakers could control the intrusion of their dialect less successfully than that of English (Bettoni, 1986:87).

Focusing on morphological attrition, Bettoni (1991b) found that clitic personal pronouns tended to disappear fast, while verbs were first replaced by Veneto dialect or near-dialect forms as well as 'deviant' forms, and subsequently, towards the end of the attritional continuum, they were omitted. Nominal morphology was retained longer (Bettoni, 1991b:383). Those informants who were collocated in the syntactic mode of the continuum presented the same phenomena as their parents, i.e. characteristics of *italiano popolare* (see 3.1.2.3), such as regularisations (e.g. 'qualche volte' vs. 'qualche volta'), use of simple present instead of subjunctive forms, redundant pronouns (e.g. 'quando *gli* interessa *a loro*'), generalisation of 'ci' instead of 'le/gli' (Bettoni, 1991b).[303]

The analysis of the use of all the English, Italian and a dialect (i.e. Sicilian) was the objective of various studies by Rubino (1987a, 1990, 1993, 1996). In her 1987 study, Rubino (1987a) analysed the mixing and control of English, dialect and Italian in a group of Sicilian-Australian children of generation 2B aged 11-12.[304] The parents in Rubino's study (1987a) explained apologetically that their children spoke *dialect*, rather than Italian, because they spent a lot of time with their *grandparents*, who looked after them while the parents were working (see discussion in 2.2). The children had remained dominant in Sicilian dialect till the beginning of schooling (Rubino, 1987a:132) and had been exposed to *Italian* both at school as well as at home and in the community through various practices, such as watching Italian movies, interacting with relatives visiting from Italy, listening to Italian radio programs or the contents of letters from Italy being read out.

In the analysis of data collected during a *guided narration* and an *informal conversation*, Rubino (1987a) found evidence that, to a large extent, the children could distinguish the

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[303] Kinder (1994) studied the presence of features of popular and regional Italian in the speech of four second-generation siblings of Sicilian origin in Australia. He found that varying degrees of effort and motivation to 're-acquire' Italian among his informants had led to a turnover of the effect of their birth order. Kinder (1994:348) placed the older child at the end of a continuum of 'syntax recuperation' characterised by 'popular' features and interference from the dialect. The second-last born was at the end closest to the standard, presenting higher frequency of subordination.

[304] See discussion of generational subdivision in 4.4.1-2.

three codes in their repertoire and skillfully control their relative mixing in the two tasks.[305] In the narration, the children were able to recognise a situation in which the exclusive use of Italian was required and to employ various strategies in order to avoid transfers from English and from Sicilian (Rubino, 1987a:146). The conversation, which was less formal and revolved around home-related topics, was in general characterised by a much looser mixing of the three codes, with a much larger use of dialect and a higher number of unintegrated and unmarked lexical transfers from English (Rubino, 1987a:146-7). These results led Rubino (1987a:149) to conclude that the learning of Standard Italian at school might contribute to a clearer differentiation between the Italian and dialect systems.[306]

To investigate the everyday, inter-generational home use of dialect, Italian and English, Rubino (1993, 1996, 2000) took a case study approach. Rubino (1996:216-7; 231) found that the presence of the *grandfather* in the Sicilian family she studied did *not* foster the use of the ethnic varieties or slow down language shift in the *grandchildren*, in spite of the frequency of contact with him and his exclusive use of Sicilian with them apart from few 'established' English borrowings. The imbalance between the oldest and the youngest generations' respective language competence was indicated by the author as the major factor in thwarting their communication (Rubino, 1996:216). As a result, their interaction was minimal and the *mother* had to play a mediating role between the grandfather's limited competence in English and the children's limited competence in Sicilian dialect as well as their unwillingness to accommodate for the older relative's linguistic abilities (Rubino, 1996:216).

The speech of the intermediate generation in the family studied by Rubino (1996), i.e. the parents', presented therefore the highest degree of variation. When addressing the grandfather, the parents' Sicilian presented some "socially integrated transfers" from English, which increased in frequency and range when they talked to each other and even more when they addressed the children (Rubino, 1996: 217; 2000:4). Although Sicilian was the language most frequently used by the mother to varying degrees with all family members, English was the language that she used almost exclusively with the children

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[305] The methods employed in the present study were two elicitation sessions and a 'natural' conversation (described in 4.5).

[306] See Rubino (1987b) mentioned in relation to the role school instruction in 2.2.3 and discussion of 'diglossia' in the second and third generations in 3.1.2.

(Rubino, 1996:220). In addressing the children in Sicilian she transferred English lexical items for which she used the Sicilian equivalent with the grandfather. Furthermore, when addressing the children, the mother's English lexical transfers showed a lower degree of integration.

Rubino (1996:220) found evidence that as a result of children's elicitation the mother gradually 'shifted' from Sicilian to English, which she explained in terms of her willingness to 'accommodate' to her children's speech in order to narrow the distance between their Australian identity and her own (1996:232).[307] At the level of a single interaction, the gradual 'shift' occurred through the mother's translation into English of portions of speech that she had just uttered in Sicilian or the incorporation of the children's English speech in her own Sicilian, which achieved an "echo effect" (Rubino, 1996:224). Turns initiated by the mother tended to be in Sicilian, but her use of English increased when replying to the children. Similarly, English was the language she generally used for topics and activities that concerned the children's interests or related to particular conversational functions directed to them, such as to attract attention, persuade, surprise, etc. (Rubino, 1996:230).

Drawing upon the functionalist and conversational perspective on codeswitching taken by Gumperz (1982), Auer and Di Luzio (1983b) and Auer (1984b, 1991, cf. 2.1.2), Rubino (2000) focused on the speech of the children. In naturally occurring conversations with their mother, they were found to use English extensively and insert hardly any Italian/Sicilian items (Rubino, 2000:96). Lexical transfers that were not marked (mainly related to food and kinship) were interpreted as lacking a particular conversational function from the children's point of view, i.e. as instances of 'code-mixing' rather than 'language alternation' (Rubino, 2000:99). The children's infrequent, actual 'alternation' of English and Sicilian/Italian had only a *phatic* or expressive function (Rubino, 2000:99-105).[308]

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[307] See discussion of theory of 'accommodation' of Giles (e.g. Giles et al., 1977) in 2.1.2 and 3.1.2.5.

[308] Language alternation generally "coincide[d] with 'framing' the speech activity into a sort of game on role relationships", e.g. when they initiated their turn in Sicilian or echoed the mother's words putting on a humorous tone (Rubino, 2000:106). It was heavily marked, e.g. by loudness, phonological drawls and staccato rhythm, through which the children achieved a parodistic or comic effect, which was shared by the mother. The children's code alternation showed that they acknowledged their mother's linguistic preference by playing with the languages to which they were exposed (Rubino, 2000:106). The role of marking in transference phenomena in Kinder's study is discussed further below.

Rubino (1996, 2000) found that in the family's everyday life *Italian* was used infrequently. However, the author admitted that a clear distinction between Sicilian and Italian was not always easy to make and that the Sicilian spoken in the family might have undergone a process of Italianisation e.g. through contact with Italian migrants from other regions (Rubino, 2000:93). However, Italian remained the language learned in the classroom. Rubino (2000) analysed the children's active competence of Italian via a natural conversation during which she addressed the children in Italian and pretended not to know English. She found that the children were able to produce '*italiano stentato*' (Auer and Di Luzio, 1983a– see 3.1.2), which was characterised by use of Sicilian and English, hypercorrections, lack of co-occurrence restrictions, frequent hesitation markers, frequent switches to English to overcome incompetence (Rubino, 2000:94).

Cahill (1987) also focused on Italian-Australian children and found that linguistic factors pertaining to the *home environment* were the most crucial in determining their bilingual competence. The interaction habits in the home (i.e. the speaking habits of the parents and children), the encouragement and correction of children's language, the creation of a general literacy environment through parents' own reading habits, or them reading to the child, and insistence on an Italian response by the child when spoken to in Italian etc. benefited *both languages*. Encouragement of Italian literacy and speaking practices correlated significantly also with English language skills, which shows that pressure for linguistic development in general, rather than for a specific languages, is the key factor. Cahill (1987) found that the two languages did not compete with each other but support each other. He observed that "second- and third-generation Italo-Australian children acquire Italian (or an Italian dialect) and English almost simultaneously from an early age" (Cahill, 1987:101-2). Their linguistic input varies considerably according to whether it comes from parents, grandparents, siblings, *paesani*, friends, etc. However, Standard Italian input comes from the media (newspapers, ethnic radio, multicultural television).

More recent studies have provided information on intergenerational maintenance processes relevant to *third-generation* Italian-Australian children, however not of Veneto background. Finocchiaro (1994) studied language behaviour in a Sicilian extended family. Based on self-reported data, Finocchiaro (1994:184) found that her first- and second-generation informants deemed *usefulness and necessity* to learn a language as crucial

factors in determining intergenerational shift or maintenance. Among the grandparents an important factor was the immediate decision to make Australia home vs. the plan to go back to Italy after a period of time, which led to different attitudes towards their children's maintenance of Italian/dialect. In both cases, however, reliance on host society for *education of the children*, promoted shift to English, which entered the home once they started school. The *negative attitudes of the host society* until the 1970s (cf. 1.0, 2.2.2, and 2.4) were reported to have a positive effect on language maintenance. The grandparents on one side of the family had shifted to English for communication with the grandchildren and perceived English to be more useful in 'market-place' terms (Finocchiaro, 1994:99 - see 2.2).

However, Finocchiaro's (1994) *third-generation informant* (in pre-school age) was consistently addressed in Italian by the grandparents on the other side of the family and in the home, the parents having adopted the *one-parent-one language method* (Suanders, 1982; Döpke, 1992 - see discussion in 2.2 and 2.4) soon after the birth of their first child (Finocchiaro, 1994:164-5). However, the family's consistent maintenance efforts were thwarted by the child's refusal to speak Italian and requests that they spoke English, to which the older relatives were reported to have started to give in (Finocchiaro, 1994:164-5). The parents placed a great deal of hope on the school system for a change in their child's *attitudes* towards speaking Italian (Finocchiaro, 1994:166).

Cavallaro (1997) studied the language behaviour of some Sicilian families in Sydney focusing on second-generation young parents and various domains, including the home and the extended family (see also 2.4). English was the only language in which third-generation children studied by Cavallaro (1997) were addressed at home, apart from a limited inventory of Italian and Sicilian single-word utterances.[30] Some of the parents thought that Sicilian could not be maintained and that they were *not proficient enough* to pass Italian on to their children (Cavallaro, 1997). Therefore, for different reasons than those reported in Finocchiaro's study (1994), also in Cavallaro's sample (1997) young second-generation parents relied on the *school* for language maintenance.

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[30] For instance, *caffe'* ('coffee'), *salsa* ('pasta sauce'), *acqua* ('water'), *latte* ('milk'), *bella* ('beautiful' fem. sing.), *brava* ('good girl'), *mangia!* ('eat!'), *aspetta!* ('wait!"), *nonna* ('grandma'), *nonno* ('grandpa'), *zio* ('uncle'), *zia* ('auntie'), *papa'* ('dad') (Cavallaro, 1997).

Cavallaro (1997:284) found that while the linguistic input at *home* was extremely scarce, in the *extended family* grandchildren were very seldom actively involved in adults' interactions conducted in Italian or Sicilian, which was infrequently used to address them directly (Cavallaro, 1997:284). Exposure to the parents and grandparents' Italian and Sicilian was also limited by the fact that sometimes the grandchildren were in a different room playing or watching television. Furthermore, the grandparents themselves did not provide the grandchildren with a sufficient Italian or Sicilian input and represented a source of language maintenance only when interacting with other first-generation Italian-Australians or their own children (Cavallaro, 1997:284). Given the much more disadvantaged maintenance circumstances of the grandchildren in Cavallaro's sample (1997) in comparison to those in Finocchiaro's (1994) (see discussion above), it is not surprising that they did not speak a word of Italian or Sicilian. Indeed, Cavallaro (1997:284) reported that there was no evidence that the grandchildren had acquired any passive competence of the languages.

Some studies investigated the *attitudes* of Italian-Australians towards the different varieties in their repertoires. Bettoni and Gibbons (1988) conducted a matched-guise experiment using English, regional Italian (Veneto and Sicilian) and dialect (Veneto and Sicilian). Furthermore, they used 'light mixtures', characterised by some light English transference on *regional Italian bases* and 'heavy mixtures', with a considerable number of English unintegrated transfers on *dialect bases*. Four factors emerged from the questionnaire data. With the exception of the ethnicity factor, both Italian and English were rated favorably on all other traits. Attitudes towards dialects and light mixtures were rather neutral. However, heavy mixtures rated negatively on all traits and were perceived as markers of Australian acculturation, dislikable, unsuccessful and unsophisticated. Although attitudes towards English transfers were found to be generally negative, they were tolerated if integrated into Italian, but not in dialects. Overall, therefore, Italian was preferred to dialect, and 'pure' varieties to mixed ones. First generation judges were found to be more puristic, which the authors attributed to the fact that they experienced discriminatory attitudes.[310]

Kinder (1984, 1987) also investigated the attitudes among first-generation Italian migrants, however in New Zealand rather than Australia. He argued that attitudes of bilingual

speakers to transference may also be discerned in the way in which transfers from an L2 are introduced into an L1. Items introduced with no particular metalinguistic attention drawn to them may be taken to be 'socially integrated'. Marking, on the other hand, occurs through what he called 'transference markers', which include verbal and non-verbal strategies. He discussed them in terms of their linguistic properties and inferred the possible meaning they had for the speakers. Kinder (1987) subsequently revisited transference markers from a conversation analysis approach. He noted how through transference markers bilinguals (strangers) signal each other's attitudes towards transfers in their speech and therefore their degree of social integration.[311]

The following section (3.2.3.1) presents a brief overview of studies of Veneto dialects as migrant languages, which have been generally neglected in Australia.[312]

3.2.3.1 Studies of Veneto dialects in migration contexts

As the discussion in 3.1.3 showed, research in the repertoire of Italian migrants in Australia has generally taken an 'Italian' point of view. While information about the dialect background of the informants and its role in the Italian speech was provided, dialects in themselves were rarely focused on. Major studies in the field (e.g. Bettoni, 1981) have relied on data from interviews during which the informants are required to produce Italian. In a recent review, Rubino (1998:396; 398) pointed out that corpora thus far analysed consisted of self-reported data (cf. Bettoni and Rubino, 1996, discussed in 3.1.1.2) or linguistic data in which dialect was the 'marked' language to be avoided in

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[310] See also discussion in 2.2.

[311] Kinder (1984, 1987) identified four groups of markers: 1) 'vocal markers', i.e. prosodic features, e.g. when the transfer is introduced with a change in pitch, volume, tempo or rate of breathing; 2) 'hesitation markers', i.e. pauses, false starts and repetitions; 3) 'hedges', i.e. words or phrases which attenuate or accentuate the force of the statement, e.g. 'insomma', 'così', 'praticamente' (i.e. 'well', 'like that', 'in practie'), requests for the hearer's approval, e.g. 'no?', 'sì?', 'come si dice?' (i.e. 'isn't it?', 'what do you call it?'); 4) 'glosses', the most explicit form of transference marking, e.g. a synonym or explicit statement, e.g. 'come lo chiamano qua' (i.e. 'as they call it here'). The four categories range in their degree of explicitness and from non-discrete paralinguistic and prosodic features through to syllables, words and phrases and whole clauses.

[312] There is a vast bibliography of works on 'Italian' abroad. For reviews and bibliographic introductions on Italian abroad see e.g. De Mauro (1963:290-3), Vignuzzi (1983), Berruto (1987), Bettoni (1991a, 1992, 1993), Coveri and Bettoni (1991), Tassello and Vedovelli (1996), Rubino (1998). For specific countries see e.g. Correa-Zoli (1981); Di Pietro (1976), Haller (1981, 1986, 1993) in the United States (see also discussion in 2.2 and 3.1.3.2); Lo Cascio (1987) for Latin America; Tosi (e.g. 1982), Panese (1992) in England; Tosi (1991) for a comparison between England, Canada and Australia; Jaspaert and Kroon (1991) Lo Cascio (1993) in the Netherlands.

favour of Italian, i.e. the language of the interviewer (cf. Bettoni, 1981a).[313] There are no sufficient linguistic data about the actual linguistic competence in the dialect, especially among second-generation speakers in the family domain and the possible differential structural permeability of dialect in comparison to Italian.[314]

In Australia, Veneto dialects have rarely been the specific object of linguistic studies. However, in a series of studies Bettoni (1985a, 1985b, 1986, 1990a) has taken into consideration the role of dialect (mainly Veneto) in attrition patterns (cf. 3.2.3 above). Corrà (1980) reported on an unpublished survey conducted in 1977 by Calzetti among Veneto post-war migrants in Australia. Among some of Calzetti's informants, the refusal to integrate into the new society and learn the new language determined the conservation of the original dialect, identified with a mythical past world.[315] The use of elements from Veneto, Italian and English was, in the words of an informant, aimed at maximising functional economy (Corrà, 1980:61).

Chiro and Smolicz (1990) investigated the use of Italian as a possible 'core value' among second-generation Veneto speakers. They found that for young Veneto speakers the language did not have a central role in the ideological system of their culture (Chiro and Smolicz, 1990). The vast majority of their informants (87%) declared that English was their 'mother tongue' or 'native language' and only 17% of them reported using any variety of Italian or dialect at home (Chiro and Smolicz, 1990:195). The dialect was considered as a 'second-class' language and for this reason it was very rarely activated at home. The authors (Chiro and Smolicz, 1990:195) found that this negative attitude and the difficulty to achieve proficiency in Italian contributed to relegate the use of dialect at home to the lower levels of the hierarchy of cultural values among their informants. The degree of activation of Italian forms at home was lower among those informants that had not studied Italian at school and were thus more dependent on activation of English (Chiro and Smolicz, 1990:196). The authors interpreted this finding as a possible indication of the

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choice to study Italian at school as an index of a positive attitude towards the language (Chiro and Smolicz, 1990:196).[316]

However, in the same volume (Padoan, 1990), which is dedicated to various aspects of Veneto migration to English speaking countries, Rando (1990) observed that Veneto speakers in Australia seem to be more resilient to shift and change of their dialect. He attributed this tendency to the high prestige that it enjoys in the home region (Rando, 1990 - see discussion in 3.1.6). Rando (1990) reported that the use of dialect was particularly strong in older, more compact communities, e.g. in the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area, were the settlement dates back to the first decade of the 20th century and inter-regional marriages are rare. Although it was perceived to be inferior to the standard, in this community Veneto was reported to be used by second-generation speakers in the extended family and their English was interspersed with dialectal items.

Among English speaking countries, Danesi (1990) focused on 'borrowings' from English. Besides phonological integration phenomena parallel to those found in Italian, Danesi (1990:180) observed some peculiar to Veneto. The main one was a lack of consonantal doubling, e.g. ticket → Italian /tikkétta/ vs. → Veneto /tikéta/. From the examples listed by Danesi (1990:178-181) it can also be observed that English lexical items transferred to Veneto present a dialectal phono-morphological structure, e.g. lack of final /e/ as is typical in some Veneto dialects, e.g. 'contractor'→ Italian /kontrattóre/, vs. → Veneto /kontratór/; passage of /ʃ/ to /s/, e.g. 'shop'→ Italian /ʃóppa/ vs. → Veneto /sópa/. Rando (1990) drew attention to English items integrated phono-morphologically by Veneto speakers in Bettoni's sample (Bettoni, 1981a), e.g. *crizmi* (E 'Christmas'), lori (E 'lorry'), etc.

Also in Canada, Vita (1987) interviewed migrants from different provinces of Veneto (i.e. Padova, Treviso and Vicenza). Vita (1987:146-150) found maintenance of conservative and 'rustic' dialectal features, which in Italy are disappearing (see discussion in 3.1.2.4).[317]

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[313] See however Cavallaro (1997), discussed in 3.2.3.

[314] Hence the decision in the present study to focus on both community languages in the informants' repertoire and on natural language data (see chapter 1)

[315] Cf. Finocchiaro's (1994) findings discussed in 3.1.3.

[316] Chiro and Smolicz (1990:195-196) also hypothesised that because of their physical appearance, speakers of Veneto background are less likely to be identified as Italians and so are more prone to assimilate in the dominant culture.

[317] For instance, interdental sounds (e.g. /θ/ in *thuche* vs. /s/ suche, Italian /ts/ 'zucche', English 'pumpkins'), metaphony (e.g. *tusi* vs. *tosi*, Italian 'ragazzi', English 'boys/guys'), simple present forms such as *vao* vs. *vago* (Italian 'vado', English 'I go'), contracted *imperfetto* forms such as *i fava* vs. *i fazéva* (Italian 'facevano', English 'they used to do/they did), past participle forms in *–ésto* (e.g. *ghemo ridésto* vs. *ghemo*

She found that in the second generation the dialect was *not* the preferred language (Vita, 1987:151). With relatives, and especially with siblings, second-generation Veneto speakers used either English or French. While their lexicon was not very rich, it presented archaic forms, which they had learned from their parents and which are less frequent among their counterparts in Italy, e.g. *sculièri* vs. *cuciàri* (Italian 'cucchiai', English 'spoons'), or metaphonic forms like those produced by their parents. Phonological influence of English on their dialect was pervasive. Their dialect was also mixed with Standard Italian, which they had learned at school and which was the language their parents wished them to learn (Vita, 1987:153). In addition to lexical items, some dialectal constructions were 'translated or Italianised morphologically', e.g. *è dietro fermentare* vs. *(el) ze drio fermentar(e)* (Italian 'sta fermentando'), *le càmere non gano niente* vs. e càmare no (e) ga niente (Italian 'le camere non hanno niente', English 'the bedrooms don't have anything') (Vita, 1987:152).[318]

3.3 Concluding summary

This chapter has provided a broad picture of the converging and shifting trends that have marked Italy's sociolinguistic history from the post-unification period until recent times (3.1.2 and 3.1.6). The long-standing contact between Italian and dialects has given rise to complex structural phenomena at the discourse and repertoire levels (3.1.2-3, 3.1.5). Migrants leaving the country in the 1950s, like the first-generation informants in the present study, were likely to have widely varying degrees of spoken and written proficiency in at least four basic varieties on a continuum ranging from the most localised dialect to a relatively standard form of Italian (3.1-3.1.2.4). With regard to the Italian side of the continuum, however, popular and regional Italian were identified as the main

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riduo, Italian 'abbiamo riso', English 'we (have) laughed') (Vita, 1987:146-150). Some of these phenomena were also found in the present corpus (see 5.2.2).

[318] As discussed in 5.2.3.1-2, similar phenomena were identified in the present corpus. Veneto dialects in Latin America have been frequently studied. Franceschi and Cammelli (1977) investigated conservative features of Veneto dialects, mainly Vicentino, among the descendants of migrants in small centres of Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil. The Veneto-Brazilian koiné was analysed by Frosi (1987) and Pellegrini (1994). Veneto dialects in Brazil were also studied by Luzzato (1994). Sartor and Ursini (1983) studied a Treviso community in Mexico. See also Corra' (1980) and Meo Zilio (1991). A survey of the study of Italian dialects outside Italy is in Corrà and Ursini (1989), Vignuzzi, (1983) and more recently in Haller (1997). See Danesi (1983) for Italian dialects in Canada and Milani (1991) for both in Canada and the United States. A survey of studies of Veneto dialects outside Italy is in Corrà (1980). In Switzerland, Veneto dialects were studied by e.g. Gobbi (1994) and Rovere (1990).

varieties in their original repertoire, i.e. forms of Italian characterised by features that variously result from their dominance in dialect (3.1.2.3).

The repertoire of the relatives the migrants left behind in the homeland, from which the control group in the present study were sampled, is likely to reflect the most advanced stages of the trends underway during the post-war period. A progressive structural interpenetration between Italian and dialect (3.1.5) is accompanied by a progressive shift away from dialect in the family in the younger generations (3.1.6). However, in the peculiar sociolinguistic situation in the Veneto region, from where the first-generation participants migrated, while the former phenomenon was found to be more intense and pervasive than in other regions (3.1.4), the latter was found to be less pronounced (3.1.6).

Although shift to English is advancing at a fast pace (3.2.1.1), a more conservative attitude towards the maintenance of the use of dialect in the family was also found among migrants of Veneto origin in Australia (3.2.1.2). While the children and grandchildren of the first migrants acquired dominance in English, they were potentially exposed to all the varieties in their older relatives' repertoire as used in the family (3.2.2). However, formal school instruction gave the younger generations access to a standard Italian input, in which the first generation was likely to have only a passive competence and which has sometimes been considered more adequate than dialect for language maintenance purposes (3.2.1). With some exceptions, dialects have been generally neglected in linguistic research in Australia, which has mainly focused on the description of the influence of English on Italian (3.2.1-2). However, important information has been collected through self-reported data (3.2.1.2).

The present study aims to describe the relative role played by both dialect and Italian in the informants' speech (cf. 1.1). While it focuses on the third generation, it incidentally represents a modest contribution to redress a discernable gap in the literature in this field (3.2.3.1). The following chapter (4) provides information about the repertoire of the participants in the present study based on their and their relatives' self-reported data and describes the methods that were designed to record their language.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

As discussed in 1.1, the present study investigates the language of third-generation bilinguals of Veneto background in Australia.[319] This chapter presents a discussion of the characteristics of the participants and the methods that were employed for the collection of the data.

The chapter opens with a description of the initial stages of the fieldwork (4.1). This phase was crucial in establishing the relative degree of familiarity between the researcher and the participants that was necessary to implement the method designed for the collection of natural language data (4.5.1).

The family was focused on as the central domain in the maintenance of migrant languages (cf. 2.2). Participants were sampled from four extended families in metropolitan Melbourne. The relatives residing in Italy of three of the families in Australia were also recruited. The selection of the participants within the extended families is discussed in 4.2. An informal interview and a short questionnaire, described in 4.3, were used to gather relevant background information about the participants. A primary selection criterion was generation (4.4.1-3). Other relevant socio-demographic characteristics of the informants are presented in 4.4.4-10. Self-reported data about language competence, attitudes and use in the extended family are reported in 4.4.11-13.

The present project is grounded on natural data, which were necessary to investigate the informants' language use in the family. The method that was designed for the data

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[319] As already mentioned (see 1.0), the term 'Veneto' is used throughout the thesis to refer to the geo-political region from which the first-generation participants originally came (cf. map 1). 'Veneto' is also used to refer to the dialects of this region that the first-generation participants originally spoke. In the literature in both English and Italian on the subject (cf. e.g. Tuttle, 1997; Pellegrini, 1977, respectively), 'Veneto' indicates the group of dialects which are spoken in most of the Veneto region.

collection is described in 4.5.1. Two elicitation sessions, i.e. one in Italian and one in Veneto, were also envisaged (4.5.2).

4.1 The initial phase of fieldwork

Data in Australia were collected between November 1998 and June 1999. Data in Italy were collected between September and December 1999. The same methods were used in both countries.[320] Depending on the number of the participants, a number of five to six visits were necessary to complete fieldwork.

Informants for the present study were drawn from the community from the Veneto region in metropolitan Melbourne Within the Veneto community, the group from the province of Padua (*Padova*) was chosen since the researcher is a native speaker of Paduan dialect, at least as it is spoken nowadays in the city (cf. discussion in 3.1.2.4). However, some of the informants or their family members came for the province of Treviso, i.e. an adjoining province north of Padua (see discussion in 4.4.7 - cf. map 1).

Informants were contacted and sampled through the association of migrants from the province of Padua in Melbourne. The researcher made preliminary inquiries about Paduan extended families who would be adequate for inclusion in the sample in terms of:

a) availability of three linguistic generations within the same extended family, i.e. the first generation (the grandparents), the second generation (the parents) and the third generation (the grandchildren - see 4.4.1-3);[321]

b) Veneto origin of the grandparents of at least one side of the family (preferably from Padua);

c) Italian origin of the non-Veneto grandparent (see 4.4.7)

d) age of the grandchildren (i.e. over 10).

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[320] However, as discussed in 4.3, the Italian participants were not asked to provide the same amount of background information as those in Australia.
[321] Throughout the rest of the thesis, 'the grandparents' refers to the first-generation informants, 'the parents' refers to the second-generation informants and 'the grandchildren' refers to the third-generation informants. See however the discussion of the generational subdivision of the sample in 4.4.2.

Map 1 Linguistic areas in the Veneto region with (source: Canepari, 1984:22) [322]

participants on occasion of the first visit to them. Other informants were recruited directly during the association committee meetings and social functions to which the researcher had been invited. Given the membership of the association and the nature of its activities, all first contacts with one exception were made with first-generation informants. The grandparents and some of the older grandparents in the sample were active members of the association. [323]

The prospective participants' perception of the position of the researcher in the Veneto-Australian community is believed to have been an important factor in this phase of the sampling, as well as throughout the fieldwork. Although at the beginning of fieldwork she had been in Australia for three and a half years, the researcher shared the grandparents' Veneto origin, had kept in contact with the home province through annual visits and was a native speaker of (a variety of) their dialect. [324] As such, the researcher enjoyed a privileged position among the first-generation prospective informants, who were eager to talk with her about their settlement experience in Australia, their places of origin and the way they had changed since they had left Italy or since their last visit. She had worked in a university and had a higher level of education than both the grandparents and parents. However, part of her academic work was already known to the older participants as she had translated into Italian a history of the Veneto associations in Australia [325] of which they were committee members and for which they had been interviewed.

The researcher therefore could introduce herself as the 'young woman from Padua' who had collaborated on the publication that had been distributed to the committee members of their association. She explained to them that in order to complete her university studies, she now needed their help to gather more information about their provincial group, which represented a source of pride to them. Rather than representing herself as a researcher, she

Permission to telephone prospective participants personally was obtained by the researcher through the association. Further contact names were obtained through prospective

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[322] 'VR'= Verona; 'VI'= Vicenza; 'PD'= Padova; 'RO'= Rovigo; 'TV'= Treviso; 'BL'= Belluno; 'Lad'= 'Ladino'; 'VE'= Venice; 'Lag'= Lagoon; 'Bu'= Burano (Venice); 'Ch'= Chioggia (Venice); 'FE'= Ferrara (Emilia-Romagna); 'MN'= Mantova (Lombdardy); 'TN'= Trento (Trentino–Alto Adige); 'BZ'= Bolzano (Trentino-Alto Adige); 'PN'= Pordenone (Friuli-Venezia Giulia).

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[323] A detailed history of Veneto migrants' associations in Australia is in Martinuzzi O'Brien et al. (1998) and Martinuzzi O'Brien (forthcoming). Members of the associations are mostly first-generation migrants. Their functions are only sometimes attended by the second generation and very young children. However, based on casual observations at the association through which the informants were sampled, Veneto was only used in the first generation and between the first and the second. Bettoni and Rubino (1996:68-9) found that more frequent visits to regional clubs did not influence use of English in the family, which remained quite high (between 45% and 47%). However, they influenced the use of dialect, which decreased among respondents who patronised regional clubs less frequently (52% 'always', 42% 'often', 41% 'infrequently', 36% 'never'), while Italian increased (3%, 14%, 17% and 17%, respectively).

[324] As observed in 3.2.2, scholars do not conceive of Italian 'dialects' as 'varieties' of Italian. As such, they can have their own varieties.

introduced herself as a 'student', such as their grandchildren were or would be. Furthermore, the researcher had worked as a language assistant in Melbourne primary and secondary schools. Her experience with the Australian education system provided her with common topics of interest to discuss with both the parents and the grandchildren themselves in the later stage of fieldwork. Besides asking informed questions or making informed comments about third-generation informants' life at school or at university, the researcher was in a position to satisfy the participants' curiosity about schools in Italy. Throughout the fieldwork, she was considered by all family members as a general 'expert' of things Italian as well as an objective observer in the frequently made comparisons between aspects of the way of living in the two countries.

The reaction to the researcher's initial invitation to participate in the study was one of general enthusiastic willingness to help her in whatever was asked of them. Grandparents (i.e. first-generation bilinguals) were asked to nominate younger members of their families, who would be interested in participating in the study. These family members were subsequently contacted by the researcher to explain what was involved and to obtain their informal consent. In one case, after consultation with the younger family members, the grandparents' initial enthusiasm turned into extreme suspicion and consent to participate was withdrawn. As discussed in 4.2, of the grandparents who had agreed to participate, four of the related extended families, and six family nuclei within them, took part in the study. The sample included two intra-regional and two inter-regional families. In the inter-regional families, only the grandparents and parents of Veneto origin participated. At least one representative for each of the three linguistic generations in each of the participating families were sampled, i.e. one of the grandparents from the Veneto region, the parent on the same side as the grandparent and one of the (grand)children over nine years of age.

In the first few contacts with the families, it emerged that all of them shared the following criteria:

e) all first-generation Veneto informants belonged to the same migration vintage (i.e. the 1950s – see 4.4.6);

f) none of the first-generation informants had made a conscious decision not to use any dialect/Italian with their own children or grandchildren (see 4.4.13);

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[325] I.e. Martinuzzi O'Brien et al. (1998).

g) none of the first-generation informants had spent a long period of time in Italy after the year of arrival to Australia;

h) none of the second-generation subjects had spent long periods of time in Italy as adults;

i) all third-generation participants had received formal Italian instruction (see 4.4.10).

On the first contacts with prospective participants the researcher explained that to complete her university studies she was conducting research on the way dialect and Italian were used in the families of Veneto origin in Melbourne. Prospective informants were made aware that the study focused on the grandchildren, that participation of at least one grandparent, one parent and one grandchild was needed, and that the speech of all of them would be recorded.

During fieldwork, the researcher tried to 'accommodate' to whatever language(s) the informants in the three generations chose to address her in.[326] This attempt had two objectives. It was felt that language itself was the vehicle through which the researcher could gain sufficient access among the older-generation participants thus obtaining their cooperation in keeping contacts with the whole family. At the same time, accommodation for the participants' speech was deemed to be instrumental in making them feel comfortable with their language choice. This factor was crucial for the implementation of the method that was designed for the collection of natural language data. As discussed in 4.5.1, this method relied on the participants' use of the language(s) they would 'habitually' use with the relevant interlocutors in the family. The researcher's language behaviour during fieldwork had to help them build a sense of 'trust' that her presence did *not* require them to modify their language.

On her first contact the researcher addressed all first-generation prospective informants in Veneto.[327] In all cases but one she continued to use this language in the communication with the grandparents throughout the whole fieldwork. In one family, in which the grandparents had indicated they used Italian with their own children and grandchildren (see 4.4.13), the researcher switched to Italian. While access to the extended families was gained through the first generation, in most cases it was the second-generation participant

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[326] See discussion of Giles' *accommodation theory* (Giles et al., 1977) in 2.1.2.

that had a fundamental mediating role between the first and the third generation in scheduling the fieldwork sessions included in the methodology. The researcher addressed second-generation prospective participants in the community language that the grandparents had reported using with them.

With two of the younger parents, the initial phase of the fieldwork was sometimes characterised by the switching of both of them between English and dialect. Use of English was triggered by the topic of the conversation, which revolved around the study in terms of a university degree as well as the researcher's experience in Melbourne. The researcher tried to "tune in to" the patterns of codeswitching these informants were constructing in their first few conversations with her and to make them feel comfortable with their language choice. Her use of English with these parents, who were just a few years older than her, was perceived to be important in establishing a "pseudo peer-group" relationship with younger second-generation participants. After this preliminary phase, in addressing the researcher, these second-generation participants tended to settle on a more regular selection of dialect, as conversations involved both second- and first-generation speakers.

The parents' role as an interface with the third generation was crucial. The parents explained to their children what was involved in their participation in the study and asked them whether they wanted to take part in it. Over the first few contacts as well as throughout fieldwork all third-generation participants apart from two of the older ones, who used some dialect and Italian, addressed the researcher only in English. Some of them would not understand her when she addressed them in dialect/Italian during preliminary conversations with them. Unlike Rubino (1987a – see 3.2.3), this researcher did not pretend she could not speak any English. Apart from during the elicitation sessions (see 4.5.2), the researcher accommodated to the younger speakers' language choice. Before the researcher's first visit some of them had assumed that she could not speak any English and confided to their mother that they were very relieved to find out that she actually could.

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[327] Here and throughout the thesis, 'Veneto' is used to indicate the 'Veneto dialect' the relevant speaker uses. Both Veneto and Italian are referred to in terms of 'languages' (cf. discussion in 3.1.2) and, in relation to the Australian context, as 'community languages' (cf. discussion in 2.0).

4.2 Sampling participants within the extended families

Informants from six family nuclei within four extended families were selected. Two families (i.e. A and B) were intra-regional and two were inter-regional (C and D, see 4.4.7). Seven groups of informants consisting of one grandparent, one parent, and one or two grandchildren were sampled (see table 10 below). As discussed in 4.5.1 below, within each group the grandparent was recorded while holding a conversation with both one of the parents and one of the grandchildren.

Nine grandchildren, seven parents and six grandparents were sampled in Australia. Apart from a criterion of minimum age (i.e. ten), selection of children in each family depended primarily on their willingness to participate. In all families more than one grandchild was available for inclusion. Five children from intra-regional marriages and four from inter-regional ones were sampled.

Table 10 Participating grandchildren, parents and grandparents within the four extended families.

Intra-Regional				Inter-Regional		
Family A		Family B		Family C		Family D
Maternal Gmother	Maternal Gmother	Paternal Gmother	Maternal Gmother	Paternal Gmother		Maternal Gmother
mother	mother	father	mother	father	father	mother
Gdaughter (informant 1)	Gdaughter (informant 2)	Gdaughter (informant 3)	Gson (informant 5)	Gdaughter (informant 6)	Gson (informant 7)	Gdaughter (informant 8)
		Gdaughter (informant 4)				Gson (informant 9)

In family B, where the children were of Paduan descent on both the maternal and the paternal side (see 4.4.7 below), all three siblings participated.[328] In extended family D two of four siblings were sampled. Within two extended families (A and C), one third-generation participant could be drawn from each of two different nuclei, i.e. the

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[328] The younger child was recorded while having a conversation with his maternal grandmother as the participants explained that he had virtually grown up with her (see 4.4.14 below). However, their paternal grandmother, with whom both older granddaughters were recorded, lived in the same house as the grandchildren's family.

participating grandchildren were cousins. In sum, the sample comprised nine third-generation informants among whom two groups of three and two siblings, respectively (i.e. families B and D), and two pairs of cousins (i.e. families A and C, respectively).

All participating grandparents as well as their spouses were born in Veneto. Only the parent on the side of the Paduan/Veneto grandparents participated in the study. Where possible the grandmother was selected for participation. Among Veneto-Australians women were found to be more conservative than men (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996 – see discussion in 2.2). A total of seven parents from six nuclei participated in the study. In family A, which was intra-regional, only the mothers were willing or eligible to participate in the study and were sisters-in-law.[329] As already mentioned, in the other intra-regional family B, both parents participated. In inter-regional family C the Veneto side of both informants' family nucleus was the paternal side. The participating parents in this family were brothers. In the other inter-regional family, i.e. D, the mother was the parent of Veneto origin. No other family nuclei within this extended family were available to participate.

The sample included six grandmothers, i.e. four maternal grandmothers and two paternal grandmothers. In family B, both the grandfather and the grandmother had initially been sampled. However, the grandfather withdrew his consent at the very beginning of fieldwork. Among the grandchildren, the sample comprised six females and three males.

In three families, i.e. A, C and D, relatives of the same 'demographic' generation residing in Italy could be recruited. The Italian control group included three grandmothers, three mothers, two grandsons and one granddaughter. With regard to family A, the Italian participants were directly related only to one nucleus. The sister-in-law of one of the grandmothers in Australia was recruited. Unfortunately, her brother could not participate owing to health reasons. However, the grandmothers in the two countries had known each other since they were very young. Italian extended family A still resided in the village of origin of the grandmother in Australia. Initially, Italian relatives of family B had also been contacted. However, once the researcher was in Italy, the grandmother's poor health did not allow her to participate.

As already mentioned, the Paduan grandfather in family C withdrew from participation in the study. However, his sister in Italy was included in the control group, together with her daughter and grandson. Thus, as in family A, the grandmother in Australia in family C was the sister-in-law of the grandmother in Italy. As far as family D was concerned, the grandmothers in the two samples were stepsisters. In each extended family in Australia, the participating parent was a cousin of the participating parent in Italy. The grandchildren were second cousins.

4.3 Collection of self-reported data

Informal, structured interviews were carried out over the first few visits to the families before the beginning of the recording sessions. The interviews were necessary to collect information about the background of the families in the sample.[330] No tape-recording was made but a data sheet (see Appendix A) was progressively filled out by the researcher. Notes were also taken about additional comments and anecdotes offered by the respondents. Questions were interspersed with long informal digressions about different topics as well as about the participants and the researcher's personal lives. The interviews were always conducted in the presence of more than one family member, very frequently at least one of the participating grandparents, parents and grandchildren. However, each of the participants were asked their own relevant questions. The parent and the grandparent and less frequently the youngest informants also provided data about the grandparents and the parent who did not take part in the study. Section 4.4 below gives a description of the characteristics of the sample according to the information that was collected through the interviews.

Self-reported socio-demographic data referred to the following factors:

1. year of birth;
2. place of birth;
3. year of arrival to Australia;
4. birth order;

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[329] As discussed in 4.4.1.-2 below, the father of informant 1 belonged to generation 1a, i.e. this grandchild occupied the generational stage in the third-generation continuum that was closest to the second generation.
[330] Some of the questions included in the interview were taken from Bettoni and Rubino (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996 – see discussion in 3.2.1.2)

5. profession (before migration, for the grandparents, and in Australia, for the parents and the grandparents);
6. years of schooling in Italy and/or in Australia;
7. years of formal Italian instruction in Australia (for parents and grandchildren);

As discussed in 4.4.13, data were gathered about what is here called the participants' 'self-reported family repertoire', i.e. the sum of all the languages claimed to be spoken in the family by the informants in the different generations:

8. language used by the grandchildren to address siblings, parents and grandparents on both sides of the family;
9. language used by the parents to address their spouses, children, parents and parents-in law;
10. language used by grandparents to address their spouses, children, children's in-laws and grandchildren

Other questions that were asked during the preliminary interviews were:

11. frequency with which the participating grandchildren had contact with the grandparents;[331]
12. frequency with which participating grandchildren were looked after by the grandparents when they were growing up.[332]

Informants were also invited to judge their own or their non-participating relatives' competence in spoken Veneto and Italian. A rating of the parents and the grandparents' proficiency in English was also recorded.[333] However, the grandchildren were asked to indicate how they rated their competence in Veneto and Italian in a separate session, i.e. as part of a written questionnaire which also included questions about their attitudes towards the community languages (see Appendix A). Four possible measures of the grandchildren's *attitudes* towards the community languages were also singled out, i.e. a) towards *speaking*

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[331] Frequency had to be indicated on a 4-level scale: 'never', 'sometimes', 'frequently' and 'very frequently'.

[332] The questions that were asked in Italy (1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 10) aimed to collect information about the participants' socio-economic background and use of Italian and dialect in the family.

[333] Self-assessed competence had to be indicated on a 4-level scale, i.e. 'very poor', 'poor', 'fair' and 'very good'.

Italian/Veneto; b) towards *being addressed* in Italian/Veneto; c) towards the *use* of Italian/Veneto in their *family*; d) towards *improving their competence* in Italian/Veneto.

The interactive method of collection of self-reported data during the interviews enabled the researcher to establish the degree of familiarity with the informants that was necessary for the collection of the natural language data in the later phase of the fieldwork (see 4.5). However, it was believed that questions about the competence in and attitudes towards the community languages might have elicited sensitive information, which the grandchildren might feel inhibited to express verbally to the researcher in the presence of the older family members. Furthermore, it was feared that the grandchildren's replies might be 'negotiated' by their parents and grandparents, who might suggest a more negative, although possibly more objective, assessment of the younger relatives' linguistic abilities. On the other hand, the older informants might have projected their desire for their younger relatives to use the community languages in over-optimistic evaluations of their language competence and attitudes.

A questionnaire was prepared for each community language. Each questionnaire was filled out by the informants on different visits to the family. Before handing it out, the researcher made sure that the informants had clearly understood to which community language the relevant questionnaire referred. Two informants (i.e. 5 and 9) were *not aware* of the existence of the dialect (originally) spoken by their Veneto grandparents as opposed to 'Italian'. In both cases, only the questionnaire about Italian was handed out. Furthermore, as explained in 4.5.2 below, these two informants did not participate in the Veneto elicitation session. What they labelled as 'Italian' referred both to language spoken in the family by the grandparents and to Italian as learned at school. One of these grandchildren came from an inter-regional family (i.e. D), whose self-reported repertoire included predominantly Italian, rather than Veneto (see discussion in 4.4.13 below). However, the family of the other 'Veneto-unaware' grandchild was intra-regional (i.e. family B) and its repertoire did not include *any* Italian. Therefore, it might be assumed that Italian school instruction was not even sufficient to make him aware of the differences between it and his older relatives' family language. In both cases, however, *loss of awareness* of the existence of Veneto might represent the last stage of language maintenance.

4.4 Characteristics of the participants

The demographic characteristics of the participants are summarised in this section. Table 10 above indicates the position of the selected participants within the structure of their respective extended families. Where necessary, throughout the discussion detailed tables summarise the distribution of individual factors in the sample.

4.4.1 Generation division in the present study

The division of linguistic generation used by Haugen (1953:334) adopted a primary criterion of "country of birth" and a secondary criterion of "age at arrival" to the host country. Haugen (1953:334) used the latter criterion to make a finer distinction between those who "immigrated before and after the age of 14, or whose parents immigrated before and after 14." Within the first generation, those who arrived in the host country "after their speech habits were formed" were called "1A generation", while those who came earlier were called "1B generation".

This more detailed categorisation allowed 1B generation bilinguals to be likened to those of 2A generation, i.e. those "whose parents immigrated after the age of 14, but who were themselves born in the United States" (Haugen, 1953:334). On the other hand, the 2B generation, i.e. the children of 1B generation, are in a similar linguistic position as the third and succeeding generation, "since their parents were subject to English influence in their childhood" (Haugen, 1953:334).[334]

Among the Italian-born parents in the present sample who arrived to Australia before the age of 14, the mothers in family A arrived to Australia when they were younger than six, i.e. aged five and two. Thus, they only received school instruction in the new country. The husband of one of them, on the other hand, arrived when he was older, i.e. at 11, and received two more years of schooling in Australia, but, like the other parents, no further formal instruction in Italian. As discussed in 3.1.1, school was often the only source of exposure to (Standard) Italian for many children growing up in the rural areas of Italy and Veneto in the 1940s and early 50s, i.e. like this parent in the present sample. Acquisition of

[334] For a review of studies of the 'critical age hypothesis' see e.g. Singleton and Lengyel (1995). Haugen's (1953:334) generational distinction has been extensively used, e.g. in Clyne (1972), Bettoni (1981a), Rubino (1987a).

(Standard) Italian on the part of dialect speakers had far-reaching consequences for the development of popular and regional varieties of Italian (see 3.1.2), which are considered the highest varieties in the repertoire of Italian migrants (see 3.2.2). Thus, with regard to the peculiar sociolinguistic situation post-war Italian migrants left behind, the age at migration in relation to *schooling* might be a determining factor for their initial Italian-dialect bilingualism, with possible further consequences for language maintenance in Australia. This was also the situation of one of the non-Veneto grandparents in family D, who, however, belonged to an earlier vintage, i.e. the second decade of the 20th century.[335]

An extension of Haugen's division of linguistic generations is proposed here, which, in addition to *psycholinguistic* factors pertaining to the fixation of speech habits, considers the *sociolinguistic* factors indicated above, which are specific of Italian migrants. In the present generational categorisation, 'generation 1B' does not include the informants in the sample who arrived to Australia without having received any school instruction in Italy, and thus most likely no substantial exposure to (Standard) Italian. These are called 'generation 1c'.[336] The generational division proposed here is more aptly referred to in terms of a *continuum* on which, from the point of view of their relative acquisition of *Italian*, speakers of generation 1c are closer to generation 2A than 1B.[337] Considering the

[335] With regard to schooling in the new country, age at arrival is, of course, relevant also for other migrant languages, but was not taken into account in Haugen's (1953:334) categorisation. The number of years of education in Italy among speakers of generation 1A is also relevant, but was not included as a criterion for the generational division of the informants in the present sample. In Bettoni and Rubino's sample (1996:65) language maintenance in the family domain seemed to be promoted by a low *level of education* in the first generation. Use of Italian and English was promoted by a longer period of study. However, in the second generation both Italian and dialect benefited from a higher level of education (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996: 65, 188, table 1). Thus, use of *Italian* increased with the number of years of education in both generations, i.e. in the first generation, 21% among those who left school when they were aged under 12, 23% for those who did when aged 12-16, and 32% for those aged 17+; for the second generation, 8% among those who left school aged 16- and 12% among those who did when aged 17+. Among Bettoni and Rubino's (1996) more educated first-generation respondents, a more frequent use of Italian was accompanied also by a higher shift to English (19, 29 and 46%, respectively) and a decrease in the use of dialect (60, 48 and 23%, respectively). The opposite was found to be the case in the second generation (72 and 63%, respectively for English; and 20 and 25%, respectively for dialect). However, as already observed in 2.2, there are no sufficient data to determine the general effect of level of education on the maintenance of community languages in the whole of Australia.

[336] Lower case 'c' is used to differentiate the generational stage here proposed within the division proposed by Haugen (1953:334), who used capital letters.

[337] In describing the evolution of emigrant languages, Gonzo and Saltarelli (1983 – see discussion in 2.4.1) also referred to a continuum, although in terms of the stages of the speakers' linguistic competency. While each of these stages was associated with a different linguistic generation, the authors (Gonzo and Saltarelli, 1983) allowed for the possibility of individual speakers to fall anywhere along the continuum. However, in the present study 'linguistic' factors were not taken into consideration as criteria for a generational division. The general aim of this study is to describe the speech of the participants, and not vice versa. Shortfalls

younger generations, the generational division in the present sample of informants includes the following stages:

- 1A, i.e. informants born in Italy and arrived in Australia at the age of 15+
- 1B, i.e. informants born in Italy and arrived in Australia at the age of 6+
- 1c, i.e. informants born in Italy and arrived in Australia at the age of 5-
- 2A, i.e. informants born in Australia, with at least one parent of generation 1A
- 2B, i.e. informants born in Australia, with at least one parent of generation 1B
- 2c, i.e. informants born in Australia, with at least one parent of generation 1c
- 3A, i.e. informants born in Australia, with at least one parent of generation 2A (and one grandparent of generation 1A)
- 3B, i.e. informants born in Australia, with at least one parent of generation 2B (and one grandparent of generation 1B)
- 3c, i.e. informants born in Australia, with at least one parent of generation 2c (and one grandparent of generation 1c).

4.4.2 Generation

Table 11 below illustrates the distribution of the participants on the generational continuum. The numbers assigned to the informants (i.e. 1 to 9) is consistent with the generational stage they occupied (i.e. from those closest to the second generation to those closest to the fourth).[338] The generational position of the informants takes into account that of both their mother and father, respectively.

Five grandchildren (no. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7) belonged to generation 3a on both sides of the family. The other four young informants occupied stages at the extremes of the third-generation continuum. Two of them (1 and 2) belonged to generation 2c on the maternal side, their mothers having arrived to Australia at the age of 5 and 1.8 years, respectively (cf. discussion above). On the paternal side, subject 1 belonged to the second generation

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inherent to a generational division based solely on the criterion of "place of birth" have been highlighted by studies dealing with the influence of 'birth order' within the second generation (e.g. Bettoni, 1986 – see 3.2.3 and 44.4 below). However, birth order was not considered in the generational division adopted in the present study.
[338] As already mentioned in 4.1, for ease of reference throughout the thesis, younger participants are collectively referred to as the 'grandchildren' or the 'third generation', as opposed to the 'parents' or 'second generation' and the 'grandchildren' or 'first generation'. However, as table 11 shows, the speakers' generation at the extremes of the continuum as defined here does not always correspond to the relative degree of kinship.

(generation 2A) since her father arrived in Australia as an adult. Informant 2 was classified as generation 2B since her father migrated when he was 11. Two grandchildren (i.e. 8 and 9) were collocated at other the end of the continuum, which borders with the fourth generation. Their mothers belonged to generation 2A, i.e. they were born in Australia to Italian-born parents who migrated to Australia as adults (generation 1a). The subjects' fathers, however, belonged to generation 2B on the maternal side and 2c on the paternal side.

Table 11 Generational structure of the participating grandchildren's families[339]

Family		GC	M	F	Mat.GM	Mat.GF	Pat.GM	Pat.GF
Intra-regional	1	2c/2A	1c (5)	1A	1A	1A	---	---
	2	2c/2B	1c (1.5)	1B (11)	1A	1A	1A	1A
	3	3A/3A	2A	2A	1A	1A	1A	1A
	4	3A/3A	2A	2A	1A	1A	1A	1A
	5	3A/3A	2A	2A	1A	1A	1A	1A
Inter-regional	6	3A/3A	*2A*	*2A*	*1A*	*1A*	1A	1A
	7	3A/3A	*2A*	*2A*	*1A*	*1A*	1A	1A
	8	3A/3B-3c	2A	2B/2c	1A	1A	*1B (12)*	*1c (3)*
	9	3A/3B-3c	2A	2B/2c	1A	1A	*1B (12)*	*1c (3)*

Besides reflecting the informants' relative generational stage, their number also indicates their collocation on the generational continuum *in relation to the Veneto origin* of their grandparents. The informants positioned on the first half of the continuum, i.e. from stages 2c/2A to 3A (informants 1-5) were children of intra-regional marriages. Those in the second half of the continuum, i.e. from stages 3A to 3A/3B-3c (informants 6-9), had one parent of non-Veneto descent.

In terms of the 'Veneto generational continuum', two of the grandchildren (i.e. 1 and 2) could thus be described as Veneto-Australians of generation 2c on the maternal side, and earlier stages on the paternal side. Three of the grandchildren (i.e. 3-5) were Veneto-Australians of generation 3A on both sides of their family. Informants 6-9 were Veneto-Australians of generation 3A one side of their family, but had different regional origins on

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[339] Figures in brackets indicate age at arrival. Throughout the chapter, 'Pat.' and 'Mat.' stand for 'paternal' and 'maternal', respectively. 'GC', 'M', 'F', 'GM' and 'GF' stand for 'grandchildren', 'mother', 'father', 'grandmother' and 'grandfather', respectively. The generational stage that refers to non-Veneto family members is indicated in italics.

the other side. Additionally, on the non-Veneto side of their families, informants 8 and 9 also belonged to later generational stages than 3A (i.e. 3B-3c). The correlation analysis (see 6.4) considered both the generational stage of the informants in terms of the country and the region of origin of their older relatives.

4.4.3 Age and generation

As table 12 shows, age spread among the nine grandchildren in the sample was rather wide (12-26). Six of the young informants were evenly distributed from an age of 12 to 15 while the remaining four were over 18. The six subjects in the 12-15 age group were clustered around the middle and later stages of the third-generation continuum (i.e. 3a-3c – cf. table no. 3). An older age, however, did not always correspond to an earlier generational stage. The oldest grandchildren in the sample (nos. 1, 2, and 9) were actually positioned at the opposite extremes of the continuum (2c/2a, 2c/2b and 3a/3b3c respectively).

Table 12 Participating grandchildren's generational stage and age

Generation	GC	Age														
		12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
2c/2a	1															x
2c/2b	2													x		
3a	3							x								
3a	4				x											
3a	5		x													
3a	6			x												
3a	7	x														
3a/3b3c	8													x		
3a/3b3c	9				x											

4.4.4 Birth order

While the effect of birth order on the competence in Italian has been studied only within the second generation (e.g. Bettoni, 1986), this factor might also be relevant within the third generation. Furthermore, its effect might extend from the second generation into the third as a result of the parents' birth order, especially when it determines the stage which the parents occupy on the generational continuum, e.g. in family A in the present sample (see Appendix B).

As table 13 shows, the relative birth order of the subjects in relation to both their generational collocation and their parents' birth order was very heterogeneous and did not lend itself to statistical comparisons across the sample.

Table 13 Participating grandchildren and parents' birth order

Family	Grandchildren			Parents		
	First-born	Interm.	Last-born	First-born	Interm.	Last-born
A		1			Mother	
			2		Mother	Father
B	3	4	5	Mother		Father
C	6				Mother	Father
	7					Mother, Father
D	8		9			Mother, Father

4.4.5 Age and birth order

In all the family nuclei in the sample the father was the same age or older than the mother, and the mother had had her first child in her early/mid-twenties. The grandchildren's age reflected their birth order in relation to the age of the parents. Younger informants were the first-born children in young family nuclei or the later-born in older ones. Conversely, subjects in the young adults' group were the first-born in older nuclei or the later-born in the oldest nuclei in the sample (cf. table no. 13). Three subjects in the 10-15 age group (nos. 3, 4 and 8) were the first-born of couples in their thirties (families B and C). The remaining subjects in the younger age group (nos. 6, 7 and 10) were the later-born of couples in their early (family C) and mid/late forties (family D), respectively; in the same nuclei, first-born children (aged 18 and 23, respectively) belonged to the young adults' group. The two remaining subjects in the older age group (aged 26 and 23) were the intermediate and last-born, respectively, of couples in their late forties/mid fifties.

In family A, the age of the grandparents was or would have been between the late seventies and early nineties and that of the children (the parents and their siblings) between the late forties and fifties. In family B and D the grandparents were in their mid-sixties/mid-seventies and their own children were in their forties/early fifties.[340] Family C was the

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[340] The grandparents on the non-Veneto side of family D would be in their eighties but their older age was counterbalanced by the fact that they had their children relatively late in comparison to all other grandparents (in their early thirties as opposed to their mid twenties).

youngest in the sample, i.e. the grandparents were in their early sixties and their own children in their thirties/early forties. As already discussed (3.1.6, 3.2.1.1 and 3.2.1.2), age was found to be a relevant factor in the use of dialect and Italian in both Italy and Australia. The age of the parents and the grandparents might have an effect on the relative maintenance of the community languages in the third generation in the migration context. Table 14 reports the age of the third-generation informants in the study and the average age of their parents and grandparents.

Table 14 Age of the grandchildren and average age of their parents and grandparents [341]

Family	Grandchildren		Parents (average)	Grandparents (average)
A	1	26	48.50	89.50
	2	24	52.50	85.50
B	3	18	41.00	71.00
	4	15	41.00	71.00
	5	13	41.00	71.00
C	6	14	36.50	64.25
	7	12	33.00	63.75
D	8	23	47.00	70.00
	9	15	47.00	70.00

Within each extended family, the age of the participating grandchildren in the sample in Australia and in Italy, respectively, was comparable, and so was that of the parents and grandparents (see table 15 below).

Table 15 Age of the Italian grandchildren and average age of their parents and grandparents

Italian Family	Italian Grandchildren		Italian Parents (average)	Italian Grandparents (average)
A It.	1/2 It.	23	48.00	83.50
C It.	6/7 It.	11	36.00	65.60
D It.	8/9 It.	20	47.50	73.00

4.4.6 Vintage

With one exception, all grandparents in the sample migrated to Australia in the Fifties. As already mentioned above (4.4.1), the non-Veneto grandparents in families D arrived in

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[341] The age of the non-Veneto grandparents in family D was not considered.

Australia during the first two decades of the century (i.e. in 1913 and 1926). However, they had limited contact with the grandchildren since the grandmother died when the last-born child (subject no. 9) was only 4 and the first-born (subjects no. 8) was fourteen (the grandfather died before the oldest child was born). In the rest of the sample, vintage of migration of the grandparents was reflected in their relative age (see 4.4.3).

4.4.7 Region of birth of grandparents

As discussed in 4.4.1 above, in the present sample the region of origin of the grandparents was included as a function of the grandchildren's relative position on the generational continuum. In families A and B both the maternal and the paternal grandparents were Veneto. The non-Veneto grandparents in family C and D came from Puglia (informant 6), Lazio (informant 7) and Basilicata (informants 8 and 9), respectively (see table 16 and map 1). The paternal grandmother of the young informants in family C (i.e. 6 and 7) as well as informant 1's father, who belonged to generation 1A (see 4.4.2 above), came from the province of Treviso, north of the province of Padua (cf. map 1). All the Veneto-born speakers in the extended families involved in the study came from or lived in the area that stretches between the city of Padua and Treviso, i.e. the northern part of the province of Padua and the south-eastern part of the province of Treviso. Among the Veneto grandparents, those in family D were the only ones that came from a more urban area, at the outskirts of Padua, rather than from a village in the countryside. In sum, the sample in Australia consisted of four families of Veneto origin, i.e. two of Paduan/Treviso origin and two of Paduan origin. One of the latter came from a more urban setting than all the others.[342]

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[342] The dialect of all Veneto-born speakers in the extended families involved in the study are 'Veneto' dialects (cf. map 1). Veneto dialects are subdivided into four groups. The Paduan dialect belongs to the *'southern'* (Pellegrini, 1977:29) or *'central'* group (Mioni, 1976; Zamboni, 1977, 1979). This group has also been referred to as 'Paduan-Vicentino-Polesano' (Pellegrini, 1977:29) or 'Paduan-Polesano' (Trumper, 1972), from the geographical areas in which it is spoken, i.e. Padua, Vicenza and 'Polesine', i.e. the southern area of the region that comprises also part of the province of 'Rovigo'. This is considered the most representative of Veneto dialects (Pellegrini, 1977:29). The dialects spoken in Treviso, Belluno and 'Feltre' (i.e. a town in the province of Belluno) form the *'central-northern'* group of Veneto dialect (Pellegrini, 1977:29). The other two groups of Veneto dialects are the 'lagoonal' or 'Venetian' (i.e. of Venice) and the 'Veronese' (i.e. of 'Verona', Pellegrini, 1977:29). Whilst some differences between Paduan and Trevisano had to be taken into consideration in the analysis of the language data (see e.g. 5.2.7), they did not represent a challenge for the researcher's linguistic abilities and did not thwart her investigation.

The informants in the three families in the control group lived in the participating grandparents' village of origin or nearby. As already reported (4.2), the Paduan grandfather in family C, whose sister in Italy was included in the control group, withdrew his consent to participate after the beginning of fieldwork. However, by coincidence his sister's spouse was also from a village in the province or Treviso, which is where she had moved when she got married. This village was very close to the one in which the grandmother in Australia had grown up. The relatives of family D still lived at the periphery of Padua. Those of family A still lived in the village where one of the grandmothers in Australia had grown up. Again, her brother's wife was from a nearby village in the province of Treviso.[343]

Table 16 Grandparents' place of birth/residence

Family	Gchild no.	Mat. GMother	Mat. GFather	Pat. GMother	Pat. GFather
A	1	Padua	Padua	Treviso	Treviso
	2	Padua	Padua	Padua	Padua
	1/2 Italy	Treviso	Padua	Padua	Padua
B	3, 4, 5	Padua	Padua	Padua	Padua
C	6	Puglia	Puglia	Treviso	Padua
	7	Lazio	Lazio	Treviso	Padua
	6/7 Italy	Padua	Treviso	Treviso	Treviso
D	8, 9	Padua	Padua	Basilicata	Basilicata
	8/9 Italy	Padua	Padua	Padua	Padua

4.4.8 Profession

With few exceptions, mostly in family C, the sample was broadly comparable in terms of the older relatives' profession. All grandparents but one had either a farming or working class background, both before and after migration to Australia. Before migrating, the Veneto grandfather in family D was part of the army.[344] He was the only Veneto grandparent in the sample that had not been employed in farming or labouring type of work in Italy. Once in Australia, the majority of the grandparents in the sample continued to be employed in similar activities. However, some owned shops and some of the grandmothers who used to work in Italy stopped after migration. At the time of the

[343] However, the grandparents that were not related to the informants in Australia also came from the city, which reflected in the self-reported language (see 4.4.13 below).
[344] That is, he was part of the army police corps called 'Carabinieri'.

fieldwork all surviving grandparents but one were pensioners. Before migration to Australia, this grandfather, who at the time of the fieldwork was no longer alive, had spent time working in Belgium.

Table 17 Grandparents and parents' profession

Family	GC no.		In Italy	In Australia
A	1	Mat. GM	Labourer	Housewife
		Mat. GF	Labourer	Labourer
		Pat. GM	n/a	n/a
		Pat. GF	n/a	n/a
		Mother		Housewife
		Father		Labourer
	2	Mat. GM	Farmer	Farmer/Labourer
		Mat. GF	Farmer	Farmer/Labourer
		Pat. GM	Labourer	Housewife
		Pat. GF	Labourer	Labourer
		Mother		Clerical worker
		Father		Shopkeeper
B	3	Mat. GM	Labourer	Housewife
		Mat. GF	Miner	Labourer
	4	Pat. GM	Labourer	Labourer
	5	Pat. GF	Tradesman	Tradesman/Labourer
		Mother		Clerical worker
		Father		Business Owner
C	6	Mat. GM	---	Shop Owner
		Mat. GF	Farmer	Shop Owner
		Pat. GM	---	Seamstress/Labourer/Guesthouse Owner
		Pat. GF	Farmer	Labourer/ Guesthouse Owner
		Mother		Shop Owner
		Father		Tradesman
	7	Mat. GM	Farmer	Labourer
		Mat. GF	Farmer	Labourer
		Pat. GM	---	Seamstress/Labourer/Guesthouse Owner
		Pat. GF	Farmer	Labourer/Guesthouse Owner
		Mother		Hairdresser/Clerical worker
		Father		Labourer
D		Mat. GM	---	Cleaner/Cook/Shop Owner
		Mat. GF	Army	Labourer/Shop Owner
	8	Pat. GM	---	Housewife
	9	Pat. GF	---	Musician
		Mother		Shop Owner
		Father		Professional/Shop Owner

In family D, the paternal, non-Veneto grandfather who belonged to generation 1c (see discussion in 4.4.2 above) was a violinist. The father in this family was the only one who had tertiary education and worked as a professional, besides owning a shop with the

mother. However, other parents in the sample owned shops or small businesses. In comparison to the grandparents, most of the second-generation informants had, in general, moved away from employment in labouring and farming to clerical jobs, shop keeping and self-employment.[345]

Informants in the control group were employed in similar professional categories to their relatives in Italy (see table 18). However, one of the two older grandchildren was working in a factory. Moreover, as reported below, neither of them had a tertiary degree. Before starting her own business, the mother in Italian family C had also worked as a labourer.

Table 18 Italian participants' profession

Italian Family		Participant	Profession
	Italian Gchild no.		
A It.	1/2 It.	Mat. GM	Farmer
		Mat. GF	Cleaner
		Pat. GM	Housewife
		Pat. GF	Labourer
		Mother	Labourer
		Father	Truck driver
		Gchild	Clerical
C It.	6/7 It.	Mat. GM	Farmer/housewife
		Mat. GF	Farmer/labourer
		Pat. GM	Labourer
		Pat. GF	Labourer
		Mother	Business owner
		Father	Business owner
		Gchild	N/a
D It.	8/9 It.	Mat. GM	Cleaner
		Mat. GF	Labourer
		Pat. GM	Cleaner
		Pat. GF	Labourer
		Mother	Clerical
		Father	Cleaner
		Gchild	Labourer

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[345] This movement was relatively consistent with the census data briefly discussed in 1.0. As already observed in 2.2, furthermore, both the census data and those provided by Bettoni and Rubino (1996:66) do not show a clear correlation to occupation/socio-economic status and shift.

4.4.9 Education

As discussed above (4.4.1), schooling in Italy is likely to have been a critical factor for the exposure to (Standard) Italian among the Italian-born relatives of the grandchildren. Older grandparents, i.e. in family A (see 4.4.3 above), had left school earlier than those in the rest of the sample, who had all completed primary school (i.e. five years). Two others had also attended some years at junior high school.

The grandparents who had attended school for the longest period of time, i.e. 12 years, were the paternal grandfather in family B and the paternal grandmother in family C. The former had received post-primary education in a seminary. This was reflected in the high level of proficiency in Italian that the participating family members attributed to him. After primary school, the paternal grandmother in family C, like many girls in that period, had studied sewing and home economics. As discussed in 4.4.2, the non-Veneto grandparents in family D came to Australia when they were children during the first two decades of the 20th century. The grandfather, who was a violinist, had studied music at tertiary level in Australia.

Table 19 Grandparents and parents' education (years)

Family			GM	GF		Mother	Father	
	GC no.		Italy	Italy	Australia	Australia	Italy	Australia
A	1	Mat.	3	3	0	8	8	0
	2	Mat.	3	3	0	10	4	2
		Pat.	3	3	0			
B	3, 4, 5	Mat.	5	5	0	12	0	12
		Pat.	5	12	0			
C	6	Mat.	5	5	0	10	0	10
		Pat.	12	7	0			
	7	Mat.	5	5	0	12	0	9
		Pat.	12	7	0			
D	8, 9	Mat.	8	5	0	12	0	15
		Pat.	5	0	15			

The father in both nuclei in family A, had attended school in Italy (see 4.4.1 above). All the parents in the sample had received some years of education at a post-primary level.

Four of them had completed high school, and one of them, again in family C, had a university degree.

Education among the grandchildren closely reflected their age. However, of the older grandchildren in the sample, informants 1 and 8 (aged 26 and 23, respectively) had tertiary education, informant 3 (aged 18) was just starting a university course and informant 2 (aged 24) had completed high school.

Informant 1 was a mainstream primary school teacher, although four years before the fieldwork she had taught Italian for six months. As reported below (4.4.9), she was the only informant in the sample who had received Italian instruction at a tertiary level. Informant 2 was an employment consultant. Informant 8 was working as a business manager while pursuing further tertiary studies. All other grandchildren were of school age.

The participants in the control group had a similar level of education as their same-generation relatives in Australia (table 20). The older grandchildren (aged 23 and 20, respectively) had secondary education. The youngest (aged 11) was still attending school.

Table 20 Italian participants' education (years)

Italian family			Italian parents		Italian Maternal Gparents		Italian Paternal Gparents	
	Italian Gchild no.	Italian Gchild	Mother	Father	Gmother	Gfather	Gmother	Gfather
A It.	1/2 It.	13	5	8	5	3	3	3
C It.	6/7 It.	*N/a	8	8	5	3	5	5
D It.	8/9 It.	13	8	6	5	3	3	3

4.4.10 Formal instruction in Italian

All grandchildren in the sample had studied Italian at school and most of the children had done so from primary school. The informants of school age were still receiving formal Italian instruction. Among the older ones, informants 3 and 8 had studied Italian for most or the whole school cycle. Informant 1 had been taught Italian at a tertiary level. Informant 2 had only studied it for four years at high school.

Table 21 Formal instruction in Italian (years)[346]

Family	Inf. No.	Grandchildren	Mother	Father
A	1	12	0	N/a
	2	4	2 months	0
B	3	11		
	4	10	1.5	0
	5	6		
C	6	8	7	5
	7	6	7	0
D	8	12	0	5
	9	8		

4.4.11 Self-assessed competence[347]

All grandparents but those who came to Australia as small children, i.e. the non-Veneto grandparents in family D (see 4.4.2 above), believed they had a very good knowledge of Veneto or the Italian dialect of their region of origin (see table 22).[348] On the other hand, in the first generation, only childhood bilinguals, i.e. in family D, were thought to have spoken English very well. Among grandparents of generation 1A, furthermore, the oldest ones, i.e. in family A (see 4.4.3 above) considered their proficiency in the host language to be very poor. These grandparents arrived in Australia at an older age than the others in the sample, which might have been a factor in their self-assessed competence in English. With the exception of the one grandmother in family C, all other grandparents claimed they had a fair knowledge of English.[349]

Self-assessments of competence in Italian, which ranged between the two higher levels (i.e. fair and very good), were not evenly distributed, even among the grandparents in the same family. However, self-assessed competence in Italian was fair among all the older grandparents as well as those of generation 1B and 1c. With regard to the former, the

[346] The table does not consider the level at which the informants received formal instruction.

[347] Only speaking abilities were considered.

[348] As mentioned in 4.3 above, participating family members gave an evaluation of the linguistic competence of other relatives. For simplification, 'self-assessed competence' is used to refer to all 'assessments', whether given by the relevant informant on his/her own competence or on that of a relative.

[349] However, in the case of the maternal grandfather in family D, this level of competence was not consistent with the fact that he was reported to need his daughter to interpret between him and his son-in-law, who mainly spoke English.

earlier historical period in which they grew up might have determined their shorter schooling (cf. 4.4.9 above) and their lower perceived proficiency in Italian.[350]

Table 22 Grandparents' self-assessed competence

Family	Grandchild no.	Grandparents		Veneto[351]	Italian	English
A	1	Maternal	Gmother	Very good	Fair	Very Poor
			Gfather	Very good	Fair	Very Poor
		Paternal	Gmother	N/A	N/A	N/A
			Gfather	N/A	N/A	N/A
	2	Maternal	Gmother	Very good	Fair	Very Poor
			Gfather	Very good	Fair	Very Poor
		Paternal	Gmother	Very good	Fair	Very Poor
			Gfather	Very good	Fair	Very Poor
B	3, 4, 5	Maternal	Gmother	Very good	Very good	Poor
			Gfather	Very good	Fair	Fair
		Paternal	Gmother	Very good	Fair	Fair
			Gfather	Very good	Very good	Fair
C	6	Maternal	Gmother	Very good	Very good	Fair
			Gfather	Very good	Very good	Fair
	7	Maternal	Gmother	Very good	Very good	Fair
			Gfather	Very good	Very good	Fair
	6, 7	Paternal	Gmother	Very good	Fair	Fair
			Gfather	Very good	Fair	Fair
D	8, 9	Maternal	Gmother	Very good	Very good	Fair
			Gfather	Very good	Very good	Fair
		Paternal	Gmother	Fair	Fair	Very good
			Gfather	Fair	Fair	Very good

A similar pattern was found in the parents' judgements (see table 23). A very high level of proficiency in the relevant dialect was indicated by all parents but the youngest ones (i.e. in family C) and the one positioned in the later stages of the second generation (i.e. in family D). Vice versa, only the parents belonging to generation 1B and 1A (see 4.4.3) thought their competence in English was fair rather than very good as among the rest of the parents. Self-assessed competence in Italian varied between a fair and a very good level with the exception of the father in intra-regional family B, who considered his Italian to be poor.

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[350] One of the grandmothers in family A (i.e. maternal for informant 1 and paternal for informant 2) had never worked in Australia, which might have reduced her opportunities to speak English from Australian colleagues or Italian from Italian colleagues from different regions (cf. table 16). However, this was not a distinctive factor of this family.

Table 23 Parents' self-assessed competence

Family	Grandchild no.	Parent	Veneto[352]	Italian	English
A.	1	Mother	Very good	Fair	Very good
		Father	Very good	Fair	Fair
	2	Mother	Very good	Fair	Very good
		Father	Very good	Very good	Fair
B	3, 4, 5	Mother	Very good	Fair	Very good
		Father	Very good	Poor	Very good
C	6	Mother	Fair	Very good	Very good
		Father	Fair	Fair	Very good
	7	Mother	Fair	Very good	Very good
		Father	Fair	Fair	Very good
D	8, 9	Mother	Very good	Very good	Very good
		Father	Very poor	Fair	Very good

The third-generation informants generally considered their Italian to be better than their Veneto (see table 24). Only one informant, i.e. informant 3 in the intra-regional B, thought that both her Veneto and her Italian were very poor. Similarly, informant 2's self-assessed competence of the two community languages was poor and very poor, respectively. All other grandchildren believed they had a fair level of proficiency of at least Italian, or both Italian and Veneto.[353]

Table 24 Grandchildren's self-assessed competence

Family	Grandchild no.	Veneto	Italian
A	1	Fair	Fair
	2	Poor	Very Poor
B	3	Very Poor	Very Poor
	4	Fair	Fair
	5	N/A	Fair
C	6	Fair	Fair
	7	Poor	Fair
D	8	Very Poor	Fair
	9	N/A	Fair

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[351] Veneto or the dialect spoken by non-Veneto grandparents.

[352] Or the dialect spoken by non-Veneto grandparents.

[353] Issues pertaining to the relationship between language proficiency and use are discussed in 2.1.2, 2.2.1 and 2.4.1. Bettoni and Rubino (1996:66-7 – see discussion in 3.2.1.2) found that while use of English, Italian and dialect varied according to their respondents' self-reported *level of competence*, to an equal level of competence corresponded a higher use of English, both in the first and the second generations. However, while in the second generation the decrease in competence and use was relatively regular for all three languages, in the first generation use of dialect was heavily 'penalised' by a less than optimal proficiency (from 56% to 17%, respectively) and was abandoned altogether if competence was scarce and minimal. Italian, however, did not seem to be affected as strongly by the informant's reported level of competence (30%, 19% 10% and 5%, respectively) (Bettoni and Rubino 1996:66-7; 188-9, table 1).

4.4.12 Attitudes

Table 25 reports the answers about attitudes towards the languages included in the short questionnaire the grandchildren were asked to fill out.[354] Questions referred to the informants' attitudes towards a) speaking the relevant community language, b) being addressed in it, c) its use in their family and d) improving their competence in it.[355]

The most negative attitudes were expressed towards speaking the community languages, which some of the grandchildren 'hated' doing. The same informants 'did not like' being addressed in either or both Veneto and Italian. In comparison to the attitudes towards the active use of the languages, attitudes towards a passive exposure were, in general, more positive.

Table 25 Grandchildren's attitudes

Family	Gchild no.	Language	Attitudes towards			
			Speaking	Being Addressed	Importance of family use	Improving Competence
A	1	Italian	love	it's good	extremely	love
		Veneto	love	love	important	Would be good
	2	Italian	hate	don't like	no	Would be good
		Veneto	it's good	it's good	extremely	love
B	3	Italian	hate	don't like	no	indifferent
		Veneto	hate	don't like	no	indifferent
	4	Italian	it's good	it's good	important	Would be good
		Veneto	it's good	it's good	no	Would be good
	5	Italian	don't like	it's good	important	love
		Veneto	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
C	6	Italian	it's good	it's good	important	Would be good
		Veneto	it's good	it's good	no	Would be good
	7	Italian	it's good	love	extremely	love
		Veneto	don't like	it's good	important	love
D	8	Italian	it's good	it's good	extremely	love
		Veneto	don't like	don't like	no	indifferent
	9	Italian	it's good	it's good	important	it's good
		Veneto	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

The grandchildren's attitudes were not always consistent over the four measures employed. In particular, positive attitudes towards speaking or being addressed in the languages did

[354] Language attitudes in the context of language maintenance are discussed in 2.2.
[355] See questionnaire in Appendix A.

not always correspond to the opinion that their use in their family was important. On the other hand, a positive attitude towards improving their competence in the languages was sometimes accompanied by negative attitudes in relation to all other measures. Attitudes towards Veneto and Italian, respectively, did not necessarily depend on the intra- vs. inter-regional status of the family.

4.4.13 Self-reported family repertoire

As already mentioned, the term 'family repertoire' is here used to indicate the maximal active repertoire of the entire extended family *based on its members' self-reported language choice*, regardless of their own generation or that or their interlocutors. This notion is introduced to account for two levels of 'language exposure' or 'language input' the third-generation informants might have received in this domain. Language exposure or input is here intended both in terms of '*direct* exposure', i.e. through direct face-to-face communication with the relevant family members, and '*indirect* exposure', i.e. to the communication between other family members. As argued in 2.4.2, *both* levels might be determining in creating a sense of 'intergenerational continuity' in the grandchildren, and more successful language maintenance. Tables 26-28 report the informants' self-reported language use according to the interlocutor in the family. Data pertaining to the Italian participants are reported in tables 29-31 at the end of the present sub-section.

Self-reported language choice in the family was closely consistent with the generational position of the informants and their relatives (see 4.4.3 above). Only *parents* in family A, who belonged to generation IA-1c, used (some) Veneto with the relatives of *all* generations, i.e. not only to address the grandparents, but also for communication between themselves as well as with the children. Furthermore, the later generation stage of the father in the second nucleus in this family (i.e. IB vs. IA) was reflected in his use of English, which he reported using as frequently as Veneto to address his children. Perhaps as a result of the later generation to which this father belonged, informant 2's mother indicated that she used less Veneto to address both him and her children than the mother in the other nucleus did. Nevertheless, the mother of both informants occupied the same stage on the generational continuum, i.e. 1c. Finally, in comparison to her cousin, informant 2 claimed she used relatively more Veneto for communication with both her mother and her father, respectively. Overall, the repertoire of this family was relatively close to that of

their relatives in the village of origin in Veneto, among whom Veneto was consistently used by all generations with all interlocutors in the family. [356]

Table 26 Self-reported language choice between parents and grandparents

Family			Maternal grandparents		Paternal grandparents	
	Gchild no.	Parent to Gparent	Gmother to Parent	Gfather to Parent	Gmother to Parent	Gfather to Parent
A	1		V	V	[V]	[V]
		Mother	V	V	[V]	[V]
			V	V	[V]	[V]
		Father	V	V	[V]	[V]
	2		V	V	V	V
		Mother	V	V	V	V
			V	V	V	V
		Father	V	V	V	V
B	3, 4, 5		V	V	V	V
		Mother	V	V	V	V
			V	V	V	V
		Father	V	V	V	V
C	6		I/(D)/(E)	I/(D)/(E)	I	I
		Mother	I/(D)/(E)	I/(D)/(E)	I/(E)	I/(E)
			I/(E)	I/(E)	V	V
		Father	I/(E)	I/(E)	V/I	V/I
	7		D/I	D/I	I	I
		Mother	D/I	D/I	I	I
			D/I	D/I	V	V
		Father	I	I	V/(E)	V/(E)
D	8, 9		I/(V)	V/I	E	E
		Mother	I/(V)	I/(V)	E	E
			E/(I)	I¹	E	E
		Father	E/(I)	E/(I)¹	E	E

Table 27 Self-reported language choice of the grandchildren with parents and grandparents and vice versa [357]

Fam.		Parents		Maternal Grandparents		Paternal Grandparents	
	Gchild to (G)parents	Mother to Child	Father to Child	Gmother to Gchild	Gfather to Gchild	Gmother to Gchild	Gfather to Gchild
A		E/V	V	V	V	n/a	n/a
	1	E/V	V/(E)	V	V	n/a	n/a
		E/(V)	V/E	V	V	V	V
	2	E/(V)	E/(V)	V	V	V	V
B		E	E	V	V	V	V
	3	E	E	E	E	E	E
		E	E	V	V	V	V
	4	E	E	E	E	E	E
		E	E	V	V	V	V
	5	E	E	E	E	E	E
C		E	E	I/E/(D)	I/E/(D)	V/I/(E)	V/(E)
	6	E	E	I/E	I/E	I/E	I/E
		E	E	I/E	I/E	V/I/(E)	V/(E)
	7	E	E	E/(I)	E/(I)	E/(I)	E/(I)
D		E	E	I/(V)	I/(V)	E	n/a
	8	E	E	I/(E)	I/(E)	n/a	n/a
		E	E	I/(V)	I/(V)	E	n/a
	9	E	E	E	E	[E]	n/a

Self-reported use of Veneto completely disappeared among the parents of generation 2A for communication with their spouse and their children, as well as among the grandchildren of generation 3A for communication with their own grandparents. However, Veneto was indicated as one of the languages that all the Veneto grandparents in the sample used with *all* their younger relatives. *All* grandchildren from intra-regional marriages (i.e. 1-5 in family A and B, respectively) had been exposed to a Veneto *input* which was not 'diluted' by Italian, English or another Italian dialect. However, those in the latter family reported using only English with both their parents and grandparents. The parents in this family reported that they had addressed their oldest child (i.e. informant 3) in Veneto until she had started to go to school, when they shifted back to English. However, they had always used English for communication between themselves, which

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[356] The only exception was found in the side of the family which was not related to the informants in Australia. This Italian grandchild had spent the first eight years of his life in the city of Padua as the father came from there. During that period, the father used to address him in Italian. However, after the family moved back to the mother's village, the father shifted to dialect. The grandchild reported sometimes using Italian with his paternal grandmother, who still lived in the city, but not with the grandfather. This might be the result of the higher sensitivity to the prestige of Italian found among women in Italy (see discussion in 3.1.6).

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[357] Grayed rows indicate self-reported language choice of parents and grandparents, respectively, to address grandchildren. White rows indicate grandchildren's self-reported language choice with the older relatives.

might have been a fatal drawback for their language maintenance efforts (see discussion in 2.5.2).

The data reported in tables 26 and 27 show a clear demarcation between *intra-* and *inter-regional* families in relation to the presence of Italian, which was reported to be used *only* in the latter group. The Veneto grandparents in the inter-regional families (i.e. C and D) claimed they used both Italian and Veneto with at least some of their younger relatives. The Veneto grandmother in family C explained that while she spoke only Veneto with her own children, she had consciously attempted to use (more) Italian with the youngest family members (i.e. 'Veneto/Italian/(English)' – cf. table 27). Her decision to expose the grandchildren to Italian resulted from both her desire for her grandchildren to know both community languages and her awareness of the fact that her grandchildren were also exposed to a different dialect.[358] Italian was indicated as (one) of the main language(s) for communication with and within the maternal, non-Veneto side of informants' extended family, i.e. between the parents/grandchildren and the non-Veneto grandparents and between the mother and Veneto grandparents (see tables 26 and 27).[359] Thus, acquiring relatives that did not speak the same dialect seemed to have highlighted the advantages of the use of a common language.

However, the Veneto grandfather in family C reported using no Italian with his grandchildren, but mainly Veneto and to some extent English (i.e. 'Veneto/(English)' – see table 27). In this, he seemed to be more similar to his sister in Italy whose relatives, regardless of their age, indicated Veneto as the only language to be used in the family (see tables 29 and 30). Thus, self-reported language choice of the Veneto grandmother in Australia represented a clear break from that in the related extended family in Italy. In this family, it appeared that migration accelerated a shifting trend towards Italian that had not

even spread to the youngest relatives in Italy.[360] With the exception of the grandparents who were childhood bilinguals, grandparents in family C were the only ones in the sample to report using some English to address their grandchildren.

The Veneto father of informant 6 in inter-regional family C claimed he used both Italian and Veneto to address his parents. However, he also preferred his mother to address his children in Italian as they would find it easier in their studies at school. Like the parents in family B, he and his wife made the conscious decision to address the oldest child (informant 6) in Italian from her birth, while continuing addressing each other in English. However, they also switched to English when the informant started school and did not repeat the attempt with their younger siblings. In this, the father of informant 6 reported that he had taken a different approach to language use in the extended family than his brother, i.e. the father of informant 7. This parent was perceived by both his own brother and the grandmother to be much more 'relaxed' in this respect, i.e. he "did not care" whether the grandparents used Veneto with the children. His language choice was more similar to the grandfather's.

The parents in family D, i.e. the other inter-regional family, also decided to use Italian with their oldest child (informant 8). This attempt was successful only until she reached school age. In this family a difference was also found between the Veneto grandmother and grandfather. Both the inter-regional origin of the parents and the urban origin of the Veneto grandparents seemed have contributed to the presence of Italian in the repertoire of this family (see 4.4.7 above). The Veneto grandparents claimed they also used some Italian to address each other as well as their own children. However, the grandfather indicated opposite proportions to the grandmother, i.e. mainly Veneto, and less frequently Italian ('Veneto/(Italian) vs. 'Italian/(Veneto)'). Both grandparents addressed all their grandchildren mainly in Italian ('Italian/(Veneto)'). As the grandmother explained, in the area at the outskirts of the city of Padua where she had grown up, use of Italian was more

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[358] From the very first phone conversation this grandmother told the researcher that she had striven to teach her grandchildren Italian-Veneto lexical pairs (e.g. 'I want them to know both *carèga* and *sedia*', the Veneto and the Italian terms for 'chair'). Furthermore, she reported that her granddaughter (i.e. informant 6) often said that she spoke 'three Italian languages'.

[359] In the non-Veneto side of informant 6's family, dialect was reported to be used less frequently than in the Veneto side. This would seem consistent with the stronger resistance of Veneto in comparison to other dialects in Italy (see. 3.2.6) as well as in Australia, although data available for the latter refer to a different dialect than the one spoken in this family (see 3.3.1.2).

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[360] In family C, self-reported language use of the Veneto grandmother and the grandfather, respectively, was not consistent with the gender-related variation found in the Veneto community in Sydney (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996 – discussed in 3.3.1.2) in which women rather than men addressed younger relatives more frequently in dialect. However, this grandmother's choice of Italian for communication with the grandchildren reflected a tendency found in large-scale surveys in Italy (discussed in 3.2.6), to which, however, the grandmother in Italy did not conform.

widespread than in outer areas.[361] She reported that both she and her husband had sometimes spoke Italian even before migrating.

The more urbanised original situation the Veneto grandparents in family D had experienced in the homeland was reflected in the language choice reported by their younger relative in Italian sample. The parent and the grandchild in the control group reported using only or mainly Italian, depending on the generation of the interlocutor. Thus, in comparison to the other inter-regional family discussed above, the gap separating family D in Australia and their relatives in Italy was smaller. The younger Italian informants in the urban setting had already started to shift to Italian within the family domain.[362]

Use of Italian in family D might also have benefited from the fact that the father was not of Veneto origin. The grandchildren's non-Veneto grandparents, who had long since died, were reported to speak English exclusively, and so was their father, who belonged to generation 2b/2c (see 4.4.3). However, he started to reactivate his Italian to communicate with his parents-in-law. Furthermore, both parents had attempted to use Italian with their oldest child until she reached school age.

With regard to the third-generation informants in the sample, self-reported data seem to show that if Italian was one of the languages chosen by older relatives, i.e. in *inter*-regional families, Veneto was completely abandoned by the grandchildren. Similarly, Italian did *not* represent an alternative for communication with the grandparents in the *intra*-regional families, whose repertoire did not include this community language. Exposure to Veneto and/or Italian in the family did *not necessarily* result in the preference of either language over English to address the grandparents. However, the self-reported choice of Italian to

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[361] As discussed in 3.1.1, in the years around the Second World War use of Italian in classroom interaction in urban areas was more widespread than in rural areas.

[362] Evidence of the influence of the urban setting in the use of Italian was also found among the relatives of family A. The grandchild in this family had spent the first eight years of his life in the city Padua as the father came from there. During that period, the father used to address his son in Italian. After the family moved back to the mother's village, the father shifted to dialect. Doxa surveys (1974, 1988, 1991, 1996) have consistently reported a more widespread use of dialect with at least some of the family members among inhabitants of smaller council areas, i.e. 88.2 and 78.7% for 1974 and 1996, respectively, in centres with no more than 10,000 inhabitants against 59 and 48.3%, respectively for centres with more than 100,000 inhabitants. Other findings of Doxa survey in Italy were discussed in 3.1.6. However, the grandchild in the Italian sample reported using sometimes Italian with his paternal grandmother, who still lived in the city, but

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address the grandparents seemed to be less dependent on parental use of it with the younger interlocutors than the self-reported choice of Veneto (see discussion above). Nevertheless, self-reported use of Italian among the grandchildren was always accompanied by English. All third-generation informants used English for communication with each other. All Veneto grandparents reported using the same language with their spouses as with their own children, i.e. the youngest informants' parents.

Table 28 Participants' self-reported language choice for intra-generational communication[363]

Family		Gchild to siblings	Parents		Grandparents	
	Gchild no.		Mother to spouse	Father to spouse	Maternal Gparents to each other	Paternal Gparents to each other
A	1	E	V/(E)	V	V	n/a
	2	E	E/V	E/V	V	V
B	3	E			V	V
	4	E	E	E	V	V
	5	E				
C	6	E	E	E	D/(I)	V
	7	E	E	E	D	V
D	8	E	E	E	V/I	E
	9	E				

Table 29 Self reported language choice between Italian parents and grandparents

Family		Parent To Gparent	Maternal grandparents		Paternal grandparents	
	Gchild no.		Gmother To parent	Gfather To parent	Gmother To parent	Gfather To parent
A It.	1/2 It.		V	V	V	V
		Mother	V	V	V	V
			V	V	V	V
		Father	V	V	V	V
C It.	6/7 It.		V	V	V	V
		Mother	V	V	V	V
			V	V	V	V
		Father	V	V	V	V
D It.	8/9 It.		V	V	V	V
		Mother	V	V	V	V

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not with the grandfather. This might be the result of the higher sensitivity to the prestige of Italian found among women in Italy (see 3.1.6).

[363] All grandparents reported using the same language(s) with their daughters/sons-in-law as well as with their children's parents-in-law.

Table 30 Self-reported language choice of Italian grandchildren with parents and grandparents and vice versa[364]

Fam.		Parents		Maternal Grandparents		Paternal Grandparents	
	Gchild to (G)parents	Mother to Child	Father to Child	Gmother to Gchild	Gfather to Gchild	Gmother to Gchild	Gfather to Gchild
A It.		V	V	V	V	V(I)	V
	1/2 It.	V	V	V	V	V(I)	V
C It.		V	V	V	V	V	V
	6/7 It.	V	V	V	V	V	V
D It.		I/(V)	I/V	V	V	V	V
	8/9 It.	I	I	V/I	V/I	V/I	V/I

Table 31 Self-reported choice of Italian participants for intra-generational communication[365]

Family			Parents		Grandparents	
	Gchild no.	Gchild to siblings	Mother to spouse	Father to spouse	Maternal Gparents to each other	Paternal Gparents to each other
A It.	1/2 It.	V	V	V	V	V
C It.	6/7 It.	V	V	V	V	V
D It.	8/9 It.	n/a[366]	V	V	V	V

4.4.14 Contact with the grandparents

The relative frequency of contacts between the grandchildren and the grandparents (see table 32) depended on the distance they lived from each other, which for most of the informants was very short.

All grandchildren of generation 3A lived within a few blocks from the grandparents on one or both sides of the family. The linguistic environment in intra-regional family B, (i.e. informants 3, 4 and 5) seemed particularly favourable for language maintenance. Their paternal grandparents had been living in a separate wing of the same house since they were

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[364] Grayed rows indicate self-reported language choice of parents and grandparents, respectively, to address grandchildren. White rows indicate grandchildren's self-reported language choice with the older relatives. Participating grandparents and parents are marked with an asterisk.

[365] All grandparents reported using the same language(s) with their daughters/sons-in-law as well as with their children's parents-in-law.

[366] This informant was an only child.

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very young. Furthermore, the grandchildren's paternal great-grandparents came from Veneto to stay with the family in the latter part of their life and could not speak any English. Although they died when the oldest grandchild was very small and before the younger ones had been born, their presence might have represented an incentive for the parents' maintenance of Veneto. The grandparents often minded the young informants when they were growing up. The older participating family members thought that the relative frequency with which the grandparents looked after the infant grandchildren had a direct bearing on their competence in Veneto. Informant 5 was reported to have been virtually raised by his maternal grandparents, who lived further away, and as a result he was believed to be more proficient in Veneto than his two sisters.[367] On the other hand, the paternal grandparents had been involved in the care giving of informant 3, although less frequently. For this reason, her Veneto was considered to be less fluent than her siblings. However, as already reported (4.3), the former grandchild had no awareness of the existence of 'dialect', while the latter considered her proficiency in Veneto to be very poor.

Table 32 Frequency of contact between grandparents and grandchildren

Family	Gchild no.	Maternal Grandparents		Paternal Grandparents	
		During infancy	Now	During infancy	Now
A	1	never	frequently	n/a	n/a
	2	never	sometimes	never	sometimes
B	3	sometimes	always	never	frequently
	4	frequently	always	never	frequently
	5	never	always	always	frequently
C	6	frequently	always	frequently	always
	7	frequently	always	frequently	always
D	8	sometimes	frequently	always	n/a
	9	sometimes	frequently	always	n/a

In inter-regional family C, informant 6 lived next door to her paternal grandparents and very close to her maternal ones. Informant 7 lived very close to all his grandparents. Grandchildren and grandparents on both sides of the family had daily contact. Informants 8 and 9 (family D) lived relatively close to their Veneto grandparents. The paternal

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[367] For this reason in family B, where both grandmothers were willing to participate in the study, this informant was recorded while having a conversation with his maternal grandmother (see 4.1).

grandfather, of generation 1c, had died before the first grandchild was born. The paternal grandmother, who belonged to generation 1B, had lived in the parental home until her death ten years before, when the youngest sibling was very young and the oldest was in her early teens. As reported above (4.4.13), both paternal grandparents only spoke English in the family.

All the grandparents of informant 2 in family A had always lived quite far from her paternal home. They were never involved in her care-giving when she was growing up and the frequency of her visits to them at the time of the fieldwork were less frequent than in the rest of the sample. She now lived on her own, which might have further decreased her opportunities to see them when they met with the parents. Only the maternal grandparents of the other grandchild in this family, i.e. informant 1, were in Australia (see 4.4.2 above). During early childhood, this informant did not need to be looked after by her maternal grandparents, as her mother was not working. Although the informant was now married, her maternal grandmother, who was a widow, went to stay for certain periods of year at the parents' place, which the grand-daughter frequently visited.

4.5 Collection of language data

This section presents a description of the methods that were used for the collection of language data. As discussed in 1.1, the present study focuses on language use in the family. However, elicited data were also collected for comparison. The corpus in the present study consists of the language data collected via two methods, i.e. one for the collection of natural language data and one for the collection of elicited data:

a) i) a ten-minute audio-taped conversation between one of the grandparents of Veneto origin and the parent on the same side of the family on a topic indicated by the researcher;

ii) a ten-minute audio-taped conversation between the same grandparent and the grandchild on a topic indicated by the researcher; [368]

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[368] Groups of informants within each family are reported in table 10 above.

b) i) an audio-taped elicitation session conducted by the researcher during which the third-generation informant was asked to narrate a story from a picture book in Italian;

ii) the same elicitation session in Veneto.

The same methods were used in the fieldwork in Italy.

4.5.1 The natural conversations

A general explanation of what was expected of the participants during the conversations indicated above (a) was given during the first contacts with the family and on the first visit. The two conversations were generally taped on the third or fourth visit to the family.

In each of the families, the selected grandparent was invited to hold two ten-minute conversations: the first with his/her own daughter/son (i.e. the youngest informant's parent) and the second with the selected grandchild. The grandparent and the parent were asked to talk about occasions for celebration that the family had had in the past or was organising at that moment (birthdays, anniversaries, weddings, Christmas, etc.). The topic assigned to the grandparent and the grandchild was what they had done that day or the day before or over the past few days. In both cases, however, it was made clear that after the initial phase of the conversation the informants were 'free' to let themselves get 'sidetracked' towards whatever further topic would spontaneously arise. Although the data collection was oriented within the framework of a set topic, it was important that the conversation follow its natural course so that the interlocutors would not be further reminded of the fact that they were carrying out a 'task'. However, in the case of the conversation between the grandparents and grandchildren, especially younger ones, it was recommended that both speakers should try to make their own contribution. Our concern was that the grandparent might monopolise turn taking and that the interaction would be imbalanced.

During both conversations and in all the families, the relevant interlocutors were sitting at the kitchen table facing each other. [369] The tape recorder was placed on the table between the participants and turned on casually, while the researcher was still explaining to the

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[369] However, the parent in one of the Italian families (i.e. the relatives of family C) could be heard walking for a certain period of time while conversing with her own mother.

informants what they were supposed to talk about and was making sure that the tape-recorder was working properly. Participants were strongly encouraged to use whatever code they naturally used in relation to the other interlocutor involved in the conversation. This recommendation was reiterated over the contacts with the family preceding the taping. As was the case during the initial phase of fieldwork (see 4.1 above), in giving her 'instructions' for the conversations, the researcher continued to address the participants collectively in dialect or Italian, depending on the language the older informants used to address her. In some cases, the researcher resorted to English to confirm the understanding of the younger participants.

In an attempt to reduce the impact of the presence of the tape recorder on the participants' spontaneity, the researcher helped them to 'get started' on the assigned 'task'. By way of telling the informants what they were supposed to talk about, she asked about or referred to possible relevant episodes she might have heard while talking to the participants over the visits preceding the recording session. In doing so the researcher tried to a) make the participants feel comfortable about the appropriateness of the topics they might choose to talk about and b) divert the participants' attention from the recording to the topic itself. Her instructions generally flowed rather smoothly into an initial three-way conversation between the researcher and the two participants. The nature of the topic and its relevance to the two informants soon lead to the exclusion of the researcher from the interaction. Furthermore, the informants were aware that they were supposed to have a conversation on their own. When a sufficiently long gap in the turns occurred, the researcher left the room. As she was leaving, some of the participants, especially older ones, said that they had not realised that the tape recorder had already been switched on.

The researcher re-entered the room ten minutes later. During her absence from the room, she talked with the other participant(s) in another room or outside the house. When she went back into the room, the conversation was usually in full swing. Very often older participants acknowledged the researcher's presence by concluding the conversation. In these cases they related to the researcher what they had talked about, asking whether the issues they touched upon during the taped conversation were adequate. Others generally said "we talked about a little bit of everything", as if justifying the fact that they had ended up talking about a lot of different topics other than the initial one. Some informants, again

especially older ones, said they had forgotten that they were being recorded. In some cases the researcher felt the need to apologise for interrupting a seemingly very involved conversation by begging the interlocutors to keep on talking. After the tape recorder was switched off, the conversation on the relevant topic sometimes continued and the researcher was drawn back into the interaction.

In cases where the two conversations were taped on the same day, between one conversation and the other an interval of roughly half an hour elapsed. During this time, informal conversation was extended to other participants or questions pertaining to the 'interview' were asked (see 4.3 above).

4.5.1.1 The role of the researcher

The method described above (4.5.1) was developed taking into consideration the following issues:

a) how the data are collected;
b) who collects the data;
c) who participates in the interaction(s) about which data are collected;
d) who is present at the interaction(s) about which data are collected.

As far as point a) is concerned, data can be collected through, for instance, notes or recordings or both. With regard to point b), data can be collected e.g. by the informants themselves or by a fieldworker. The fieldworker can be, for example, an insider or an outsider; an outsider introduced as a researcher or a 'friend of a friend' (e.g. Milroy, 1980); an outsider who lives in the community for a period of time and becomes (more of) an insider (e.g. Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Gal, 1979).[370] Furthermore, in terms of point c), the interaction can be between the informants (e.g. in spontaneous conversations); between the informants and the fieldworker throughout the whole interaction (e.g. in interviews); partly between the informants and the fieldworker and partly between the informants only (e.g. in participant observation). Finally, natural data collection methods can vary as to whether the fieldworker is present or absent during the interaction (point d). In 'participant observation', for instance, the researcher is present throughout the interaction but

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[370] These studies were mentioned in 2.2.1-2.

sometimes withdraws from participation in order to observe, note or record the informants' natural language behaviour.

For the objectives of the present study (cf. 1.1) recording of the informants' natural speech in the family was necessary. A fieldworker from inside the community was not thought to be needed for the collection of the data. As discussed above (4.1), the personal background of the researcher as an Italian in Australia allowed her to secure the informants' cooperation. Linguistically, as a native speaker of Italian and Veneto and a relatively fluent speaker of English, she had access to all the three generations. Thus, the presence of a 'real insider' would not have represented a major advantage.

Such a fieldworker might have counted on a longer-term relationship with the Australian Veneto community as a whole. However, both in the case of an insider or an outsider a relatively personal relationship had to be established with the informants in the sample. The visits over which self-reported data were collected gave the researcher the opportunity to establish a certain familiarity with the informants, which could be taken advantage of in the taping of the natural conversations. To be able to enjoy a similar degree of intimacy with the participants, a fieldworker other than the researcher herself would have had to approach the families and carry out the whole of the fieldwork. This alternative was not appropriate on at least two grounds. Firstly, for the conduct of the interviews in Italian and Veneto dialect, the researcher's linguistic competence was probably more adequate. Secondly, if data had not been personally collected, precious opportunities for the observation of the informants' linguistic behaviour throughout fieldwork would have been lost.

Reliance on the informants for the recording of their own conversations (e.g. Rubino, 1993 – see 3.3.3) also presents disadvantages. This method would probably require a closer relationship between the researcher and the informants than what was possible to establish with the participants in each of the four extended families in the time available. The informants' self-recorded conversations offer the considerable methodological advantage of giving access to the core of the family language in the absence of the fieldworker. For the purposes of the present study, however, the type of spontaneous conversations that would be recorded by the informants themselves presented the disadvantage of yielding sets of data that might not lend themselves to comparisons among the different families in

the sample. The most relevant issue for the present study was that conversations during family gatherings might vary greatly in terms of the interlocutors who happen to be involved. In interactions involving interlocutors of different generations, younger speakers might be kept at the margins of the interaction or exclude themselves from it.[71] In both cases, insufficient data about third-generation informants would have been gathered to reply to our research questions (see 1.1).

In the methods designed for the present study, control of the interlocutors and the topic was an attempt to increase comparability of the quasi-natural data and to create more favourable conditions for the active participation of the subjects. In this 'task-like' situation, rather than making the conversation less natural, it was believed that the presence of the researcher at least in the initial phase of the interaction would give her the opportunity to ease the participants into the conversation and avoid possible confusion as to what they were supposed to do. Furthermore, it was believed that if the researcher took care of the recording, the participants would pay less attention to the tape-recorder and feel more relaxed as a result. Although the tape-recorder was still a situational factor to be taken into account, this method certainly represented an attempt to overcome the 'observer's paradox' (Labov, 1972b).

The conversations used in the present study therefore represent a compromise between methods which completely rely on the informants themselves for the taping of their own spontaneous conversations and methods in which the researcher is in charge of the tape-recorder, participates in and is present throughout the natural interaction being recorded. As was the case in Blom and Gumperz (1972:427), the researcher's participation was limited to the suggestion of the topic about which the interlocutors had to talk. In that study, however, the researcher observed the interactions and attempted to change the subject when a point had been discussed for some time. Here, after suggesting the topic of the conversation, the researcher left the room and no observation was made. Opportunities for observing natural linguistic behaviour among participants arose in the first stage of fieldwork (see 4.1 above). On the basis of these considerations, it was believed that the disadvantages deriving from the presence of the researcher during the conversations would outnumber possible advantages.

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[71] See, for instance, Cavallaro (1997), discussed in 2.4.2 and 3.2.1.2.

Further considerations about the interlocutors in the conversation and the topics suggested by the researcher are discussed below (4.5.1.2).

4.5.1.2 The interlocutors

In this section, issues that led to the selection of one grandparent and one parent for each of the third-generation informant are discussed.

Ideally, language data from both the subjects' parents and all their grandparents would have been collected. This means that a) the grandchildren would have been recorded with both their parents and all four of his/her grandparents and b) each of the parents would have been taped with both of the grandparents, i.e. their own parents. For the sake of completeness, furthermore, c) all participants would have been taped with relative(s) belonging to the same generation as their own, i.e. with their own spouses, in the case of first- and second-generation informants, and with their own sibling(s), in the case of third-generation ones.

The above method would have presented various practical disadvantages. Firstly, it would have posed difficulties in the recruitment of an adequate sample. The active participation of a minimum of six family members for each of the subjects (i.e. two parents and four grandparents) might frequently have represented an insurmountable obstacle. Given the elderly age of first-generation participants in all the families that were actually recruited for the present study, some of the grandparents were no longer alive. Furthermore, some of the subjects' grandparents, parents or siblings did not consent to participate (see 4.2). In any of these cases, the whole extended family would have had to be excluded from the sample, thus reducing the number of prospective participants. A second drawback in this hypothetical method would certainly have been the rather heavy strain on the participants in terms of the high number of the conversations in which each of them would have had to participate.

A more parsimonious way of gaining access to the language naturally used by the informants within the family was found by concentrating on the most significant interlocutors in relation to our research questions (see 1.1). As Fishman suggested in his

discussion about the concept of 'domains of language behavior' (Fishman, 1965:38, my italics)

> "a) a central domain such as the family may well require further differentiation and b) domains can best be studied for the purpose of inquiry into language maintenance and language shifts, via their *most pivotal role relations*."[372]

Gross (1951), upon whom Fishman drew, expressed role relations within the family domain in terms of "dyads" of speakers, e.g. "grandfather to grandmother, grandmother to grandfather, grandfather to father, grandmother to father" etc (quoted in Fishman, 1965:76). Thus, the next step in designing the methods used in the present study was the selection of the most relevant role relations for the issues under investigation. For this an inter- rather than intra-generational perspective of language use was focused on. The grandparent-grandchild and the grandparent-parent were chosen as the crucial "dyads" of speakers.

The pre-eminent position given to first-generation speakers within the adopted methodology is consistent with their being the interlocutors who are likely to attract any potential, residual use of native varieties among younger-generation relatives (see 2.2 and 2.5). Rather than one conversation involving all three speakers from the two "dyads" simultaneously, two separate conversations were envisaged, i.e. one between the grandparent and the parent and one between the grandparent and the grandchild (see description in 4.5.1). Besides encouraging a more active contribution in the interaction by each speaker, this design was aimed to ensure that linguistic phenomena possibly differentiating the language of the three speakers in relation to the relevant interlocutor would be discernible in the analysis.

Seven conversations were taped between the grandparents and the parents and nine conversations were taped between the grandparents and the grandchildren (see table 33 below). This is because in those family nuclei where more than one third-generation

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[372] The notion of 'domain' was discussed in 2.1.1.

sibling participated, only one conversation between the relevant grandparent and parent served as a term of comparison for the subjects' speech.

Table 33 Taped conversations according to the interlocutors

Family	Subject	Grandparent & Parent		Grandparent & Grandchild	
A	1	Mat. Grandmother	Mother	Mat. Grandmother	Granddaughter
	2	Mat. Grandmother	Mother	Mat. Grandmother	Granddaughter
B	3	Pat. Grandmother	Father	Pat. Grandmother	Granddaughter
	4			Pat. Grandmother	Granddaughter
	5	Mat. Grandmother	Mother	Mat. Grandmother	Grandson
C	6	Pat. Grandmother	Father	Pat. Grandmother	Grandson
	7	Pat. Grandmother	Father	Pat. Grandmother	Granddaughter
D	8	Mat. Grandmother	Mother	Mat. Grandmother	Granddaughter
	9			Mat. Grandmother	Grandson
Total		7		9	

4.5.1.3 The topics

The topics assigned by the researcher for the natural conversations (see 4.5.1) were mainly intended to function as 'cues' to get the conversations going. As already mentioned above (4.5.1), after this phase the informants were made aware that they could 'relax' and let the conversation develop spontaneously. The assignment of an initial topic served, among other things, the purpose of sparing the informants the possible awkwardness of having to come up with something to talk about. It was believed that if the informants had to go through a kind of 'brainstorming' phase, the interaction would be perceived as more 'staged'. The topics themselves were quite loose and allowed for a whole range of different issues to be raised, even in the initial, 'set' phase, and would be better described in terms of 'topic frameworks'.

The primary objective of the method was to elicit the languages that were typically used by the informants in the family environment. Therefore, the topics had to be such that they would be naturally associated with the linguistic situation created in the fieldwork sessions and therefore elicit the type of language associated with it. During the pilot study, the same topic, i.e. what the interlocutors had done that day or over the past few days, was assigned

in both the conversation between the grandparent and the parent and the grandparent and the grandchild, respectively. However, this proved to restrict considerably the range of new issues that grandparent could bring up for conversation in talking to his two relatives. The result was that the interactions were perceived by both the participants and the researcher as relatively 'forced'.

The recordings from the pilot study revealed that between the grandparent and the parent, talking about how they had spent their day did not seem as natural a conversation starter as between the grandparent and the young grandchild (13). In Fishman's terms (1972a: 444-5), the chosen topic seemed to be less 'congruent' between the grandparents and the parents than between the grandparents and the grandchildren. As he observed (Fishman, 1972a: 444-5) *topics* are *"congruent* components" of the situation if the speakers would select or recognise them as 'usual' for that conversation in that *locale* and with that *interlocutor*.

The apparent higher congruence of the topic for the grandparent-grandchild dyad in the pilot study seemed to be due to the fact that conversations between adults and children or young adolescents revolve more naturally around the latter's world of experience. Adults, whether the parents or grandparents, usually try to conform to the younger interlocutors' conversational interests. This seems to be reflected at a conversational level, e.g. conversations between grandparents and younger grandchildren often seem to develop in a series of question-answer adjacency pairs which are more frequently initiated by the older relatives. Grandparents of young children seem to introduce topics for conversation and invite the younger interlocutors to take their turn more frequently than vice versa.

On the other hand, it was thought that older interlocutors might be more concerned with and therefore more willing to talk about 'domestic' matters and any other issues that an adult or elderly person might feel free to discuss with a mature person, who was in a position to understand them. Aspects of the organisation of events marking family life seemed therefore a 'congruent' topic framework from the conversation between the grandparents and the parents.

Thus, topic congruence itself provided the relevant basis for comparability of the data in relation to the objectives of the methods, i.e. to elicit natural language. Both conversations

developed from topic frameworks that were 'congruent' with the interlocutors involved and the role relations obtaining between them.

4.5.1.4 Effectiveness of the method

Based on participant observation as well as self-reported data collected in the earlier part of the fieldwork (4.1), the method employed seemed to be successful in obtaining natural data about the language(s) the that the interlocutors in the selected dyads habitually used when talking to each other. Effectiveness of the method is discussed below in terms of the 'naturalness' of the conversations in relation to the interlocutors' perception of a) the assigned topic frameworks (4.5.1.4.1) and b) the presence of the tape recorded (4.5.1.4.2). In some cases these two aspects were interrelated.

4.5.1.4.1 Assigned topic frameworks

The interlocutors took full advantage of the wide scope for topic change allowed within both assigned frameworks, i.e. the 'celebrations' and 'day before' frameworks (see 4.5.1.3 above).[373] The data contained a larger proportion of topic shit characteristic of natural conversation. In some cases, at the end of the recording informants realised they had abandoned the initial topic framework suggested by the researcher and rather apologetically admitted having talked about "all sorts of things". Moreover, in one family the grandparent and the parent started to talk about a private issue but refrained from discussing it further, openly saying that they would do so "another time, when it is possible". The fact that they 'inadvertently' selected a private matter indicates that up to that point they might have forgotten about the tape-recorder and it was only the delicacy of the issue that reminded them of its presence.

A relatively large number of topics were shared by conversations within both topic frameworks, which is evidence of the interlocutors' topic shift both within and outside them. This indirectly shows that to a certain extent, topic differentiation in the two conversations did not actually impair comparability of the data across the sample. Whether family celebrations and gatherings were the starting point of the exchange or not, they were frequently brought up for conversation by the interlocutors in both sets of recordings.

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[373] Topics that were brought up for conversation by the informants during the recordings are schematically summarised in Appendix C.

Relevant issues concerning food, time, venue and side activities were frequently referred to by all informants. However, other specific details of the particular celebration being talked about (dresses, flowers, gifts, etc.) were only mentioned within the corresponding topic framework, i.e. in the conversation between the grandparents and the parents. The exchanges between the grandparent and the grandchild more frequently included gatherings outside the interlocutors' family sphere.

Within the 'day before' framework, the relevant interlocutors, i.e. the grandparents and the grandchildren, appeared to be drawing from a 'wider' and more 'daily' context of experience. Food, for instance, was frequently referred to in relation to receptions or dinner parties in both recordings, but also in relation to daily meals in the conversation between the grandparents and the grandchildren. Relationships were talked about from different perspectives. In the exchange between the grandparents and parents, relationships referred to relatives, especially grandchildren, while in the conversation between the grandparents and the grandchildren, they also concerned friends, acquaintances and the interlocutors' social life in general. In an analogous way, within the 'day before' topic framework, references to visits of relatives and friends included habitual, regular visits, in addition to those from interstate or overseas on special occasions.

Issues revolving around holidays, trips and outings seemed to become 'newsworthy' within both topic frameworks and were therefore frequently mentioned by both dyads of interlocutors. Both conversations, furthermore, contained recurring reflections about the passing of time and Italy, sometimes in comparison to Australia. Core issues that appeared to be more specific to the 'day before' framework were school or work, depending on the age of the grandchild. As far as school was concerned, issues that were often discussed included the grandchild's progress, the importance of education for his/her professional future, the study of Italian or practical aspects, such as transport, timetables, etc.

Old age, poor health and the death of relatives or acquaintances seemed to attract the conversational interests of the grandparents and the parents. Unlike school, however, these issues were not directly linked to their assigned topic framework, i.e. 'celebrations'. Therefore, they would seem to be more sensitive to the role relation existing between the interlocutors involved, i.e. the grandparents and the parents. Health was also referred to in the conversation between the oldest grandchild and her grandmother (i.e. informant 1 – see

4.4.3 above). In this case, the grandmother touched upon many similar aspects with both the mother and the granddaughter. In the conversation between the grandparents and the older grandchildren, further issues pertaining to the older relatives' life were discussed more often than with the younger grandchildren. In an extreme case, with one of the older grandchildren (i.e. informant 2), a grandmother talked about nothing but her gardening and it was the onus of the former interlocutor to make her contribution relevant to the latter.[374]

4.5.1.4.2 Naturalness

The apparent spontaneity with which the exchanges generally occurred was reflected in extralinguistic aspects of the informants' behaviour and other occurrences that were not taped but which the researcher could observe before she left the room. A young grandchild (family B), for instance, was holding hands with his grandmother from the opposite sides of the kitchen table as they started the conversation. In another family (A), reference to Italy and migrant life brought back memories of the grandmother and the mother's early years in Australia and both informants started to sing old Italian songs which the grandmother used to sing in the fields. As already mentioned (4.5.1), some of the older grandparents told the researcher they had become oblivious to the tape recorder. In other cases, episodes recorded on tape indirectly showed that that was the case. In the middle of the conversation, one of the grandmothers in family A asked her granddaughter to bring her a set of scales, as she wanted to weigh herself (the informants had been talking about their health and weight). The granddaughter had to remind her that she could not leave the room as they were being recorded.

Like the grandchild's reply to her grandmother's request in the example above, other phenomena recorded on tape indicated more or less indirectly that the relevant informants were aware of the 'pseudo-staged' nature of the conversations. In some instances, this awareness was *primarily* linked to the fact that the conversation was being recorded. In others, however, a second factor became more relevant than in the previous ones. The conversational roles played by the interlocutors seemed to indicate that in those cases the *type* of event designed for the methodology in the study was in itself *not* part of a habitual communicational routine, with consequences on the relative amount of speech produced by

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[374] See further discussion in 6.4.1.

the third-generation informants. Only the former 'incidents' are discussed here, since the latter, analysed in 6.4.1, emerged as relevant factors in the grandchildren's language production during the natural conversation. However, with one exception both types of phenomena occurred in the same conversation or in the same family.

In family D, the grandmother seemed rather anxious to show the researcher that her grandson (informant 9) could speak Italian, which in turn indicated that at least this interlocutor was aware of the 'recording' situation. Despite my frequent recommendations to the informants that they should use whatever language(s) they would normally use, this grandmother openly asked her grandson to speak Italian. Her attempt was promptly 'averted' by the researcher, as she was leaving the room. The recommendation was reiterated and the grandson could claim his right to be able to speak in English. At a later stage in the conversation, which the grandson led almost exclusively in English (see 6.1 and 6.4.1), the grandmother returned to the language issue by stressing the importance of speaking Italian. On this occasion, the name of the researcher was also mentioned. However, in the conversations with her older granddaughter (informant 8) and with the mother, who habitually used (some) Italian to address the first-generation relatives, the grandmother was relaxed and completely involved in the 'contents' being discussed, rather than the language being used. As discussed in 6.4.1, the speech production of the grandson in this family was extremely small, which seemed to be the result of the overpowering conversational role played by his grandmother during the conversation. With some important differences, this was also found to be the case in the conversation between one of the grandmothers in family A and informant 2 (see analysis in 6.4.1).

In family C, during the conversation between the grandmother and the granddaughter (informant 6), the exchange started off 'naturally' with the grandmother trying to remember what she had done the day before when the researcher was still in the room. However, soon after she had stepped out, the grandmother interrupted herself to mark off the beginning of what she perceived to be the 'real' exchange by saying "Alright, now, let's start, alright?". The granddaughter picked up her 'cue in' by asking an obviously unnecessary question, i.e. "What did you do yesterday?". Thus, in this initial phase the interlocutors sounded as if they were speaking 'into the tape-recorder', rather than to each other. In general, they showed that they perceived the situation as requiring them to be on

their 'best conversational behaviour', which was reflected in an orderly allocation of turns and sequences of question-reply adjacency pairs.

The conversation between the same grandmother and the parents offered more examples of similar incidents. After the researcher had left the room, in a fake casual tone the grandmother provided an excuse to 're-start' the conversation by saying: "Anyway [name of son], since you are here we might as well talk about what we are going to do for Christmas?". Phenomena in the conversation with the other parent in this family highlighted the relevance of the interlocutors' pre-knowledge of the topics being talked about as a possible 'marker' of the spontaneity of the exchange. In all other taped conversations in the corpus, the interlocutors appeared to be talking about events or aspects of them that they had not heard before and therefore found interesting to discuss. This was particularly relevant for family celebrations, of which the interlocutors were more likely to share the experience. In these exchanges, however, the relevant informants were often engaged in a sort of competition in which they were helping each other to remember details or disclosing new ones and exchanging opinions. References to the issues being discussed was not always direct, e.g. pro-forms were used without the interlocutors' feeling the need to produce the full co-referring expression, which seemed to show that they did not worry about any other audience being able to make sense of what they were saying.

However, during the conversation with his mother, the father in family C told the older interlocutor about details which were obviously known to both of them, i.e. that he was in his suburb of residence on Easter day and that the suburb to which he was referring was actually in Melbourne. In highlighting these unnecessary details, the father produced a humorous effect by putting on a tone of fake surprise and mocking Italian-Australian speakers' morpho-phonological integration into Italian of common toponyms. The utterance was received with laughter by the grandmother. In the rest of the conversation discussed here, the grandmother and the father were struggling to find something 'new' to talk about. Pauses were sometimes quite long and topic initiation clumsy. Easiness of communication with the same parent proved to be an issue also with the grandfather, who had originally been selected for participation. Subsequently, however, he withdrew on the account that he would feel uncomfortable in being taped while talking with his son. As

discussed in 6.4.1, like the grandson in family D, the contribution of the grandson in this family to the conversation with the grandmother was also very small. This seemed to depend on both conversational and linguistic factors.

Finally, a 'secret joke' was exchanged between one of the grandmothers in family B and her granddaughter. During the recording the grandmother produced a whispered, unintelligible 'aside' which was followed by the younger interlocutor's loud laughter. No further similar examples were recorded in this family.

All the occurrences discussed above did *not* seem to affect or be caused by the language being used by the interlocutors during the conversation. Language choice of the informants in the examples did not seem to differ from the one they had self-reported or the one the researcher had observed. As reported in 6.4, furthermore, in the analysis of the language data a high level of consistency was found between self-reported and actual language use. Thus, it is possible that while the presence of the tape recorder in some cases impacted on the spontaneity with which the interlocutors interacted, code choice in itself represents a stable component in their role relation and thus 'resisted' the 'oddity' that they show at a conversational level. As discussed in 4.5.1.2, this was the factor on which the methodological design relied.

4.5.2 The elicitation sessions

In addition to the 'natural' conversations described above (4.5.1), two elicitation sessions were envisaged in which the researcher invited the third-generation informants to narrate a picture book.[175] In the first session, the subjects were asked to speak in Italian. All grandchildren participated. As explained in 4.3, two of the third generation informants did not know about the existence of '(Veneto) dialect' as opposed to '(proper) Italian'. The smaller group of 'Veneto-aware' informants was also asked in a different session to narrate from the same picture book in Veneto.

Before both sessions, the subjects were reassured that they were not sitting a 'school test'. Although they were asked to try their best to use as much of the elicited language as they could, they 'did not have to worry' if that was not possible. Extra care was taken with

younger informants, who might feel more nervous about speaking to a fluent speaker of those languages and/or being tape-recorded. The researcher tried create a situation which would be conducive to the subjects' genuine effort to produce as much of the relevant language as possible, without making them feel uncomfortable about possible unsuccessful attempts. The primary objective was to keep the informants talking so that the characteristics of their elicited speech could be observed.

The book was opened at the first page in front of the subjects. They were told to proceed at their own pace and turn to the next page whenever it suited them. The book was presented as a "story book with pictures but without words". The informants were asked to "tell the story of the child" portrayed in the book in an attempt to encourage them to produce a continuous excerpt of coherent speech, rather than a series of separate descriptions of the single pictures. The 'instructions' were given in the language which the subject was expected to speak during the session. Some of the subjects asked questions about the performance of the task, usually in English. As in the conversation sessions, the tape recorder was switched on casually, while the researcher was still explaining what the subjects were supposed to do.

The role of the researcher was kept as neutral as was possible without adding to the 'oddity' of the communicative situation by failing to show her participation in it. For this reason, during the recording the researcher produced back-channelling sounds and filled pauses in the informants' speech between one 'move' and the other, e.g. when the subject passed from one page or one picture to the next. Contact phenomena, described in chapter 5, were not signalled and no suggestions for repair were offered. However, the researcher produced occasional prompting in the relevant language in cases of a) considerably long unfilled pauses and b) extensive, continuous use of English *not* accompanied by phenomena that would show the informants' attempts to speak in the relevant language (e.g. filled pauses or English utterances such as "How do you say that?", with which the informants seemed to be helping themselves remember a word/structure). Prompting consisted of general questions about the relevant picture/stage of the story, in which the suggestion of words was avoided, e.g. from the more general ones such as "What happens

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[375] Ormerod, J., 1982, *Moonlight*, London, Puffin Books, Penguin Group. A sample of the book is in Appendix D.

here?", "What is she doing here?", etc., to more specific ones such as "Do you remember how to say that in Italian/Veneto dialect?", "Do you remember what grandmother/grandfather [name of grandmother/grandfather] would call that?".

4.5.2.1 Vocabulary

The picture book used in both narration sessions consisted of 25 pages with a total of 58 pictures. The 'story' featured a small girl and her parents. It spanned from dinner to bedtime and developed around the house, more specifically the kitchen, the bathroom, the bedroom and the lounge-room. From the point of view of the vocabulary involved, it could be roughly divided into the following 'narrative/descriptive stages', which corresponded to 'fields of activities' likely to be covered by the language spoken by the informants within the family environment:

a) having dinner: the girl has dinner with her parents; her father washes the dishes; the girl builds two boats and takes them to the bathroom;

b) having a bath: the girl has a bath and plays with the boats in the water; her mother helps her dry up, get dressed and comb her hair;

c) playing: the girl plays with her doll and her teddy bear;

d) going to bed: the father puts her to bed, reads her a story, kisses her good night, turns off the light and leaves;

e) being unable to sleep (repeated three times): the girl cannot sleep, gets up and goes to the mother/father in the lounge-room; the mother/father puts her back to sleep. The third time the girl sits down on the couch next to her mother and they both read.

f) falling asleep: the girl and her mother fall asleep on the couch;

g) going to bed: the father wakes the mother up, picks the girl in his arms; they all go the her bedroom; they put her to bed and leave the room; the parents fall asleep.

4.5.2.2 Language mode

Unlike during the 'natural' conversation (see 4.5.1), during the elicitation session described above (4.5.2), the researcher directly participated in the interaction thus making

considerations about her influence on the informants' 'language mode' relevant (Grosjean, 2001).[376]

In terms of the 'participants' in the speech event, Grosjean (2001:5) included the relative level of *proficiency* in the languages in the bilingual/trilingual speaker's repertoire as one of the factors that influence language mode. Given the informants' collocation on the generational continuum (see 4.4.2), proficiency was expected to be a major influencing factor in their production in the two community languages.[377] However, additional constraints that were active during our elicitation sessions have to be taken into account. A second factor that needs to be taken into account in evaluating the elicited language data collected in the present study is the informants' 'awareness' of the researcher's competence in English.[378] Two further relevant variables were identified, i.e. the 'obligatoriness' of the informants' language choice and their 'motivation' to produce the elicited language.

Other situations might be characterised by the same combination of the four factors indicated above, e.g. in the context of second language acquisition, when a beginner L2 learner during a class held in his/her home country, addresses his/her teacher, who is a native speaker of the second language, as well as being highly proficient in the language

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[376] The concept of 'language mode', described 2.1.2, was *not* considered in the defferentiation of contact phenomena occurring in the present corpus (see 2.1.2 and chapter 5). In terms of this notion, the natural conversation (described in 4.5.1) relied on the interlocutors' self-selection of their own 'habitual language mode' (see also discussion in 4.5.1.4).

[377] Particularly relevant here is his discussion of highly dominant bilinguals (Grosjean, 2001:21). Grosjean believes that these speakers are unable to control language mode in the same way as other bilinguals, i.e. their weaker language never reaches the level of full activation that is necessary for it to be used as the base language. For this reason, they cannot move to the weaker language monolingual end of the mode continuum (e.g. in this case the Italian of the Veneto dialect monolingual position), which results in a higher amount of language mixing when the weaker language is used (Grosjean, 2001:21). Possible production difficulties and transference from the dominant language is indicative of their failure to activate the weaker language(s) fully, while keeping their dominant language to a minimum level of activation.

[378] As already explained (4.1), the researcher's competence in English was never concealed during the fieldwork, although generally taken advantage of only in the initial contacts with the families. Pretence of lack of competence in English was neither possible nor desirable in the scope of this project. Grosjean (2001:17) actually warned against a methodological approach in which data about the monolingual production in one of the languages in the bilingual informant's repertoire are collected by an interviewer who *pretends* he/she is monolingual in that language. His argument is that the researcher's competence in the other language might be unintentionally given away. This would inadvertently change the language mode of the informants. When bilingual informants realise that their interlocutor can actually speak and understand the language not being spoken, they will move on the language mode continuum from a monolingual to a bilingual position. If not taken into account, this change in language mode will lead to a misinterpretation of the collected data. The methodological alternative suggested by Grosjean (2001:17), i.e. relying on a monolingual interviewer, was also not a viable one in the present study (see discussion in 4.1 and 4.5.1.1).

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spoken in that country. Another instance is the case in which the weaker language of one of the interlocutors is used as a secret code in the presence of speakers of his/her dominant language. However, in both these examples, the highly dominant bilinguals' *motivation* to produce the 'required' monolingual speech in the weaker language might be stronger than during the elicitation sessions envisaged here, e.g. to get a higher mark and to avoid being understood by people overhearing the exchange, respectively.

However, in the elicitation sessions in the present study the researcher had to rely entirely on the informants' 'voluntary commitment' to perform the task to the best of their abilities. Thus, their reasons for doing so might not have been as 'compelling' as the examples given above, e.g. their willingness to do the researcher a favour, satisfy their parents/grandparents' supposed desire for them to take part in the study, make a good impression on a Italian/Veneto dialect native speaker, take pride in their knowledge of the language(s), etc. The informants' possible 'motivation' to comply with the requirement of the task was therefore more likely to be subject to individual variation and be influenced by their attitudes.

However, based on the pauses and self-repairs occurring in the informants' speech recorded during the elicitation session, it is believed that all informants genuinely tried to produce as much of the relevant community language as they could. The few instances in which the informants produced excerpts of 'unmixed' English speech (cf. 4.5.1.1 above) were more likely to be due to their being 'carried away' in the description itself, which made them 'lose sight' of the language they were required to use to tell it.

4.6 Concluding summary

The grandchildren in the sample were placed on a generational continuum that spanned from the later stages of the second generation, to the stages of the third generation that are closer to the fourth. Informants in the earlier generational stages came from intra-regional families and those in the later came from inter-regional families. Furthermore, the grandparents of the informants in the latest generational stages came from a more 'urbanised' area.

The generational position of the grandchildren in this sample was quite consistent in their self-reported family repertoire, i.e. the totality of the languages claimed to be used within

their extended family. This was due to both demographic characteristics of the participants as well as grandparents' personal choices towards language maintenance efforts. In addition to English, the repertoire of intra-regional families only included Veneto, which rapidly disappeared in the middle stages of the continuum for intra-regional communication among the parents. Italian was only part of the self-reported repertoire of inter-regional families. In the family with a more urbanised background, the grandparents claimed they used Italian almost exclusively. To a lesser extent, the relative stage they occupied on the continuum was reflected in their older relatives' age and self-assessed competence in the languages.

Language maintenance conditions were very good in all families. The grandchildren had had very frequent contacts with their grandparents, who were intensely involved in the community life. However, the attitudes towards the community languages among the grandchildren were not always positive and in some cases they were strongly negative. Apart from a few exceptions, the grandchildren had comparable formal instruction in Italian in relation to their age, which ranged widely (i.e. from 12 to 26). With one exception, their same-generation relative in Italy was around the same age as them.

The samples in both countries were broadly comparable in terms of their educational and professional background. The grandparents generally had a peasant or working class background, while the parents had mostly moved to clerical jobs or shopkeeping or owned their own small business. The highest educational level of the former was primary, while the latter had all received some years of post-primary education.

Natural language data were collected via two taped conversations between one grandparent and one grandchild as well as between the same grandparent and one parent, respectively. The grandchildren were also recorded during two elicitation sessions conducted by the researcher. Chapter 5 below describes the model that was employed for the analysis of the language data.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSED PHENOMENA

5.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a description of the contact phenomena that occurred in the corpus and the model that was developed for their quantitative analysis.

No *a priori* assumptions were made about the informants' degree of maintenance of the community languages or their actual use within the extended family. The analytical approach to the corpus was fundamentally heuristic and exploratory. The main objective of the study was to give a description of the speech of the informants as recorded through the methods employed (cf. 1.1). This entailed a) describing qualitatively the *contact phenomena* between Veneto, Italian and English occurring in the corpus, b) identifying generalised *categories* of contact phenomena and c) attempting their *quantification*.

As already mentioned (see 2.4.1), *'contact phenomena'* is used throughout the thesis as a general term to indicate phenomena that result in different ways from the co-presence of more the one language in the repertoire of the third-generation informants. Among the contact phenomena in the informants' corpus, the analysis focused on *transference*.[379] This notion was adequate for the fundamentally descriptive purposes of the study (see discussion in 2.3). The categories of transference phenomena considered here are described in 5.2. Contact phenomena other than transference are discussed in 5.3.

Six transference *directions* were considered, i.e. from one community language to the other, from English to both community languages and from both community languages to English. This methodological choice required the delimitation of a 'unit of speech' within which transference phenomena occurred. Issues that led to the identification of the *clause* as the unit of speech in the present study are discussed in 5.1. The presence of more than one language direction and a delimited unit of speech differentiate this study from others

conducted within the interference/transference paradigm. The discussion below (5.1) includes the approach that was taken to deal with these two aspects within the transference paradigm and comparisons with analytical paradigms that take them into account (see description in 2.3.2-3).

As already mentioned (see 2.3.1), throughout the thesis, '*source* language' indicates the language *from* which the linguistic material is transferred. '*Recipient* language' indicates the language *to* which the linguistic material is transferred. The language of the clause in which the transference phenomenon occurs is here called the *base language*, which always corresponds to the 'recipient' language of the transference phenomenon. Criteria that were used for the identification of the base language are described in 5.3.1.

5.1 The clause as the unit of speech of occurrence of transference phenomena

Considerations of both 'structural' and 'conversational' order led to the choice of the clause as the unit of speech for the occurrence of transference phenomena in the corpus.[380]

From a structural point of view, the necessity to 'anchor' transference phenomena to a definite unit of speech was inherent in the research questions investigated in the present project (see 1.1). In studies carried out within the transference paradigm (e.g. Clyne, 1967; Bettoni, 1981a, cf. 2.3.1 and 3.3.3), informants were interviewed by the researcher in (one of) their community language(s) and the investigative focus was on transference phenomena from English. In those studies, therefore, the 'source' and the 'recipient' language of the transference phenomena were 'pre-established'. Here, however, both

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[379] Each instance of transference is called 'transfer' (cf. Clyne, 1967).

[380] The general idea for the quantitative model of analysis based on the clause was drawn from Rubino (1993, see discussion in 3.1). However, there are major differences between the model of analysis developed here and the one employed by Rubino (1993). At the clause level Rubino (1993) looked at two broad categories of contact phenomena, i.e. 'transference' (Clyne, 1967) and what she terms 'mixing'. Under the former category she coded clauses presenting "the occurrence of one single lexical element in L2/L3" (Rubino, 1993:128). Clauses presenting more than one lexical transfer were coded as 'mixing' (Rubino, 1993). Rubino (1993) also analysed contact phenomena above the clause level, i.e. language 'switching' i) between clauses uttered by the same speaker, ii) across different speakers and iii) across turns. Apart from lexical transference (cf. 5.2.2 below), none of Rubino's categories either at the clause level or above the clause level were taken into consideration here. As explained below, each transference phenomenon occurring in the clause was considered separately. However, Rubino (1993) also considered transference occurring in clauses with different base languages. Nevertheless, as discussed in 5.3.1 below, unlike Rubino's model (1993:145-8), the present model did not adopt the judgement and the intention of the informants as criteria for the identification of the base language.

Italian and the dialect in the informants' repertoire were considered. As discussed in 3.2, Italian and dialects have been in long-standing intensive contact and are undergoing convergence in the homeland. Moreover, in addition to elicited data (see 4.5.2) the present corpus included natural data (see 4.5.1) from three generations, whose competence and use of the three languages was likely to vary widely. Thus, the language 'direction' of the transference phenomena was likely to change both between and within different generations and recordings. This meant that the 'source' and the 'recipient' language of the transference phenomenon had to be identified on a case-by-case basis. This process was possible only by referring the transference phenomenon to a specific portion of the informants' speech.

As explained in 4.5.1, one of the issues that were taken into account in the methodological design was the possible conversational role that young third-generation informants might play during the conversation with their grandparents (see 4.5.2). As the analysis of the data confirmed (see discussion in 6.1), it was feared that the grandchildren might tend to limit their contribution to 'yes/no' answers or the shortest phrase containing the information requested in grandparents' wh- questions. Topic initiation and a more 'active' role in the conversation, however, would have required the informants to produce longer constituents. *Non-elliptical clauses* were therefore chosen as possible minimal units of meaningful linguistic expression in the informants' speech.

In the present study, the 'recipient' language of the transference phenomenon, i.e. the language *to* which the linguistic material is transferred (see 2.3.1), is the 'language of the clause' in which phenomenon itself occurs, i.e. the *base language*. Thus, the 'base language' always corresponds to the 'recipient language', as conceived of within the interference/transference paradigm. Unlike other approaches (see discussion in 2.3.2), the present model does *not* raise *any* claims as to:

a) the status of the clause vs. smaller or larger constituents as the most adequate unit of speech for the structural analysis of contact phenomena;

b) the sites at which transference phenomena are more likely to or can occur depending on the base language.

Within the interference/transference paradigm, the only possible 'claim' that is made in relation to the 'recipient language' seems to be an 'implicit', self-evident one, e.g. that an English noun occurring in an otherwise German utterance is more 'economically' analysed as a transfer from English ('source' language) to German ('recipient' language) rather than in the opposite direction. In the present study, the same general criterion of 'economy' also guided the identification of the 'base language' of the clause. This is the language co-occurring in the clause that allows the identification of the fewest transference phenomena within it.

The concept of 'base language' as used here should be clearly differentiated from that of 'matrix' language as established within Myers-Scotton's (1993a) 'matrix language framework model' ('MLFM', discussed in 2.3.2). In contrast with the approach adopted in this thesis, the first step in the analysis within the MLF model is in fact the identification the matrix language of the whole "*discourse sample*" under examination, of which the length was left unspecified but "must mean *more than one sentence*" (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:68). The linguistic analysis within the MLF model consisted in 'testing' the claims of the model itself about the differential role of the matrix language and the embedded language, respectively, in intrasentential codeswitching. While the possibility for a 'matrix language turnover' in the same corpus is envisaged within the MLF model (see discussion in 2.3.3), the frequency with which this change 'can' occur is not specified.[381] In the present project, however, the possibility that the base language might change as frequently as from one clause to another was one of the premises on which the model was developed.

The model employed here also envisages as one of its premises the possibility that a clause might *not* have an identifiable base language. These clauses were characterised by such a degree of structural and/or morpho-phonological sharedness between the languages (above all Italian and Veneto) that the identification of a source/recipient language was not possible or useful. Such clauses, therefore, could *not* be analysed in terms of transference

phenomena and were categorised separately, as 'compromise clauses' (see 5.3.1).[382] 'Compromise' was chosen to conform to a terminological tradition established by the interference/transference paradigm, within which the same 'balance' between features from co-occurring languages was found at the word level, i.e. in 'compromise *forms*', e.g. [Is] for German /Ist/ and English /iz/ (Clyne, 1972:21).[383]

As discussed in 5.3.1 below, the 'compromise clauses' encountered in this corpus are also different from the constituents characterised by a 'matrix language' in its 'composite' version (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001 – see discussion in 2.3.2). However, they could be accurately described in terms of Muysken's "*congruent lexicalization*" (Muysken, 2000 – see 2.3.3). While agreeing with Muysken's (2000) general theoretical approach, in the present study the researcher adopted the earlier language interference/transference paradigm, which provided a more detailed and flexible descriptive typology (see 2.3.1). Categories within it could be redefined to suit the analytical purposes of this study and presented the advantage of being expandable to account for phenomena that did not seem to occur in the speech of first- and second-generation migrants, on which major studies within the paradigm focused. Section 5.2 below gives a description of the types of transference that were identified in the corpus.

5.1.1 Categories of clauses

Some clauses in the corpus presented no contact phenomena and were coded as monolingual clauses, i.e. entirely in Veneto, Italian or English, respectively.[384] Clauses in the rest corpus exhibited contact phenomena, i.e. phenomena resulting from the co-presence of different languages in the informants' repertoire. Among the contact phenomena encountered in the corpus, the analysis focused on transference. Thus, clauses presenting at least one transference phenomenon were coded separately from those presenting only other types of contact phenomena.

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[381] Myers-Scotton (1993a:70) observed that in extreme cases the 'matrix language' can change even in the same sentence. However, it is not clear how the notion of a 'matrix language' would operate within the MLF model if the 'matrix language' changed in a large number of adjacent sentences in the same corpus. The latest reformulation of the notion of 'matrix language' in terms of '*composite* matrix language' (e.g. Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001 - see 2.3.2) did not include a discussion of this issue.

[382] An alternative analytical approach would have envisaged the possibility of an '*intra-clausal*' variation of the base language. However, it is believed that at least for the research questions investigated here, both the *usefulness* and *applicability* of the concept of transference *as an analytical tool* would be heavily 'impaired' if referred to a context of occurrence *below the clause level*.

[383] This example was categorised as a 'phonic compromise form' by Clyne (1972), whose taxonomy also included morphemic, morphosemantic and syntactic compromise forms. Compromise forms in the present corpus are described in 5.2.2.

[384] The statistical package used was SPSS 11.0.

In summary, five categories of clauses were envisaged:

1. clauses entirely in *Veneto*;

2. clauses entirely in *Italian*;

3. clauses entirely in *English*;

4. clauses exhibiting *at least one transference phenomenon*;

5. clauses exhibiting *only* contact phenomena *other than transference* (including 'compromise clauses' introduced in 5.1 above).

All clauses produced by the informants during the elicitation sessions were coded (see 4.5.2). However, with regard to corpus of data recorded during the natural conversation, the first ten non-elliptical clauses produced by informants after the researcher had left the room were not included in the analysis (see 4.5.1). This exclusion was an attempt to capture a stage of the interlocutors' language production that was more likely to reflect their natural code selection. Admittedly, ten clauses might very well not be a long enough span for the speakers to overcome a possible (initial) inhibition/embarrassment. However, it was not possible to exclude more clauses from the analysis. As discussed in 6.1, the number of clauses produced by some of the third-generation informants during the natural conversation was alarmingly small, even when they were produced in the informants' dominant language. The first hundred clauses uttered after this ten-clause 'warm-up' phase were analysed.

Repeated adjacent clauses were coded only once. Stretches recorded during the natural conversations that were not fully intelligible were also excluded from the analysis.385 In cases of false starts or self-repair, only the full form was coded. However, in self-repairs involving a switch between two languages, if the full form was given in both languages both forms were coded, as illustrated in the example below:386

1 (GD-6-13-3Avi): c'ho anche *National Eftpos Card*, la carta della *bank* la banc- la banca
(E 'I also have *National Eftpos Card*, the card of the bank')

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385 The number of unintelligible clauses occurring during the natural conversation between the grandchildren and the grandparents is reported in table E.6 in Appendix E.
386 Note that the analysis of pauses and hesitation phenomena accompanying transference phenomena is not within the scope of the present study (cf. e.g. Kinder, 1984, 1987, discussed in 3.2.3). See list of abbreviation and transcription conventions on pg. xviii.

Clauses consisting of 'metalinguistic' comments, mainly occurring in the 'elicited' language, were not included in the analysis, as in the example below:

2 (GD-2-24-2cv/2Bv): I know what that is / can't think of it / + couch

However, 'metalinguistic' comments focusing on the 'content' being expressed, such the one occurring below, were taken into consideration:

3 (GD-1-26-2cV/2AV): dov'è la ragazza?
(E 'where's the girl?')

5.2 Directions and types of transfer

Clauses in the corpus contained up to three transference phenomena. The *direction* and the *type* of each transfer in the clause were coded. All six directions were considered:

1) from Italian to Veneto;

2) from English to Veneto;

3) from Veneto to Italian;

4) from English to Italian;

5) from Veneto to English;

6) from Italian to English.

Seven main types of transfers were considered:

a) phonic transfers;

b) lexical transfers, i.e. i) unintegrated lexical transfers; ii) phonically integrated lexical transfers and iii) morphologically integrated lexical transfers; iv) invariable lexical transfers;

c) morphological transfers;

d) phrasal transfers;

e) semantic transfers;

f) morphosyntactic translations;

g) syntactic transference.

Transfer types from a) to d), i.e. phonic, lexical, morphological and phrasal, are 'overt' types of transfers, i.e. they result in forms that exhibit morpho-phonological material from both the source and the recipient languages. Transfer types from e) to g), i.e. semantic, syntactic and morphosyntactic translations, are 'covert' types of transfers, i.e. they result in forms that exhibit morpho-phonological material from the *recipient* language. The aspects at the basis of this distinction are of course not new and are parallel to Haugen's (1956:50) concepts of 'importation' and 'substitution'.[387]

In subsections 5.2.1-7, each of the transfer types indicated above is described. In this study phonic, semantic and syntactic transfers are defined in the same way as within the transference paradigm. However, lexical transfers were partially redefined, and so were morphological transfers. Invariable transfers, phrasal transfers and morphosyntactic translations are new categories.[388]

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[387] A similar differentiation also informs Schmid's (1994) analysis of the Italian spoken by Spanish-speaking migrants in German Switzerland, which he approaches from the point of view of second language acquisition 'strategies' (Schmid, 1994). Schmitt (2000) used 'overt' and 'covert' in a different sense than in the present model of analysis to indicate different types of codeswitching. In her analysis, 'covert codeswitching' is 'convergence', i.e. "the result of a composite matrix language" (Schmitt, 2000:9 – cf. discussion of Myers-Scotton and Jake's (2001) 'composite matrix language' in 2.3.2.2). Schmitt's (2000:9) 'overt codeswitching' refers to "non-target forms, including bare forms" (cf. discussion in 5.2.2).

[388] As already mentioned (4.4.7), throughout the analysis the term 'Veneto' is used to refer comprehensively to the Paduan and Trevisano varieties of the 'Veneto' dialects in the repertoires of the participants in the study (cf. Pellegrini, 1977). Where relevant, differences between Paduan and Trevisano that had to be taken into account in the analysis are pointed out. 'Veneto' as used in the present analysis encompasses both 'rural' features as well as features pertaining to the regional koinè (cf. 3.1.2.4). In his commentary to the 'Carta dei Dialetti d'Italia' ('Map of the Dialects of Italy'), Pellegrini (1977:15-6, cf. map 1) also observed that the internal subdivision of the linguistic regions on the map did not reflect the progressive and rapid 'dilution' of the most marked features of the local dialects in favour of regional koinài especially in urban centres (cf. 3.1.2.4). In Italy, central Veneto 'rural' features are now found in restricted areas and among the oldest speakers (cf. 5.2.1.4). While among the Italian-Australian participants in this study some of local features sporadically occurred even in the speech of the youngest speakers (cf. 5.2.1.3-4 below), they were very rare even among the first-generation informants and more so among speakers in Italy. Thus, in the analysis features that belong to the Veneto regional koinè or to urban dialects were considered as 'Veneto'. However, not everything that belongs to the Italian (portion of the) continuum (cf. discussion in 3.1.2) was considered as 'Italian'. As explained in further detail below (5.2.1.3), at the phonological level, characteristics of Veneto 'regional' or 'popular regional Italian' (cf. discussion in 3.1.2.2-3) that are not phonemically relevant or that virtually represent the categorical realization of speakers of Italian in the Veneto region (cf. Canepari, 1984) were regarded as 'Italian'. Whenever a dialectal source was identifiable, other features at the phonological or morphosyntactic levels, whether identified by scholars as 'regional' or 'popular' (cf. Berruto, 1979:488 discussed in 3.1.2.3), were coded as 'transference' phenomena from Veneto. As already mentioned (3.1.2.1), the analysis of the corpus relied on bibliographical works as 'points of reference' for the distinction of features from the two community languages as defined above. Works that were consulted for the analysis of transference phenomena between Italian and Veneto at the different linguistic levels were Cortelazzo (1969, 1972), Marcato (1984), Marcato and Ursini (1998), Mioni, (1976), Mioni and Trumper (1977); Renzi (1988), Rohlfs (1968), Trumper (1972), Tuttle (1997), Zamboni, (1977, 1979) for general issues; Canepari (1979, 1980, 1984) and Telmon (1993) especially for phonology; Beninca (1983, 1994), Beninca and Vanelli (1982), Borgato (1984), Renzi and Vanelli (1983), Poletto (1998) for syntax. Dictionaries by Devoto and Oli

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5.2.1 Phonic Transfers

'Phonic' transference is the transference of phonemes and allophones (Clyne, 1972:9). As explained above (5.1), in the present model the 'recipient' language of the transfer is the 'base' language of the clause in which the transfer itself occurs, e.g. a transfer 'from English to Italian' occurred in an Italian-base clause. In the frequent instances in which a whole clause exhibited a 'foreign accent' (Haugen, 1956:50), the coding of each individual phonic transfer would have been unwieldy. Only one phonic transfer per clause was coded. The phonic transfers that are coded in the model involve anything from a single feature in one item, to the sound pattern of the whole clause.

5.2.1.1 Phonic transfers from English to Italian/Veneto.

Phonic transfers from English to Italian and Veneto, respectively, were substantially the same. This is because the phonic transfers from English occurring in the present corpus mainly involved the features that are shared by the Italian and the Veneto phonological systems.[389] Examples illustrating phonic transfers in Italian and Veneto clauses, respectively, are given separately.[390]

In Weinreich's (1953:18) terms, phonic transfers from English to Italian/Veneto in the corpus fell under the category of 'phone substitution'. This "occurs between phonemes that are identically defined in two languages but whose normal pronunciation differs, e.g. the non customary pronunciation of an identifiable phoneme" (Weinreich, 1953:21).[391] The

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(1990), Durante and Turato (1993), Durante and Basso (1997) Cortelazzo and Zolli (1979-1988), Zingarelli (1983) were also consulted. Canepari (1979) and D'Eugenio, (1985) were referred to for transference phenomena between English and Italian/Veneto at the phonic level.

[389] Differences are pointed out where relevant.

[390] Phonic transfers from English to clauses which exhibited both Italian and Veneto forms were coded in the direction of whichever community language was the base language of the clause.

[391] Weinreich (1953: 18-23) argued that *phonic interference* occurs when speaker perceives and reproduces the sounds of one language (secondary) in terms of another (primary). In addition to phone *substitution*, which does not cause intelligibility problems, e.g. pronunciation of [r] where uvular [R] is required (Weinreich, 1953:19, 21), Weinreich (1953: 18-23) distinguished between two other forms of phonological interference from a phonemic point of view, i.e. *under-differentiation* and *over-differentiation* of phonemes. 'Under-differentiation' occurs when two sounds of the secondary system are confused because their counterparts in the primary system are not distinguished, e.g. confusion of /y/ and /i/ in Schwyzertütsch by Romansch speakers (Weinreich, 1953:18). This invariably creates disorientation in a monolingual listener. 'Over-differentiation' of phonemes involves the imposition of phonemic distinctions from the primary system on the sounds of the secondary system, in which they are not required, e.g. the Italian treatment [e] and [ɛ] as separate phonemes in Russian (Weinreich, 1953:21). This process does not create any comprehension problems in the listener. A fourth type of phonic interference is 'reinterpretation of

main phonic transference phenomena from English to Italian/Veneto in the present corpus involved the substitutions given below.[392] These were found in various combinations in the same word. Furthermore, their occurrence varied, i.e. it was not 'categorical', not even for the same speaker:[393]

(a) Italian/Veneto /a/ > English /ɛ/ or, especially in unstressed syllables, /ə/, e.g. Italian *bambina* (English 'little girl') [bəm'bi:na]; Italian *vai* (English '(you) go' 2nd sing.) ['vɛi]; Italian *aiuta* (English '(s/he) helps') [ɛ'ju:ta].[394]

(b) Italian/Veneto alveolar trill /r/ > English retroflex post-alveolar approximant [ɹ], e.g. Italian/Veneto *libro* (English 'book') ['libɹo], Italian/Veneto *dentro* (English 'inside') ['dentɹo]; Italian/Veneto *sempre* (English 'always') ['sempɹei];[395]

(c) Italian/Veneto voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ > English aspirated [pʰ, tʰ, kʰ], e.g. Italian/Veneto *papà* (English 'dad') [pʰə'pʰa – 'pʰapa], Italian *capelli* (English 'hair') [kʰə'pʰɛl:i];[396]

(d) Italian/Veneto dental voiceless/voiced plosives /t̪ d̪/ > English alveolar /t d/, e.g. Italian *padre* (English 'father') ['pʰadɹe];

(e) Italian/Veneto dental lateral /l/ and Italian palatal lateral /ʎ/ > English velarised alveolar [ɫ]. e.g. Italian *il* (definite masculine singular article, English 'the') ['iɫ]; Italian *(si) sveglia* (English '(s/he) wakes up') ['zveɫia];[397]

(f) Italian/Veneto /u/ > English [ju], e.g. Italian/Veneto *continua* (English '(s/he) continues') [kon'tinjua];

(g) Italian/Veneto nexus /VrC/ > English /VC/, e.g. Italian/Veneto *barca* (English 'boat') ['ba:ka], Italian/Veneto *porti* (English 'you bring/take' 2nd sing.) ['pʰɔ:ti]; Italian/Veneto *dormire* (English 'to sleep') [do'mire].[398]

The following are examples of phonic transference from English to Italian:

4   (GS-7-3Ai/3Av-12): + the *bambina* [bəm'bi:na]; *porti* ['pʰɔ:ti] la *barca* ['ba:ka] *dentro* ['dentɹo] un bathtub / --- con la acqua
    (E 'the little girl takes the boat inside the bathtub with the water')

5   (GS-7-3Ai/3Av-12): and legge un *libra* ['libɹa] / *libro* ['libɹo]
    (E 'and she reads a book')

6   (GD-6-3Ai/3Av-14): lui prende *altri* ['ɛltɹi] giocattoli
    (English 'he takes more toys')

7   (GD-6-3Ai/3Av-14): // + *pettina* ['pʰɛt:ina] il *pupazzo* [pʰu'pʰats:o]
    (English '(s/he) combs the stuffed toy')

The following are examples of phonic transfers from English into Veneto clause:

8   (GD-1-2cv/2Av-26): e ciama *el papà* [,el pʰə'pʰa]
    (English 'and (s/he) calls the dad')

9   (M-3/4/5-3Av/3Av): se i ga deciso de compari [kʰom'pʰari] o tusi o tose
    (English 'if they have decided about maid of honour/best man or guys or girls')

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distinctions', which occurs when the bilingual distinguishes phonemes of the secondary system by features which are merely concomitant or redundant, but which are relevant in the primary system (Weinreich, 1953:18).
[392] Some these phenomena were found in Bettoni's (1981a:55-6) corpus.
[393] Throughout the thesis ">" indicates "sometimes becomes". At the phonological level it stands for " is sometimes pronounced as", where "sometimes" specifies that a) the phenomenon is not categorical and b) no attempt has been made in the present study to investigate the distribution of the phenomenon according to the environment in which it occurs.
[394] As explained below (5.2.1.3), differences between standard Italian and Veneto dialects in the distribution of the close-mid and open-mid vowels /e ~ ɛ/, /o ~ ɔ/ were not considered (cf. Canepari, 1984:41).
[395] Standard Italian /r/ is trilled [r]. In Veneto regional Italian, however, if not geminated and especially in intervocalic and also preconsonantal position, /r/ is often pronounced with one tap only [ɾ], e. g. *bere, porta* (Eng. to drink, door) ['beɾe, 'poɾta] (Canepari, 1984:49). As explained in 5.2.1.3 below, this phenomenon, which in Weinreich's (1953:18) terms would be described as 'phone susbstitution' (see discussion above), was not coded as transference from the dialect. The allophone [ɾ] of English /r/ and /t d/ (Canepari, 1979:236) was never found in non-English words in the corpus.
[396] Given the great variation to which the lexicon of Veneto dialects is subject, '*papà* can also be realised as *pupà* or *popà* (Marcato and Ursini, 1998:48).

[397] Veneto dialects do not have a palatal /ʎ/ (Zamboni, 1977:13 – see discussion in 5.2.2.3)
[398] In Australian English non-prevocalic /r/ is deleted or vocalised.

5.2.1.2 Phonic Transfers from Italian/Veneto to English

As for phonic transference phenomena from English to Italian/Veneto discussed above (5.1.1.1), a separation between the two community languages as the source language of phonic transfers into English occurring in the corpus was not always feasible or necessary. This means that very often, phonic transfers into English in the present corpus could be interpreted as having both an Italian and/or a Veneto source. For convenience, when this was the case, Italian was coded as the source language.

As discussed in the following chapters (6 and 7), only a few cases in this category occurred in the corpus. The methods were such that English either represented the language chosen by speaker, as in the 'natural' conversations (see 4.5.1), or the language resorted to when stuck for a word, as in the elicitation sessions (see 4.5.2). As a result, English was used mostly by the speakers who had mastered its phonological system well. However, in the excerpt below (10), lack of comprehension on the grandchild's part 'forced' the grandmother to produce a whole sentence in English. Note that the English clause 'translates' the clauses occurring immediately before, which the grandchild did not understand. Significantly, the first of the grandmother's clauses in the series was uttered in Veneto. In the next clause she resorted to Italian, which was then repeated, but it was only when she offered a translation into English that she got the grandchild's reply. The English clause was pronounced with the familiar Italian/Veneto sounds that approximate more closely the English sounds:

10 (GS-7-3Ai/3Av-12 and Grandmother)
  GM: + / / te gheto divertio?
  GC: uh?
  GM: ti sei divertito?
  GC: / /
  GM: ti sei divertito *you enjoy it*? [juˈindʒɔja]
  GC: si'

  (GM: 'did you have fun?'
  GC: uh?
  GM: 'did you have fun?'
  GC: / /
  GM: 'did you have fun *you enjoy it*?'
  GC: 'yes')

The example below (11) comes from the speech of a third-generation informant during the Italian elicited session. In his attempt to produce the language required by the task, the speaker produced a clause in English that presents phonic transference from Italian/Veneto. The clause is preceded by an almost identical one, in which, however, the pronunciation is English. Also note that in both clauses the English verb is left uninflected and does not agree with the Italian lexical transfers functioning as the subject of the clauses ('(la) mamma' – cf. discussion of 'bare forms' in 5.2.1.1 below). The second clause sounds like a further approximation to the elicited language, of which the phonological patterns are reproduced. In the sequence taken as a whole, it is as if the informant were 'imitating' likely morphological and phonological features of his grandparents' English:[399]

11 (GS-7-3Ai/3Av-12): then <u>la mamma</u> bring her back - - - to her room / 743 <u>mamma</u> *bring her* [ˈbringə] back *to* [ˈtu:] <u>letto</u> [400]
  (E 'the mum.....' 'mum .... bed')

Examples of English items in which allophones have been substituted for Italian/Veneto ones were more frequent in clauses whose recipient language is one of the community languages. These were classified as 'phonically integrated lexical transfers' (see 5.2.2.4 below).

5.2.1.3 Phonic transfers from Veneto to Italian

Unlike the analysis of phonic transference to and from English, the analysis of phonic transference between Veneto and Italian did not take into consideration phenomena that never have phonemic relevance in the recipient language. That is, for instance, the realisation of /n/ as velar [ŋ] in preconsonantal position, which is generalised in the Italian spoken by Veneto speakers (Canepari, 1984:50-1; Mioni and Trumper, 1977), was not considered here as a phonic transfer from Veneto to Italian as [ŋ] and [n] stand in an allophonic relationship in the Italian phonological system. However, the degemination of Italian /nn/ by Veneto speakers, whose dialect does not present double consonants, may

result in the 'confusion' through 'under-differentiation' (Weinreich, 1953:18) between e.g. *sanno* (English 'they know') and *sano* (English 'healthy' masculine, singular - cf. 5.2.1.1). This type of processes frequently results from the overgeneralisation of 'correspondence' or 'conversion' rules established by the speakers themselves between Italian and dialect items, e.g. degemination of Italian *mamma* ['mam:a] > ['mama] , which is the Veneto equivalent, e.g. *mama* (English 'mum'), but also Italian *m'ama* (English '(s)he loves me').[401]

However, there were exceptions to the above criterion of phonemic relevance. One exception pertains to the close-mid and open-mid vowels /e ~ ɛ/, /o ~ ɔ/, which are phonemes in both Italian and Veneto but have a different distribution in the two languages, e.g. *pesca* ['pes:ka] which in Standard (or Central) Italian means only 'fishing (activity)' but in Veneto also 'peach', for which Standard (or Central) Italian has *pesca* ['pɛs:ka] (cf. Canepari, 1984 :41-46; 1979:195-6). 'Non-standard' distributions in the close-mid and open-mid vowels characterise the Italian spoken in all regions but the central ones and even varieties of Italian spoken within the same region (Canepari, 1984:46). In the Italian spoken in the Veneto region, the above oppositions do not have a high functional yield and are generally treated as one functional entity, i.e. /E O/, respectively (Canepari, 1984:46). For this reason, features of the informants' speech reflecting the regional rather than 'standard' distribution of these vowels were not considered as transfers. Similarly, the presence of /dz/ vs. /ts/ in word initial position and [z] vs. [s] in intervocalic position, which are typical features of the Italian in the Veneto region as well as in the north of Italy, were not analysed (Canepari, 1977:157).

Many of the transfers from Veneto in the corpus are parallel to those characterising Veneto regional Italian (cf. 3.1.2.2.), e.g. degemination of /CC/ groups:[402]

12 (GM-8-3Av/3B3ci): noi lo *abiamo* comprato
    (vs. Italian 'abbiamo'; English 'we *have* bought it')

13 (F-6-3Ai/3Av): e *hano* tolto il camion da lui
    (vs. Italian 'hanno'; English 'and they *have* taken the truck away from him')

14 (GD-1-2cv/2Av-26): *abraccia* l- la madre
    (vs. Italian 'abbraccia'; English '(s/he) hugs the mum')

In the example below, the prefix of Italian verb *ad-dormentarsi* (English 'to fall asleep') is elided, as it sometimes happens in Veneto/Italian lexical pairs (e.g. Veneto *rabiarse* vs. Italian *ar-rabbiarsi*):[403]

15 (GD-8-3Av/3B3ci-23): la madre si *dormenta*
    (vs. Italian 'addormenta' and Veneto 'indormessa'; English 'the mother falls asleep')

5.2.1.4 Phonic transfers from Italian to Veneto

Some instances of phonic transference between the two community languages seem to stem from the application of a 'conversion rule' to items which would require a further or a different 'conversion rule' to be (fully) 'converted' into their equivalent in the other community language. The items in the relevant lexical pairs were sometimes quite distant

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definite article is omitted, i.e. *mia mamma* (E 'my mum') is much more widely used than Standard Italian *la mia mamma* (E 'the my mum') (Canepari, 1984).

[401] For this reason, this type of transference between the community languages would be more adequately termed 'phonemic' rather than 'phonic'. However, throughout the thesis the latter term will be used to keep the terminology consistent. The same applies to 'phonic' integration (see 5.2.2.5). 'Correspondence' or 'conversion' rules are discussed in relation to structural convergence between Italian and the dialects in 3.1.2.5. In the present model of analysis all forms that actually correspond to entries in the lexicon of either language were considered as such, regardless of the environment in which they occur. This means that any occurrence of *mamma*, as in the example given above, was counted as an Italian lexical item, and any occurrence of *mama* was counted as a Veneto one.

[402] The shortening of Italian geminated consonantal groups might be the result of phonic transference from English rather than Veneto. Furthermore, both English and Veneto might be responsible is the deaffrication of Italian /dz/ > /z/, which often characterises Italian/Veneto lexical pairs (see also discussion in 5.2.1.3 below). For instance, *zero* (English 'zero'), pronounced as ['dzɛ·ro] in Veneto regional Italian (Canepari, 1984:57-8), might be pronounced as Veneto ['zɛ·ro, 'zɛ·ro] through a possible interference from English orthography, where graphic –z– also corresponds to /z/. It was impossible to identify which of the two languages in the informants' repertoire was the source. However, they were coded as transference phenomena from Veneto as they seemed more frequent in the oldest generation, for whom English was a much less likely source language than Veneto. To keep the coding system consistent, all such phenomena were thus coded in the same way, regardless of the generation of the speakers who produced them.

[403] However, variation is found in the prefixes of Veneto verbs, e.g. a variant of *rabiarse* is *inrabiarse* (Marcato and Ursini, 1998:230). Furthermore, Italian verbs sometimes present a prefix while the Veneto equivalents do not, e.g. Italian *cominciare* vs. Veneto *scomissiare* (Marcato and Ursini, 1998:230 - see example in 5.2.1.4 below). While the elision/addition of prefixes changes the structure of the word, it was not

from each other. In the example below, Italian post-alveolar fricative /ʃ/, which does not exist in Veneto, replaces /s/ in the Veneto verb *scumisiare* > 'scumi*sc*iare' (English 'to start').[404] This results in a phonic transfer, rather than a complete 'conversion' of the Veneto item into its Italian equivalent, which is quite different, i.e. *cominciare* [ˌkominˈtʃaːre]:[405]

16 (GD-1-2cv/2Av-26): / / / dopo: / lei scumi*sc*ia [ˌskuˈmiʃja] zugare coi zogatui
      (Veneto 'scomisia'; English 'then she starts to play with they toys')

5.2.2 Lexical Transfers

Lexical transference is the transference of words in form and meaning (Clyne, 1972:9). In the present study, lexical transfers (like phonic, morphological and phrasal transfers) are referred to as 'overt' transfers as they give rise to forms that exhibit morpho-phonological material from both the source and the recipient language. Unless otherwise specified, the term '*lexical* transfer' is used to refer to items that are *not integrated* into the phonological and/or morphological system of the recipient language. These are distinguished from transfers that are *integrated*, i.e. phonically and morphologically integrated lexical transfers (cf. Clyne, 1972).

Here, however, *ad hoc* subcategories were created for the generation of the speakers and the typology of languages investigated. In this model of analysis, lexical transfers, whether unintegrated or integrated, are only *variable* words, i.e. words that undergo inflectional morphology, e.g. nouns and verbs. *Invariable* words, e.g. simple prepositions and

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coded as transference at the morphological level as it does not have morphosyntactic relevance (cf. Discussion of morphological transference in 5.2.3 below).

[404] Standard Italian /ʃ/ does not exist in Veneto dialects and is reduced in Veneto regional Italian, as in the dialect, to an alveolar fricative [s(j)], e.g. Italian *scelta* [ˈʃelːta] vs. Veneto [ˈs(j)elːta] (English 'choice').

[405] The form produced by the informant presents 'metaphony', i.e. 'sc*u*miscia' vs. 'scomisia' (cf. *scomisiare*), and so does 'zogat*u*i' vs. 'zugatoi/zogatoi'. 'Metaphony' is a vocalic phenomenon whereby /e/ is raised to /i/ and /o/ is raised to /u/ before front or palatal vowel /i/. It frequently concerns masculine plural nouns where e>i (e.g. *temp-oltimp-i*, SI 'tempo/tempi', Engl. 'time/times') or o>u (e.g. *toso/tus-i*, SI 'ragazzo/ragazzi', Engl. 'boy/boys'). Metaphonic forms alternate with non-metaphonic forms in thematic vowels and verb roots (e.g. *ghìimo* vs. *ghèimo*, SI 'abbiamo', Engl. 'we have'; *te vidi* vs. *te vedi*, SI '(tu) vedi', Eng. 'you (sing.) see' (Mioni and Trumper, 1977).). Nowadays in Italy metaphony is still present in the more conservative 'peasant' varieties of the central Veneto dialects and most likely only among older speakers than the informant in the reported example (i.e. aged 26). Other conservative traits, i.e. interdentals [θ, ð], were found in even younger informants, i.e. aged 13. These are only present in rural central Veneto

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conjunctions, were categorised separately.[406] This categorisation aimed to gain insight into the informants' competence of the system of inflectional morphology of Italian/Veneto, which might be reflected in differential transference patterns.

There are of course differences in the items included in variable/invariable word classes across the three languages involved here. Furthermore, within the same language, not all the words in a given 'grammatical' class, e.g. adjectives, are variable or invariable. The two community languages, which generally have a 'richer' inflectional morphology than English and are the focus of this study, were taken as parameters for the coding of English lexical transfers. For instance, the English adjective '*beautiful*' in the example below is, in English, 'invariable'. It never undergoes any inflectional morphology, not even in its comparative/superlative form, which would have to be constructed 'periphrastically', rather than by inflection ('*more* beautiful' vs. e.g. 'bigg*er*'). In the present analysis, however, this item was categorised as an 'English lexical transfer into I' since its possible Italian equivalent is 'variable', i.e. it would have to be inflected for number/gender (e.g. 'bell-*o*', singular/masculine).

17 (GD-8-3Av/3B3ci-23): il sole era *beautiful* 31 13
      (Italian '.... *bello*' - more idiomatic: 'c'era un bel sole'; English 'the sun was *beautiful*')[407]

Thus, 'lexical transfers' are 'variable' words or words whose Italian/Veneto equivalents are 'variable'. A further distinction was made between content and function words. In this model of analysis, lexical transfers, whether unintegrated or integrated, do *not* include 'function' words. Variable, function words, e.g. articles, personal pronouns, etc., were coded in a separate category, i.e. as morphological transfers (see 5.2.3). This category of words in the community languages imposes an 'obligatory choice' from often very complicated paradigms. Furthermore, they tend to be monosyllabic and less stable than 'content' words from the point of view of sentential stress. For this reason they tend to be

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and through the progressive Venetisation of central Veneto dialects are being substituted by [s, z] (Zamboni, 1979:32).

[406] No distinction was made between phonically unintegrated and integrated 'invariable' lexical transfers.

[407] Some Italian/Veneto nouns or adjectives are classified as 'invariable' as they retain the same inflection at singular/plural and masculine/feminine (e.g. 'boia', E 'executioner'). No such instances were found in the corpus.

much more frequently omitted.[408] This type of items was coded in a separate category in an attempt to investigate the informants' transference behaviour in relation to them. Table 34 summarises this categorisation in terms of the combined distinctions between 'variable/invariable' and 'content/function' words, respectively.[409]

As discussed in 5.3.3 below, inflectional morphology was the level at which all 'non-standard forms' in the corpus were found.

Table 34 Lexical and morphological transfers

Transfer type	Variable Words	Function Words
Lexical (unintegrated/integrated)	+	–
Invariable	–	(±)
Morphological	+	+

5.2.2.1 Lexical transfers from English to Italian/Veneto

The following are some examples of lexical transfers from English to Italian, i.e. English 'content' words which are 'variable' or whose Italian equivalents are 'variable'. These items are inserted in an Italian-base clause without undergoing any modification at the phonological or morphological level. In the examples given below, gender assignment of the English nouns occurring in the Italian clause is marked only 'syntactically'. The masculine gender assigned to *blanket* and *sink*, respectively, can be retrieved from the Italian article/articulated preposition accompanying the transfers themselves, i.e. *il* and *su-l*, respectively. However, no Italian morpheme is added to the English lexical items, which are left morphologically, as well as phonically, unintegrated (cf. Bettoni, 1981:59):[410]

18 (GD-8-3Av/3B3ci-23): Prende / / il *blanket*
  (Italian 'Prende la *coperta*'; English '(s/he) takes the *blanket*')

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[408] See e.g. results of Bettoni (1986) discussed in 3.2.3.
[409] Interjections were not included in the analysis.
[410] No attempt was made at investigating patterns of gender assignment of English lexical transfers.

19 (GD-8-3Av/3B3ci-23): A'esso: / mettono i piatti sul / *sink*
  (Italian 'Adesso mettono i piatti sul *lavandino*'; English 'Now they put the plates on the *sink*')

English compound nouns were also coded in this category. Syntactically they behave like a single lexical item and are likely to be perceived as a single unit by the speakers:

20 (GD-6-3Ai/3Av-14): hanno aprito il *mobile phone*
  (Italian 'hanno aperto il *cellulare/telefonino*'; English 'they opened up the *mobile phone*')

Some English verb-forms occurring in Italian-base clauses produced during the elicitation sessions are also uninflected, i.e. they do not present the Italian or the English third-person singular inflectional morpheme:[411]

21 (GS-7-3Ai/3Av-12): lui: / *make* un barca / / / con piatto:
  (Italian '(lui) *fa* una barca con [un/il] piatto'; English 'he makes a boat with [a/the] dish')

Source-language proper names and toponyms were not considered as 'transfers' as they are less indicative of the informants' competence in the community language(s). The clause reported below, therefore, was coded as monolingual Italian ('Metro' being the name of a night club in Melbourne):

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[411] 'Bare forms' are explained within the 'Matrix Language Frame Model' in terms of lack of 'congruency' of the embedded-language 'content morpheme' with a matrix-language lemma counterpart, either at the lexical-conceptual or morphosyntactic level (see in particular Myers-Scotton and Jake, 1995). Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995:995) discussed the insertion of English bare form in Spanish. However, as already reported above (5.2.1.2, example 11), in the present corpus some English bare verb forms also occurred in English-base clauses. Furthermore, also Italian verbs were sometimes left 'bare', i.e. in their infinitive form. Both instances can be interpreted as evidence of the informants' attempt to approximate the target language. In the former instance, this attempt is less successful as the speakers do not seem to know the lexical or the inflectional morpheme of the form. However, the omission of the 's' inflection could be interpreted as a sort of 'preparatory stage' for the subsequent assignment of the Italian/Veneto inflection. In the latter instance, i.e. Italian infinitives, the speaker produces the lexical root of the Italian verb, which carries the grammatical morpheme signalling the conjugation, but does not produce any inflections. In this study, the use of infinitives or other characteristics pertaining to the tense and aspect of the verbal forms used by the informants, which have also been found in the speech of Italian L2 speakers (cf. Giacalone Ramat, 1995c), were not investigated further.

22 (GD-6-3Ai/3Av-14): hai sentito che *Carl* viene al *Metro* con me?
(English 'have you heard that *Carl* is coming to the *Metro* with me?')

Nouns corresponding to an entry both in English and Italian dictionaries were not coded as 'transfers', whether they retained their English phonic shape or were phonically integrated into the Italian.[412] In the example below, *limousine* was not coded as a lexical transfer as the item has an entry in Italian dictionaries, despite the fact that it was pronounced with the English stress pattern. *Limo*, however, is a lexical transfer, as the Italian lexicon does not have an entry for the abbreviated form:

23 (GD-6-3Ai/3Av-14): and / arriviamo in *limo* ['lɪmǝu] / in *limousine* ['lɪmǝziːn]
(Italian '.... in *limousine* / in *limousine* [ˌlimu'ziːn]'; English 'and we arrive there in *limo* / in *limousine*')

English nouns that have an entry in Italian dictionaries but retain English plural inflection were not coded as lexical transfers, as *s*-plural markers are often added to English 'borrowings' by Italian monolinguals. The clause below was coded as a clause entirely in Italian:

24 (GD-6-3Ai/3Av-14): e io pago / venti *cents* al minuto
(English 'and I pay twenty *cents* a minute')

This criterion was also applied to phonically integrated English transfers. The clause below, for instance, was coded as entirely in Veneto:

25 (GD-2-2cv/2Bv): alora un dì semo nati noaltri semo 'ndati al *club* ['klab]
(English 'and then one day we went we went to the *club*')

Examples of *invariable lexical transfers* from English to Italian are given below:

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[412] See discussion of 'codeswitching vs. borrowing' in 2.3.2.1. In agreement with the descriptive and purely synchronic approach adopted here, no attempt was made to investigate the possible distinction between these

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26 (GS-7-3Ai/3Av-12):+ vei con la mamma *and* legge un libra / libro
(Italian '...*e*...'; English 'he goes with the mum *and* reads a book')

27 (GD-8-3Av/3B3ci-23): e lui s'indormentato finalmente --- *so* / lo mettono indietro in letto
(Italian '...*così/allora*...'; English 'and he's fallen asleep --- *so* they put him back to bed')

28 (GD-2-2cv/2Bv-24): *and* gioco con una barca
(Italian 'E gioco con una barca'; English 'And I play with a boat')

Many instances English lexical and invariable transfers occurring in Veneto-base clauses were found in the corpus of second-generation informants, who were taped while conversing with the grandparents. Some of the English lexical items transferred in their Veneto were not integrated, which was consistent with their native-like command of the English phonological system:

29 (M-3/4/5-3Av/3Av): ma po darsi che éa ga anca paura parlare par no esere masa + *excited* e *happy* caza
(English 'maybe she's afraid to talk as she doesn't want to show she's excited and happy at home')

30 (M-3/4/5-3Av/3Av): no ghi n'è proprio ezagerà THOUGH
(English 'there aren't too many of them though')

5.2.2.2 Lexical transfers from Italian/Veneto to English

Sometimes the informants produced clauses that are wholly in English apart from a single variable/invariable lexical item from Italian, which retains its Italian pronunciation. Like English verbs occurring in Italian clauses, many Italian verbs occurring in English clauses were left in their infinitive form (see 5.2.2.1 and 5.3.3):

31 (GS-7-3Ai/3Av-12): and then- the- the *bambina* is doing something with the *piatte* --- then the *papà* is looking at her
(English '.....*girl*...........*dishes*...........*dad*')

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two phenomena. As already discussed (5.1), analysis of the corpus relied on bibliographical 'normative' points of reference.

32 (GS-7-3Ai/3Av-12): and then she *soffiare*[413]
    (Italian 'e poi lei *soffia*'; English '....blows')

33 (GD-6-3Ai/3Av-14): *ma* / I got to put most of the money in
    (English '*but*...')

Lexical transfers from Veneto to English were mainly very familiar, high-frequency nouns:

34 (GS-5-3Av/3Av-13): Yeah / that's what *zio* ['zi·o] Frank said
    (Standard Italian '...zio ['tsi·o]; Veneto regional Italian ['dzi·o]; 'English '..*uncle*..') [414]

5.2.2.3 Lexical transfers from Veneto to Italian and vice versa

As discussed in 5.2.1.3-4 above, very frequently the presence of Veneto lexical items in an Italian clause, or vice versa, seems to have resulted from the more of less conscious application of conversion rules. These rules operate on segments that differentiate equivalent items in Italian/Veneto lexical pairs. Given the wide equivalence between the Veneto and the Italian inflectional morphology, in most instances it was not possible to distinguish between morphologically 'unintegrated' and 'integrated' lexical transfers, e.g. Veneto *svej-a* ['zveja] vs. Italian *svegli-a* ['zveʎ:a] in the example below.[415] This type of lexical transfers, however, was coded as unintegrated:

35 (GD-1-2cv/2Av-26): la mamma si *sveja* ['zveja]
    (Italian '...sveglia' ['zveʎ:a]; English 'the mum *wakes up*')

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[413] As discussed below (5.2.6), the infinitive is also used to express the English present progressive.

[414] As already discussed (see 5 2.1.3), /dz/ > /z/ might be the result of the influence of both English and Veneto. In this instance, that is, the item would be either coded as an Italian lexical transfer phonically integrated into English or a Veneto unintegrated lexical transfer, occurring in an English-base clause, respectively. The second option was chosen.

[415] Palatal /l/ is absent from the phonological system of Veneto dialects (Zamboni, 1977:13), which therefore do not distinguish between /lj/ and /ʎ/, which are realised in the same way (Canepari, 1984:52). Thus, in Veneto regional Italian /ʎʎ/ and /liV/ are both generally pronounced as lateral pre-palatal [lj] so that

36 (GD-4-3Av/3Av-15): e vai a *leto*
    (Italian '......*letto*'; English 'and you go to *bed*')[416]

37 (F-7-3Ai/3Av): se tu *podevi* guardare i bambini
    (Italian '...*potevi*...'; English 'if you could look after the children')

The following are examples of *invariable words*:

38 (F-6-3Ai/3Av): ma forse verso le due e tre *de* Gennaio vengo giù
    (Italian '...(il due o il tre) *di*...'; English 'but maybe around the second or third *of* January Italian come down')

39 (Gc-8-3Av/3B3ci): *no* puo' dormire
    (Italian '*non*...'; English 'he can-*not* sleep')

40 (GM-6-3Ai/3Av): e *parché* paghi tuti quei soldi? 3603
    (Italian '*perché*.....'; English '*why* do you pay all that money?')

Parallel phenomena from Italian to Veneto are:

41 (GM-6-3Ai/3Av): te vien dai *nonni*
    (Veneto '...*noni*...'; English 'you come at *grandma and grandpa*'s)

42 (M-1/2Ital): te godi pì éa vita da *giovane* però
    (Veneto '...*zovane/zoveno*....; English 'you enjoy your life better when you are *young* though')

43 (M-1-2cv/2Av): marti de sera ᶜà cea de de de de de Silvio fa *due* ani, me nevoda / me
    nipotina
    (Veneto '....*do*.....[ᶜà] me *nevodeta*'; English 'Tuesday night the daughter of (...) Sergio turns *two*, my niece / my *little niece*').

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sequences like *li taglia* and *l'Italia* (English '(s/he) cuts them (masc.)'; 'fem. sing. def. art. Italy') might be both [li'ta·lja] (Canepari, 1977:157; 1979:209).

[416] Degemination of Italian consonantal groups is discussed in 5.2.1.3 above.

5.2.2.4 Phonically integrated transfers

Lexical transfers, i.e. content, variable words, are sometimes phonically integrated into the recipient language.[417] It is worth noticing that individually taken, items involved in *phonic transference* in a certain linguistic direction and *phonically integrated lexical transfers* in the opposite linguistic direction might *exhibit the same features*. What differentiates 'phonic transfers' from 'phonically integrated lexical transfers' is not formal features, but the base language of the clause in which they occur. For instance, 'holiday' pronounced as [ɔliˈdɛi] occurring in an English-base clause would be categorised as a 'phonic transfer from Italian/Veneto to English', i.e. it would be categorised for the Italian/Veneto phonetic features that are transferred 'into' it. However, the same item, pronounced in the same way but occurring in an Italian clause would be categorised as a 'phonically integrated lexical transfer from English into Italian/Veneto', i.e. it would be categorised for the English phonetic features that are 'modified' when it is transferred into Italian.

5.2.2.4.1 Phonically integrated lexical transfers from English to Italian

Phonic integration of English lexical items into Italian might result from lack of competence of the English phonic system. In the examples below, for instance, /r/ <u>was</u> pronounced [r] rather than [ɹ]. Gender and number are assigned syntactically via the definite article 'l-*e*' (feminine, plural), rather than via the addition of inflectional morphemes. The final, paragogic vowel, which would be necessary to realise gender/number marking, is absent: [418]

44 (GM-8/9-3Av/3B3ci): Le *prawns* [ˈprɔːns] se le fai le fai al barbecue come hai fatto due settimane fa
(Italian 'I *gamberi* ..'; English 'The *prawns* if you make them you make them on the barbecue')

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[417] As already mentioned above (5.2.1), the integration of items from one community language to the other that were considered in the analysis was always 'phonemic' rather than 'phonic'. However, 'phonic' integration is used as a general term throughout the thesis for consistency's sake.

[418] Note that 'barbecue' was not coded as an English transfer as it has an entry in Italian dictionaries. However, that phonic integration of English-origin lexical items by Italian speakers in Australia and in Italy, respectively, might give different results. 'Barbecue' was pronounced as [ˌbarbaˈkjuː] by the above first-generation informant. However, based on purely casual observations in Italy, the same item seems to be realised by Italian speakers as [ˈbaːrbekjuː], in which English phones are substituted by Italian ones, but the English stress pattern is retained (cf. [ˈbɑːbɪkjuː]).

Some English phonically integrated transfers also occurred in the speech produced by one third-generation speaker during the Italian elicitation session. Similar phenomena were also observed above with regard to phonic transference (5.2.1.1). As was speculated, in his unsuccessful attempt to produce the elicited community language, the speaker seems to have 'resorted' to the 'imitation' of the phonic influence of the community language on his grandparents' English:

45 (Gc-7-3Ai/3Av): and la mamma / legge un *story* [ˈstɔri] --- con la bambina
(Italian 'e ...... una *storia*...'; English 'and the mother reads a *story* with the girl')

5.2.2.4.2 Phonically integrated lexical transfers from English to Veneto

Like English phonically integrated transfers above, many examples of English phonically integrated lexical transfers occurred in the Veneto speech of the grandparents:

46 (GM-6-3Ai/3Av): el ga portà e:- n- el *mobile* [ˈmɔːbol]
(Veneto '...*celulare*...';[419] English 'he brought the *mobile* [ˈməubaɪl])

47 (GD-4-3Av/3Av-15): e come gaᵉa fato romparse ée *hips* [ˈips]?
(Veneto '...anche...'; English 'how did she break her hips?'

The corpus contains instances in which, when speaking to the grandparents, second-generation informants also produced English items according to Italian/Veneto phonetic rules, despite their full command the English pronunciation. Their integration of English lexical items can be interpreted as a function of their conversational 'accommodation' to their parents' language.[420]

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[419] Veneto does not have an equivalent for 'mobile phone'. However, based on purely casual observations, Veneto speakers in the area around Padua use a degeminated version of the Italian 'cellulare', e.g. 'celulare', which presents Italian palatalised [tʃ] rather than Veneto [s]. Mioni and Trumper (1977) also observed that in modern urban Padova dialect partially integrated Italian items, such as *eletricista* (English 'electrician'), present dialect degemination of /CC/ (cf. Standard Italian 'eletrricista'), but Italian palatalisation, i.e. [k+i] > [tʃ] rather than Veneto sibilation of the velars, e.g. [k+I] > [s]. Furthermore, items such as *amigo/amissi* [g, s] (Eng. 'friend/friends' masc.), which present sibilation, alternate side by side with the corresponding unintegrated standard Italian 'borrowings', i.e. *amico/amici* [k, tʃ], which present palatalisation.

[420] See discussion of Giles' *accommodation theory* (Giles et al. 1977) in 2.1.2.

48 (M-3/4/5-3Av/3Av): e 'deso pansemo pal *wedding* ['wediŋg] de Anthony
(Veneto '..*matrimonio*..'; English 'and now let's think about Anthony's *wedding* ['wedɪŋ])

Unlike the transfer in the example above, the transfer the example below is not accompanied by the article (cf. articulated preposition *pa-l* preceding *wedding*, i.e. Veneto par+el, English for+the). A possible explanation for the omission of the definite article before *party* is that the English lexical item was used as a plural. The English –*s* plural morpheme is also omitted (cf. *prawn-s* in example 44 above). The ending in /i/ of the form produced by the informant, which is homophonous with Italian masculine/plural morpheme, might have made the English item 'sound like' a 'complete' plural form:

49 (M-2-2cv/2Bv): ma Giani no fa p- no fa *party* ['parti] Giani
(Veneto'....*feste*....'; English 'but Giani (Gianni) is not having any *party* ['pʰɑːtɪ]')

5.2.2.4.3 Phonically integrated lexical transfers from Italian/Veneto to English

Examples in this category were rare. Community language items occurring in English-base clauses were mostly high-frequency well-rehearsed nouns, which were not integrated in the phonological system of the base language of the clause. One example coded in this category is given below:

50 (GS-7-3Ai/3Av-12): and said good *notte* ['nɔtə] 595
(Italian 'e disse buona *notte* ['nɔt̪:e]; English '...*night*')

No phonically integrated lexical transfers were encountered from Veneto to English.

5.2.2.4.4 Phonically integrated lexical transfers from Veneto and Italian and vice versa

As discussed with regard to 'phonic transference' above (5.2.1.3-4), given the phonological and lexical similarity between Veneto and Italian, *complete* phonic integration of many items from one community language into the other often amounts to their actual 'conversion' into its equivalent in the other language. Such instances count as

full lexical items in the relevant language and were categorised as (unintegrated) 'lexical transfers'. On the other hand, *partial* phonological integration of a lexical transfer from one community language into the other often resulted in 'compromise forms', which exhibit a similar number of phonological features from each of the two languages (see 5.3.2 below). Furthermore, when single items corresponding to idiomatic expressions peculiar to one community language were phonically integrated in the other, 'phonic integration' sometimes could not be distinguished from the process of 'semantic transference' (see 5.2.5 below).

The only items that could be less ambiguously considered as phonically integrated lexical transfers from one community language to the other are lexical equivalents that are less close to each other.[421] In the example below, Italian *oggi* (English 'today') occurs in a Veneto-base clause as a degeminated form, i.e. 'ogi'. The Veneto synonym, however, is quite different from both forms ('oncò/ancò/incò')

51 (GD-6-3Ai/3Av-14): e lora te ghè lavorà ɣɔːo *ogi*
(Veneto'... *oncò*'; English 'so you didn't work much today')

5.2.2.5 Morphologically integrated transfers

In the present model of analysis, morphologically integrated lexical transfers are source-language content, variable words that are integrated into the morphological system of the recipient language. Items in this category are usually also integrated at the phonological level. Like 'phonic integration' and 'phonic transference' (see 5.2.2.4), 'morphologically integrated lexical transfers' *in a certain linguistic direction* and 'morphological transfers' *in the opposite direction* may exhibit the same formal characteristics. Thus, the former could *only* be distinguished from the latter on the basis of the base language of the clause in which they occurred.

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[421] As discussed in 5.2.1.3-4, the same was found to be the case with regard to phonic transfers between the two languages.

5.2.2.5.1 Morphologically integrated lexical transfers from English to Italian/Veneto

In the present corpus, morphological integration of English lexical transfers was an exclusive feature of the speech of first-generation speakers. Morphological integration sometimes could not be straightforwardly distinguished from phonic integration. That is, it was not clear whether integration was *only* phonic or *also* morphological, since nearly all morphologically integrated lexical transfers were also phonically integrated.

The presence of the final paragogic vowel, which is necessary to 'realise' the inflectional morpheme, was taken as a criterion to identify morphological integration of English nouns. Admittedly, this is an arbitrary criterion. The addition of a paragogic vowel might be due to the speakers' imperfect command of English pronunciation, rather than their 'intention' to adapt the English items to Italian/Veneto morphology. However, even if that were the case, in producing the forms in question, the speakers would be transferring habits that are based on their familiarity with the Italian/Veneto word structure, which pertains to both morpho-phonological as well as morphosyntactic facts.

An example of an English lexical transfer morphologically integrated into Italian as defined above is given below. In this instance the English transfer is not accompanied by an article/articulated preposition, which is not required in Italian. Also, the final vowel oscillates between /a/ and /e/. The former corresponds to the Italian singular feminine morpheme while the latter could mark both genders. The Italian equivalent item, i.e. 'frigo(rifero)', is masculine.

52 (GM-4-3Av/3Av): no no in *fridge* ['fridʒa] / sì, è- è in *fridge* ['fridʒe]
    (Italian '...in/nel *frigo(rifero)*...'; English 'not not in the *fridge* / yes it's in the *fridge*')

At the phonic level, both *fridge* above and *vegetabie* below (53) presents the prepalatal affricate [dʒ] of the popular registers of Veneto regional Italian vs. [dʒ] of the standard (Canepari, 1979:55; 1984:209 - see 3.1.2.2-3). The latter also presents the elision of Italian intervocalic /l/, which is typical of some Veneto dialects. Morpho-phonological integration of English 'vegetable' into Italian, or by Italian speakers from other regions, would have a different outcome, i.e. 'vegetabi*le*'. Note that the item retains both the gender and the

number of its Veneto/(Italian) equivalent, i.e. feminine, singular ('la verdura'), as it is used as a 'collective' noun (cf. English 'vegetables').

53 (GM-2-2cv/2Bv): co so nata catare ca- / la *vegetabie* ᶜaˋ [vedʒe'taːbje]
    (Veneto'......*verdura*...'; English 'when Italian went to pick the *vegetables* there'
    ['vedʒtəbl])

5.2.2.5.2 Morphologically integrated lexical transfers from Veneto to Italian and vice versa

The morphological systems of the two community languages widely overlap. Thus the vast majority of the forms that were coded as 'unintegrated' lexical transfers were *in fact* morphologically 'well-formed' in terms of the recipient language (see 5.2.2.3 above). Instances that were coded as morphologically integrated lexical transfers from one community language into the other pertain to aspects for which the morphological system of Veneto and Italian differ. One of these aspects is the inflection of the third person *plural* of verbs, which in Veneto, but *not* in Italian, is the same as the *singular*. In Veneto the differentiation between the singular and the plural third persons of the verb relies on the subject pronoun, which is therefore obligatory.[422]

In the example below, the Veneto lexical stem of the verb 'mag*n*are' (Italian 'ma*n*giare', English 'to eat') is transferred into an Italian clause and, accordingly, receives the Italian plural third person marker, i.e. –*ano*. The Veneto equivalent of this inflection is -*a*, i.e. 'i magn-*a*'. However, the speaker uses the equivalent Italian verb ('ma*n*giare') as a noun:

54 (GD-4-3Av/3Av-15): *magn*ano / il mangiare
    (Italian 'ma*n*giano'; English '*they eat* the food')

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[422] The relevance of obligatory subject pronouns in Veneto for transference phenomena in the present corpus is discussed in 5.2.7. For an analysis of the use of clitic subject pronouns in Veneto see Benincà (1983, 1994), Benincà and Vanelli (1982), Renzi and Vanelli (1983), Poletto (1998).

5.2.3 Morphological Transfers

As already discussed (5.2.2), in the present model morphological transfers are source-language 'function' 'variable', e.g. pronouns, articles. This category also includes verb inflections.[423]

Morphological transfers from English into Italian as defined above were not many and never involved bound morphemes. An example of morphological transfer from English into Italian, which has already been given above, is the following:

55 (GS-7-3Ai/3Av-12): + *the* bambina porti la barca dentro un BATHTUB --- con la acqua
(Italian 'la........vasca.....'; English '*The* little girl takes the boat into a bathtub with water')

No morphological transfers from English into Veneto or from Italian/Veneto to English were found in the corpus.

5.2.3.1 Morphological transfers from Veneto to Italian

Morphological transference between the two community languages involved parallel phenomena to those described under 'morphological integration' above (5.2.2.5.2). In the example below Italian *chiam-a* is used instead of 'chiam-ano', on the basis of the morphosyntactic Veneto 'ciam-a', which is both the singular and the plural form of the third person of 'ciam-are' (English 'to call/to be called'):

56 (GD-6-3Ai/3Av-14): come si *chiama* quele feste?
(Italian '...chiamano (quelle)...'); English 'what *are* those parties *called*?')

Depending on the distance between the Italian and the Veneto verb forms, in other instances morphological transference could not be distinguished from morphological integration. The example below involves the Italian/Veneto homologous verb 'venire'

[423] Clyne (1967), however, called 'morphological transference' the transference of 'word in form only but not in meaning. Relative pronouns were never transferred. Veneto and Italian share a homologous relative pronoun (i.e. 'che').

(English 'to come').[424] The form *vien-e*, i.e. the Italian third person singular form (cf. Veneto 'vien'), is used instead of the plural, i.e. 'vengono'. Thus, it could be interpreted as the result of the *integration* of the Veneto third person plural form into Italian through the addition of the Italian third person singular inflection *-e*. However, similar instances were coded as 'morphological transfers'. That is, the analysis focused on the fact that the form produced corresponds to the Italian verb-form, which was inflected on the basis of the speaker's knowledge of the Veneto morphosyntactic system:

57 (GM-7-3Ai/3Av): quando *viene* quelli dell'Italia
(Italian '...*vengono*...'; Veneto 'quando che *i vien* ...'; English 'when those from Italy *come*')

Examples involving Veneto 'variable', 'function' words transferred into Italian clauses are given below. The use of the Veneto stressed first person object pronoun *mi* rather than Italian 'me' could be reinforced by the English homophonous 'me'. However, 'mi' is also the Veneto stressed first person subject pronoun and is homophonous with the Italian unstressed object/reflexive singular first person pronoun.

58 (F-6-3Ai/3Av): e dalla a *mi*! [laughs]
(Italian '....*me*'; English 'give it to me !')

59 (F-6-3Ai/3Av): sto per *na* settimana[425]
(Italian '...*una*...'; English 'I'll stay for *a* week')

5.2.3.2 Morphological transfers from Italian to Veneto

No Italian verbal inflections were transferred to Veneto. Some examples coded in this category follow. In the first example the affixed Italian third person masculine pronoun *-gli* does not agree with the indirect object, i.e. 'la nona' (English 'grandma'). Generalisation of the masculine form to both the singular feminine (Italian 'le') as well as the plural masculine/feminine (Italian 'loro') is a widespread characteristic of regional Italian in the Veneto region, as well as in other Italian regions (Canepari, 1984:80-83):

[424] However, the infinitive of the verbs in certain Veneto dialects, but not Paduan, do not present the final *-e* (e.g. Italian 'cant-are'; Veneto 'cant-ar').
[425] As discussed in 3.1.5, Sobrero (1988b) found evidence of the penetration of micro-structures such as the indefinite article from dialect into Italian.

60 (GM-6-3Ai/3Av): e dopo? No te ghe altre novita' dir*gli* ala nona?
(Veneto'...(da) dir*ghe*....'; English 'and then? Have you got any more news to tell
(*her*) granma?')

61 (GD-1-2cv/2Av-26): dopo: / *lei* scumiscia zugare coi zogatui
(Veneto'...*eà* (scumisia/scomisia)..'; English 'then she starts to play with the toys')

5.2.4 Phrasal transference

Phrasal transference is the transference of whole source-language phrases (mainly noun
and prepositional) to the recipient-language clause. Phrases were kept separate from single
items as they often contain both content/function words, as well as variable/invariable
ones. The position in the clause in which phrases were inserted and their integration was
not taken into consideration. Instances of phrasal transference from English into
Italian/Veneto are given below:

62 (GD-3-3Av/3Av-18) gioca con / con: / / / / *the doll*
(Italian '...*la bambola*'; English '(s/he) plays with *the doll*')

In some instances, like the one reported below, an Italian noun phrase in a subject function is
inserted at the beginning of a clause which then continues in English. Note the pause after
the Italian phrase:

63 (GS-7-3Ai/3Av-12) *un bambina* / + DOES THE SAME TO THE DOLL
(Italian '*la bambina* fa lo stesso con la bambola'; English '*the little girl*...')

Examples of phrasal transference from Veneto to Italian are given below:

64 (GD-4-3Av/3Av-15): mamma metti il bambino *in leto*
(Italian '.....*a letto*'; English 'mum put the child *to bed*')

65 (GD-3-3Av/3Av-18): la bambina si g- gioca con la barca / si lava *el muso*[426]
(Italian '...*la faccia*'; English 'the little girl plays with the boat / she washes *her face*')

66 (GM-7-3Ai/3Av): perchè adesso siamo dietro preparare la: / *'à stansa*
(Italian '...(stiamo preparando) *la stanza*'. English 'because now we are preparing *the room*')

Instances of Italian phrases occurring in Veneto-base clauses are given below. The items
va and *dormire* in the first example are Italian/Veneto homologous diamorphs. However,
Italian phraseology requires the preposition 'a' (English 'to'), i.e. 'va a dormire', while
Veneto does not:[427]

67 (GD-2-2cv/2Bv-24): *il figlio* va dormire co s- co so pare
(Veneto '*el fio'o*...'; English '*the son/child* goes to sleep with his father')

68 (M-1-2cv/2Av-) e ghemo quatro WEDDING dèso / quatro matrimoni / *uno dietro l'altro*
(Veneto'...*uno (da) drio (de) st'altro/chealtro*'; English 'we have four 'wedding' now / four
weddings / *one after the other*').

5.2.5 Semantic transference

Semantic transference has traditionally been defined as the 'transference of words in
meaning only' (Clyne, 1972:9). In the present model, this category includes the
transference of the meaning of both source-language items as whole 'idiomatic' phrases.
Semantic transference is a 'covert' type of transference as it results in forms exhibiting
only recipient-language morpho-phonological material. This, however, is 'selected'
according to source-language semantic distribution patterns. Multiple-word semantic
transference pertains to aspects of the phraseology of the source language. Source-
language idiomatic constructions are 'recreated' using recipient-language morpho-
phonological material through morpheme-for-morpheme 'translation'.

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[426] As discussed in 5.3.1 below, one of the criteria for the identification of the base language of the clause
relied on differences in the subject pronoun patterns of the three languages (see also 'syntactic transference'
in 5.2.7). That is, in some cases the base language was identified with the language of which subject pronoun
patterns were respected. Thus, in this example, Italian was coded as the base language of the clause since
Veneto, from which the noun phrase comes, would require a clitic subject pronoun.
[427] As already mentioned, Alfonzetti (1992a:240-44) found many examples of codeswitching between
Sicilian/Italian that were triggered by homophones (see discussion in 2.3.3). Codeswitched subject noun
phrases were not very frequent in her corpus (Alfonzetti, 1992a:196).

Semantic transference results from the insertion/omission or substitution of recipient-language morphosyntactic elements, e.g. of prepositions in verb phrases, on the basis of the source-language phraseological structures. This process was interpreted as being primarily a 'semantically-driven' one. In the present model, that is, the construction of the phrases in which a lexical item occurs is taken to be part of the 'semantic meaning' of the item itself. 'Meaning' is here intended as information pertaining to the 'semantic distribution' of the item, both individually taken and in its 'combinatory possibilities' with other elements.

In the example below, the English verb 'to help' as in the phrase 'to help someone with something' is semantically transferred to Italian. English lexical items in the phrase are 'translated' into their respective 'synonymous diamorphs', i.e. 'helps' > 'aiuta' and 'with' > 'con'. The preposition *con* (English 'with') replaces a whole infinitive phrase in the idiomatic construction of the Italian verb (e.g. '(aiuta) a lavare i piatti'; English '(helps) to wash the dishes'). The English and the Italian phrases could thus be defined in terms of 'synonymous diaphrases', i.e. 'interlinguistically identified variants of phrases':[428]

69 (GD-6-3Ai/3Av-14): e qui la bambina *aiuta* il papà *con* i piati

   (Italian 'e qui la bambina *aiuta* il papà *a* lavare i piatti', i.e. 'the little girl *helps* the dad *to wash* the dishes'; English 'and here the little girl helps the father with the dishes')

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[428] Prepositions involved in verb phrases in the way illustrated here, i.e. 'with' above, correspond to what recently re-categorised by Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) as 'early system' morphemes (see discussion in 2.3.2). This type of morphemes is 'elected' by content morphemes and "in combination with content morpheme [...] [they] contain essential *conceptual* structure for conveying the speaker's intentions" (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2000:3, my italics). Within the 'MLF' model, cases of 'semantic transference' similar to examples reported above would also presumably be treated in terms of a "composite matrix language". Myers-Scotton and Jake (2001:108, my italics) actually referred to 'convergence', and the relating concept of "composite matrix language", as a phenomenon whereby "*semantic, as well as syntactic*, features [of one language] are mapped onto (...) *lexical items* [of another language]." The authors (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001) exemplified these notions reporting an example that is analogous to semantic transference phenomena as defined above, e.g. 'converging Hungarian' towards English "Mert vol-t-am meleg akkor" (English 'Because I was hot then') vs. St. Hungarian "Mert (nek-em) meleg-em vol-t akkor" (English 'Because hotness was to me') (example taken from Bolonyai, 1998, quoted in Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001: no. 28, p.108). However, other phenomena, which here were coded in a separate category (see 5.2.6), are described in the same terms. The notion of 'composite matrix language', therefore, seems too broad for the descriptive level adopted here. At the same time, as discussed in 5.3.1, 'compromise clauses', which might present both 'covert' and 'overt' types of transfers (see 5.2), could only be accounted for in terms of both a 'composite matrix language' and further 'codeswitching'. However, as discussed in 2.3.3, no clear indications are given within the MLF model as to the 'amount' of codeswitching that 'can' accompany a 'composite matrix language', without restricting the usefulness of this notion. It is felt, therefore, that for the analytical needs of the present study, the notion of transference was more economical as well as more accurate.

In the instance below, the 'phrasal distance', so to speak, between the English and the Italian verbs is smaller. The Italian preposition 'a' is substituted with *di*, based on the English verb 'to think *of* something':

70 (GD-1-2cv/2Av-26) il papà *pensa di* una cosa
   (Italian 'il papà *pensa a*(d) una cosa'; English 'the dad *thinks of* one thing')[429]

Sometimes, semantic transference involves the insertion of an element that would not be present in the recipient-language verb phrase, e.g. English 'in' is translated into the Italian adverb 'dentro' so that English 'to *put in* (money)' > '*mettere dentro* (soldi)', rather than Italian 'mettere (soldi)':

71 (GD-6-3Ai/3Av-14): tutte le mie amiche *mettono* un po' di soldi *dentro*
   ((colloquial) Italian 'tutte le mie amiche *mettono* un po' di soldi'); English 'all my friends *put* some money *in*')

In the example below, the meaning of Italian 'potere' is extended to cover the meaning of English 'to be able', which in the sense intended by the speaker would be expressed by 'riuscire' (English 'to manage/succeed'). The clause as produced by the informant normally means '(s)he's not allowed to sleep':

72 (GD-2-2cv/2Bv-24) e non *può* dormire
   (Italian 'non *riesce a* dormire'; English '(s)he can't sleep')

The use of 'potere' here can be said to 'simplify' the Italian phraseology as it allows the omission of the preposition 'a' (English 'to'), which would be required to link 'riuscire' to the infinitive 'dormire' (English 'to sleep'). In the example below, however, an English verb is semantically transferred into Italian, where the intended meaning would be expressed by a preposition, i.e. 'da' (in this case articulated, i.e. 'dai suoi genitori'). Like in the example above, there is a semantic extension of the partially synonymous 'diaphrase' of 'to go to *see* someone'. The Italian verb 'andare a *vedere* qualcuno' is here used in the English meaning of 'to visit someone', which in the context referred to in the clause below

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[429] In Italian, the preposition 'di' can only e combined with 'pensare' (English 'to think') if the verb is followed by an infinitive verb, rather than a noun. In that construction, however, it can have a different meaning, e.g. 'pensa *di* passare l'esame', English '(s)he thinks/believes (s)he will pass the exam'; 'pensa *di* andare al cinema', English 'he intends to go to the movies', etc.

should be rendered as 'andare *da* qualcuno'. The semantic transfer from English is combined with a further semantic transfer from Veneto. Unlike Veneto verbs of movement, Italian verbs of movement are followed by the preposition 'a' (e.g. 'va *a* vedere', English '(s)he goes *to* see'), which here is however omitted:[430]

73 (GD-1-2cv/2Av-26) e *va* ve- *vedere* i s- i suoi genitori
(Italian 'e va *dai* suoi genitori'; English 'and (s/he) goes to see her parents')

5.2.5.1 Semantic transference between Italian and Veneto

The pairs of languages considered in the present study are characterised by different degrees of distance, i.e. a different number of 'synonymous', 'homophonous' and 'homologous diamorphs', respectively (Haugen, 1953, 1956 - described in 2.3.1]. The availability of a large number of homologues in Italian and Veneto makes semantic transference at the level of single items 'unnecessary'. Furthermore, the 'translation' of items from one community language to the other might not be distinguishable from phonic/morphologic integration (cf. Clyne, 1991a:175). Unambiguous instances of semantic transference between the community languages encountered in the corpus involve the phraseological construction of whole phrases, rather than the semantic status of the individual lexical items constituting them.

The transfer in the clause reported below was coded as a semantic transfer from Veneto to Italian. The verb forms in the Italian/Veneto pair involved in the transference are *not* homologous, i.e. Italian 'si siede' vs. Veneto '(el/eà) se senta' (English '(s/he) sits down'). The Veneto verb-form, however, is partially *homophonous* with Italian phrase used by the informant *si sente*, which however means '(s/he) feels'.

74 (GD-1-2cv/2Av-26) lei *si sente* sol poltrona con la mamma
(Italian '(lei) *si siede* sulla poltrona con la mamma'; English 'she sits down in the armchair with the mum')

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[430] Not all cases of phraseological simplification such as those reported above were considered as induced by (semantic) transference (see 'non-standard forms' in 5.3.3).

The above Italian verb-form could also be analysed in terms of morphological integration of the Veneto equivalent. However, semantics is taken to be the most relevant aspect of this phenomenon. A similar interpretation was adopted in the analysis of other instances. In the clause below, the Veneto compound noun 'brasoco'o' (or 'brasocolo') is transferred into Italian, where the equivalent for it is quite different. The item is formed by 'braso' (Italian 'braccio'; English 'arm') and 'co'o/colo' (Italian 'collo'; English 'neck'). The item is normally used in Venetoas an adverb in phrases such as 'ciapare brasocoeo', meaning Italian 'abbracciare', English 'to embrace/hug'. While the individual items in the compound exist in Italian, they do not occur in the combination they have in Veneto. For this reason, its use in the clause below was coded as a semantic transfer. Although not geminated, the consonant of the first item in the compound used by the speaker is the palatal affricate of Italian 'braccio' ['bratʃːo], rather than the alveolar fricative of Veneto 'braso' ['braso]:

75 (GD-3-3Av/3Av-18): e la mamma / / / *braciocollo* [laughs] il bambino
(Veneto 'e éa mama ((eà) ciapa) *brasoco'o* el puteo'; Italian 'braccio'; 'collo'; 'e la mamma *abbraccia* il bambino'; English 'and the mum *hugs* the child')

5.2.6 Morphosyntactic translations

In the present categorisation, instances of semantic transference involving morphosyntactically relevant elements are called morphosyntactic translations.

The main phenomenon coded in this category concerned the expression of the English present progressive via the use of the inflected form of the verb 'essere' (English 'to be') and the infinitive of a relevant verb.[431] Sometimes, a morphosyntactic translation was accompanied by lexical transfer, i.e. either the auxiliary or the lexical verb were 'lexical transfers'. The first two excerpts below are taken from the speech of the same speaker while the third was produced by a different informant. All relevant forms are italicised and/or underlined for comparative purposes:

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[431] A similar phenomenon was found by Clyne (1986b:63-4), among children learning German in Australian primary schools, e.g. "Der Mann ist *still reading*". Giacalone Ramat (1995b:128) reported the occurrence of the same construction among English L1 learners of Italian in Italy to express the past tense ('imperfetto')

76 (GS-7-3Ai/3Av-12): I think they're washing the dishes / *lavare* piatti + / / / + la bambine *è / standing* / at the table / --- ok / the bambina / *è + / + / /* + making a / / a / / a barca con le piatti e / un / / + the paper

77 (GS-7-3Ai/3Av-12): e la bambina *è: / + / /* how do say + / / / / / making / a barca --- con un piatti e / / + / / paper --- / / / --- + / la bambina *è lavare* / bambina *è giocare* / co: / i bamboli and / / i giocati --- / con il parde

78 (GS-5-3Av/3Av-13): e la omo *è / lavare* / a la bamb-ino / / / [sighs] / / / is + *giocare* co la barca sulla --- bagno / he's getting dressed --- / / *giocare* co / la / [sighs] / / la teddy la papa` / / / [sighs] / i don't know how to say is telling off the little boy / R: --- e perche`? / perche` *è giocare* --- / / *è papà / lethere* un / / / / / libro --- to il bambino

One speaker (GD-2-2cv/2Bv-24) used the above progressive construction in her Veneto. Veneto has a construction which is parallel to the English present continuous. Similarly to the English construction, the Veneto 'present progressive' is formed by the conjugated form of 'èsere/èsare' (English 'to be') and the infinitive of the lexical verb, e.g. *el ze drio magnare* (English 'he is eating'). However, the particle 'drio' (Italian 'dietro', English 'behind') is inserted between the two verbs. As can be seen from the excerpt reported below, the speaker started her narration in Veneto by using the full Veneto form but soon started to omit the particle 'drio'. The form resulting from this omission reflects the English construction. The Veneto form is the likely point of departure for this speaker's 'is + infinitive' construction. However, the omission of the particle 'drio' was interpreted here as the result of a transfer from English:

79 + questo bambino ze drio magnare --- var- vara che no voe magnare --- e varda so mamma / e so pare ze drio magnare / / / / --- qua + / [...] l figlio / aiuta so pare fare colcosa --- + e tira via piatti del- / del tavoᶜo / / --- + / cosa fè qua? / / / + yeah / / so pap lavà- lava piatti --- e qua / lava i piatti e / i *ze ancora magnare o fare* calcosa --- / / + he's making a boat I don't know how to say that [laughs] --- na barca, na barca, el fa na barca --- calche cosa [laughs] / / + + yeah l ga / ga fato barca per metere in bagno --- e qua *ze* in bagno / *lavarse* [...] e dopo pare *ze dormire* / e il figlio mete su scarpe e ze sentà visin su mamma / e *ze lézere* un libro / + dopo mama va dormire e figlio *ze oncora / lézere* e dopo pare vien su e anca mamma si sveglia e deso figlio *ze dormire* / e su mama e papà mete oncora in leto / e deso dorm- dormi + + + e dopo anca i genitori *ze dormire* anca

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e.g. "ero lasciare" (cf. 'I was leaving'). The use of Italian progressive in second language learners is discussed further in Giacalone Ramat (1997).

230

In her Italian, however, the same speaker used the Italian transferred construction (cf. examples 75-77 above) only once. Furthermore, she never used the Italian 'stare+gerund' progressive construction, i.e. the inflected form of 'stare' (English 'stay') and the gerund of the lexical verb, e.g. 'mangiando' as in 'sto mangiando' (English 'I'm eating' vs. Veneto 'so drio magnare'). Thus, this informant seems to have been aware only of the existence of the Veneto 'progressive' construction and to be 'sensitive' to its similarity with the English model.[432]

In the example below, a grandparent transferred the same Veneto 'progressive' verbal construction in its full form into Italian:[433]

80 (GM-7-3Ai/3Av): perchè adesso *siamo dietro preparare* la: / ᶜà stansa
   (Veneto '...*semo drio pareciar(e)*...'; Italian '...*stiamo preparando*...'; English 'because now we *are preparing* the room')

Other transfers from English into Italian considered in this category resulted from the selection of the auxiliary 'to have'/ 'to be' according to morphosyntactic pattern of English verbs:[434]

81 (GD-8-3Av/3B3ci-23): a'esso mamma *ha* venuto
   (Italian 'adesso la mamma *è* venuta (/arrivata) ...', Veneto 'deso éa mama (eà) *ze* vegnua (/rivà) ...'; English 'now the mum *has* come')

In some instances, as in 82 below, Veneto adverb 'ghe' is 'translated' into Italian 'ci', resulting in the formation of a distinctive feature of popular/regional Italian as spoken in Italy, e.g. c'ho (English 'I have') below, cf. Veneto 'go', originally 'ghe ò' (Marcato and Urisni, 1998:325). This phenomenon was more frequent in the speech of some older

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[432] Giacalone Ramat (1993:383) also found that among English-speakers learning Italian L2 in Italy the Italian 'stare' progressive construction was absent, which she explained hypothesizing that it might not be assimilated to the English –ing form.

[433] The same phenomenon was found among Veneto migrants in Canada by Vita (1987:152 – see 3.2.3.1), who referred to it in terms of Veneto constructions that are "translated [...] morphologically", hence the suggestion for the term used in the present study. This construction is typical of Veneto regional Italian (Canepari, 1984:100).

[434] Veneto cannot be the source language of the transfer in the example belⁿ⁄, since both Veneto and Italian would require the same auxiliary (cf. Bettoni, 1985a). An example similar to this from Myers-Scotton (1996:292) is discussed in 2.3.2.2 from the perspective of their 'composite matrix language'.

informants, but also occurred among the grandchildren, as in the example below (already reported in 5.2):

82 (GD-6-13-3Avi/3Av-14): *c'ho* anche National Eftpos Card, la carta della bank la
    banc- la banca
    (E 'I also have National Eftpos Card, the card of the bank')

5.2.7 Syntactic transference

Syntactic transference is the transference of syntactic patterns (Clyne, 1972:9). In the present model syntactic transference is considered a 'covert' type of transference as it results in forms that exhibit only recipient-language morpho-phonological material, which might be inserted/omitted and/or rearranged according to source-language syntactic patterns. A major phenomenon pertaining to syntactic transference occurring in the corpus is the insertion/omission of subject pronominal forms, mainly the third person singular. All three languages were involved in this phenomenon. The elicitation tasks, in which third-generation informants were asked to narrate the story of a little girl (identified by some as a boy), required them to produce such forms very often (see 4.5.2). [435]

Table 35 summarises the fundamental contrastive characteristics of the morphosyntactic systems of English, Veneto and Italian, respectively, that are relevant to the present discussion. Very schematically, both English and Veneto require a third-person singular subject pronoun. Veneto has both a *stressed* and an *unstressed* third-person singular pronominal form. Unstressed, clitic third-person singular pronouns are compulsory whenever the stressed form is not present. Sometimes, however, the stressed forms as well as full nominal subjects are also accompanied by the unstressed pronoun. The unstressed pronominal form is non-emphatic. In Italian, the third person singular subject pronoun is not compulsory. Both In Veneto and Italian the respective stressed form is used for emphasis or disambiguation purposes. [436]

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[435] The character in the picture book used in the elicitation tasks has short hair and could therefore be identified both as a boy or a girl (see Appendix D). The corpus of the individual speakers had to be checked for internal consistency in the use of masculine vs. feminine pronouns.

[436] See Benincà (1983, 1994), Benincà and Vanelli (1982), Renzi and Vanelli (1983), Poletto (1998).

Table 35 Relevant contrastive features in the third person singular pronominal system in English, Veneto and Italian

context	English		Veneto		Italian	
	feminine	masculine	feminine	masculine	feminine	masculine
'non-emphatic'	she	he	eà/la	el	---	---
'emphatic'	she	he	éa/éla	élo/éo[437]	lei(/essa)	lui(/egli)[438]

The following excerpts illustrate the normal use of third person singular pronominal forms in Italian and in Veneto, respectively. In the Italian clauses below, *la madre* (English 'the mother') is introduced as the subject of the first clause. Since it is also the subject of the second, coordinated clause, the subject pronoun is not necessary and is not inserted. The focus moves then to the 'protagonist' of the story, who is singled out by means of the stressed pronoun *lui* (English 'he'). In the final clause the speaker goes back to talk about 'the mother', who therefore needs to be 're-introduced' by means of the stressed pronoun 'lei' (English 'she').

83 (GD-1-2cv/2Av-26): *la madre* viene dentro e lo vede e *lui* esce e *lei* l'asciuga
    (English '*the mother* comes in and (she) sees him and *he* comes out and *she* dries him')

Similarly, in the following Veneto clauses, the nominal subject of the first clause ('*l pupà*', English 'the dad') is duly contrasted with the different subject of the second clause. The second clause refers to the main character, who is referred to by means of the stressed form of the third-person singular feminine pronoun (*éa*, English 'she'), accompanied by the clitic (*eà*). Note that given the informational weight of the second clause, the stressed pronominal form was necessary.

84 (GD-2-2cv/2Bv-24): I pupà ciapa sono / ma éa eà ze ancora zvejà 1454
    (Veneto'...(sévja)'; English '*the dad* falls asleep *but she* is still awake')

The normal, 'non-emphatic' narration reads like the excerpts below:

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[437] 'lu/iù/ù' are also used.

[438] The Italian third-person singular subject pronouns 'essa' (fem.) and 'egli' (masc.) are by now only used as 'refined' variants of 'lei' and 'lui', respectively (Canepari, 1984:80-83).

85 *la* va / vedere so mama e so papà / / *so mama* ghe dà un poco de acua o latte / / e: *eà*
   beve un poco / / / / dopo *eà* va in leto oncora / *la* ga oncora paura
   (V; English '*she* goes to see her mum and dad / / *her mum* gives her some water or
   milk / / and *she* drinks a little / / / / then *she* goes back to bed / she's still afraid')

Most syntactic transfers pertaining to the use of third-person singular subject pronouns
resulted in three phenomena:

a the omission of the Veneto compulsory unstressed third-person singular subject
    pronoun in Veneto clauses;

b the use of the Veneto stressed third-person singular subject pronoun where the
    unstressed non-emphatic form should be used;

c the insertion of the Italian third-person subject singular in contexts where it is
    'redundant'.

Quite strikingly, the *omission* of the compulsory unstressed subject pronoun in Veneto
(point *a* above) was widespread in the Veneto spoken by some of the youngest-generation
informants in the Italian sample.[439] However, no instances of this phenomenon were found
in the corpus of older informants in either country. Thus, it was interpreted as the result of
the influence of the Italian subject pronoun patterns.[440] The following excerpt contains
various transfers that were coded as syntactic transfers from Italian to Veneto:[441]

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[439] De Mauro (1963:197-8) noticed that through Italianisation after unification some Italian dialects
eliminated compulsory subject personal pronouns acquiring a free use of pronouns like Italian.
[440] However, it is possible that especially among the young Italian-Australian informants the omission of the
clitic pronoun might be due to 'structural simplification' (see discussion in 2.4.1). As such, in terms of the
model of analysis developed here, they would be coded as 'non-standard' forms, discussed in 5.3.3. Bettoni
(1991b – see 3.2.3), for instance, found that clitic personal pronouns were disappearing in the Italian of her
second-generation informants, rather than being 'replaced' through transference. An investigation of
internally vs. externally motivated phenomena is well beyond the scope of the present study. However, in the
approach taken here, the two explanations are not mutually exclusive. In agreeing with Thomason and
Kaufman (1988:63 – see 2.4.1), phenomena encountered in the corpus were coded as 'transference' when one
of the languages in the informants' repertoire could be interpreted as their source, without excluding the
possibility of 'internal' concurring factors.
[441] Underlined words contain Italian verb forms and were therefore not considered for syntactic transference.
Note that the last clause in the excerpt is coordinated and has the same subject as the preceding one. The
syntax of Paduan allows the omission of the clitic third-person subject pronoun in a coordinate clause that is
preceded by one in which the subject is nominal, but *not* if accompanied by the clitic (Benincà, 1994:113).

86 (GD-2-2cv/2Bv-24): *va* in saeotto / che ghe ze so mare e *voe* bevere un pochetin / e: so
   mare dize va in leto oncora alora *va* in leto ancora e ancora <u>no posso d- no puo'
   dormire</u> --- e lora / *vien su* e *va* ancora sa^eotto
   (English 'he *goes* to the lounge / where there is his mother and he *wants* to drink a
   little / and his mother says go to back to bed so he goes back to bed <u>and again he can't
   sleep</u> --- so / he *gets up* and he *goes* back to the lounge')

English was coded as the source language when the *emphatic* stressed pronominal form of
the Veneto third-person singular pronoun was used in contexts where the unstressed is
required (point *b* above):

87 (GD-1-2cv/2Av-26): *lu- lu* s- scomiscia / lezere la storia / che- / *lu* ghe dà un bazo / /
   (Veneto '*el* scomisia ... *el* ghe dà...'; English 'he starts to read the story / that- / *he*
   gives him a kiss')

The interpretation of the *insertion* of the subject pronoun in Italian, in contexts where it is
redundant (point *c* above) was not straightforward. Both English and Veneto require a
subject pronominal for the third person and could be the source language of the transfer.
Some speakers, however, inserted 'emphatic' stressed pronouns both in their Italian, where
it is redundant, *and* in their Veneto, where the 'non-emphatic' unstressed form would be
required. In the case of these speakers, therefore, English was coded as the source language
for both transference phenomena. The hypothesis underlying this interpretation is that both
community languages were influenced by the syntactic patterns of English. The same
speaker produced both the excerpt above and the one reported below. The insertion of the
subject pronoun in her Italian was coded as a syntactic transfer from English:

88 (GD-1-2cv/2Av-26): la ragazza beve / / / e dopo va in letto ancora / --- *lei* ha paura
   un'altra volta / e va ve- vedere i s- i suoi genitori
   (English 'the girl drinks / / / and then goes back to bed / --- *she* is afraid again / and
   goes to see her parents')

English was coded as the source language for the insertion of the subject pronoun in Italian
also in the case of speakers who did not produce any Veneto apart from some scattered
lexemes. In the corpus of one informant, however, there seemed to be evidence that Veneto
was the source language for the insertion of Italian emphatic subject pronouns. During the

Italian elicitation task, this speaker did not use any Italian subject pronouns. However, she did quite consistently when Veneto rather than Italian is elicited. Therefore, the presence of Italian subject pronouns was taken to be the result of the informant's attempt to approximate the Veneto morphosyntactic clause structure, despite her inability to produce an entirely Veneto clause. The following are samples of this informants' corpus from the elicitation task in Italian and Veneto, respectively. Both Italian and Veneto lexical items as well as some Italian/Veneto homologous forms characterise the two excerpts, which posed problems in the identification of the base language:

89 (GD-3-3Av/3Av-18): lava i piati - - - /// mete via - - - //// [...] I don't know how to say make / a boat - - - yeah [laughs] //// gioca con barca - - - // fa bagno //// gioca / con barca
(English: 'he) washes the dishes --- /// (he) puts away - - - //// [...] (he) plays with the boat - - - // (he) takes a bath /// (he) plays with the boat')

90 (GD-3-3Av/3Av-18): lui mangiare //// + con papa e mama - - - // + / lui: / levare / i piatti - - - /// lui mette via // i piati
(English: 'he eats //// + with dad and mum - - - // + he / takes the dishes away - - - // / he puts the dishes away')

The examples given so far are taken from fairly proficient informants. The relative consistency in their pronominal usage made it possible to interpret such syntactic phenomena in terms of transference. For instance, the informants who tended to omit the compulsory unstressed pronoun in their Veneto, also did *not* insert the emphatic subject pronoun in their Italian. If this had not been the case, the explanation of the omission of the subject pronoun in their Veneto in terms of transference from Italian would be circular. Among the less proficient informants, however, the use of pronominal forms of any type was much less consistent. Furthermore, their overall production in Italian and even more so in Veneto was quite scanty. For this reason, among these speakers English seemed to be a more plausible source language for the syntactic transfers discussed above. The frequent use of full nominal subjects (e.g. 'il bambino'), however, might mask many further potential instances of syntactic transference. The repetition of nominal subjects might thus be a strategy to avoid having to select pronominal forms from complicated paradigms.

Other phenomena coded as syntactic transfers pertained to word order patterns. In the example below *anche* (English 'too/as well') is in clause-final position instead of before the object, as it is more usual in I:

91 (GD-8-3Av/3B3ci-23): si mette la barca dentro il bathtub *anche* 2993
(Italian 'mette *anche* la barca dentro la vasca'; English 'she puts the boat in the bathtub, *too*'

5.3   Contact Phenomena other than Transference

As discussed in 5.1, the analysis focused on transference phenomena. This section gives a description of the contact phenomena that were not analysed in terms of transference and were coded separately. 'Contact phenomena other than transference' include 1) all contact phenomena occurring in clauses in which a base language could not be identified, i.e. '*compromise clauses*' (discussed in 5.3.1 below); 2) forms which present a similar identification problem at the *word* level (although they occur in clauses with an identifiable base language), i.e. '*compromise forms*' (discussed in 5.3.2 below) and 3) forms that were not interpreted as the result of transference from another language, i.e. '*non-standard forms*' (discussed in 5.3.3).

5.3.1   Compromise clauses

Compromise clauses are clauses in which a *base language* as defined in 5.1 could not be identified. As already observed, in the present model the base language of the clause in which the transfer occurs corresponds to the *recipient* language of the transfer itself. Thus, compromise clauses could not be analysed in terms of transference, as this notion relies on the identification of a recipient as well as a source language. The discussion of 'compromise clauses' in the present sub-section moves from the criteria that were used for the identification of the base language to instances in which none of these criteria could be 'meaningfully' applied.

As observed in 5.1, in classic transference/interference studies, the implicit 'criterion' for the identification of the *recipient* language seems to be a *descriptive economy* of the phenomenon that is being examined. This criterion is based on the identification of the language that contributes 'all' or 'most' *material* to the *surface realisation* of the unit of

analysis in which the phenomenon occurs.[442] The application of this criterion is evident, for instance, in the analysis of 'syntactic transference' (e.g. Clyne, 1967; 1972). For instance, the surface arrangement of morphemes of language A according to word-order patterns from language B is analysed in terms of a 'syntactic transfer' from language B (source) to language A (recipient). A criterion of *descriptive economy of the material realised at the surface* seems to be guiding this type of analysis.[443]

The most elementary criterion that was applied for the identification of the base language in the present study could thus be rephrased as 'the base language of the clause is the language to which all of the material realised at the surface belongs'. This was the case of all 'covert' types of transference, i.e. those that result in forms that exhibit only morpho-phonological material from the recipient language. The discussion below shows how this implicit criterion has been applied in the present study. The wealth of linguistic phenomena in the present corpus was such that further criteria had to be adopted. These criteria were necessary to 'rate' the 'relevance' of the surface material in identifying the base language of the clause. Also, it should be stressed that there was great variation both between and within the corpora of the individual speakers and that criteria were needed to keep the analysis consistent. Clauses involving Italian and Veneto are dealt with first as they posed more problems than those involving English.

Clauses in which the *surface material* of the clause was *wholly* in one language did not pose any problem. In line with the criterion suggested above, Veneto was taken to be the base language of the clause below. The omission of the Veneto obligatory subject clitic pronoun (see discussion in 5.2.7 above) is 'economically' described in terms of a 'syntactic transfer' from Italian into Veneto. An alternative analysis to the one proposed here would

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[442] This is similar to one of the criteria Alfonzetti (1992a:175) used in some cases to identify the base language in her Italian/Sicilian codeswitching data, i.e. "the language to which the majority of the elements in the mixtilingual utterance belongs" (my translation). However, Alfonzetti (1992a:175), like Berruto (1990:113), 'normally' considered the base language as the language in which the utterance begins, which criterion was never used in the present study.

[443] This kind of analysis encapsulates a major difference between the notion of *recipient language* in the interference/transference paradigm and the notion of *matrix language* in the MLF model (Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2001 – see discussion in 2.3.2.2). In the example given above, for instance, it is the *source* and *not* the *recipient* language that determines the morpheme order. The morpheme order is what is actually 'transferred' from the source language to the recipient language. However, the 'morpheme order principle', which represents one of the foundations of the MLF model as formulated in Myers-Scotton (1993a), dictates that the morpheme order can only be determined by the *matrix* language. This terminological difference reflects a difference in the perspectives taken by the two analytical paradigms.

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envisage an Italian base language, wholly filled in by Veneto morpho-phonological material.[444]

92 (GD-2-2cv/2Bv-24): no voe magnare
    (Veneto'no *l* voe magnare'; Italian 'non vuole mangiare'; English '(he) doesn't want to eat')

When the clause presented surface material from both Italian and Veneto, the base language might become unclear. General difficulties in the identification of the base language stemmed from the following factors:

- the overlap between the verbal inflections of Veneto and Italian;
- the omission of obligatory Veneto subject clitic pronouns;
- the presence of fully homologous diamorphs;
- the absence of 'distinctively' Veneto features/diamorphs.

There is agreement among Italian scholars in considering *morphology* rather than *phonology* the linguistic level at which Italian and Veneto can and should be differentiated (e.g. Pellegrini, 1960; Mioni, 1976). The higher 'reliability' accorded to morphology is explained by the fact that the latter is the first level to be affected in both the process of Italianisation of the dialects and the regionalisation of Italian, respectively (see discussion in 3.1.2). Where possible, indications as to which of the community languages provided the base for the clause were sought at the *morphosyntactic* level.

Verbal inflectional morphology, however, was rarely helpful. Veneto and Italian third-person plural inflections are different, e.g. Veneto singular *el magn-a*, plural *i magn-a*; Italian singular *mangi-a*, plural *mangi-ano* (English '(s)he eats', 'they eat' – see discussion in 5.2.3.1). However, the corpus contained very few third-person plural verb-forms. As already observed (5.2.7), in the corpus collected during the elicitation tasks, verb-forms produced by the informants were mainly inflected for the third-person singular, for which Italian and Veneto morphology overlap. In these instances, the only morphosyntactic feature that could be relied on for the identification of the base language was the different

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[444] Like semantic transfers and morphosyntactic translations (5.2.5-6), within the MLF model even such

subject pronominal patterns. As described in 5.2.7, Veneto requires an obligatory clitic subject pronoun (see table 35), which carries the information about number. This clitic is necessary whenever there is no full nominal subject. A clitic can also optionally accompany full nominal subjects:

1. *Giorgio el* magna un pomo (i.e. English 'Giorgio eats an apple)

2. *Giorgio* magna un pomo

3. *Éo/Lù el* magna un pomo[445]

4. *El* magna un pomo

5. * magna un pomo

None of the third-generation informants in the sample used a clitic pronoun when there was a full nominal subject, i.e. they produced only clauses like 2) rather than 1). A lot of them, furthermore, omitted the obligatory subject clitic even when there was no nominal subject, i.e. they tended to produce clauses like 4) rather than 3).

The absence of the 'distinctive' Veneto clitic pronouns posed identification problems, especially in the case of fully homologous verb-forms. Full homologues, furthermore, were also found in morphosyntactically relevant categories such as the pronominal and the article paradigms, e.g. plur. masc. definite article *i*; fem. sing. definite article and clitic pronoun *la*. In the older informants, i.e. Paduan and Trevisan, the homologous feminine singular definite article *la* variates with '*à*, the latter form being a 'distinctive' Veneto form. However, among those third-generation participants that produce Veneto, the use of the homologous form was largely predominant, even though it co-existed with the Veneto form in the speech of their older relatives. The tendency to 'deplete' Veneto speech of its 'distinctive' features further increased the researcher's difficulty in identifying the base language. In some clauses, furthermore, 'distinctive' Veneto and Italian forms, respectively, were evenly distributed. Sometimes the differentiation between Italian and Veneto material in the clause was a matter of lexical morphemes or even phonological

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instances of syntactic transference would need to be analysed in terms of a 'composite' matrix language.

[445] In Paduan, the use of a clitic with nominal or stressed pronominal subject is optional (Benincà and Vanelli, 1982:16). However, in certain areas of the province of Treviso (i.e. Asolo), the clitic is obligatory with a stressed pronominal subject, but option with a nominal subject (Benincà and Vanelli, 1982:34).

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features.[446] However, as far as possible, in clauses containing Italian/Veneto homologues, the base language was identified as *the language that provided 'distinctive' material*.

In the following clause the noun *piati* is 'distinctively' Veneto (Italian 'piatti'; English 'dishes'). However, both the verb form *lava* (English '(s/he) washes') and the article *i* (English 'the' masc. plural) are fully homologous Italian/Veneto diamorphs. However, according to Veneto morpho-syntax, the verb should be accompanied by the subject clitic, e.g. *el* or *eà/la* (English 'he' or 'she'):

93 (GD-4-3Av/3Av-15): lava i *piati*
    (Veneto'*el* lava i piati'; Italian 'lava i *piatti*'; English '(s/he) washes the dishes')

Since the verb-form could be both Italian and Veneto, the clause could be analysed in two ways. If Italian were identified as the base language of the clause, the Veneto item *piati* could be coded as a Veneto *lexical* transfer occurring in an Italian clause (see 5.2.2.3), in which the subject pronoun is duly omitted. However, if Veneto were identified as the base language, the same clause would be analysed in terms of a *syntactic* transfer from Italian into Veneto, whereby the Veneto compulsory subject pronoun is omitted as a result of the contact with Italian syntax. Since *all* the morpho-phonological material at the surface could be Veneto, the latter analysis was here applied.

The clause below (94) is the Italian 'equivalent' of the one above (93). The homologous verb-form *lava* occurs with the Italian noun, i.e. *piatti* vs Veneto *piati* (English dishes). Since Italian does not require a subject pronoun, the clause below is entirely Italian:[447]

94 (GD-3-3Av/3Av-18): e qua / lava i *piatti*
    (Veneto'*e qua / el lava i piati*'; English 'and here he washes the dishes')

When the 'distinctive' Italian and Veneto material in the clause was equally distributed the base language was identified as the language that provided morphosyntactically relevant

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[446] For these reasons, in these instances the distinction between 'system' and 'content' morphemes in the MLF and the 4-M models (Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Myers-Scotton and Jake, 2000; 2001) did not offer a criterion for the identification of the base language.

[447] Note that in the Veneto regional 'qua' is much more widespread that 'qui', which is used more frequently in the rest of Italy. The two forms are however perfectly equivalent (Canepari, 1984:89).

material and/or whose subject-pronominal patterns were respected. Border-line cases were those clauses in which 'distinctive' items were provided by both Veneto and Italian. In the clause below, the same Italian/Veneto homologous verb-form, i.e. *lava*, is accompanied by a nominal subject, i.e. *so papà*, formed by the Veneto possessive adjective *so* (Italian 'suo'; English 'his/her') and an Italian/Veneto homologue, i.e *papà* (English 'dad). In this case, the omission of the definite masculine plural article *i* does not make the base of the clause more ambiguous, as it is homologous:[448]

95 (GD-3-3Av/3Av-18): *so* papà lav- lava <u>piatti</u>
    (English: '*his* dad washes <u>dishes</u>'; cf. Veneto: '*so* papà (*el*) lava [i] *piati*; Italian '(il) <u>suo</u> papà lava [i] <u>piatti</u>;)

The Veneto possessive adjective *so* is considered to be *morphosyntactically* more *relevant* than the Italian noun *piatti*. On this ground, the base language of the clause above was taken to be Veneto. In clauses in which such morphosyntactic material was not available the clause was coded as a compromise.

Some instances resulted through the omission of various items among the less proficient speakers. In the first clause below, *mamma* is distinctively Italian and *dorme* is a homologue. The whole clause, therefore, can be taken to have an Italian base. In the second clause, however, the verb-form is Veneto and the subject position is also filled in by an Italian noun, i.e. *bambino*, while the definite article is omitted. In the second clause, therefore, there are no morphosyntactic criteria to rely on for the identification of the base language:

96 (GS-5-3Av/3Av-13): <u>mamma</u> dorme --- e bambino *ledhe*[449]
    English: 'the mum sleeps and the boy reads'; cf. Italian '[la] mamma dorme e [il] bambino legge'; Veneto'eà mama eà dorme e l puteo lethe/lèze')

However, the example below is taken from the corpus of one of the grandchildren in the Italian sample. As already discussed, when the Veneto base of the clause was identifiable, the omission of the subject pronoun was coded as a syntactic transfer from Italian. However, when this phenomenon was accompanied by further lexical material from Italian, the base language was more ambiguous. This was particularly the case in longer clauses where 'subject-less' verb-forms were accompanied by morphosyntactic/lexical material from both languages. In the clause below, the verb phrase is constituted by the Veneto third-person singular reflexive pronoun (i.e. *se*, cf. Italian 'si') and an Italian third-person singular verb (i.e. *mette*, cf. Veneto 'mete', English '(she) puts'). Three prepositional phrases follow. The first is formed by a Veneto articulated preposition (*co'a*, cf. Italian 'colla', English 'with the' fem. sing.) and an Italian/Veneto homologue (*testa*, English 'head'). The second prepositional phrase is wholly in Italian (*nelle ginocchia*, cf. Veneto 'nei zenoci', English 'in the knees').[450] The third prepositional phrase one is entirely Veneto (cf. Italian 'della mamma').

97 (GS-1/2itAl.-23): *se* <u>mette</u> *co'a* testa <u>nelle ginocchia</u> *de- déa mama*
    (English: '(he) <u>puts</u> *himeself with the* head <u>in the knees</u> *of the mum*' – 'he lays his head on his mum's knees')

Both the morphosyntactic and the lexical material from the two languages are relatively balanced. It is as if the speaker were trying to 'elevate' his Veneto at the same time as he 'lowers' his Italian. Each of the distinctive Veneto item is 'counterbalanced' by the occurrence of an Italian distinctive items, e.g. an Italian verb-form followed by a Veneto preposition; an Italian prepositional phrase followed by a Veneto one. Contrastive phonological features seem to be adjusted to create this interplay, e.g. gemination/degemination of consonants, e.g. me*tt*e vs. mé*t*e but *co'a* vs. co*ll*a), weakening of unstressed /i/ > /e/, e.g. *si* > *se* (cf. Italian *di*, Veneto *de*; English 'of'). This kind of clauses, it is believed, is not 'profitably' analysed in terms of transference. The term

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[448] Underlined items are 'distinctively' Italian. Italicised items are 'distinctively' Veneto. Items in normal script are Italian/Veneto homologues.

[449] As already mentioned (5.2.1.4), Veneto archaic features like 'metaphonic' forms and interdentals, e.g. *ledhe* ['leðe] above, were found in the speech of the third-generation informants in Australia. The 'urban' variant of this verb-form is *lèze* ['lɛze]. Interdentals were sometimes found also in the speech of grandparents in Australia but were absent even in the speech of grandparents in Italy.

[450] However, in Standard Italian 'su' would normally be used rather than 'in' (i.e. 'sulle ginocchia' vs. 'nelle ginocchia'; E '*on* the knees' vs. E '*in* the knees'). 'Su' is sometimes used in Veneto instead of 'in' to introduce adverbial phrases of place, e.g. Veneto *el abita su na caza vecia* vs. Italian *abita in una casa vecchia* (English 'he lives in an old house' - Marcato and Ursini, 1998:420). The use of 'in' rather than 'su' in this example may be the result of hypercorrection.

'compromise' reflects more closely the way the two languages concur to the formation of the clause.[451]

A further example of clause that was categorised as 'compromise' is reported below from the corpus of an Italian-Australian grandchild. Here, the subject noun phrase consists of an Italian noun (*padre*, cf. Veneto 'pare', English 'father') accompanied by a compromise' possessive adjective, i.e. *su* (cf. Italian 'suo', Veneto 'so', English 'his/her' third-person singular masculine – see analysis 5.3.2 below). The verb-form is homologous (i.e. *va*, English '(s)he goes'). In the first of the two prepositional phrases that follow the preposition *in* is in itself homologous but corresponds to Veneto semantics (Veneto 'in leto' vs. Italian 'a letto', English 'to bed'). The noun, however, is Italian (*letto*, cf. Veneto 'leto'). In the second prepositional phrase, both the preposition and the noun are Italian (*con, ragazzo*; cf. Veneto 'co', 'tozo'; English 'with', 'boy'), but the definite article is Veneto (*l*, cf. 'il'):

98 (GD-2-2cv/2Bv-24): e: *su* padre va *in* leito con *l* ragazzo
(Veneto'so pare (el) va dormire col tozo'; Italian 'il padre va a dormire con il ragazzo'; English: 'his father goes to bed (off) with the boy')

The shared morphosyntactic structure of the clause is filled in by items from one language and the other in a back-and-forth movement between the two languages. This process closely resembles what Muysken (2000) described as 'congruent lexicalization' (see discussion in 2.3.3). On the other hand, Myers-Scotton and Jake's (2001) 'composite matrix language' would represent a viable analytical tool for the present corpus only if the 'amount', the 'type' and the 'directionality' of the codeswitching that 'can' accompany a 'composite matrix language' were envisaged.

5.3.1.1.1 English/Italian compromise clauses

Some of the less proficient informants engaged in the same kind of 'back-and-forth' movement between Italian and English. Similarly to the instances discussed above

[451] Clyne (1972) also found instances of a whole phrase that was a 'compromise', e.g. ['tru: də 'do:d fɔn də 'ʃI:p], which represented a compromise between English *through the* death of the *sheep* and German 'durch den Tod (Swab. *Dod*) von den Schafen'.

(5.3.1.1), some English/Italian compromise clauses resulted from the co-occurrence of a morphosyntactic translation (see 5.2.6) and morphological or lexical transference (see 5.2.3 and 5.2.2.1). In the clause below the underlying morphosyntactic structure of the verb phrase (*è making*) is clearly English, i.e. 'is making' vs. Italian 'sta facendo' (see analysis in 5.2.6 above). However, the morphosyntactically relevant material realising it is Italian (*è*, English 'is'). The noun phrases preceding and following the verb phrase come from English. The remainder of the clause consists of an Italian prepositional phrase (*con le piatti*, Italian 'con i piatti', English 'with the dishes') and an English noun phrase (*the paper*), preceded by a false-start Italian indefinite article (*un*, sing. masc.). As the distribution of filled/unfilled pauses and the false start reveal, known Italian items appear to be inserted by the speaker as they become available:

99 (GS-7-3Ai/3Av-12): THE bambina è + / + / / + MAKING A / / A / / A barca con le piatti e / un- / / + THE PAPER
(English 'the little girl is making a boat with the dishes and a- the paper')

Rather than in terms of a *whole clause*, instances such as as these would appear to be more aptly analysed as separate phrases. In such 'fragmented' analysis, however, transference would no longer represent a useful analytical tool. As in some of the Italian/Veneto compromise clauses seen above (5.3.1.1), the impossibility to identify the base language of the clause sometimes was due to the dearth of morphosyntactic or lexical material in the clause. The clause below consists in one Italian lexical item without article, i.e. *mamma*, (English 'mum') and an English 'bare' verb-form, *come* (cf. discussion in 5.2.2.1):

100 (GS-5-3Av/3Av-13): Mamma COME

A number of compromise clauses presented material from all three languages. In the example below the subject noun phrase is Italian (*il padre*, English 'the father'), the verb-form is Veneto (*dize*, English '(he) says') and the object noun phrase is English (*good night*). Again, in instances like this, it is believed that an analysis in transference terms would not present any advantages:

101 (GD-2-2cv/2Bv-24): e il padre *dize* GOOD NIGHT [laughs]
(English 'and the father says good night')

A similar distribution occurs in the clause below, i.e. the clitic subject pronoun is Veneto, the verb-form is Italian and the prepositional phrase consists of an English preposition and definite article and an Italian noun:

102 (GS-7-3Ai/3Av-12): e <u>gioca</u> / e ! / <u>gioca</u> IN THE <u>bagno</u>
   (English: and he plays in the bathroom')

5.3.2 Compromise forms

Compromise forms are single lexical items that exhibit an equal or similar number of morpho-phonological features from two equivalent items in a bilingual lexical pair. In compromise forms the co-occurrence of features from two languages is such that the identification of the source and the recipient language is not possible. Technically speaking, therefore, compromises cannot be defined as 'transfers' as there are not criteria to determine which of the two languages is 'dominant' over the other. Compromise forms therefore represent a limiting case of transference, in which the co-occurrence of morpho-phonological material from two languages reaches a balance.[452]

Not surprisingly, all instances of 'compromise forms' but one, which is however not clear-cut, are between Veneto and Italian. Many 'compromise forms' involved gemination/degemination of consonants in Italian/Veneto lexical pairs. In the example below the speaker uses a compromise form between Italian 'pe*tt*in-a' and Veneto equivalent, 'pe*t*en-a' (English '(s)he combs', third person sing.). Two traits distinguish the items, i.e. Italian /tt/ vs. Veneto /t/ and Italian /i/ vs. Veneto /e/. The form in the clause below results from their combination, i.e. 'pe*tt*en-a'.

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[452] As already discussed (5.1), the term 'compromise forms' was used by Clyne (e.g. 1967), who considered these items among other types of 'trigger words' (see discussion in 2.3.3), i.e. words of ambiguous affiliation that 'trigger' switches. In Clyne's (1972) classification, forms consisting of e.g. a free/lexical morpheme from one language and bound morphemes from another (e.g. English 'farm' + Italian '-ist-a' > 'farmista', English 'farm-er') were categorised as '(morphemic) compromises'. In the present model, however, such instances were considered under 'morphological integration' or 'morphological transference' (see 5.2.3 below). The lexical and phonological distance between English and Italian is such that the source language of the morphemes in 'farm-ista' above can be clearly identified. Although phonically the form is wholly Italian, it results from the 'juxtaposition' of morphemes from the two languages. Similarly, Italian/dialect 'hybridisms' formed in the same way were not considered as 'compromise forms' (cf. Alfonzetti, 1992a:236-9). The phenomena considered as 'compromise forms' in the present study, on the other hand, are

103 (GD-8-3Av/3B3ci-23) co la spazzola si *pettena* i- i- bambol- le bambole
   (Italian '....pettina....'; English 'with the brush she combs the dolls')

Note that forms such as these could be *both* categorised as 'phonic transfer' *as well as* 'phonically (partially) integrated lexical transfer' from Veneto into I, which in this case is the language of the clause. As a 'phonic transfer', the form would result from the transference of Veneto/e/ into Italian 'pett*i*na'. As a 'phonically (partially) integrated lexical item', the form would result from the partial integration of Veneto 'pe*t*ena' into I, through gemination of /t/. In the present study, 'compromise forms' are items that present the researcher with this kind of 'dilemma'.[453]

The corpus contained only one form that could be interpreted as the compromise between an Italian/Veneto lexical pair of 'function', 'variable' words. This was a compromise formed by one speaker between different forms in the Italian/Veneto paradigms of the third person possessive adjective, i.e. the singular feminine/masculine third person form and the plural masculine third person form. The corpus of this speaker, however, does not contain any form, whether compromise or not, of the plural feminine third person possessive adjective. In Italian there are three distinct forms for the singular feminine/masculine and plural masculine third person possessive, respectively, i.e. 'su*a*/suo' and 'suo*i*'. However, the Veneto unstressed equivalent for all of them is 'so'. The compromise form produced by the speaker, however, is *su*, which combines the 'structure' of the item from Veneto and Italian /u/. This latter feature is however also contained in the stressed forms of the Veneto adjectives, which are similar to the Italian ones, i.e. 'suo/sua' and 'sui', respectively. The compromise possessive adjective alternated with its Veneto/Italian equivalents and occurred both in the speaker's Veneto speech as well as Italian, e.g.:[454]

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characterised by a less 'discrete' separation between the phono-morphological material from the two languages.
[453] See discussion of Berruto's (1989a:21) 'hybridisms' in 3.1.5.
[454] 'Su' exists in Tuscan as a truncated form of the Italian 'suo, sua, suoi, sue'. However, it is highly unlikely that the above third-generation speaker was aware of the existence of this form. Both sides of her family came from the province of Padua. Since the above compromise form is used in a feminine/masculine singular as well as masculine plural function, it could be said that it actually is a purely 'morphological' compromise, rather than a 'morpho-phonological' one. However, as observed above, the Veneto unstressed form 'so', which does not have any allomorphs, would represent an easy strategy for reducing the Italian paradigm. Furthermore, the compromise is also used in V. Therefore, the form appears to be the result of the conflation of both phonological and morphological characteristics of the elements in the paradigms of the third person possessive adjectives of Italian and Veneto.

104 (GD-2-2cv/2Bv-24): *e ze sentà visin su mama*
(Veneto '...(de) *so*....' (fem. Sing. third person); English 'he is sitting next to his mum')

105 (GD-2-2cv/2Bv-24): e: <u>dopo ii regazzo + / + / dà un bacio a *su* padre</u>
(Italian '...*suo*...' (masc. sing. third person); English 'and then the boy gives a kiss to his father')

The only example of English/Italian compromise form in the corpus also pertained to a 'function', 'variable' word. One speaker in the sample was found to alternate use of the English definite article 'the' [ðə] and the Italian feminine singular definite article/object pronoun 'la' [la], with what was interpreted as a compromise between the two, i.e. [lə]. Both the compromise form and Italian 'la' are also used in front of masculine nouns. Note in the example reported below the clear passage from '*the* bambina' to '*la* bambina' (English 'the little girl'), the two phrases being separated by a short pause:

106 (GS-7-3Ai/3Av-12): la mamma / + / l[ə] va / + / dry / *the* bambina / l[ə] bambina / + / vai / + / dress- dress herself
(Italian 'la mamma la va ad asciugare / la bambina / *la* bambina va a vestirsi'; English 'the mum goes to dry her / the little girl / *the* little girl goes to dress herself')

5.3.3 Non-standard forms

Non-standard forms are forms that do not correspond to synchronic linguistic norms and for which a source language could not be identified (cf. discussion in 2.3.1).[455] All coded non-standard forms in the corpus resulted from the speaker's non-standard selection of members from within a paradigm (e.g. inflections, pronouns, articles, etc.).[456] Non-standard forms do not reflect identifiable *transference* patterns from another language and did not

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[455] However, some of the forms that are here referred to as 'non-standard' correspond to forms produced by learners of Italian L2.
[456] As described in 5.2.3, the transference 'counterparts' of non-standard forms were categorised as 'morphological transfers', which also included inflections and pronouns, articles, etc. i.e. function, variable words. The observation that such words were frequently used as non-standard forms led to the redefinition of morphological transference in this study to include, in addition to inflections, this category of words.

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lend themselves to be interpreted by the researcher as the result of any direct influence from another language.[457]

In most instances, non-standard forms result from a lack of gender or number agreement between subject and verb or between article and noun. The youngest-generation informants tended to use the second-person singular verb inflection rather than the required third-person one, e.g. in the examples below *giochi* vs. 'gioca' and *vieni* vs. 'viene':[458]

107 (GS-7-3Ai/3Av-12): L[ə][459] bambina / + / *giochi* con la barca
(English 'the girl play-2nd pers. sing. with the boat')

108 (GD-4-3Av/3Av-15): la mama *vieni* in bagno
(English 'the mum come-2nd pers. sing. in bathroom')

In other instances there appears to be a general 'confusion' between various inflections in the difference verb conjugations, e.g. in the clause below the second-person singular inflection (*metti*), self-repaired to *mett-a*, which corresponds to the third-person singular *subjunctive* form. The inflection, however, coincides with third-person singular inflection of the simple present of verbs in the first conjugation (e.g. *mangiare*). The plural masculine article (*i*) does not agree with the plural feminine noun (*bambol-e*). The Italian verb 'mettere' (English 'to put') is used with a reflexive pronoun, which does not correspond to the 'standard':

109 (GD-4-3Av/3Av-15): e *si* mett*i*- mett*a* i bambol*e* a letto
(English *and* refl.3rd-pers. sing. pron. *put*-2nd pers. sing. simple pres. *put*-2nd pers. sing. subjunctive pres. *the*-masc.plur. *dolls*-fem.plur. *to bed*; 'she puts the dolls to bed'; Italian: 'e mette le bambole a letto')

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[457] In relation to the community languages, the term 'standard' is intended here as the 'point of reference' that was provided by specific bibliographical works. As already discussed (see 5.2), reliance on such works was deemed necessary to proceed in the analysis. In this sense, the term 'standard' encompasses here the notion of 'dialect'.
[458] The same phenomenon was found by Clyne (1986b:113) among primary school children learning German in Australia. However, among Italian L2 learners in Italy, Giacalone Ramat (1993:371) found that in the first acquisitional stage the use of a "basic" third-person singular form for verbs of the first conjugation, e.g. 'studia', 'lavora', was much more frequent (cf. example 109). English 'bare' forms and the use of Italian/Veneto infinitives have already been discussed in 5.2.2.1 and 5.2.6. If 'non-standard' forms were *not* in the same language as the base of the clause, a transfer was also coded.
[459] See the analysis of this 'compromise form' in 5.3.2 above.

Non-standard forms, however, include the 'omission' of various morphosyntactic elements, very frequently the definite article. Below is an example from Veneto (see also 5.3.2 above):

110 (GD-2-2cv/2Bv-24): l gà- gà fato *barca*
    (Veneto'l gà fato na *barca*'; English 'he has made a boat')

5.4 Concluding summary

In the present model of analysis, the corpus of data was segmented into clauses. Clauses entirely in one language were kept separate from those presenting contact phenomena. According to a broad conceptualisation of the term, 'contact phenomena' were intended as the result of the co-presence of more than one language in the informants' repertoire.

Among contact phenomena, the analysis focused on transference. For each clause presenting transference phenomena, a base language could be identified. The model distinguished between transfers in six language directions. Seven major types of transference were considered. Phonic, lexical, morphological and phrasal transfers are 'overt' types as they result in forms presenting morpho-phonological material from both the source and the recipient language. Semantic transfers, morphosyntactic translations and syntactic transfers are covert types of transfers. Some of these categories were conceived in different terms than within the transference paradigm. In addition to the traditional distinction between unintegrated/integrated items, the model considered the distinction between variable/invariable words, which might be sensitive to differential transference patterns among third-generation bilinguals. Furthermore, morphological transfers in this analysis are function variable words and inflections. Morphosyntactic translation is a new category introduced here to account for the widespread 'covert' transference of morphosyntactically relevant constructions among third-generation informants.

Contact phenomena other than transference, which were coded in an 'unanalysed' category, included compromise clauses, compromise forms and non-standard forms. In the first, a base language was not identifiable. In the same way, as the source and the recipient ·language could not be identified at the word level in compromise forms, which were considered within the transference paradigm. Phenomena considered as non-standard

forms could not be readily interpreted as the result of the influence of another language and, like morphological transfers, involved inflections and function variable words.

In chapter 6, the results of the statistical analysis of the incidence of monolingual speech vs. transference are presented. Chapter 7 focuses on the incidence of the different transference language directions and transference types.

CHAPTER 6

MONOLINGUAL SPEECH vs. TRANSFERENCE

6.0 Introduction

The present Chapter and Chapter 7 below present the results of the quantitative analysis that was carried out based on the model illustrated in Chapter 5. The aim of this chapter is to discuss the *average size of the informants' corpus* and the *incidence of transference* in it.

As already discussed in Chapter 4 (cf. 4.1 and 4.4.1-2), throughout the thesis the terms *'grandparents/grandmothers'* indicate the oldest-generation informants in the sample. Those in Australia are also referred to as the 'first generation'. Similarly, 'the *parents'* indicates the intermediate-generation participants or, in Australia, the 'second generation'. 'The *grandchildren'* are the youngest-generation informants or, in the migration context, the 'third generation'. Participants in Italy are referred to as 'Italian' (abbreviated as 'Ital.' on the graphs) and those in Australia as 'Italian-Australian' (abbreviated as 'Ital.-Austr.' on the graphs).

As explained in 4.5.1, 'quasi-natural' speech data were collected via taped conversations. For ease of reference, throughout the discussion these data are referred to as 'natural' data. The method through which *natural language data* were collected is termed the 'natural conversation'. Natural conversations were recorded between the grandmothers and the parents and between the grandmothers and the grandchildren, respectively (cf. 4.5.1.2).

Thus, the discussion refers to four groups of speakers in relation to their interlocutors:

a) the *grandparents* when addressing the parents (abbreviated as 'GP(P)' on the graphs);

b) the *grandparents* when addressing the grandchildren (abbreviated as 'GP(GC)' on the graphs);

c) the *parents* when addressing the grandparents (abbreviated as 'P(GP)' on the graphs);

d) the *grandchildren* when addressing the grandparents (abbreviated as 'GC(GP)' on the graphs).

251

On the graphs pertaining to *natural language* in this Chapter and in Chapter 7, data for the above groups of speakers in the sample in Australia are shown on the right hand side and data for the above groups of speakers in the sample in Italy are shown on the left hand side. Within each sample, groups of speakers that were likely to .make the most 'conservative' language choice were positioned to the left, i.e. from a) to d). As discussed in 4.5.2, *elicited language* data were collected via 'elicited sessions' or 'narrations' in Italian and in Veneto, respectively (abbreviated as 'Ital. Narr.' and 'Ven. Narr.' on the graphs).

In the present Chapter and in Chapter 7, the discussion of the results follows the same order. Findings pertaining to the *natural speech of the grandchildren* in Australia are compared to i) findings pertaining to the natural speech of the *other speakers* and ii) to findings pertaining to the their own *elicited speech* and that of the grandchildren in Italy. For ease of reference, graphs pertaining to the grandchildren's elicited language presented in this Chapter and in Chapter 7 also report the data pertaining to their natural language.

Data discussed in this Chapter and in Chapter 7 refer to averages or proportions for the whole of the relevant group of informants (e.g. Italian-Australian grandparents, Italian-Australian grandchildren, etc). However, individual breakdown figures are referred to where relevant. These, together with tables on which the presented graphs were based, are reported in the indicated appendices at the end of the thesis.

As discussed in 5.1, the corpus was segmented into *clauses*. Section 6.1 below deals with the *average number of clauses* in the corpus of each group. Clauses in the corpus were either entirely in one language or presented contact phenomena. Among the contact phenomena, the analysis focused on transference. Thus, clauses were coded into five categories (see 5.1.1):

1. clauses entirely in *Veneto*;
2. clauses entirely in *Italian*;
3. clauses entirely in *English*;
4. clauses exhibiting *at least one transference phenomenon*;
5. clauses exhibiting *only contact phenomena other than transference*.[460]

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[460] As pointed out in 5.2, 'Veneto' has to be intended as embracing features that belong to the regional koinè. Similarly, 'Italian' encompasses some features of Veneto regional Italian (cf. 3.1.2.4 and 5.2.1.3).

Findings in 6.2-3 refer to the relative frequency of clauses in the above five categories. As highlighted in the title of the chapter, the discussion mainly focuses on the incidence of clauses exhibiting transference in relation to those entirely in the three languages (categories 1-4). For ease of reference, throughout the discussion 'clauses exhibiting at least one transference phenomenon' (category 4) are frequently termed as 'clauses exhibiting transference' or 'clauses with transference'. Similarly, 'clauses exhibiting only contact phenomena other than transference' may be referred to as 'clauses exhibiting other type of contact phenomena'.

The direction and the type of transference phenomena encountered in the corpus are discussed in Chapter 7 (cf. 5.2). Contact phenomena other than transference were not analysed further in the present study.[461]

Section 6.4 presents the findings of the correlation analysis between some of the characteristics of the participants (cf. 4.4) and the aspects of their language production discussed in the present chapter.

6.1 Average number of clauses in the informants' corpus

In this section, the average number of clauses produced by the informants is discussed. As explained in 5.1 and 5.1.1, only fully intelligible, non-elliptical clauses were coded. The first ten clauses in the *natural conversation* of each individual speaker were not included in the corpus. After this initial 'warm-up' phase, a maximum of a hundred clauses for each speaker was coded. All clauses produced in the elicitation sessions were included in the analysis.

Graph 1 below reports the average clause production of the informants in the two countries in the natural conversation with the relevant interlocutor.[462] In the natural conversation, both the Italian-Australian and the Italian grandchildren contributed a much smaller average number of clauses than their grandparents and parents. When addressing their

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[461] As illustrated in 5.3, in the present model of analysis 'contact phenomena other than transference' included i) compromise forms, ii) non-standard forms (both at the word level) and iii) compromise clauses. Compromise clauses did not have an identifiable base language and phenomena occurring in them could not be categorised as transference.

[462] As explained in the introduction (6.0) the grandparents were taped while conversing with the parents ('GP(P)') and the grandchildren ('GP(GC)'), the parents were taped while conversing with the grandparents ('P(GP)') and the grandchildren were taped while conversing with the grandparents ('GC(GP)').

grandchildren, the average production of the Italian-Australian grandparents was very close to the 100-clause ceiling (i.e. 96.8). Their youngest interlocutors, however, produced on average less than half as many (39.1 clauses).

Graph 1
Average number of clauses produced by the informants in the natural conversation
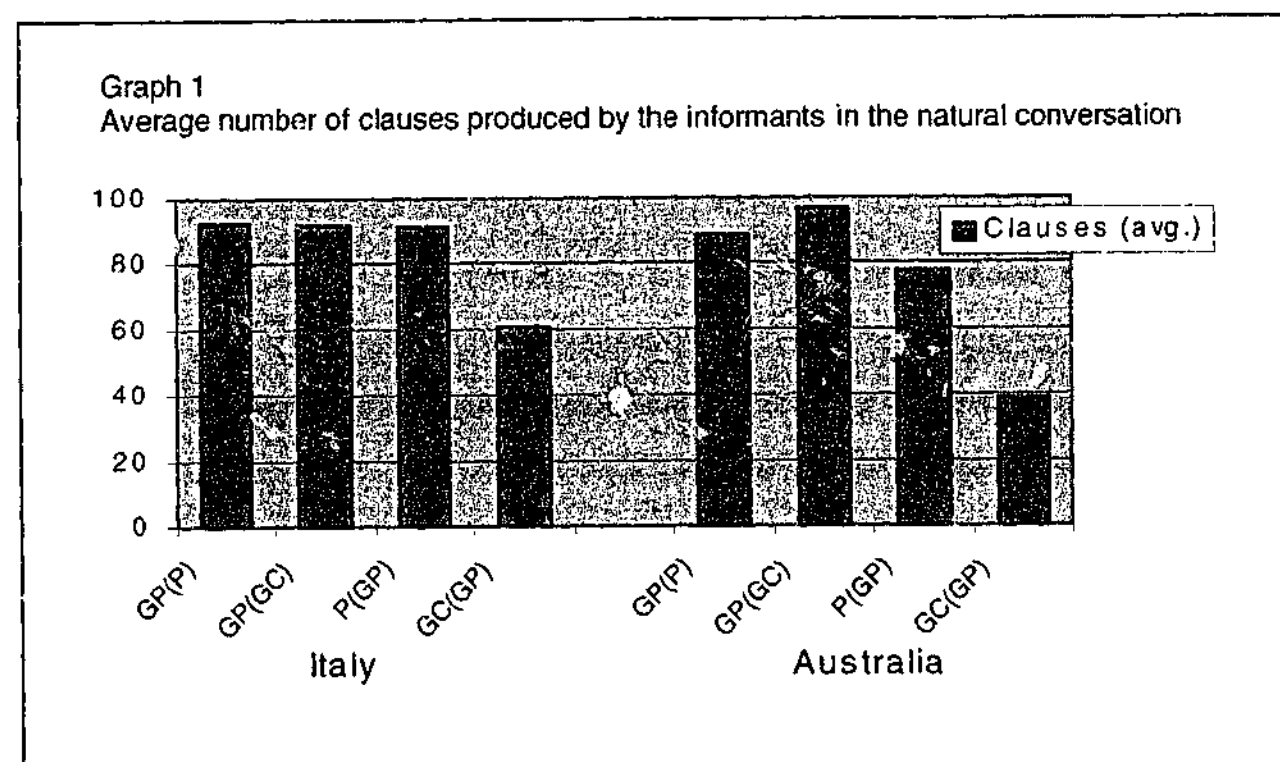
The imbalance between the clause production of the grandparents and the grandchildren when they were talking to each other was found to be considerable also in the Italian sample. Here, however, the gap was substantially narrower. The Italian grandchildren's average clause production was approximately 50% larger than that of their Italian-Australian counterparts (60.3 vs. 39.1 clauses, respectively). As was found in Australia, the average size of the corpus of the Italian grandparents in this conversation was very high (92 clauses).

In both countries, in the conversation between the grandparents and the parents, the average number of clauses contributed by the interlocutors was more comparable than in the conversation between the grandparents and the grandchildren. However, among the parents in Australia, the average clause production was slightly smaller than among the parents in Italy and the grandparents in both countries. All older-generation informants except the Italian-Australian parents produced on average around 90 clauses in the natural conversation (91 for the Italian parents; 92.6 for the Italian grandparents; 88.5 for the

Italian-Australian grandparents). The second-generation informants in Australia contributed on average fewer than 80 (i.e. 77.7).

As already mentioned in 4.5.1.4.2, an unexpected finding of this study was the extremely small number of clauses that some of the Italian-Australian grandchildren addressed to their grandmothers (i.e. between 5 and 10, i.e. well below the average of 39.1).[463] In studies that used elicited language data, the relative amount of speech produced by the informants has sometimes been considered as a measure of their linguistic proficiency.[464] However, the data discussed above were recorded via natural or semi-natural conversations (see design in 4.5.1). In these conversations, the participants were asked to use whichever code they would normally use with the relevant interlocutor. As discussed in 4.5.1.4 and 6.4, the method seemed to have succeeded in encouraging the speakers to make their habitual language choice. Therefore, factors other than the speakers' linguistic competence might have determined the number of clauses that they produced.

While in Australia mutual unintelligibility might have represented an obstacle for the communication between the grandparents and the grandchildren, it was unlikely to be an issue in Italy, where all participants had at least a passive knowledge of both Italian and Veneto. However, the data reported above show that the youngest speakers in Italy also produced a substantially smaller average number of clauses than their older relatives. Aspects in the interaction between the Italian-Australian grandmothers and the grandchildren that seemed to have influenced the younger speakers' clause production were analysed qualitatively in 6.4.1, with the aim of exploring the possible significance of this variable in their speech.

On the other hand, the number of clauses the third-generation speakers produced when Italian and Veneto were elicited might have depended on their language proficiency in the two languages. This hypothesis is consistent with the fact that in the narrations, as shown on Graph 2 below, the average clause production of the Italian grandchildren was substantially larger than that of the grandchildren in Australia. The gap between the

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[463] As explained in 5.1, only intelligible speech was segmented into clauses and coded for the analysis.. Unintelligible stretches of speech in the conversation between these grandchildren and their grandmothers were very few (between 2 and 5, cf. Table E.6). Thus, even if these unintelligible stretches had constituted whole clauses, they would not have greatly modified the size of corpora of these subjects.
[464] Bettoni (1986), for instance, found that the number of words uttered by her informants was a sensitive indicator of the level of attrition of their Italian.

average clause production of the youngest informants in the two countries in the two elicitation sessions was wider than in the natural conversation.

Graph 2
Average number of clauses produced by the grandchildren in the Italian narration, the Veneto narration and the natural conversation with the grandparents.
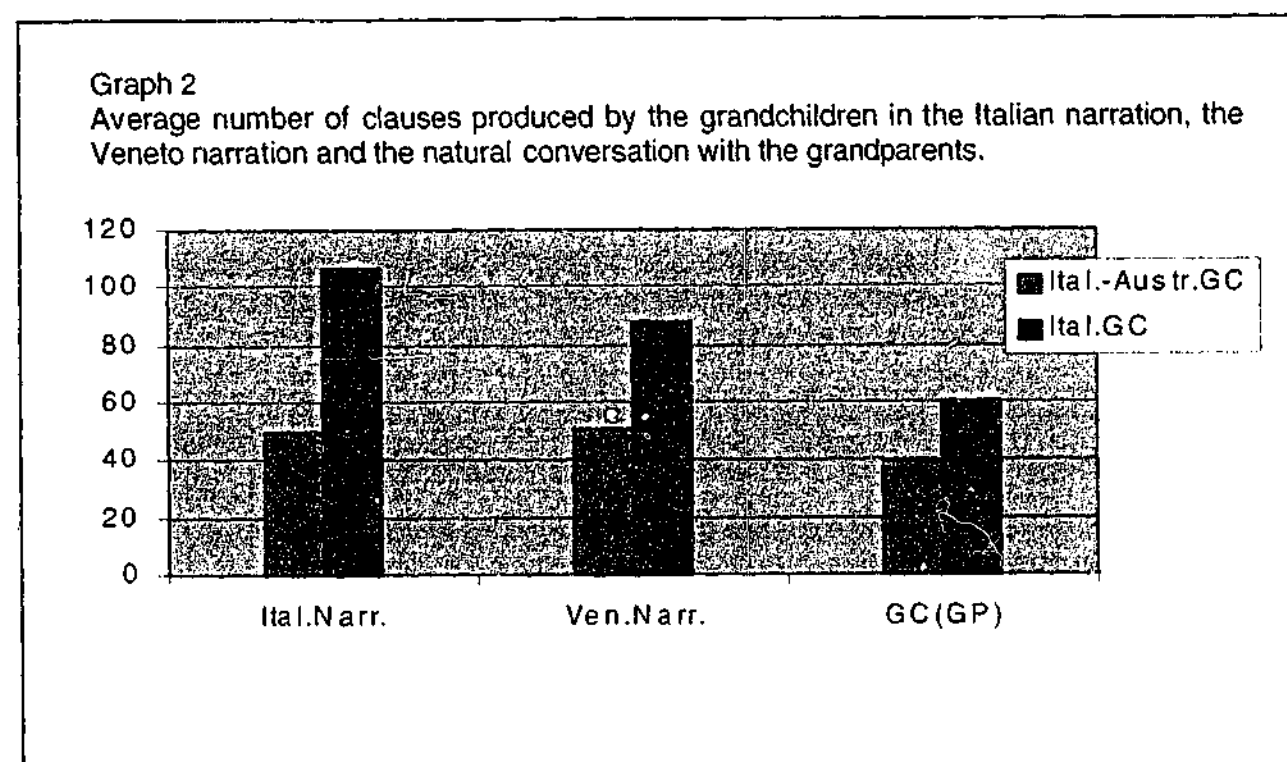
In both the Italian and the Veneto narrations, the grandchildren in Australia produced on average roughly ten clauses more than in the conversation with their grandmothers (50.2 in the Italian narration; 49.8 in the Veneto narration; cf. 39.1 in the natural conversation, as already reported above). However, the increase among the grandchildren in Italy was much larger. As shown on Graph 2, the greatest difference between the size of the corpus of the young speakers in Australia and in Italy was found in the Italian narration. In this recording, the average production of the Italian-Australian grandchildren was 49.8 clauses. This figure contrasted with as many as 106.3 among their Italian counterparts. In the Veneto narration, the difference in the number of clauses produced by the youngest speakers in the two samples was smaller but still substantial. When Veneto was elicited, the grandchildren in Australia produced on average around the same number of clauses as when Italian was elicited (50.2 and 49.8, respectively). However, the clause production of the Italian grandchildren substantially decreased (from 106.3 to 87.6 clauses, respectively).

Nevertheless, those Italian-Australian grandchildren who addressed extremely few clauses to their grandmothers were able to produce a number of clauses that was much closer to the average for the whole sample in the elicitation sessions (between 22 and 60, cf. around 50

on average as reported above).[465] This further indicates that factors other than language proficiency might have been at play in the interaction between the Italian-Australian grandchildren and their grandmothers. The possible interdependence of the number of clauses the third-generation informants produced in the natural conversation and other aspects of their language production was investigated via correlations, which are discussed in 6.4.4.

In summary, both the grandchildren in Australia and in Italy spoke on average less than their grandparents and parents in the natural conversation, and less in this recording than in the elicitation sessions. In both countries, the clause production of the grandchildren, unlike that of the grandparents and the parents, was well below the 100-clause ceiling established for the natural conversation. However, the Italian grandchildren produced on average a much larger number of clauses then the Italian-Australian grandchildren, particularly when they were narrating in Italian and Veneto. In comparison to the youngest speakers in Australia, those in Italy addressed on average around 50% more clauses to their grandmothers. In the Italian elicitation session, the Italian grandchildren's average clause production was more than twice as large as that of the Italian-Australian grandchildren, and in the Veneto elicitation session it was around 80% larger.

6.2 Monolingual speech and transference in the natural language in the extended family

In the present section, the natural language of the third-generation informants is compared to that of the speakers in the rest of the sample. As explained in the introduction (6.0), findings discussed in the present chapter pertain to the proportion of clauses in five categories, i.e. clauses entirely in one of the three languages considered (Veneto, Italian and English), clauses exhibiting at least one transference phenomenon and clauses exhibiting only contact phenomena other than transference.

The discussion in subsections 6.2.1-3 below refers to the data reported on Graph 3 below. Bars on the graph show the proportions of clauses in the five categories in the speech of the informants in the two countries, in the natural conversation with the relevant interlocutors, i.e. the grandparents with the parents ('GP(P)') and the grandchildren

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[465] See individual breakdown reported in Table E.4.

('GP(GC)'), the parents with the grandparents ('P(GP)') and the grandchildren with the grandparents ('GC(GP)'). In subsection 6.2.1, the findings pertaining to the Australian sample are presented. A comparison with the findings for the Italian informants is in 6.2.2. A general discussion of the data is in 6.2.3.

Graph 3
Proportion of monolingual clauses, clauses exhibiting at least one transference phenomenon and clauses exhibiting only contact phenomena other than transference produced by informants in the natural conversation with the relevant interlocutors
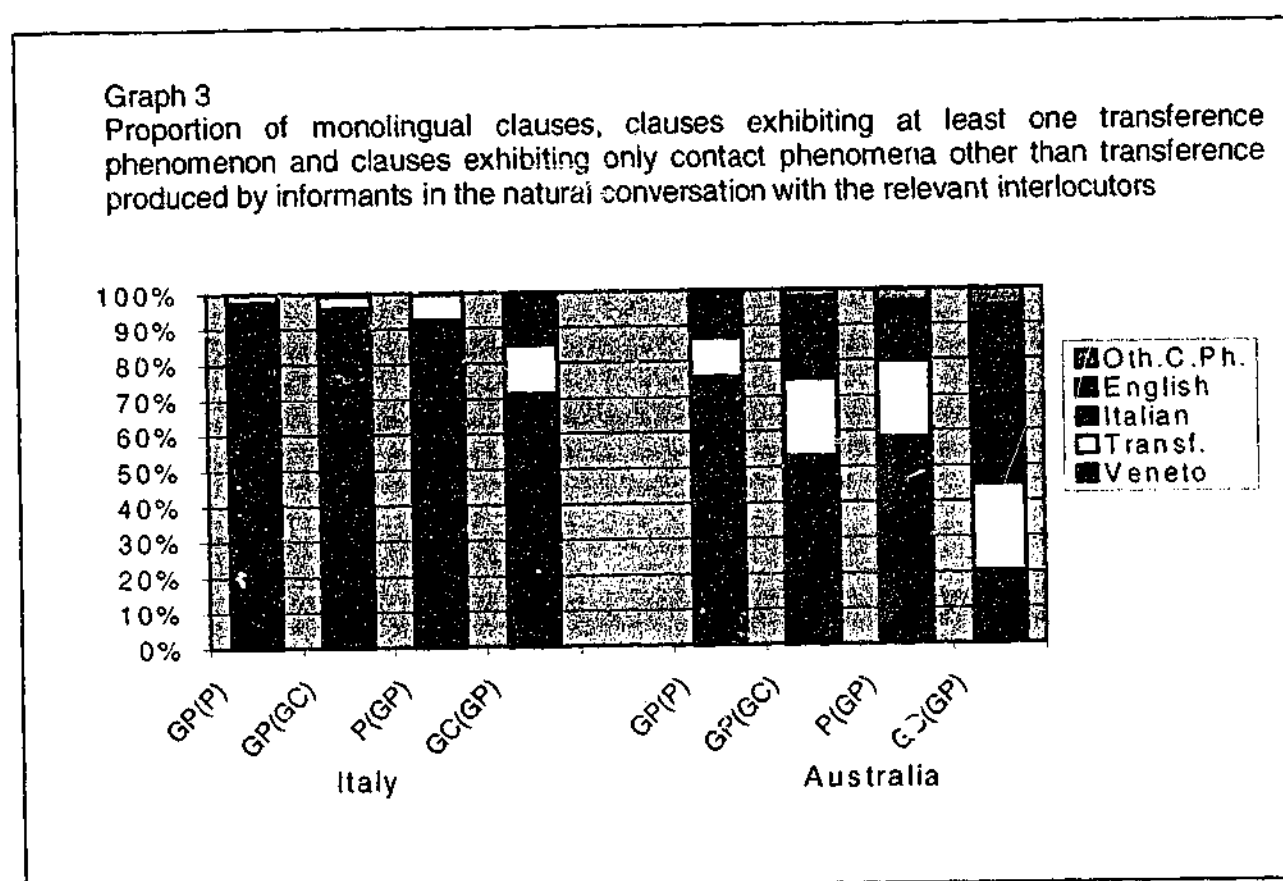
Throughout this section, the discussion refers to 'shift rates'. *Intergenerational* shift rates between the grandparents and the *parents' generation* were calculated by comparing the natural speech of the grandparents and the natural speech of the parents when talking to each other. *Intergenerational* shift rates between the parents and the *grandchildren's generation* were calculated by comparing the natural speech of the parents and the natural speech of the grandchildren, when they were both talking to the grandparents. The speech of the grandparents when talking to the parents and the grandchildren, respectively, was compared to calculate the relative shift *within the grandparents' generation* in relation to the interlocutor.

Shift among the informants in the two countries as discussed in this section occurs on different levels. On a first level, within each sample, intergenerational shift rates reveal the change in the use of the dialect and Italian in the younger generations. As discussed in 3.2,

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a progressive movement away from monolingualism in the dialect through to bilingualism in the dialect/Italian and monolingualism in Italian is currently under way in Italy. Scholars have argued that the tendency towards the abandonment of the dialect in favour of Italian might be present and indeed be reinforced in migration contexts (cf. 3.2.2). Here, the original relationship between the dialect and Italian is further complicated by the presence of the host language. On a second level, therefore, shift rates in the present section show the additional movement towards English that occurs across the migrant generations in Australia. Finally, the data in the present study show the effect of the youngest generation's presence on the language choice of the grandparents.

In the literature, the term 'shift' has generally referred to the change in the relative frequency of use of 'a language', rather than of 'patterns of language contact' between different languages. This is partly because the shift/maintenance paradigm has traditionally relied on large-scale surveys and has not included a linguistic component (see 2.2).[466] However, in the present section, as well as in the rest of the analysis, the term 'shift' is used to refer to a change in the relative frequency not only of clauses entirely in one language, but also of those presenting transference phenomena. Shift rates for all categories of clauses are summarised in Table 36 below and will be referred to throughout the discussion.

Table 36 Shift rates in the proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto ('Ven.'), Italian ('Ital.') and English ('Eng'), clauses exhibiting transference ('Tr.') and clauses exhibiting contact phenomena other than transference ('Other C.Ph.') in the informants' natural language.[467]

	Italy					Australia				
	Gp (P)	Gp (Gc)	P (Gp)	Gc (Gp)	Gc (Gp)	Gp (P)	Gp (Gc)	P (Gp)	Gc (Gp)	Gc (Gp)
Ven.	97.5%	-1.8	-5.2	-21.0	71.3%	75.6%	-22.6	-17.5	-37.9	20.2%
Tr.	2.5%	+1.1	+4.8	+6.5	13.8%	10.8%	+11	+10.7	+3.0	24.5%
Ital.	---	+0.7	+0.4	+14.5	14.9%	12.4%	+11.7	+3.0	-4.3	11.1%
Eng.						0%	---	+1.3	+37.7	39.0%
Other C.Ph.	---	---	---	---	---	1.1	+1.1	+2.6	+1.4	5.1

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[466] For the polysemy of the term 'shift' in the literature see Clyne (1991:54) mentioned in 2.2. The relationship between shift and language contact was discussed in 2.2.1.
[467] For ease of reference, the relative frequency of the clauses in the different categories in the corpus of the oldest- and the youngest-generation informants in both samples is italicised.

6.2.1 In Australia

In this subsection, the relative frequency of monolingual clauses vs. clauses exhibiting transference or other contact phenomena in the natural speech of the Italian-Australian grandchildren is compared to that in the natural speech of their parents and grandparents.

As shown on Graph 3 above, *Veneto* accounted for the largest proportion of clauses in the natural language of both the grandparents and the parents in Australia. Clauses entirely in Veneto were most frequent in the natural speech of the grandparents in the conversation with the parents (75.6%) and least frequent in the natural speech of the grandchildren. However, quite surprisingly, Veneto clauses represented a relatively large proportion of the speech produced by the youngest Italian-Australian speakers to address their grandmothers, i.e. around a fifth of their corpus (20.2%).

The presence of the grandchildren seemed to have had a strong 'inhibitory' effect on the grandparents' production of Veneto clauses. The grandparents in Australian used Veneto in 75.6% of clauses when conversing with the parents, but only in 53% of clauses when conversing with the grandchildren. The relative frequency of the Veneto clauses in the corpus of the first-generation informants in the conversation with their youngest relatives was even lower than in the corpus of second-generation informants (58.1%). That is, when addressing the youngest relatives in the family, the grandparents used Veneto relatively less frequently than the parents did when addressing them. Thus, in the sample in Australia, the shift away from Veneto in the first generation, resulting from the presence of the youngest interlocutors, was even more advanced than the intergenerational shift in the second generation (-22.6% vs. -17.5%).[468]

The total shift rate for clauses entirely in Veneto between the grandparents (in the conversation with the parents) and the grandchildren was very high (-55.4%, i.e. from 75.6% to 20.2%). However, when the grandparents and the grandchildren were addressing each other, the difference in their production of Veneto speech was considerably smaller (-32.8%). Moreover, it was even smaller than the difference in the production of Veneto

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[468] As explained above (6.2.1) shift rates 'in' or 'within' the first generation were calculated based on a comparison of the grandparents' speech while addressing the parents and the grandchildren, respectively. Shift rates in the second generation were calculated based on a comparison of the speech of the grandparents and the parents when talking to each other. Finally, shift rates in the third generation were calculated based on a comparison of the speech of the parents and the grandchildren when talking to the grandparents.

clauses between the second and third generation when addressing the grandparents (-37.9%, i.e. from 58.1% to 20.2%, respectively).

Within the first generation (in the conversation with the grandchildren rather than parents), both *clauses entirely* in *Italian* and those *with transference* phenomena benefited from the loss of those entirely in Veneto (-22.6%). As a result of the 'shifting' pressure exerted by the youngest interlocutors, the Italian-Australian grandparents' production of clauses in both categories registered a parallel, substantial increase (+11.7%, i.e. from 12.4% to 23.1% for clauses entirely in Italian; +11%, i.e. from 10.8% to 21.8%, for clauses with transference). The relative frequency of Italian clauses in the language used by first-generation informants to address their grandchildren was higher than in any other group of speakers (23.1%). Moreover, the proportion of clauses with transference in speech of the grandparents in Australia (21.8%) was virtually the same as that found among the parents (21.5%) and not much smaller than that found among the youngest interlocutors (24.5%).

Thus, the presence of the Italian-Australian grandchildren 'encouraged' a larger production of clauses entirely in Italian as well as clauses exhibiting transference among their grandparents. Within the first generation, therefore, these two categories of clauses compensated for the shift away from Veneto. While Italian clauses were less frequent in the speech of the two younger generations, those characterised by transference were present in similar proportions. In terms of transference, therefore, it is as if the presence of the Italian-Australian grandchildren caused their grandparents to advance 'by one generation'. Through this increase, the relative frequency of transference phenomena seemed to have reached ceiling levels, since in the natural language of the second and third generations it was not much higher.

Among the parents, clauses entirely in Italian and those characterised by transference did not compensate for the decrease of Veneto in equal proportions. As already mentioned, the rate of shift away from Veneto in the second generation was lower than in the first generation (i.e. -17.5% vs. -22.6%, respectively). However, in the second generation, the decreased use of Veneto was counterbalanced predominantly by transference phenomena and only minimally by Italian. The increase in the proportion of clauses presenting transference in the second generation was almost as large as within the first (+10.9%, i.e.

from 10.6% to 21.5%, and +10.7%, respectively). However, the increase in the production of Italian clauses was smaller (+3%, i.e. from 12.4% to 15.4%, vs. + 11.7%).

Thus, when talking to each other, the Italian-Australian grandparents and parents produced similar proportions of clauses entirely in Italian. Unexpectedly, the frequency of clauses entirely in Italian in the corpus of the grandchildren was not much lower than among the parents (-4.3%, i.e. from 15.4% to 11.1%). Thus, Italian was present in comparable proportions in all groups of speakers in Australia other than the grandparents in the conversation with their grandchildren. Provided that the informants were speaking to their oldest-generation interlocutors in the family, Italian seemed to be relatively 'insensitive' to the generation of the speakers. However, Veneto was, to different extents, more frequent than Italian in the natural language of all Italian-Australian informants.

As already mentioned, the variation between the second and third generation in the frequency of clauses characterised by transference was relatively marginal (+3%, i.e. from 21.5% to 24.5%). This increase was smaller than in the first generation (between the conversation with the parents and the grandchildren) and in the second generation (+10.7% and +10.9%, respectively). Thus, in addition to large proportions of clauses entirely in Veneto (22.2%) and Italian (11.1%), the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren contained a relatively large proportion of clauses exhibiting transference. The relative frequency of clauses with transference in the natural language of the third-generation informants (24.5%) was not much lower than that of clauses entirely in either community language (31.3%). Among their relatives, on the other hand, the total proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto or Italian was always substantially larger than the proportion of clauses exhibiting transference (88% vs. 10.6% among the grandparents when talking to the parents; 76.1% vs. 21.3% among the grandparents when talking to the grandchildren; 73.5% vs. 21.5% among the parents). Thus, compared to the proportion of monolingual speech in the two community languages, the incidence of transference was much higher in the speech of the third generation than in that of the first and second generations.

Clauses entirely in *English* were completely absent in the speech of the grandparents in Australia. Their English speech was influenced by their Italian/Veneto pronunciation, which was analysed as transference (see 5.2.1 and 7.2.1.5). English clauses were also very

infrequent among the second-generation informants, who had native competence of the host language (1.3%). However, the drop in the frequency of Veneto clauses between the second and third generation (-37.9%) was almost exactly mirrored by a sudden emergence of speech entirely in English (+37.7%, i.e. from 1.3% to 39%). English virtually made its first appearance among the third-generation informants, who contributed as much as 95.1% of all the English clauses in the 'natural' language produced by the entire Italian-Australian sample. Thus, while the presence of the oldest relatives seemed to have almost completely stopped the shift to English in the second generation, it had a much weaker effect on the third generation.

In the natural data collected in Australia, clauses exhibiting only *contact phenomena other than transference* were considerably less frequent than those in which at least one transfer occurred. While clauses in the former category increased from one generation to the other, they represented a very small proportion of the corpus of all groups of speakers (1.1% for the grandparents when addressing the parents; 2.2% for the grandparents when addressing the grandchildren; 3.7% for the parents; 5.1% for the grandchildren). The relative frequency of clauses exhibiting transference was much higher than that of those presenting only other types of contact phenomena even in the natural language of the third generation (24.5% vs. 5.1%, respectively).

6.2.2 Comparison with Italy

More than 90% of the clauses in the natural language of the Italian grandparents and parents were *entirely* in *Veneto*. Their corpus contained virtually no clauses entirely in Italian and very small proportions of clauses exhibiting transference. None of the informants in Italy produced clauses presenting *only* contact phenomena other than transference.

Generation- and/or interlocutor-related variation in the natural language of the informants in Italy showed the same movement as in that of the grandparents and parents in Australia, i.e. away from Veneto to Italian and transference. As shown on Graph 3 above, the variation in the relative distribution of the clauses in the different categories moves rather smoothly from the oldest speakers in Italy through to the youngest speakers in Australia. The natural language of the grandparents and parents in Australia was more similar to that of the Italian grandchildren than that of the older Italian informants. The proportion of

Veneto clauses produced by the youngest generation in the homeland (71.3%) was comparable to that produced by the oldest generation in Australia in the conversation with the parents (75.6%; cf. 97.5% in the corpus of the grandparents in Italy). The corpus of the Italian grandchildren and that of Italian-Australian grandparents (in the conversation with the parents) also contained similar proportions of clauses entirely in Italian (14.9% and 12.4%, respectively; cf. 0% in the corpus of the Italian grandparents) and clauses exhibiting transference (13.8% and 10.6%, respectively; cf. 2.5% in the corpus of the Italian grandparents). The relative frequency of clauses exhibiting transference in the natural language of the parents in Italy was also not much smaller than in the natural language of the grandparents in Australia (7.3% and 10.6%, respectively).

Thus, although the shift in terms of Veneto, Italian and transference in the first migrant generation in Australia was not very advanced, it was almost as high as in the youngest Italian generation. Moreover, the effect of the presence of the youngest interlocutors on the grandparents in Italy was largely negligible in shift terms. The Italian grandparents produced a slightly smaller proportion of Veneto clauses to address the grandchildren than to address the parents (-1.8%, i.e. from 97.5% to 95.7%), (virtually) no Italian clauses in both conversations (0% and 0.7%, respectively) and very small proportions of clauses presenting transference (2.5% and 3.6%, respectively). In Australia, however, the shift away from Veneto in the first generation was substantial (-22.6%) and even higher than in the second generation (-17.5% - see 6.2.1 above).

The Italian parents used a slightly smaller proportion of Veneto clauses than the grandparents (-5.2%). Italian parents compensated for this decrease with a corresponding increase in clauses with transference rather than clauses entirely in Italian (+4.8%, i.e. from 2.5% to 7.3% for clauses with transference; vs. +0.4%, from 0%, for Italian clauses). The proportion of clauses entirely in Italian in the natural language of the parents in Australia (15.4%) was more similar to that in the natural language of the Italian grandchildren (14.9%) than the Italian parents. However, the second-generation informants in Australia produced more clauses exhibiting transference (21.5%) than both the Italian parents (7.3%) and the Italian grandchildren (13.8%).

The shift away from Veneto between the Italian grandparents (when talking to the parents) and the grandchildren was much lower than that between their Italian-Australian

counterparts (-26.2% vs. -55.4%, respectively). However, in both the Italian and the Italian-Australian sample, it was only among the youngest informants that the frequency of Veneto clauses decreased substantially (-21% among the grandchildren in Italy; cf. -37.9% among the grandchildren in Australia). Furthermore, in both countries this first substantial decrease in Veneto clauses corresponded to the appearance of a 'new' category of clauses, i.e. clauses entirely in Italian, in Italy, and English, in Australia (+14.5%, i.e. from 0.4% to 14.9% in Italy; cf. +37.9%, i.e. from 1.3% to 39% in Australia). In the natural language of the Italian grandchildren, compared to that of their parents, the increase in the relative frequency of Italian clauses was substantially higher than that of clauses exhibiting transference (+14.5% vs. +6.5%, i.e. from 7.3% to 13.8%). Thus, among the Italian grandchildren, Italian overtook transference in its 'compensatory' function for the more substantial decrease in Veneto. Italian clauses were found to represent a relatively comparable proportion of the corpus of the Italian grandchildren (14.9%) and the corpus of all groups of speakers in Australia, except the grandparents in the conversation with the grandchildren (12.4% for the grandparents; 15.4% for the parents; 11.1% for the grandchildren; cf. 23.1% for the grandparents in the conversation with the grandchildren).

6.2.3 Discussion

The distribution of the clauses in the different categories among the Italian-Australian grandparents was more similar to the distribution among the Italian grandchildren than the Italian grandparents. The variation from one group of speakers to the next and from the homeland to the host country, respectively, can be roughly described in terms of a 'shifting continuum' presenting as many levels as the categories of clauses considered. The continuum has to be intended as comprising both a 'generational' and a 'geographical' dimension, i.e. from the oldest generation to the youngest generation as well as from the old country to the new one (cf. Gonzo and Saltarelli; 1983:182, discussed in 2.4.1; see also discussion in 6.2).

The shift *away from Veneto* was minimal among the Italian grandparents and parents but it was substantial among the grandchildren. It advanced at roughly the same rate within the first generation in Australia, as a result of the presence of the younger interlocutors, and between the first and second generation, but increased substantially in the third generation. Shift rates for clauses exhibiting *transference* increased relatively regularly from one group

of speakers to the other in the Italian sample through to the first and second generations in Australia. However, their increase slowed down abruptly in the third generation.

In Italy, shift to *Italian* was negligible among the grandparents and parents and virtually started among the youngest speakers. The shift to Italian caused by the presence of the younger interlocutors within the first migrant generation in Australia was as high as between the parents and grandchildren in the homeland. However, the shift to Italian was much lower in the second generation and in the third generation there was an actual decrease in the use of Italian. Like Italian in Italy, *English* in Australia virtually only appeared in the youngest generation, recording a larger increase than in any other category. Clauses presenting *contact phenomena other than transference* only occurred in the Italian-Australian sample and their proportion remained very small amongst all groups of speakers.

To varying degrees, intergenerational shift was primarily a *shift away from Veneto* in both samples. Among the Italian grandparents and parents, the decrease in the use of Veneto corresponded to an increase in the production of transference, rather than Italian. Speech entirely in Italian, and to a lesser extent transference, compensated for the substantial shift away from Veneto among the Italian grandchildren. Within the first migrant generation, when the grandchildren were being addressed, the lower incidence of speech entirely in Veneto was counterbalanced by an increase in the incidence of both Italian and transference. The decrease in the use of Veneto between the first and second generation, which was less substantial than within the first generation, predominantly resulted in an increase in the frequency of speech exhibiting transference. Finally, the shift away from Veneto in the third generation, which was substantially higher than both in the first and the second generation, corresponded to a parallel shift to speech entirely in English, which was virtually absent in the previous generations.

As discussed in 3.1.6, surveys in Italy have shown that women and speakers in North-Eastern Italy, increasingly prefer to address younger interlocutors in Italian than in dialect. However, the findings discussed above show that in the present study this tendency was only found amongst the grandmothers in Australia. The natural language of the grandmothers in Italy was fundamentally monolingual in the dialect, regardless of the age of the interlocutor. While Veneto was still predominant in the natural language of the first

migrant generation in Australia, it represented around three quarters of their corpus in the conversation with their own children and around half of it in the conversation with their grandchildren. The Italian-Australian grandmothers produced substantially more clauses entirely in Italian than their same-generation relatives in Italy (12.4% vs. 0%, respectively, with the parents; 23.1% vs. 0.7%, respectively, with the grandchildren). Thus, among the grandparents in the present sample, migration to Australia seemed to a certain extent to have heightened the prestige that Italian is increasingly enjoying in the homeland, according to survey data (cf. 4.4.13). While surveys have found that younger generations in Italy are progressively shifting to use of Italian, the Italian parents in this sample produced virtually no clauses entirely in Italian when addressing their older relatives. Furthermore, in the conversation with the oldest-generation relatives, the youngest informants in Italy preferred to use Italian in a smaller proportion of clauses than the Italian-Australian grandmothers in the conversation with the grandchildren.

Allowing for the relative degree of kinship of the oldest informants in the two samples (cf. 4.2), the comparison of the data collected in the two countries indicates that Veneto was likely to be the dominant language in the original repertoire of the grandparents that migrated to Australia. Veneto accounted for more than half of the corpus of both the Italian-Australian parents and grandparents. These findings are relatively consistent with the self-reported data collected by Bettoni and Rubino (1996) among Italians in Sydney, which were discussed in 3.2.1.2. In Bettoni and Rubino's sample (1996:191, Table 2) Veneto speakers and women in the first generation spoke more Italian and less dialect with younger interlocutors.

However, at least in terms of the relative frequency of clauses *entirely* in the host language, among the Italian-Australian parents in the present sample language shift to English seemed less advanced than among second-generation Veneto respondents in Bettoni and Rubino's survey (1996), amongst whom self-reported use of English with older relatives was relatively high (20% - 1996:191, Table 2). As reported above, in this study the proportion of monolingual speech in English was found to be substantial only in the natural language of the third-generation informants. Nevertheless, like self-reported data collected by Bettoni and Rubino (1996), the natural data in the present corpus show that while speech entirely in Italian was always lower than that in Veneto, it represented comparable proportions of the corpus of all informants other than the older speakers in Italy and the

Italian-Australian grandparents when they were addressing the younger interlocutors. This is consistent with Bettoni and Rubino's (1996) findings, which showed that the use of Italian was lower but more stable than that of dialect, across generations and age groups (cf. 3.2.1.2).

6.3 Monolingual speech vs. transference in the natural and elicited language of the grandchildren

In this section the incidence of a) monolingual clauses in Veneto, Italian or English, b) clauses exhibiting at least one transference phenomenon and c) clauses exhibiting only contact phenomena other than transference in the natural language and the elicited language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren is compared. The discussion refers to the data reported on Graph 4 below. A comparison with the corpus of the grandchildren in the control group in Italy is in subsection 6.3.1 below.

Transference occurred in the majority of the Italian-Australian grandchildren's clauses in both the Italian and the Veneto elicitation session (55.9% and 56%, respectively). Clauses presenting only *contact phenomena* other than transference were substantially less frequent (18.5% in the Italian narration and 16.8% in the Veneto narration). However, as already discussed above (6.2.1), in the natural conversation with their grandmother, when the speakers were instructed to use whatever language they would normally use with her, clauses with transference were much less frequent (24.5%) and so were clauses exhibiting only other types of contact phenomena (5.1%).

In the corpus of the grandchildren in Australia in the three recordings, the proportion of *clauses entirely* in *Italian* was found to be more comparable than the proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto and in English. Around a fifth of the clauses produced by the third-generation informants when they were asked to narrate in Italian were entirely in Italian (19.4%). While there was a substantial decrease in the relative frequency of Italian clauses between the Italian narration and the Veneto narration, in the latter recording Italian still accounted for 12.8% of the total clause production of the youngest Italian-Australian subjects. Around the same proportion of Italian clauses was produced to address their grandmothers (11.1%).

Graph 4
Proportion of monolingual clauses, clauses exhibiting at least one transference phenomenon and clauses exhibiting only contact phenomena other than transference produced by the grandchildren in the Italian narration, the Veneto narration and the natural conversation with the grandparents
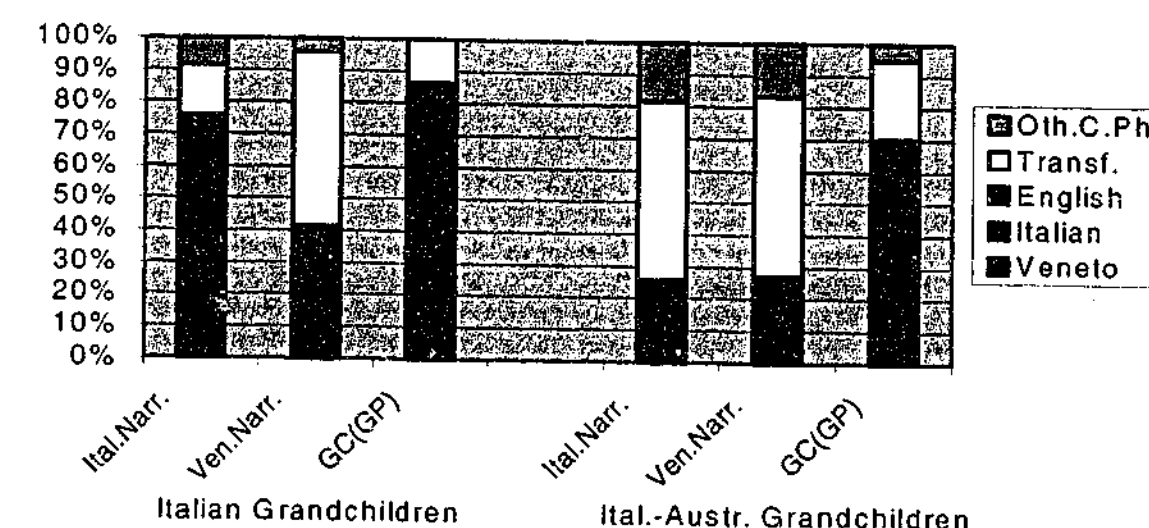
The variation in the relative frequency of *Veneto clauses* in the Italian-Australian grandchildren's language in the three recording sessions was greater than the variation of Italian clauses. With regard to the two narrations, this was due to the speakers' apparently greater success in controlling their production of Veneto according to which language was being elicited. The proportion of Veneto clauses substantially increased when Veneto was elicited (from 1.7% in the Italian narration to 13.9% in the Veneto narration; cf. 12.8% for Italian clauses in the Veneto narration and 19.4% in the Italian narration).

When the Italian-Australian grandchildren were addressing their grandmothers, the relative frequency of clauses entirely in Veneto in their speech was even higher than in the narration in Veneto (20.2% vs. 13.9%). The first-generation interlocutors thus 'elicited' a larger proportion of speech entirely in Veneto than the researcher did when she asked the young participants to speak in that language. It seems, therefore, that the picture book from which the speakers were asked to narrate might have represented different spheres of domestic activity and family life than those habitually talked about in Veneto with the grandparents.[469] The necessity to refer to third persons more frequently when narrating about the characters in the picture book might also have contributed to the production of a

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[469] See 4.5.1.3 and 4.5.1.4.1 and Appendices C and D.

larger proportion of transference of Italian third-person subject pronoun patterns to Veneto (cf. discussion in 5.2.7, 7.1.2 and 7.2.2.4). However, when narrating in Italian, the Italian-Australian grandchildren produced a larger proportion of clauses entirely in Italian (19.4%) than when they were asked to talk to their grandmother in the language they would normally use with her (11.1%).

The relative frequency of *English clauses* in the speech of the third-generation informants recorded a sharper increase than in any other category of clauses between the elicitation sessions and the conversation with the grandmothers. English clauses represented very small proportions of the grandchildren's speech when Italian and Veneto were elicited (5.8% and 1.1%, respectively) but the largest proportion of their corpus when the first-generation relatives were addressed (39%). The high relative frequency of contact phenomena in the speech the informants produced in the narrations, together with the minimal use of English, are possible indications of the high level of effort on the part of the participants in carrying out the elicitation tasks.[470] It appears that when talking to their grandmothers, the Italian-Australian grandchildren felt 'freer' to use English than when the task specifically required them to produce either community language. The grandparents had a much weaker 'inhibitory' effect on their use of English than the researcher in the narration tasks. As observed above, the 'freedom' to choose whatever language the informants would normally use when addressing their grandparents also resulted in a decrease of the production of clauses entirely in Italian in comparison to when Italian was elicited. Vice versa, the conversation with the grandparents quite surprisingly favoured the production of a substantially larger proportion of speech entirely in Veneto than the elicitation of that language.

6.3.1.1 Comparison with Italy

Some similarities emerged from the comparison of the distribution of monolingual clauses and clauses exhibiting contact phenomena in the corpus of the grandchildren in the two

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[470] The sharp increase in the use of English from the two elicitation sessions to the natural conversation, respectively, is an indirect indication that the participants understood and applied the researcher's instructions for the latter recording session, i.e. to speak whatever language they would normally use with the grandparents. Conversely, the sharp increase in the clauses characterised by transference phenomena from the natural conversation to the elicitation sessions is an indirect indication that the participants understood and applied the researcher's instructions for these recording session, i.e. to try to speak as much of the relevant community language as possible (see 4.5).

samples. Although to widely different extents, the variation in the production of clauses entirely in Veneto and Italian among the Italian grandchildren followed the pattern found among the Italian-Australian grandchildren. The elicitation of Italian almost totally inhibited the production of *Veneto clauses* among both the grandchildren in Australia and in Italy (0.4% and 0.9% of the clauses in the Italian narration, respectively). The relative frequency of clauses entirely in Veneto in the speech of the young informants in both countries increased when Veneto rather than Italian was elicited (from 0.4% to 13.4% in Australia; from 0.9% to 28.1% in Italy). Moreover, also among the Italian grandchildren, the grandparents in both samples 'encouraged' the production of a larger proportion of Veneto clauses than the researcher did in the Veneto narration (13.4% vs. 20.2% in Australia; 28.1% vs. 71.3% in Italy).

Among both the Italian-Australian and the Italian grandchildren, the relative frequency of *Italian clauses* was highest when Italian was elicited. However, in the narration in Italian, the grandchildren in Italy were able to produce a much larger proportion of speech entirely in Italian than their Italian-Australian counterparts (74.9% vs. 19.4%, respectively). Nevertheless, in both Australia and Italy the informants' production in Italian was *not* totally inhibited when Veneto was elicited. The grandchildren in both countries resorted to Italian relatively frequently and in comparable proportions, even when they were required to speak only Veneto (12.8% in Australia and 13.3% in Italy). In both samples, furthermore, the proportion of Italian clauses directed to the grandparents was relatively comparable to that produced in the Veneto narration (11.1% in Australia and 14.9% in Italy).

In the Veneto narration, the grandchildren in both samples produced a comparable proportion of *clauses with transference* (56% in Australia and 54.4% in Italy). However, clauses exhibiting transference were much less frequent in the language of the Italian grandchildren when they were narrating in Italian rather than in Veneto (15.7% vs. 54.4%) and when they were talking to their grandmothers (13.8%). Among the Italian-Australian grandchildren, on the other hand, the relative frequency of clauses exhibiting transference in the two narrations was equally high (55.9% in the Italian narration and 56% in the Veneto narration) and only decreased in the natural conversation (24.5%). Thus, like the third-generation informants in Australia, although to different extents, Italian grandchildren produced a much smaller proportion of clauses with transference and a

larger proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto when addressing their grandparents than when they were specifically asked to speak Veneto (cf. 6.3.1). Clauses entirely in Veneto accounted for most of the natural language of the Italian grandchildren (71.3%). While clauses entirely in English accounted for most of the natural speech of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (39%), they were substantially less frequent than clauses entirely in Veneto in the natural speech of the grandchildren in Italy.

Clauses characterised by contact phenomena other than transference occurred only in the elicited language of the Italian grandchildren. As reported above (6.4.1), the third-generation informants also produced relatively more clauses exhibiting contact phenomena other than transference in the narrations than in the conversation with their grandmothers. However, even in the two narrations, the proportion of clauses in this category in the corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren was larger than in that of the grandchildren in Italy (18.5% vs. 8.5% in the Italian narration; 16.8% vs. 4.2% in the Veneto narration).

In summary, the Veneto narration was the recording in which the distribution of the clauses in the relevant categories was more comparable. This was due to the fact that in the language of the Italian grandchildren in the Veneto elicitation session, transference was considerably more frequent than in the other two recordings and as frequent as in the elicited language in both narrations of the grandchildren in Australia. In both groups, while speech entirely in Veneto totally disappeared in the Italian elicitation task, speech entirely in Italian was still relatively frequent when Veneto was elicited. On the other hand, both groups completely deactivated their Veneto when they were required to narrate in Italian. However, in the narration in Italian, the grandchildren in Italy were able produce a much larger proportion of Italian than the grandchildren in Australia.

Both the youngest Italian and Italian-Australian speakers produced a larger proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto when they were talking to their grandparents than when they were narrating in Veneto. However, in the natural conversation, the grandchildren in Italy produced much more Veneto and fewer transference phenomena than their counterparts in Australia. Most of the latter's natural language was English.

6.4 Correlations

The possible interdependence of the third-generation informants' language production in the different categories of clauses and the variables that emerged from the self-reported data discussed in 4.4 were investigated via correlations. In accordance with the objectives of the study (see 1.1), the analysis focused on the corpus of grandchildren in the natural conversation with their grandparents. The following variables were considered:

1. Grandchildren's stage on the generational continuum (based on *country/region* of birth and *age at arrival* of the grandparents and parents)

2. *Intra*-regional vs. *inter-regional* status of their extended families

3. Veneto grandparents' 'rural' vs. 'urban' origin

4. *Education* in Italy/Australia (of parents/grandparents)

5. *Italian formal instruction* (of grandchildren and parents)

6. Self-assessed *competence* in the community language(s) (of grandchildren and parents/grandparents) and English (of parents and grandparents)

7. Grandchildren's self-reported *attitudes* towards a) speaking the community language(s); b) being addressed in the community language(s); c) improving their competence in the community language(s); d) the use of the community language(s) in their family

8. Grandchildren's self-reported *frequency of contact with the grandparents* when they were growing up and at the time of the fieldwork

9. Grandchildren's *awareness* of the existence of '(Veneto) dialect' as a separate language from 'Italian ("proper")'

10. *Age* of grandchildren and average age of parents/grandparents

11. *Gender* (of grandchildren).

In 4.4.2, the generational position of the grandchildren was initially described in terms of the *country* of birth and the *age at arrival* of both the parents and the grandparents. A further subdivision was then discussed, which was based on the *region* of origin of both

parents. In terms of a 'Veneto generational continuum', as opposed to a general 'Italian' one, the informants whose parents were both of Veneto origin were treated as belonging to a stage closer to Veneto origin than those who had one parent with a different regional origin. Both generational subdivisions were considered in the correlation analysis. [471]

As discussed in 4.4.13, the presence of Veneto and Italian in the self-reported family repertoire of the grandchildren was consistent with their position on the 'Veneto generational continuum'. For the purposes of the correlation analysis, the self-reported language choice in the family was considered to be a function of the stage the grandchildren occupied on the 'Veneto generational continuum'. The reliability of the informants' claims was checked for consistency. The language data pertaining to the monolingual speech of the participating grandparents and parents were generally found to conform quite closely to the self-reported data. Both sets of data are summarised in Table F.4 of Appendix F. Based on these findings, the collocation of the grandchildren 'on the Veneto generational continuum' can be considered, with a relative degree of certainty, to be a function of the input to which the informants were exposed in the family domain (cf. discussion in 4.4.13). [472]

The education, the Italian formal instruction and the self-assessed competence of the parents and the grandparents were calculated for 'individuals' and separated for gender (see Tables 19 and 21-23). [473] The language production of the older relatives was also included in the correlation analysis.

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[471] As discussed in 4.4.1, the education received by the Italian-born parents in Italy was considered in the generation subdivision used in the present study. However, in the correlation analysis, the level of education of the grandchildren's older relatives in either country was also computed separately. Similarly, both the 'intra-/inter-regionality' of the families and the 'rural vs. urban' background of the Veneto grandparents reflected quite closely the position that the grandchildren occupied on the 'Veneto generational continuum'. However, these variables were also tested separately.

[472] The generally high consistency between self-reported data and language data showed that the method (see description in 4.5) was relatively successful in yielding reliable natural language data.

[473] In one of the inter-regional families (i.e. C) the paternal grandparents were Veneto, while in the other (i.e. D) the maternal ones were (see 4.2). As discussed in 4.4.6 and 4.4.8, with one exception (i.e. the non-Veneto grandparents in family D) the sample was homogeneous in terms of vintage and professional background of grandparents/parents. These variables were therefore not considered. The gender of the grandchildren was included in the correlation analysis although the sample included more females than males (six vs. three, respectively – see 4.2). The same imbalance was found in terms of 'awareness' of the existence of Veneto (seven vs. two – see 4.3). As discussed in 4.4.4-5, the sample did not lend itself to an analysis of the birth order factor in either the second or the third generation.

The aspects of the language production considered in the correlation analysis in this section included: a) the total number of clauses, b) the proportion of clauses entirely in one of the three languages and c) the proportion of clauses presenting at least one transference phenomenon. In some cases, the total number of clauses produced by the grandchildren in the conversation with the grandmothers was alarmingly small (see 6.2). In the first instance, this variable was investigated qualitatively (see 6.4.1 below). The analysis is not purported to be exhaustive or methodologically rigorous. Rather, the intention is formulate interpretive paths for understanding the possible significance of this variable.

Owing to the small number of observations, statistical models that employ several variables simultaneously, e.g. multiple regression models, could not be built and pair-wise comparisons were used instead. Furthermore, the large number of statistical tests was likely to create a 'multiple comparisons' problem, i.e. spurious significant results. Therefore, the analysis only focused on highly significant results ($p<0.01$). [474]

6.4.1 Number of clauses produced in the natural conversation: possible interpretations

This section presents a brief discussion of the possible factors that might have determined the number of clauses that the grandchildren produced in the natural conversation. The analysis in 6.1 showed that the Italian-Australian grandchildren produced, on average, fewer clauses than the Italian grandchildren did, in both the natural conversation and the elicitation sessions. The grandchildren in both groups produced fewer clauses than their relatives, whose corpus was on average close to the 100-clause ceiling. As already mentioned (see 4.5.1.4 and 6.1), informants 2, 7 and 9 produced fewer than ten clauses each in the ten-minute recording with their grandmothers. The clause production of these three informants was much below the average in the sample in Australia (i.e. 39).

Based on an analysis of the exchanges between these three informants and their grandmothers, one factor that they seemed to share was the conversational role that their interlocutor played in the recording. The grandmother of informant 2 lead the conversation by uttering a series of statements. She rarely sought the participation of the granddaughter through questions and occasionally failed to acknowledge the young relative's topic initiation. Excerpt 1 below is typical of the whole conversation, during which the

grandmother always spoke about gardening-related topics. In line 7, the subject took advantage of a longer silent pause in the grandmother's speech to ask her what she had talked about with the mother. The older speaker, however, continued to talk about gardening, as she had done before her interlocutor's question. In line 9, therefore, the younger speaker was 'forced' to return the grandmother's topic:

```
1      1 GM: + e alora se te vedi ste bèe margherite ste-
       2 GC:+
       3 GM: che e ze margherite quee bèe grande e pare bon ma
       4 GC:e pare bon sì
       5 GM: YEAH / / /
       6            [e mi go / mi go / /
       7 GC:        [lora, cosa gheto parlà con mamma
       8 GM: ᵉà pianta / no no no no / quea che va-
       9 GC: queo che fa ozmarin?
       10 GM: ozmarin
       11 GC:+
       12 GM: YEAH e go fato- ghe ze trè piante
       13 GC: +
       14            [anca noaltri ghemo-
       15 GM:                   [ghe ze dó- ah?
       16 GC: anca noaltri ghemo ozmarin
```

```
1 GM: so, if you see these beautiful daisies these-
2 GC: +
3 GM: which are daisies those nice and big ones they look beautiful but -
4 GC: they do too
5 GM: YEAH / / /
6            [and I have / I have / /
7 GC:        [so what did you talk about with mum
8 GM: the plant / no no no no / the one that goes-
9 GC: the one that makes rosemary
10 GM: rosemary
11 GC: +
12 GM: YEAH and I have made- there are three plants
13 GC: +
14            [we also have-
15 GM:                   [there are two- uh?
16 GC: we also have rosemary
```

Both informant 2 and her grandmother, however, showed interest in the conversation. The grandmother started off her 'gardening story', which had not been solicited by the

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276

granddaughter, as soon as the researcher left the room. This can be taken as evidence of a relatively well-established interactional routine between the two relatives. From the point of view of language choice, furthermore, the exchange flowed smoothly. Both speakers used Veneto as their means of communication and both speakers understood each other. The small clause production of the grandchild, therefore, seemed to be caused by the grandmother's 'overbearing' conversational role, which did not leave enough room for a more active participation on the younger subject's part.

The kind of 'story-telling' observed in excerpt 1 above was found in other recordings. In those cases, however, the exchanges were characterised by a more proportionate contribution from the two interlocutors, who alternated story-telling with questioning and commenting. A different style of interaction than this was found between subjects 7 and 9 and their respective grandmothers. Their conversations predominantly unfolded through a series of questions asked by the grandmother and a series of relatively short answers uttered by the grandchild. This was a common conversational pattern between the teenagers in the sample and their grandmothers. In most cases, the older speakers were successful in their attempts and the interlocutors' participation in terms of clause production was relatively balanced.[475] However, a certain 'tension' was clearly perceived in the conversations between informants 7 and 9 (aged 11 and 14, respectively) and their respective grandmothers. In the case of informant 7, this 'discomfort' was felt at both the conversational and the linguistic levels. The older speaker was 'left on her own' in performing the 'task' assigned by the researcher. The grandchild was rather uncooperative and sometimes sounded annoyed at his grandmother's questions and/or the language she chose to ask them. There was also some evidence of lack of mutual intelligibility. In excerpts 2 and 3 below the grandmother had to repeat her utterance three times before the subject understood it.

```
111    2      1 GM: e: / e quando che te prendi el BUS qua in quanti siete?
              2 GC: come?
              3 GM: in quanti / ragazzi siete 'e prende el BUS qua par 'ndare a scola?
              4 GC: WHAT?
              5 GM: qui so- qua sulla BROWN STREET
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277

6 GC: LOTS! [annoyed] / / tanti!
7 GM: qui e- e ora da BRUNSWICK ce n'è tanti ghe ze tanti che vien a scola
8 GC: YEAH [conceding]
9 GM: qua in GREEN STREET quanti sono?
10 GC: non so:: [annoyed] / / / /
11 GM: mi te go visto che te gavevi un ba- e che- un- un a- + un amico
12 GC: WHEN [flat intonation]
13 GM: quando che te si vegnudo qua / ONLY ONE
14 GC: WHEN I CAME HERE? [emphatic and annoyed]
15 GM: YEAH
16 GC: Oh YEAH YEAH / MY FRIEND [uninterested]

1 GM: and when you catch the BUS here how many of you are there?
2 GC: what?
3 GM: how many of you are there that catch the BUS here to go to school?
4 GC: WHAT?
5 GM: here on- here on BROWN STREET
6 GC: LOTS! [conceding] lots!
7 GM: here and- and so from BRUNSWICK there are many that go to school
8 GC: YEAH [conceding]
9 GM: here in GREEN STREET how many are there?
10 GC: I don't know [annoyed] / / / /
11 GM: I saw that you had a [...] friend
12 GC: WHEN [flat intonation]
13 GM: when you came here / ONLY ONE
14 GC: WHEN I CAME HERE? [emphatic and annoyed]
15 GM: YEAH
16 GC: Oh YEAH YEAH / MY FRIEND [uninterested]

3   1 GM: dove sito nato?
2 GC: con i miei amici
3 GM: a 'ndove?
4 GC: a un festa
5 GM: ogi?
6 GC: sì
7 GM: che festa era?
· 8 GC: + un festa / alla scuola
9 GM: ah: / / te gheto divertio?
10 GC: uh?
11 GM: ti sei divertito?
12 GC: /
13 GM: ti sei divertito YOU ENJOY IT?
14 GC: sì

1 GM: where did you go?'
2 GC: with my friends'

3 GM: where?'
4 GC: to a party'
5 GM: today?'
6 GC: yes'
7 GM: what party was it?
8 GC: a party at the school
9 GM: did you enjoy it?
10 GC: uh?
11 GM: did you enjoy it?
12 GC: /
13 GM: did you enjoy it? YOU ENJOY IT?
14 GC: yes

In excerpt 4, furthermore, the grandmother did not understand the grandchild's English utterance, which seemed to cause his irritation.

4   1 GC: / / / MY OTHER FRIENDS GET OFF AT THE OTHER STOP
2 GM: uh?
3 GC: [sighs] tuti mici +: / GET OFF / IN CARLTON / +: / YEAH
([sighs] 'all my friends [...]')

Tension deriving from the interlocutors' respective language choices did not seem to be a factor in the conversation between the third grandchild (informant 9) and his grandmother. Like other grandchildren in the sample, this subject always produced English, apart from some Italian lexemes that referred to foods. As excerpts 5 and 6 below show, the asymmetry in the interlocutors' language choice did not seem to undermine their mutual intelligibility, or to annoy either of them. At the conversational level, however, the imbalance in the roles played by the two interlocutors created a similar degree of tension as between subject 7 and his grandmother (excerpts 2-4). Even before the researcher left the room and throughout the recording, the grandmother engaged in quite forceful attempts at getting the grandchild to talk. The 'pressure' exerted by the grandmother on the subject resulted in frequent exchanges in which the informant was not given time to think of a reply to her hammering questions:

112 5   1 GM: Quanto hai mangiato oggi? Che cosa- stasera?
2 GC: +
3 GM: Cos'ha fatto mamma di buono? Gnocchi ?
4 GC: No
5 GM: Pasta al forno

6 GC: No
7 GM: Porca miseria, cos'ha fatto allora?
8 GC: + / /
9 GM: Dimmi cosa ha cucinato mamma
10 GC: I'M TRYING TO THINK OF IT / cotolette
11 GM: Cotolette
12 GC: YEAH
13 GM: di pollo o di vitello?
14 GC: BOTH
15 GM: Tutti e due
16 GC: Si`

GM: What did you eat today? What- tonight?
GC: +
GM: What yummy food did mum make? Gnocchi?
GC: No
GM: Oven-backed pasta
GC: No
GM: For goodness sake, what did she make then?
GC: + / /
GM: Tell me what mum cooked
GC: I M TRYING TO THINK OF IT / schnitzels
GM: Schnitzels
GC: YEAH
GM: chicken or veal schnitzels?
GC: BOTH
GM: Both
GC: Yes

113 6   1 GM: Sei andato a fare [...?]
2 GC: Si`
3 GM: E` bravo? Come zio Mario?
4 GC: No
5 GM: + non ti piace
6 GC: YEAH, HE'S ALRIGHT BUT-
7 GM: YEAH, 'vanti, forza dimmi
8 GC: Zio Mario IS BETTER
9 GM: b- u- migliore
10 GC: uh

114   1 GM: Did you go to [...?]
115   2 GC: Yes
3 GM: Is he good? As good as uncle Mario?
4 GC: No
5 GM: + You don't like him
6 GC: YEAH, HE'S ALRIGHT BUT-
7 GM: YEAH, come on now, tell me

8 GC: Uncle Mario IS BETTER
9 GM: b- u- better
10 GC: uh

In summary, four distinguishing factors emerged from an analysis of the conversations between informants 2, 7 and 9 and their grandparents, which set them apart from the others in the sample. These were the grandchild's: a) willingness to take part actively in the conversation, b) the role that the grandmother played in it, c) the interlocutors' respective language choice and d) the degree of tension that characterised the interaction. The willingness of informant 2 to accommodate to her grandmother's verbosity (cf. excerpt 1) seemed to have 'defused' the tension that might have derived from the imbalance in the allocation of the turns. This, however, resulted in a strong reduction of the younger interlocutor's clause production. However, informants 7 and 9 (excerpts 2-4 and 5-6, respectively) did not show the same interest in cooperating with their grandmothers, which would have required them to play a more active role. This resulted in a sense of tension between the older-generation interlocutor, who more or less forcefully attempted to make the grandchild speak, and the grandchild, who more or less submissively complied with them.

It is reasonable to hypothesise that, at least in the case of subjects 7 and 9, the conversation with the grandparent recorded for the study might *not* have represented a *habitual event* in their interaction. In all the other conversations in the Italian-Australian corpus, where the grandchildren's clause production was much larger, the younger-generation speakers showed greater willingness to talk to the grandmother by engaging in 'story telling'. They offered longer replies and/or solicited the grandmother's participation through their own questions. Their greater willingness to participate actively in the conversation and the more relaxed interaction between the interlocutors may have stemmed from a more frequent 'communication practice'. This is intended here in terms of a *habitual verbal interaction* with the grandparents, which might not transpire from the self-reported data on the frequency of contact with them (cf. 4.4.14).[470]

However, a more balanced and comfortable interaction between the interlocutors did *not* necessarily depend on or result in the *choice of the same language*. Only in one of the

recordings in the whole corpus, i.e. the conversation between subject 7 and his grandmother, did the use of a different language by the two interlocutors cause comprehension problems in both of them and frustration in the grandchild.[477] Therefore, the possible relevance of a habitual *verbal interaction* with the grandparents for the grandchildren's total *clause production* might lie primarily at an 'interactional', rather than a strictly 'linguistic' level. According to the hypothesis formulated here, the concept of 'language maintenance', at least in the third generation, should thus encompass *both* dimensions. These issues are discussed further in 6.4.5 below.

6.4.2 The grandchildren's generation

As discussed above (6.4), the grandchildren's generational position was described at two levels. The first level considered the *country* of birth and the *age at arrival* of the parents/grandparents. A second level included the *region* of origin of both parents and differentiated children of intra-regional Veneto marriages from those of inter-regional marriages (see 4.4.1-2). The stage that the youngest informants occupied on this 'regional' or 'Veneto generation continuum' was generally reflected by their older-generation relatives' language choice, in terms of both self-reported and language data (see 4.4.13 and 6.4). Italian was used only by the grandparents and parents in *inter*-regional families and the youngest-generation informants seemed to choose it only if it was part of their family repertoire. In *intra*-regional Veneto families, Italian did *not* seem to represent an alternative to Veneto for any generation.

Nevertheless, *no* highly significant correlation was found between the stage that the grandchildren occupied on the 'Veneto generational continuum' and their language production. Furthermore, the grandchildren's language production did not correlate with their older relatives' language production. The same was the case for the intra- vs. inter-

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[476] Cavallaro (1997), for instance, found that the grandchildren's visits at the grandparents' did not necessarily entail interacting with them (see discussion in 3.3.3).

[477] As discussed in 4.5.1.4.2, instances that showed the perceived 'unnaturalness' of the conversation were also found in the speech of the father and the cousin of informant 7 (i.e. informant 6) when conversing with the same grandmother. However, in those cases, it was argued, the 'unnaturalness' seemed to stem primarily from the presence of the tape recorder, which resulted in the father's humorous comments and the cousin's 'staging' of her and the grandmother's turns. No intelligibility problems were found in the conversation between the grandmother and the cousin of informant 7, despite the fact that she also used English (cf. Table F.4). The conversation between informant 6 and her grandmother seemed therefore to have been part of an established routine, through which the older interlocutor had 'learned' to understand her granddaughter's English.

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regional status of the grandchildren's families. However, when the *region* of origin of the parents/grandparents was excluded from the generation variable, a *negative*, highly significant correlation was shown between it and the proportion of *clauses entirely in Veneto* in the grandchildren's natural language. Thus, the grandchildren who belonged to earlier generational stages (based on the *country* of birth and *age at arrival* of their older relatives) were much more likely to use Veneto to address their first-generation relatives in the recorded conversation.

The above findings suggest that the informants in later generational stages whose parents were both of Veneto origin did *not* have an advantage over those with one parent from another region for their maintenance of Veneto. The absence vs. presence of Italian in the family repertoire seemed to be *necessary* conditions for the grandchildren's choice of Veneto vs. Italian. However, the results of the correlation analysis reported above indicate that they were *not sufficient* conditions. Exposure to the older relatives' Veneto and Italian did not necessarily result in their preference for these languages over English when addressing the grandparents. As discussed in 4.4.1-2, the informants who belonged to earlier generational stages were children of overseas-born speakers. This factor seemed to override the importance of an intra-regional background.

Further, highly significant correlations emerged between the proportion of both English and/or Veneto clauses in the natural language of the grandchildren and variables that were relevant to the family input, some of which were closely consistent with their generational stage. These were their older relatives' education, discussed in 6.4.3, and self-assessed competence in Italian and English, discussed in 6.4.4.

6.4.3 The older relatives' education

As illustrated in 4.4.1, the generational division proposed in the present study considered the age at arrival to Australia of Italian-born parents in relation to the *education* they had received in *the homeland*, before migration. However, the older relatives' level of *education* in Italy was shown to be a determining factor only for the grandchildren's use of Veneto, rather than Italian. The grandchildren's relative production of *clauses entirely in Veneto* in the natural conversation was correlated with the number of years of *schooling their parents received* in *Italy*. That is, those youngest-generation informants who spoke relatively more Veneto were children of speakers that were born in Italy (see 6.4.2) and

had attended school there for a longer period of time. In the present sample, the relevant parent was the father (see 4.4.1).

The above finding highlights the possible relevance of the finer generational distinction adopted in the present study, which separated Italian-born parents according to whether they had received any education in Italy. However, while the parents' longer schooling in Italy was found to promote their children's use of Veneto, it did not influence their use of Italian, despite the fact that these parents were exposed to it primarily at school (cf. discussion in 4.4.1). Thus, the generational categorisation proposed here seems to be relevant in terms of the longer period of time these parents spent in the homeland before migrating and their more frequent contact with Veneto, rather than exclusively with Italian.

Nevertheless, a longer *education* in *Italy* among some of the *grandparents* did *'discourage'* the use of Veneto among their grandchildren in the natural conversation. The number of years of schooling of the maternal grandfathers was negatively correlated with the relative frequency of clauses entirely in Veneto in the informants' natural language. The grandparents' more intense exposure to Italian at school, before migration, might have been a determining factor in promoting their grandchildren's abandonment of Veneto.[478] This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the fact that a higher self-assessed competence in Italian among the grandparents correlated negatively with their grandchildren's use of Veneto, as discussed in 6.4.4 below.

Bettoni and Rubino (1996:65-6) found a higher shift away from the dialect, to the advantage of Italian and English, among the Sicilian- and Veneto-born respondents who had a higher level of education before migration (cf. discussion in 4.4.9). The findings of this study seem to indicate that the negative influence of this factor on the maintenance of Veneto might extend from the first-generation grandparents to the grandchildren's generation.

The level of education that was acquired by the grandparents in Italy and the *parents* in *Australia* had the same effect on the choice of Veneto in the youngest generation. A longer *period of study* in *Australia* among the *mothers* was found to correlate negatively with their

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[478] As discussed in 4.4.5, the grandparents of the informants who were closer to the second-generation end of the Veneto continuum had attended school for a shorter period of time, probably as a result of their older age and the earlier historical period in which they grew up.

children's use of *Veneto* to address the grandparents. However, among Bettoni and Rubino's respondents (1996:65-6), a longer period of schooling in Australia promoted a more frequent use of both the dialect and Italian. If that was the case among the parents in the present sample, it was not reflected in their children's choice of Veneto in the natural conversation.

6.4.4 The older relatives' self-assessed linguistic competence

The self-assessed language competence of some of the grandchildren's older relatives was also found to be a relevant factor in determining the grandchildren's production of Veneto in the conversation with their grandparents. A *negative*, highly significant correlation was found between the proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto in the grandchildren's natural language and the *self-assessed competence* in *Italian* of some of their grandparents, i.e. the maternal grandmothers. That is, the more Veneto the informants used with their grandparent in the natural conversation, the *poorer* these older relatives considered their own *Italian*.

A higher perceived proficiency in *English* among the older-generation speakers also seemed to 'discourage' the choice of Veneto in the youngest generation. The fathers and the maternal grandfathers' *self-assessed competence* in *English* correlated *negatively* and highly significantly with the relative frequency of Veneto clauses in the grandchildren's language in the natural conversation.[479]

The above correlations mirrored two further highly significant correlations that pertained to the older informants' perceived proficiency in *Italian* and the grandchildren's choice of *English*. The relative frequency of English clauses in their natural language correlated positively and highly significantly with their paternal grandfather's self-assessed competence in Italian. That is, the more English clauses the informant produced in the natural conversation, the higher their paternal grandfather considered his proficiency in Italian.

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[479] With regard to the fathers, this correlation may represent the result, in 'linguistic' terms, of their longer education in Italy and hence later age at arrival in Australia, as discussed in 6.4.2. However, as the data in 4.4.11 show, apart from the fathers' relative self-assessed competence in English, self-assessed competence among the other informants was not necessarily consistent with other 'demographic' variables, e.g. age at arrival, education in Italy, period of stay in Australia, etc.

However, the opposite was the case among the fathers. A highly significant *negative* correlation was found between the frequency of clauses entirely in English in the natural speech of the youngest-generation informants and their father's self-assessed competence in Italian. That is, the lower their father judged their proficiency in Italian, the more frequently they addressed their grandmother in English. Thus, a lower competence in Italian among the fathers seemed to 'encourage' their children to use English when addressing the grandparents. However, among their paternal grandfathers it was a higher competence in Italian that did so.

6.4.4.1 Discussion

The correlations that pertain to a) generation, b) the older relatives' level of education and c) their self-assessed language competence highlight the importance of at least one of the *parents* for the intergenerational transmission of Veneto (see 6.4.2-4). The informants in the earliest stages of the third-generation continuum were children of overseas-born parents. The self-reported data discussed in 4.4.13 suggested that they had, to different extents, maintained the use of Veneto with all their family members, including their spouses and children. Furthermore, both the grandparents and the parents' self-assessed *competence* in *English* was a determining factor for the use of Veneto among the grandchildren. The youngest-generation speakers' use of Veneto benefited from the perceived poorer competence in *English* of both one of the grandparents and the parents. It is possible that the grandchildren and the children of less confident English speakers had enjoyed a more assiduous and direct exposure to Veneto in the family environment, not only through communication with their grandparents, but also with at least one of their parents. Such younger informants might also have been indirectly exposed to communication between their parents, which might have further strengthened the sense of 'intergenerational continuity' of the use of Veneto as their 'family language'.[480]

However, the level of perceived competence in *Italian* of the *grandparents* influenced the choice of *both* Veneto and English in the third generation, while the same variable among the parents only influenced their choice of English. Furthermore, the self-assessed competence in Italian of the first- and second-generation relatives had the opposite effect

on the grandchildren's shift to English. The correlations show that the *grandparents'* poorer perceived proficiency in Italian 'discouraged' their grandchildren's use of English *and* promoted their maintenance of Veneto. As observed in 6.4.2, this finding is consistent with the fact that a lower level of education among the grandparents, which was likely to correspond to a less frequent exposure to Italian, also seemed to determine a more successful maintenance of Veneto among their grandchildren.

On the other hand, a lower self-assessed competence in Italian among the *parents* did not affect their children's use of Veneto and in fact 'encouraged' their choice of English to communicate with the grandparents. That is, the parents of those third-generation informants who used less English were more confident about their skills in Italian.

The level of *education* obtained by the speakers in the first and the second generation also influenced in contrary ways the language behaviour in the third generation, in this case their use of *Veneto* (see 6.4.3). That is, a longer period of schooling in Italy among the grandparents seemed to 'discourage' their youngest relatives' use of Veneto, while the same factor among the parents seemed to 'encourage' it. The findings that pertain to the older relatives' self-assessed competence in Italian could thus be interpreted in the light of those that relate to their education in Italy. This interpretation is consistent with the effects of these two variables on the grandchildren's maintenance of Veneto vs. shift to English.

However, as observed in 4.4.11, the older informants' assessment of their proficiency in Italian did not necessarily depend on their schooling in Italy and thus needs to be analysed independently. One possible interpretation of the opposite effects of the self-assessed competence in Italian in the two older generations on the shift to English in the third is that the youngest informants might have benefited from different levels of 'commitment' towards language maintenance from the grandparents and parents. Furthermore, different dynamics might have been at play in inter- and intra-regional families. Based on self-reported and language data, the repertoire of intra-regional families in this sample seemed to include Veneto and English, but not Italian. In inter-regional families, all three languages seemed to be used, but the grandchildren always preferred Italian to Veneto (see 4.4.13 and 6.4).

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[480] The role of grandparents with poor competence in the host language is discussed in 2.3.1. The role that intra-generational communication in the second generation plays in the language maintenance of the third is

Based on the above findings, the correlations pertaining to the grandparents might be more relevant to the intra-regional families, as their higher perceived proficiency in Italian 'discouraged' their grandchildren's Veneto and 'encouraged' their use of English. It is possible that in such families, the grandchildren of more confident Italian speakers might have been more frequently exposed to their grandparents' Italian, e.g. through contacts between the family and the rest of the Italian community or in formal situations that required the use of the standard language. In this way, those grandparents who judged their Italian to be more fluent might have made their grandchildren more sensitive to the 'advantages' of practicing Italian as a language with a wider scope of use outside the family than Veneto or a school subject. Nevertheless, the reluctance to speak a language that the grandparents themselves did not use in the family might have led the grandchildren in intra-regional families to neglect both Italian and Veneto altogether and resort to English (cf. discussion in 2.2.2).

The fact that a *higher* self-assessed competence in Italian among the *parents* was actually linked to a *lower* use of English among the youngest speakers is not easy to interpret. It might be speculated that the third-generation informants in *intra*-regional families benefited from a 'holistic' approach to the maintenance of *both* community languages on the part of their parents. Unlike more fluent Italian speakers in the first generation of *intra*-regional families, those in the second generation might have actually 'reassured' their youngest relatives that the acquisition of a high level of proficiency in Italian was not incompatible with the maintenance of Veneto as the family language, thus inhibiting their shift to English. Within the restricted scope of the present study, this hypothesis remains a matter of conjecture. On the other hand, in *inter*-regional families, the positive effect of the parents' higher competence in Italian on the grandchildren's shift to English is consistent with the fact that the youngest speakers in such families seemed to maintain Italian rather than Veneto, although both community languages might have been included in their family repertoire (see 4.4.13 and 6.4).

However, a second point which emerges from the correlations is that the third-generation informants' choice of Italian did not depend on their generational stage, their older relatives' perceived *competence* in Italian/English or their *schooling* in Italy and Australia.

discussed in 2.3.1 and 2.5.

The grandchildren's use of Veneto correlated with all three variables, while their use of English correlated with the parents and the grandparents' self-assessed competence in Italian. Thus, while the older relatives' self-assessed competence in Italian seemed to influence the grandchildren's use of both Veneto and English in the natural conversation, it did *not* influence their use of Italian. On the other hand, the older relatives' perceived proficiency in Veneto (or the other dialect in the family repertoire) did not have any bearing on the grandchildren's use any of the three languages.[481]

The fact that only the grandchildren's use of Veneto and English correlated with the older relatives' self-assessed language competence and level of education suggests that in the families in this sample Veneto might have been in direct competition with English. This was also the indication emerging from self-reported data (see 4.4.13). The choice of Veneto vs. English in the third generation also seemed to be influenced by the older relatives' proficiency in Italian. This was particularly evident among the grandparents, as their poorer perception of their competence in Italian was shown to be a key factor for the grandchildren's maintenance of Veneto vs. their shift to English.

The correlations highlight the apparent 'autonomy' of the grandchildren's choice of Italian from their generational stage and variables that pertain to the family input. It might be assumed that use of Italian in the third generation enjoyed a greater independence from the family than the use of Veneto as a result of the presence of a major source of exposure to Italian outside this domain, i.e. *school*. However, the number of years of formal Italian instruction the youngest-generation informants received did not correlate with the proportion of Italian clauses they used to address to their grandmothers.

Finally, the results of the correlation analysis indicate the possible differential importance of the 'masculine' and 'feminine line' of intergenerational language transmission of Veneto in this sample. Among the grandparents, the higher level of education of the *grandfathers* seemed to 'discourage' the maintenance of Veneto in the third generation. However, among the parents, the higher level of education of the *mothers* did so. The correlations highlight the relevance of both the grandfathers and the fathers' self-assessed competence in *English*, for the grandchildren's *use of Veneto*, as well as in *Italian*, for their

[481] However, the grandparents' level of the self-assessed proficiency in the dialect among in the sample was very homogenous (4.4.11).

shift to English. The mothers and the grandmothers seemed to influence only the youngest informants' *choice of Veneto*. Those young informants whose mothers had more schooling in Australia, and whose grandmothers had a higher perceived competence in Italian, were less likely to choose Veneto to address the latter in the natural conversation.

The apparent different relevance of the two genders for the maintenance of Veneto in the third generation was sometimes the result of other demographic variables.[482] Thus, the findings of the present study can only tentatively be compared to those of Rubino and Bettoni's survey (1996 - see 3.3.1.2). These researchers found that among their first-generation Veneto respondents, men addressed younger-generation relatives less frequently in *dialect* and more frequently in *English* than women did (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996: 71-74; Tables 1 and 2, Appendix B).[483] The correlations found in the present study seem to indicate that male older relatives potentially play a pivotal role in influencing the choice between same languages in the third generation.

Moreover, surveys conducted in Italy (see 3.2.6) showed that women are prone to use more frequently Italian than Veneto with younger interlocutors.[484] The correlations found in the present corpus show that the maternal grandmothers of those informants who produced more Veneto believed their competence in Italian to be poorer than the other grandmothers in the sample. It is possible that their perceived lower proficiency was accompanied by a weaker attraction to the prestige that is reportedly attached to Italian in Italy. This might have transmitted a stronger sense of 'loyalty' to Veneto to their grandchildren, who were thus 'encouraged' to maintain that language for communication with their grandmothers.

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[482] For instance, overseas-born parents who were older at the time of arrival to Australia, who in this sample happened to be the fathers, had a poorer self-assessed competence in English. However, they did not have a higher self-assessed competence in Italian (see 4.4.11).

[483] As discussed in 4.4.7, the sample in the present thesis included grandchildren of non-Veneto grandparents. However, they did not come from Sicily, which together with Veneto was the region from which first-generation respondents in Bettoni and Rubino's survey (1996) came. Differences between the genders in the second generation were much smaller (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996;71-4 – see discussion in 3.3.1.2).

[484] As discussed in 4.4.13, at least one of the grandmothers in the inter-regional families indicated she had consciously decided to use Italian to address her grandchildren. Survey data from Australia (Bettoni and Rubino, 1996) showed that first-generation Veneto women maintained their dialect better than Veneto men and than both Sicilian women and men. However, the percentage of use of Italian in both genders and regional groups were similar (see discussion in 3.2.6 and 3.3.1.2.2).

Subsection 6.4.5 below deals with the remaining correlations relevant to the third-generation informants' natural language. These *all* pertained to the grandchildren's own language production.

6.4.5 The grandchildren's language production

The proportion of *Veneto clauses* in the corpus of the grandchildren in the *natural conversation* correlated positively and highly significantly with the proportion of Veneto clauses in the *Veneto elicitation task*. This correlation seems to suggest that the grandchildren's *demonstrated ability* to produce clauses entirely in Veneto when this language was being elicited was 'exploited' to communicate with the grandparents. However, no such relationship was found between the youngest-generation informants' production of *Italian* in the Italian narration and the natural conversation with the grandparents. This seems to be an indication of the possible independence of the grandchildren's proficiency in Italian from their choice of it for intergenerational communication. As discussed in 6.4.2.-3 above, the grandchildren's use of Italian when talking to the grandparents was also independent of their generational stage or their older relatives' level of education and language competence. Thus, while the maintenance of the use of Veneto to address the grandparents seemed to rely more heavily on the family input, it appeared to be more 'certain', provided that the grandchildren had acquired some command of it (as demonstrated in the elicitation session).

However, 'proficiency' in Italian was found to be correlated in a subtler way with the grandchildren's linguistic behaviour in the conversation with their grandmothers. A highly significant correlation was found between the *total number of clauses* produced by the grandchildren in the *natural conversation* and the relative frequency of *Italian clauses* in the corpus the subjects produced in the *Italian elicitation session*. That is, the more clauses the informants used to address to their grandparents, the more clauses they produced in Italian when narrating in that language.

As discussed in 6.1, some of the informants in this recording produced an extremely small number of clauses. Based on an analysis of the recorded interactions (6.4.1), their small clause production in the natural conversation appeared to depend, at least partially, on the grandchildren's passive conversational role, which resulted in a less comfortable interaction with the grandparents. This, it was hypothesised, might have been the result of

the lack of a habitual verbal interaction between the interlocutors, who seemed to perceive the communicative event as less natural than others in the sample.

The correlation reported above suggests that there was a strong relationship between a higher 'proficiency' in Italian, in terms of a larger production of Italian clauses in the relevant narration, and a more active and comfortable interaction with the grandparents, in terms of a larger number of clauses addressed to them. It is possible that a higher competence in Italian might have been the result of a more assiduous and balanced verbal interaction with the grandmothers. However, the grandparents in *intra*-regional families did *not* seem to use Italian with any of their family members (cf. 4.4.13 and 6.4). Thus, it is also possible that a stronger interest in communicating with the grandparents had fed into the grandchildren's capacity to learn Italian more effectively, from any available source of exposure. This latter hypothesis seems more consistent with the independence of the ability to produce Italian clauses in the relevant narration and the choice to do so when addressing the grandmother.

As discussed in 6.4.1, in some of the cases in which the grandchildren's clause production was extremely small, a tenser interaction between the interlocutors was accompanied by extensive use of English. However, *no* correlation was found between the proportion of clauses entirely in English in any of the three recordings and the total number of clauses in the natural conversation. That is, the use of English by the grandchildren did not 'inhibit' their active participation in the natural conversation. However, as reported above, their demonstrated ability to produce more clauses in Italian *did* correlate with a higher level of interaction with the grandparents. This suggests that the latter variable might have been determining factor for language maintenance in the families in the sample. Nevertheless, the use of Veneto in the conversation with the grandparents was *not* linked to the number of clauses they produced.

A *higher relative frequency of English clauses* in the grandchildren's natural language was highly significantly correlated with a *lower frequency of clauses presenting transference phenomena*. That is, those informants who addressed a larger proportion of clauses in the host language were much less likely to insert transfers in their speech. This indicates that the use of English to communicate with the grandparents might have represented a shift to monolingual use of the dominant language (see 7.3).

6.5 Concluding summary

The analysis in this chapter considered the distribution of clauses in five categories: 1) clauses entirely in *Veneto*, 2) clauses entirely in *Italian*, 3) clauses entirely in *English*, 4) clauses exhibiting at least one *transference* phenomenon and 5) clauses exhibiting only contact phenomena other than transference. In terms of these categories, the natural language of the informants in the Italian and the Italian-Australian samples was found to follow a *continuum* that ranged from the homeland to Australia and, within each country, from the oldest generation to the youngest one.

The speech of the Italian grandparents and parents was fundamentally in Veneto (more than 90% of the clauses in their corpus). The proportion of Veneto, Italian and transference among the grandchildren in Italy was similar to that found among the grandparents in Australia. In comparison to the older Italian speakers, in both the youngest generation in Italy and the oldest generation in Australia, the production of Italian and to a lesser extent transference was substantially larger and that of Veneto was smaller (around -20% in both groups of speakers). Assuming that the language choice of the oldest generations in the two samples was originally the same, migration seems to have accelerated the shift away from Veneto among the Italian-Australian grandparents. It could be said that the rate of the shift away from Veneto caused by migration in the first generation in Australia was 'reached' in the homeland two generations 'later', i.e. among the youngest speakers.

The presence of the grandchildren, rather than the parents, resulted in a substantial increase in the proportion of Italian and transference in the speech of the grandparents in Australia (around +12%). To address their grandchildren, the Italian-Australian grandparents produced more Italian than the parents did and a relatively comparable proportion of transference. As expected, the rate of the shift away from Veneto was highest in the youngest generation in Australia and was completely compensated by English (around +38%). However, in the second generation, the use of English was very infrequent. Veneto still represented a relatively large proportion of the grandchildren's natural language (around 20%) while the relative frequency of Italian and transference in their speech was relatively comparable to that in the speech of the parents.

The Italian grandchildren produced larger proportions of Italian and Veneto in the relevant elicitation session than their same-generation relatives in Australia. However, both groups

showed they could control more successfully their production of Veneto than Italian. The elicitation of Italian resulted in an almost complete 'deactivation' of Veneto in both groups (cf. Grosjean, 2001 - see 2.1.2). However, clauses entirely in Italian occurred in substantial proportions in the speech of the grandchildren in both samples when they were required to narrate in Veneto (around 12% in both groups). Nevertheless, when Veneto was elicited, transference in the language of the Italian grandchildren occurred as frequently as it did in the language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren, in both elicitation sessions (i.e. more than half of the informants' corpus). The corpus of both groups of young speakers in the Veneto narration was thus more comparable than in the Italian narration or the natural conversation. When narrating in Veneto, the Italian-Australian grandchildren almost completely inhibited their production of both Italian and English. However, the proportion of English clauses in their corpus was small also in the Italian elicitation session (around 6%).

When addressing their grandmothers, the grandchildren in both countries produced more Veneto than when they were required to narrate in that language. In the corpus of the third-generation informants, English was substantially more frequent in the natural language than in the elicited language, while Italian and transference were less frequent. Thus, in the conversation with their grandparents, the Italian-Australian grandchildren seemed to have fully 'utilised' the proficiency in Veneto that they demonstrated in the narration. However, that was not the case for Italian.

Clauses exhibiting at least one transference phenomenon were always much less frequent than those exhibiting *only contact phenomena other than transference*. Among the Italian informants, clauses in the latter category were only produced by the grandchildren and only in the elicitation sessions. The number of clauses containing only contact phenomena other than transference increased minimally from one generation to the other in the Italian-Australian sample, but substantially in the elicited language of the youngest speakers.

Of all the characteristics of the Italian-Australian participants that were considered in the correlation analysis (cf. 4.4 and 6.4), three variables were shown to correlate highly significantly with the proportion of monolingual speech and transference in the natural language of the third generation. These were the grandchildren's generational stage (in

terms of country of birth and age at arrival of the older relatives), the grandparents and parents' level of education and their self-assessed language competence.

The informants who belonged to stages of the third-generation continuum that were closer to the second generation were much more likely to use a larger proportion of Veneto clauses when addressing their grandmothers. More schooling in *Italy* among the Italian-Australian parents and the grandparents had the opposite effect on their youngest relatives' use of Veneto to communicate with their grandparents. The informants whose parents had attended to school in Italy for a longer period of time seemed to maintain Veneto more successfully. However, their grandparents had done so for a shorter period of time. More schooling in *Italy* and in *Australia* among the parents also influenced in contrary ways the youngest informants' choice of Veneto, as the latter inhibited it. Thus, a higher level of education obtained by the grandparents in Italy and the parents in Australia promoted a shift away from Veneto among their youngest-generation relatives.

A higher self-assessed *competence* in *English* among both the Italian-Australian parents and the grandparents, and in *Italian* among the grandparents, was found to 'discourage' the choice of *Veneto* in the third generation. A higher self-assessed competence in Italian among the grandparents also promoted a *shift to English* among their grandchildren. However, like education in Italy, this variable among the parents had an opposite effect, i.e. the parents with a *higher* self-assessed competence in Italian seemed to 'discourage' their children from using English in the natural conversation with the grandparents.

Thus, the informants who used more *Veneto* in the natural conversation were the grandchildren of less educated and less confident speakers of English and Italian. Their parents were born in Italy, had received more years of education before migration (but fewer in Australia) and perceived their proficiency in English to be lower. The grandparents of the informants who used more *English* perceived their fluency in Italian to be higher but their parents perceived it to be lower.

In this sample, the male older relatives were shown to influence, in various ways, both the maintenance of Veneto and/or the shift to English in the third generation, through their level of education and/or their self-assessed competence in both English and Italian.

However, the education and self-assessed competence in Italian of the older-generation women seemed to 'govern' only the grandchildren's maintenance of Veneto.

Those grandchildren in the Italian-Australian sample who more frequently chose Veneto to address their grandparents also produced more speech in Veneto when this language was elicited. Unlike the use of Veneto, the use of Italian among the informants in the natural conversation was found to be independent of their position on the third-generation continuum, their older relatives' education or self-assessed language competence. Furthermore, the proportion of Italian clauses in the natural conversation was not correlated with proportion of Italian clauses in the Italian narration. However, those single grandchildren who used more Italian when narrating in Italian produced a larger total number of clauses when conversing with their grandparents. A larger production of clauses in the natural conversation seemed to be the result of a more active and habitual interaction with the grandparents (cf. 6.4.1). The use of English when the Italian-Australian grandchildren were addressing their grandparents significantly inhibited the production of transference.

In Chapter 7 below, the discussion focuses on transference phenomena, of which the direction and type are analysed.

CHAPTER 7

TRANSFERENCE

7.0 Introduction

In Chapter 6, clauses presenting transference phenomena were contrasted to those entirely in one of the three languages considered. As discussed in 5.1, clauses in the corpus contained a maximum of three transfers. Findings in the present chapter refer to the single *occurrences of transference*, analysed separately for direction and type.

Section 7.1 deals with the *direction* in which transfers in the corpus occurred. The incidence of the *types* of transfers categorised in 5.2 is analysed in section 7.2. Data discussed in these sections refer to the *relative frequency* of transfers in different directions and of different types. However, throughout the discussion, the findings that pertain to *clauses* analysed in 6.2 and 6.3 are frequently referred to for comparison.

The discussion follows the same order as in Chapter 6. In the first part of each section (7.1.1 and 7.2.1), the *natural* language of the grandchildren is compared to that of the other informants in the extended families. In the second part of each section (7.1.2 and 7.2.2), the natural language of the grandchildren is compared to their *elicited* language.

The chapter concludes with a discussion of the correlations that pertain to the directions and the types of transference in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (7.3).[485]

7.1 Direction of transference

As discussed in 5.1, six directions were considered:

1) from Italian to Veneto
2) from English to Veneto
3) from Veneto to Italian

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[485] As explained in 6.1, throughout the analysis 'the grandchildren' refers to the youngest generation in both countries (and the 'third generation' in Australia); 'the parents' refers to the intermediate generation in both countries (and the 'second generation' in Australia); 'the grandparents' refers to the oldest generation in both countries (and the 'first generation' in Australia).

4)   from English to Italian

5)   from Veneto to English

6)   from Italian to English

The recipient language of all the transfers occurring in the same clause was the base language of the clause itself (see also 5.3.1). Transfers in the same clause could come from two different source languages. That is, for instance, an Italian-base clause could exhibit transfers from English (i.e. transfers from 'English to Italian') and/or from Veneto (i.e. transfers 'from Veneto to Italian').

Subsections 7.1.1-2 below present an analysis of the incidence of the direction of transfers in the natural language of the grandchildren in comparison with a) the natural language of the other speakers in the extended family and b) their own elicited language, respectively. As explained in 5.1.1, the maximum number of transfers found in any clause in the corpus was three.[486] In each of the subsections below, the analysis is preceded by a discussion of the average frequency of the occurrences of transference in the clauses. A summary of major findings discussed in Chapter 6 is also given. For ease of reference, a graph reporting the proportion of clauses exhibiting transference is presented.[487]

7.1.1 Direction of transference in the natural language in the extended family

The natural language of the Italian grandparents and parents was almost completely in Veneto (see 6.2). As represented in Graph 5 below, across the three generations of speakers in the sample in Italy, the incidence of clauses containing transference increased very slowly (+1.1, +4.8, +6.5%, respectively). The Italian grandchildren exhibited the first major drop in the use of Veneto, which was mostly compensated by clauses entirely in Italian.

The distribution of monolingual speech and transference in first migrant generation in Australia was comparable to that in the youngest generation in Italy. The relative frequency of Veneto clauses among the grandparents in Australia was not much higher than among the Italian grandchildren (i.e. 75.6% and 71.3%, respectively), while the relative frequency of clauses entirely in Italian and clauses containing transference was not much lower (i.e. 12.4% and 14.9%; 10.6% and 13.8%, respectively). Both the incidence of

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[486] See also explanation of the coding of phonic transfers in 5.2.1.

Italian and transference substantially increased when the Italian-Australian grandparents were addressing their grandchildren.[488]

Graph 5
Proportion of clauses exhibiting transference in the natural language
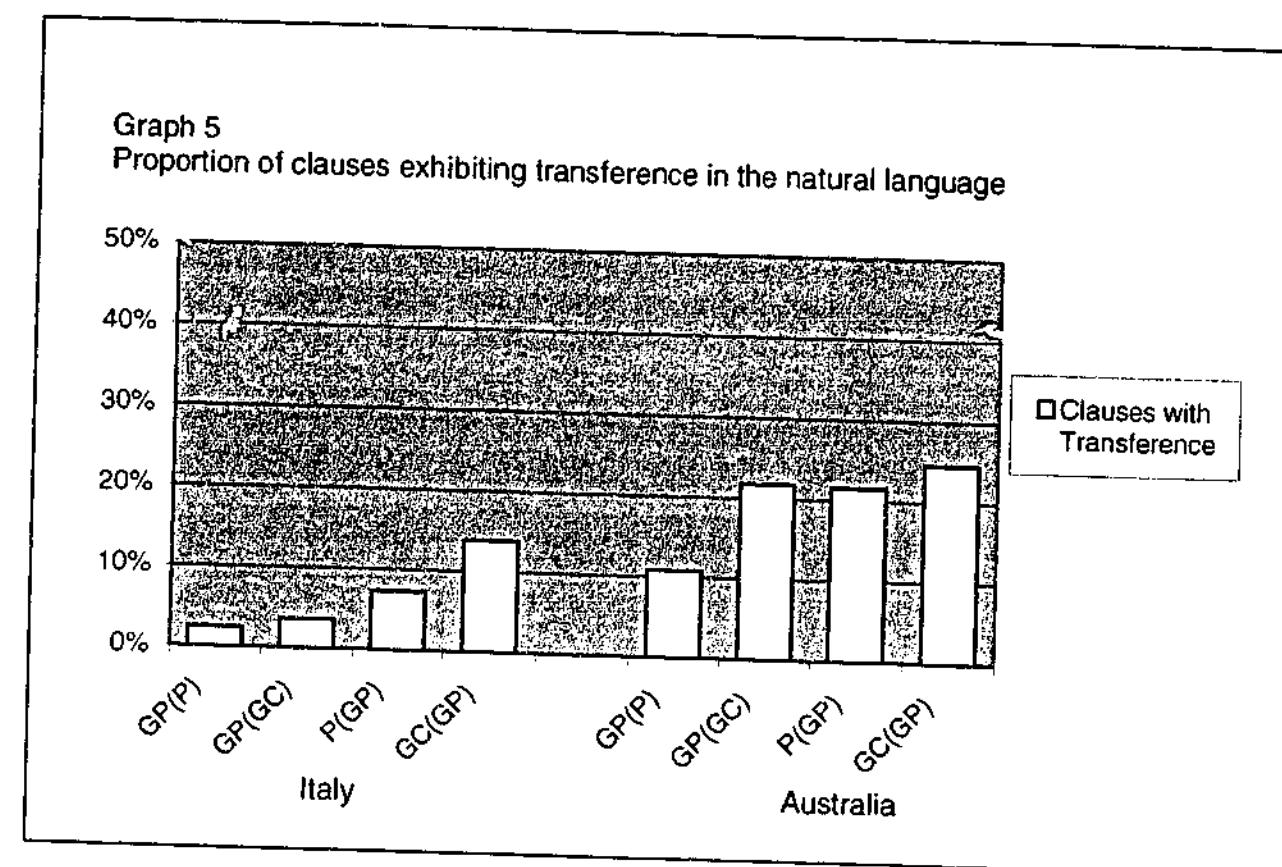
The proportion of clauses exhibiting transference increased in the second generation (+10.7%), but remained relatively comparable in the third (+3%). However, the frequency of clauses entirely in Italian in the second and third generations was relatively similar to that found in the first generation, when addressing the older interlocutors. *Clauses entirely in English* were completely absent in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandparents and very infrequent in that of the parents. However, they rose dramatically in the third generation.

Table 37 below shows the average frequency of the single occurrences of transference in the clauses produced by the different groups of speakers. The table also indicates the shift rates for clauses presenting transference (discussed in 6.2)

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[487] Appendices G and H report the data on the graphs presented in section 7.1 and 7.2, respectively.
[488] As explained in 6.1, graphs pertaining to the informants natural language refer to four groups of speakers in each sample: 1) the grandparents while conversing with the parents (abbreviated as 'GP(P)'), 2) the grandparents while conversing with the grandchildren ('GP(GC)'), 3) the parents while conversing with the grandparents ('P(GP)') and 4) the grandchildren while conversing with the grandparents ('GC(GP').

Table 37 Shift rates for clauses presenting transference and average frequency of transfers per clause in the natural language[489]

	Italy					Australia				
	Gp (P)	*Gp (Gc)*	*P (GP)*	*Gc (GP)*	*Gc (GP)*	*Gp (P)*	*Gp (Gc)*	*P (GP)*	*Gc (GP)*	*Gc (GP)*
Clauses with transf. (%)	2.5%	+1.1%	+4.8%	+6.5%	*13.8%*	*10.8%*	+11%	+10.7%	+3.0%	*24.5%*
Occurr. of transf. per clause (avg. freq.)	*1*	1	1.3	1.2	*1.2*	*1.14*	1.26	1.33	1.3	*1.3*

With few exceptions, as the incidence of clauses exhibiting transference increased, so did the average frequency of transference phenomena within each clause. That was not the case among the grandchildren in both samples. While their natural language contained relatively more clauses presenting transfers than their parents' (i.e. +6.5% in Italy and +3% in Australia), the average distribution of the transfers themselves in the clauses was less 'dense'. In both the Italian and the Italian-Australian sample, the average occurrence of transference per clause was highest among the parents (1.3 and 1.33, respectively). Moreover, both in Italy and in Australia transfers were, to different extents, sparser in the clauses produced by the grandparents when they were addressing the parents (1 in Italy and 1.14 in Australia). However, the average frequency of transfers per clause increased substantially when the Italian-Australian grandparents were addressing the younger interlocutors (+0.19, i.e. from 1.14 to 1.26). That was not the case in the speech of the grandparents in Italy.

In the following subsections (7.1.1.1-3), the distribution of transfers in the different directions in the natural language in the two samples is analysed. The discussion refers to the proportions reported on Graph 6 below. On the graphs in the present section, the six directions are abbreviated as follows: from Italian to Veneto ('I to V'); from English to Veneto ('E to V'); from Veneto to Italian ('V to I'); from English to Italian ('E to I'); from Veneto to English ('V to E'); from Italian to English ('I to E').

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[489] For ease of reference, the data pertaining in the corpus of the oldest- and the youngest-generation informants in both samples are italicised. The data appearing in the greyed row were discussed in 6.2 and are reported here for comparison.

Graph 6
Proportion of transfers in the different directions in the natural language
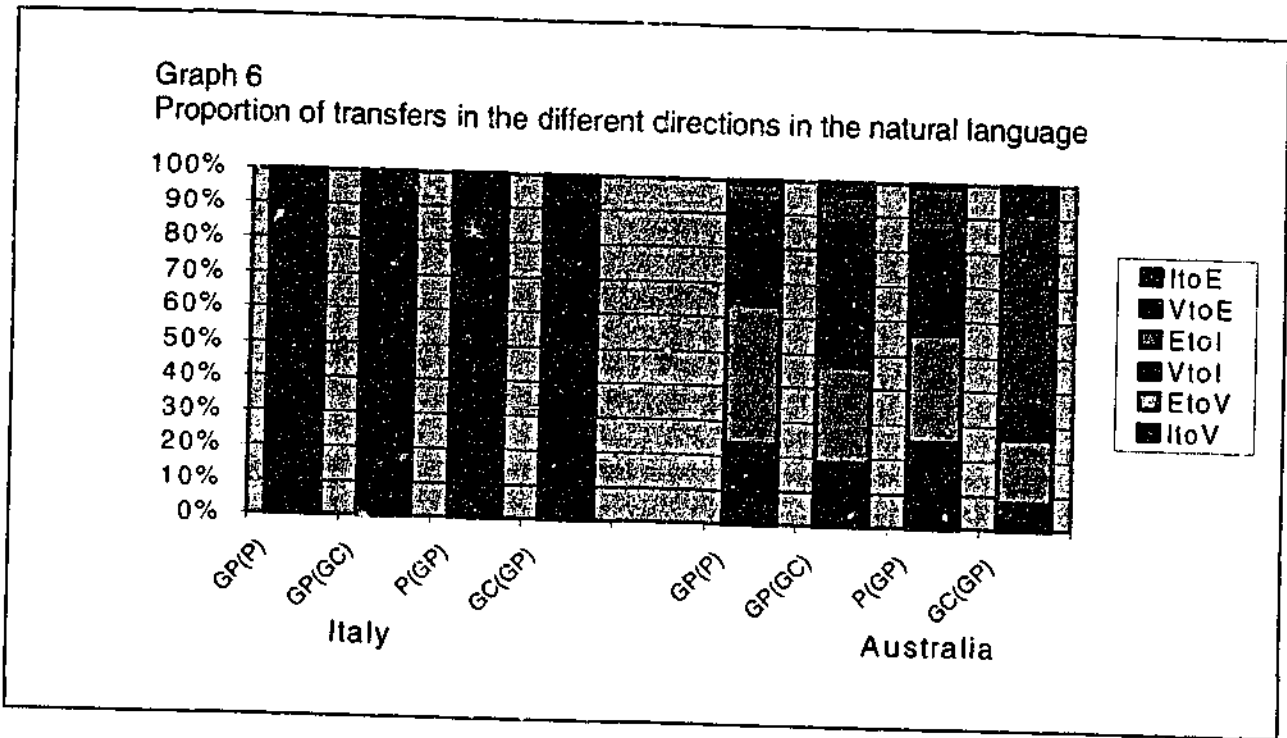
As discussed in 6.2, the term 'shift' describes here the variation in the distribution of monolingual speech as well as transference. Shift rates pertaining to the direction of the transference in the informants' natural language appear in Table 38 below.

Table 38 Shift rates in direction of transference in natural language[490]

		Italy					Australia				
		Gp (P)	*Gp (Gc)*	*P (Gp)*	*Gc (Gp)*	*Gc (Gp)*	*Gp (P)*	*Gp (Gc)*	*P (Gp)*	*Gc (Gp)*	*Gc (Gp)*
Clauses (%)	V	97.5	-1.8	-5.2	-21.0	71.3	75.6	-22.6	-17.5	-37.9	20.2
	I		+0.7	+0.4	+14.5	14.9	12.4	+11.7	+3.0	-4.3	11.1
	E						+0.	+0.3		+37.7	39.0
	Tr.	2.5	+1.1	+4.8	+6.5	13.8	10.8	+11	+10.7	+3.0	24.5
Occurr. (avg.freq.per clause)	Tr.	1	1	1.3	1.2	*1.2*	*1.14*	1.26	1.33	1.3	*1.3*
Occurrences (%)	ItoV	*100.0*	==	==	-13.3	*86.7*	*23.7*	-4.6	+1.3	-17.0	*8.0*
	EtoV	---	---	---	---	---	*40.8*	-12.4	-9.4	-12.6	*18.8*
	Tot.	100.0	==	==	-13.3	86.7	64.5	-17.0	-8.1	-29.6	24.8
Occurrences (%)	VtoI	---	==	==	+13.3	*13.3*	*30.3*	+11.2	+0.2	-21.2	*8.9*
	EtoI	---	---	---	---	---	*5.3*	+3.2	+6.9	+44.1	*56.3*
	Tot.	---	==	==	+13.3	13.3	35.6	+14.4	+7.1	+22.9	65.2
Occurrences (%)	VtoE	---	---	---	---	---	---	+0.4	---	+2.7	*2.7*
	ItoE	---	---	---	---	---	*1.3*	+2.5	===	+4.1	*5.4*
	Tot.	---	---	---	---	---	---	+2.1	+1.3	+6.8	8.1

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[490] Greyed columns report data discussed in 6.2. The symbol '===' indicates that the percentage does not change. The symbol '---' indicates absence of occurrences.

7.1.1.1 Transfers to Veneto

Apart from very few occurrences that were produced by the grandchildren, all transfers in the corpus of the Italian informants were to Veneto, i.e. they occurred in Veneto-base clauses. Though still infrequent, transfers to Italian exhibited a substantial increase in the language of the Italian grandchildren (+13.3%). The proportion of transfers to Veneto (86.7%) and to Italian (13.3%) in their natural language was consistent with the proportion of clauses entirely in the two languages (71.3% vs. 14.9%, respectively).

As discussed in 6.3, the proportion of clauses entirely in Italian, Veneto and with transference in the natural speech of the grandchildren in Italy and in that of the grandparents in Australia were relatively comparable. However, the proportion of all transfers occurring in Veneto-base clauses in the corpus of the first-generation informants was substantially smaller than in that of their youngest relatives in Italy (64.5% vs. 86.7%, respectively). Moreover, comparing the youngest generation in the homeland with the grandparents in the new country, a sharp decrease was found in the proportion of transfers from Italian to Veneto (-63%, from 86.7% to 23.7% of all their transfers; cf. −76.3% in comparison to the grandparents' same-generation relatives in Italy). The majority of all the transfers to Veneto occurring in the speech of the first migrant generation were from English rather than Italian (40.8% vs. 23.7%, respectively).

In Australia, while clauses containing transference increased from one groups of speakers to the other (see 6.3), transfers to Veneto from either source language decreased. The decrease of transfers to Veneto in the first generation (-17%) was larger than in second generation (-8.1%). However, there were differences between transfers from the two source languages. The proportion of *transfers from Italian to Veneto* in the speech of the Italian-Australian grandparents when talking to their grandchildren was only slightly smaller than in the conversation with the parents (-4.6%, i.e. from 23.7% to 19.1%). Transfers from Italian to Veneto marginally increased in the natural language of the second-generation informants (+1.3%, i.e. from 23.7% to 25%, respectively). However, in the third generation, there was a rather abrupt drop in the relatively frequency of transfers in this direction (-17%, i.e. from 25% to 8%, respectively).

The decrease in the relative frequency of *transfers from English to Veneto* was more gradual (-9.4%, i.e. from 40.8% to 31.4%, between the grandparents and the parents; -

302

12.6%, i.e. from 31.4% to 18.8%, between the parents and the grandchildren). However, the total shift rate for transfers from English to Veneto between the oldest generation (when addressing the parents) and the youngest generation was larger than for transfers from Italian to Veneto (-22% vs. -15.7%, respectively). In the conversation with the grandchildren, transfers from English to Veneto in the language of the grandparents in Australia registered a larger decrease than transfers from Italian to Veneto (-12.4% vs. -4.6%, respectively). As discussed in 7.1.1.2 below, this decrease mostly advantaged transfers from Veneto occurring in Italian-base clauses, which represented the majority of all transfers in the language of the Italian-Australian grandparents in the conversation with their grandchildren (+11.2%, i.e. from 30.3% to 41.5%).

Despite the decrease in the relative frequency of transfers from English to Veneto between the first and the second generation in Australia (-9.4%), transfers in this direction were still the most frequent in the speech of the latter group (31.4%), followed closely by transfers from Veneto to Italian (30.1% - see discussion in 7.1.1.2 below). English, rather than Italian, was the source language of most of the transfers to Veneto produced by the Italian-Australian grandchildren (18.8% vs. 8%, respectively).

7.1.1.2 Transfers to Italian

As in the natural language of the youngest informants in Italy, Veneto was found to be a major source for transfers to Italian among the informants in Australia. However, the proportion of transfers from Veneto to Italian was substantially larger in the corpus of the oldest Italian-Australian informants than their youngest Italian relatives (+17%, i.e. from 13.3% to 30.3%, respectively). Among the grandparents in the new country, therefore, transfers from Veneto to Italian were even more frequent than those in the opposite direction (30.3% vs. 23.7%, respectively). English was much less frequently the source language of the transfers to Italian produced by the first-generation informants than Veneto was (30.3% vs. 5.3%, respectively). Unlike their Veneto-base clauses, therefore, their Italian-base clauses exhibited a larger proportion of transfers from the other community language than transfers from English.

When the Italian-Australian grandparents were addressing the grandchildren rather than the parents, they produced a substantially larger proportion of transfers from Veneto to Italian (+11.2%, i.e. from 30.3 to 41.5%). The increase in the proportion of transfers from Veneto

303

to Italian was substantially larger than that of transfers from English to Italian (+11.2% vs. +3.2%, respectively). This was reflected in the differential decrease registered among transfers to Veneto produced by the grandparents when talking to the parents vs. the grandchildren, which was sharper for transfers from English to Veneto (-12.4%) than from Italian to Veneto (-4.6% - see 7.1.1.1 above).

When talking to each other, the first- and the second-generation Italian-Australian informants produced the same proportion of transfers from Veneto to Italian (30.3% and 30.1%, respectively). As reported above (71.1.1), between the same generations there was also a small variation in the proportion of transfers in the opposite direction, i.e. from Italian to Veneto (23.7 and 25%, respectively). Furthermore, as found among transfers from Italian to Veneto (see 7.1.1.1 above), the relative frequency of transfers from Veneto to Italian also dropped rather sharply among the grandchildren (-21.2%, i.e. from 30.1% to 8.9%; cf. –17% for transfers from Italian to Veneto).

Thus, Italian was more resistant to influence from English than from Veneto in the first two generations in Australia. The relative frequency of transfers from English to Italian slightly increased in the first generation, in the conversation with younger interlocutors (+3.2%, i.e. from 5.3% to 8.5%), and increased more substantially in the second generation (+6.9%, i.e. from 5.3% to 12.2%). However, between the second and third generation the relative frequency of transfers from English to Italian rose dramatically (+44.1%, i.e. from 12.2% to 56.3%). The proportion of transfers from English to Italian registered the sharpest total increase across the generations in Australia. Among the Italian-Australian grandparents and parents transfers from Veneto occurring in Italian-base clauses were much more frequent than transfers from English. The opposite was the case among the grandchildren (8.9% vs. 56.3%, respectively).

7.1.1.3 Transfers to English

The corpus contained a negligible proportion of transfers to English (3.3%). In the conversation between the Italian-Australian grandparents and parents, transfers to English were very rare (1.3% of all transfers in their respective corpus). They were more frequent in the conversation between the grandparents (4.2) and the grandchildren (8.1%). Among transfers to English, there were fewer from Veneto than from Italian. Some transfers from

Veneto to English occurred in the conversation between the grandparents (0.4%) and their grandchildren (2.7%).

7.1.1.4 Discussion

As observed in 6.3 clauses presenting transference compensated to different extents for the shift away from Veneto in the informants' natural language. The data reported above (7.1.1.1-3) show that in the two *older generations* in *Italy*, the minimal shift away from Veneto was wholly counterbalanced by transfers from Italian that occurred in Veneto-base clauses. Among the *Italian grandchildren*, however, clauses entirely in Italian and transference to both Veneto and Italian compensated for the substantial shift away from Veneto (-21%, see 6.3). The relative frequency of transfers to Veneto and Italian in their speech (86.7% vs. 13.3%, respectively) was proportionate to the relative frequency of clauses entirely in those languages (71.3% vs. 14.9%, respectively). Thus, in comparison to their parents and grandparents, the Italian grandchildren produced more Italian, more transfers in general, and more transfers to Italian.

When addressing their own children, the *first generation* in *Australia* used virtually no clauses in English or transfers to English. The proportion of clauses in Veneto, clauses in Italian and clauses containing transference in the oldest generation in the new country was more similar to that of the youngest generation in the homeland than that of their grandparents or parents (cf. 6.3). However, among the first-generation informants in Australia, Veneto clauses were slightly more frequent, while Italian clauses were slightly less frequent. In the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandparents, the proportion of clauses with transference was smaller and the average frequency of transfers within them was lower than in the natural language of the Italian grandchildren (cf. 7.1.1 above).

Nevertheless, the data presented above (see 7.1.1.1) reveal that in the speech of the Italian-Australian grandparents, the proportion of transfers to Veneto from both source languages was substantially smaller than for the Italian grandchildren. Thus, the Italian clauses in the natural speech of the Italian-Australian grandparents were accompanied by a substantially larger proportion of transfers to Italian than those in the speech of the youngest informants in the homeland (35.6 vs. 13.3%, respectively). Furthermore, among transfers to Veneto in the speech of the Italian-Australian grandparents, those from English were much more frequent than those from Italian. In the first migrant generation, English replaced Italian as

a source language for most transfers occurring in Veneto-base clauses. However, transfers from Veneto to Italian were substantially more frequent than those from English to Italian, i.e. Veneto was still the source language for vast majority of the transfers to Italian produced by the Italian-Australian grandparents.

In the speech of all generations in Australia, Veneto was much less permeable to transference than Italian. That is, the Veneto clauses in their corpus were accompanied by a smaller proportion of transfers to the same language than Italian clauses were. Furthermore, transfers to Veneto from both source languages decreased across the generations. The decrease was greater for transfers from English than for those from Italian. However, among all informants in the new country, Veneto was influenced relatively more by English than by Italian, i.e. there were more transfers from English to Veneto than from Italian to Veneto. Unlike Veneto, the Italian of the first and second generations was more influenced by the other community language. The Italian of the third-generation informants, on the other hand, was influenced mostly by their English. Thus, the dominant language of the youngest informants was the primary source of transference to both Veneto and Italian.

In the first migrant generation, there was a substantial shift away from Veneto in the presence of the youngest interlocutors, which was compensated for in comparable proportions by clauses entirely in Italian and clauses with transference (cf. 6.3). However, only transfers to Italian (especially from Veneto) played a compensatory role, since transfers to Veneto (especially those from English) decreased. Therefore, when talking to their grandchildren, the Italian-Australian grandparents produced a substantially smaller proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto and transfers to Veneto than when talking to their own children. However, the grandchildren seemed to have inhibited more strongly their grandparents' use of English than Italian as a source language for transfers to Veneto.

The variation of Italian was the opposite to that of Veneto. The Italian-Australian grandparents used a larger proportion of speech entirely in Italian and transfers to Italian when speaking to their grandchildren than to their own children (cf. 6.3). The youngest interlocutors seemed to have 'encouraged' the grandparents to transfer from Veneto to Italian to a larger extent than from English to Italian. This distribution seems to suggest that when addressing their grandchildren, the Italian-Australian grandparents tried to produce more Italian. Their Italian, however, was influenced from Veneto, through

306

transfers from Veneto inserted in Italian-base clauses or transfers from Italian in Veneto-base ones. In their effort to increase their use of Italian when conversing with of the grandchildren, the grandparents seemed to have been able to control transference from English more successfully than from Veneto. This was also the case in the natural language they produced in the conversation with the parents.

The above findings suggest that when chosen as (one of) the family language(s) in the first generation, Italian was less permeable to English than Veneto was. However, Italian seemed to be proportionately more susceptible to transference in general, i.e. compared to clauses entirely in Veneto, clauses entirely in Italian were accompanied by more transfers occurring in clauses with a base in the same language. The Italian used by the grandparents in the family was more influenced by the other community language than vice versa. To a lesser extent this was also found to be the case in the second generation. This is consistent with the results of Bettoni's study (1986), in which she found that when interviewed in Italian, her second-generation Veneto-Australian informants could control transference from Veneto less successfully than from English (cf. discussion in 3.2.3).

The shift away from Veneto was more advanced among the Italian-Australian grandparents (in the conversation with the youngest interlocutors) than among the *parents* (cf. 6.3). The decrease in the proportion of transfers occurring in Veneto-base clauses was also smaller in the latter group (-8.1 vs. -17%, respectively). The substantial shift away from Veneto in the first generation corresponded to an increase in clauses entirely in Italian and transference to Italian, mostly from a Veneto source. However, the decrease in the use of Veneto in the second generation was compensated for to a much lesser extent by Italian clauses and a relatively larger extent by transference, although predominantly occurring in Italian-base clauses.

Therefore, as in the first generation, shift away from Veneto in the second generation seemed to be counterbalanced primarily by transference to Italian. However, in the speech of the second generation, only transfers from English to Italian rather than from Veneto to Italian increased. In summary, the Italian-Australian parents produced more speech entirely in Veneto and less in Italian than the grandparents in the conversation with the grandchildren. The parents also transferred more frequently to Veneto and less to Italian than the grandparents, but more from English to Italian than they did.

Between the second and *third generation*, shift away from Veneto was considerably higher than between the first and second generation (-37.9 vs. -17.5%) and there was also a small decrease in the use of Italian (-4.3%). The decrease of both Veneto and Italian was almost completely compensated for by English (+37.7% - cf. 6.3). While among the youngest informants in Australia the increase in the relative frequency of transference was marginal, speech entirely in either community language decreased heavily (from 21.5% to 24.5% for transference; from 73.5% to 31.3% for clauses entirely in Veneto/Italian). Furthermore, in the third generation there was a sharp increase in the relative frequency of transfers from English occurring in Italian-base clauses (+44.1%). The decrease in the proportion of transfers to Veneto from both source languages (-29.6%) and from Veneto to Italian (-21.2%) was pronounced.

As in the first and in second generations, the Italian spoken by the third generation was more influenced by transference than Veneto. Among the grandchildren, the disproportion between clauses in and transfers to the two community languages was wider (20.2% for clauses in Veneto vs. 11.1% for clauses in Italian; but 26.8% for transfers to Veneto vs. 65.2% for transfers to Italian). Moreover, in comparison to the Italian spoken by their older relatives, the Italian of the youngest informants was relatively more 'Anglicised' and only minimally 'dialectalised'. That is, transfers to Italian in their natural language were much more frequently from English than from the other community language (56.3% vs. 8.9%, respectively).

Thus, the Italian-Australian grandchildren used much less Veneto than their parents, only slightly less Italian and much more English. However, they transferred much more frequently to Italian and much more from English than from Veneto. The sudden emergence of English as the language used by the grandchildren in the communication with their grandparents was accompanied by a small increase in the proportion of transfers to English, which were also rare among their older relatives. This suggests that shift to English among the grandchildren might constitute a shift to 'monolingual' speech in their dominant language, which exhibits little influence from the community languages (cf. discussion in 6.4.4).

In summary, in both countries there was a constant shift away from Veneto, which was faster in the youngest generations than in the two previous ones. The youngest generation in Italy produced a small proportion of Italian clauses, which was comparable to that

produced by the grandparents in the new country when they were speaking to their own children. Speech entirely in Italian substantially increased when the grandparents in Australia were speaking to their grandchildren. Shift to Italian, however, was marginal among the parents in the new country and in the youngest generation there was a shift *away* from Italian.

In both samples there was a progressive shift to speech which exhibited transference. However, there was a constant decline in the relative frequency of transfers to Veneto from an Italian source, which was more pronounced in the youngest generations. In the new country, furthermore, there was a gradual shift away from transference to Veneto from an English source. While transfers from Veneto to Italian appeared only in the speech of the youngest generation in Italy, they were more frequent among the Italian-Australian grandparents and the parents, but decreased among the grandchildren. Transfers from English to Italian increased across the generations in Australia, again much faster in the youngest one.

The findings confirm the fundamental Veneto monolingualism of the grandparents and the parents in Italy. Veneto was the language of the vast majority of the clauses in their corpus as well as the base language of all the clauses containing transfers. Shift to Italian among the Italian grandchildren was not very high and most transfers occurred in clauses with a Veneto base. While the use of Veneto progressively decreased across the generations in Australia, it still represented the largest proportion of the natural language of the first and second generations and the base language of most clauses exhibiting transfers. 'Shift to English' among the Italian-Australian grandparents and parents was fundamentally a shift only in terms of the use of this language as a source for transfers inserted in Veneto-base clauses. The Veneto of both the first and second generations was relatively more influenced by English than by Italian.

In comparison to the other community language, Italian was less frequently used as a family language by the Italian-Australian grandparents and parents and was more permeable to transference, predominantly from Veneto. The relatively strong impact of Veneto on the Italian of the grandparents in the present sample reflects the hypothetical repertoire of first-generation Italian migrants around the world, which includes a popular or regional (popular) variety of Italian as the 'H language' (see discussion in 3.1.2.2-3 and 3.3.2). The dialectal influence was more evident when the grandparents were addressing

the grandchildren, with whom they chose to speak more Italian. This is consistent with the increasing use of Italian with younger interlocutors in the home region, as discussed in 3.1.6.

The findings also reflect that effect of migration on the use of popular Italian (3.1.2 and 3.2.2). In the present sample, only migration to a new country seemed to have 'encouraged' preference for Italian, which in the speech of the grandparents in Italy only occurred as the source language for a very small proportion of transfers (cf. 4.4.13). The language production of the Italian-Australian grandparents, in the conversation with their grandchildren, was more similar to that of Bettoni's participants (1981a) in interviews conducted in Italian. However, she also found that in comparison to her other Northern-Italian informants, her Veneto-Australian informants were less anxious about switching from 'popular' Italian to their own dialect (Bettoni, 1981a:99). In the present corpus, there was indication that Veneto influences had been transmitted to the second generation, whose transfers to Italian were also more frequent from the other community language than from English.

The shift to English in the family virtually started in the third generation and was less advanced than expected. However, transference had a greater impact on the Italian of the grandchildren than that of their older relatives. In the natural language of the youngest speakers in Australia, English took over the role Veneto as the source of the vast majority of transfers occurring in Italian-base clauses. While the Italian of the youngest generation was strongly 'Anglicised', the influence from either community language to their English was infrequent. Muysken (2000:364) postulated a shift between the first and the third generation in the directionality of his 'insertion' into the language of the country of origin to 'insertion' into the language of the host country (cf. 2.3.3).[491] However, the data in the present corpus suggest that as the third generation shifts to use of English in the family, transference might also be abandoned. This could be aptly described in terms of Thomason and Kaufman's (1988:120) 'shift without interference' (see 2.4.1).

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[491] In different scenarios, Myers-Scotton (1993a) also envisaged an 'ML turnover' (see however 2.3.3).

7.1.2 Direction of transference in the natural and elicited language of the grandchildren

In this section, the direction transference in the natural language of the grandchildren (see 7.1.1) is compared to the direction of transference in their elicited language. Data pertaining to monolingual clauses and clauses with transference in their corpus (see 6.3) are referred to for comparison. For ease of reference, the percentage of clauses with transference is reported in Graph 7.

Graph 7
Proportion of clauses exhibiting transference in the language of the grandchildren in the Italian narration, the Veneto narration and the natural conversation with the grandparents
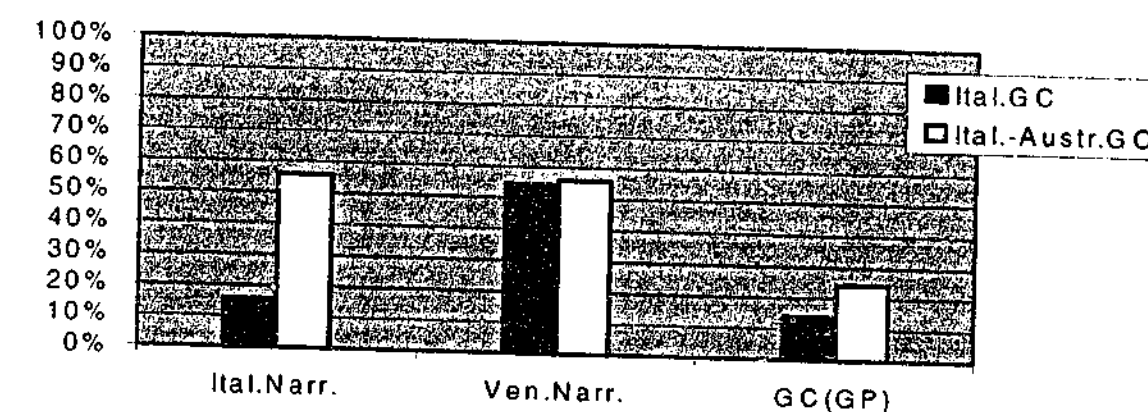
Clauses with transference accounted for more than half of the clauses in the corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren in both the Italian and the Veneto narrations (55.9% and 56%, respectively) while only around a quarter of them in the conversation with the grandparents (24.5%). Among the Italian grandchildren, the relative frequency of clauses containing transference was similar to that among their counterparts in Australia only in the Veneto narration. Transference in the Italian sample was less frequent in both the Italian elicitation task and the conversation with their grandmothers.

The average frequency of transfers within each clause in both groups (reported in Table 39 below) closely reflected the above variation. The occurrences of transference in the clauses produced by the Italian-Australian grandchildren were on average always more frequent than in those produced by the Italian ones. However, in the corpus of both groups, there were on average more transfers per clause in the Veneto narration than in the natural conversation. In the Italian elicitation task, the average frequency of transfers in the clauses

produced by the informants in Australia was slightly lower than in the other elicitation task, but still higher than in the natural conversation. This difference was more pronounced among the Italian grandchildren. When asked to narrate in Veneto rather than Italian, their production of clauses exhibiting transference rose dramatically, and the relative concentration of transfers within them also substantially increased.

Table 39 Proportion of clauses exhibiting transference and average frequency of transfers per clause in the language of the grandchildren

Transference	Italian Grandchildren			Italian-Australian Grandchildren		
	Ital.Narr.	Ven.Narr.	GC(GP)	Ital.Narr.	Ven.Narr.	GC(GP)
Clauses (%)	15.7%	54.4%	13.8%	55.9%	56.0%	24.5%
Occurr. (avg.freq.per clause)	1.16	1.3	1.2	1.43	1.47	1.3

The corpus of the Italian-Australian third-generation informants is discussed below (7.1.2.1) while comparisons with the Italian sample are made in subsection 7.1.2.2. The data discussed in both subsections are reported in Graph 8 below.

Graph 8
Proportion of transfers in the different directions in the language of the grandchildren in the Italian narration, the Veneto narration and the natural conversation with the grandparents

Legend: ItoE, VtoE, EtoI, VtoI, EtoV, ItoV

X-axis: Ital.Narr., Ven.Narr., GC(GP) [Ital.Grandchildren]; Ital.Narr., Ven.Narr., GC(GP) [Ital.Austr. Grandchildren]
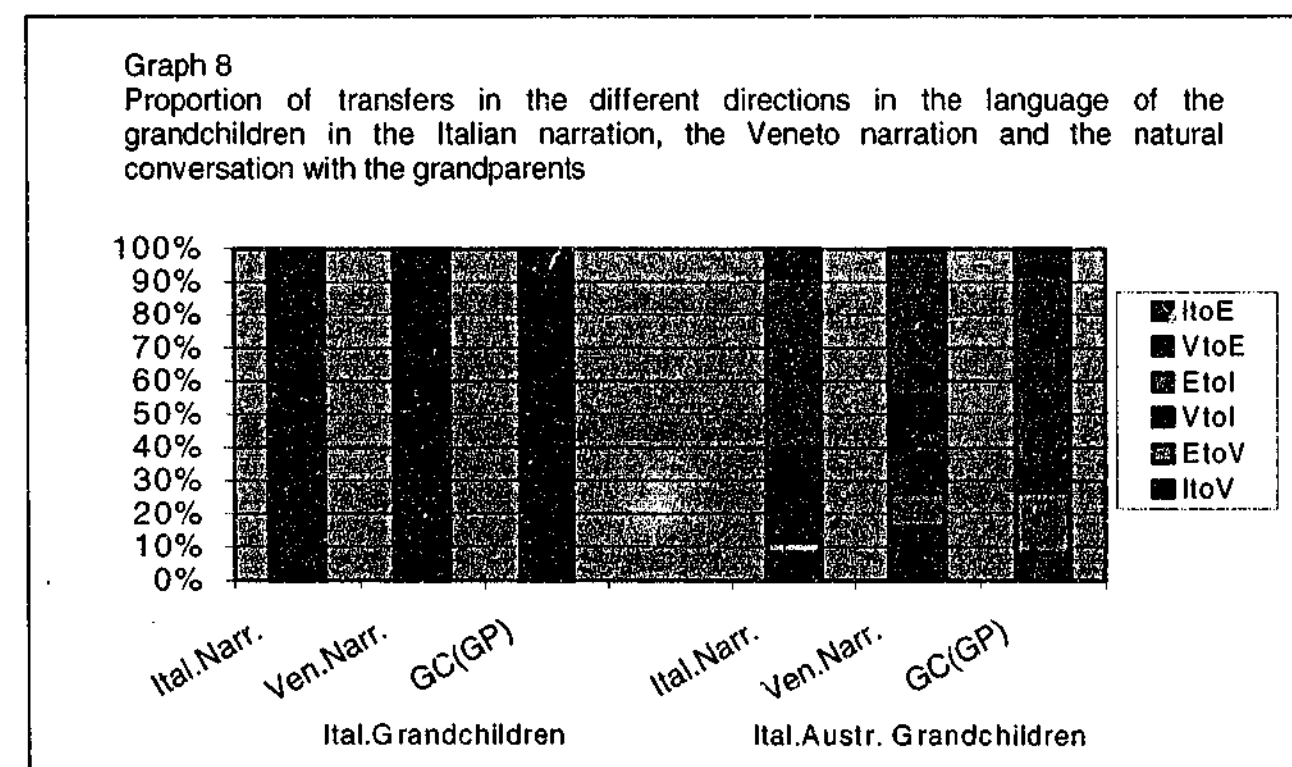
7.1.2.1 In Australia

As discussed in 6.3, 19.4% of the clauses the Italian-Australian grandchildren produced in the *Italian elicitation session* were entirely in Italian and more than half (i.e. 55.9%) were characterised by transference. However, as reported on Graph 8 above, *Italian* was the recipient language of 79.8% of the transfers that the third-generation informants produced in the Italian narration. In the vast majority of the cases, therefore, when asked to narrate in Italian, the grandchildren in Australia inserted transfers in Italian-base clauses. Most of their transfers to Italian were from English (51.5%, equal to the largest proportion of all the transfers in their entire corpus, i.e. 24.4%). Transfers from Veneto to Italian were much less frequent (28.3% of the transfers in that recording).

Clauses entirely in Veneto represented only 0.4% of the production of the youngest Italian-Australian subjects when Italian was elicited (cf. 6.3). However, 11.6% of their transfers occurred in clauses with a *Veneto* base and most of them were from Italian rather English (8% vs. 3.6%, respectively). When narrating in Italian, the Italian-Australian grandchildren produced more clauses entirely in English than clauses entirely in Veneto (5.8% vs. 0.4%, respectively). However, transfers to *English* from both community languages were the least frequent (8.6%), and mostly from Italian (8%) rather than Veneto (0.6%). Thus, in the speech of the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the Italian narration, most of the transfers occurring in clauses with a Veneto or an English base were from the language that was being elicited (8% in both directions). In summary, Italian was the recipient language of the vast majority of the transfers produced by the third generation in the Italian narration as well as the source language of 16% of them. Transfers between English and Veneto played a minor role.

As discussed in 7.1.2, among the youngest-generation informants in Australia, transference in the *Veneto narration* was as frequent as in the Italian narration (56% and 55.9% of their clauses, respectively, each clause exhibiting on average 1.43 and 1.47 occurrences of transference, respectively - see Table 39 above).[492] However, the proportion of clauses in either community language was larger in the language that the Italian-Australian grandchildren produced when Veneto was elicited (26.2% vs. 19.8% respectively). This was due to a substantial increase in the use of Veneto (from 0.4% to 13.4%, respectively)

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[492] As explained in 4.5.2, the two Italian-Australian grandchildren that were unaware of the existence of Veneto did not participate in this recording.

rather than in Italian (from 19.4% to 12.8%, respectively - see 6.3). Nevertheless, in the Veneto narration, clauses entirely in the community language being elicited represented only a slightly larger proportion than those in Italian (13.4% vs. 12.8%, respectively).

The analysis of the data pertaining to the direction of transference revealed that in both the narration in Veneto and the narration in Italian, the vast majority of transfers in the Italian-Australian grandchildren's language occurred in *Italian*-base clauses (72.8% for the Veneto narration; cf. 79.8% for the Italian narration). Among transfers to Italian, those from Veneto in the Veneto elicitation session were not much more frequent than in the Italian elicitation session (29.7% and 28.3%, respectively). When narrating in Veneto rather, than in Italian, the third-generation informants produced substantially more clauses entirely in Veneto and relatively fewer clauses entirely in the other community language (cf. 6.3). The relative frequency of transfers to Veneto in their speech was also substantially higher in the Veneto narration than in the Italian narration (26.2% vs. 11.6%). However, in the former narration they still transferred mostly to Italian (72.8%) and as frequently from Veneto to Italian.

Nevertheless, when Veneto was elicited, the youngest generation in Australia used relatively less *English* both in terms of monolingual speech and transference. In their language in the Veneto elicitation task, the proportion of all transfers from English was substantially smaller than in the Italian elicitation task (43.1% vs. 51.5%, respectively). Thus, while compared to the Italian narration the relative frequency of transfers to Veneto from both English and Italian was higher (10.3% vs. 3.6% and 15.9% vs. 8%, respectively), most of the transfers to Veneto were also from Italian rather than English. English represented only 1.1% of the informants' clauses in their elicited language in the Veneto narration (cf. 5.8% in the Italian narration). Transfers to English also disappeared almost completely (1%, cf. 8.6% in the Italian narration).

In summary, when narrating in Veneto, clauses with transference in the speech of the youngest Italian-Australians were as frequent as when they were narrating in Italian, but the total proportion of clauses in the two community languages was larger. This increase was mainly due to the appearance of a substantial proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto, which more than compensated for the small decline of those entirely in Italian. The elicitation of Veneto had also the effect of almost completely inhibiting the grandchildren's relative production of clauses entirely in English and transfers to English, and discouraging

their use of clauses entirely in Italian and transfers from English to Italian. This decrease corresponded to a substantial increase in the proportion of transfers to Veneto from both language sources, which seemed to have accompanied the 'activation' of Veneto. However, elicitation of either community language resulted in the production of the same amount of transfers from Veneto to Italian.

As discussed in 6.3, in the third-generation informants' *natural language* and in their elicited language in the Veneto narration, the proportion of clauses entirely in Italian was comparable (11.1% and 12.8%, respectively), while clauses entirely in Veneto were more frequent (20.2% vs. 13.4%). In the Italian-Australian grandchildren's speech in the natural conversation, transference was less frequent than in both the Italian and the Veneto elicitation task (24.5% of their clauses vs. around 56%, each clause exhibiting on average 1.2 occurrences of transference vs. 1.43 and 1.47 – see Table 39 above). Compared to their elicited language, the natural language of the third generation thus contained fewer clauses with transference, but more clauses entirely in the community languages (31.3% vs. 19.8% in the Italian narration and 26.2% in the Veneto narration, respectively).

However, *Italian* was the recipient language of most transfers both in the language produced by the third generation to address the grandparents and to narrate in the community languages. While transfers to Italian were less frequent in the natural conversation than in the narrations, they still accounted for 65.2% of all transfers. Moreover, the vast majority of the transfers to Italian in the natural language of the youngest speakers in Australia was also from English (56.3%, cf. 51.5% in the Italian narration and 43.1% in the Veneto narration). However, transfers from Veneto to Italian were proportionately much less frequent than in the elicitation sessions (8.9%, vs. 26% and 28.3%, respectively).

In the natural language of the grandchildren in Australia, the relative frequency of transfers to *Veneto* was as high as in their elicited language in the Veneto narration (26.2% and 26.8%, respectively, vs. 11.6% in the Italian narration). However, in the natural conversation with their grandmothers, transfers from English to Veneto were more frequent than those from Italian to Veneto (18.8% vs. 8%, respectively) and accounted for the second largest proportion of all transfers. That was not the case in the narration in Veneto (10.3% from English to Veneto vs. 15.9% from English to Italian). While 39% of the clauses in the third-generation informant's natural language were entirely in English,

only 8.6% of the transfers occurred in English-base clauses (8% from Italian and 0.6% from Veneto). That is, when the Italian-Australian grandchildren were talking to their grandparents, transfers to English were as frequent as in the Italian narration (8.6%). However, clauses entirely in English accounted for a much larger proportion of their language in the natural conversation than when they were narrating in Italian (39% vs. 5.8%).

7.1.2.1.1 Discussion

When talking to their grandparents, the third-generation subjects produced fewer clauses exhibiting transference than in the narrations and a larger total number of clauses entirely in the two community languages. However, both in the grandchildren's elicited and natural language, as well as in the older relatives' natural language (cf. 7.1.1), compared to clauses entirely in Italian and Veneto, respectively, there were more transfers occurring in Italian-base clauses than in Veneto-base clauses. That is, among all Italian-Australian informants, and in all recordings, Italian was relatively more susceptible to transference than Veneto. The youngest speakers produced large proportions of clauses entirely in Italian and transfers occurring in Italian-base clauses, regardless of which community language was elicited. That was not the case for Veneto, which was more successfully 'activated' and 'deactivated' according to whether the grandchildren were asked to narrate in that language or in Italian, respectively (cf. Grosjean, 1995; 2001, discussed in 2.12). Furthermore, when addressing their grandmothers, the Italian-Australian grandchildren produced a substantially larger proportion of 'transference-free' speech in Veneto, but a smaller proportion in Italian than when they were asked to narrate in the relevant language (cf. 6.4).

The relative frequency of transfers from English to Italian in the third-generation informants' natural language was comparable to that in the Italian narration, and higher than in the Veneto narration. Thus, unlike the Italian of their older relatives (cf. 7.1.1.), the Italian in both the natural and elicited language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren was relatively more influenced by English than by the other community language. In all recordings, the grandchildren in Australia used Veneto less frequently than English as a source language for transfers occurring in Italian-base clauses. However, they produced a much larger proportion of transfers from Veneto to Italian to perform both elicitation tasks than to address their grandparents. The relative frequency of transfers from Veneto to

Italian in the speech of the third generation did not seem to be affected by the community language that was being elicited. This was reflected in the persistence of a substantial proportion of monolingual speech in Italian in the language that they produced when they were narrating in Veneto (cf. 6.3). In this recording, the frequent occurrence of transfers from Veneto in Italian-base clauses may have been caused by the informants' attempt to approximate the language that was being elicited. However, transfers in the same direction in the narration in Italian might also result from the influence of dialectal features in their older relatives' Italian (cf. 7.1.1).

The substantial decrease of transference from Veneto to Italian in the natural language of the third-generation informants, compared to their elicited language, suggests that they may have utilised the resources provided by their older relatives' input only when required to speak in either community language. In an analogous way, in the Italian elicitation session, when the Italian-Australian grandchildren's production of clauses entirely in Veneto almost completely stopped, a small proportion of transfers occurred from Italian to Veneto. This was a possible indication that when asked to narrate in Italian, the youngest speakers in Australia were trying, to a certain extent, to produce the elicited language on the basis of their Veneto. Again, however, the relative frequency of transfers from Veneto to Italian in the narration in Italian and in the natural conversation was the same.

The Italian-Australian grandchildren seemed to be able to control the influence of Veneto on their Italian more successfully than that of English even in the elicitation sessions. This differentiates the third-generation informants in the present sample from their parents as well as Bettoni's (1986) second-generation Veneto-Australian informants. In different situations, i.e. a natural conversation and an interview in Italian, respectively, the second-generation informants both in this study and in Bettoni's (1986) were more successful in keeping their Italian separate from English than from Veneto (cf. discussion in 7.1.1.2 and 3.2.3). Nevertheless, even in the 'interview-like' situation envisaged in the methodology in the present project, i.e. the Italian elicitation session, the supposed influence of the grandparents and parents' dialectalised input on the grandchildren's Italian was not as strong as the influence from English.

However, the youngest-generation speakers in Australia demonstrated they had a relatively higher control on transference from English to the Veneto in the elicitation sessions than in the natural conversation. To perform the elicitation tasks, the grandchildren were able to

transfer relatively more frequently from Italian to Veneto than from the dominant language. However, their choice of the code they would normally use when addressing their grandparents resulted in the production of a larger proportion of transference from English to Veneto. Thus, influence from English was proportionately stronger on both the Italian and the Veneto in the third-generation informants' natural language than in their elicited language. Unlike their 'natural' Veneto, as well as that of their parents and grandparents (cf. 7.1.1 above), the 'elicited' Veneto of the Italian-Australian grandchildren was more permeable to Italian than to English. Similarly, their production of clauses entirely in English (cf. 6.4), transfers from English to Italian, and transfers to English from either community languages seem to have been inhibited when Veneto rather than Italian was elicited.

The findings that pertain to Italian in the present study are contrary to those of Rubino's (1987a, discussed in 3.2.3). When asked to narrate in Italian, the Sicilian-Australian children of generation 2B in Rubino's sample (1987a) were able to control the influence of English and dialect on Italian. However, they mixed more freely the three languages when they were conversing informally with the researcher. In this study, the elicitation of Italian resulted in a much larger production of transference to Italian than the conversation with their grandparents. Furthermore, the natural language of the third-generation informants contained an even larger proportion of 'transference-free' clauses than their elicited language in the Veneto narration. However, like the participants in Rubino's study (1987a), the grandchildren in the present sample produced less English in the two elicitation sessions than in the natural conversation, i.e. fewer clauses entirely in English and transfers from and to English. The children studied by Rubino (1987a) also produced more dialect and more transfers from English when conversing informally.

In terms of Auer and di Luzio's (1983a:90) '*italiano stentato*' (see 2.1.2, 2.3.3, 3.2.3), the 'elicited' Italian of the grandchildren in the present study seemed to present more of its characteristics than their 'natural' Italian.[493] The latter was found to be predominantly 'Anglicised' and only minimally influenced by the dialect. However, it could be said that the grandchildren's Veneto was in general much less '*stentato*' than their Italian, i.e. it was

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[493] However, in addition to transference, Auer and di Luzio's (1983a:90) '*italiano stentato*' includes, e.g. " 'invention' of structures alien to all influencing varieties" or hypercorrection, In the present study, some of these features were categorised as 'contact phenomena other than transference' (see 5.3 and 6.4). However,

much less permeable to transference from both English and the other community language. Nevertheless, like Italian, the Veneto produced by the youngest-generation informants when they were addressing their grandparents was also less permeable to transference than in the Veneto narration, but relatively more permeable to transference from English than from the other community language.

7.1.2.2 Comparison with Italy

Unlike the grandchildren in Australia, when narrating in Veneto the grandchildren in Italy produced a substantially larger proportion of clauses with transference than either in the Italian narration or the natural conversation (54.4%, vs. 15.7% and 13.8%, respectively – see also Table 39 in 7.1.2 above). The production of transference of the two groups in the Veneto elicitation session was more similar than for the Italian elicitation session and the natural conversation (see 6.3). However, the youngest informants in Australia produced mostly transfers to Italian in all three recordings (see 7.1.2.1 above). The recipient language of the vast majority of the transfers produced by the Italian grandchildren was consistent with the language being elicited (94.8% to Italian in the Italian narration and 87.4% to Veneto in the Veneto narration). In the natural language of the youngest speakers in Italy, furthermore, most of their transfers were also to Veneto (86.7%), which was the language of most of their clauses (cf. 6.3.2).

In the corpus of the Italian-Australian informants, some consistency between the language being elicited and the recipient language of transfers produced, was only found in the *Italian narration*. Here, 74.9% of the clauses produced by the Italian informants were entirely in Italian and only 15.7% presented transference. This compared to a much smaller proportion of clauses entirely in Italian in the corpus of Italian-Australian grandchildren (19.4%) and a much larger proportion of clauses exhibiting transference (55.9% - see 6.3). However, the majority of all transfers produced by the grandchildren in both countries when Italian was elicited were inserted in Italian-base clauses (94.8% in Italy and 79.8% in Australia).

As discussed in 6.3, the production of transference in the two groups was more comparable in the *Veneto narration* (54.4% and 56%, respectively – see also Table 39 above).

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the objectives of this thesis, which focuses on transference (cf. 5.1), do not include a discussion of the relative role played by the three languages in these phenomena.

Furthermore, in both countries, clauses entirely in Veneto were virtually only produced when Veneto rather than Italian was elicited (28.1% vs. 0.9 in Italy and 13.4% vs. 0.4% in Australia). In the language of both groups when narrating in Veneto, the proportion of Italian clauses was smaller than that of Veneto clauses but still substantial (13.3% in Italy and 12.8% in Australia – see 6.3). However, the Italian-Australian grandchildren transferred mostly to Italian in both elicitation sessions (see 7.1.2.1). In the language of the control group, on the other hand, the vast majority of the transfers in the Veneto narration occurred in Veneto-base clauses (87.4%). However, the transfers to Italian produced by the Italian grandchildren when Veneto was elicited (12.6%) represented a relatively larger proportion than the transfers to Veneto in the Italian narration (5.2%).

In the natural language of the informants in both countries, the relative frequency of clauses with transference was lower than in the narrations (13.8% in Italy and 24.5% in Australia, respectively – cf. 6.3 and Table 39 above). However, in the corpus of the Italian grandchildren, clauses with transference recorded in the natural conversation were not much less frequent than those recorded in the Italian elicitation session (15.7% in Italy vs. 56% in Australia, respectively). When talking to their grandmothers, the Italian grandchildren produced substantially more clauses entirely in Veneto (71.3%) and fewer clauses with transference (13.8%) than in the Veneto elicitation task (cf. 28.1% for Veneto clauses and 54.4% for clauses with transference in Australia). However, in both the natural conversation and the Veneto narration, most transfers in the speech of the grandchildren in Italy occurred in Veneto-base clauses (86.7% and 87.4%, respectively). To different extents, this was found to be the case among the Italian-Australian informants. The grandchildren in Australia produced more clauses entirely in Veneto to address their grandparents than when Veneto was elicited (20.2% vs. 13.4%, respectively) and much fewer clauses with transference (24.5% vs. 56%, respectively), which however contained comparable proportions of transfers to Veneto (26.8% and 26.2%, respectively).

As discussed in 7.1.1, the natural language of the youngest speakers in Italy contained more clauses entirely in Italian and transfers to Italian than that of their parents and grandparents. However, their 'elicited' Veneto was much more influenced by Italian than the Veneto that they spoke in the natural conversation. When talking to their grandparents, the Italian informants were able to produce a much larger proportion of 'transference-free' Veneto than when this language was elicited. The Veneto in the 'natural' language of the

youngest informants in both samples was less permeable to transference than that in their 'elicited' language. However, the 'natural ~ elicited' differentiation of the Italian grandchildren's Veneto was found to be much starker than among their Italian-Australian counterparts.

Unlike the grandchildren in Australia, in the elicitation sessions, the grandchildren in Italy had a much lower control over the influence of Italian on Veneto than vice versa. Thus, their 'elicited' Italian was much less dialectalised than that of their same-generation Italian-Australian relatives, as well as the 'natural' Italian of their older-generation ones (cf. 7.1.1.2). Conversely, the 'elicited' Veneto of the third-generation informants in Australia was less permeable to transference from Italian than that of the grandchildren in Italy. However, the young Italian-Australian speakers produced a substantial proportion of clauses and transfers to Italian also when Veneto was elicited. To a smaller extent, this was also the case in the control group. Furthermore, while the Italian of the grandchildren in Australia was proportionately always more influenced by English, the Veneto they produced in the elicitation sessions was more influenced by Italian.

7.2 Transfer types

This section presents an analysis of the distribution of the transfer types described in 5.2. Seven main types of transfers were considered, i.e. phonic, lexical, phrasal, morphological, semantic, syntactic and morphosyntactic translations. Among lexical transfers, items that in Italian/Veneto do not undergo inflectional morphology were categorised separately (i.e. 'invariable' transfers). The traditional distinction between phonically/morphologically integrated and unintegrated lexical transfers was also observed. Finally, function words that are 'variable' were categorised as morphological transfers, rather than lexical ones. Semantic and syntactic transfers as well as morphosyntactic translations are referred to as 'covert' (as opposed to 'overt') types of transfers, because they result in forms that only exhibit recipient-language surface material. The transfer types are summarised in Table 40 below.

The discussion below refers to the relative frequency of the types of transfers in each of the directions considered. In subsection 7.2.1, the distribution of transfer types in the natural language in the extended family is examined. A comparison of the distribution of transfer types in the natural and elicited language of the grandchildren is given in subsection 7.2.2.

In each subsection, graphs are used to show the proportion of transfer types among all transfers in the relevant direction.[494] The discussion focuses on major categories of transfers in the language of the different groups of informants. The analysis is preceded by a brief recapitulation of the relevant results pertaining to a) the *proportion of clauses* exhibiting transference among all clauses (cf. 6.3-4) and b) the *proportion of transfers* in the different directions among all transfers (cf. 7.1).

Table 40 Transfer types[495]

Transfer type		Source-language material transferred
Overt transfers	Phonic	phones

	Lexical
	  Phonically integrated
	  Morphologically integrated
	  Invariable
		variable, content words

		invariable words
	Phrasal	phrases
	Morphological	variable function words; inflections
Covert transfers	Semantic	meaning of words/phrases
	Morphosyntactic translations	morphosyntactic patterns
	Syntactic	word order/subject pronoun patterns

7.2.1 Transfer types in the natural language in the extended family

As shown in 6.3, the grandparents in Italy transferred very infrequently. Transference slightly increased in the two younger Italian generations, especially among the grandchildren. Apart from a very few transfers from Veneto to Italian which were produced by the grandchildren, all transfers occurring in the natural language among the Italian participants occurred in Veneto-base clauses (see 7.1). In Australia, use of Veneto decreased and transference increased from one generation to the other. The proportion of clauses exhibiting transference used by the Italian-Australian grandchildren was only slightly larger than that used by the grandparents (in the conversation with them) and the parents. However, the total proportion of clauses entirely in either Italian or Veneto in the speech of the youngest informants was much smaller than in speech of their older relatives.

Nevertheless, only the relative frequency of transfers to Italian increased from one generation to the next in the Italian-Australian sample. Among the informants in Australia,

transfers from Veneto to Italian increased substantially only in the first generation (in the conversation with the grandchildren) but dropped in the youngest generation. Transfers from English to Italian were substantially less frequent than those from Veneto to Italian in the first generation. Their relative frequency increased minimally when the younger interlocutors were being addressed and in the speech of the second generation. However, their relative frequency soared in the third generation.

While the proportion of transference increased over the generations in the new country, the relative frequency of transfers occurring in Veneto-base clauses decreased, as did the relative frequency of clauses that were entirely in that language. Transfers from English to Veneto, which were more frequent among the Italian-Australian grandparents, decreased more regularly but more substantially than those from Italian to Veneto. Clauses in English and transfers to English were either totally absent or very infrequent in the speech of the grandparents and the parents. Transfers to English were slightly more frequent among the grandchildren. However, clauses entirely in English represented the majority of the clauses they produced when addressing their grandparents.

Subsections 7.2.1.1-5 present the distribution of the types of transfers in the natural language. Transfer types from Italian to Veneto will be discussed first as they appeared in the speech of the older generations in Italy (7.2.1.1). They are followed by transfer types from Veneto to Italian, which in Italy occurred only among the grandchildren (7.2.1.2). Transfers from English to Veneto, which represented the majority of the transfers among the grandparents in Australia, precede transfers from English to Italian (subsections 7.2.1.3 and 7.2.1.4, respectively).

7.2.1.1 Transfers types from Italian to Veneto.

Some transfers from Italian to Veneto occurred in all groups of informants in both samples (see Graph 9 below and 7.1.1.1). The few transfers that the Italian grandparents and parents produced were all from Italian to Veneto. Apart from a very small proportion of transfers occurring in Italian-base clauses, all the transfers produced by the Italian grandchildren also occurred in Veneto-base clauses.

While the relative frequency of transference increased from the oldest informants to the younger ones and from the homeland to the new country, the relative frequency of transfers from Italian to Veneto generally decreased. Among the Italian-Australian

grandparents, as well as parents and grandchildren, transfers from Italian to Veneto were relatively less frequent than those from English to Veneto (cf. 7.1.1.1). In the Italian-Australian sample, *all* transfers to Veneto decreased between the first generation and the third. The relative frequency of transfers from Italian to Veneto slightly decreased in the speech of the grandparents, when they were addressing the grandchildren, it increased marginally among the parents but sharply dropped among the grandchildren.

Graph 9
Proportion of occurrences of transference from Italian to Veneto compared to the proportion of all clauses which exhibit transference in the natural language
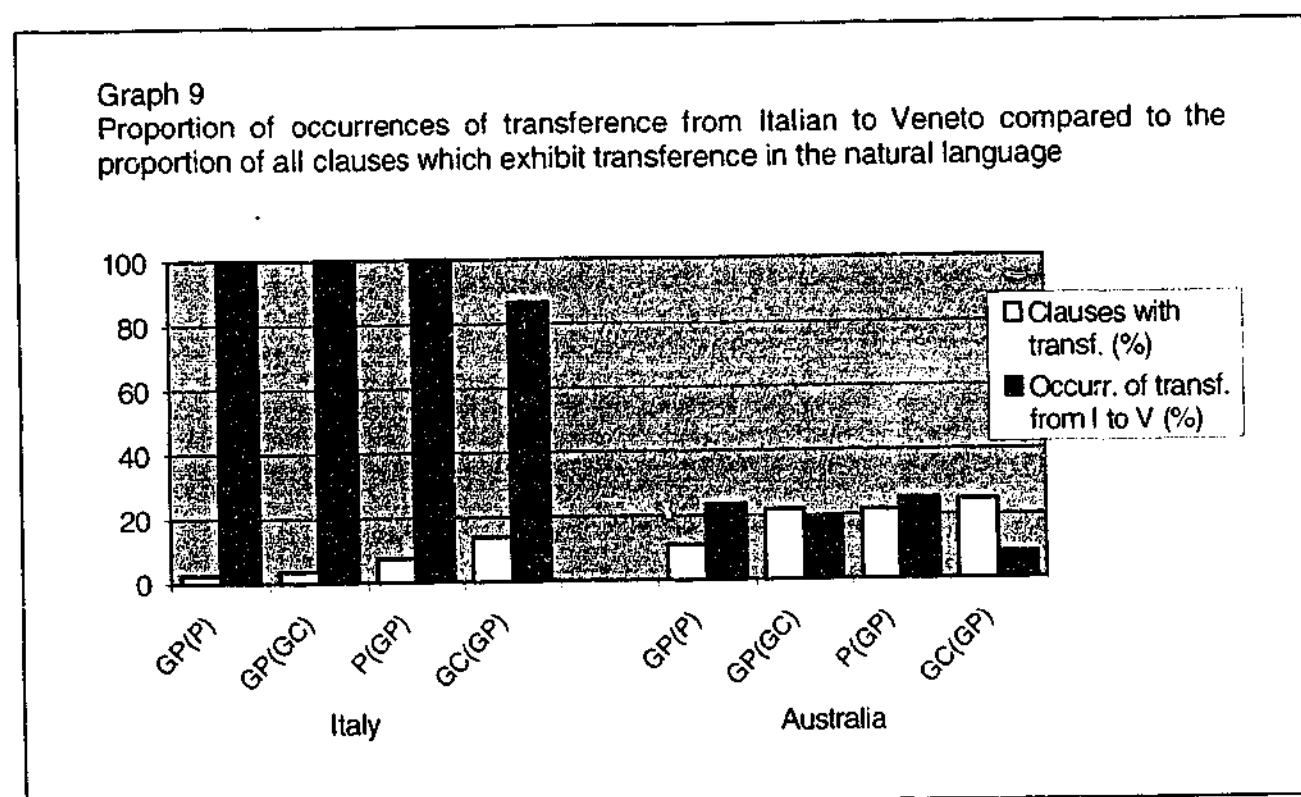
The variation in the distribution of transfer types from Italian to Veneto over the groups of informants was *not* significant.[496] As shown in Graph 10 below, transfers in this direction were concentrated in four major types. *Lexical* transfers accounted for almost half of all transfers from Italian to Veneto in the entire natural language corpus (47.8%). *Invariable* transfers were a distant second-most frequent type of transfers from Italian to Veneto (18.9%). *Syntactic* and *phrasal* transfers followed (9.4 and 7.8%, respectively). However, not all these four types of transfers were represented in all generations.

Lexical transfers from Italian to Veneto accounted for most, or a very large proportion of occurrences among all informants in both countries.[497] With the exception of the youngest Italian-Australian informants, all informants produced some invariable transfers.

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[496] Chi-square tests and tables are reported in Appendix H.

[497] Unless otherwise specified, 'lexical transfers' refers to 'unintegrated' lexical transfers (see 5.2.2).

Graph 10
Proportion of transfer types from Italian to Veneto in the natural language
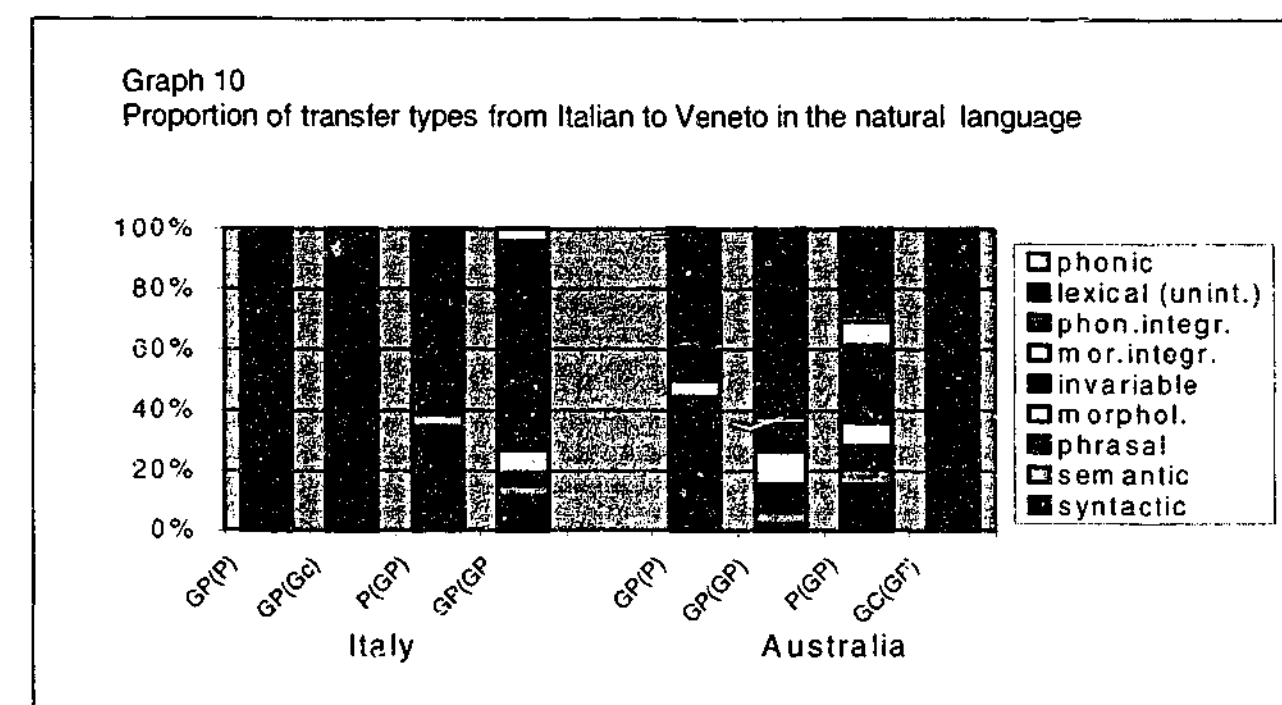
Considering the lower frequency in the language of parts of speech categorised here as invariable transfers (cf. Haugen, 1953:407), their incidence out of the whole corpus of transfers from Italian to Veneto (18.9%) seems relatively large. As reported in 2.3.1, in various studies of different migrant languages (e.g. Haugen, 1950; Bettoni, 1981a) adverbs and prepositions, which were here included among invariable transfers, accounted for much smaller proportions (i.e. between 1% and 2% out of all the words transferred from English). Their relatively high frequency among transfers from Italian to Veneto in the present corpus might be due to the relatedness of the two community languages. Lexical and invariable lexical transfers were also prominent in the opposite direction, i.e. from Veneto to Italian (see 7.2.1.3).

Alfonzetti's findings (1992a:231-4) with regard to the switching of relevant parts of speech between Sicilian and Italian in Italy are more similar to the percentages found here (e.g. 2.2% for prepositions; 4.2% for conjugations and relative pronouns; 5.01% for adverbs).[498] However, as discussed in 7.2.1.3-4, invariable transfers from English to both Veneto and Italian in the natural data in the present corpus were also relatively more frequent than in the interview data collected among Italian Australian informants by Bettoni (1981a).

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[498] However, in Alfonzetti's study (1992a), many instances in the second category pertained to Italian 'che' both in its function as a subordinating conjunction and as a relative pronoun, for which Sicilian (unlike Veneto) has a different form (see 5.2.2). Percentages for adverbs reported above from Alfonzetti (1992a) included adverbial phrases, which were coded separately in the present study (see 5.2.4). Percentages for all parts of speech included both directions, i.e. from Sicilian to Italian and from Italian to Sicilian, although

When talking to the parents, the grandparents in both countries produced no syntactic transfers. However, the few transfers from Italian to Veneto that the grandchildren in Australia produced in the natural conversation were either unintegrated lexical transfers or syntactic ones. This was consistent with the high concentration of lexical and syntactic transfers from Italian to Veneto that was found in the elicited language among the grandchildren in both countries (see 7.2.2.4). As observed in 5.2.7, syntactic transfers from Italian to Veneto resulted in the omission of the obligatory third-person subject clitic pronoun and were therefore expected to be more frequent in the narrations from the picture book (see 4.5.2). In the whole corpus of the Italian grandchildren, syntactic transfers from Italian to Veneto accounted for the second largest proportion of all transfers (see 7.2.2.4). These findings seem to indicate that syntactic transference from Italian to Veneto might have been a characteristic of the Veneto as spoken among the youngest informants in both samples. However, comparable elicited data from the older generations would be needed to confirm this apparent tendency.[499]

7.2.1.2 Transfer types from Veneto to Italian

Among the Italian participants, only the youngest speakers produced transfers from Veneto to Italian (see Graph 11 and 7.1.1.2). Transfers from Veneto to Italian were relatively more frequent than those from Italian to Veneto among all Italian-Australian informants. Transference was more frequent in the speech of the Italian-Australian parents than in the speech of their first-generation interlocutors (cf. 7.1.1). However, both the parents and the grandparents in Australia produced almost exactly the same proportion of transfers from Veneto to Italian (30.3% and 30.1%, respectively).

When the Italian-Australian grandparents addressed the grandchildren, rather than the parents, all transfers were substantially more frequent and the increase of transfers from Veneto to Italian was the highest (cf. 7.1.1.2). Transfers from Veneto to Italian in the natural speech of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (8.9%) were not much more frequent than transfers from Italian to Veneto (8%). The youngest-generation informants in Australia produced a substantially smaller proportion of clauses that were entirely in the

most occurrences pertained the former direction. Transfer types from Veneto to Italian in the present corpus are discussed in 7.2.1.2 below.

[499] Transfers from Italian to Veneto in other categories were very few, although among the informants who transferred very infrequently they might represent relatively large proportions. This was the case of

two community languages but only slightly more transfers than their grandparents and parents. However, in the third generation, the relative frequency of transfers from Veneto to Italian was much lower than in the previous generations.

Graph 11
Proportion of occurrences of transference from Veneto to Italian compared to the proportion of all clauses which exhibit transference in the natural language
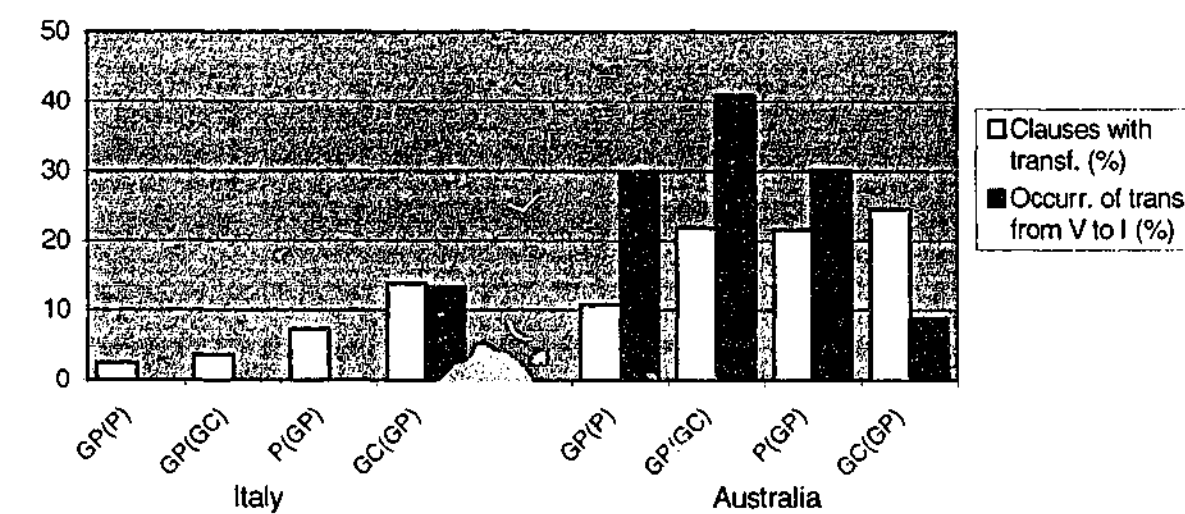
Transfers from Veneto to Italian in the natural language of the informants were distributed over more categories than those relevant in the opposite direction (cf. 7.1.1.1). This was also the case in the elicited language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (see 7.2.2.4). Most transfers from Veneto to Italian were *lexical* (26.4%), although they accounted for a much smaller proportion than lexical transfers did in the opposite direction (42.8%). *Morphological* transfers were also relatively frequent (19.8%). *Phonic* and *invariable* transfers followed (12.6% and 11%, respectively). Morphosyntactic translations, semantic and syntactic transfers were equally frequent (8.8%). Variation in the distribution of the types of transfers from Veneto to Italian between the generations was significant.

As shown on Graph 12, transfers from Veneto to Italian among the Italian grandchildren were very few and of two types only, i.e. lexical and syntactic. All other transfer types from Veneto to Italian occurred in the corpus of the informants in Australia. Among the Italian-Australian grandchildren transfers from Veneto to Italian were also very infrequent.

phonically integrated lexical transfers among Italian parents and morphological transfers among Italian-Australian grandparents produced when talking to their grandchildren (cf. 7.2.1.2 below).

However, they were scattered in almost all the major categories mentioned above, i.e. lexical, morphological, phonic, invariable, semantic and morphosyntactic translations.[500]

Graph 12
Proportion of transfer types from Veneto to Italian in the natural language
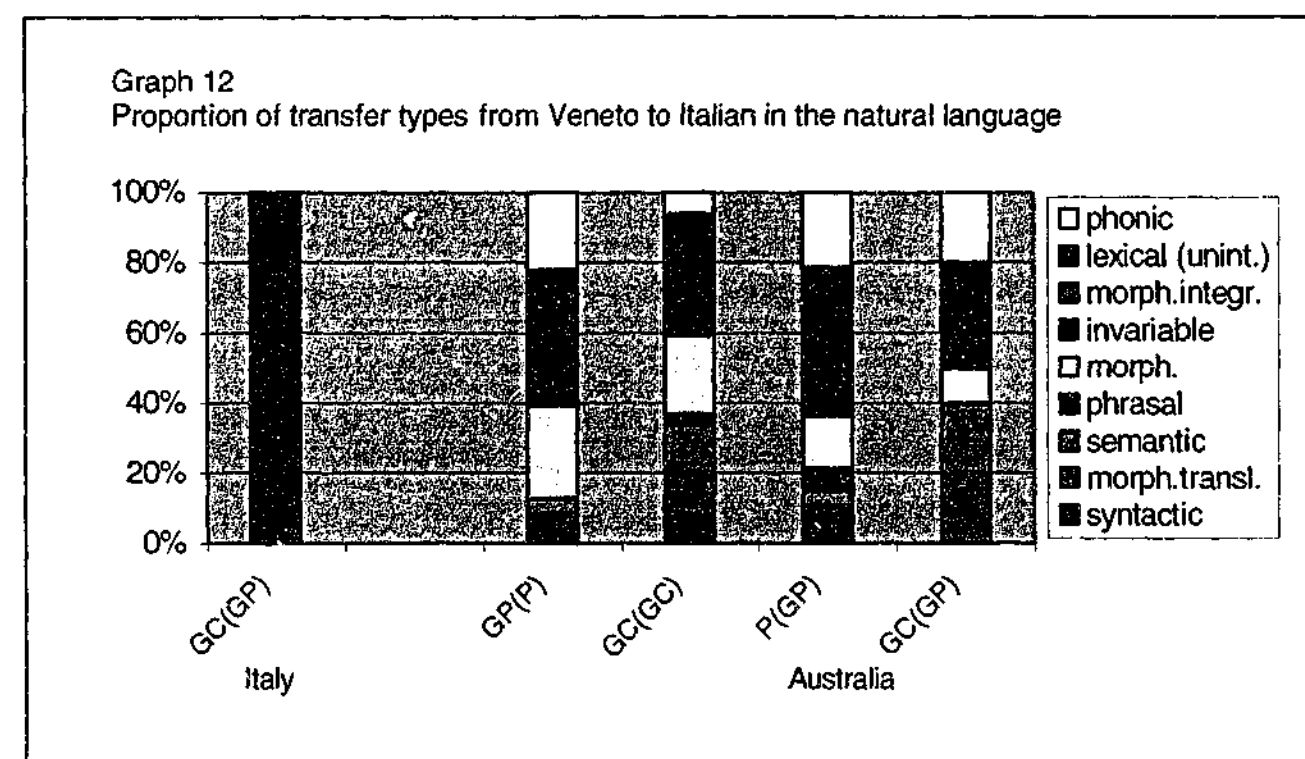
Most of the transfers from Veneto to Italian that occurred in the speech of the Italian-Australian grandparents and the parents were lexical (39.1% and 36.2%, respectively). However, when addressing the grandchildren rather than the parents, the grandparents produced a larger proportion of morphological transfers than lexical ones (22.4% vs. 17.3%, respectively). As discussed in 6.3.1 and 7.1.1.2, the grandparents in Australia also used substantially more Italian clauses and transfers to Italian with the grandchildren than with the parents. Thus, it seems that when the Italian-Australian grandparents were speaking to their grandchildren, they tried to produce as much Italian as possible. The higher incidence of morphological transfers from Veneto to Italian might be the result of this effort - despite the lower control on the insertion of Veneto inflections and items categorised in this transfer type (e.g. articles, pronouns, etc.) in the Italian-base clauses (see 5.2.3).[501]

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[500] As discussed in 7.2.2.3, the distribution of transfer types from Veneto to Italian in the speech pf the Italian-Australian grandchildren varied significantly from one recording session to the other. The vast majority of transfers from Veneto to Italian in their corpus occurred in the elicitation sessions.

[501] As already observed (7.2.1.1), in the same recording, the Italian-Australian grandparents also produced a small number of morphological transfers in the opposite direction (i.e. from Italian to Veneto), which however represented a relatively large proportion in their corpus of transfers in that direction for that recording. While the grandparents' production of clauses exhibiting transference and transfers increased substantially when they were addressing their grandchildren the relative frequency of transfers from Italian to

328

Phonic transfers accounted for comparable proportions of transfers from Veneto to Italian in the natural language of the grandparents and the parents (21.7% and 21.3%, respectively, i.e. the third- and second-most frequent types of transfers in this direction in these two groups of speakers).[502] However, when the grandparents were addressing the grandchildren, invariable transfers, which were completely absent in the previous conversation, occurred proportionately almost as frequently as lexical ones (16.3% and 17.3%). Furthermore, in the speech of the Italian-Australian grandparents, semantic transfers and morphosyntactic translations (virtually) only appeared, in relatively large proportions, when they were addressing the grandchildren (11.2% and 14.3%, respectively).

Thus, the Italian-Australian grandparents' production of semantic transfers and morphosyntactic translations, like that of morphological transfers above, seems to have been a function of the generation of their interlocutors and their differential control over the insertion of different parts of speech from Veneto into Italian. Among overt transfers (cf. 5.2), when the first-generation informants were speaking to their grandchildren rather than to the parents, only lexical transfers decreased. However, the Italian-Australian grandparents seemed less capable of inhibiting the insertion of Veneto invariable transfers and morphological transfers. The grandparents' larger production of covert transfers, such

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Veneto was lower (cf. 7.1.1.1). Nevertheless, morphological transfers from Italian to Veneto only appeared in this conversation and were totally absent in their speech in the conversation with the older interlocutors. Thus, they might also be the result of the grandparents' possible attempt to 'Italianise' their Veneto through the insertion of Italian variable function words and inflections in their clauses, which however had a Veneto base. According to this hypothesis, the distribution of morphological transfers between the two community languages in the speech of the grandparents indicates that in the vast majority of the instances they were successful in providing an Italian base for the clauses they addressed to their grandchildren. A similar hypothesis was formulated with regard to the variation in the relative frequency of morphological transfers from Veneto to Italian grandchildren between the two elicitation sessions among the Italian grandchildren (see 7.2.2.3).

[502] However, in the whole corpus of natural language virtually no phonic transfers occurred in the opposite direction, i.e. from Italian to Veneto (cf. 7.2.1.1). This is consistent with the occurrence of phonically integrated transfers between the two community languages. As discussed in 5.2.2.4, phonic transfers in a certain direction and phonically integrated lexical transfers in the opposite direction might result in the same forms. The findings suggest that there were more instances in which the possible influence of the Veneto phonological system on the Italian items used by the informants was *not* sufficient to 'convert' them into their Veneto equivalents, i.e. it actually resulted in phonic transference. Furthermore, there were more instances in which the informants' phonic integration of Italian lexical items into Veneto was *not* sufficient to 'convert' them into their Veneto equivalents, i.e. it actually resulted in phonic integration (cf. discussion in 5.2.1.3-4 and 'conversion' rules in 3.2.2.5). A comparable relative frequency of phonic and phonically integrated lexical transfers between the two languages was also found in the elicited language of the Italian grandchildren (see 7.2.2.3-4). The differential distribution of these transfer types in the two directions might be due to structural factors pertaining to the relative permeability of the lexicon of the two converging languages through 'conversion rules'. An analysis of these factors is beyond the scope of the present study. Because of the advanced level of koineisation of Italian dialects (especially in urban centres) 'Veneto' had to

329

as semantic transfers and morphosyntactic translations, might be interpreted as a successful attempt at producing items/phrases and constructions that exhibit Italian morphophonological surface material, however influenced by their Veneto.[503]

As already observed, some the characteristics resulting from transference from Veneto to Italian were typical of Veneto regional or popular (regional) Italian and have been found in the language of Veneto migrants in other countries (cf. 3.2.2.2-3, 3.3.3.1, 5.2.6, 7.1.1.4). The distribution of transfer types in this direction shows that the penetration of dialect features in Italian was more pervasive and more articulated when the first generation addressed the grandchildren than when they communicated with the parents. In the conversation with the youngest relatives, Veneto influenced the Italian of the grandparents in Australia not only through phonic and lexical transfers, but also invariable transfers and covert transfer types and more frequently through morphological transfers.

Thus, in comparison to the parents, the Italian-Australian grandchildren were addressed more in Italian, and in a more 'popularised' or 'regionalised' variety of it. As discussed in 3.1.6, the use of Italian with younger interlocutors is spreading in Veneto and the North-Eastern Italian regions. However, only migration to a new country seems to have sensitised the participants in this study to the supposed prestige of Italian as a language to be used with youngest relatives. Italian contributed only very few lexical items or phrases to the whole corpus of the Italian grandparents.

Some of items categorised as invariable and morphological transfers in the present study were included in what Sobrero (1988b) referred to as 'micro-structures' (see discussion in 3.2.2.5 and 3.2.5). Sobrero (1988b) found that such 'micro-structures' from the dialect were penetrating the regional Italian spoken in an urban centre in Salento in south-eastern Italy, thus contributing to a passage from conversational to vertical convergence (see discussion in 3.2.2.5 and 3.2.5). In the present corpus, the relative prominence of invariable and morphological transfers from Veneto to Italian, is consistent with the fluidity of the passage of these items in the direction observed by e.g. Sobrero (1988b).

be interpreted as encompassing phenomena which pertain to the Veneto regional koinè or to urban dialects when coding the data (see 5.2).

[503] This also reflected in the relative distribution of invariable, morphological, lexical and semantic transfers in the elicited language of the grandchildren in the two samples (see 7.2.2.3).

Invariable transfers were also relatively frequent among transfers from Italian to Veneto (see 7.2.1.1). However, the total proportion of transfers from Italian to Veneto was substantially smaller in the speech directed by the grandparents to the grandchildren than that of transfers from Veneto to Italian (cf. 7.1.1). Furthermore, the variation in the distribution of transfer types from Italian to Veneto between the groups of speakers in the two countries was not significant. That is, the distribution of different transfer types in that direction did not appreciably vary with the generation of the speakers or the interlocutors.

As already reported in 7.2.1.1, in Alfonzetti's corpus (1992a), items that in the present study would be categorised as invariable transfers, were much more frequently or exclusively inserted from Sicilian in sentences with an Italian base. That was also the case for determiners, which were only transferred from the dialect (Alfonzetti, 1992a:202). Alfonzetti (1992a:175) found that very frequently in the sentences in her corpus only the determiner in sentence-initial position was from the dialect and the rest of the items were in Italian. Despite her general principle that the base language was the language in which the sentence started, Alfonzetti (1992a:175-6) considered such sentences to have an Italian base.

7.2.1.3 Transfer types from English to Veneto

As discussed in 7.1.1.1, transfers from English to Veneto accounted for the largest proportion of transfers in the speech of the Italian-Australian grandparents when addressing the parents (40.8% - see Graph 13 below). While transference was more frequent in the conversation with the grandchildren and in the speech of the second and third generations (cf. 7.1.1), the proportion of transfers from English to Veneto gradually but substantially decreased. Among the parents, most transfers were also from English to Veneto (31.4%). However, when the grandparents were talking to the grandchildren, transfers to Italian, mostly from Veneto, were more frequent than those from English to Veneto (cf. 7.1.1.2). Transfers from English to Veneto represented a distant second-largest proportion of transfers in the natural language of the third-generation informants (18.8%), after transfers from English to Italian (56.3%).

Graph 13
Proportion of occurrences of transference from English to Veneto compared to the proportion of all clauses which exhibit transference in the natural language of the Italian-Australian informants
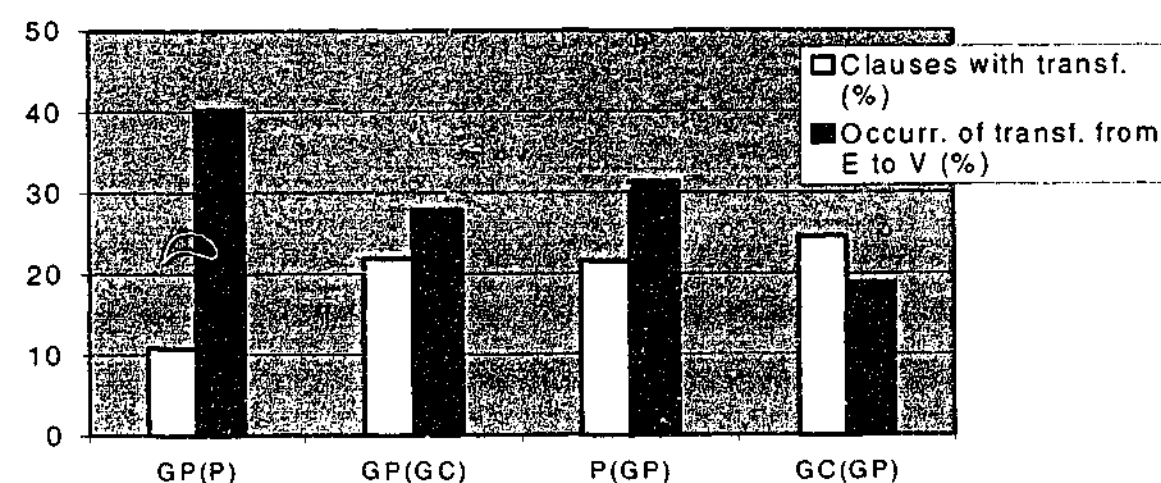
Phonically integrated lexical transfers accounted for the vast majority of all transfers from English to Veneto (41.7%), *semantic* ones for around a quarter of them (24.4%) and *phonic* ones for 8.3% (see Graph 14 below). Other types of transfers were represented in relatively comparable proportions, i.e. invariable transfers (6.5%), syntactic and morphologically integrated lexical transfers (5.4%). The variation between the types of transfers in this direction across the groups of informants was significant.

Like phonic transfers from English to Italian (see 7.2.1.4 below), phonic transfers from English to Veneto only occurred among the Italian-Australian parents and the grandchildren. Among the second-generation informants, however, phonic transfers were proportionately much less frequent than among the youngest-generation informants (12.2% vs. 38.1%, respectively; cf. 15.8% vs. 33.3% among transfers from English to Italian, respectively). Consistently, in the speech of the grandparents in Australia, lexical transfers from English to Veneto were always integrated phonically, both when they addressed their own children and their grandchildren.

Graph 14
Proportion of transfer types from English to Veneto in the natural language of the Italian Australian informants
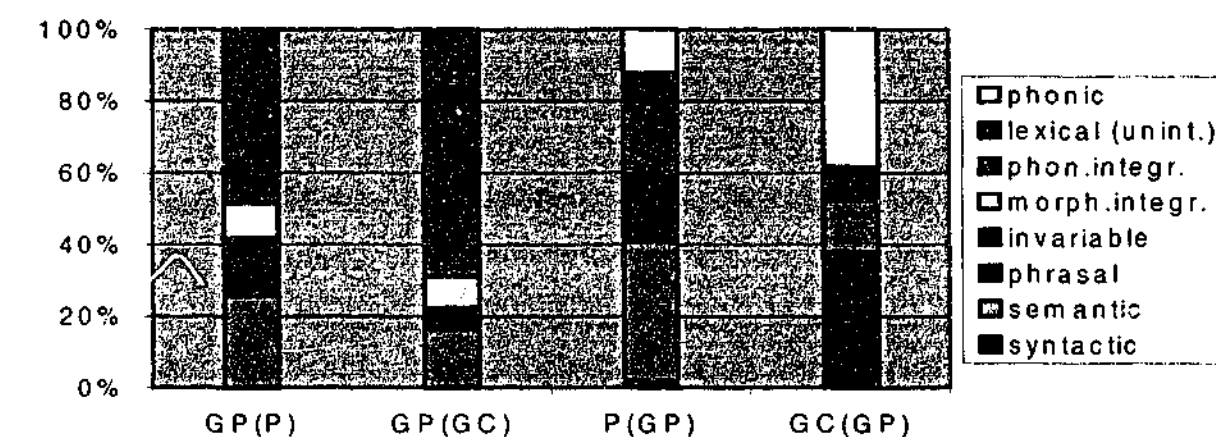
The above distribution reflects the expectations of the informants' relative command of the phonic systems of English and Veneto. Similar phenomena were found among first- and second-generation Veneto migrants in other English-speaking countries (see 5.2.1.1 and 3.2.3.1). However, among the second-generation informants in the present sample, phonically integrated items were also more frequent than those left unmodified (18.4% vs. 10.2% of their transfers from English to Veneto) and represented their second-largest proportion of transfers in this direction. Nevertheless, the participating parents had a native command of the English phonic system (cf. 4.4.2).

Therefore, the parents' phonic integration of English lexical items into their Veneto might be interpreted as a sign of their willingness to 'converge' (Giles et al., 1977) towards their own parents' language, of which phonic integration was a characteristic feature (cf. 2.1.2). Thus, phonically integrated lexical transfers from English seemed to be a feature of the natural Veneto spoken by the second-generation informants in this sample with the grandparents. In Grosjean's terms (1995, 2001) this could be described as a characteristic of the 'language mode' of the conversations of the parents with the older generation (cf. discussion in 2.1.2). In her Italian interview data, on the other hand, Bettoni (1981a:97) found that Italian-Australian speakers whose dominant language was English phonically

integrated only 29% of the English nouns that they transferred to Italian.[504] The nature of the data analysed might explain the difference in the results of the present study and Bettoni's (1981a) by. However, as discussed in 7.2.1.4 below, in the 'natural' *Italian* of the second-generation informants, no occurrence of phonically integrated lexical items from English were found. This was also the case for both the Veneto and the Italian of the third-generation informants when they were addressing their grandparents.[505]

Morphologically integrated items were much less frequent than phonically integrated ones in the grandparents' speech, in the conversation with both the parents and the grandchildren (9.7% and 9%), and totally disappeared in the speech of the second and third generations. Bettoni (1981a:97) also found that childhood bilinguals less frequently integrated English nouns morphologically than phonically.

As discussed in 7.1.1.1 above, while the first-generation informants produced more transfers when addressing the youngest interlocutors, the relative frequency of transfers from English to Veneto in their speech substantially decreased. Nevertheless, the percentage of phonically integrated English lexical transfers in Veneto-base clauses was considerably larger (68.7 vs. 48.4%, respectively). Moreover, both the grandparents and the parents in Australia produced large proportions of semantic transfers from English to Veneto when talking to each other (25.8 and 38.8%, respectively). In the corpus of the second-generation informants, semantic transfers were even more frequent than all lexical transfers, whether integrated or unintegrated (28.6%).

Thus, like phonic integration of English lexical items, semantic transference from English seemed a prominent characteristic of the natural Veneto, especially of the second generation in this sample. Both phonically integrated lexical transfers and semantic transfers from English might have been transmitted from the first to the second generation and consciously utilised in the latter to 'accommodate' for the speech of the older

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[504] While Bettoni's data (1981a) were collected via *interviews* conducted in *Italian*, when relevant they are compared to the present findings pertaining to transference from English to both the *Italian* and the *Veneto* the *natural* language of the informants (see 7.2.1.4). As Bettoni (1981a:99) observed, there was evidence that some of her informants habitually used their dialect as a family language and they were dominant in it. Thus, a comparison of Bettoni's findings (1981) is relevant here for a possible differentiation between natural and elicited language, as well as between Veneto and Italian as the recipient language for transference from English.

[505] However, instances in which English items presented phonic influence from Italian/Veneto were found in the elicited language of the grandchildren and were interpreted as an 'imitation' of the grandparents'

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interlocutors, i.e. via the 'imitation' of their English pronunciation or the translation of English items into their dominant language (cf. Giles et al., 1977, discussed in 2.1.2 and 2.4.1). Again, however, this was not found in the elicited Italian of Bettoni's informants in Northern Queensland (1981a:98), who very rarely transferred semantically. However, she also found that semantic transference was most frequent among those informants who were attempting to avoid the use of English (Bettoni, 1981a:99).[506]

Unlike the corpus of the second generation, the corpus of the first generation contained more phonically integrated transfers from English to Veneto than semantic ones. Moreover, the relative frequency of semantic transfers among transfers from English to Veneto was even lower when they were talking to the grandchildren rather than the parents (16.8% vs. 25.8%, respectively; cf. from 68.7% vs. 48.7%, respectively, for phonically integrated transfers). It seems, therefore, that the presence of the Italian-Australian grandchildren 'encouraged' their grandparents' production of phonically integrated English transfers in their Veneto, while it inhibited that of semantic ones.

The above distribution suggests that when talking to their youngest relatives, the grandparents in Australia might have attempted, or needed, to 'Anglicise' their Veneto. They seemed to have favoured the overt insertion of English lexical items vs. the covert 'translation' of English lexical items/phrases into forms that exhibit Veneto morpho-phonologically surface material. Thus, like phonic integration and semantic transference among the parents (discussed above), the grandparents' larger use of phonically integrated lexical transfers from English to Veneto might be the result of their 'accommodation' to their youngest interlocutors (cf. Giles et al., 1977, discussed in 2.1.2).[507]

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language, which resulted from the speakers' attempt to produce Italian/Veneto speech (see 5.2.1.1 and 5.2.2.4.1).

[506] Bettoni's (1981a:94) childhood bilinguals were found to produce substantially more 'multiple transfers', i.e. the "transference of two or more consecutive words" (Clyne, 1972:9; Bettoni, 1981a:54, 94). However, English phrasal transfers, which are partially comparable to 'multiple transfers', were very infrequent in both the Veneto and the Italian of the second-generation informants of the present study.

[507] As observed above (7.2.1.2), in the conversation with the parents and the grandchildren, respectively, the opposite variation was found in the corpus of the grandparents among semantic transfers from Veneto to Italian, as well as morphosyntactic translations, which virtually only appeared, and in substantial proportions, in the latter recording. As discussed below (7.2.2.4), furthermore, a substantial increase in semantic transfers from English to Veneto was found in the grandchildren's production in the Veneto elicitation session. In both cases, the production of these covert transfer types were interpreted as an attempt on the informants' part to produce Italian and Veneto, respectively, on the basis of their dominant language, i.e. Veneto and English, respectively.

Similarly, Rubino (1996) found that both the source language and the degree of integration of transfers were sensitive to the generation of the interlocutor of the Sicilian-Australian parent she studied. Rubino's informant (1996) transferred more frequently from English than from Sicilian and integrated to a lesser degree when speaking to her children than to her own father. The topics discussed in the conversation with the youngest-generation interlocutors in this study might also have contributed to the higher relative frequency of lexical transfers in the speech of the grandparents (see 4.5.1.3, 4.5.1.4.1 and Appendix E).

The Italian-Australian parents in the present sample inserted a relatively large proportion of English invariable words in their Veneto (14.3%, cf. 10.2% unintegrated and 18.4% phonically integrated). Invariable transfers in the speech of the second generation were relatively more frequent than in that of the first generation in the same conversation (9.7%, cf. 58.1% for phonically and morphologically integrated lexical transfers). As already discussed in 7.2.1.3 above, Bettoni (1981a) found that adverbs and prepositions accounted for as little as 1.5% of the English items transferred to Italian by her Italian-Australian informants. While percentages for other relevant parts of speech (e.g. numerals, conjugations, etc.) in Bettoni's (1981a) corpus are not available, the proportions of invariable transfers found in the present corpus, in particular in the second generation, are relatively large.

The findings suggest the natural Veneto spoken by the second generation in this sample might be relatively more permeable to English invariable transfers than the elicited Italian of Bettoni's informants (1981a). It is possible that the discussion of domestic topics with the first-generation relatives required the parents in the present study to resort less frequently to English lexical transfers than the participants in Bettoni's study (1981a), who were interviewed by the researcher. Thus, the relative prominence of invariable transfers in the speech of the participating parents found here might be due to the low incidence of lexical transfers. Furthermore, in this study only transfers that occurred in whole clauses were considered (see 5.1). This might have contributed to the lower incidence of lexical transfers. English invariable transfers represented a minimal proportion of the transfers from English in the Veneto of the grandparents in the conversation with the younger interlocutors (1.5%). In this recording, the grandparents produced a much larger proportion of integrated lexical transfers than in the conversation with the parents (68.7% vs. 48.4% -

see discussion above). Invariable transfers from English disappeared altogether in the natural Veneto of the third generation.[508]

Together with *phonic* transfers, *syntactic* transfers were the most frequent transfer type from English to Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (38.1% each type). However, the parents and the grandparents produced virtually no syntactic transfer in this direction. Lexical transfers from English to Veneto were always left unintegrated in the speech of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and were much less frequent than all lexical transfers in their older relatives' corpus (9.5%, cf. 28.6% in the second generation; 58.1% and 77.7% in the first generation). Lexical transfers from English to Veneto were the only overt transfers occurring in the grandchildren's natural Veneto and were completely absent in the Veneto narration (see 7.2.2.4).

As discussed in 7.2.2.4 below, the relative frequency of *semantic* transfers among the transfers from English to Veneto was substantially higher in the elicited language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren than in their natural language. Phonic integration of the transfer in this direction was completely absent in the natural corpus of the third generation and semantic transference was much less frequent than in that of the second generation. This suggests that those grandchildren in the sample who transferred to Veneto might have desired to signal their 'linguistic solidarity' to their grandparents in a different way from their parents, i.e. by keeping their Veneto speech more clearly 'separate' from English (cf. discussion above). It is also possible that, unlike their first-generation relatives, the younger speakers wanted to signal their awareness of the English origin of the transferred items.

7.2.1.4 Transfer types from English to Italian

Transfers from English to Italian were the least frequent among the Italian-Australian grandparents and parents (see 7.1.1.2). As shown on Graph 15, the percentage of transfers in this direction increased slightly in the speech of first generation, when addressing the youngest relatives, and in the speech of the second generation. The total incidence of transference increased only minimally in the natural language of the third generation

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[508] As observed in 6.3, the larger proportion of 'transference-free' speech in Veneto of the grandchildren in the natural conversation, compared to the Veneto narration, might have been due to their familiarity with the lexical domains drawn upon to discuss topics that were chosen 'freely', rather than imposed by the picture book from which the grandchildren narrated (see 4.5.1.3).

compared to that of the second (see 7.1.1). However, transfers from English to Italian were more than four times as frequent in the youngest generation. Transfers from English to Italian represented more than 50% of the transfers produced by the third-generation informants in the natural conversation.

Graph 15
Proportion of occurrences of transference from English to Italian compared to the proportion of all clauses which exhibit transference in the natural language of the Italian-Australian informants
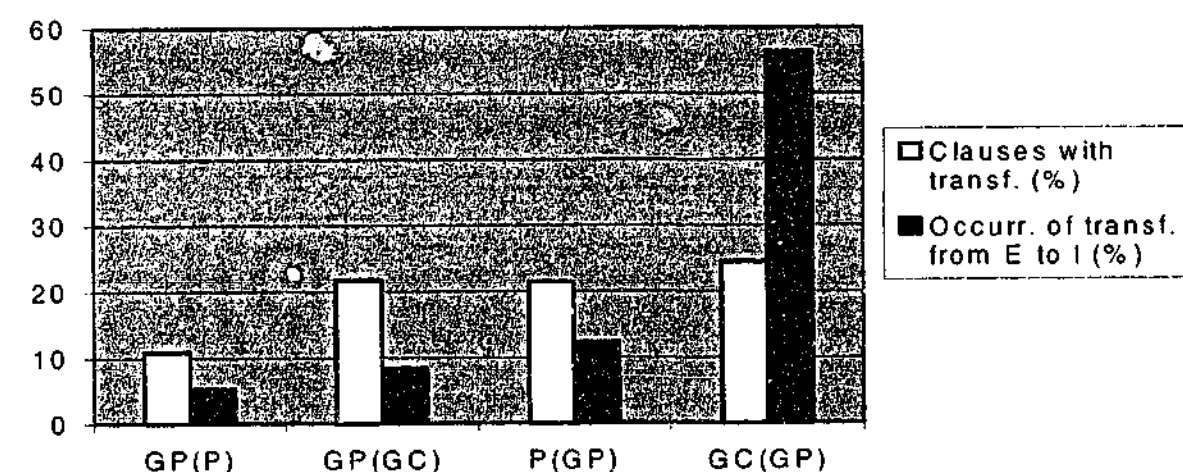
Most transfers from English to Italian in the natural language corpus were *semantic* (31.1%). *Phonic* and *unintegrated lexical* transfers were also very frequent (22.6 and 20.8%).[509] As observed in 7.2.1.3, this contrasts with the distribution among transfers from English to Veneto, which were mostly produced by older-generation informants and were for the vast majority phonically integrated lexical transfers. The variation between the types of transfers from English to Italian in the natural language across the generations was significant. Graph 16 shows the relative frequency of transfer types from English to Italian in the natural speech of different groups of informants in Australia.

Transfers from English to Italian in the speech of the Italian-Australian grandparents when addressing the parents were extremely few (cf. 7.1.1.2). Transfers from English to Italian in the speech of these informants in the conversation with the youngest interlocutors were

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[509] As discussed below (7.2.2.1), phonic, semantic and unintegrated lexical transfers were also the three major types of transfers from English to Italian in the corpus of the grandchildren. No significant variation was found in the distribution of types of transfers from English to Italian over the three recordings.

338

substantially more frequent and were mainly semantic (45%). Phonically integrated lexical transfers were more common than other types (20%).[510] However, as discussed above (7.2.1.3), among the transfers from English *to Veneto* in the grandparents' speech, semantic transfers occurred much less frequently than phonically integrated ones. Furthermore, when addressing the grandchildren, the relative frequency of phonically integrated transfers from English to Veneto substantially increased and that of semantic ones decreased.

Graph 16
Proportion of transfer types from English to Italian in the natural language in the extended family
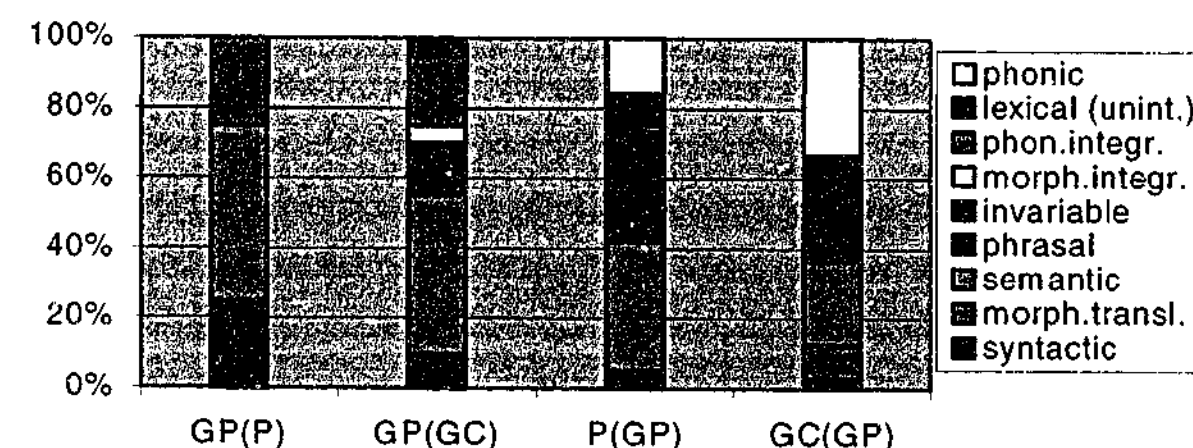
These findings seem to indicate that in comparison to Veneto, the Italian directed to the youngest relatives by the Italian-Australian grandparents was proportionately less influenced by English via semantic transfers than integrated lexical ones. Thus, the grandparents seemed more reluctant to insert overtly English items in their Italian than they were in their Veneto. Therefore, the Veneto of the first generation was proportionately more heavily influenced by English than Italian. Their Veneto was also proportionately more influenced by English through overt transfer types than covert ones. This might have been due to various factors, including a differential awareness of the meaning transferred in relation to Italian and Veneto or the willingness to signal the knowledge of the provenance of the English items. In the corpus of the grandparents in the conversation with the youngest interlocutors, the same variation was observed for transfers between the

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[510] Only one English unintegrated lexical item occurred in the grandparents corpus and was discussed in

339

community languages (see 7.2.1.1-2). Semantic transfers from Veneto to Italian occurred in relatively large proportions, to the disadvantage of lexical ones, when the first-generation informants were addressing the grandchildren, but very infrequently in the conversation with the parents or in the opposite direction.

It seems, therefore, that first-generation informants were more prone to transfer overtly lexical material to their Veneto than to their Italian from both source language. Furthermore, while they phonically integrated all their English lexical transfers, i.e. whether to Italian or to Veneto, they morphologically integrated only those to Veneto. While some morphologically integrated lexical transfers from English occurred in the older informants' Veneto, they were virtually absent in the Italian of all generations. As discussed in 7.2.1.3, phonically integrated lexical transfers from English to Veneto were more frequent than those left unintegrated even in the second generation. Second-generation informants phonically integrated only the English lexical transfers to Veneto, but never to Italian. Thus, the Italian of both the grandparents and parents seemed less permeable to English lexical items and to their integration into its phonic and morphological systems than their Veneto was.

The Italian to which the second-generation informants were exposed in the natural conversation with the grandparents contained very few transfers from English and only one phonically integrated lexical transfer. Thus, phonically integrated lexical transfers did not seem to be a characteristic of the Italian spoken by the first generation informants in the present sample. It is possible, therefore, that the second-generation informants, who inserted more English lexical transfers in their Italian than their own parents, might not have felt the 'need' to integrate them phonically to signal their linguistic solidarity with them.[511]

As observed above (7.2.1.3), in comparison with the Italian interview data Bettoni (1981a) collected among Italian migrants in Northern Queensland, in the present corpus a much

5.2.2.1.

[511] Neither the parents nor the grandchildren morphologically integrated their English lexical transfers, whether to Italian or to Veneto. Various factors might have motivated the preference of the younger-generation informants for morphologically unintegrated English transfers, e.g. their greater awareness of the origin of the items, their greater awareness of the morphologically integrated English transfers occurring in the grandparents' Italian input and their willingness to signal this awareness. Their negative attitude towards 'mixing' the two languages, their lack of the language skills that were necessary to provide the item with the Italian/Veneto morphological inflections or their different communicative needs might also be relevant factors (cf. 2.3.1).

higher incidence of semantic transference was found in proportion to lexical ones. These findings seem to indicate that lexical transfers from English to Italian, whether unintegrated or integrated, might be predominant in the Italian of speakers who, like some of her informants, do not normally use it in the family. However, Bettoni (1981a:95) found that those informants who tried harder to speak in (regional) Italian during the interview (despite their habitual use of the dialect in the family) and to avoid both the dialect and English, transferred semantically from English much more frequently than others. The same process might explain the emergence of semantic transfers from English in the Italian of the grandparents in this sample in the conversation with the grandchildren, with whom the older speakers tried to use more frequently in Italian (cf. 6.3.1 and 7.2.1.2). While the topics discussed when conversing with the youngest relatives might have 'elicited' a larger production of English items, the grandparents seemed to be willing to 'translate' them more frequently into their Italian than their Veneto (cf. 7.2.1.3).

Semantic transference was also the most recurrent transfer type from English to Italian among the Italian-Australian parents (36.8%). Unintegrated lexical transfers, however, were equally frequent (36.8%). Among the youngest-generation informants, the proportions of semantic and unintegrated lexical transfers were also large and comparable (23.8% and 22.2%, respectively). The Italian input received from their older relatives might have contributed to the relative high frequency of 'translated' English items/phrases. Thus, the third-generation informants might have accepted such forms as part of the Italian language, despite the Italian formal instruction they had received or were receiving at school (cf. Clyne, 1967:100 – see 2.4.1 and 4.4.10). It is also possible, however, that the grandchildren were aware of the English origin of the semantic transfers but chose to use them to 'converge' to their grandparents' language (cf. Giles, 1977, 2.1.2 and 7.2.1.3).

However, morphosyntactic translations from English to Italian were only produced by the grandchildren. Thus, there was also and indication of a relatively 'creative' utilisation of Italian morpho-phonological surface material to reproduce the morphosyntactic patterns of the dominant language (see description in 5.2.6). Nevertheless, among transfers from English to Veneto, this transfer type only occurred in the grandchildren's elicited language. As observed above, both lexical and semantic transfers from English to Veneto in their natural language were relatively infrequent (cf. 7.2.1.3).

Phonically integrated lexical transfers from English to Italian were infrequent among the grandparents and disappeared completely among both the parents and the grandchildren. On the other hand, in the speech of the second generation there were very few occurrences of phonic transference (15.8%), which was completely absent among the grandparents. In the natural language of the third-generation informants, phonic transfers accounted for the largest proportion of transfers from English to Italian (33.3%). A similar variation was found between the parents and the grandchildren in the distribution of phonic transfers from English to Veneto (12.2% and 28.1%, respectively – cf. 7.2.1.3). The distribution of phonically integrated lexical transfers, unintegrated and phonic ones is consistent with the informants' expected relative control of the phonic systems of the three languages.

7.2.1.5 Transfer types to English

While the relatively frequency of clauses entirely in English in the natural language of the different generations varied widely, transfers to English were rare among all participants (cf. 7.1.1.3 and Graph 17 below). No transfers from Veneto to English occurred in the natural language of the parents.

Transfers from Italian to English were scattered in minimal proportions in various transfer types (see Graph 18). However, in the speech of the first-generation informants, when they were addressing their grandchildren, there was a higher concentration of phonic transfers from Italian, which occurred in all their English-base clauses.[512] In the rest of the corpus, all transfers to English except one were found at the lexical/phrasal level, i.e. lexical, invariable and phrasal transfers. This distribution suggests that in the very few instances in which the grandparents used English as a family language, it was phonically influenced by Italian/Veneto. When the parents did so, however, they inserted lexical items from Italian/Veneto. The grandchildren, whose natural language contained a large proportion of speech entirely in English, also very infrequently transferred lexical items/phrases from Italian/Veneto to English. Italian/Veneto lexical transfers in the English of the third generation were left unintegrated, as they were part of a well-rehearsed repertoire of 'domestic' terms (kinship, food, etc – see 5.2.2.2).[513]

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[512] As explained in 5.2.1.2, all phonic transfers to English were coded as having an Italian source.
[513] Data pertaining to transfer types from Veneto to English are reported in Table H.16.

Graph 17
Proportion of occurrences of transference from Italian to English compared to the proportion of all clauses which exhibit transference in the natural language of the Italian-Australian informants

Graph 18
Proportion of transfer types from Italian to English in the natural language of the Italian Australian informants

7.2.1.6 Summary

Veneto, the predominant family language in all generations but the youngest in Australia, was proportionately less permeable to transference from any source as well as to transference from the other community language than Italian was. The proportions of transfers from Italian to Veneto in the two countries differed widely. They were substantially smaller among the Italian-Australian informants, in particular the third-generation ones. However, the variation in the relative distribution of transfer types in this direction between *all* groups of speakers was *not* significant. Italian exerted its influence on the informants' Veneto mainly at the lexical level, i.e. through *lexical* and *invariable* transfers. Transference of whole *phrases* and *syntactic* patterns was less frequent. However, in this direction, the grandchildren in Australia only produced lexical and *syntactic* transfers, i.e. all other transfer types from Italian to Veneto, including invariable ones, were completely absent in their speech.

The influence of Veneto on the informants' Italian, through *lexical, morphological, phonic* and *invariable* transfers (listed here in descending order of relative frequency), was stronger and more diversified than that of Italian on Veneto. *Semantic* and *syntactic* transfers and *morphosyntactic* translations were also relatively frequent. However, transfers from Veneto to Italian occurred predominantly among the grandparents and the parents in the new country. In terms of *lexical, phonic* and *syntactic* transfers, the impact of Veneto on the Italian of the grandparents (in the conversations with both relatives) and of the parents was relatively similar. However, *invariable, morphological, semantic* transfers as well as *morphosyntactic translations* from Veneto to Italian were only or predominantly produced by the grandparents in response to the presence of their grandchildren.

The Italian to which the Italian-Australian grandchildren were exposed in the conversation with the grandparents was relatively more 'dialectalised' than the Italian addressed to the parents. Among the overt transfers from Veneto in the Italian used by the grandparents in Australia to address their grandchildren, invariable transfers (e.g. prepositions, conjunctions, etc.) were almost as frequent as lexical transfers (e.g. nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc.). Morphological transfers (e.g. articles, pronouns, inflections, etc.) were even more frequent than both lexical and invariable. The prominence of the parts of speech here categorised as invariable and morphological transfers from Veneto in Italian-base clauses is relatively consistent with scholars' description of regional or popular regional

344

Italian as spoken in the Veneto region and the findings of studies of codeswitching between Italian and other dialects in Italy (e.g. Alfonzetti, 1992a; Sobrero, 1988b; cf. 3.1.2.2-3).[514] Although articulated at the same linguistic levels, the influence of the 'popular' or 'regional' basis on their grandchildren's Italian was considerably weakened. Among the grandchildren in Italy, furthermore, transfers from Veneto to Italian were very few and either lexical or syntactic.

While among all informants in Australia, Italian was proportionately more vulnerable to transference than Veneto, the Italian of the grandparents and parents was much less 'Anglicised' than their Veneto. The Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren was also relatively more influenced by English than by the other community language. English influenced the Veneto of the older Italian-Australian informants predominantly through *lexical* transfers that were *integrated phonically* (even in the second generation) and *semantic* transfers. Despite the decrease in the relative frequency of all transfers from English to Veneto among the grandparents when talking to the younger relatives, phonically integrated ones were proportionately more frequent. In contrast, semantic transfers were fewer. This indicated a possible 'attempt' or 'need' on the part of the Italian-Australian grandparents to 'Anglicise' the Veneto they used to address to their grandchildren, through overt lexical transfer types.

Among the parents in Australia, semantic transfers from English to Veneto were even more frequent than lexical ones. Among the latter, those phonically integrated were more frequent than those left unmodified, despite the speakers' native control of the phonic system of the dominant language. Thus, phonic integration and semantic transference might also have been used in the second generation for 'accommodation' purposes (cf. Giles, 1977, discussed in 2.1.2 and 2.4.1).

A further characteristic which distinguished the 'natural' Veneto of the Italian-Australian parents from that of the grandparents as well as the 'elicited' Italian of migrants in other studies (cf. Bettoni, 1981) was the proportionately high frequency of English invariable transfers. However, phonic integration, lexical transfers as well as invariable and semantic ones completely disappeared or dropped substantially in the Veneto of the grandchildren, which was fundamentally influenced by English at the *phonic* and *syntactic* levels. Thus, in

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[514] As discussed in 5.2.1.3-4, only 'popular' features with a dialect basis were coded as transfers from Veneto to Italian.

345

the third generation there was a certain movement towards syntactic transference from both Italian and English to Veneto, which was (virtually) absent among the older speakers. The Veneto of the grandchildren was both less 'Italianised' and less 'Anglicised' than that of their older relatives.

The Italian of the grandparents and the parents seemed less permeable to English than their Veneto. Moreover, the older speakers appeared to keep English lexical material more clearly separate from their Italian than from their Veneto, i.e. by leaving it always unintegrated at the phonic level (in the second generation) and virtually always at the morphological level (in both generations). Furthermore, covert transference of English lexical items/phrases to Italian was more frequent or as frequent as overt transference in *all* Italian-Australian groups, rather than only in the second and third generations, as observed among transfers from English to Veneto.

This seemed to be a feature distinguishing the Italian chosen as a family language by the Italian-Australian informants in this sample from the 'elicited' Italian produced by participants in interview-based projects (cf. Bettoni, 1981a). In comparison to their parents, the grandchildren in Australia were exposed to a variety of Veneto that was proportionately more influenced by English through overt transference of lexical material. The variety of Italian used by the grandparents in the conversation with the grandchildren was more 'dialectalised' and slightly more 'Anglicised', but mainly through covert types of transference. English influence on the Italian of the grandchildren was more pervasive than on the Italian of their older relatives and much stronger at the phonic level.

English was the recipient language of very few transfers. The pronunciation of the English-base clauses the grandparents produced (almost exclusively to address their grandchildren) was influenced by their Italian/Veneto. Informants in the younger generations only occasionally inserted some items/phrases from Veneto and/or Italian in their English-base clauses, leaving them unintegrated.

7.2.2 Transfer types in the natural and elicited language of the grandchildren

In this section, types of transfers occurring in the grandchildren's natural language are compared to those occurring in their elicited language.

As discussed in 6.3 and 7.1.2, in both narrations the incidence of transference in the language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren was comparable (around 56% of their clauses – see also Table 39). Transfers to Italian, mostly from English, accounted for the vast majority of their transfers in both the Italian and in the Veneto elicitation task (79.8% and 72.8%, respectively). However, the elicitation of Veneto resulted in the production of a substantially larger proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto (13.4% vs. 0.4%) and a relatively smaller proportion of Italian ones (12.8% vs. 19.4%). Among transfers to Italian, those from an English source were less frequent in the Veneto narration than the Italian narration (43.1% vs. 51.5%) and all transfers to Veneto were more frequent (26.2% vs. 11.6%).

The vast majority of all the transfers in the entire corpus of the grandchildren in the Italian control group occurred in the Veneto narration and were mostly to Veneto. The proportion of clauses entirely in Italian that the grandchildren in Italy produced in the Italian elicitation task (74.4%) was considerably larger than the proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto that they produced when Veneto was elicited (28.1%).

Transference was less frequent when the Italian-Australian grandchildren addressed their grandparents than when they performed the elicitation tasks and the total proportion of clauses in the two community languages was larger (see 6.3 and 7.1.2). This was also the case in the Italian sample, however only in comparison to the Veneto narration. Among the transfers *to Italian* occurring in the language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren, only those from Veneto were proportionately less frequent in the natural conversation than in the narration. The reverse was true of the proportions of transfers from Italian *to Veneto*, which was smaller in the natural conversation than in the Veneto narration. The proportion of transfers from English to Veneto was larger when the grandchildren addressed their grandparents than when they were narrating in Veneto.

In the corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren, transfers *from English to Italian* accounted for more occurrences than any other direction within the three major types of transfers, i.e. phonic, lexical and semantic transfers (see Graph 19 and Table 41). *Phonic*

transfers from English to Italian represented the largest proportion of *all* the transfers produced by the third-generation informants (19.8%). *Semantic* and *lexical* transfers from English to Italian accounted for the second- and third-largest proportions (9.8% and 7.9%, respectively). Lexical and semantic transfers from *Veneto to Italian* followed (7.2% and 5.9%, respectively). Lexical transfers from *Italian to Veneto* were relatively frequent (5.1%). English *invariable* words inserted in Italian-base clauses also had a relatively high incidence (4.1%). Syntactic transfers from Italian to Veneto represented 4.7% of all the transfers in the corpus. Finally, 4.1% of all transfers in the Italian-Australian grandchildren's corpus were English invariable words occurring in Italian-base clauses.

However, as shown on Graph 20, just two types of transfers from *Italian to Veneto*, i.e. *lexical* and *syntactic* transfers, accounted for more than half of all transfers produced by the grandchildren in the Italian control group (36.6% and 17.8%, respectively). Lexical transfers from Veneto to Italian followed (9.4% - see also Table 42).

As in section 7.2.1 above, the discussion below focuses on the relative frequency of transfer types within each direction. Where significant, the variation in the incidence of different transfer types in the three recordings is discussed, i.e. among transfers from English to Italian, from Italian to Veneto and from Veneto to English. Furthermore, where relevant, comparisons with the frequency of transfer types in the grandchildren's entire corpus are made (cf. Graphs 19 and 20 above). [515]

The subsections below (7.2.2.1-5) present the findings pertaining to the incidence of the types of transfers within each of the six directions in the corpus of the youngest speakers. The discussion follows the order of relative frequency of transference in the six directions in the Italian-Australian grandchildren's natural language (see 7.1.2), i.e. from English to Italian and Veneto (7.2.2.1-2), from Veneto to Italian and vice versa (7.2.2.3-4), from Italian and Veneto to English (7.2.2.5). The distribution of types of transfers in the two relevant directions in the control group in Italy is also discussed.

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[515] Tables and chi-square tests relating to the data discussed in the present section are reported in Appendix H.

Graph 20
Frequency of transfer types in the different directions in the entire corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (see Table 41)
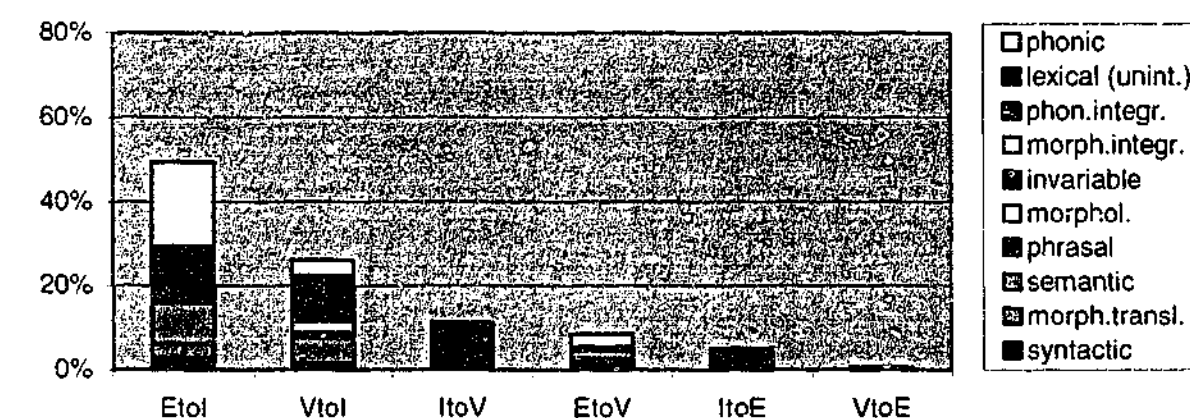
Graph 19
Frequency of transfer types in the different direction in the entire corpus of the Italian grandchildren (see Table 42)
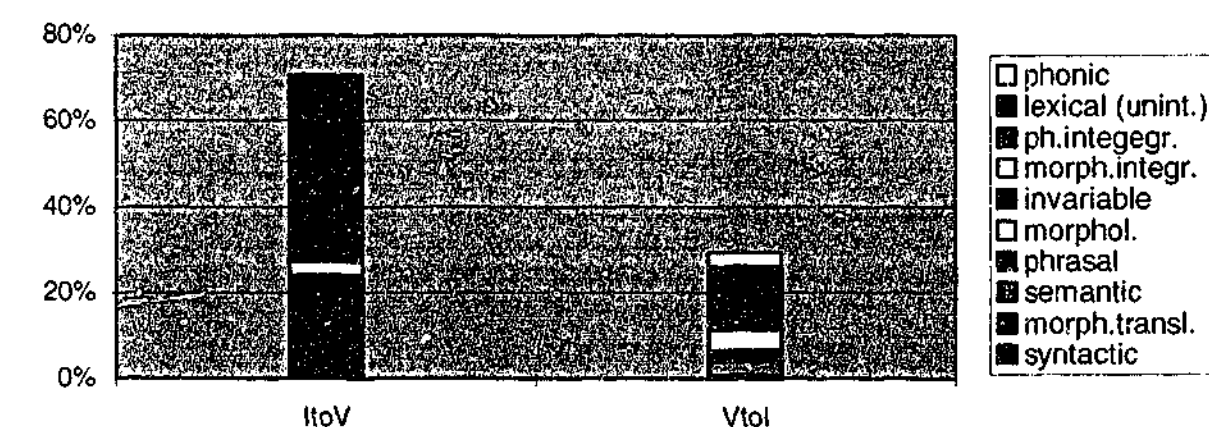
Table 41 Frequency of transfer types in the different language directions in the entire corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (see Graph 19)

Transfer Type		Direction						Total
		ItoV	EtoV	VtoI	EtoI	VtoE	ItoE	
phonic	count	2	22	27	151		1	203
	%	.3	2.9	3.5	19.8		.1	26.6
lexical (unint.)	count	39	4	55	60	4	18	180
	%	5.1	.5	7.2	7.9	.5	2.4	23.6
phon.integr.	count	1		2	1		4	8
	%	.1		.3	.1		.5	1.0
morph.integr.	count	2		6				8
	%	.3		.8				1.0
invariable	count	1	2	21	31		3	58
	%	.1	.3	2.8	4.1		.4	7.6
morphol.	count	1		19	5			25
	%	.1		2.5	.7			3.3
phrasal	count	2	1	11	5	1	12	32
	%	.3	.1	1.4	.7	.1	1.6	4.2
semantic	count		16	45	75			136
	%		2.1	5.9	9.8			17.8
morph.transl.	count		7	3	25			35
	%		.9	.4	3.3			4.6
syntactic	count	36	12	9	21			78
	%	4.7	1.6	1.2	2.8			10.2
Total	count	84	64	198	374	5	38	763
	%	11.0	8.4	26.0	49.0	.7	5.0	100.0

Table 42 Frequency of transfer types in the different language directions in the entire corpus of the Italian grandchildren (see Graph 20)

Transfer Type		Direction		Total
		ItoV	VtoI	
phonic	count	2	9	11
	%	.7	3.1	3.8
lexical (unint.)	count	105	27	132
	%	36.6	9.4	46.0
phon.integr.	count	3		3
	%	1.0		1.0
morph.integr.	count	2		2
	%	.7		.7
invariable	count	13	15	28
	%	4.5	5.2	9.8
morphol.	count	9	14	23
	%	3.1	4.9	8.0
phrasal	count	15	7	22
	%	5.2	2.4	7.7
semantic	count	2	10	12
	%	.7	3.5	4.2
morph.transl.	count	1		1
	%	.3		.3
syntactic	count	51	2	53
	%	17.8	.7	18.5
Total	count	203	84	287
	%	70.7	29.3	100.0

7.2.2.1 Transfer types from English to Italian

As discussed in 7.1.1.4, only transfers from English to Italian exhibited an increasing proportion across the generations in Australia. Transfers from English to Italian were very infrequent among the grandparents and rose dramatically in the third generation. Transference in the speech of Italian-Australian grandchildren in the two narrations was substantially more frequent than in the natural conversation. However, most of the transfers in all three recordings were from English to Italian (cf. Graph 21). In the natural conversation and in the Italian narration transfers from English to Italian claimed a larger proportion than in the Veneto narration (56.3% and 51.5% vs. 43.1%, respectively).

Graph 21
Proportion of occurrences of transference from English to Italian compared to the proportion of all clauses which exhibit transference in the language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the Italian narration, the Veneto narration and the natural conversation with the grandparents
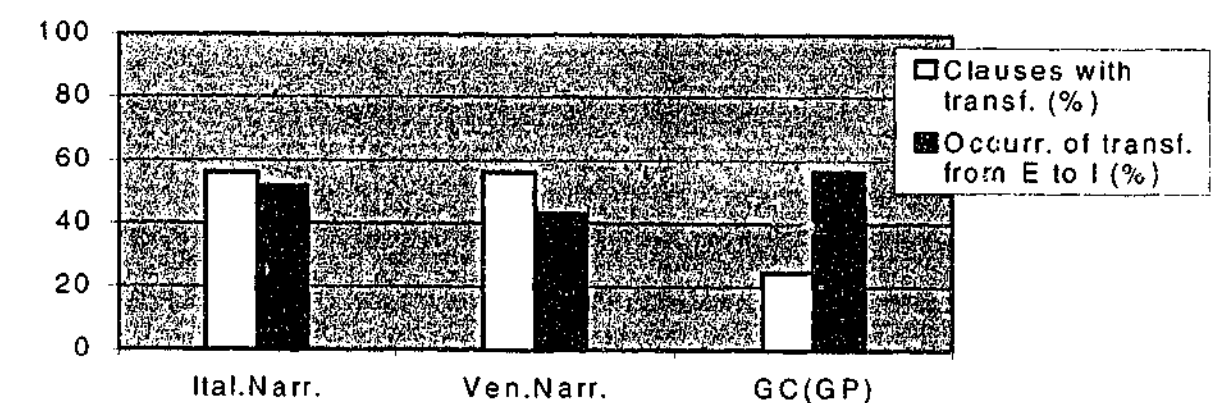
Variation in the distribution of transfer types in this direction over the three recordings, shown in Graph 22 below, was *not* significant. Thus, transfers from English seemed to influence at the same linguistic levels the Italian produced by the third-generation informants in the two elicitation sessions as well as the natural conversation. Moreover, as discussed in 7.1.2, transference from English seemed to occur in similar proportions in the Italian of the grandchildren regardless of the community language that was being elicited (7.2.1.4).[516] Transfers from English to Italian in the entire corpus of third generation

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[516] Since the variation in the incidence of different transfer types from English to Italian in the three recordings was not significant, the discussion in the present subsection considers the proportion represented

informants were mostly *phonic* transfers (40.4%), followed by *semantic* and *lexical* transfers (20.1% and 16%, respectively). *Invariable* transfers from English to Italian (8.3%) accounted for a larger proportion than *morphosyntactic translations* (6.7%). Integrated lexical transfers were (virtually) absent.

Graph 22
Proportion of transfer types from English to Italian in the language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the Italian narration, the Veneto narration and the natural conversation with the grandparents
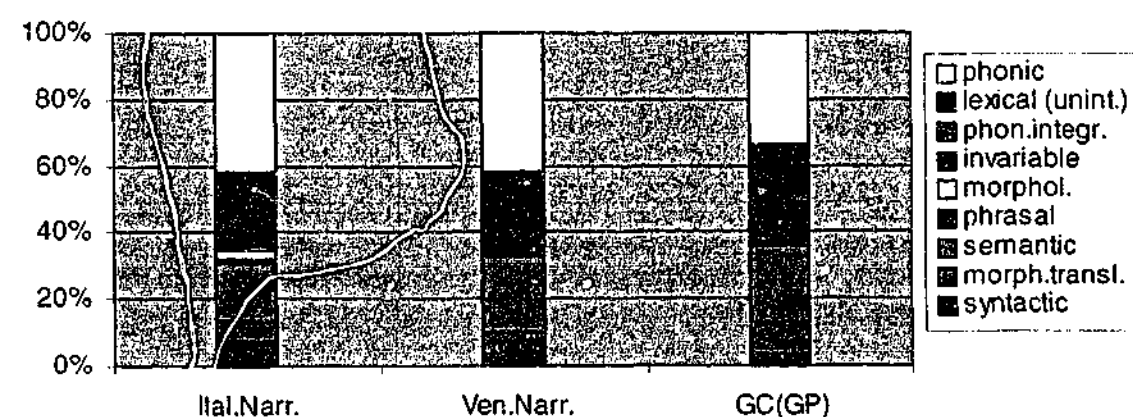
Phonic transfers represented the largest proportion of all transfers from English to Italian (40.4%), i.e. substantially larger one than for lexical ones (16%). Considering the generation of the informants and their lesser control of the Italian phonic system, the predominance of phonic transfers over lexical transfers in this direction is not surprising. The most frequent type of transfer from English to the other community language was also phonic (34.4%, see 7.2.2.2 below). However, considering the proportion of 'transference-free' speech in the two community languages in their corpus, their Italian was more vulnerable to English phonic influences than their Veneto. Phonic transfers from English also appeared in the 'natural' Italian and Veneto of the parents (cf. 7.2.1.3-4 above).

Unlike *semantic* transfers between the community languages, semantic transfers from English to Italian (20.1%) in the language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren were more frequent than lexical ones (16.7%). As observed in 7.2.1.4, this was also the case in

by each type of transfer from English to Italian in the entire corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (cf. graph 20 and Table H.7).

the natural language of their older relatives. It is possible that the older generation had passed English semantic transfers on to the younger speakers, who might have acquired them as part of the Italian language (cf. Clyne, 1967:100 - see 2.4.1). However, semantic transference could also be a conscious, rather sophisticated strategy employed by the younger informants in Australia in their attempt to produce the elicited community language. Among the transfers from English to Italian, the predominance of semantic transfers over lexical transfers (20.1% vs. 16.7%, respectively) was less evident than among those from English to Veneto (25% vs. 7.9%, respectively – see 7.2.2.2 below). From this point of view, the Italian-Australian grandchidlren appeared to be relatively more capable of reproducing English items/phrases utilising Veneto rather than Italian morpho-phonological material. However, the use of overt rather than covert transference might also have been a conscious choice through which the speakers signalled their awareness of the source of lexical material used.

Compared to lexical transfers, *invariable* transfers from English to Italian in the speech of the third generation were relatively frequent (16.3% and 8.3%, respectively). Invariable transfers from Veneto occurring in the grandchildren's Italian-base clauses were relatively more frequent than invariable transfers from English (10.6% vs. 8.3%). As discussed above (7.2.1.2-3), a substantial proportion of English invariable words occurred in the Veneto-base clauses produced by the parents. However, invariable transfers from English were very infrequent in the older speakers' Italian as well as in the grandchildren's Veneto (cf. 7.2.2.2)

Of all the transfers from English to Italian in the grandchildren's corpus, 6.7% were *morphosyntactic translations*. Among all the transfers from Veneto to Italian, however, this type of transfer accounted for a much smaller proportion (1.5%, see 7.2.2.3 below). Therefore, the third-generation informants 'translated' morphosyntactic constructions more frequently from English than from Veneto into their Italian. While their older relatives' natural language contained large proportions of English items/phrases that were transferred semantically to Italian, it did not contain any instance of morphosyntactic translations in the same direction. Vice versa, the Italian-Australian grandparents produced a substantial proportion of morphosyntactic translations *from Veneto* to Italian when they addressed their grandchildren. Thus, morphosyntactic translations in the grandchildren's corpus seemed to have resulted from their own creative utilisation of Italian linguistic material. As

observed in 5.2.6, similar phenomena were also found in the interlanguage of second language learners. However, morphosyntactic translations from English to Veneto were relatively more frequent than to the other community language (10.9 vs. 6.7%, see 7.2.2.2 below). Thus, the grandchildren's Veneto seemed proportionately more permeable to this type of transfer from English than their Italian.

Morphological transfers from English, which only included definite articles and pronouns (cf. 5.2.2.1), were rare in the grandchildren's Italian-base clauses (1.3%) and completely absent in their Veneto-base ones. As noted in 5.3.3, in the elicitation sessions, Italian/Veneto pronouns were frequently avoided, through overuse of full nominal forms and both pronouns and definite articles were omitted or occurred as other 'non-standard forms' rather than 'transfers'. Morphological transfers from Veneto in the Italian of the third-generation informants also included some verbal inflections and were more frequent than morphological transfers from English (9.6% - see discussion in 7.2.2.3 below).

Syntactic transfers represented a small proportion of transfers from English to Italian in the language of the third generation (5.6%) but a substantially larger proportion of the transfers from English to the other community language (18.8% - see 7.2.2.2 below). Syntactic transference from English to the two community languages involved the rearrangement of word order or the insertion of an (emphatic) third-person subject pronoun (see 5.2.7). One possible explanation for the relatively smaller proportion of syntactic transfers among transfers from English to Italian (than to Veneto) is that the omission of the subject pronoun, as required by the Italian morphosyntax, might have been easier to 'learn' than the selection of a clitic one, as required by Veneto subject pronoun patterns.[517]

7.2.2.2 Transfer types from English to Veneto

Most of the transfers to Veneto in the speech of the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the two elicitation sessions were from Italian rather than from English (8% vs. 3.6% in the Italian narration; 15.9% vs. 10.3% in the Veneto narration - see 7.1.2). The relative

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[517] As discussed in 5.2.7, the insertion of a subject pronoun in Italian-base clauses, which in standard Italian would generally be used for emphasis or disambiguation purposes, could be interpreted as a syntactic transfer both from English and from Veneto. In these instances, a transfer from Veneto rather than from English was coded only if there was some evidence that the informant was unlikely to have been influenced by the English subject pronoun system. Among transfers to Italian, the relative frequency of syntactic transfers from a Veneto source was also low (4.5%). Syntactic transfers from Italian to Veneto, which resulted in the omission of the obligatory subject clitic pronoun, were much more frequent than syntactic transfers from English to Veneto.

frequency of transfers to Veneto from both source languages increased when Veneto rather than Italian was elicited. The total incidence of transference in the speech of the third generation in the conversation with the grandparents was much lower than in the narration (see Graph 23 and 7.1.1.). However, unlike transfers from Italian to Veneto, transfers from English to Veneto were proportionately more frequent in the natural conversation (18.8%) than in either the Italian narration (3.6%) or the Veneto narration (10.3%). While transference occurring in the natural language increased across the generations in the Italian-Australian sample (cf. 7.1.1), the relative frequency of transfers from English to Veneto decreased substantially, although the Veneto of all informants was more influenced by English than by Italian.

Graph 23
Proportion of occurrences of transference from English to Veneto compared to the proportion of all clauses which exhibit transference in the language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the Italian narration, the Veneto narration and the natural conversation with the grandparents
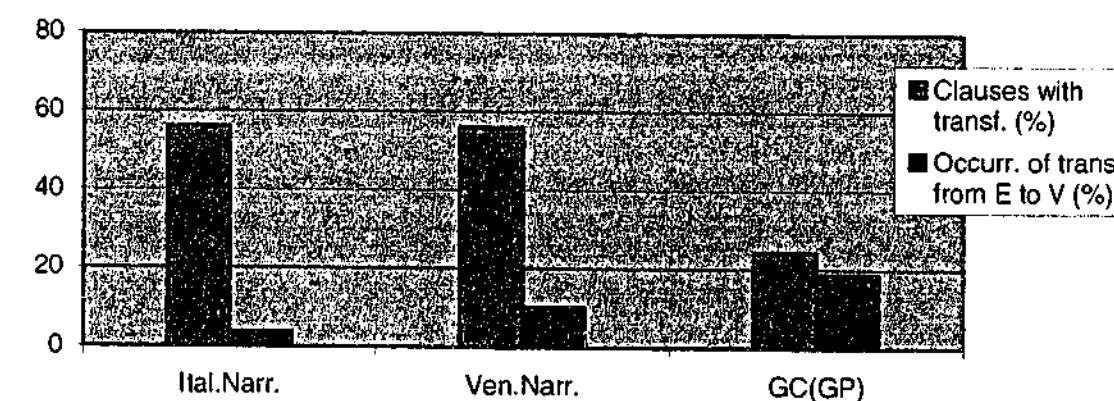
Like transfers from Italian to English (see 7.2.2.1), the transfers from English to Veneto produced by the third-generation informants were predominantly *phonic* (34.4% - see Graph 24 below). A quarter of them were *semantic* (25%). *Syntactic* transfers and *morphosyntactic translations* followed (18.8 and 10.9%). English *lexical* transfers in Veneto-base clauses were infrequent (6.3% of all transfers in this direction). Unlike the distribution of transfers from English to Italian, the distribution of transfer types from English to Veneto over the three recordings varied significantly.

Graph 24
Relative frequency of transfer types from English to Veneto in the language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the Italian narration, the Veneto narration and the natural conversation with the grandparents
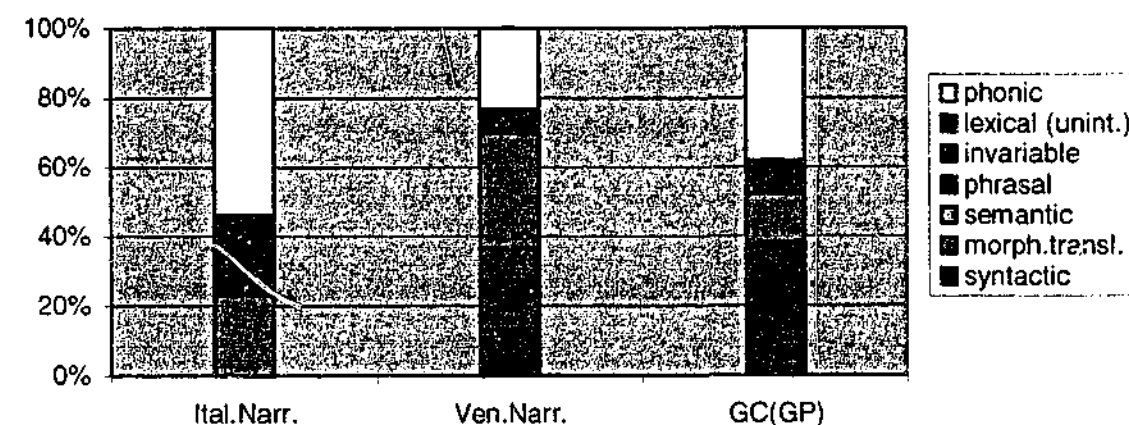
Phonic transfers accounted for a very large proportion of occurrences of English transfers to both community languages in the speech of the third generation. However, all transfers from English to Veneto were substantially less frequent than those from English to Italian, and much less frequent compared to the proportion of 'monolingual' clauses in the relevant language (see 7.1.2). Thus, phonic transfers from English occurred much less frequently in Veneto-base than in Italian-base clauses in the corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren. This suggests that the informants had a greater control over the phonic influence of their dominant language on Veneto than on Italian. This might be explained by the fact that the informants who were more likely to use Veneto (cf. 6.4) might have been exposed to it more intensely from birth in the parental home, rather than primarily in the extended family or outside the family.

In the Italian narration, when transfers from English to Veneto were least frequent, the proportion of phonic transfers was largest (53.8%). In the Veneto narration, when transfers in this direction were more frequent and were distributed over more categories than in the other recordings, phonic transfers accounted for a smaller proportion (23.3%).

As was the case for transfers from English to Italian (7.2.1.2), the third-generation informants showed a much stronger preference for the covert transference of lexical

items/phrases from English to Veneto, i.e. *semantic* transfers were much more frequent than *lexical* ones (25% vs. 6.3%, respectively). Lexical transfers from English to Veneto accounted for a minimal proportion of all lexical transfers in the entire corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (2.2%, cf. 33.3% from English to Italian, 30.6% from Veneto to Italian and 21.7% from Italian to Veneto). The incidence of semantic transfers among transfers from English to Veneto in the youngest speakers' corpus was larger when the informants were narrating in Veneto (33.3%) than when they were narrating in Italian (23.1%) or talking to their grandmothers (14.3%). In the Veneto narration, *no* occurrence of lexical transfer from English to Veneto was produced. The higher relative frequency of semantic transfers in the Veneto narration might have been the result of the informants' attempt to produce clauses that exhibited morpho-phonological material at the surface in the language elicited (cf. discussion in 7.1.2.1 above).

As discussed in 7.2.1.3, the opposite variation was observed among integrated lexical transfers and semantic transfers from English to Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandparents in the conversation with the parents and the grandchildren, respectively. In the latter conversation, the first-generation speakers produced relatively more integrated lexical transfers from English to Veneto but fewer semantic ones. This might have been due to their more frequent 'need' or stronger desire to transfer overtly from the English lexicon when conversing with the youngest interlocutors. Semantic transfers from English to Veneto were relatively more frequent than lexical transfers in the natural language of the Italian-Australian parents. However, in the natural language of the grandchildren, both lexical and semantic transfers from English to Veneto were very infrequent.

Morphosyntactic translations from English to Veneto were produced *only* in the Veneto elicitation task and were as frequent as phonic transfers (i.e. 23.3%). Among all transfers from English to Veneto in the corpus of the grandchildren in Australia, morphosyntactic translations represented a relatively larger proportion than in the other two directions in which they occurred (10.9%, vs. 6.7% of all transfers from English to Italian and 1.5% of all transfers from Veneto to Italian). This transfer type from English to either community language only occurred in the language of the youngest informants (cf. 7.2.1.2).

The frequency of *syntactic* transfers among transfers from English to Veneto was higher in the third-generation informants' natural language than in their elicited language in the

Veneto narration (38.1 vs. 13.3%, respectively).[518] However, as discussed in 7.2.1.3, syntactic transfers were completely absent in the grandparents' speech and extremely infrequent in the parents' speech. As already observed (7.2.1.1 and 7.2.1.3), the 'natural' Veneto of the grandchildren in Australia was more permeable to syntactic transference from both source languages than that of their older relatives. In the youngest speakers' corpus, syntactic transfers accounted for a substantially larger total proportion of transfers from English to Veneto than from English to Italian (18.8 vs. 5.6%, respectively). However, syntactic transfers from Italian to Veneto in their speech, were much more frequent (see 7.2.2.4 below).

7.2.2.3 Transfer types from Veneto to Italian

Transfers from Veneto to Italian accounted for comparable proportions of all transfers in the corpus produced by the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the Veneto and the Italian elicitation tasks (28.3% and 29.7%, respectively – see 7.1.2 above). As summarised on Graph 25 below, when the third-generation informants were addressing their grandparents, they transferred less frequently than when they were narrating in the community languages and relatively less frequently from Veneto to Italian (8.9%). In comparison to the natural language of the older generations, the relative frequency of transfers from Veneto to Italian dropped in the speech of the third-generation informants. Their 'natural' Italian, unlike that of their relatives, was much more influenced by English than by the other community language.

In the speech of the grandchildren in Italy, the proportion of transfers from Veneto to Italian was comparable to that in the speech of the grandchildren in Australia (29.3% and 26%, respectively). However, in the corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren, transfers from Veneto to Italian were more frequent than those from Italian to Veneto (26% vs. 11%, respectively, in Australia; cf. 29.3% vs. 70.7%, respectively, in Italy). The youngest speakers in the two countries produced a comparable proportion of clauses exhibiting transference in the narration in Veneto. However, in the speech of the grandchildren in Italy, transference was much less frequent than in that of the

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[518] As discussed in 7.2.2.4 below, in the Veneto narration syntactic transfers *from Italian* to Veneto in the corpus of the third-generation informants were much more frequent than syntactic transfers from English to Veneto. This distribution suggests that the compulsory third-person clitic subject pronoun in Veneto might have been more frequently omitted (as a result of the influence of Italian morphosyntactic patterns) rather than substituted for its stressed form (as a result of the influence of English morphosyntactic patterns).

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grandchildren in Australia in the Italian narration and in the natural conversation (see Graph 25 below). The direction of the transfers in the language of the youngest Italian informants was highly consistent with the language elicited. Transfers from Veneto to Italian represented the largest proportion of the Italian grandchildren's transfers in the Italian elicitation session (94.8%) and a much smaller proportion in the Veneto elicitation session (12.6%) and the natural conversation (13.3%).

Graph 25
Proportion of occurrences of transference from Veneto to Italian compared to the proportion of all clauses which exhibit transference in the language of the grandchildren in the narration in Italian, the narration in Veneto and the natural conversation with the grandparents
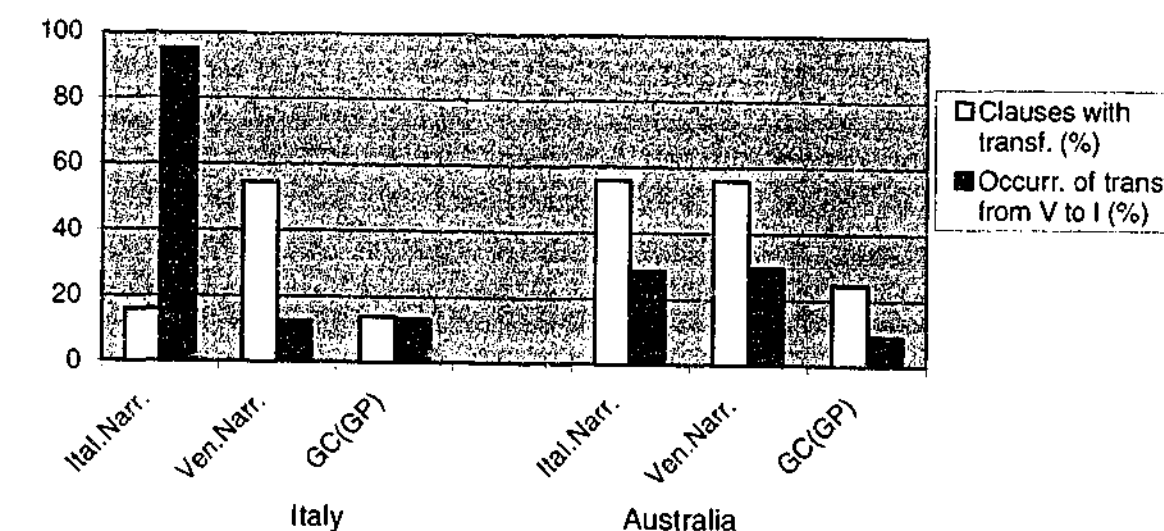
In both the Italian-Australian and the Italian grandchildren's corpus, a significant variation was found in the distribution of different transfer types from Veneto to Italian over the three recordings (see Graph 26). In the entire corpus of the third-generation speakers, most transfers from Veneto to Italian were *lexical* (27.8%) while *semantic* ones followed closely (22.7%). *Phonic, invariable lexical* and *morphological* transfers were less frequent (13.6%, 10.6% and 9.6%, respectively). Phrasal, syntactic and morphologically integrated lexical transfers occurred in minimal proportions (5.6%, 4.5% and 3%, respectively). Phonologically integrated lexical transfers and morphosyntactic translations were rare (1% and 1.5%, respectively). Integrated lexical transfers and morphosyntactic translations from Veneto to Italian were also completely absent among the grandchildren in Italy. In their corpus, major transfer types from Veneto to Italian were the same as in the corpus of their

same-generation relatives in Australia, although they occurred in different proportions: *lexical* (32.1%), *invariable* (17.9%), *morphological* (16.7%), *semantic* (11.9%) and *phonic* (10.7%).

Graph 26
Relative frequency of transfer types from Veneto to Italian in the language of the grandchildren in the Italian narration, the Veneto narration and the natural conversation with the grandparents

Among lexical transfers in all directions in the Italian-Australian grandchildren's corpus, those from English to Italian were only slightly more frequent than those from Veneto to Italian (33.3% and 30.6%, respectively, equal to 7.9% and 7.2% of all transfers, respectively). Therefore, while transfers from Veneto occurring in Italian-base clauses were less frequent than transfers from English, the Italian lexicon of the third-generation informants was influenced in similar proportions by both English and Veneto. As discussed in 7.1.2, the proportion of clauses exhibiting transference in the Italian-Australian grandchildren's language in the two elicitation sessions was comparable and so was the relative frequency of transfers from Veneto to Italian. Nevertheless, in the speech of the grandchildren in Australia in the Italian narration, unintegrated lexical transfers accounted for a larger proportion of all transfers from Veneto to Italian than in the speech used in the Veneto narration (22.5% vs. 34.9%, respectively).

Thus, in the Veneto narration, the third-generation informants seemed to have increased the insertion of unintegrated lexical transfers from Veneto to their Italian-base clauses,

possibly in an attempt to approximate the language being elicited. The opposite attempt, it was speculated, was made by the first-generation informants in the conversation with their youngest relatives, with whom they seemed to have tried to use a larger proportion of Italian than with the parents. In this respect, in the Italian elicitation task, the Italian-Australian grandchildren seem to have found themselves in a similar situation to their grandparents in the conversation with them. As the discussion below shows, other transfer types from Veneto to Italian varied in a parallel way among the Italian-Australian grandchildren (between the Veneto and the Italian narration) and their grandparents (between the conversation with the older and the younger interlocutors).

Semantic transfers from Veneto to Italian in the language of the third generation were less frequent than *unintegrated lexical* transfers (22.7% vs. 27.8%, respectively; cf. 20.1% vs. 16%, respectively, among transfers from English to Italian; 25% vs. 6.3%, respectively, among transfers from English to Veneto). As discussed in 5.2.5.1, the large number of partially, as well as completely, 'homologous diamorphs' (Haugen 1953, 1956) that Italian and Veneto share seemed to make semantic transference 'unnecessary' or impossible to detect. Thus, the lower incidence of semantic transfers than lexical transfers from Veneto to Italian might be due to the similarity of the lexicon of the two community languages. However, in the opposite direction, i.e. from Italian to Veneto, the gap between the proportion of semantic and lexical transfers was much wider. The Italian-Australian grandchildren produced *no* semantic transfers from Italian to Veneto but a very large proportion of lexical ones (46.4%).

In the control group, transfers from Italian to Veneto were more than twice as frequent as transfers from Veneto to Italian. However, the relative frequency of semantic transfers among transfers from Veneto to Italian was higher than that of semantic transfers from Italian to Veneto (11.9% vs. 1%). Thus, in both samples, (virtually) no semantic transfers occurred from Italian to Veneto. The disproportion between semantic and lexical transfers in the speech of the youngest speakers in Italy was also more evident among transfers from Italian to Veneto (1% vs. 51.7%, respectively) than from Veneto to Italian (11.9% vs. 32.1%, respectively). As already observed (see 7.2.1.1-2), this was the case among the transfers between the two community languages in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandparents, when they were talking to the grandchildren (11.2% semantic transfers vs. 17.3% lexical transfers from Veneto to Italian but 4.4% semantic transfers vs.

55.6% lexical transfers from Italian to Veneto). In comparison to their Italian, the Veneto of the grandparents in Australia was also less permeable to semantic transference from English (cf. 7.2.1.3).

As discussed in 5.2.5.1, whole phrases, rather than single items, seemed to lend themselves to easier 'translation' from one community language to the other, or, at least, to be 'detected' as semantic transfers. Among the Italian-Australian grandchildren, phrasal transfers from Veneto to Italian, were much less frequent than semantic ones (5.6% vs. 22.7%, respectively). This was also the case in the corpus of the Italian grandchildren, in which, however, the relative frequency of phrasal and semantic transfers from Veneto to Italian was more comparable (8.3% and 11.9%, respectively). In the corpus of the grandchildren in Australia, phrasal transfers in the opposite direction, i.e from Italian to Veneto, were very infrequent (2.4% of the transfers in this direction). However, in the language of the control group, the relative frequency of phrasal transfers in the two directions was comparable (8.3% from Veneto to Italian; 7.4% from Italian to Veneto).

The informants' relative awareness of the affiliation of lexical items might have been a relevant factor in determining the distribution of lexical/phrasal transfers and semantic transfers between the two community languages. The, variation between the two narrations suggests that at least among Italian-Australian grandchildren, overt and covert transference at the lexical level might have been part of a conscious strategy to approximate the elicited language. As observed above, the relative frequency of Veneto lexical transfers in Italian-base clauses in the speech of the third generation substantially increased when Veneto rather than Italian was elicited (from 22.5% to 34.9%, respectively). To a lesser extent, the same was the case for phrasal transfers from Veneto to Italian (from 3.9% to 8.1%, respectively). Vice versa, the proportion of semantic transfers from Veneto to Italian almost halved when the Italia-Australian grandchildren narrated in Veneto rather than Italian (from 28.4% to 16.3%, respectively). These findings suggest that, when Veneto was elicited, the third-generation informants favoured the overt insertion of Veneto lexical items/phrases in Italian-base clauses over their 'translation'. Thus they produced more surface morpho-phonological material in the required community language. The same variation was observed in the speech of the first generation between the conversation with the grandchildren and the parents, respectively (cf. 7.2.1.2).

However, the distribution of transfer types from Veneto to Italian among the grandchildren in the homeland was sometimes different. As discussed in 7.1.2, Italian grandchildren transferred less frequently than their Italian-Australian counterparts and the direction of their transfers was largely consistent with the language that was being elicited. The youngest Italian informants produced a substantially smaller number of transfers from Veneto to Italian in the Veneto narration than in the Italian narration. The proportion of *lexical* transfers from Veneto to Italian was smaller in the former recording (14% vs. 36.4%, respectively) and that of semantic transfers was comparable (12% and 12.7%, respectively). The apparent 'regulation' of the production of lexical and semantic transfers from Veneto to Italian according to the language being elicited might thus have been 'unnecessary' for the grandchildren in Italy.

In the entire corpus of the third generation, *invariable* transfers in all directions were less frequent than lexical ones. Invariable transfers represented 10.6% of all the transfers from Veneto to Italian produced by the Italian-Australian grandchildren (cf. 27.8% for lexical transfers). However, virtually no Italian invariable words occurred in their Veneto-base clauses (1.2%), while the proportion of lexical transfers was very large (46.4%). The incidence of invariable and lexical transfers between the two community languages in the speech of the Italian grandchildren was comparable to that in the speech of their same-generation Italian-Australian relatives (17.9% invariable transfers vs. 32.1% lexical transfers from Veneto to Italian; 6.4% invariable transfers vs. 51.7% lexical transfers from Italian to Veneto). As observed for semantic transfers above, the Italian spoken by the young informants in both samples appeared to be more permeable to invariable words than their Veneto. However, invariable words were frequent among the transfers from Italian to Veneto in the natural language of *all* the informants, other than the Italian-Australian grandchildren (see 7.2.1.1).

Morphological transfers accounted for a relatively small proportion of transfers from Veneto to Italian in the language of the grandchildren in Australia (9.6%). However, occurrences of morphological transference from Veneto to Italian were much more frequent than those from English to Italian (76% vs. 20% of all morphological transfers, respectively). The third-generation informants produced virtually no morphological transfers from Italian to Veneto. In the Italian sample, morphological transfers from Veneto to Italian were also more frequent than those from Italian to Veneto (16.7% vs.

4.4% of all transfers in the two directions, respectively). Thus, like semantic, phrasal and invariable transfers, the relative frequency of morphological transfers was higher from Veneto to Italian than in the opposite direction in both groups of grandchildren.

The low incidence of invariable and morphological transfers among transfers from Veneto to Italian in the speech of the Italian-Australian grandchildren was such that variation between the two narrations was sometimes a matter of a small number of occurrences. However, invariable transfers and, to a larger extent, morphological transfers from Veneto to Italian were more frequent in the speech of the third generation in the Italian narration than in the Veneto narration (12.7 % vs. 8.1% and 15.7% vs. 2.3%, respectively). A similar variation was found in the natural language of the first generation, between the conversation with the grandchildren and the conversation with the parents (see 7.2.1.2). The Italian-Australian grandparents produced a substantial proportion of invariable transfers from Veneto to Italian to address the grandchildren (16.3%), but none to address the parents, and the relative frequency of morphological ones in the former recording was even higher than that of lexical ones.

The distribution of invariable and morphological transfers from Veneto to Italian in the two groups of grandchildren was different. Transfers from Veneto to Italian were much less frequent when the Italian grandchildren were narrating in Veneto than in Italian. However, the proportion of invariable transfers was comparable (20% and 18.2%, respectively) and that of morphological transfers was considerably larger (36% and 9.1%, respectively). Morphological transference was the only type of transference from Veneto to Italian that was more frequent in the speech of the youngest Italian speakers in the Veneto narration than in the Italian narration (36% vs. 9.1% of their transfers in this direction, respectively, equal to 64.3% vs. 35.7% of all their morphological transfers, respectively). Thus, it is possible that within the small proportion of transfers from Veneto occurring in Italian-base clauses in the Veneto elicitation session, the more frequent insertion of morphological transfers from Veneto resulted from intention of the Italian grandchildren to produce that language.[519]

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[519] As observed in 7.2.1.2, in a marginal proportion of instances, the same variation was found among transfers in the opposite direction, i.e. from Italian to Veneto, in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandparents between the conversation with the parents and the conversation with the grandchildren.

The distribution of transfer types from Veneto to Italian in the elicited language of the young informants in Australia was broadly comparable to that of their grandparents. Although the extent of Veneto influence on the Italian of both the first and the third generation was widely different, transfers from Veneto to Italian in their speech occurred at similar linguistic levels. Informants in both groups seemed to be able to 'adjust' their production of overt and covert transference from Veneto to Italian at the lexical level, depending on which community language they aimed to speak. However, in comparison to the youngest speakers in Italy, the Italian-Australian grandparents and parents seemed less aware of the affiliation of items categorised as morphological and invariable transfers.

Phonic transfers accounted for the third-largest proportion of transfers from Veneto to Italian in the Italian-Australian grandchildren's corpus (13.6%).[520] The influence of Italian on their Veneto phonological system was proportionately weaker (2.4%). These findings were consistent with the distribution in the control group. Among Italian grandchildren, the total proportion of transfers from Veneto was much smaller than that of transfers from Italian. However, phonic transfers represented a larger proportion of transfers from Veneto than from Italian (10.7% vs. 1%). As discussed in 5.2.1.3, 'phonic transference' was often sufficient to 'convert' items from one community language into their full equivalents in the other language. Such instances were coded as 'lexical' transfers. Among the transfers between the two community languages in the speech of both groups of grandchildren, phonic transfers occurred less frequently than unintegrated lexical transfers. However, the difference between the proportions of phonic and lexical transfers from Veneto to Italian was smaller than in the opposite direction (in Australia 13.6% vs. 27.8% of the transfers from Veneto to Italian but 2.4% vs. 46.4% of the transfers from Italian to Veneto; in Italy 10.7% vs. 32.1% of the transfers from Italian to Veneto but 1% vs. 51.7% of the transfers from Veneto to Italian). These findings closely reflect the distribution in the natural language of *all* participants, in which virtually *no* phonic transfer occurred from Italian to Veneto. Thus, in comparison to Italian, Veneto was generally found to be much less permeable to phonic and semantic transference from the other community language than it was to lexical transference.

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[520] As discussed in 5.2.1.3, while at this level only transfers between the community languages that had phonemic relevance were coded, they are referred to as 'phonic' as in all other directions.

In the natural language of the third generation, transfers from Veneto to Italian were rare. Nevertheless, they represented almost all transfer types used by the grandparents (see 7.2.1.2). These included morphosyntactic translations from Veneto to Italian, which no other groups of speakers produced, and which the Italian-Australian grandchildren themselves did not produce in the elicitation sessions. In the conversation with their grandparents, the grandchildren in Italy predominantly spoke in Veneto and transferred mostly to Veneto (see 7.2.1.1). All their transfers from Veneto to Italian were either lexical or syntactic. This shows that when the Italian grandchildren addressed their grandparents, they considerably restricted the variety of transfer types in this direction that was used to perform the elicitation tasks. Thus, only the 'elicited' Italian of the youngest speakers in Italy was influenced by Veneto at the same linguistic levels as the Italian of the youngest speakers in Australia. Similarly, the Italian-Australian grandchildren produced a much larger proportion of transfers from Veneto to Italian when they were asked to narrate in the two community languages, than when they were addressing their grandparents.

7.2.2.4 Transfer types from Italian to Veneto

Transfers from Italian to Veneto accounted for equally small proportions in the speech of the third-generation informants in the Italian narration and the natural conversation (8% in each recording) and a relatively larger proportion in the Veneto narration (15.9% - see 7.1.2 and Graph 27 below). Among the Italian grandchildren, transfers from Italian to Veneto were substantially more frequent than those from Veneto to Italian (70.7% vs. 29.3%, respectively). The relative frequency of transfers from Italian to Veneto in the speech of the youngest Italian informants was much higher in the narration in Veneto and the natural conversation than the Italian narration (87.4%, 86.7% and 5.2%, respectively). While transference in the natural language generally increased from one generation to the next in both countries, the proportion of all transfers occurring in Veneto-base clauses decreased substantially, and so did that of transfers from Italian (cf. 7.1.1.1).
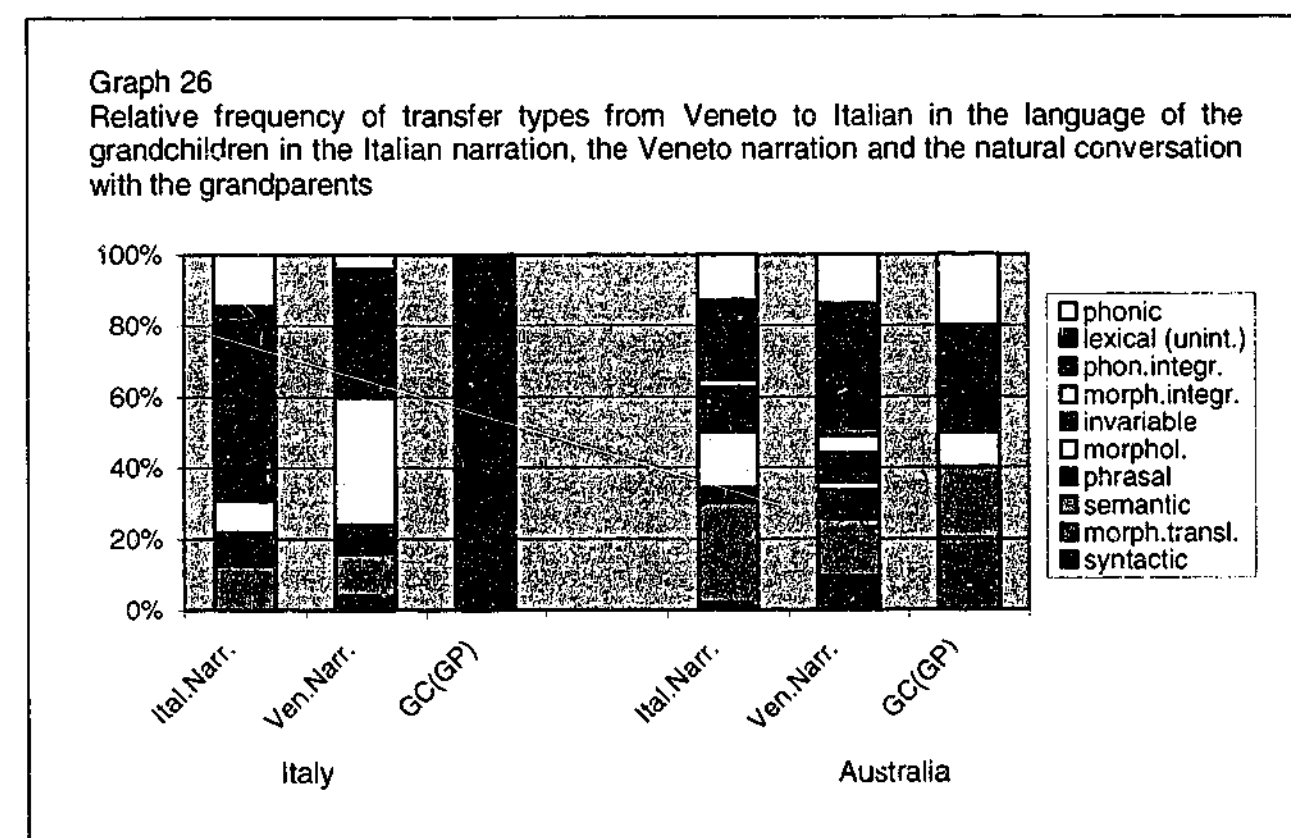
Graph 27
Proportion of occurrences of transference from Italian to Veneto compared to the proportion of all clauses which exhibit transference in the language of the grandchildren in the Italian narration, the Veneto narration and the natural conversation with the grandparents
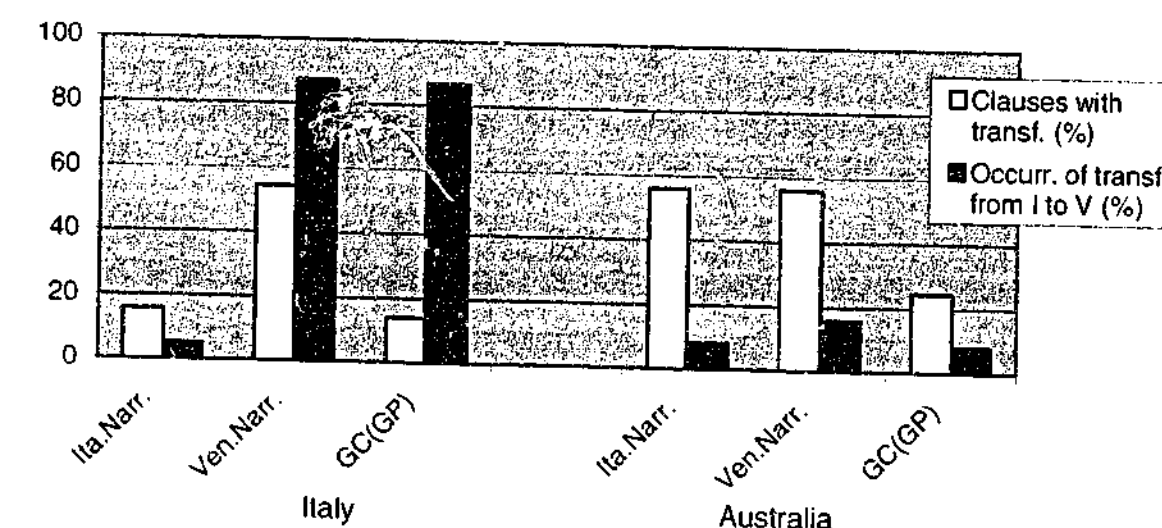
Transfers from Italian to Veneto in the entire corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren were more neatly concentrated in fewer types of transfers than those from Veneto to Italian (see Graph 28). As discussed in 7.1.1 and 7.2.1.1, the decrease in the relative frequency of transfers from Italian to Veneto was much sharper in third generation than in the previous ones. Unlike transfers from Italian to Veneto in all other groups, transfers in this direction in the natural language of the grandchildren in Australia were either *lexical* or *syntactic*. However, the variation in the distribution of transfer types in this direction in the natural language among *all* informants was *not* significant.

Syntactic transfers from Italian to Veneto were more prominent in the elicited language of the grandchildren in both countries. *Lexical* and *syntactic* transfers virtually accounted for all the transfers in this direction in the entire corpus of the youngest informants in Australia (46.4% and 42.9%, respectively). Syntactic transference was the only type of transference to account for more transfers to Veneto than to Italian from any source language in the entire corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (46.2%, cf. 26.9% from English to Italian). Thus, while the Veneto of the third-generation informants was much less permeable to transference than their Italian (cf. 7.1.2), the influence of Italian syntactic patterns on Veneto was stronger than in any other directions.

Graph 28
Proportion of transfer types from Italian to Veneto in the language of the grandchildren in the Italian narration, the Veneto narration and the natural conversation with the grandparents
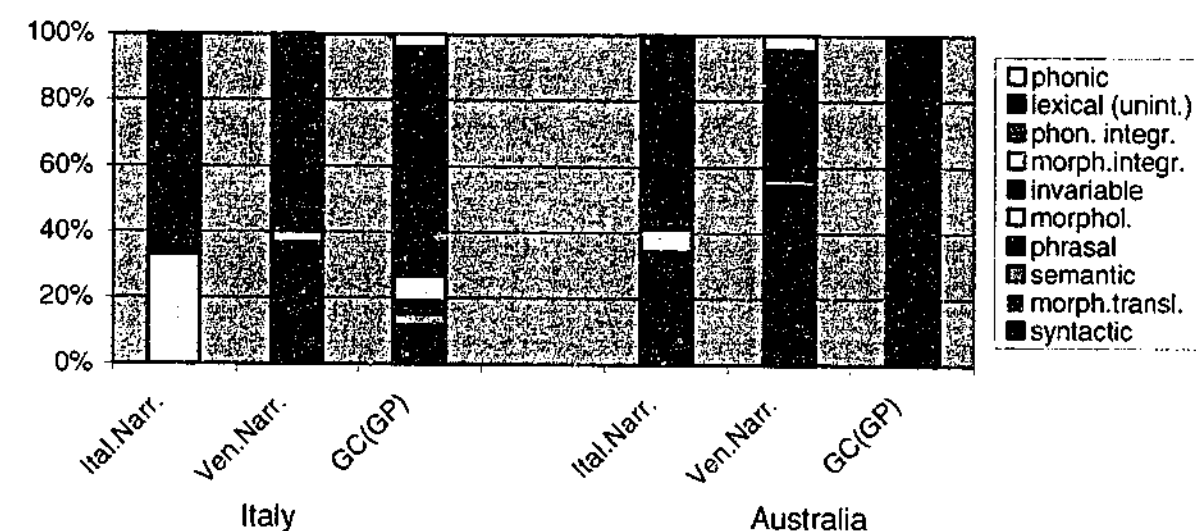
As explained in 5.2.7, syntactic transference from Italian to Veneto in both samples predominantly resulted in the omission of the Veneto compulsory clitic subject pronoun. The incidence of transfer types from Italian to Veneto in the corpus of the grandchildren in the two countries was similar. However, in the control group in Italy, lexical transfers accounted for more than half of the transfers in this direction (51.7%, equal to 36.6% of all transfers in their corpus) while syntactic transfers represented a quarter of them (25.1%, equal to 17.8% of all their transfers). As was the case in the natural language of all participants (see 7.2.1.1), within each group of grandchildren, the variation between the transfer types from Italian to Veneto in the three recordings was *not* significant.

Semantic and phonic transfers from Italian to Veneto were extremely infrequent or completely absent in both the elicited language of all the grandchildren, as well as the natural language of all generations (see 7.2.1.1). In the corpus of the grandchildren, this was also the case for invariable, morphological, as well as phrasal transfers from Italian to Veneto. As discussed in 7.2.1.3, syntactic transfers were also prominent among transfers from English to Veneto in the natural language of the youngest Italian-Australian generation and, to a lesser extent, in the language they produced in the Veneto narration.

7.2.2.5 Transfer types to English

In the corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren transfers from Italian to English and from Veneto to English were very infrequent (5% and 0.7% of all transfers, respectively – cf. 7.1.2 and Graph 29 below). Transfers to English were also rare in the natural language of the older generations (cf. 7.1.1.3). However, in the Italian narration the proportion of transfers from Italian to English in the language of the third generation was equal to that of transfers from Italian to Veneto (8% for each direction in the Italian narration). Furthermore, transfers from Italian to Veneto in their natural language were slightly more frequent than transfers from Italian to English (5.4% and 8%, respectively). Nevertheless, the proportion of clauses entirely in English in this recording was substantially larger than both that of clauses entirely in Veneto and Italian. The vast majority of transfers from Italian to English (76.3%) was produced in the Italian narration. Transfers to English almost completely disappeared in the Veneto narration.

Graph 29
Proportion of occurrences of transference from Italian to English and from Veneto to English compared to the proportion of all clauses which exhibit transference in the language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the Italian narration, the Veneto narration and the natural conversation with the grandparents
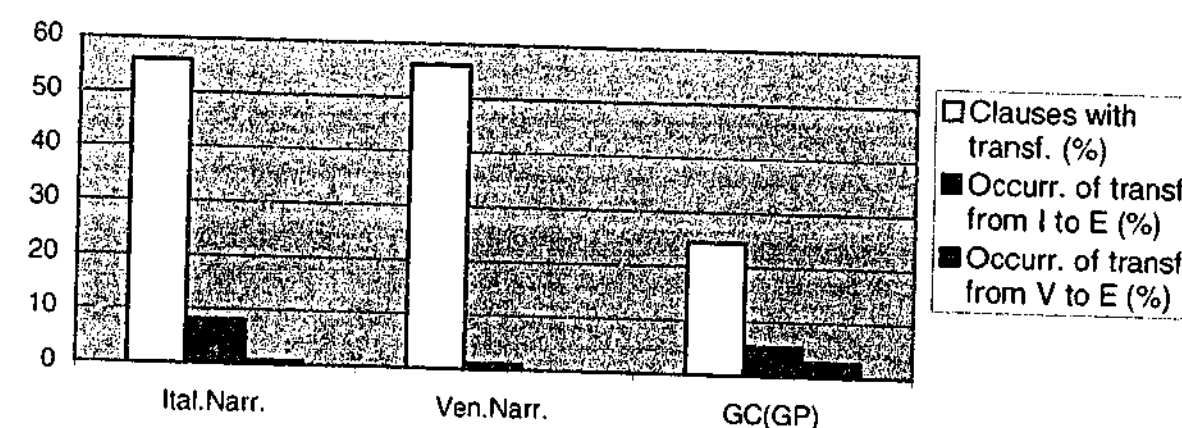
A significant variation was found between the transfer types from Italian to English over the three recordings (see Graph 30). *Lexical* and *phrasal* transfers accounted for most of the transfers from Italian to English in the speech of the third generation (47.4% and 31.6%, respectively) and all the transfers from Veneto to English (80% and 20%,

respectively). Lexical transfers from Italian in English-base clauses represented 10% of all lexical transfers produced by the grandchildren in Australia. Both lexical transfers from English to Veneto and from Veneto to English were rare (2.2% of all lexical transfers in each direction).

Graph 30
Proportion of transfer types from Italian to English in the language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the Italian narration, the Veneto narration and the natural conversation with the grandparents
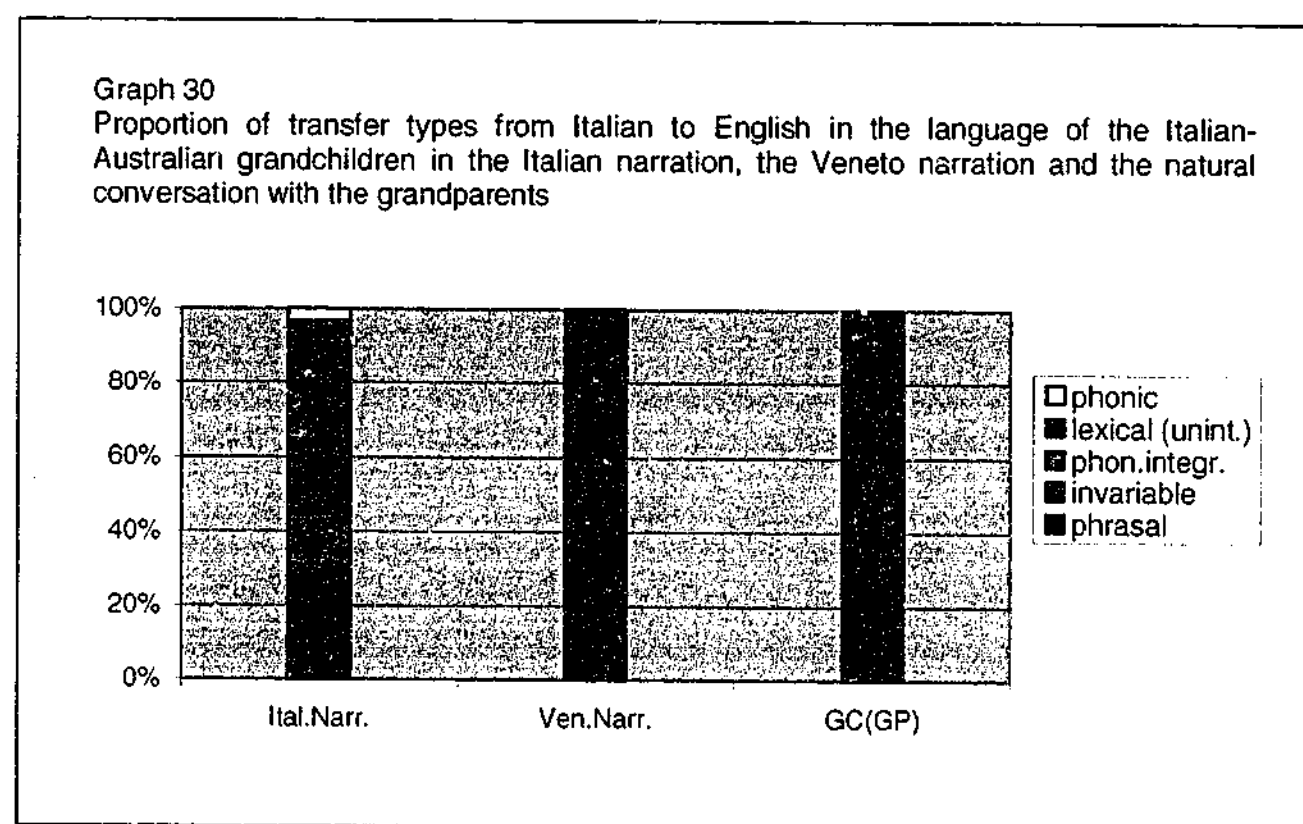
One phonic transfer and four phonically integrated lexical transfers occurred from Italian to English in the Italian elicitation session.[521] These instances, which were inconsistent with the informants' control of the English phonic system, were commented elsewhere (see 5.2.1.2 and 5.2.2.4.1). In most cases, however, the third-generation informants left the Italian or Veneto lexical items they inserted in their English-base clauses unintegrated. Lexical transference from Italian/Veneto to English was restricted to 'well-rehearsed' terms from an established home-related vocabulary, e.g. kinship terms.

Phrasal transfers were among the rarest types of transfers in the third-generation speakers' entire corpus (4.2%). However, most phrasal transfers in the Italian-Australian grandchildren's corpus were from Italian to English (37.5% of all phrasal transfers) and predominantly occurred in the Italian narration (75% of all phrasal transfers from Italian to English). This was consistent with the subjects' possible attempt to insert larger Italian

constituents when Italian was elicited, even though English could still be identified as the base language of the clause (cf. 5.3.1). Phrasal transfers from Italian to English were more than twice as common as those from English to Italian in the whole of the third-generation speakers' corpus (37.5% vs. 15.6% of all phrasal transfers, respectively).[522]

7.2.2.6 Summary

The incidence of each transfer type in the corpus of the third-generation informants reflected quite consistently the total frequency of occurrences of transference in each of the six directions. Most occurrences of major transfer types in the corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren were from English to Italian. Listed in order of decreasing frequency they were: phonic, lexical, semantic and invariable transfers, as well as morphosyntactic translations. The second-largest proportion of phonic, lexical, semantic and invariable transfers was from Veneto to Italian, i.e. in the second most frequent direction. However, morphosyntactic translations occurred more frequently from English to Veneto than from Veneto to Italian. There were further important exceptions to this general distribution that highlighted the differential role played by Veneto, Italian and English in transference. Furthermore, the *relative* frequency of transfer types within each direction also elucidated the linguistic levels at which the three languages affected one another.

Unlike the Italian of the older speakers, the Italian of the third-generation informants was more strongly influenced by English than by Veneto. The distribution of transfer types from English to Italian in the three recordings did not vary significantly. Thus, the dominant language influenced the Italian in both the natural and the elicited language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren at similar linguistic levels. While transfers from English to Italian were much less frequent among their older relatives, semantic transfers were prominent among all Italian-Australian informants. In the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandparents and in the entire corpus of the grandchildren, semantic transfers from English to Italian were even more frequent than lexical transfers. However, morpho-syntactically relevant English material was only 'translated' in substantial proportions by the third-generation informants, whose language seemed in this respect

[521] As explained in 5.2.1.2, in some cases the influence from the two community languages on English cannot be distinguished. All such ambiguous cases were coded as phonic transfers from Italian to English.
[522] The distribution of transfer types from Veneto to English are reported in Table H.16...

more similar to that of second language learners (cf. Clyne, 1986b; Giacalone Ramat, 1995b). Moreover, at the phonic level, English expectedly exerted a stronger influence on Italian among the youngest Italian-Australian speakers than among their parents. To a lesser extent, invariable transfers from English to Italian were also relatively more numerous among the Italian-Australian grandchildren than among both their grandparents and parents.

The third-generation informants produced substantially more phonic transfers from English to Italian than from English to Veneto. Since clauses entirely in Italian in their corpus were only slightly more frequent than clauses entirely in Veneto, it appears that the pronunciation of their Italian was also more affected by the dominant language than the pronunciation of Veneto. The occurrences of lexical transference from English to Veneto in the grandchildren's corpus were rare, while semantic transfers and morphosyntactic translations occurred more frequently from English to Veneto than to Italian. Morphosyntactic translations from English to Italian and Veneto only occurred in the corpus of the youngest Italian-Australian speakers. However, semantic transfers were produced, in relatively substantial proportions by all three generations. Both the grandparents and the grandchildren in Australia seemed to have 'adjusted' the relative production of semantic and lexical transfers from English to Veneto to the language of their interlocutors and/or to the language being elicited. Lexical transfers from English to Veneto were more frequent in the speech of both the grandparents and the grandchildren when they addressed each other than they were when the grandparents were talking to the parents, or when the grandchildren were performing the Veneto elicitation task. In the Veneto narration, lexical transfers from English to Veneto completely disappeared from the speech of the youngest speakers. Conversely, the grandchildren produced morphosyntactic translations from English to Veneto only when asked to narrate in Veneto. However, among the transfers from English to Veneto in the natural language of the third-generation informants, syntactic transfers were proportionately more frequent than in their elicited language in the Veneto narration and in the natural language of their older relatives.

While English affected the Italian of the grandchildren in Australia more strongly than Veneto did, morphological and phrasal transfers from Veneto to Italian were more frequent than those from English to Italian. Furthermore, the lexicon of the third-generation

informants' Italian underwent a comparable impact from English and Veneto, i.e. lexical transfers from Veneto to Italian were only slightly less frequent than lexical transfers from English to Italian. The 'natural' Italian of the third and first generations exhibited a similar range of transfer types from Veneto to Italian. However, this similarity was more noticeable in the young informants' elicited language in the Italian narration, when semantic, invariable and morphological transfers from Veneto were more frequent than in the Veneto narration. The elicitation of Veneto resulted in an increase of *lexical* and *phrasal* transfers from Veneto to Italian in the speech of the Italian Asutralian grandchildren, and a decrease in the number of *semantic, invariable* and *morphological* transfers. The variation of *lexical, phrasal* and *semantic* transfers was consistent with the hypothesis of a conscious attempt by the third-generation informants to approximate the language being elicited.

Unlike the Veneto of the youngest informants in Australia, the Veneto spoken by the grandchildren in Italy was more influenced by Italian than vice versa. However, Veneto influenced the Italian of the grandchildren in the control group at the same levels as in the sample in Australia, i.e. through lexical, invariable, morphological, semantic and phonic transfers, respectively. However, Italian grandchildren were more successful in inhibiting the production of transfers to Italian when Veneto was elicited.

The Veneto of the grandchildren in Australia was more influenced than their Italian at the *syntactic* level, primarily from Italian. Syntactic transfers from Italian to Veneto in the entire corpus of the youngest informants in Australia were more frequent than syntactic transfers in any other direction. The Veneto syntactic patterns in the speech of the grandchildren in Italy were also strongly influenced by Italian. However, this was not the case among the older speakers in either sample. The majority of all the transfers from Italian to Veneto in the corpus of the grandchildren in both samples occurred when Veneto was elicited. The Veneto narration elicited a larger proportion of syntactic transference from Italian to Veneto. This seemed to result predominantly in the transference of third-person subject pronoun patterns necessary for referring to the character in the picture book (cf. 5.2.7).

All informants showed a preference for the overt insertion of Italian lexical items/phrases in Veneto-base clauses vs. their 'translation'. In addition to semantic transference, the Veneto of the speakers in both samples seemed virtually impermeable to phonic

transference from Italian. Semantic and, to a larger extent, phonic transfers from Veneto to Italian were more frequent than in the opposite direction. Structural factors might have played a role in the apparent differential fluidity of the passage of semantic and phonic transfers between the two community languages (cf. 3.1.2 and 5.2.1.3-4).[523]

Italian and Veneto transfers in English-base clauses predominantly occurred at the lexical level, i.e. lexical, invariable and phrasal. Italian phrases in the grandchildren's English speech were more frequent than English ones in their Italian.

7.3 Correlations

The last section of the present chapter reports the correlations that were found between the grandchildren's language production in the categories examined above and the variables discussed in 4.4.[524] As explained in 6.4, the variables were tested pair-wise and only highly significant correlations were focused upon. The aim of the correlation analysis was to identify factors that might have contributed to the incidence of transference in different directions and of different types. Only the *natural* language of the third-generation informants was considered.

As discussed in 6.4.5, the only variable that affected the Italian-Australian grandchildren's use of *clauses containing transference* in the natural conversation was their own use of *English clauses*. The informants that produced more English clauses were much less likely to produce clauses that exhibited transference. No variable was highly significantly correlated with the *total number* of occurrences of transference in their corpus. All the correlations discussed below refer to the *proportion* of transfers in different directions and of different types.

7.3.1 Transfers to Veneto

The correlations that pertained to *transfers to Veneto* from both source languages in the Italian-Australian grandchildren's natural language were found to be highly consistent with those that pertained to clauses entirely in Veneto. As discussed in 6.4.2-4, three variables seemed to influence the grandchildren's use of Veneto clauses in the natural conversation:

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[523] Furthermore, unlike most phenomena at the phonological level pertaining to regional Italian, the widespread koineisation phenomena in the Veneto of the informants were not coded as transfers from the other community language (5.2.1.3-4).

[524] Correlations discussed in this section are reported in Appendix I.

a) the grandchildren's *generational position* on the Italian migrant continuum (defined on the basis of the country of birth and age at arrival of the parents/grandparents); b) the level of *self-assessed competence* in Italian and English as well as c) the level of *education* in Italy and Australia of some of the older family members. Variables that *negatively* correlated with the proportion of Veneto clauses in the grandchildren's natural language were their generational position, the self-assessed *competence* in *English* of the maternal grandfathers and the fathers and the self-assessed competence in *Italian* of the maternal grandmothers. Negative correlations were also found between the production of Veneto clauses when addressing the grandparents and the level of *education* obtained by the maternal grandfathers before migration and by the mothers in Australia. The number of years of schooling received by the fathers in Italy *positively* correlated with their children's use of Veneto clauses in the natural conversation.

With the exception of the grandchildren's position on the generational continuum and the level of education achieved by the mothers in Australia, *all* the above variables also correlated in the same way with the proportion of *transfers to Veneto* from *both language sources*. The negative correlation between both the grandchildren's generational stage and their mother's level of education was only highly significant for transfers to Veneto from an English source. Thus, the factors that were shown to determine the Italian-Australian grandchildren's production of clauses entirely in Veneto were also relevant in their production of transfers occurring in Veneto-base clauses. Furthermore, the proportion of *clauses* entirely in Veneto and the proportion of *transfers to Veneto* from both source languages were also highly significantly correlated.

As discussed in 6.4.5, the proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto used by the grandchildren while addressing the grandmothers was shown to be dependent on the proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto produced when Veneto was elicited. Similarly, interdependencies emerged between the proportions of transfers to Veneto in the grandchildren's language in the different recordings. Highly significant correlations were found between the proportions of transfers to Veneto from both sources in the natural *conversation* and the *Veneto narration*. Thus, the grandchildren that transferred more frequently to Veneto when talking to their grandmothers were also more likely to do so when performing the Veneto elicitation task.

In the *Italian narration*, however, the third-generation informants that addressed more clauses entirely in Veneto to their grandmother were more likely to insert morphological transfers from Veneto in their Italian-base clauses. That is, there was a highly significant correlation between the percentage of Veneto clauses in the natural conversation and the percentage of *morphological transfers* from Veneto to Italian in the Italian elicitation session. As hypothesised above (see 7.2.2.1 and 7.2.2.4), morphological transfers in this direction, which were frequent in the Italian that the grandparents used to address the grandchildren, seemed to result from the speakers' attempt to produce Italian, despite their low control over Veneto inflections and variable function words. Based on the correlation reported above, morphological transfers in this direction in the grandchildren's elicited Italian might be interpreted as a sign of a higher command of Veneto and the resulting influence from it on Italian. This is consistent with the correlation discussed above between a higher ability to produce Veneto, as demonstrated in the relevant elicitation session, and choice of it in the natural conversation. The incidence of morphological transfers from Veneto to Italian was also high in the speech of the Italian-Australian grandparents, who used it more frequently when addressing their grandchildren than their own children.

7.3.2 Transfers to English

As discussed in 6.4.4, in addition to being a contributory factor for the grandchildren's choice of Veneto to address the grandparents, the relative level of self-assessed competence in Italian of some of their older family members was also strongly linked to the grandchildren's production of English clauses. The youngest speakers' production of Veneto *clauses* in the natural conversation was shown to be linked to both the older relatives' self-assessed *competence* in *English* and *Italian*, as well as their level of *education*. In different ways, both these variables were also found to be relevant in determining the proportion of *transfers* to English in the natural language of the third generation.

The level of *education* of the paternal grandmothers was *positively* and highly significantly correlated with the frequency of *phrasal transfers from Italian to English* in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren.[525] This correlation mirrored the highly significant *negative* correlation that was found between the level of education of their

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[525] As discussed in 7.2.2.5, the grandchildren's corpus contained more occurrences of this transfer type from Italian to English than in any other direction.

grandparents and the proportion of *transfers to Veneto* in the grandchildren's natural language (see 7.3.1 above). Thus, it appears that the grandchildren of more educated speakers produced relatively more transfers from Italian to English, of a phrasal type, and fewer transfers to Veneto from any source language and of any type.

As discussed in 6.4.3, the grandchildren of more educated speakers were also found to use less speech that was entirely in Veneto to address their grandparents. Similarly, the grandchildren of more confident Italian speakers were found to produce a larger proportion of *clauses* entirely in English and a smaller proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto. Thus, both the findings which pertain to monolingual speech and transference in the third generation seem to indicate a relationship of inverse proportionality between the use of English and Veneto - either in terms of whole clauses or transfers occurring in clauses with a base in those languages.

This apparent relationship between English and Veneto, or the relevant dialect in the family repertoire, also transpired in a further correlation relevant to the same category of transfers, i.e. phrasal transfers from Italian to English. This was the only correlation that showed the possible relevance of the older family members' self-assessed competence in the dialect for the language behaviour of the third generation (see 6.4.4.1). A negative correlation was found between the incidence of phrasal transfers from Italian to English in the natural corpus of the grandchildren in Australia and the mothers' self-assessed *competence* in dialect. This shows that the natural corpus of those third-generation informants whose mother was a less confident *dialect* speaker contained a larger proportion of Italian phrases that occurred in English-base clauses. Vice versa, the children of less confident *English* speakers produced a larger proportion of dialect clauses (see 6.4.4).

In accordance with the above finding, a larger proportion of transfers of any type from Italian to English was found in the natural corpus of those grandchildren whose parents more frequently used speech entirely in English in the conversation with the grandparents. That is, the proportion of *clauses entirely in English* in the parents' natural language was shown to be highly significantly correlated with the proportion of all *transfers from Italian to English* in the natural language of the youngest generation. In summary, the informants who inserted a larger proportion of Italian (phrasal) transfers into English-base clauses when talking to their grandmothers were the children of speakers who directed more

English clauses to the same interlocutor and whose self-assessed competence in the dialect was lower.

Links also emerged between the *transference to English* in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and *transference to Veneto* in the natural language of their older relatives. The proportion of *transfers from Italian to English* in the language of the youngest-generation informants was also correlated with the proportion of *transfers from Italian to Veneto* in the language of their grandmothers. That is, the more Italian transfers the grandparents inserted in their Veneto-base clauses, the more Italian transfers their grandchildren inserted in their English-base clauses.

A possible interpretation of this finding is that a greater permeability to Italian of the grandparents' Veneto might have promoted, among their grandchildren, a more frequent use of their *own* dominant language and its greater permeability to Italian. This would be consistent with the fact that a higher self-assessed competence in Italian among the Italian-Australian grandparents seemed to have 'encouraged' a larger use of clauses entirely in English among their grandchildren (see 6.4.4). More frequent transference from Italian in the Veneto of the grandparents might have been the result of their greater confidence in their skills in Italian and their desire to address their grandchildren in that language (cf. 6.2 and 7.1.1.1-2). The grandchildren of such speakers might have been more aware of the prestige of Italian perceived by their grandparents and more 'encouraged' to abandon Veneto as the family language in favour of English (cf. discussion in 6.4.4.1). As already reported above, the more frequent use of English on the parents' part was also strongly linked with a more frequent insertion of transfers from Italian into clauses with an English base in the third generation. However, *no* correlation was found between the grandparents' transference from Italian to Veneto and the grandchildren's speech *entirely* in English.

A further correlation between transference to English in the third generation and transference to Veneto in the first generation was also not clearly interpretable. The grandchildren's production of transfers from *Italian to English, of a lexical type,* was strongly correlated with their grandmothers' production of transfers from *English to Veneto, of an invariable type* (in the conversation with the parents). It appears that the more frequently the grandparents inserted English invariable words into their Veneto, the more frequently the grandchildren inserted Italian lexical items into their English.

The above finding reinforces the hypothesis of an apparent relationship between the transference behaviour of the grandparents in relation to Veneto and the transference behaviour of the grandchildren in relation to English. However, the ways in which transference in these directions and of these types could influence this behaviour are unclear. As discussed in 7.2.1.3, relative to lexical transfers, invariable transfers from English were frequent in the Veneto of the second-generation informants in this sample. It could be speculated that a larger proportion of this transfer type among the grandparents might have been the result of a particularly high permeability of their Veneto to English, with possible effects on the language of their grandchildren. However, this hypothesis would need to be carefully investigated and is beyond the scope of the present study. Further research is needed to understand whether and to what extent the 'openness' of the grandparents' Veneto to influences from the other languages might have contributed to the young informants' choice of English to communicate with them.

The frequency of transfers *from Italian to English* in the grandchildren's natural language was also correlated with their *age*, i.e. the natural corpus of younger grandchildren contained a larger proportion of transfers in this direction. As discussed in 3.3.1, Australian census data have shown that the shift to English generally increases as age decreases. While younger third-generation informants in the present sample were not found to produce a larger proportion of *clauses* entirely in English, they nevertheless inserted Italian transfers in clauses that had an English base more often than their older counterparts. Age was the only characteristic of the grandchildren that correlated with their language production in any of the categories considered.

However, the proportion of clauses entirely in English in the natural language of Italian-Australian grandchildren was *not* found to influence the relative frequency with which they inserted transfers in English-based clauses. On the other hand, the proportion of clauses in Veneto and the proportion of transfers to Veneto were strongly linked (see 7.3.1). However, like transfers to Veneto, a highly significant correlation was found between the incidence of transfers from Italian to English in the *natural conversation* and in both *elicitation sessions*. The third-generation informants that produced more transfers from Italian to English when talking to their grandmother were thus more likely to produce more transfers from Italian to English when narrating in Italian or Veneto. That is, these informants resorted to the production of English-base clauses also when they were required

to speak in the community languages. This suggests that the grandchildren who inserted more transfers from Italian in English-base clauses in the natural conversation might have been less proficient in the two community languages.

However, *no* negative correlation was found between the proportion of clauses entirely in the relevant community languages in the speech of the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the narrations and the proportion of clauses entirely in English in the natural conversation. This indicates that the third-generation informants' use of the dominant language when talking to their grandmothers did not depend on their lower ability to produce Italian or Veneto. As discussed in 6.4.5, of the two community languages, only the ability to produce a larger number of clauses in Veneto seemed to have been a possible factor in the grandchildren's choice of this language to address their grandmothers.

7.3.3 Transfers to Italian

As discussed in 6.4.4.1, the Italian-Australian grandchildren's use of Italian for communication with their grandmothers seemed to be independent of their ability to produce speech in this language when it was elicited. That is, a demonstrated ability to produce clauses entirely in Italian did not necessarily imply the choice of this language to address the first-generation relatives. Furthermore, unlike Veneto, the proportion of speech in Italian in the natural language of the grandchildren was not correlated with the position they occupied on the third-generation continuum, which depended on the country of birth and age of arrival of their older relatives. Finally, unlike both English and Veneto, the use of Italian in the natural conversation was also independent of the older relatives' self-assessed competence in any of the three languages, or their schooling.

Nevertheless, as already reported in 6.4.5, a larger production of clauses entirely in Italian in the Italian narration was linked to a more active participation in the interaction with the grandmother, in terms of the production of a larger *total number of clauses*. A highly significant correlation was also found between the latter variable and the relative frequency of *semantic transfers from English to Italian* in the same narration. That is, the third-generation informants who directed more clauses to their grandparents were much more likely to produce a larger proportion of semantic transfers from English to Italian when narrating in Italian. Thus, the relative level of participation of the grandchildren in the interaction with their grandmother seemed to be dependent both on their ability to produce

Italian clauses and to 'translate' English items/phrases into Italian. As observed in 7.2.2.1, this transfer type requires a relatively high degree of proficiency in Italian as it utilises morpho-phonological material from the recipient language, i.e. it is 'covert' (cf. 5.2).

Other correlations that pertain to transference indicate further links, however indirect, between the third-generation informants' relative use of Italian in the natural conversation and the ability to produce Italian demonstrated in the elicitation sessions. A highly significant correlation was found in the grandchildren's natural language between the proportion of *Italian clauses* and the proportion of *transfers from Veneto to Italian*. The proportion of transfers from Veneto to Italian also correlated with the proportion of *transfers from English to Italian*. Finally, the relative frequency of some transfer types from Veneto to Italian in the grandchildren's natural language, i.e. *lexical* and *semantic*, and all transfers from English to Italian was found to be strongly linked to the relative frequency of clauses entirely in Italian in the *Veneto narration*.

The above findings suggest that those informants who produced a larger proportion of transfers to Italian and clauses in Italian when talking to their grandmothers were able to produce a larger proportion of clauses in Italian when narrating in Veneto. As explained in 4.5.2, only the third-generation informants who were aware of the existence of Veneto were asked to narrate in that language. It is in this restricted group of 'Veneto aware' young informants that a possible link between the proficiency in Italian and the use of it for communication with the grandmothers might be found. However, these informants produced more speech in Italian when they were actually required to narrate in Veneto. Thus, despite their awareness of the existence of Veneto, their active linguistic competence in this language might have been limited to its use as a source language for transfers to Italian.

The incidence of transference to Italian in the natural language of the third generation was also linked in various ways with the incidence of transference to Italian in the natural language of their older relatives. A highly significant correlation was found between the proportions of *morphosyntactic translations* and *invariable* transfers *from English to Italian* in the third generation and the proportion of all transfers from English to Italian in the first generation. That is, the more frequently the grandchildren produced transfers *from English to Italian* of these two types when talking to their grandmothers, the more frequently their grandmothers produced transfers in the same direction.

There were also highly significant correlations between the proportion of certain transfer types from English to Italian in the natural language of the grandchildren and the *parents*. The relative frequency of *semantic* transfers from English to Italian in the natural corpus of the grandchildren was correlated with the relative frequency of the same transfers in the natural corpus of their parents. The relative frequency of *lexical* and *phonic* transfers from English to Italian among the grandchildren was correlated with the relative frequency of both semantic and phonic transfers in the same direction among the parents. It seems therefore, that the grandchildren's tendency to produce these types of transfers from English to Italian might have depended on their parents and grandparents' input. This did not always imply a direct relationship between the same transfer types in the natural language of the speakers in the different generations. As discussed in 7.2.2.1, morphosyntactic translations in this direction only occurred in the speech of the grandchildren.

The relative frequency of transfers *from English to Italian* among the older relatives was also linked, at different levels, to the relative frequency of transfers to Italian from the other source language, i.e. *from Veneto* to Italian, among the grandchildren. The proportion of the same transfer types in the same direction in the *parents'* natural language, i.e. *semantic* and *phonic* transfers, was also correlated with that of both *semantic* and *lexical* transfers from *Veneto to Italian* among the grandchildren. Furthermore, the more the *grandparents* transferred from *English to Italian* when talking to the grandchildren, the more the grandchildren transferred from *Veneto to Italian*. However, *no* correlation was found between the proportion of transfers from Veneto to Italian in the natural speech of the third generation and the previous ones. As discussed above (7.1.1.2 and 7.2.1.2), transference from Veneto to Italian was a prominent feature of the natural language of the grandmothers when they were addressing their younger interlocutors. Transfers from Veneto to Italian in the natural speech of the grandchildren were much less frequent than in that of the grandparents and the parents and much less frequent than transfers from English to Italian (see 7.2.2.3). The independence of the relative frequency of transfers from Veneto to Italian in the speech of the youngest generation and that of the older ones seems to confirm that the substantial impact of dialect on the grandparents' Italian was not proportionately reflected in the language of the grandchildren. However, the first-generation informants who transferred from Veneto to Italian might also have transferred from English to Italian, like their grandchildren (see discussion above).

7.3.4 Summary

The characteristics of the older-generation informants that were found to contribute to the grandchildren's use of Veneto in the natural conversation were also relevant to their relative production of transference to the same language. The grandchildren who belonged to the earlier stages of the third-generation continuum produced a larger proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto as well as a larger proportion of English transfers in Veneto-base clauses. The grandparents of the informants who produced relatively more clauses entirely in Veneto and transfers from both source languages to Veneto were less educated and perceived their competence in Italian and English to be poorer. Their parents were less confident English speakers and had received less education in Australia, but more in Italy.

Those third-generation informants whose grandparents had more schooling produced more phrasal transfers from Italian to English and their parents had a lower self-assessed competence in the dialect. Those grandchildren who inserted more Italian transfers of any type in English-base clauses were younger; their parents used more English to address the grandparents and their grandparents inserted more Italian transfers and more English variable words in their Veneto.

The Italian-Australian grandparents and parents who produced more transfers of different types from English to Italian seemed to have 'encouraged' their youngest-generation relatives to transfer to Italian both from English and from Veneto. However, there was no correlation between the relative frequency of transfers from Veneto to Italian among the grandparents and among the grandchildren. Thus, the Veneto influence on the Italian of the grandparents was not reflected in the language of their grandchildren.

The Italian-Australian grandchildren who produced more clauses entirely in Veneto produced more transfers (from either source language) in Veneto-base clauses. These informants also produced more clauses in Veneto and transfers to Veneto in the Veneto elicitation session. Their language in the Italian narration contained a larger proportion of morphological transfers from Veneto to Italian, possibly as a result of the lower control on the smaller constituents considered in this category.

Similarly, the third-generation informants who produced more transfers from Italian to English in the natural conversation also did so in both elicitation sessions. Moreover, those who inserted more Veneto transfers in their Italian-base clauses when speaking to their

grandparents also produced more clauses entirely in Italian and transfers from English to Italian. Finally, those who produced more transfers from English to Italian in the natural conversation produced more Italian clauses in the Veneto narration.

7.4 Summary and conclusion

In the Italian sample, shift away from Veneto to Italian was only evident among the grandchildren. Italian grandchildren used a small proportion of speech entirely in Italian and transferred slightly more frequently than their parents, but still mainly to Veneto. The natural speech of the youngest generation in Italy consisted for the vast majority in clauses entirely in Veneto or with a Veneto base. Transfers from Italian to Veneto in the corpus of all informants in both countries were predominantly lexical, invariable, morphological and syntactic, in that order. While Veneto was the major family language among the Italian grandchildren, the *elicited* data revealed that they had a lower control over Veneto than over Italian. Their 'elicited' Veneto was much more permeable to transference than their 'elicited' Italian. The use of Veneto in the relevant elicitation session was also accompanied by a substantial proportion of clauses entirely in Italian and transfers to Italian. The proportion of syntactic transfers to Veneto in the elicited language of the Italian grandchildren was substantially larger than the proportion of syntactic transfers to Italian.

The distribution of monolingual speech and transference in the natural language of the grandparents in Australia was similar to that in the natural language of the grandchildren in Italy (see 6.2.2). However, the corpus of Italian-Australian grandparents contained a smaller proportion of transfers that occurred in Veneto-base clauses than the corpus of the youngest speakers in Italy did. The decline of clauses in Veneto and transfers to Veneto between the first and the second generation was smaller than within the first generation, when the youngest family members were being addressed. The shift away from Veneto was most advanced in the third generation.

Among the youngest-generation informants in Australia, the ability to narrate in Veneto and the use of Veneto to address the grandparents was restricted to the stages of the Italian migrant continuum that were closest to the second generation (cf. 6.4). When Veneto was elicited, the Italian-Australian grandchildren resorted to speech entirely in Italian almost as frequently as their same-generation relatives in Italy, but produced a much larger

384

proportion of transfers to Italian. However, Italian seemed to exert its influence on Veneto at the same linguistic levels in the elicited language of the grandchildren in both countries. The impact of Italian syntactic patterns on Veneto was more noticeable in the elicited language of both groups of grandchildren compared to the natural language of their older relatives. However, among the grandchildren in Australia, there was a more clear-cut, comparable concentration of lexical and syntactic transfers, which emerged as the two major channels for the intrusion of Italian into their Veneto. In the entire corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren, there were more syntactic transfers from Italian to Veneto than in any other direction.

However, Veneto spoken by the youngest-generation informants in Australia, as well as their older relatives, was generally much less permeable to transference from either source languages than Italian was. Unlike the Veneto in the natural language of the first and second generations, the Veneto in the elicited language of the third generation was less receptive to English transfers than Italian transfers. Apart from small proportions of lexical, invariable and phrasal transfers, transference from English to the Veneto in the elicited and natural language of the grandchildren in Australia was predominantly 'covert' (see 5.2). As such, it entailed the skilful utilisation of Veneto morpho-phonological surface material. The incidence of covert transfer types from English was higher in the Veneto of the Italian-Australian grandchildren than in their Italian. The expected influence of the dominant language at the phonic level was also weaker on their Veneto than on their Italian. Nevertheless, the syntax of their Veneto was subjected to a stronger impact from English than their Italian was.

The use of speech entirely in Italian was comparable among all Italian-Australian informants except the first-generation informants in the conversation with the younger interlocutors, who produced a substantially larger proportion of Italian clauses. The Italian spoken by the Italian-Australian parents and grandparents, particularly when they were addressing the grandchildren, was substantially influenced by Veneto, which resulted in phenomena observed in the popular or popular regional registers of Italian in the home region (cf. 3.1.2.2-3). The impact of the dialect on the Italian of the youngest generations in both countries was more noticeable in the elicited language than in their natural language. However, in the natural language of all the Italian-Australian informants there was a larger proportion of transfers from Veneto to Italian than vice versa. Transference

385

from Veneto to Italian in the natural corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren was articulated in the same types as in the natural corpus of the older informants, i.e. phonic, lexical, morphological, invariable, phrasal and semantic transfers and morphosyntactic translations. Most morphological transfers in the entire corpus of the grandchildren in Australia were from Veneto to Italian. While Veneto in the younger generations in both countries seemed to be more exposed to syntactic transference from Italian, the influence of Veneto on the Italian of the informants in Australia was more diverse. In particular, Veneto seemed virtually impermeable to phonic and semantic transfers, as well as morphosyntactic translations from Italian.

The influence of English was minimal on the Italian of the first and second generations but dramatically increased in the third generation. Almost half of the transfers in the grandchildren's corpus were from English to Italian. Transfers from English to both Italian and Veneto in the speech of the grandchildren in Australia were mostly phonic, semantic and morphosyntactic translations. However, transfers from English to Italian were also lexical and invariable, which were very infrequent from English to Veneto. The high relative frequency and in some cases predominance of covert types of transference of lexical material from English to Italian and Veneto seemed to distinguish the natural language of the informants in the present sample from the elicited data collected in other studies. The same was the case for invariable transfers, in particular from English to Veneto in the second generation. On the other hand, morphosyntactic translations from English, which were also found among second language learners in other studies, only occurred in both the natural and elicited Italian and the elicited Veneto of the youngest speakers.

The production of transfers to Veneto and to Italian among the Italian-Australian grandchildren was strongly dependent on their production of clauses entirely in those two languages. However, this was not the case for transfers to English. The use of speech entirely in Veneto to communicate with the grandparents was strongly linked to the ability to produce it when Veneto was elicited. However, only the production of speech entirely in Italian in the Veneto narration seemed to have a bearing on the choice of this language in the natural conversation with the first-generation speakers. This suggests that a possible relationship between proficiency and use of Italian was to be found only among those third-generation informants who could participate in the Veneto elicitation session, as they

were aware of the existence of Veneto (cf. 4.5.2). However, the ability to produce clauses entirely in Italian and 'translate' English items/phrases into Italian in the relevant narration was strongly linked to the production of a higher number of clauses in the interaction with the grandmother, which seemed to result from a more balanced verbal participation between the two interlocutors. The only connection between the use of English in the elicitation sessions and the natural conversation was found in terms of transference to English rather clauses entirely in English. Thus, the choice of Italian and English among the young informants in the sample appeared to be more independent of their demonstrated linguistic ability than that of Veneto. Vice versa, the use of Veneto to address the grandparents seemed to represent a full utilisation of the linguistic resources that the grandchildren drew upon in the relevant elicitation task.

The choice of Veneto to address the grandparents, both in terms of whole clauses in and transfers to that language, was also shown to be more dependent than Italian on variables pertaining to the family background, i.e. the grandchildren's position on the generational continuum, determined by their older relatives' country of birth and age at arrival to Australia; the older relatives' self-assessed proficiency in Italian and English; the older relatives' education in Italy and Australia. In relation to these variables, favourable conditions for the maintenance of Veneto seemed to obtain among the children of Italian-born parents who had come to Australia at an older age. Most of these variables had the opposite effect on the grandchildren's production of clauses entirely in English and/or transfers occurring in English-base clauses. These findings suggest a 'converse' relationship between the choice of Veneto and English in the third generation.

The relative frequency of clauses in English and transfers to English in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren was not correlated. However, those informants who produced more transfers to English were younger and their parents addressed the grandparents more often in English. Although less clearly interpretable, other correlations indicate that the grandparents might have influenced their grandchildren's production of transfers occurring in English-base clauses through their transference to Veneto.

Italian-Australian grandparents and parents appeared to influence the grandchildren's transference habits to Italian, rather than their production of clauses entirely in that language. The relative frequency with which the older speakers transferred from English to

Italian was reflected in the relative frequency with which the grandchildren transferred from both source languages to Italian. However, transference from Veneto to Italian was much more prominent than transference from English to Italian in the speech of the older relatives in Australia. The opposite was the case in the speech of the Italian-Australian grandchildren. These findings further highlight the possible greater independence of their use of Italian than that of Veneto from the family input. However, the grandchildren in Australia could produce a substantially larger proportion of speech in Veneto that was 'free' of transference from their dominant language, even at the phonic level. Nevertheless, their Veneto exhibited the same signs of structural intrusion from Italian at the syntactic level as the Veneto of the grandchildren in Italy.

The data suggest that while Italian as a family language for the older Italian-Australian informants seemed vulnerable to incursions from Veneto at various levels, it appeared to be 'protected' from English. Their Veneto seemed more exposed to transference from English than Italian was. Almost the opposite was the case in the third generation. Among the Italian-Australian grandchildren, Italian seemed to have taken the place of Veneto as the language which attracted a larger proportion of transfers from English. Their Veneto, at least in their elicited language, was more influenced by Italian than by the dominant language.

The large proportion of clauses entirely in English in the Italian-Australian grandchildren's corpus, the small proportion of transfers to English and the lack of correlation between the two are consistent with the 'shift without interference' that Thomason and Kaufman (1988:119) observed is typical of first migrants' grandchildren (see discussion in 4.2). The use of English was actually the only factor that inhibited the grandchildren's production of transference in any direction. Thus, in relation to English, the intergenerational variation found in the present corpus could be described in terms of a 'shift in directionality of insertion' (Muysken, 2000, cf. 2.3.3). In the corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren such 'turnover' could only be found in terms of the relative frequency with which Veneto and English figured as the source language for transference to Italian. The influence from Veneto that was found in the Italian of the grandparents in Australia was half as strong as the influence from the dominant language in the Italian of their grandchildren. In turn, the natural language of the older generation in Australia seemed to have marked a 'turnover' or 'shift in directionality' of transference between the two community languages. Unlike

388

the informants in Italy, all informants in Australia produced more transfers from Veneto to Italian than vice versa. Within the first generation, the acceleration in the shift away from Veneto to Italian that was caused by the presence of the grandchildren was accompanied by an inversion in the proportions of transfers from English to Veneto and from Veneto to Italian.

In the first generation, there was what could be termed a 'source language shift' for transference to Veneto. Veneto was more permeable to English than Italian in the natural language of all participants in Australia. Thus, the 'shift to English' in the first and second generations was only a 'shift' in terms of the use of this language as a source for transference to Veneto. The use of Veneto in the older generations in Italy was fundamentally monolingual, i.e. without transference.

Rather than a shift to English, in the first migrant generation there was a certain shift to Italian, in which only few lexical items occurred in the speech of their same-generation relatives in Italy. However, the shift to Italian in the first-generation could be said to be accompanied by a shift 'to transference', predominantly from Veneto. The influence from the dialect was stronger among the older speakers in Australia than the youngest in Italy. Moreover, when the Italian-Australian grandparents were addressing their grandchildren, both the use of Italian and transference from Veneto to Italian recorded a parallel increase, which suggests that the production in the one category might have been a function of the other. Given the much weaker influence of the dialect on the Italian of the third generation that on that of the first, the process that apparently guided intergenerational maintenance in the present sample can only partially be referred to as 'interference through imperfect learning' (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988:39, see discussion in 2.4.1).

At least some of the phenomena resulting from the contact between Italian and dialect in the corpus have been attested in Italy (cf. 3.2 and chapter 5). However, such phenomena were not found in the natural language the Italian informants in the present sample. While survey data indicate that use of Italian with younger interlocutors is increasing in Italy, speech in Italian was extremely rare among the older participants in this study. However, the younger interlocutors seemed to have exerted a considerable shifting pressure on the grandparents in Australia. The presence of the Italian-Australian grandchildren 'elicited' a substantially larger production of Italian and transference from Veneto to Italian from their grandparents. Thus, the variation between the two samples suggests that migration might

389

have 'accelerated' the tendency to use Italian, which resulted in the emergence of contact phenomena from the dialect in their speech. However, the self-reported and language data indicate that Italian was only part of the repertoire of *inter*-regional-families (cf. Bettoni and Rubino, 1996:75-7, discussed in 3.2.1.2).

The production of 'covert' and 'overt' transfer types by the Italian-Australian grandparents appeared to be sensitive to the generation of their interlocutors (cf. Giles et al., 1977 - see 2.1.2). When addressing the grandchildren, rather than the parents, the first-generation informants produced relatively more semantic transfers from Veneto to Italian (i.e. 'covert' transfers) but more lexical transfers from English to both community languages (i.e. 'overt' transfers). A similar variation was found in the elicited language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the two narrations. However, when the young informants addressed their oldest-generation relatives they seemed to have felt 'freer' to use their dominant language, both in terms of monolingual speech and 'overt' transference from it. Nevertheless, the Italian-Australian grandchildren inserted substantially fewer lexical transfers from either source language in their Veneto than their first-generation interlocutors. It is possible that the younger-generation speakers intended to 'accommodate' (Giles et al., 1979) to the grandparents' speech by approximating their supposed 'purer' original dialect. The youngest-generation informants may also have entertained different attitudes towards transference to Veneto from their older relatives (cf. discussion in 2.3.1 and 3.2.3.1).

Similar syntactic transference phenomena from Italian were found, in substantial proportions, in the Veneto of the youngest-generation speakers in both countries. This might be taken as an indication that, if maintained for a sufficient span of time, Veneto as a migrant language might exhibit parallel phenomena to those that are developing in the homeland, but which were not visible in the previous generations (cf. 2.4.1).

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

This chapter draws together the major findings of this study in relation to the research questions that it set out to investigate and considers their implications for future research (8.0 and 8.2, respectively). In light of the results, the methodological choices that were made for the collection and the analysis of the data are assessed in 8.1.

8.0 Main findings

The study aimed to give a description of the presence of Veneto, Italian and English in the natural speech of the third generation. An overview of the main results that pertain to monolingual speech in the three languages and transference is given in the subsections below (8.0.1-4). Findings that highlight the possible importance of the family repertoire for language choice in the third generation are summarised in subsection 8.0.5.

8.0.1 The place of transference in the speech of the third generation

Although the relative frequency of transference increased from one generation to the next and from the homeland to the new country, the *natural* language of all informants was, for the vast majority, *monolingual* among all informants (cf. Li Wei, 1994, discussed in 2.1.2). Transference accounted for less than 5% of the clause production of the grandparents in Italy and a quarter of the clause production of the grandchildren in Australia. Transference was found to be strongly inhibited by the use of English among the third-generation informants. Nevertheless, the incidence of transference in their speech was similar to that in the speech of their first-generation interlocutors and the second-generation informants. The proportion of monolingual speech in the two community languages was much smaller in the third generation than in the previous generations.

Transference was a major feature of the *elicited* language of the grandchildren in Australia and accounted for more than half of their clause production in the narrations. Clauses that

presented at least one transfer were much more frequent than those that exhibited only contact phenomena other than transference in the language of all Italian-Australian informants. No clauses in the latter category were found in the natural language of the Italian informants.

8.0.2 Veneto in the third generation

The shift away from Veneto increased substantially in the youngest generation in Italy and from one generation to the next in Australia. The use of Veneto in the conversation with the grandparents was surprisingly large among the Italian-Australian grandchildren (i.e. one fifth of their production). However, a larger proportion of Veneto clauses in their natural speech strongly correlated with an earlier collocation on the third-generation continuum and characteristics of the older family members that were consistent with it (cf. 4.4.1 and 8.05 below). These were a lower self-assessed proficiency in English among both the parents and the grandparents, as well as more schooling before migration among the parents, but less among the grandparents.

The 'proficiency' in Veneto, at least as demonstrated in the relevant elicitation task, seemed to have been fully 'utilized' by the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the communication with their grandparents. That is, those third-generation informants who produced more clauses entirely in Veneto when required to narrate in it, also did so when they were addressing their first-generation relatives. The control over the production of Veneto seemed higher than the control over the production of Italian among both the Italian-Australian and the Italian grandchildren. While Veneto was almost totally 'deactivated' in the Italian elicitation session (cf. Grosjean, 2000, discussed in 2.1.2), both groups of grandchildren produced a considerable proportion of clauses entirely in Italian when they were required to narrate in Veneto.

Unlike the 'elicited' Veneto of the grandchildren in Italy, the Veneto of the Italian-Australian grandchildren in both the elicited sessions and the natural conversation was less permeable to transference than their Italian. This was also found to be the case in the natural speech of the older Italian-Australian informants. The Veneto of the grandchildren in Australia was also less influenced by the host language than their Italian was. 'Overt' lexical transference (cf. 5.2.) to Veneto, from both language sources, was either completely

absent or much less frequent than to Italian. Thus, most transference to Veneto in the speech of the third generation resulted in the production of Veneto surface morpho-phonological material, which required a high level of proficiency in that language.

However, the Veneto of the grandchildren in both countries was highly susceptible to syntactic transference from Italian. Furthermore, while Veneto accounted for a well controlled, however small, proportion of the corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren, two of the informants had lost awareness of the existence of the dialect as a separate language from what they referred to as 'Italian' (cf. 4.3 and 4.5.2). This phenomenon might represent the last stage of language maintenance in Italian migrant communities, as well as other communities whose repertoire includes a dialect and a 'standard' language.

8.0.3 Italian in the third generation

While the proportion of Italian clauses in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren was half as large as that of Veneto, it was relatively comparable to that found among their parents and grandparents, when they were addressing each other. However, unlike for Veneto, some 'proficiency' in Italian, in terms of a larger production of Italian clauses in the Italian narration, was no guarantee for the use of this language in the conversation with the grandparents. This choice seemed to have been made only by those grandchildren who maintained *awareness* of the separation between dialect and Italian and could thus take part in the Veneto elicitation task, despite resorting to Italian to perform it. That is, only those informants who produced more Italian clauses in the Veneto narration also did so in the natural conversation with their grandparents. This was the only finding that indicated the possible significance of Veneto for the maintenance of Italian.

The Italian of the grandchildren in Australia was much more influenced by transference, particularly from English, than their Veneto and than the Italian of their grandparents and parents. Between the youngest generation in Italy and the oldest in Australia, there was at least a partial 'turnover' or 'shift in directionality' (cf. Myers-Scotton, 1993a:70; Muysken, 2000, discussed in 2.3.3) in transference between the two community languages, with Italian overtaking Veneto as the recipient language for most transfers. However, between the second and third generation there was what could be termed a 'source language shift', as English contributed the overwhelming majority of transfers to Italian in the youngest

generation. Among the Italian-Australian grandchildren, transference from English to Italian surpassed transference from English to Veneto as well as transference between the two community languages.

The influence of a dialectal or 'regional' and 'popular' basis (cf. discussion 3.1.2.2-3) on the Italian of the third generation was much weaker than on the Italian of their older relatives. However, the infiltration of Veneto in the Italian of the informants in Australia involved the same typology of transfers. Morphological transfers from Veneto to Italian were proportionately prominent in all groups. The passage of items included in this category from the dialects to Italian (e.g. articles) was also found to be particularly fluid in Italy (cf. Sobrero, 1988b; Alfonzetti, 1992a).

8.0.4 The English of the third generation

Clauses entirely in English virtually only occurred in the youngest generation in Australia (similar to clauses entirely in Italian in the youngest generation in Italy). The use of English in the third generation was not as frequent as that of Veneto in the second generation. English was the major source language for transference to Veneto in the first and second generations and to Italian in the third generation. However, English was much less frequently the recipient language of transfers than the community languages. The proportion of clauses entirely in English in the natural corpus of the third-generation informants correlated negatively with that of clauses exhibiting transference. Thus, while the shift to English among the youngest speakers in Australia was not as advanced as expected, it might have represented a shift to monolingual use of English, which is consistent with Thomason and Kaufman's 'shift without interference' (1988:119, discussed in 2.4.1).

8.0.5 Family repertoire

In the first generation, Veneto as a family language seemed to have been in competition with Italian rather than English. However, the results of the correlation analysis suggest that in the third generation, Veneto and Italian were in direct competition with English rather than with each other. At the level of transference, this apparent relationship seemed to be reflected in the predominance of Veneto transfers in the Italian of the first and second

generations and the predominance of English transfers in both the Veneto and the Italian of the third generation.

The Italian-Australian grandchildren who used a larger proportion of Veneto clauses in the conversation with their grandparents belonged to early stages of the third-generation continuum, i.e. they were children of overseas-born parents who had arrived to Australia at a later age. Other factors pertaining to the older family members that seemed crucial for the grandchildren's choice of Veneto were also clustered around the early generational stages of the third-generation continuum. The findings of the correlation analysis indicate that there was a mutually exclusive relationship between Veneto and English in the grandchildren's choice of language to address the grandparents. On the other hand, the grandchildren's use of Italian did not seem to be influenced by any of the variables that pertained to their family repertoire.

The choice of Veneto among the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the natural conversation seemed to be dependent on both their grandparents and parents' poorer competence in English (cf. e.g. Clyne, 1982:28 and discussion in 2.2.1). The grandchildren of speakers with a higher level of education and a higher self-assessed competence in Italian seemed to have been 'encouraged' to abandon Veneto in favour of English. Thus, the findings of this study suggest that these factors might have an effect not only *within* the first generation (cf. Bettoni and Rubino, 1996, discussed in 3.2.1.2), but also from the first generation to the third. More confident Italian speakers might have exposed their grandchildren more frequently to this language, possibly via the relations entertained by the family with the Italian-Australian community. Thus, they might have sensitised their younger family members, even if only attitudinally, to the prestige of Italian as a language occupying a higher *diglossic position* and to the advantages of learning it as a school subject (cf. 3.1.4, 2.2.2; 3.2.2).

Among the Italian-Australian parents, however, it was a higher self-assessed competence in Italian and a longer period of schooling in Italy (as well as a shorter one in Australia) that seemed to 'discourage' the shift to English and 'promote' the maintenance of Veneto among their children. Thus, these factors in relation to the first and second generation had the opposite effect on the grandchildren's language choice. This might be explained by the fact that, in both generations, their significance derived from the informants' older age at

arrival (cf. 4.4.9), with advantages for the Veneto input they could provide to their youngest-generation relatives. However, a possible alternative interpretation of these results, which would need to be further investigated, is that a more holistic approach to the maintenance of *both* community languages was needed on the part of the parents for the youngest speakers to be less vulnerable to shift to English.

The factors that seem to contribute to the shift away from Veneto in the third generation did *not* contribute to a shift to Italian. As was found in other studies focusing on the second generation (cf. e.g. Rubino, 1993:256), both the self-reported and the language data indicate that Italian did not always seem to represent an alternative to the dialect and to English among the third-generation informants in this sample. However, it seemed to do so for (some of) the Veneto grandparents in the inter-regional extended families and/or from a more urbanized background. In the third and second generations, Italian was preferred to Veneto, although not necessarily to English, whenever it was made available by the grandparents. Nevertheless, there was no highly significant correlation between the use of either community language among the grandchildren and among their older relatives or the intra- vs. inter-regional status of their family and the 'urban' vs. 'rural' origin of their grandparents.

Survey data have shown that Italian-Australian parents from different regions resort to Italian more frequently for communication between themselves and with their children (cf. Bettoni and Rubino, 1996, discussed in 3.2.1.2). However, the third-generation children from inter-regional marriages in the present sample were addressed in Italian by Veneto grandparents whose spouse was also from the *same* region. Thus, the findings of this study suggest that mixed regional marriages in the second generation might have repercussions for the language choice of the first and the third generations. The effects of urbanization and the younger age of the speakers/interlocutors on the shift to Italian have been documented in Italy (cf. 3.1.6). In the Italian sample, these factors affected, in marginal proportions, only the youngest informants. This suggests that migration might have heightened the sensitivity of the Italian-Australian grandparents to the prestige of Italian.

The minimal permeability to English of the Italian of the older generations seemed to reflect its higher diglossic status in comparison to Veneto (cf. 3.2.2). Other studies have found that from this privileged position in relation to the dialect, Italian enjoys a weaker

exposure to the host language (e.g. Rubino, 1993 and, for other languages, Pauwels, 1986; cf. 2.2.2 and 3.2.3). The findings of the present project indicate that when Italian was adopted as a family language in the first and second generations, whether in conjunction with the dialect or not, it seemed to retain the advantage of a higher protection from the influence of English. On the other hand, regional and/or popular characteristics that pertained to a dialectal basis seemed to pervade the Italian of those first-generation speakers in this sample who chose this language for communication in the family. This was also found to be the case in the 'elicited' Italian of habitual home dialectophones in other studies (cf. Bettoni, 1981).

The situation described above was reversed in the third generation. In the speech of the Italian-Australian grandchildren, the 'purification' of Italian from dialect influence, possibly as a result of formal school instruction (cf. Rubino, 1987b, discussed in 2.2.3), was accompanied by a much stronger English influence than the one to which their Veneto was subjected. The choice of Italian to address their grandparents was not dependent on factors that pertain to the grandchildren's family input and that determined their choice of Veneto (i.e. their parents' country of birth, their parents/grandparents' schooling in Italy/Australia and their self-assessed competence in English/Italian). Moreover, transference from English influenced more strongly the grandchildren's Italian than their Veneto, even at the phonic level. This further indicates that those third-generation informants who used Italian might not have been continuously exposed to it from birth in the *home* environment. However, the data suggest that this greater autonomy from the family background that was apparently enjoyed by Italian in the third generation came at the cost of a higher vulnerability to the dominant language.

One of the issues that further research can investigate is the possibility that the third generation might conceive of the diglossic relationship between Italian and English in different ways from the previous generations. Rubino (1993, discussed in 3.2.2) pointed out the duality of English in her informant's repertoire as both the 'prestigious language' and her children's 'family language', which thus frequently mixed with the mother's, i.e. Sicilian. In the repertoire of that speaker, Italian was at the highest and 'safest' diglossic position from the influence of English (Rubino, 1993). However, among those Italian-Australian grandchildren in the present sample who used it, Italian might have slid into the

position of a family language in direct contact with their dominant language. Furthermore, their weaker active competence in the dialect might have diminished the prestige of Italian as a 'H language' in relation to a 'subaltern' code. Di Pietro (1981:337) also noted that Italian in Australia occupies a double status as one the main modern foreign languages taught in Australian schools (cf. 1.0) and as an 'ethnic' language, the family and the neighbourhood being its main domains of usage.

The higher diglossic collocation of Italian apparently contributed to the shift to it among some of the Italian-Australian grandparents for use within the whole family or specifically for language transmission purposes with their grandchildren. Furthermore, the higher prestige of Italian seemed to have encouraged the abandonment of Veneto in favour of English in the third generation, even when Italian was not part of the family repertoire. However, the data in this study do not offer strong support to the hypothesis that Italian *per se* would be a more adequate language than the dialect for maintenance purposes (cf. Haller, 1986, discussed in 3.2.2). On the other hand, the results do suggest that the role played by the grandparents in the extended family might be crucial for language maintenance in the third generation only if sustained by the parents in the *home* domain and vice versa (cf. Fishman, 1991, 2001, and discussion in 2.2.1 and 2.4.2). Among the participants in the present study this only obtained for Veneto.

8.0.5.1 Transference habits

The only factor that correlated with the relative frequency of *transference* in the natural language of the third-generation informants was their own production of English. Those informants who used more speech in English to address their grandparents were much less likely to produce transfers in any direction. While the language of the older speakers was not found to influence the grandchildren's monolingual use of the three languages, there was indication that they might have influenced the relative frequency with which the grandchildren produced transfers in different directions and of different types.

The correlations that pertain to transference highlight further interdependencies between Veneto and English and the greater autonomy of Italian in the third generation. Transference to Veneto among the grandchildren was promoted by almost exactly the same factors as those promoting the use of speech entirely in Veneto. However, the relative

frequency of transference to Veneto in the natural corpus of the grandchildren and in that of their older speakers was not correlated. The proportion of (certain types of) transference *to Veneto* in the first generation was, in fact, strongly correlated with the proportion of (certain types of) transference *to English* in the third generation. This indicates that the grandchildren of those speakers who inserted more transfers in their Veneto were more likely to produce clauses that had an English base. The same held true for informants whose grandparents had attained a higher level of education in Italy. This factor was also found to 'discourage' their use of speech entirely in Veneto (cf. discussion in 8.0.5 above). Moreover, the parents of those grandchildren who produced more transfers to English used more speech entirely in *English* in the natural conversation with the grandparents and had a lower self-assessed competence in the *dialect*. Finally, those grandchildren who produced more transfers to English when addressing their grandparents also did so when required to narrate in Italian and in Veneto. This suggests that they might have been less proficient in the two community languages.

The high incidence of transference from Veneto in the Italian of the older Italian-Australian informants was *not* reflected in the Italian of their youngest relatives. Only the relative frequency of transfers from English to Italian in the speech of the grandparents and the parents correlated with that of transfers from both English and Veneto to Italian in the speech of the grandchildren.

8.1 Methodological issues

Major methodological implications arising from the findings can be summarized as follows:

a) *collecting natural data*:

The consistency between self-reported and language data among the grandparents and the parents (see Table F.4) indicates that the method designed for the recording of natural language in the present study (see 4.5.1) was successful in obtaining reliable data. The method avoided bestowing control of the tape-recorder to the informants (cf. Rubino, 1993; Cavallaro, 1997) and hence afforded the possibility of i) setting the dyads of interlocutors under examination, ii) creating better conditions for the active participation of both interlocutors and iii) enhancing the comparability of the data from different recording

sessions. The method relied on language choice as a stable component of the participants' *role-relationship*, which seemed to have reduced the impact of the presence of the tape-recorder and the researcher. The relatively high degree of familiarity between the researcher and the participants at time of fieldwork might have been an additional crucial factor in making the method successful.

b) *considering the clause as the unit of speech and identifying the base language* :
Especially in studies of contact between Italian and dialects, identifying the base language has been problematic (cf. e.g. Rubino, 1993; Cavallaro, 1997; Alfonzetti, 1992a, and discussion in 2.3.3). The possible adequacy of the criteria applied here is indirectly demonstrated by the correlations between the proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto and Italian, respectively, and that of transfers occurring in clauses with a base in the same language (see 7.3). Thus, production of clauses in the two categories seemed to be dependent on the same language skills. Furthermore, with few exceptions, both monolingual speech in Veneto and transference to Veneto correlated with the same variables that pertain to the grandchildren's family repertoire.

c) *coding each transfer individually*:
Both the direction and type of each individual transfer occurring in the clause were coded. In other models, which were designed for different research purposes from those in this study, speech presenting influences from all three language was categorized as 'mixed' (e.g. Rubino, 1993). This model of analysis enabled a more detailed assessment of the inter-penetration of the three languages and the linguistic levels that it involved.

d) *using a control group*:
Comparison with the speech of the participants' relatives in the homeland has proven useful to assess, in a more principled way, the shift to Italian in the first migrant generation in the perspective of their possible original repertoire. Incidentally, the analysis of the data collected in Australia and in Italy revealed on-going parallel trends that are emerging among the youngest-generation speakers in the two countries.

e) *subdividing the generational continuum*:
The generational subdivision adopted in this study separated overseas-born participants on the basis of whether they had received any schooling at the time of migration (see. 4.4.1-

2). School was likely to have been their major source of exposure to Italian for the overseas-born participants in the study. The position of the grandchildren on the generational continuum, as defined above, correlated negatively with their use of Veneto. This finding confirms the possible relevance of a finer discrimination among childhood bilinguals based on age at arrival. However, their parents' schooling in Italy correlated positively with it. Thus, the significance of this variable in this sample lies in the older age at arrival and the longer exposure to Veneto of the parents before migration. The longer exposure to 'standard Italian' at school did not seem to be a factor in the maintenance of Veneto.

f) *using natural and elicited data*:
Comparison of the informants' speech in different conditions highlighted the way in which the production of different transfer types seemed to be 'regulated' according to the language that was being elicited or and the degree of 'convergence' towards the interlocutor that was being addressed (cf. Giles, 1977, discussed in 2.1.2).

g) *creating an ad hoc transfer typology*:
Function variable words were coded in a separate transfer category, (i.e. 'morphological') with the purpose of investigating the possible relationship between transference from the dominant language in the speech of the third-generation informants and the inflectional morphology of the community languages (cf. 5.2.2). However, morphological transfers were found to be particularly significant among transfers from Veneto to Italian. Rather than transferring items in this category from English to the community languages, the less proficient third-generation informants seemed to have frequently omitted them altogether.

8.2 Further implications for future research

A major issue highlighted by the results of this study, the analysis of which remains beyond its scope, is the relative permeability of Veneto vs. Italian as a function of the structural convergence they are undergoing. As found in other studies, in the older generations transference between Italian and the dialect was relatively more frequent than transference from English to both community languages (cf. Rubino, 1993). However, the data from the present corpus showed that while penetration of Italian into Veneto was quantitatively much less pervasive than vice versa, it fundamentally took the form of

lexical and syntactic transference. The almost complete absence of 'phonic' and 'semantic' transference from Italian to Veneto among all informants in both countries seems to indicate that that ease of 'phonological conversion' and 'translation' of items/phrases might have been greater in that direction than vice versa (cf. discussion in 3.1.2.5). That is, these two processes might have resulted more frequently in the formation of the full Italian equivalents, i.e. 'lexical'/'phrasal' transfers, rather than 'phonic' and 'semantic' ones, respectively. This might be symptomatic of a higher vulnerability of the Veneto lexicon than the Italian one.

Furthermore, the omission of the obligatory subject clitic pronoun (categorised as 'syntactic' transference from Italian) was prominent among the youngest speakers in both countries but virtually absent among the older ones. Veneto in the third generation in Australia was also relatively more permeable to overt lexical transfers as well as to syntactic ones from English than in the previous generations. This indicates possible lines of further cross-linguistic investigation. Thus, the study of the speech of the third migrant generation and its comparison with data from the homeland could shed light on parallel changes in the languages in the two countries. More comparative research based on corpora from Italy and Australia could also provide insight into the level of koineaisation of Veneto in the home region vs. its conservativeness in the migration context (cf. Rubino 1998:396-8). Further study would also be necessary to analyse the role of what were classified here as 'compromise clauses' in the structural convergence between Veneto and Italian as well as language maintenance in the third generation (see 5.3.1 – cf. Muysken's 'congruent lexicalization' (2000), discussed in 2.3.3). Single-item 'contact phenomena other than transference' could be investigated from the same perspective (see 5.3.2-3).

The investigative lines suggested by the findings of the correlation analysis in the present study could be further pursued via quantitative analysis in larger samples as well as qualitative analysis. The predictive force of factors that were found to be crucial for the maintenance of Veneto in the third generation could be tested among both speakers from previous generations in Australia as well as speakers in the homeland. Further qualitative research would also shed light on intra-generational differences in the linguistic behaviour of speakers in the same family.

Together with the *loss of awareness* of the existence of Veneto mentioned above, a further apparently new dimension in language maintenance emerged from the results of the present study and might encourage future research. This was the connection between a higher proficiency in Italian in the third generation, as demonstrated in the relevant elicitation session, and a more active and comfortable participation in the conversation with the grandparents, as demonstrated by the production of a larger total number of clauses (cf. 6.5.1). This, it was speculated, seemed to have stemmed from a more *habitual verbal interaction* with the first-generation relatives, which, as other studies have found, is far from being certain even when the grandchildren's visits at their place are frequent (cf. Cavallaro, 1997; Rubino, 1993). The possible dependence of competence in Italian on a more frequent communicational routine with the grandparents was the only link between the use of Italian among the Italian-Australian grandchildren and their family background. Those grandchildren who produced more Italian when this language was elicited did not necessarily do so when addressing their grandparents. Vice versa, those of them that produced a higher number of clauses in the natural conversation did not necessarily produce more speech entirely in Italian in the same recording.

Thus, despite the general autonomy of the grandchildren's choice of Italian in comparison to the other two languages, a greater willingness to participate actively with the grandparents might have translated into a greater eagerness to learn Italian, whether from their older relatives or other sources of exposure. These findings indicate that a higher interest in communicating with the first-generation relatives might be a crucial factor in language maintenance in the third generation and that the role of the grandparents can only be fulfilled if maintenance at the interactional level obtains. Research conducted within this perspective would broaden the study of language maintenance after the second generation into the realm of sociology of communication and psychology.

APPENDIX A
SELF-REPORTED DATA SHEETS

1) INTERVIEWS

GRANDCHILD

year of birth

birth order

years of formal Italian instruction

years of schooling

profession in Australia

language used to address siblings

language used to address parents

language used to address grandparents

notes

PARENT

year of birth

place of birth

year of arrival in Australia

birth order

profession in Australia

years of schooling in Italy

years of schooling in Australia

years of formal Italian instruction

competence in English (very poor, poor, fair, very good)

competence in Veneto

competence in Italian

language used to address spouse

language used to address children

language used to address parents

language used to address parents-in law

GRANDPARENTS

year of birth

_____

place of birth

_____

year of arrival in Australia

_____

profession before migration

_____

profession in Australia

_____

years of schooling in Italy

_____

years of schooling in Australia

_____

competence in English (very poor, poor, fair, very good)

_____

_____

competence in Veneto

_____

_____

competence in Italian

_____

_____

language used to address their spouse

_____

_____

language used to address their children

_____

_____

language used to address children's in-laws

_____

_____

language used to address grandchildren

_____

_____

frequency with which of the grandparents have contact with the participating grandchildren (never, sometimes, frequently, very frequently)

_____

_____

frequency with which participating grandchildren were looked after by the grandparents when they were growing up

_____

_____

Notes

_____

_____

2) QUESTIONNAIRES (GRANDCHILD)

QUESTIONS about ITALIAN

a) Do you like speaking Italian?

> I hate it
>
> I don't like it
>
> It's good
>
> I love it

b) Do you like it when they speak Italian to you?

> I hate it
>
> I don't like it
>
> It's good
>
> I love it

c) Is the fact that your family/relatives speak Italian important to you?

> It's absolutely not important
>
> It's not important
>
> It's important
>
> It's extremely important

d) What is your Italian like?

> Very poor
>
> Poor
>
> Fair
>
> Very good

d) Would it be important for you to able to speak Italian better?

> It'd be absolutely not important
>
> I'm indifferent to it
>
> It would be good
>
> I'd love to

Thank you!

QUESTIONS about VENETO DIALECT

e) Do you like speaking dialect?

> I hate it
>
> I don't like it
>
> It's good
>
> I love it

f) Do you like it when they speak dialect to you?

> I hate it
>
> I don't like it
>
> It's good
>
> I love it

g) Is the fact that your family/relatives speak dialect important to you?

> It's absolutely not important
>
> It's not important
>
> It's important
>
> It's extremely important

h) What is your dialect like?

> Very poor
>
> Poor
>
> Fair
>
> Very good

d) Would it be important for you to able to speak dialect better?

> It'd be absolutely not important
>
> I'm indifferent to it
>
> It would be good
>
> I'd love to

Thank you!

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY OF PARTICIPANTS' DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS[1]

	Grandchildren			Parents		Grandparents			
	Gender	Age	Gener	Age	Gener (Age arr)	Year Birth (Age/Death)	Pl. Birth	Gener (Age arr)	Year arr.
				Fath 48	1A (21)		Tv		
	s	31							
1	F	26	2c/2A						
	s	20							
				s	1B (12)				
				Fath 56	1B (11)	GF 1906 (1997)		1A (45)	1951
				Mot 49	1c (5)	GM 1912 (86)	Pd	1A (41)	1953
				s	2A				
	s	26							
2	F	24	2c/2B						
				s	1c (4)	GF 1914 (84)		1A (37)	1951
				Mot 49	1c (1.8)	GM 1919 (79)	Pd	1A (32)	1951
				s		GF 1925 (73)		1A (25)	1950
				Fath 41	2A	GM 1926 (72)	Pd	1A (25)	1951
3	F	18							
4	F	15	3a						
5	M	13							
				Mot 41					
				s	2A	GF 1926 (1994)		1A (27)	1953
				s		GM 1932 (66)	Pd	1A (24)	1956
				s		GF 1933 (65)		1A (25)	1958
				s	2A	GM 1935 (63)	P	1A (23)	1958
				Mot 35					
6	F	14							
	s	8	3a						
				Fath 38		GF 1933 (65)	Pd	1A (24)	1957
				Fath 35	2A	GM 1934 (64)	Tv	1A (25)	1959
7	M	12							
	s	8	3a						
	s	3							
				s		GF 1935 (63)		1A (23)	1958
				Mot 31	2A	GM 1935 (63)	L	1A (23)	1958
				Fath 49	2B/2c	GF 1910 (1968)		1c (3)	1913
						GM 1914 (1989)	B	1B (12)	1926
8	F	23							
	s	21							
	s	18	3a/3b3						
9	M	15	c						
				s		GF 1923 (75)		1A (29)	1952
				Mot 45	2A	GM 1933 (65)	Pd	1A (19)	1952

[1] See 4.4. Legend: "F"= female; "M"= male; "Age"= age in 1999; "Gener."= generation on maternal/paternal side of the family; "(Age/Death)"= age in 1998/year of death; "Year arr"= year of arrival in Australia; "Age arr."= age at arrival in Australia; "Pd"= Padua (Veneto); "Tv"=Treviso (Veneto); "P"= Puglia region; "L"= Lazio region; "B"= Basilicata region; "s"= sibling.

APPENDIX C

TOPICS DISCUSSED IN THE NATURAL CONVERSATIONS[2]

Family A (GD 1)

MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER & MOTHER
grandfather's ninetieth birthday: lunch, grandfather's character;
problems related to old age;
granddaughter's wedding (upcoming): dates, dresses;
grandparents' wedding: menu;
grandparents' relationship;
relatives' birthdays and baptisms (upcoming): dates, gifts;
young relative's behavior
granddaughter's weight

GD 1 (aged 26)

MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER & GRANDDAUGHTER
grandfather: dreams, photos; character;
problems related to old age;
granddaughter's wedding (upcoming): flowers;
grandmother's outing to pensioners' group;
grandmother's acquaintances: health condition, character, house, age, weight;
subject and grandmother's weight;
uncle's health condition;
subject's new house;
grandmother's fruit tree growing;
relationship with relatives;
granddaughter's birthday (upcoming):
subject's birthday: photos;
subject's married life: relationship with husband, daily routine;
new towels;
coffee drinking;
language used at home.

Family A (GD 2)

MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER & MOTHER
(recent) granddaughter's birthday: date, cake;
passing of time;
(upcoming) granddaughter's wedding;
subject's wedding (upcoming): relatives in bridal party;
granddaughter's birthday (upcoming): cake, songs;
granddaughter's singing classes;
relative's birthday (upcoming): date;
Christmas (upcoming): date, venue, holiday;
grandmother's prayer group;
acquaintance's funeral;
acquaintance and grandmother's health condition;
grandmother's vegetable and flower growing.

GD 2 (aged 20)

MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER & GRANDDAUGHTER
daughter-in-law's flowers for grandmother;
grandmother's plants.

[2] See 4.5.1.4.1.

Family B (GC 3/4/5)

PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER & FATHER
Christmas (upcoming): venue, menu, gifts, invitees;
parents' anniversary (upcoming): date, holiday;
grandparents' arrival in Australia: date, anniversary;
grandparents' wedding: date, anniversary, trip;
relative's health condition;
grandmother's doctor: attire.

MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER & MOTHER
(recent) Christmas: practical jokes during gathering
uncle's wedding (upcoming): invitees accounts; bank loans; dresses; relationship with future daughter in law.

GD 3 (aged 18)

PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER AND GRANDDAUGHTER
subject's commitments: school, work, social life, boyfriend, school fees;
grandmother's youth in Italy;
grandmother's dinner with friends: menu, playing cards;
visit of subjects' boyfriend;
plans for that night: football match, dinner at grandmother's;
value of education for subject's future profession and family life, subject's university course;
uncle's visit (upcoming);
importance of men sending flowers.

GD 4 (aged 15)

PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER AND GRANDDAUGHTER
subject's basketball match and training;
grandmother's cooking for Christmas gathering at provincial association;
subject's trip (upcoming): participants, arrangements for eating;
fish & chips: change in wrapping methods from grandmother's time of arrival in Australia;
granddaughter's university reports;
subject's team mate's accident;
subject's relationship with friend;
letter from grandfather sent to wrong address;
dinner dance (upcoming): venue, date;
grandfather's work: place;
grandfather's plan to go to Italy;
aunt's visit (upcoming).

GS 5 (aged 12)

MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER & GRANDSON
grandmother's trip: food, playing at poker machines, places, excursions;
subject's dinner at a restaurant: menu;
subject's new computer;
subject's at school: new uniform, schedule;
value of education for professional future;
passing of time: grandmothers' relationship with her own grandmother;
grandson's girlfriend;
new born chicks of grandfather's peacock;
aunt: surgical operation she undergone;
other grandmother's trip (upcoming).

Family C (GD 6)

PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER & FATHER
Christmas (recent): date, venue, gifts;
New Year's Eve (upcoming): venue, holiday;
grandchildren's birthday: date;
Easter (upcoming): venue, holiday;
granddaughter at school: results, fees;
acquaintance's death.

GD 6 (aged 13)

PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER & GRANDDAUGHTER
grandmother's daily routine: relationship with grandchildren, housework;
family gathering for dinner (that night) : grandmother's cooking;
visit of grandparents' friend;
learning Italian; at school
grandson's accident: at the doctor's
granddaughter's part-time job
grandparents' purchase of a mobile phone, billing plans
granddaughter's planned night out at a night club with cousin
granddaughter's plans of saving for a car when she's 18

(Family C) (GS 7)

PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER & FATHER
father's birthday: wishes;
Easter: trip, lunch, weather;
school holiday (upcoming): grandmother babysitting grandchildren, outing;
that night: playing cards;
acquaintances' weddings (upcoming): reception, gifts;
grandson's birthday (upcoming): ideas for celebration.

GS 7 (aged 11)

PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER & GRANDDAUGHTER
Grandson's daily trips to school
Grandson's friend
Grandson's plan for future study and profession.

Family D (GC 8/9)

MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER & MOTHER
Christmas: menu, relatives from Italy, weather, Christmas in Italy;
Grandfather's favorite wine;
grandmother's outing with friends (upcoming);
grandson's birthday (upcoming): date, menu, grandchildren's eating taste;
Christmas (upcoming): menu, date, holiday;
parents' work: opening of new shop.

GD 9 (aged 23)

MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER AND GRANDDAUGHTER
grandmother's at a dinner party;
subject's at a party: participants;
subject's social life: show (upcoming), relationship with friends;
informants' relationship with uncle: purchase of a new house.

GS 10 (aged
14)

MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER AND GRANDSON
subject's at school: exam, transport, results in Italian;
importance of speaking Italian;
subject's dinner: menu;
dessert;
parents' work: hours;
informants' visit to a friend;
subject's hairstyle;
subject's school holiday (upcoming): work at family's shop;
subject's favorite car;
grandmother's outing with friends (upcoming).

APPENDIX D

SAMPLE OF THE PICTURE BOOK USED IN THE NARRATIONS[*]

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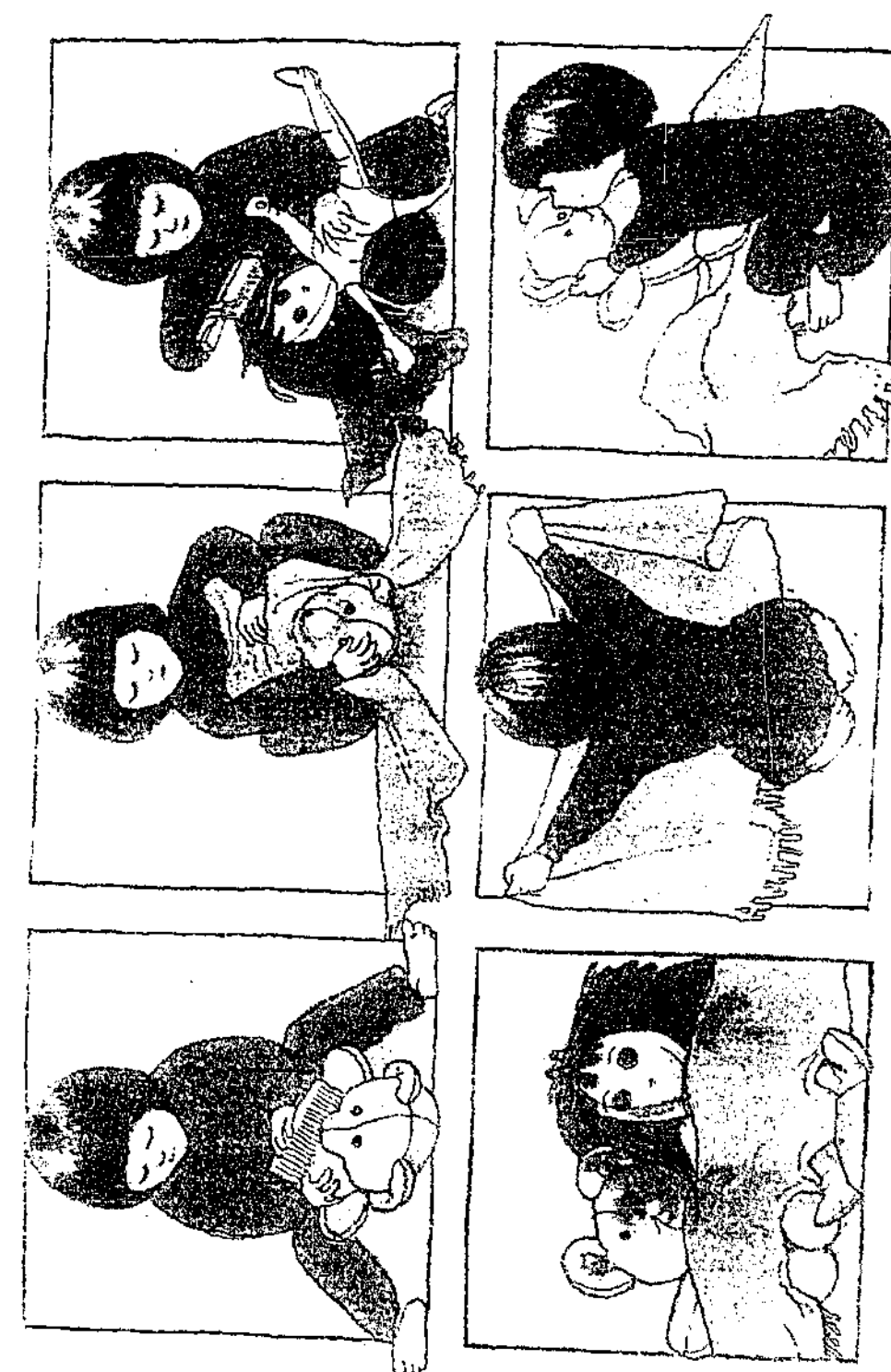
[*]See 4.5.2.

APPENDIX E

DATA: NUMBER OF CLAUSES

Table E.1 Number of clauses in the natural conversation between the grandparents and grandchildren (cf. graph 1 in 6.1)

	Grandchildren		Grandparents	
	Total	Average	Total	Average
Australia	351	39.0	879	97.6
Italy	181	60.3	276	92.0

Table E.2 Number of clauses in the natural conversation between the grandparents and parents (see graph 1 in 6.1)

	Parents		Grandparents	
	Total	Average	Total	Average
Australia	544	77.7	613	87.5
Italy	273	91.0	278	92.6

Table E.3 Number of clauses produced by the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the narration in Italian, the narration in Veneto and the conversation with the grandparents (see graph 2 in 6.1)

	Italian Narration		Veneto Narration		GC(GP)	
	Total	Average	Total	Average	Total	Average
Ital.-Austr. GC	449	49.8	352	50.2	351	39.0
Italian GC	319	106.3	263	87.6	181	60.3
Total	768		615		532	

Table E.4 Number of clauses produced by each Italian-Australian grandchildren in the Italian narration, Veneto narration and natural conversation with the grandparents (see 6.1 and 6.4)

Grandchild No.	Italian Narration	Veneto Narration	GC(GP)	Total
1	51	55	100	206
2	58	65	10	133
3	37	35	24	96
4	46	35	31	112
5	33	n/a	34	67
6	92	51	72	215
7	47	37	5	89
8	63	74	68	205
9	22	n/a	7	29
Total	449	352	351	1152

Table E.5 Number of clauses produced by each Italian grandchildren in the Italian narration, Veneto narration and natural conversation with the grandparents (see 6.1)

Grandchild No.	Italian Narration	Veneto Narration	GC(GP)	Total
Ital.2	140	113	100	353
Ital.6/7	67	63	22	152
Ital.8/9	112	87	59	258
Total	319	263	181	763

Table E.6 Unintelligible stretches of 1/2 second(s) in the first 110 coded clauses in the conversation between the Italian-Australian grandchildren and grandparents (see 6.1)

Grandchild No.	Unintelligible stretches	
	Grandchildren	Grandparents
1	6	29
2	5	2
3	0	5
4	1	2
5	8	0
6	0	2
7	2	2
8	20	3
9	2	7

APPENDIX F

DATA: MONOLINGUAL SPEECH vs. TRANSFERENCE

Table F.1 Monolingual clauses, clauses exhibiting at least one transference phenomenon and clauses exhibiting only contact phenomena other than transference in the natural language (see graph 3 in 6.2)

Generation (interlocutor)		V	I	E	Tr.	Oth.CPh.	Total
Ital.GP(P)	Count	271			7		278
	% within generation	97.5%			2.5%		100.0%
	% within clause category	12.1%			1.3%		8.2%
	% of Total	8.0%			.2%		8.2%
Ital.GP(GC)	Count	264	2		10		276
	% within generation	95.7%	.7%		3.6%		100.0%
	% within clause category	11.8%	.5%		1.9%		8.1%
	% of Total	7.8%	.1%		.3%		8.1%
Ital.P(GP)	Count	252	1		20		273
	% within generation	92.3%	.4%		7.3%		100.0%
	% within clause category	11.3%	.2%		3.8%		8.0%
	% of Total	7.4%	.0%		.6%		8.0%
Ital.GC(GP)	Count	129	27		25		181
	% within generation	71.3%	14.9%		13.8%		100.0%
	% within clause category	5.8%	6.3%		4.8%		5.3%
	% of Total	3.8%	.8%		.7%		5.3%
Ital.-Austr.GP(P)	Count	469	77		67	7	620
	% within generation	75.6%	12.4%		10.8%	1.1%	100.0%
	% within clause category	21.0%	17.9%		12.8%	10.9%	18.3%
	% of Total	13.8%	2.3%		2.0%	.2%	18.3%
Ital.-Austr.GP(GC)	Count	462	201		190	19	872
	% within generation	53.0%	23.1%		21.8%	2.2%	100.0%
	% within clause category	20.7%	46.6%		36.4%	29.7%	25.7%
	% of Total	13.6%	5.9%		5.6%	.6%	25.7%
Ital.-Austr.P(GP)	Count	316	84	7	117	20	544
	% within generation	58.1%	15.4%	1.3%	21.5%	3.7%	100.0%
	% within clause category	14.1%	19.5%	4.9%	22.4%	31.3%	16.0%
	% of Total	9.3%	2.5%	.2%	3.4%	.6%	16.0%
Ital.-Austr.GC(GP)	Count	71	39	137	86	18	351
	% within generation	20.2%	11.1%	39.0%	24.5%	5.1%	100.0%
	% within clause category	3.2%	9.0%	95.1%	16.5%	28.1%	10.3%
	% of Total	2.1%	1.1%	4.0%	2.5%	.5%	10.3%
Total	Count	2234	431	144	522	64	3395
	% within generation	65.8%	12.7%	4.2%	15.4%	1.9%	100.0%
	% within clause category	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	65.8%	12.7%	4.2%	15.4%	1.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1733.299	28	.000
Likelihood Ratio	1342.104	28	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	491.768	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	3395		

Table F.2 Monolingual clauses, clauses exhibiting at least one transference phenomenon and clauses exhibiting only contact phenomena other than transference in natural and elicited language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (cf. graph 4)

Clause category		Recording			
		Ital.Narr.	Ven.Narr.	GC(GP)	Total
V	Count	2	47	71	120
	% within clause category	1.7%	39.2%	59.2%	100.0%
	% within recording	.4%	13.4%	20.2%	10.4%
	% of Total	.2%	4.1%	6.2%	10.4%
I	Count	87	45	39	171
	% within clause category	50.9%	26.3%	22.8%	100.0%
	% within recording	19.4%	12.8%	11.1%	14.8%
	% of Total	7.6%	3.9%	3.4%	14.8%
E	Count	26	4	137	167
	% within clause category	15.6%	2.4%	82.0%	100.0%
	% within recording	5.8%	1.1%	39.0%	14.5%
	% of Total	2.3%	.3%	11.9%	14.5%
Tr	Count	251	197	86	534
	% within clause category	47.0%	36.9%	16.1%	100.0%
	% within recording	55.9%	56.0%	24.5%	46.4%
	% of Total	21.8%	17.1%	7.5%	46.4%
Oth.CPh	Count	83	59	18	160
	% within clause category	51.9%	36.9%	11.3%	100.0%
	% within recording	18.5%	16.8%	5.1%	13.9%
	% of Total	7.2%	5.1%	1.6%	13.9%
Total	Count	449	352	351	1152
	% within clause category	39.0%	30.6%	30.5%	100.0%
	% within recording	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	39.0%	30.6%	30.5%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	381.610	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	410.969	8	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	105.993	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1152		

Table F.3 Monolingual clauses, clauses exhibiting at least one transference phenomenon and clauses exhibiting only contact phenomena other than transference in natural and elicited language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (cf. graph 4)

Clause category		Recording			
		Ital.Narr.	Ven.Narr.	GC(GP)	Total
V	Count	3	74	129	206
	% within clause category	1.5%	35.9%	62.6%	100.0%
	% within recording	.9%	28.1%	71.3%	27.0%
	% of Total	.4%	9.7%	16.9%	27.0%
I	Count	239	35	27	301
	% within clause category	79.4%	11.6%	9.0%	100.0%
	% within recording	74.9%	13.3%	14.9%	39.4%
	% of Total	31.3%	4.6%	3.5%	39.4%
Tr	Count	50	143	25	218
	% within clause category	22.9%	65.6%	11.5%	100.0%
	% within recording	15.7%	54.4%	13.8%	28.6%
	% of Total	6.6%	18.7%	3.3%	28.6%
Oth.CPh	Count	27	11		38
	% within clause category	71.1%	28.9%		100.0%
	% within recording	8.5%	4.2%		5.0%
	% of Total	3.5%	1.4%		5.0%
Total	Count	319	263	181	763
	% within clause category	41.8%	34.5%	23.7%	100.0%
	% within recording	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	41.8%	34.5%	23.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	497.450	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	526.866	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	48.113	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	763		

Table F.4 Self-reported language choice (see 4.4.13) and proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto, Italian and English in the natural conversation (and 6.2)

Family	Gchild no.	Informant (interlocutor)	Self-reported language choice	Language data		
				V	I	E
A	1	M Gmother(Mother)	V	98.6%		
		M Gmother(Gchild 1)	V	98%		
		Mother(M Gmother)	V	89%		
		Gchild 1(M Gmother)	V	68%		1%
	2	M Gmother(Mother)	V	96%		
		M Gmother(Gchild 2)	V	95%		
		Mother(M Gmother)	V	84%		
		Gchild 2(M Gmother)	V	30%		10%
B	3, 4, 5	M Gmother(Mother)	V	93%		
		P Gmother(Father)	V	91%		
		P Gmother(Gchild 3)	V	71.4%	4.1%	
		P Gmother(Gchild 4)	V	91.4%		
		M Gmother(Gchild 5)	V	64.8%	1.1%	
		Mother(M Gmother)	V	86.4%		3%
		Father(P Gmother)	V	88.3%		
		Gchild 3(P Gmother)	E			100%
		Gchild 4(P Gmother)	E			96.8%
		Gchild 5(M Gmother)	E			91.2%
C	6, 7	P Gmother(Father 6)	V	84%	2%	
		P Gmother(Father 7)	V	68.8%		
		P Gmother(Gchild 6)	V/I/(E)	26.6%	31.9%	
		P Gmother(Gchild 7)	V/I/(E)	28.9%	22.7%	
		Father 6(P Gmother)	V/I	17.5%	24.6%	1.8%
		Father 7(P Gmother)	V/I/(E)	18.2%	2.3%	9.1%
		Gchild 6(P Gmother)	I/E		18.1%	30.6%
		Gchild 7(P Gmother)	E/(I)		20%	20%
D	8, 9	M Gmother(Mother)	I/(V)		75.8%	
		M Gmother(Gchild 8)	I/(V)	2%	68%	
		M Gmother(Gchild 9)	I/(V)		76.8%	
		Mother(M Gmother)	I/(V)		69%	
		Gchild 8(M Gmother)	I/(E)		36.8%	30.9%
		Gchild 9(M Gmother)	E			85.7

Table F.5 Correlation between proportion of Veneto clauses in the natural language of the Italian Australian grandchildren and their generation (based on country of birth/age at arrival of parents/grandparents (see 4.4.1-2 and 6.4.2)[3]

			Veneto	Generation
Spearman's rho	Veneto	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.804
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.009
		N	9	9
	Generation	Correlation Coefficient	-.804	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table F.6 Correlation between proportion of Veneto clauses in the natural language of the Italian Australian grandchildren and their parents' schooling in Italy (see 4.4.9 and 6.4.3)

			Veneto	Parents' schooling in Italy
Spearman's rho	VENETO	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.
		N	9	9
	Parents' schooling in Italy	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table F.7 Correlation between proportion of Veneto clauses in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and maternal grandfather's schooling in Italy (see 4.4.9 and 6.4.3)

			Veneto	Mat. Gfather's schooling in Italy
Spearman's rho	Veneto	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.992
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	9	9
	Mat. Gfather's schooling in Italy	Correlation Coefficient	-.992	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table F.8 Correlation between the proportion of Veneto clauses in the natural language of the Italian - Australian grandchildren and their mother's schooling in Australia (see 4.4.9 and 6.4.3)

			Veneto	Mother's schooling in Australia
Spearman's rho	Veneto	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.818
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.007
		N	9	9
	Mother's schooling in Australia	Correlation Coefficient	-.818	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.007	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

[3] Spearman's rank correlations were used for variables with ordered categories.

Table F.9 Correlation between the proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and their maternal grandmother's self-assessed competence in Italian (see 4.4.11 and 6.4.4)

			Veneto	Mat. Gmother's self-assessed competence in Italian
Spearman's rho	Veneto	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.992
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	9	9
	Mat. Gmother's self-assessed competence	Correlation Coefficient	-.992	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table F.10 Correlation between the proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and father's self-assessed competence in English (see 4.4.11 and 6.4.4)

			Veneto	Father's self-assessed competence in English
Spearman's rho	Veneto	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.992
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	9	9
	Father's self-assessed competence in English	Correlation Coefficient	-.992	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table F.11 Correlation between the proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and maternal grandfather's self-assessed competence in English (see 4.4.11 and 6.4.4)

			Veneto	Mat. Gfather's self-assessed competence in English
Spearman's rho	Veneto	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.992
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	9	9
	Mat. Gfather's self-assessed competence in English	Correlation Coefficient	-.992	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table F.12 Correlation between the proportion of clauses entirely in English in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and their paternal grandfather's self-assessed competence in Italian (see 4.4.11 and 6.4.4) [4]

			English	Pat. Gfather's self-assessed competence in Italian
Spearman's rho	English	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.845
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.008
		N	8	8
	Pat. Gfather's self-assessed competence in Italian	Correlation Coefficient	.845	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.008	.
		N	8	8

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table F.13 Correlation between the proportion of clauses entirely in English in the naturallanguage of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and their father's self-assessed competence in Italian (see 4.4.11 and 6.4.4)

			English	Father's self-assessed competence in Italian
Spearman's rho	English	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.839
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.005
		N	9	9
	Father's self-assessed competence in Italian	Correlation Coefficient	-.839	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.005	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table F.14 Correlation between proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and in their elicited language in the Veneto narration (see 6.4.5) [5]

		Veneto (conversation)	Veneto (Veneto Narration)
Veneto (conversation)	Pearson Correlation	1	.980
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
	N	7	7
Veneto (Veneto Narration)	Pearson Correlation	.980	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	7	7

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table F.15 Correlation between number of clauses produced by the Italian Australian grandchildren in the natural conversation and proportion of clauses entirely in Italian in their elicited language in the Italian narration (see 6.4.5)

		Number of clauses (Conversation)	Italian (Italian narration)
Number of clauses (Conversation)	Pearson Correlation	1	.867
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.003
	N	9	9
Italian (Italian narration)	Pearson Correlation	.867	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.003	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table F.16 Correlation between proportion of clauses entirely in English in the Italian Australian grandchildren's corpus during the Conversation with the grandmothers and

		English (Conversation)	Transference (Conversation)
English (Conversation)	Pearson Correlation	1	-.801
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.009
	N	9	9
Transference (Conversation)	Pearson Correlation	-.801	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

[4] Since the paternal grandparents of informant 8 had not migrated to Australia, only eight of the nine grandchildren were included in the test.
[5] Tests involving the data collected in the Veneto narration refer to the seven grandchildren that took in this recording (see 4.5.2).

APPENDIX G

DATA: DIRECTION OF TRANSFERENCE

Table G.1 Proportion of transfers in the different directions in the natural language (see graph 6)

Generation (Interlocutor)		ItoV	EtoV	VtoI	EtoI	VtoE	ItoE	Total
				Language Direction				
Ital.GP(P)	Count	7						7
	% within generation	100.0%						100.0%
	% within direction	3.9%						1.1%
	% of Total	1.1%						1.1%
Ital.GP(GC)	Count	10						10
	% within generation	100.0%						100.0%
	% within direction	5.6%						1.5%
	% of Total	1.5%						1.5%
Ital.P(GP)(GP)	Count	26						26
	% within generation	100.0%						100.0%
	% within direction	14.4%						4.0%
	% of Total	4.0%						4.0%
Ital.GC(GP)	Count	26		4				30
	% within generation	86.7%		13.3%				100.0%
	% within direction	14.4%		2.2%				4.6%
	% of Total	4.0%		.6%				4.6%
Ital.-Austr. GP(P)	Count	18	31	23	4		1	77
	% within generation	23.4%	40.3%	29.9%	5.2%		1.3%	100.0%
	% within direction	10.0%	18.5%	12.6%	3.8%		5.6%	11.7%
	% of Total	2.7%	4.7%	3.5%	.6%		.2%	11.7%
Ital.-Austr. GP(GC)	Count	45	67	98	20	1	9	240
	% within generation	18.8%	27.9%	40.8%	8.3%	.4%	3.8%	100.0%
	% within direction	25.0%	39.9%	53.8%	18.9%	25.0%	50.0%	36.5%
	% of Total	6.8%	10.2%	14.9%	3.0%	.2%	1.4%	36.5%
Ital.-Austr. P(GP)	Count	39	49	47	19		2	156
	% within generation	25.0%	31.4%	30.1%	12.2%		1.3%	100.0%
	% within direction	21.7%	29.2%	25.8%	17.9%		11.1%	23.7%
	% of Total	5.9%	7.4%	7.1%	2.9%		.3%	23.7%
Ital.-Austr. GC(GP)	Count	9	21	10	63	3	6	112
	% within generation	8.0%	18.8%	8.9%	56.3%	2.7%	5.4%	100.0%
	% within direction	5.0%	12.5%	5.5%	59.4%	75.0%	33.3%	17.0%
	% of Total	1.4%	3.2%	1.5%	9.6%	.5%	.9%	17.0%
Total	Count	180	168	182	106	4	18	658
	% within generation	27.4%	25.5%	27.7%	16.1%	.6%	2.7%	100.0%
	% within direction	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	27.4%	25.5%	27.7%	16.1%	.6%	2.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	375.164	35	.000
Likelihood Ratio	338.590	35	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	130.733	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	658		

Table G.2 Proportion of transfers in the different directions in the in the language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the Italian narration, the Veneto narration and the natural conversation (cf. graph 8)

Direction		Recording			
		Ital.Narr.	Ven.Narr.	GC(GP)	Total
ItoV	Count	29	46	9	84
	% within direction	34.5%	54.8%	10.7%	100.0%
	% within recording	8.0%	15.9%	8.0%	11.0%
	% of Total	3.8%	6.0%	1.2%	11.0%
EtoV	Count	13	30	21	64
	% within direction	20.3%	46.9%	32.8%	100.0%
	% within recording	3.6%	10.3%	18.8%	8.4%
	% of Total	1.7%	3.9%	2.8%	8.4%
VtoI	Count	102	86	10	198
	% within direction	51.5%	43.4%	5.1%	100.0%
	% within recording	28.3%	29.7%	8.9%	26.0%
	% of Total	13.4%	11.3%	1.3%	26.0%
EtoI	Count	186	125	63	374
	% within direction	49.7%	33.4%	16.8%	100.0%
	% within recording	51.5%	43.1%	56.3%	49.0%
	% of Total	24.4%	16.4%	8.3%	49.0%
VtoE	Count	2		3	5
	% within direction	40.0%		60.0%	100.0%
	% within recording	.6%		2.7%	.7%
	% of Total	.3%		.4%	.7%
ItoE	Count	29	3	6	38
	% within direction	76.3%	7.9%	15.8%	100.0%
	% within recording	8.0%	1.0%	5.4%	5.0%
	% of Total	3.8%	.4%	.8%	5.0%
Total	Count	361	290	112	763
	% within direction	47.3%	38.0%	14.7%	100.0%
	% within recording	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	47.3%	38.0%	14.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	78.842	10	.000
Likelihood Ratio	83.713	10	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.450	1	.002
N of Valid Cases	763		

Table G.3 Language directions of transfers in the natural and elicited language of the Italian grandchildren (see graph 8)

Direction		Recording			Total
		Ital.Narr.	Ven.Narr.	GC(GP)	
ItoV	Count	3	174	26	203
	% within direction	1.5%	85.7%	12.8%	100.0%
	% within recording	5.2%	87.4%	86.7%	70.7%
	% of Total	1.0%	60.6%	9.1%	70.7%
VtoI	Count	55	25	4	84
	% within direction	65.5%	29.8%	4.8%	100.0%
	% within recording	94.8%	12.6%	13.3%	29.3%
	% of Total	19.2%	8.7%	1.4%	29.3%
Total	Count	58	199	30	287
	% within direction	20.2%	69.3%	10.5%	100.0%
	% within recording	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	20.2%	69.3%	10.5%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	150.922	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	149.390	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	103.436	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	287		

Table H.1 Transfer types from Italian to Veneto in the natural language (see graph 10 in 7.2.1.1) [6]

Type		Italy				Australia				Total
		GP(P)	GP(GC)	P(GP)	GC(GP)	GP(P)	GP(GC)	P(GP)	GC(GP)	
ph.	Count				1					1
	% within type				100.0					100.0
	% within gener.				3.8					.6
	% Total				.6					.6
unint.	Count	3	5	13	15	9	25	11	5	86
	% within type	3.5	5.8	15.1	17.4	10.5	29.1	12.8	5.8	100.0
	% within gener.	42.9	50.0	50.0	57.7	50.0	55.6	28.2	55.6	47.8
	% Total	1.7	2.8	7.2	8.3	5.0	13.9	6.1	2.8	47.8
p.int.	Count			3			3	1		7
	% within type			42.9			42.9	14.3		100.0
	% within gener.			11.5			6.7	2.6		3.9
	% Total			1.7			1.7	.6		3.9
m.int.	Count			1		1	1	3		6
	% within type			16.7		16.7	16.7	50.0		100.0
	% within gener.			3.8		5.6	2.2	7.7		3.3
	% Total			.6		.6	.6	1.7		3.3
inv.	Count	4	2	5	3	6	4	10		34
	% within type	11.8	5.9	14.7	8.8	17.6	11.8	29.4		100.0
	% within gener.	57.1	20.0	19.2	11.5	33.3	8.9	25.6		18.9
	% Total	2.2	1.1	2.8	1.7	3.3	2.2	5.6		18.9
mor.	Count				2		5	3		10
	% within type				20.0		50.0	30.0		100.0
	% within gener.				7.7		11.1	7.7		5.6
	% Total				1.1		2.8	1.7		5.6
phr.	Count		1	3	1	2	4	3		14
	% within type		7.1	21.4	7.1	14.3	28.6	21.4		100.0
	% within gener.		10.0	11.5	3.8	11.1	8.9	7.7		7.8
	% Total		.6	1.7	.6	1.1	2.2	1.7		7.8
sem.	Count				1		2	2		5
	% within type				20.0		40.0	40.0		100.0
	% within gener.				3.8		4.4	5.1		2.8
	% Total				.6		1.1	1.1		2.8
syn.	Count		2	1	3		1	6	4	17
	% within type		11.8	5.9	17.6		5.9	35.3	23.5	100.0
	% within gener.		20.0	3.8	11.5		2.2	15.4	44.4	9.4
	% Total		1.1	.6	1.7		.6	3.3	2.2	9.4
total	Count	7	10	26	26	18	45	39	9	180
	% within type	3.9	5.6	14.4	14.4	10.0	25.0	21.7	5.0	100.0
	% within gener.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% Total	3.9	5.6	14.4	14.4	10.0	25.0	21.7	5.0	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	68.627	56	.120
Likelihood Ratio	73.245	56	.061
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.619	1	.057
N of Valid Cases	180		

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[6] 'Gener.' stands for 'generation of speakers'. See explanation of other abbreviations after the table of contents.

Table H.2 Transfer types from Veneto to Italian in the natural language (see graph 12 in 7.2.1.2)

Type		Italy GC(GP)	GP(P)	GP(GC)	P(GP)	GC(GP)	Total
ph.	Count		5	6	10	2	23
	% within type		21.7	26.1	43.5	8.7	100.0
	% within generation		21.7	6.1	21.3	20.0	12.6
	% Total		2.7	3.3	5.5	1.1	12.6
unint.	Count	3	9	17	17	2	48
	% within type	6.3	18.8	35.4	35.4	4.2	100.0
	% within generation	75.0	39.1	17.3	36.2	20.0	26.4
	% Total	1.6	4.9	9.3	9.3	1.1	26.4
m.int.	Count			1			1
	% within type			100.0			100.0
	% within generation			1.0			.5
	% Total			.5			.5
inv.	Count		16	3	1		20
	% within type		80.0	15.0	5.0		100.0
	% within generation		16.3	6.4	10.0		11.0
	% Total		8.8	1.6	.5		11.0
mor.	Count		6	22	7	1	36
	% within type		16.7	61.1	19.4	2.8	100.0
	% within generation		26.1	22.4	14.9	10.0	19.8
	% Total		3.3	12.1	3.8	.5	19.8
phr.	Count			3	3		6
	% within type			50.0	50.0		100.0
	% within generation			3.1	6.4		3.3
	% Total			1.6	1.6		3.3
sem.	Count		1	11	2	2	16
	% within type		6.3	68.8	12.5	12.5	100.0
	% within generation		4.3	11.2	4.3	20.0	8.8
	% Total		.5	6.0	1.1	1.1	8.8
m.transl.	Count			14		2	16
	% within type			87.5		12.5	100.0
	% within generation			14.3		20.0	8.8
	% Total			7.7		1.1	8.8
syn.	Count	1	2	8	5		16
	% within type	6.3	12.5	50.0	31.3		100.0
	% within generation	25.0	8.7	8.2	10.6		8.8
	% Total	.5	1.1	4.4	2.7		8.8
Total	Count	4	23	98	47	10	182
	% within type	2.2	12.6	53.8	25.8	5.5	100.0
	% within generation	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% Total	2.2	12.6	53.8	25.8	5.5	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	48.598	32	.030
Likelihood Ratio	59.279	32	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	.084	1	.771
N of Valid Cases	182		

Table H.3 Transfer types from English to Veneto in the natural language of the Italian -Australian informants (see graph 14 in 7.2.1.3)

Type		GP(P)	GP(GC)	P(GP)	GC(GP)	Total
ph.	Count			6	8	14
	% within type			42.9	57.1	100.0
	% within generation			12.2	38.1	8.3
	% Total			3.6	4.8	8.3
unint.	Count			5	2	7
	% within type			71.4	28.6	100.0
	% within generation			10.2	9.5	4.2
	% Total			3.0	1.2	4.2
p.int.	Count	15	46	9		70
	% within type	21.4	65.7	12.9		100.0
	% within generation	48.4	68.7	18.4		41.7
	% Total	8.9	27.4	5.4		41.7
m.int.	Count	3	6			9
	% within type	33.3	66.7			100.0
	% within generation	9.7	9.0			5.4
	% Total	1.8	3.6			5.4
inv.	Count	3	1	7		11
	% within type	27.3	9.1	63.6		100.0
	% within generation	9.7	1.5	14.3		6.5
	% Total	1.8	.6	4.2		6.5
phr.	Count	2	3	2		7
	% within type	28.6	42.9	28.6		100.0
	% within generation	6.5	4.5	4.1		4.2
	% Total	1.2	1.8	1.2		4.2
sem.	Count	8	11	19	3	41
	% within type	19.5	26.8	46.3	7.3	100.0
	% within generation	25.8	16.4	38.8	14.3	24.4
	% Total	4.8	6.5	11.3	1.8	24.4
syn.	Count			1	8	9
	% within type			11.1	88.9	100.0
	% within generation			2.0	38.1	5.4
	% Total			.6	4.8	5.4
total	Count	31	67	49	21	168
	% within type	18.5	39.9	29.2	12.5	100.0
	% within generation	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% Total	18.5	39.9	29.2	12.5	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	140.125	21	.000
Likelihood Ratio	135.018	21	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.640	1	.104
N of Valid Cases	168		

Table H.4 Transfer types from English to Italian in the natural language of the Italian -Australian informants (see graph 16 in 7.2.1.4)

Type		GP(P)	GP(GC)	P(GP)	GC(GP)	Total
ph.	Count			3	21	24
	% within type			12.5	87.5	100.0
	% within generation			15.8	33.3	22.6
	% Total			2.8	19.8	22.6
unint.	Count		1	7	14	22
	% within type		4.5	31.8	63.6	100.0
	% within generation		5.0	36.8	22.2	20.8
	% Total		.9	6.6	13.2	20.8
p.int.	Count	1	4			5
	% within type	20.0	80.0			100.0
	% within generation	25.0	20.0			4.7
	% Total	.9	3.8			4.7
m.int.	Count		1			1
	% within type		100.0			100.0
	% within generation		5.0			.9
	% Total		.9			.9
inv.	Count		1	1	3	5
	% within type		20.0	20.0	60.0	100.0
	% within generation		5.0	5.3	4.8	4.7
	% Total		.9	.9	2.8	4.7
phr.	Count		2		2	4
	% within type		50.0		50.0	100.0
	% within generation		10.0		3.2	3.8
	% Total		1.9		1.9	3.8
sem.	Count	2	9	7	15	33
	% within type	6.1	27.3	21.2	45.5	100.0
	% within generation	50.0	45.0	36.8	23.8	31.1
	% Total	1.9	8.5	6.6	14.2	31.1
m.transl.	Count				6	6
	% within type				100.0	100.0
	% within generation				9.5	5.7
	% Total				5.7	5.7
syn.	Count	1	2	1	2	6
	% within type	16.7	33.3	16.7	33.3	100.0
	% within generation	25.0	10.0	5.3	3.2	5.7
	% Total	.9	1.9	.9	1.9	5.7
total	Count	4	20	19	63	106
	% within type	3.8	18.9	17.9	59.4	100.0
	% within generation	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% Total	3.8	18.9	17.9	59.4	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	50.486	24	.001
Likelihood Ratio	54.881	24	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.658	1	.006
N of Valid Cases	106		

Table H.5 Transfer types from Italian to English in the natural language of the Italian -Australian informants (see graph 18 in 7.2.1.5)

Type		GP(P)	GP(GC)	P(GP)	GC(GP)	Total
ph.	Count	1	8			9
	% within type	11.1	88.9			100.0
	% within generation	100.0	88.9			50.0
	% Total	5.6	44.4			50.0
unint.	Count			2	1	3
	% within type			66.7	33.3	100.0
	% within generation			100.0	16.7	16.7
	% Total			11.1	5.6	16.7
inv.	Count		1		3	4
	% within type		25.0		75.0	100.0
	% within generation		11.1		50.0	22.2
	% Total		5.6		16.7	22.2
phr.	Count				2	2
	% within type				100.0	100.0
	% within generation				33.3	11.1
	% Total				11.1	11.1
total	Count	1	9	2	6	18
	% within type	5.6	50.0	11.1	33.3	100.0
	% within generation	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% Total	5.6	50.0	11.1	33.3	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	24.472	9	.004
Likelihood Ratio	25.633	9	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.886	1	.002
N of Valid Cases	18		

Table H.6 Transfer types from Veneto to English in the natural language of the Italian -Australian grandparents (see 7.2.1.5)

Type		GP(GC)	GC(GP)	Total
unint.	Count		3	3
	% within type		100.0	100.0
	% within generation		100.0	75.0
	% Total		75.0	75.0
syn.	Count	1		1
	% within type	100.0		100.0
	% within generation	100.0		25.0
	% Total	25.0		25.0
total	Count	1	3	4
	% within type	25.0	75.0	100.0
	% within generation	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% Total	25.0	75.0	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.000	1	.046		
Continuity Correction	.444	1	.505		
Likelihood Ratio	4.499	1	.034		
Fisher's Exact Test				.250	.250
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.000	1	.083		
N of Valid Cases	4				

Table H.7 Transfer types in the different language directions in the entire corpus of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (see graph 21 in 7.2.2)

Type		Direction						Total
		ItoV	EtoV	VtoI	EtoI	VtoE	ItoE	
ph.	Count	2	22	27	151		1	203
	% within type	1.0	10.8	13.3	74.4		.5	100.0
	%direction	2.4	34.4	13.6	40.4		2.6	26.6
	% Total	.3	2.9	3.5	19.8		.1	26.6
unint.	Count	39	4	55	60	4	18	180
	% within type	21.7	2.2	30.6	33.3	2.2	10.0	100.0
	%direction	46.4	6.3	27.8	16.0	80.0	47.4	23.6
	% Total	5.1	.5	7.2	7.9	.5	2.4	23.6
p.int.	Count	1		2	1		4	8
	% within type	12.5		25.0	12.5		50.0	100.0
	%direction	1.2		1.0	.3		10.5	1.0
	% Total	.1		.3	.1		.5	1.0
m.int.	Count	2		6				8
	% within type	25.0		75.0				100.0
	%direction	2.4		3.0				1.0
	% Total	.3		.8				1.0
inv.	Count	1	2	21	31		3	58
	% within type	1.7	3.4	36.2	53.4		5.2	100.0
	%direction	1.2	3.1	10.6	8.3		7.9	7.6
	% Total	.1	.3	2.8	4.1		.4	7.6
mor.	Count	1		19	5			25
	% within type	4.0		76.0	20.0			100.0
	%direction	1.2		9.6	1.3			3.3
	% Total	.1		2.5	.7			3.3
phr.	Count	2	1	11	5	1	12	32
	% within type	6.3	3.1	34.4	15.6	3.1	37.5	100.0
	%direction	2.4	1.6	5.6	1.3	20.0	31.6	4.2
	% Total	.3	.1	1.4	.7	.1	1.6	4.2
sem.	Count		16	45	75			136
	% within type		11.8	33.1	55.1			100.0
	%direction		25.0	22.7	20.1			17.8
	% Total		2.1	5.9	9.8			17.8
m.transl.	Count		7	3	25			35
	% within type		20.0	8.6	71.4			100.0
	%direction		10.9	1.5	6.7			4.6
	% Total		.9	.4	3.3			4.6
syn.	Count	36	12	9	21			78
	% within type	46.2	15.4	11.5	26.9			100.0
	%direction	42.9	18.8	4.5	5.6			10.2
	% Total	4.7	1.6	1.2	2.8			10.2
total	Count	84	64	198	374	5	38	763
	% within type	11.0	8.4	26.0	49.0	.7	5.0	100.0
	%direction	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% Total	11.0	8.4	26.0	49.0	.7	5.0	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	451.949	45	.000
Likelihood Ratio	404.407	45	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	22.462	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	763		

Table H.8 Transfer types in the different language directions in the entire corpus of the Italian grandchildren (see graph 22 in 7.2.2)

Type		Direction		
		ItoV	Vtol	Total
ph.	Count	2	9	11
	% within type	18.2	81.8	100.0
	%direction	1.0	10.7	3.8
	% Total	.7	3.1	3.8
unint.	Count	105	27	132
	% within type	79.5	20.5	100.0
	%direction	51.7	32.1	46.0
	% Total	36.6	9.4	46.0
p.int.	Count	3		3
	% within type	100.0		100.0
	%direction	1.5		1.0
	% Total	1.0		1.0
m.int.	Count	2		2
	% within type	100.0		100.0
	%direction	1.0		.7
	% Total	.7		.7
inv.	Count	13	15	28
	% within type	46.4	53.6	100.0
	%direction	6.4	17.9	9.8
	% Total	4.5	5.2	9.8
mor.	Count	9	14	23
	% within type	39.1	60.9	100.0
	%direction	4.4	16.7	8.0
	% Total	3.1	4.9	8.0
phr.	Count	15	7	22
	% within type	68.2	31.8	100.0
	%direction	7.4	8.3	7.7
	% Total	5.2	2.4	7.7
sem.	Count	2	10	12
	% within type	16.7	83.3	100.0
	%direction	1.0	11.9	4.2
	% Total	.7	3.5	4.2
m.transl.	Count	1		1
	% within type	100.0		100.0
	%direction	.5		.3
	% Total	.3		.3
syn.	Count	51	2	53
	% within type	96.2	3.8	100.0
	%direction	25.1	2.4	18.5
	% Total	17.8	.7	18.5
total	Count	203	84	287
	% within type	70.7	29.3	100.0
	%direction	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% Total	70.7	29.3	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	74.846	9	.000
Likelihood Ratio	77.990	9	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.181	1	.277
N of Valid Cases	287		

Table H.9 Transfer types from English to Italian in the natural and elicited language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (see graph 24 in 7.2.2.1)

Type		Recording			
		Ital.Narr.	Ven.Narr.	GC(GP).	Total
ph.	Count	78	52	21	151
	% within type	51.7	34.4	13.9	100.0
	% within recording	41.9	41.6	33.3	40.4
	% Total	20.9	13.9	5.6	40.4
unint.	Count	24	22	14	60
	% within type	40.0	36.7	23.3	100.0
	% within recording	12.9	17.6	22.2	16.0
	% Total	6.4	5.9	3.7	16.0
p.int.	Count	1			1
	% within type	100.0			100.0
	% within recording	.5			.3
	% Total	.3			.3
inv.	Count	18	10	3	31
	% within type	58.1	32.3	9.7	100.0
	% within recording	9.7	8.0	4.8	8.3
	% Total	4.8	2.7	.8	8.3
mor.	Count	5			5
	% within type	100.0			100.0
	% within recording	2.7			1.3
	% Total	1.3			1.3
phr.	Count	3	2		5
	% within type	60.0	40.0		100.0
	% within recording	1.6	3.2		1.3
	% Total	.8	.5		1.3
sem.	Count	32	28	15	75
	% within type	42.7	37.3	20.0	100.0
	% within recording	17.2	22.4	23.8	20.1
	% Total	8.6	7.5	4.0	20.1
m.transl.	Count	11	8	6	25
	% within type	44.0	32.0	24.0	100.0
	% within recording	5.9	6.4	9.5	6.7
	% Total	2.9	2.1	1.6	6.7
syn.	Count	14	5	2	21
	% within type	66.7	23.8	9.5	100.0
	% within recording	7.5	4.0	3.2	5.6
	% Total	3.7	1.3	.5	5.6
total	Count	186	125	63	374
	% within type	49.7	33.4	16.8	100.0
	% within recording	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% Total	49.7	33.4	16.8	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19.527	16	.242
Likelihood Ratio	23.165	16	.109
Linear-by-Linear Association	.041	1	.840
N of Valid Cases	374		

Table H.10 Transfer types from English to Veneto in the natural and elicited language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (see graph 26 in 7.2.2.2)

Type		Recording			Total
		Ital.Narr.	Ven.Narr.	GC(GP).	
ph.	Count	7	7	8	22
	% within type	31.8	31.8	36.4	100.0
	% within recording	53.8	23.3	38.1	34.4
	% Total	10.9	10.9	12.5	34.4
unint.	Count	2		2	4
	% within type	50.0		50.0	100.0
	% within recording	15.4		9.5	6.3
	% Total	3.1		3.1	6.3
inv.	Count		2		2
	% within type		100.0		100.0
	% within recording		6.7		3.1
	% Total		3.1		3.1
phr.	Count	1			1
	% within type	100.0			100.0
	% within recording	7.7			1.6
	% Total	1.6			1.6
sem.	Count	3	10	3	16
	% within type	18.8	62.5	18.8	100.0
	% within recording	23.1	33.3	14.3	25.0
	% Total	4.7	15.6	4.7	25.0
m.transl.	Count		7		7
	% within type		100.0		100.0
	% within recording		23.3		10.9
	% Total		10.9		10.9
syn.	Count		4	8	12
	% within type		33.3	66.7	100.0
	% within recording		13.3	38.1	18.8
	% Total		6.3	12.5	18.8
total	Count	13	30	21	64
	% within type	20.3	46.9	32.8	100.0
	% within recording	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% Total	20.3	46.9	32.8	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	29.591	12	.003
Likelihood Ratio	35.148	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.765	1	.184
N of Valid Cases	64		

Table H.11 Transfer types from Veneto to Italian in the natural and elicited language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (see graph 28 in 7.2.2.3)

Type		Recording			Total
		Ital.Narr.	Ven.Narr.	GC(GP).	
ph.	Count	13	12	2	27
	% within type	48.1	44.4	7.4	100.0
	% within recording	12.7	14.0	20.0	13.6
	% Total	6.6	6.1	1.0	13.6
unint.	Count	23	30	2	55
	% within type	41.8	54.5	3.6	100.0
	% within recording	22.5	34.9	20.0	27.8
	% Total	11.6	15.2	1.0	27.8
p.int.	Count		2		2
	% within type		100.0		100.0
	% within recording		2.3		1.0
	% Total		1.0		1.0
m.int.	Count	2	4		6
	% within type	33.3	66.7		100.0
	% within recording	2.0	4.7		3.0
	% Total	1.0	2.0		3.0
inv.	Count	13	7	1	21
	% within type	61.9	33.3	4.8	100.0
	% within recording	12.7	8.1	10.0	10.6
	% Total	6.6	3.5	.5	10.6
mor.	Count	16	2	1	19
	% within type	84.2	10.5	5.3	100.0
	% within recording	15.7	2.3	10.0	9.6
	% Total	8.1	1.0	.5	9.6
phr.	Count	4	7		11
	% within type	36.4	63.6		100.0
	% within recording	3.9	8.1		5.6
	% Total	2.0	3.5		5.6
sem.	Count	29	14	2	45
	% within type	64.4	31.1	4.4	100.0
	% within recording	28.4	16.3	20.0	22.7
	% Total	14.6	7.1	1.0	22.7
m.transl.	Count	1		2	3
	% within type	33.3		66.7	100.0
	% within recording	1.0		20.0	1.5
	% Total	.5		1.0	1.5
syn.	Count	1	8		9
	% within type	11.1	88.9		100.0
	% within recording	1.0	9.3		4.5
	% Total	.5	4.0		4.5
total	Count	102	86	10	198
	% within type	51.5	43.4	5.1	100.0
	% within recording	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% Total	51.5	43.4	5.1	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	53.585	18	.000
Likelihood Ratio	42.735	18	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	.630	1	.427
N of Valid Cases	198		

a 19 cells (63.3) have expected Count less than 5. The minimum expected Count is .10.

Table H.12 Transfer types from Veneto to Italian in the natural and elicited language of the Italian grandchildren (see graph 28 in 7.2.2.3)

Type		Recording			Total
		Ital.Narr.	Ven.Narr.	GC(GP)	
ph.	Count	8	1		9
	% within type	88.9	11.1		100.0
	% within recording	14.5	4.0		10.7
	% Total	9.5	1.2		10.7
unint.	Count	20	4	3	27
	% within type	74.1	14.8	11.1	100.0
	% within recording	36.4	16.0	75.0	32.1
	% Total	23.8	4.8	3.6	32.1
inv.	Count	10	5		15
	% within type	66.7	33.3		100.0
	% within recording	18.2	20.0		17.9
	% Total	11.9	6.0		17.9
mor.	Count	5	9		14
	% within type	35.7	64.3		100.0
	% within recording	9.1	36.0		16.7
	% Total	6.0	10.7		16.7
phr.	Count	5	2		7
	% within type	71.4	28.6		100.0
	% within recording	9.1	8.0		8.3
	% Total	6.0	2.4		8.3
sem.	Count	7	3		10
	% within type	70.0	30.0		100.0
	% within recording	12.7	12.0		11.9
	% Total	8.3	3.6		11.9
syn.	Count		1	1	2
	% within type		50.0	50.0	100.0
	% within recording		4.0	25.0	2.4
	% Total		1.2	1.2	2.4
total	Count	55	25	4	84
	% within type	65.5	29.8	4.8	100.0
	% within recording	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% Total	65.5	29.8	4.8	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	26.863	12	.008
Likelihood Ratio	24.083	12	.020
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.712	1	.100
N of Valid Cases	84		

Table H.13 Transfer types from Italian to Veneto in the natural and elicited language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (see graph 30 in 7.2.2.4)

Type		Recording			Total
		Ital.Narr.	Ven.Narr.	GC(GP)	
ph.	Count		2		2
	% within type		100.0		100.0
	% within recording		4.3		2.4
	% Total		2.4		2.4
unint.	Count	16	18	5	39
	% within type	41.0	46.2	12.8	100.0
	% within recording	55.2	39.1	55.6	46.4
	% Total	19.0	21.4	6.0	46.4
p.int.	Count	1			1
	% within type	100.0			100.0
	% within recording	3.4			1.2
	% Total	1.2			1.2
m.int.	Count	2			2
	% within type	100.0			100.0
	% within recording	6.9			2.4
	% Total	2.4			2.4
inv.	Count	1			1
	% within type	100.0			100.0
	% within recording	3.4			1.2
	% Total	1.2			1.2
mor.	Count		1		1
	% within type		100.0		100.0
	% within recording		2.2		1.2
	% Total		1.2		1.2
phr.	Count		2		2
	% within type		100.0		100.0
	% within recording		4.3		2.4
	% Total		2.4		2.4
syn.	Count	9	23	4	36
	% within type	25.0	63.9	11.1	100.0
	% within recording	31.0	50.0	44.4	42.9
	% Total	10.7	27.4	4.8	42.9
total	Count	29	46	9	84
	% within type	34.5	54.8	10.7	100.0
	% within recording	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% Total	34.5	54.8	10.7	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14.382	14	.422
Likelihood Ratio	17.262	14	.243
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.271	1	.260
N of Valid Cases	84		

Table H.14 Transfer types from Italian to Veneto in the natural and elicited language of the Italian grandchildren (see graph 30 in 7.2.2.4)

Type		Recording			Total
		Ital.Narr.	Ven.Narr.	GC(GP).	
ph.	Count		1	1	2
	% within type		50.0	50.0	100.0
	% within recording		.6	3.8	1.0
	% Total		.5	.5	1.0
unint.	Count	1	89	15	105
	% within type	1.0	84.8	14.3	100.0
	% within recording	33.3	51.1	57.7	51.7
	% Total	.5	43.8	7.4	51.7
p.int.	Count		3		3
	% within type		100.0		100.0
	% within recording		1.7		1.
	% Total		1.5		1.5
m.int.	Count		2		2
	% within type		100.0		100.0
	% within recording		1.1		1.0
	% Total		1.0		1.0
inv.	Count	1	9	3	13
	% within type	7.7	69.2	23.1	100.0
	% within recording	33.3	5.2	11.5	6.4
	% Total	.5	4.4	1.5	6.4
mor.	Count	1	6	2	9
	% within type	11.1	66.7	22.2	100.0
	% within recording	33.3	3.4	7.7	4.4
	% Total	.5	3.0	1.0	4.4
phr.	Count		14	1	15
	% within type		93.3	6.7	100.0
	% within recording		8.0	3.8	7.4
	% Total		6.9	.5	7.4
sem.	Count		1	1	2
	% within type		50.0	50.0	100.0
	% within recording		.6	3.8	1.0
	% Total		.5	.5	1.0
m.transl.	Count		1		1
	% within type		100.0		100.0
	% within recording		.6		.5
	% Total		.5		.5
syn.	Count		48	3	51
	% within type		94.1	5.9	100.0
	% within recording		27.6	11.5	25.1
	% Total		23.6	1.5	25.1
total	Count	3	174	26	203
	% within type	1.5	85.7	12.8	100.0
	% within recording	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% Total	1.5	85.7	12.8	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21.744	18	.244
Likelihood Ratio	17.149	18	.513
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.558	1	.212
N of Valid Cases	203		

Table H.15 Transfer types from Italian to English in the natural and elicited language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (see graph 32 in 7.2.2.5)

Type		Recording			Total
		Ital.Narr.	Ven.Narr.	GC(GP).	
ph.	Count	1			1
	% within type	100.0			100.0
	% within recording	3.4			2.6
	% Total	2.6			2.6
unint.	Count	15	2	1	18
	% within type	83.3	11.1	5.6	100.0
	% within recording	51.7	66.7	16.7	47.4
	% Total	39.5	5.3	2.6	47.4
p.int.	Count	4			4
	% within type	100.0			100.0
	% within recording	13.8			10.5
	% Total	10.5			10.5
inv.	Count			3	3
	% within type			100.0	100.0
	% within recording			50.0	7.9
	% Total			7.9	7.9
phr.	Count	9	1	2	12
	% within type	75.0	8.3	16.7	100.0
	% within recording	31.0	33.3	33.3	31.6
	% Total	23.7	2.6	5.3	31.6
total	Count	29	3	6	38
	% within type	76.3	7.9	15.8	100.0
	% within recording	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% Total	76.3	7.9	15.8	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19.109	8	.014
Likelihood Ratio	15.706	8	.047
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.908	1	.167
N of Valid Cases	38		

Table H.16 Transfer types from Veneto to English in the natural and elicited language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (see 7.2.2.5)

Type		Recording		Total
		Ital.Narr.	GC(GP).	
unint.	Count	1	3	4
	% within type	25.0	75.0	100.0
	% within recording	50.0	100.0	80.0
	% Total	20.0	60.0	80.0
phr.	Count	1		1
	% within type	100.0		100.0
	% within recording	50.0		20.0
	% Total	20.0		20.0
total	Count	2	3	5
	% within type	40.0	60.0	100.0
	% within recording	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% Total	40.0	60.0	100.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.875	1	.171		
Continuity Correction	.052	1	.819		
Likelihood Ratio	2.231	1	.135		
Fisher's Exact Test				.400	.400
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.500	1	.221		
N of Valid Cases	5				

APPENDIX I

DIRECTION AND TYPE OF TRANSFERENCE: CORRELATIONS

Table I.1 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from English to Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and their generational stage (in terms of their parents/grandparents' country of birth and age at arrival – see 7.3.1)

			E to V	Generation
Spearman's rho	E to V	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.804
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.009
		N	9	9
	Generation	Correlation Coefficient	-.804	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.2 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from English to Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and their maternal grandfather's self-assessed competence in English (see 7.3.1)

			E to V	Mat. Gfather's self-assessed competence in English
Spearman's rho	E to V	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.992
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	9	9
	Mat. Gfather's self-assessed competence in English	Correlation Coefficient	-.992	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.3 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from Italian to Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and their maternal grandfather's self-assessed competence in English (see 7.3.1)

			I to V	Mat. Gfather's self-assessed competence in English
Spearman's rho	I to V	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.992
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	9	9
	Mat. Gfather's self-assessed competence in English	Correlation Coefficient	-.992	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.4 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from English to Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and their father's self-assessed competence in English (see 7.3.1)

			E to V	Father's self-assessed competence in English
Spearman's rho	E to V	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.992
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	9	9
	Father's self-assessed competence in English	Correlation Coefficient	-.992	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.5 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from Italian to Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and their father's self-assessed competence in English (see 7.3.1)

			I to V	Father's self-assessed competence in English
Spearman's rho	I to V	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.992
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	9	9
	Father's self-assessed competence in English	Correlation Coefficient	-.992	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.6 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from English to Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and their maternal grandmother's self-assessed competence in Italian (see 7.3.1)

			E to V	Mat. Gmother's self-assessed competence in Italian
Spearman's rho	E to V	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.992
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	9	9
	Mat. Gmother's self-assessed competence in Italian	Correlation Coefficient	-.992	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.7 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from English to Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and their maternal grandmother's self-assessed competence in Italian (see 7.3.1)

			I to V	Mat. Gmother's self-assessed competence in Italian
Spearman's rho	I to V	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.992
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	9	9
	Mat. Gmother's self-assessed competence in Italian	Correlation Coefficient	-.992	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.8 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from English to Veneto in the natual language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and their maternal grandfather's schooling before migration (see 7.3.1)

			E to V	Mat. Gfather's schooling (Italy)
Spearman's rho	E to V	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.992
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	9	9
	Mat. Gfather's schooling (Italy)	Correlation Coefficient	-.992	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.9 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from Italian to Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and their maternal grandfather's schooling before migration (see 7.3.1)

			I to V	Mat. Gfather's schooling (Italy)
Spearman's rho	I to V	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.992
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	9	9
	Mat. Gfather's schooling (Italy)	Correlation Coefficient	-.992	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.10 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from English to Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and their mother's schooling in Australia (see 7.3.1)

			E to V	Mother's schooling (Australia)
Spearman's rho	E to V	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.818
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.007
		N	9	9
	Mother's schooling (Australia)	Correlation Coefficient	-.818	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.007	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.11 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from English to Veneto and the proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (see 7.3.1)

		E to V	Veneto
E to V	Pearson Correlation	1	.952
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
	N	9	9
Veneto	Pearson Correlation	.952	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.12 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from Italian to Veneto and the proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (see 7.3.1)

		I to V	Veneto
I to V	Pearson Correlation	1	.819
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.007
	N	9	9
Veneto	Pearson Correlation	.819	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.007	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.13 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from English to Veneto in the language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the natural conversation and the Veneto narration (see 7.3.1)[7]

		E to V (Conversation)	E to V (Veneto Narration)
E to V (Conversation)	Pearson Correlation	1	.886
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.008
	N	7	7
E to V (Veneto Narration)	Pearson Correlation	.886	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.008	.
	N	7	7

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).\

Table I.14 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from Italian to Veneto in the language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the natural conversation and the Veneto narration (see 7.3.1)

		I to V (Conversation)	I to V (Veneto Narration)
I to V (Conversation)	Pearson Correlation	1	.998
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
	N	7	7
I to V (Veneto Narration)	Pearson Correlation	.998	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	7	7

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.15 Correlation between the proportion of clauses entirely in Veneto in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and proportion of morphological transfers from Italian to Veneto in the Italian narration (see 7.3.1)

		Veneto (Conversation)	Morph. I to V (Italian Narration)
Veneto (Conversation)	Pearson Correlation	1	.832
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.005
	N	9	9
Morph. I to V (Italian Narration)	Pearson Correlation	.832	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

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[7] Tests involving the data collected in the Veneto narration refer to the seven grandchildren that took in this recording (see 4.5.2).

Table I.16 Correlation between the proportion of proportion of phrasal transfers from Italian to English in the natural language of the Italian -Australian grandchildren and paternal grandmother's schooling before migration (see 7.3.2)[8]

			Phr. I to E	Pat. Gmother's schooling (Italy)
Spearman's rho	Phr. I to E	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.864
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.006
		N	8	8
	Pat. Gmother's schooling (Italy)	Correlation Coefficient	.864	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.006	.
		N	8	8

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.17 Correlation between the proportion of phrasal transfers from Italian to English in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and mother self-assessed competence in dialect (see 7.3.2)[9]

			Phr. I to E	Mother's self-assessed competence in dialect
Spearman's rho	Phr. I to E	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.992
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	9	9
	Mother's self-assessed competence in dialect	Correlation Coefficient	-.992	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level(2d).

Table I.18 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from Italian to English in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and the proportion of clauses entirely in English in the natural language of their parents (see 7.3.2)

		I to E	Parents' English
I to E	Pearson Correlation	1	.993
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
	N	9	9
Parents' English	Pearson Correlation	.993	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

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[8] Tests involving the data collected in the Veneto narration refer to the seven grandchildren that took in this recording (see 4.5.2).
[9] Tests involving the data collected in the Veneto narration refer to the seven grandchildren that took in this recording (see 4.5.2).

Table I.19 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from Italian to English in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and the proportion of transfers from Italian to Veneto entirely in English in the natural language of their parents (see 7.3.2)

		I to E GC(GP)	I to V GP(GC)
I to E GC(GP)	Pearson Correlation	1	.803
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.009
	N	9	9
I to V GP(GC)	Pearson Correlation	.803	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.20 Correlation between the proportion of lexical transfers from Italian to English in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and the proportion of invariable transfers from English to Veneto in the natural language of their grandparents (in the conversation with the parents – 7.3.2)

		Lexical I to E GC(GP)	Inv. E to V GP(P)
Lexical I to E GC(GP)	Pearson Correlation	1	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
	N	9	9
Inv. E to V GP(P)	Pearson Correlation	1.000	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.21 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from Italian to English in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and their age (see 7.3.2)

			I to E	Age
Spearman's rho	I to E	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.845
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.004
		N	9	9
	Age	Correlation Coefficient	-.845	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.
		N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.22 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from Italian to English in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and in their elicited language in the Italian narration (see 7.3.2)

		I to E (Conversation)	I to E (Italian Narration)
I to E (Conversation)	Pearson Correlation	1	.965
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
	N	9	9
I to E (Italian Narration)	Pearson Correlation	.965	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.23 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from Italian to English in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and in their elicited language h the Veneto narration (see 7.3.2)

		I to E (Conversation)	I to E (Veneto Narration)
I to E (Conversation)	Pearson Correlation	1	.997
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
	N	9	7
I to E (Veneto Narration)	Pearson Correlation	.997	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	7	7

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.24 Correlation between the total number of clauses produced by the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the natural conversation and the proportion of semantic transfers from English in the Veneto in their elicited language in the Italian narration (see 7.3.3)

		Number of Clauses (Conversation)	Sem. E to I (Italian Narration)
Number of Clauses (Conversation)	Pearson Correlation	1	.854
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.003
	N	9	9
Sem. E to I (Italian Narration)	Pearson Correlation	.854	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.003	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.25 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from Veneto to Italian and the proportion of clauses entirely in Italian in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (see 7.3.3)

		V to I	Italian
V to I	Pearson Correlation	1	.867
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.002
	N	9	9
Italian	Pearson Correlation	.867	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.26 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from Veneto to Italian and the proportion of transfers from English to Italian clauses in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren (see 7.3.3)

		V to I	E to I
V to I	Pearson Correlation	1	.832
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.005
	N	9	9
E to I	Pearson Correlation	.832	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.27 Correlation between the proportion of lexical transfers from Veneto to Italian in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and the proportion of clauses entirely in Italian in their elicited language in the Veneto narration (see 7.3.3)

		Lexical V to I (Conversation)	Italian (Veneto Narration)
Lexical V to I (Conversation)	Pearson Correlation	1	.976
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
	N	7	7
Italian (Veneto Narration)	Pearson Correlation	.976	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	7	7

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.28 Correlation between the proportion of semantic transfers from Veneto to Italian in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and the proportion of clauses entirely in Italian in their elicited language in the Veneto narration (see 7.3.3)

		Sem. V to I (Conversation)	Italian (Veneto Narration)
Sem. V to I (Conversation)	Pearson Correlation	1	.976
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
	N	9	7
Italian (Veneto Narration)	Pearson Correlation	.976	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	7	7

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.29 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from English to Italian in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and the proportion of clauses entirely in Italian in their elicited language in the Veneto narration (see 7.3.3)

		E to I (Conversation)	Italian (Veneto Narration)
E to I (Conversation)	Pearson Correlation	1	.947
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.001
	N	7	7
Italian (Veneto Narration)	Pearson Correlation	.947	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.
	N	7	7

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.30 Correlation between the proportion of morphosyntactic translation from English to Italian in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and the proportion of transfers from English to Italian in the natural language of their grandparents (see 7.3.3)

		Morph.Transl. E to I GC(GP)	E to I GP(GC)
Morph.Transl. E to I	Pearson Correlation	1	.831
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.005
	N	9	9
E to I GP(GC)	Pearson Correlation	.831	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.005	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.31 Correlation between the proportion of invariable transfers from English to Italian in the natural language of the Italian-Australian grandchildren and the proportion of transfers from English to Italian in the natural language of their grandparents (see 7.3.3)

		Inv. E to I GC(GP)	E to I GP(GC)
Inv. E to I GC(GP)	Pearson Correlation	1	.828
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.006
	N	9	9
E to I GP(GC)	Pearson Correlation	.828	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.006	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.32 Correlation between the proportion of semantic transfers from English to Italian in the natural language of the Italian-Australian and in the natural language of their parents (see 7.3.3)

		Sem. E to I GC(GP)	Sem. E to I P(GP)
Sem. E to I GC(GP)	Pearson Correlation	1	.860
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.003
	N	9	9
Sem. E to I P(GP)	Pearson Correlation	.860	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.003	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.33 Correlation between the proportion of semantic transfers from English to Italian in the natural language of the Italian-Australian and the proportion of semantic transfers from English to Italian in the natural language of their parents (see 7.3.3)

		Lexical E to I GC(GP)	Sem. E to I P(GP)
Lexical E to I GC(GP)	Pearson Correlation	1	.980
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
	N	9	9
Sem. E to I P(GP)	Pearson Correlation	.980	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.34 Correlation between the proportion of lexical transfers from English to Italian in the natural language of the Italian-Australian and the proportion of phonic transfers from English to Italian in the natural language of their parents (see 7.3.3)

		Lexical E to I GC(GP)	Phonic E to I P(GP)
Lexical E to I GC(GP)	Pearson Correlation	1	.827
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.006
	N	9	9
Phonic E to I P(GP)	Pearson Correlation	.827	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.006	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.35 Correlation between the proportion of phonic transfers from English to Italian in the natural language of the Italian-Australian and in the natural language of their parents (see 7.3.3)

		Phonic E to I GC(GP)	Phonic E to I P(GP)
Phonic E to I GC(GP)	Pearson Correlation	1	.970
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
	N	9	9
Phonic E to I P(GP)	Pearson Correlation	.970	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.36 Correlation between the proportion of phonic transfers from English to Italian in the natural language of the Italian-Australian and the proportion of semantic transfers from English to Italian in the natural language of their parents (see 7.3.3)

		Phonic E to I GC(GP)	Sem. E to I P(GP)
Phonic E to I GC(GP)	Pearson Correlation	1	.989
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
	N	9	9
Sem. E to I P(GP)	Pearson Correlation	.989	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.37 Correlation between the proportion of semantic transfers from Veneto to Italian in the natural language of the Italian-Australian and the proportion of semantic transfers from English to Italian in the natural language of their parents (see 7.3.3)

		Sem. V to I GC(GP)	Sem. E to I P(GP)
Sem. V to I GC(GP)	Pearson Correlation	1	.973
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
	N	9	9
Sem. E to I P(GP)	Pearson Correlation	.973	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.38 Correlation between the proportion of semantic transfers from Veneto to Italian in the natural language of the Italian-Australian and the proportion of phonic transfers from English to Italian in the natural language of their parents (see 7.3.3)

		Sem. V to I GC(GP)	Phonic E to I P(GP)
Sem. V to I GC(GP)	Pearson Correlation	1	.810
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.008
	N	9	9
Phonic E to I P(GP)	Pearson Correlation	.810	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.008	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.39 Correlation between the proportion of lexical transfers from Veneto to Italian in the natural language of the Italian-Australian and the proportion of semantic transfers from English to Italian in the natural language of their parents (see 7.3.3)

		Lexical V to I GC(GP)	Sem. E to I P(GP)
Lexical V to I GC(GP)	Pearson Correlation	1	.973
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
	N	9	9
Sem. E to I P(GP)	Pearson Correlation	.973	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.40 Correlation between the proportion of lexical transfers from Veneto to Italian in the natural language of the Italian-Australian and the proportion of phonic transfers from English to Italian in the natural language of their parents (see 7.3.3)

		Lexical V to I GC(GP)	Phonic E to I P(GP)
Lexical V to I GC(GP)	Pearson Correlation	1	.810
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.008
	N	9	9
Phonic E to I P(GP)	Pearson Correlation	.810	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.008	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table I.41 Correlation between the proportion of transfers from Veneto to Italian in the natural language of the Italian-Australian and the proportion of transfers from English to Italian in the natural language of their grandparents (see 7.3.3)

		V to I GC(GP)	E to I GP(GC)
VICONV	Pearson Correlation	1	.810
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.008
	N	9	9
EIGPGC	Pearson Correlation	.810	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.008	.
	N	9	9

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

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p.349: 'Graph 19' for 'Graph 20'
p.349: 'Graph 20' for 'Graph 19'
p.362, l.-15: 'The variation' for 'The, variation'
p.362, l.-7: 'Italian-Australian' for 'Italia-Australian'
p.392, l.-9: 'Grosjean, 2001' for 'Grosjean, 2000'
p.392, l.14: "In the communication with their grandparents, the Italian-Australian grandchildren fully utilized the ability to produce Veneto that they had demonstrated in the relevant elicitation task." for "The 'proficiency' in Veneto, at least as demonstrated in the relevant elicitation task, seemed to have been fully 'utilized' by the Italian-Australian grandchildren in the communication with their grandparents."
p.392, l.18-23: the second part of the paragraph, starting from 'The control over ...' till '...... required to narrate in Veneto.', should form a new paragraph.
p.401, l.13: 'and/or' for 'or and'
p.420, caption of table F.3, l.3: 'the Italian grandchildren' for 'the Italian-Australian grandchildren'
p.435, caption of table H.7, l.2: 'graph 19' for 'graph 21'
p.436, caption of table H.8, l.2: 'graph 20' for 'graph 22'
p.437, caption of table H.9, l.2: 'graph 22' for 'graph 24'
p.438, caption of table H.10, l.2: 'graph 24' for 'graph 26'
p.439, caption of table H.11, l.2: 'graph 26' for 'graph 28'
p.440, caption of table H.12, l.2: 'graph 26' for 'graph 28'
p.441, caption of table H.13, l.2: 'graph 28' for 'graph 30'
p.442, caption of table H.14, l.2: 'graph 28' for 'graph 30'
p.443, caption of table H.15: '(see graph 30 in 7.2.2.5)' for '(see graph 32 in 7.2.2.5)'
p.443, caption of table H.15, l.2: 'graph 30' for 'graph 32'

ADDENDA

p.i add the following immediately after Table of Contents:

p.19, footnote 35.6-7: delete 'due to few languages'.
p.114, footnote 280: delete text and add 'It should be noted that depending on the interpretation of 'diglossia' and the relating terms 'high variety' and 'low variety' (discussed in 2.1.1.1), the distinction proposed by Bettoni (1993:416) might not be relevant in all in-migration countries. Furthermore, the specific and complex significance that the term 'dialect' has in the Italian context (discussed in 3.1.2) should be borne in mind when reading Bettoni's (1993) table, in which the phrases 'Italian dialect' and 'dialect of the new country' are juxtaposed."
p.134, n.319: delete footnote
p.147, n.337, last line: delete 'The general aim of this study is to describe the speech of the participants, and not vice versa.'
p.160, n.350, l.1-2: add 'in paid employment' after 'had never worked'
p.163, l.-9: add '(see tables 26-28)' at the end of sentence '....as well as with the children.'
p.163, l.-7: add '(see table 27)' at the end of sentence '. to address hi children.'
p.164, l.2: add '(see tables 29-31)' at the end of 2nd line.
p.165, l.3: add '(see table 27)' at the end of sentence '...with their own grandparents.'
p.165, table 26: add footnote at the end of table caption: 'Greyed rows indicate self-reported choice of parents to address grandparents. White rows indicate self-reported choice of grandparents to address parents.'
p.167, l.5: add '(see table 26)' at the end of sentence '...Veneto to address his parents.'
p.167, l.8: add '(see table 27)' at the end of 8th line.
p.167, l.-5: add (see table 26 and 27)' at the end of sentence '...as well as their own children.'
p.168, l.-5: add (see table 27)' at the end of sentence '... abandoned by the grandchildren.'
p.169, l.5: add '(see table 28)' at the end of sentence '... with each other.'
p.170, n.364: delete last sentence ('Participating grandparents and parents are marked with an asterisk.')
p.215, example 40: delete '3603'
p.218, example 50: delete '595'

p.228, l.1: At the end of sentence 'should be rendered as 'andare *da* qualcuno'.' add '(The expression 'andare a trovare qualcuno', which is closer to the English expression 'to go to see someone', would not have been adequate here as it can only have the meaning of 'to pay someone a visit'." for "should be rendered as 'andare *da* qualcuno')'.
p.233, example 84: delete '1454'
p.253, n.462: delete footnote
p.254, caption of graph 1: add '(see tables E.1-2)' at the end of caption
p.256, caption of graph 2: add '(see table E.3)' at the end of caption
p.258, caption of graph 3: add '(see table F.1)' at the end of caption
p.269, caption of graph 4: add '(see tables F.2-3)' at the end of caption
p.299, caption of graph 5: add '(cf. table F.1)' at the end of caption
p.301, caption of graph 6: add '(see table G.1)' at the end of caption
p.311, caption of graph 7: add '(cf. tables F.2-3)' at the end of caption
p.312, caption of graph 8: add '(see tables G.2-3)' at the end of caption
p.319: add at the end of paragraph 2: '- see summary in table below).'
p.319: add table at the end of paragraph 2

'Proportion of clauses with transference and transfers to Italian and to Veneto in the language of the grandchildren'

		Clauses with Transf.	Occurr. of Transf. to I	Occurr. of Transf. to V
Ital. Narr.	Italy	13.8%	94.8%	5.2%
	Australia	55.9%	28.3% from V	8% from I
			51.5% from E	3.6% from E
Ven. Narr.	Italy	54.4%	12.6%	87.4%
	Australia	56%	29.7% from V	15.9% from I
			43.1% from E	10.3% from E
GC(GP)	Italy	15.7%	13.3%	86.7%
	Australia	24.5%	8.9% from V	8% from I
			56.3% from E	18.8% from E

p.324, caption of graph 9: add '(cf. tables F.1 and G.1)' at the end of caption
p.325, caption of graph 10: add '(see table H.1)' at the end of caption
p.327, caption of graph 11: add '(cf. tables F.1 and G.1)' at the end of caption
p.328, caption of graph 12: add '(see table H.2)' at the end of caption
p.332, caption of graph 13: add '(cf. tables F.1 and G.1)' at the end of caption
p.333, caption of graph 14: add '(see table H.3)' at the end of caption
p.338, caption of graph 15: add '(cf. tables F.1 and G.1)' at the end of caption
p.339, caption of graph 16: add '(see table H.4)' at the end of caption
p.343, caption of graph 17: add '(cf. tables F.1 and G.1)' at the end of caption
p.343, caption of graph 18: add '(see table H.5)' at the end of caption
p.351, caption of graph 21 add '(see tables F.2 and G.2)' at the end of caption
p.352, caption of graph 22: add '(see table H.9)' at the end of caption
p.355, caption of graph 23: add '(see tables F.2 and G.2)' at the end of caption
p.356, caption of graph 24: add '(see table H.10)' at the end of caption
p.359, caption of graph 25: add '(see tables F.2-3 and G.2-3)' at the end of caption
p.360, caption of graph 26: add '(see tables H.11-12)' at the end of caption
p.367, caption of graph 27: add '(see tables F.2 -3 and G.2-3)' at the end of caption
p.368, caption of graph 28: add '(see tables H.13-14)' at the end of caption
p.369, caption of graph 29: add '(see tables F.2 and G.2)' at the end of caption
p.370, caption of graph 30: add '(see table H.15)' at the end of caption